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## The future of Catholic school governance: a historical perspective

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THE FUTURE OF CATHOLIC SCHOOL GOVERNANCE:  
A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO

The School of Education and Allied Professions

THE UNIVERSITY OF DAYTON

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for

The Degree

Doctor of Philosophy in Educational Leadership

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THE UNIVERSITY OF DAYTON

DAYTON, OHIO

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The Future of Catholic School Governance:  
A Historical Perspective

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# THE FUTURE OF CATHOLIC SCHOOL GOVERNANCE: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

By

Lucianne M. Lilienthal, Ph.D.

The University of Dayton, 2010

Thomas Hunt, Ph.D

Catholic schools have greatly contributed to the heritage of education in the United States, effectively educating their students and assisting in the teaching mission of the Catholic Church. While this success is well documented, significant challenges currently threaten Catholic schools: demographic shifts, the changing role of religion in the lives of American Catholics, increasing education options for parents, and a paucity of priests. Many Catholic schools have been forced to restructure or regionalize. Many single-parish schools have been closed because they cannot financially continue.

It is the purpose of this research to investigate and then promote a more collaborative, codeterminative model of governance for Catholic schools by relating a historical account of America's Church governance and the precedent set by John England, first Bishop of Charleston, circa 1820. Bishop England laid the foundation for greater democracy and broader equity with the laity within the native Church in the governance of the American Catholic Church's temporal matters.

The spirit of independence helped form the early American Catholic Church under the leadership of Bishop John Carroll. He had envisioned a church that would recognize the pope as the spiritual head of the universal Church; but the American Catholic Church would conduct its temporal affairs in deference to the federal government in the new nation.

While Carroll established Georgetown University, St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore, and supported the use of the vernacular in liturgy, his true vision of American governance in the Church would not be achieved until Bishop John England wrote a constitution delineating the responsibilities of the clergy and the laity and forming a bicameral governance structure for the diocese of Charleston. His clearly defined constitution alleviated problems between the clergy and laity that had arisen under trusteeism.

With the changing structures of today's Catholic schools, priests and laity are called to greater collaboration. School boards must have clearly defined authority and responsibilities, especially accountability. Selected board members must have the talent and ability to lead schools that require greater stewardship and collaboration.

To my husband Jack who patiently supported and coached me through my hardest times.  
To my children Kate, Kelly and Patrick who cheered and encouraged me in this  
endeavor. To my grandchildren whose love and laughter sustained me and brought me to  
the finish line.

Tu iómpair mo grá le tusa.

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## Chapter 1

### Introduction

*We believe in one, holy, Catholic, and apostolic Church.* Catholics repeat this phrase in the Nicene Creed<sup>1</sup> prayed at every Mass throughout the world. These four adjectives, *one, holy, Catholic, and apostolic*, depict the marks or signs of the Catholic Church. According to the *Catechism of the Catholic Church*,<sup>2</sup> these marks speak of the stability, credibility and witness to the divine mission of the Church.

While the universal Church remains true to these marks, the Catholic Church in the United States struggles with its own stability and credibility in a country whose ethos is conceived from the principle of subsidiarity<sup>3</sup> and is steeped in individual freedom and self-reliance. Ironically, subsidiarity was the basis of Bishop John Carroll's dream for the American Catholic Church as he worked to organize and structure the Church during the eighteenth century. Subsidiarity is the basis of Catholic social teaching. In his encyclical *Rerum Novarum* in 1891, Pope Leo XIII promoted the principle of subsidiarity

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<sup>1</sup>According to the *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (2003), the Nicene Creed was a profession of faith agreed upon by the bishops at Nicea in 325 A.D. The creed was written to combat the heresies of Arianism.

It emphasizes the consubstantiality of Christ, his incarnation, death and resurrection. The creed affirms the doctrine of the Trinity.

<sup>2</sup> Catholic Church, *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Washington, D.C.: United States Catholic Conference, 2004), 214.

<sup>3</sup> Subsidiarity is a principle that holds that nothing should be performed by a larger more complex organization which can be accomplished by a smaller, less complex organization. The tenth amendment to the U.S. Constitution is based on subsidiarity: *The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or the people.* Subsidiarity favors decentralization and less bureaucratic, hierarchical organizations. Subsidiarity is a key principle of Catholic social thought. *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (Detroit: Thomson Gale: 2003), 569-570.

in an attempt to moderate between laissez-faire capitalism and totalitarianism.<sup>4</sup>

Ultimately, it is the principle of subsidiarity that moderates between line authority of the clergy and empowerment of the laity, particularly in the governance of Catholic schools.

### **Governance Quandaries**

Swaying under the weight of its medieval hierarchical structure, the American Catholic Church struggles with a governance system which may well have existed beyond its prime and purpose, particularly as it pertains to Catholic schools. As religious orders were founded, they were structured on a governance system which was characterized by classic line authority. As the parish school was established, line authority was adapted to govern Catholic schools<sup>5</sup>. This structure remains existent today, although not as prominent as in the past century. The Church encourages collaboration and subsidiarity<sup>6</sup>. This compels the Church to move beyond the straight line authority common to parochial schools to seek a more creative governance style which emphasizes shared responsibility and embraces the talents of the laity. Models of Catholic school governance must reflect collegiality and subsidiarity.

There are three types of school boards which within the parameters of Canon Law<sup>7</sup> serve Catholic schools: advisory boards; boards with limited jurisdiction; and

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<sup>4</sup> John J. Kelley, S.M., *Freedom in the Church* (Dayton, OH: Peter Li, Inc., 2000 ), 15.

<sup>5</sup> Neil McCluskey, "Catholic Schools After Vatican II," in C. Albert Koob's book, *What is Happening to Catholic Education?* (Washington, D.C.: National Catholic Educational Association, 1966), 4.

<sup>6</sup> Regina Haney, Stephen O'Brien, and Lourdes Sheehan, RSM, *A Primer on Educational Governance in the Catholic Church* (Washington, D.C.: National Catholic Educational Association, 2009), 6.

<sup>7</sup> Canon law is the internal ecclesiastical law which governs the Roman Catholic Church. It was revised in 1983 during the papacy of John Paul II.

consultative boards.<sup>8</sup> The responsibility of advisory boards is to advise the bishop or pastor on educational matters and policies. The diocesan or parish leader then develops and enforces the needed policy.

A consultative board formulates and amends policies, but its responsibilities do not entail the enactment or enforcement of such policy. Formed by the pastor, the consultative board cannot act apart from the administrative team and cannot make binding decisions for the parish education program without consent of the administrative team (See App., 116). A board with limited jurisdiction is formed by the pastor, pastors, or religious congregation; it has the power to govern the educational program within limited areas established by the person/persons with final authority. This board model would have responsibility for all school governance except in overseeing the Catholicity and religious education of the school and the stewardship of temporal goods which Canon Law reserves specifically for the responsible clergy.<sup>9</sup> These governance models serve parish, interparish or consolidated, diocesan, and private Catholic schools (See App., 117).

While these models were developed in response to the Second Vatican Council, several factors contribute to the need for a newer, more collegial governance model. Among those factors most apparent are: the changes in modern society<sup>10</sup>; Vatican documents, i.e., *Lumen Gentium*,<sup>11</sup> which calls for greater participation among the laity; and the decline of vocations in the Catholic Church. Patricia Kelleher notes that the

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<sup>8</sup> John Convey and Regina Haney, *Benchmarks of Excellence, Effective Boards of Catholic Education*, (Washington, D.C.: National Catholic Educational Association, 1997), 10.

<sup>9</sup> Haney, O'Brien, and Sheehan, *A Primer on Educational Governance*, 21-47.

<sup>10</sup> Peter Drucker, *Managing in a Time of Great Change* (New York: Truman Talley Books/Dutton, 1995), 214-224.

<sup>11</sup> Richard R. Gaillardetz, *The Church in the Making* (New York: Paulist Press, 2006), 53.

decline in the number of priests and religious is one of the main reasons for the necessity for change in governance of Catholic schools.<sup>12</sup>

### **Purpose**

The purpose of this research, therefore, is to investigate and then promote a more collaborative, codeterminative model of governance for Catholic schools by relating a historical account of American Catholic Church governance and the precedent set by John England, first Bishop of Charleston, circa nineteenth century. Bishop England laid the foundation for greater equity and democracy in the governance of the American Catholic Church's temporal matters. The tenets of John England's form of democratic governance could contribute to contemporary and future Catholic school governance models.

As the young American Catholic Church sought to organize itself, Bishop England sought to stabilize the Diocese of Charleston, South Carolina. The problems he faced were too few priests, little money, and a vast territory to administer, covering the modern day states of North and South Carolina and Georgia.

In the 1980s, the Catholic Church in the United States faced similar problems which plagued Bishop England two centuries earlier, particularly those attributed to the declining number of priests. With fewer priests, expanded responsibilities and burdens for existing pastors were created. Additionally, the declining numbers of religious in Catholic schools exacerbated school leadership and management as many congregations committed themselves to work other than education, including social justice issues, inner

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<sup>12</sup> P. M. Kelleher, "Governance and Administration," *Catholic Schools Still Make a Difference: Ten Years of Research*, eds. Thomas C. Hunt, Ellis Joseph, and Ronald J. Nuzzi, (Washington, D.C.: National Catholic Educational Association, 2000), 186.

city ministries, homeless shelters, etc.<sup>13</sup> As religious communities changed the focus of their mission, the presence of laity in Catholic schools became more predominant. And with their presence came increased financial needs for salary, medical benefits and pensions. The laity was also more inclined to challenge the autocratic management which had been the hallmark of Catholic schools' governance for over two hundred years.

Fewer priests and religious, less money, and vast areas of responsibility plague Catholic dioceses in the United States today.

### **Local Efforts**

In 1985 the Archdiocese of Cincinnati, anticipating future problems, initiated *For the Harvest*,<sup>14</sup> a program designed to educate parishioners about the approaching reality of fewer priests and the challenges this would cause. The *Harvest* program was followed in the 1990s by a strategic planning process called *Ministry 2000*.<sup>15</sup> The purpose of this strategic planning process was to develop local grassroots responses to the declining number of priests in the Archdiocese.

Further planning through the diocese continued with *The Futures Committee*<sup>16</sup> which was composed of eight diocesan priests selected to serve in an advisory capacity to Archbishop Daniel Pilarczyk. The committee was designed to help the Archbishop prepare for the management of the diocese with fewer priests. To clarify the concerns of the presbyterate, the Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate (CARA) at

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<sup>13</sup> William Dygert, "A Study of the President/Principal Model in Catholic Secondary Schools in the United States," (PhD diss., University of Dayton, 1988).

<sup>14</sup> Fr. Robert Schmitz, "For the Harvest," *Catholic Telegraph* (April 12, 1985), 6.

<sup>15</sup> Rev. James Manning and Rev. Thomas Shearer, "How one Diocese Prepares for the Future," *Touchstone* (Spring, 2004), 5.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., was enlisted to conduct research identifying common challenges associated with fewer active priests within the Archdiocese of Cincinnati.

The information and attitudes brought to light through this survey revealed significant data. The Futures Committee identified 344 potential respondents among both active and retired diocesan priests. Of those receiving the CARA survey, 292 priests (85%) completed and returned the survey. The survey revealed a startling aging of the clergy: 37% were over 65 years of age; 51% were between the ages of 50 and 65 while only 12% were under the age of 50.<sup>17</sup> These statistics concurred with national figures. In 2002 there were approximately 45,000 priests in the United States under the age of 70. Currently there are more priests 80-84 years of age than there are 30-34 years of age.<sup>18</sup>

Faced with the crisis of declining numbers and accelerating senescence of the clergy, diocesan priests realized the need to recruit for vocations. National projections estimate that there will be only 15,000 priests under the age of 70 in active ministry by 2020,<sup>19</sup> while the Archdiocese of Cincinnati projects only 100 active priests by 2015.<sup>20</sup> Eighty-two percent of the surveyed priests, ages 50-65, however, discouraged the recruitment of foreign priests; while 88% of the same group discouraged increasing the workload of retired priests. Diocesan priests favored merging or jointly managing parishes particularly in the urban areas. Priests also indicated a need to prioritize their ministerial duties in times of fewer priests, emphasizing their sacramental ministry and

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<sup>17</sup> Bryan T. Froehle and Margaret M. Howard, *Identifying Common Challenges in Times of Fewer Priests: A Survey of Priests of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati* (CARA, March 2002), 5.

<sup>18</sup> Kenneth C. Jones, *Index of Leading Catholic Indicator* (St. Louis, MO: Oriens Publishing Co., 2003), 8.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

<sup>20</sup> Manning, "How one Diocese Prepares," 5.



preaching. Discouragingly, only 22% of the respondents encouraged lay leadership while 20% encouraged a change in responsibilities by relinquishing administrative duties to concentrate on their sacramental ministry.<sup>21</sup> The vast majority of respondents agreed that the Archdiocese of Cincinnati was ill-prepared to face a future with fewer priests.

The CARA report cited a need to creatively look at new ways of ministry and to move outside the traditional institutional model of governance, pursuing avenues for lay leadership and empowerment.<sup>22</sup> Over the next ten years, priests foresaw a transformation of their role to a totally spiritual one rather than as a combined spiritual-operations management function.

### **Further Assessment**

With the exigencies for new governance in the forefront of change in American Catholic schools, J. Stephen O'Brien surveyed bishops and priests concerning authority issues in Catholic schools. A majority of bishops, 63%, and a smaller percentage of priests, 40%, thought that Catholic schools needed to give greater policy control to parents. Bishops and priests, however, agreed almost unanimously that the pastor's role in relationship to the school should be that of a spiritual leader.<sup>23</sup> This concurs with the sentiments of Archdiocesan priests in the CARA survey as mentioned previously. Interestingly, those priests nonaligned with parishes and those with the least parish experience saw a more active role in school management for the pastor.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Froehle and Howard, *Common Challenges*, 143-149.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> J. Stephen O'Brien, *Mixed Messages: What Bishop & Priests Say About Catholic Schools* (Washington, D.C.: National Catholic Educational Association, 1987), 97.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 98.

In an address to the National Congress on Catholic Schools for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century held in Washington, D.C., Lourdes Sheehan cited that, prior to the Second Vatican Council, Catholic school governance was based on the ownership model. According to Canon Law, parishes, dioceses, or religious congregations were the owners and operators of Catholic schools, thereby making bishops, priests, and religious the recognized authority and decision makers.<sup>25</sup> Sheehan further stated, "The question is not who owns the school but rather what is the Church's understanding of decision making in the operation of schools."<sup>26</sup> The resolution of this question is fundamental to the leadership and management of Catholic schools within its governance structures.

### Historical Precedents

The history of the Catholic Church reveals an evolution of shared decision making and collaboration. The election of St. Ambrose as bishop of Milan in 374 A.D. came about through the enthusiastic demands of the people.<sup>27</sup> Theodore Drahmann cites that the groundwork for collaboration in Catholic schools was laid by Pope Pius XI in his encyclical, *Quadragesimo Anno*.<sup>28</sup> In this 1929 encyclical, Pope Pius XI uses for the first time the term *subsidiarity*.<sup>29</sup> Herein, Pius XI describes the value of collaboration and the dignity shown to the human beings working in the institution.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Lourdes Sheehan, RSM, *Governance* (Washington, D.C.: National Catholic Educational Association, 1990), 16.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> In 374 AD, the Nicenes and Arians vied for succession to the bishopric of Milan. Ambrose, as consular-prefect of Milan, went to the cathedral to address the crowd in an effort to prevent a riot. During his address, the crowd shouted, "Ambrose for bishop!" univocally electing him the new bishop of Milan.

<sup>28</sup> Theodore Drahmann, FSC, *Governance and Administration in the Catholic School* (Washington, D.C.: National Catholic Educational Association, 1985), 8.

<sup>29</sup> Rev. John J. Kelley, *Freedom in the Church: A Documented History of the Principle of Subsidiary Function* (Dayton, OH: Peter Li Inc. 2002), 12.

<sup>30</sup> Drahmann, *Governance*, 8.

## Catholic Identity—Marks of the Church

*We believe in one, holy, Catholic, and apostolic church.* In the restructuring or reordering of Catholic school governance, it is important to understand the marks of the Church. Where does the temporal meet the spiritual, and the hierarchy meet the laity? What is the laity's role in the Catholic Church and in our Catholic schools?

The Church's oneness comes from its origin, Christ, as Catholics share the same faith, the same sacrifice and sacraments. Catholics are united under the pope in a hierarchical system designed to govern and unify its members in its goal of salvation. The Church, founded by Christ, is holy and its doctrines provide means for the faithful to lead holy lives.

The Church is catholic because Christ is present in all legitimately organized local groups of the faithful. This *sensus fidelium*,<sup>31</sup> or sense of the faithful, recognizes the body of the faithful as a whole. The encyclical *Lumen Gentium*,<sup>32</sup> emanating from the Second Vatican Council, states, "Though they differ from one another in essence and not only in degree the common priesthood of the faithful and the ministerial or hierarchical priesthood are nonetheless interrelated."<sup>33</sup> *Lumen Gentium* also states, "The people as a whole...manifests the unerring quality, when from the bishops down to the last member of the laity, shows universal agreement in matters of faith and morals...."<sup>34</sup>

Christ fulfills the mission of His Church not only by the hierarchy but also by the laity. The Second Vatican Council encouraged the belief that baptism, being the initial

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<sup>31</sup> *Sensus fidelium* is described as that element in what the faithful believe and profess that can be grasped externally, objectively. *Catholic Encyclopedia*, 992-993.

<sup>32</sup> *Lumen Gentium* is one of the principal documents of the Second Vatican Council. Translated from the Latin, the title means "Light to the World."

<sup>33</sup> Pope Paul VI, *Lumen Gentium*, Section 10, Accessed July 15, 2008, [http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist\\_councils/ii\\_vatican\\_council/documents/vat\\_ii\\_const\\_19641121\\_lumen](http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat_ii_const_19641121_lumen).

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, Section 12.

sacrament of ministry, was not limited only to the ordained but to all the faithful, i.e., ministry involves all people. Its intent was to ease the division between the clergy and the laity. The Second Vatican Council brought forth a clear theology of the laity rooted in an understanding of the Church as the People of God. With an understanding of *sensus fidelium*, change should not be imposed on the faithful from the top down in typical hierarchical fashion. True change would be affected by relying on the catholicity of the Church and the theology derived from the Second Vatican Council which calls for a more inclusive participation of the laity.

In the New Testament, Acts 6:1-4, the Apostles received complaints that they were not taking care of widows. "It is not right for us to neglect the Word of God to serve at table. Brothers, select from among you seven reputable men, filled with the Spirit and wisdom, whom we shall appoint to this task, whereas we shall devote ourselves to prayer and the ministry of the word." The Apostles realized they could not be involved in every matter; they had to delegate this task to others, recognizing in them their talents and abilities to perform the task. Aware of the need to separate the temporal from the spiritual, the Apostles sought help in order to center on their true assignment, i.e., their ministry. Two thousand years ago the Apostles were aware of their limitations, the importance of their mission and the need for collaboration.

The Catholic Church is apostolic. It is descended from Christ and His apostles. Relying on that order of succession the Catholic Church achieves stability and credibility. It is this apostolic character that gives authority and tradition to its clergy.

The concepts of the Church as catholic and apostolic are particularly important to the restructuring of the present order of the institution. An understanding of the need for

a bond between clergy and laity with shared responsibility and even authority, rather than the existing superior-inferior relationship, is key to the development of a collaborative structure of governance.

### **Intent**

John England's model of governance, utilized in the early American Catholic Church, could influence the development of a workable, more lay-empowered plan for future Catholic school governance. It is with this intent that in establishing a historical account of American Catholic governance, a more collaborative, codeterminative model of governance can be promulgated.

Ensuing chapters will examine parish governance as it was employed in the early nineteenth century. During this period, a paucity of priests combined with the separation of temporal and spiritual tasks resulted in a collaborative governance style which may offer a solution for the challenges confronting our contemporary Catholic schools and parishes. Research of this topic has been conducted by examining primary sources of literature in the Diocese of Charleston, South Carolina, surveys and statistical information gathered from national and archdiocesan data, and tertiary research on related topics pertaining to current practice. Chapter II briefly describes the hierarchical organization and structure of the early Church which led to the separation of the laity and clergy. Chapter III will review the early colonial history of the American Catholic Church and the American republic. Chapter IV will elaborate on John Carroll, first Bishop of the United States, and his efforts to structure the Catholic Church in a democratic spirit. Chapter V will discuss John England, Bishop of Charleston, South Carolina, who embraced the spirit of the new republic and modeled his diocese on the

founding principles of the United States. Chapter VI will examine Canon Law, pertinent Vatican documents concerning the laity, and the impact of the Second Vatican Council on Catholic schools. Chapter VII will examine modern boards and proposals for the future of Catholic schools. Chapter VIII summarizes with closing thoughts toward future lay involvement and governance of Catholic schools.

In his book, *Mixed Messages*, Stephen O'Brien summarizes that "...bishops and priests saw Catholic schools as playing an important and essential role in the church's mission."<sup>35</sup> Confirming his survey responses, American Catholic bishops wrote in the document, *To Teach as Jesus Did*: "Catholic schools afford the fullest and best opportunity to realize the threefold purpose of Christian education<sup>36</sup> among children and young people... With the Second Vatican Council we affirm our conviction that the Catholic school 'retains its immense importance in the circumstances of our times' and we recall the duty of Catholic parents 'to entrust their children to Catholic schools, when and where this is possible, to support such schools to the extent of their ability, and to work along with them for the welfare of their children.' " <sup>37</sup> As leaders, to falter and fail in securing the health of our Catholic schools is simply unacceptable.

## Methodology

The value of historical research is that it shows what is and what is not possible.<sup>38</sup> It gives a perspective for decision making. It was for these two reasons that the

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<sup>35</sup> J. Stephen O'Brien, *Mixed Messages*, 111.

<sup>36</sup> Identified in *To Teach as Jesus Did*, the threefold mission is *didache* (the message revealed by God); *koinonia* (fellowship in the life of the Holy Spirit); and *diakonia* (service to the Christian community and the entire human community), 4.

<sup>37</sup> National Conference of Catholic Bishops, *To Teach as Jesus Did: A Pastoral Message on Catholic Education* (Washington, D.C.: Offices For Publishing and Promotion Services, 1973), 28.

<sup>38</sup> William Wiersma and Stephen G. Jurs, *Research Methods in Education*, 8<sup>th</sup> ed. (Boston: Pearson, 2000), 224.

methodology of historical narrative was chosen to examine governance models in the Catholic Church. Research was conducted utilizing the four steps of methodology of historical research:

1. Identification of the Research Problem
2. Collection and Evaluation of Source Materials
3. Synthesis of Information from Source Materials
4. Analysis, Interpretation, Formulation of Conclusions<sup>39</sup>

#### *1. Identification of the Research Problem*

The Catholic schools have struggled with finances and governance. New configurations of regionalized schools and consolidated parishes have created quandaries in governance. Old models of school boards revitalized after the Second Vatican Council no longer fit the needs of contemporary Catholic schools. With fewer priests and an aging clergy the extensive responsibilities of parish pastor have become overwhelming. How can Catholic schools continue to fulfill the mission of the Church to teach the Word of God if they are plagued with organizational and financial problems? With this concern in mind it is the purpose and intent of this research to relate a historical account of American Catholic governance in order to promulgate a more collaborative, codeterminative model of governance for today's Catholic schools.

#### *2. Collection and Evaluation of Source Materials*

In researching the topic of governance in the American Catholic Church the researcher was drawn to the historical figure of John England, first bishop of Charleston, South Carolina, by a quote by Andrew Greeley stating, "John England was a man ahead

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 227.

of his time...he was probably even born ahead of our own time.”<sup>40</sup> Curious to learn more about John England the researcher read an initial biography entitled *John England: American Christopher* by Dorothy Fremont Grant.<sup>41</sup> Grant described Bishop England as more notable than the Greeley quote implied. The researcher then traveled to Charleston, South Carolina, to investigate the accomplishments of John England from original sources. Contact with the Diocese of Charleston was made through the diocesan archivist, Brian Fahey. Cordial and eager to open archives to those interested in John England, Mr. Fahey allowed the researcher to peruse primary source material of John England’s Diurnal and the Constitution of the Diocese of Charleston. Sitting in the conference room directly across from a painting of Bishop England, the researcher felt an immediate connection with the “comely and well-educated gentleman.”

During the first visit, as the researcher read England’s diurnal, she experienced an overwhelming feeling of grief knowing that, through his own writings, John England was describing the illness which would precipitate his death. Nevertheless, John England had seemed alive and vital again through these primary sources.

The researcher made three more trips to Charleston to visit the diocesan archives. Mr. Fahey also related the names of other biographers more knowledgeable about John England. The Reverend Peter Guilday was a well-known biographer of Bishop England. He, however, is not particularly well-mentioned in Charleston. When Fr. Guilday was conducting his research, he removed most of the primary sources held by the diocese. Those documents are currently lodged at the University of Notre Dame and the Catholic

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<sup>40</sup> Andrew Greeley, *The Catholic Experience* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1967), 63-64.

<sup>41</sup> Dorothy Fremont Grant, *John England: American Christopher* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1949).



University of America. The Diocese of Charleston is currently trying to retrieve these documents as the Diocese of Charleston pursues sainthood for John England.

In addition to suggesting other reference books and other biographies, Mr. Fahey encouraged the researcher to meet with David Heisser, librarian at The Citadel (The Military College of South Carolina) and a historian who specializes in the history of the Roman Catholic Church in South Carolina during the eighteenth century. The interview with Mr. Heisser brought more of Charleston's history to life and revealed the culture and society of Bishop England's era.

Extensive research was also conducted through various printed sources concerning Catholic Church history, Vatican documents and papal encyclicals with special emphasis on the Second Vatican Council.

### *3. Synthesis of Information from Source Materials*

The researcher found the historical research procedure of "search and write" to be very rewarding. Guided by the purpose and intent of the research, the avenues of information discovered while reading allowed the researcher to explore further fields of interest. Occasionally those fields of interest led the researcher somewhat astray, only to find the information related to topics in later research. The researcher also discovered that the original biography *John England: American Christopher* by Grant, while written very passionately, was not always correct historically. The author's bias became obvious and was used sparingly as a quotable resource. One area in particular was skewed. John England had spoken out in favor of slavery when he had first arrived in Charleston from Ireland. He had equated American slavery to the slavery encountered by early Christians. Realizing his error, John England recanted his statement. He created a school for slaves

which later was closed by the local officials. This pro-slavery issue is still particularly sensitive in South Carolina as Catholics advocate for England's beatification. The most reliable secondary sources regarding Bishop England were written by Jay Dolan, Patrick Carey and Peter Guilday.

#### *4. Analysis, Interpretation, Formulation of Conclusion*

After completing the research of John England and his model of governance, the researcher looked at the history of governance in the Catholic Church and the models of organizational management. Then through an interview with Regina Haney, the executive director of the Department of Boards and Councils at the National Catholic Educational Association, analysis and interpretation for future Catholic school governance was possible.

The effort of this dissertation is to historically find precedents which would assist Catholic schools in formulating configurations of governance. What was true in John England's time is very true for today and for the future: A well-defined constitution and the utilization of the laity's talents may help Catholic schools to reinvent, revitalize and renew their schools to remain a positive force in the future.

## Chapter II

### The Spirit of the Early Church

#### Commissioning of the Apostles

Forty days had passed since the resurrection. Jesus led his apostles as far as Bethany<sup>42</sup> and said to them, "Go, therefore, and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit."<sup>43</sup> Thus Christ gave His mission statement to the fledgling community. Within days the new institution of the Christian Church would be born, without structure, without direction, but with a simple mission statement.

#### Organization and Authority in the Early Church

Much like a child who undergoes great changes from infancy through the first three years of life, so too the Catholic Church changed dramatically in its first three centuries. In its first one hundred years the Church was composed of small scattered communities led by community-selected bishops who were aided by deacons.<sup>44</sup> Bishops had limitless authority to lead in worship and supervise their communities. According to St. Ignatius of Antioch, the bishop was the focal point of the community and he was to have a "complete and unconditional bond of unity" with the community. Only with him

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<sup>42</sup> Luke 24: 50.

<sup>43</sup> Matthew 28: 19

<sup>44</sup> Thomas Bokenkotter, *A Concise History of the Catholic Church* (New York: Doubleday, 2004),

was the congregation to celebrate *agapé* and the Eucharist. The bishop presided over baptisms and marriage ceremonies.<sup>45</sup> In 112 A.D., as Ignatius was being led to his own martyrdom, he wrote to seven Christian communities urging them “to follow the bishops as Jesus Christ followed the father.”<sup>46</sup> This directive revealed how the initial organization of the Church was centered around local powerful bishops who collaborated together on the general direction of the Christian Church. Later in 185 A.D., Bishop Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons, wrote that bishops guarded the handing down of traditions from the apostles and they alone guaranteed the apostolic authority of the Church.<sup>47</sup>

St. Cyprian of Carthage contended that “....Thence age has followed age and bishop has followed bishop in succession, and the office of the episcopate and the system of the Church has been handed down, so that the Church is founded on the bishops and every act of the Church is directed by these same presiding officers.”<sup>48</sup> A bishop’s responsibility was not only for his own congregation but extended over the whole Church.<sup>49</sup> He linked the idea of succession of the bishops to Christ’s words to Peter, “And so I say to you, thou art Peter and upon this Rock I will build my church and the gates of the netherworld shall not prevail against it.”<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>45</sup>Hubert Jedin, ed., *History of the Church*, Vol. 1 (New York: The Crossroad Publishing Company, 1993), 44.

<sup>46</sup>Henry Scowcroft Bettenson, *Documents of the Christian Church* (London: Oxford Press, 1999), 63.

<sup>47</sup>Mark A. Noll, *Turning Points* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1997), 40.

<sup>48</sup>Bettenson, *Documents*, 75.

<sup>49</sup>Jedin, *History*, 133.

<sup>50</sup>Matthew 16:18.

## Constantine and Christianity

Constantine, a pagan by birth, significantly changed the course of history for the Christian Church. In 312 A.D., on the eve of battle with Maxentius<sup>51</sup> Constantine was exhorted in a dream to place God's sign, a *chi rho* symbol, on his soldiers' shields and banners. Another account relates "...in the sky above the sun the radiant victory sign of the cross" and near this the words "By this, conquer."<sup>52</sup> Successful in battle, Constantine showed great favor to the Christians. In 313, allied with Licinius, emperor of the eastern empire, Constantine issued the Edict of Milan which granted religious tolerance to Christians.<sup>53</sup> Additionally, freedom of worship and preaching within the Church was granted. Constantine commissioned new Christian places of worship to be built. Bishops no longer had to work separate jobs as they were given subsidies by the state. They were exempt from military service and granted higher places of honor within society. The missionary work of the Church no longer had to be secretive in fear of persecution.<sup>54</sup>

Constantine saw religion, particularly the Christian religion, as a means to unify the Empire. When the heresy of Arianism threatened to cause a schism in the Church, Constantine himself called the first ecumenical council held in Nicea in 325 A.D.<sup>55</sup> Once Constantine acted on behalf of the Church he set a precedent, enabling his successors to recognize that their imperial power was interrelated with the Church. While Constantine's religious fervor brought many advantages for the Church, it was not without its drawbacks. The state had intervened in Church affairs. Special status was given to bishops along with subsidies from the state. They no longer had to work among

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<sup>51</sup> Noll, *Turning Points*, 5.

<sup>52</sup> Jedin, *History*, 152.

<sup>53</sup> Bokenkotter, *A Concise History*, 40

<sup>54</sup> Jedin, *History*, 150.

<sup>55</sup> Noll, *Turning Points*, 59.

the people as the apostles had done; they had been set apart from the daily concerns of the community. Mass conversions were ordered for the sake of conformity and the good of the empire.<sup>56</sup> Politics, not faith, ruled conversion.

Constantine converted to Christianity before his death. Even though his life as a Christian was brief, Constantine, through his historic deeds profoundly impacted the Church for a millennium.

### **Papal Authority**

The early Christian Church lacked central leadership. The communities which extended from Gaul to Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria in Northern Africa were organized as a loosely coupled system, somewhat interdependent but lacking central authority. Bishops conferred with each other but frequently were unable to resolve their differences in doctrinal matters due to divergences in culture and beliefs.<sup>57</sup> After the Council of Nicea various opinions and differences had arisen over the Arian heresy. Pope Julius I called upon the Roman Emperors Constans (Western emperor) and his brother Constantius (Eastern emperor) to intervene for him in calling for a council. The council held in Serdica in 343 produced twenty-one canons concerning disciplinary regulations and ruled that the decisions of local councils could be appealed to the Bishop of Rome.<sup>58</sup> The council provided some much needed order and structure to the early Christian Church.

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<sup>56</sup> Jedin, *History*, 159.

<sup>57</sup> David Nicholas, "The Rise of the Papacy," *Turning Points in World History* (San Diego, CA: Greenhaven Press, 1999), 117.

<sup>58</sup> Jedin, *History*, 184.

Pope Damasus I (366-384 A.D.) attempted to define the Bishop of Rome's superiority over all the other bishops.<sup>59</sup> Damasus also commissioned his secretary, Jerome,<sup>60</sup> to translate the Bible into Latin. This *Vulgate* edition became the quintessential version of the Bible for the Catholic Church. Another factor which strengthened the authority of the Bishop of Rome was the fact that Rome was known as the "First City" of the empire which attracted trade and political power.<sup>61</sup>

Pope Leo I (440-461 A.D.) saw the pope as the "unworthy heir" of Peter implying that the Bishop of Rome as pope has inherited all the authority given to Peter by Christ.<sup>62</sup> Leo I was a great ecclesiastical statesman, a pope of exceptional leadership and an organizational genius who dramatically and successfully asserted the supreme authority of the papacy.<sup>63</sup>

Leo's papacy held other historical importance. It came at a time when the Roman Empire was collapsing. When Rome was threatened by siege, Leo met with Attila the Hun and persuaded him to turn aside, thus saving Rome from attack. Later, Leo was able to negotiate a "gentle sack" of Rome by Gaiseric the Vandal.<sup>64</sup>

Leo's true test of papal authority evolved when he dealt with the heresy of Eutyches, a situation that not only challenged the dogmatic traditions of the Church but challenged the authority of the Western Church over Constantinople. Eutyches, a monk in Constantinople, taught that Jesus had a divine nature but not a human nature. A council of bishops met, led by Archbishop Flavian, who condemned Eutyches' teachings.

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<sup>59</sup> Noll, *Turning Points*, 112.

<sup>60</sup> St. Jerome was a fourth century monk and renowned scholar of the church.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Nicholas, *World History*, 118-119.

<sup>63</sup> Bokenkotter, *A Concise History*, 84.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 86-87.

Eutyches, in turn, appealed his case to Pope Leo I. In response, Leo wrote to Flavian ruling against Eutyches. This letter, called the *Tome*, set forth principles of a solution to the dogmatic issue.<sup>65</sup> Violent arguments broke out between the Western and Eastern Churches. While Leo won the dogmatic dispute he ultimately lost the battle over authority issues between the East and West. Leo had defined Roman supremacy but the differences in languages, culture, and principles would eventually lead to a schism between the East and West during the Middle Ages. Leo I, or Leo the Great as he became known, had established line authority. He did not, however, defer to administrative primacy which would have allowed the different sees the right to make final decisions in discipline to maintain a uniformity in their sphere in liturgy and discipline.<sup>66</sup>

### **The Church in the Middle Ages**

The period of time approximately from 500-1000 A.D. is appropriately called the Dark Ages. Rome had fallen in 476 A.D. The last Western European emperor, Romulus Augustulus, had been deposed by the barbarian Gothic chieftain, Odoacer.<sup>67</sup> Barbarian invasions and the spread of Islam through North Africa and Spain continued to weaken Western Europe. It was a time of "turmoil and anarchy, with the near collapse of civilization."<sup>68</sup>

Amid this turmoil the papacy of Gregory I was the one hopeful event. Gregory was born into a family of great wealth and nobility, and one which had already produced

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<sup>65</sup> Bokenkotter, *A Concise History*, 89.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> Thomas Cahill, *How the Irish Saved Civilization* (New York: Doubleday, 1995), 232.

<sup>68</sup> Tony Lane, "The Rise of Christianity," *Turning Points in World History*, (San Diego, CA: Greenhaven Press, 1999), 160.



two popes, Felix III (438-492 A.D.) and Agapetus I (535-536 A.D.).<sup>69</sup> Gregory was well educated and rose to the highest post of Rome, prefect of the city. At the height of his civil career Gregory was attracted to monasticism. Abandoning his civil authority, he founded six monasteries and turned his own palatial residence into a monastery.<sup>70</sup> Pope Pelagius II chose Gregory to be the ambassador to Constantinople in 578 to plead for military assistance in fighting the Lombards. Emperor Maurice had little or no intention of rendering any assistance to Rome. The Eastern Empire was consumed with its own problems in dealing with the Lombards and the neighboring territories of Persia and with the Slavic clans.<sup>71</sup> Unsuccessful in his mission, Gregory returned to the monastery in 585. After the death of Pelagius II, Gregory was elected to the papacy by acclamation of the people of Rome.<sup>72</sup>

One of Gregory's most noteworthy accomplishments was his mission endeavors to secure converts to Christianity. He sent Augustine of Canterbury to England to evangelize the Anglo-Saxons. From there other missions branched out into the Netherlands and Germany. Gregory's evangelization goal helped unify Western Europe. He laid the foundations for a papal alliance with the Franks which would in later years lead to the establishment of Christendom in Western Europe. He also forged close ties with European monarchies.

Secondly, Gregory emphasized the primacy of the papacy. He referred to himself as the "servant of the servants of God." Gregory wrote *The Rule for Pastors* in which he established the nature of the episcopal office. As he worked to ward off barbarian attacks

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<sup>69</sup> Nicolas Cheetham, *A History of the Popes* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1982), 38.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 42.

<sup>72</sup> Bokenkotter, *A Concise History*, 100.

and protect papal territory, he also improved Rome both financially and militarily.

Gregory set the Church and the papacy on a new course that would make it a prevailing force in creating a new political, social, and cultural unity in Europe with a distinctly Christian order.<sup>73</sup>

### **Charlemagne**

In 795 A.D. Leo III was elected pope. An Italian-Greek by descent, he was somewhat lackluster compared to his predecessors. He soon upset the dignitaries of Rome who had befriended the former pope, Hadrian I. Leo had flaunted his friendship with the Frankish king, Charlemagne. After his consecration as pope, Leo sent a legate to Charlemagne bearing gifts of a banner of the city of Rome and keys of St. Peter's tomb. Additionally he had an elaborate new hall built in the Lateran Palace with images depicting Charlemagne and himself under the protection of St. Peter. Infuriated over this self-aggrandizement, his enemies charged him with immorality and perjury. They also plotted an attack intending to blind him and cut out his tongue. Badly beaten, Leo escaped and with the help of his supporters was taken to Charlemagne's headquarters in Germany.<sup>74</sup> Charlemagne received the pope as a matter of courtesy and sent him back to Rome. Determined to support the pope, Charlemagne ordered an investigation of the charges in an effort to strengthen the pope's authority. The inquiry could prove nothing. Ultimately, the ruling that a pope could not be judged by his fellow man prevailed. Although embarrassed by the situation Leo remained pope.

After a year Charlemagne returned to Rome to confer with Leo. While at Mass on Christmas Day, 800 A.D. Charlemagne knelt before the tomb of St. Peter. As he

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 102.

<sup>74</sup> Cheetham, *History of the Popes*, 64-65.

started to rise, Pope Leo took a crown, placed it on his head, declaring "To Charles Augustus, crowned by God, great and peace-giving emperor of the Romans, life and victory."<sup>75</sup> The crowd repeated the declaration three times as if on cue. Leo needed to improve his image and being the man who had the power to bestow the crown on Europe's king was the perfect opportunity.<sup>76</sup>

Historians have argued over the years as to whether Charlemagne was aware of the forthcoming event or if it took him by surprise. Regardless, the coronation of Charlemagne effectively set the tone in the relationship between monarch and pope for the next eight hundred years. The curia, the papal court of justice, had the power to exalt the pope over all temporal rulers. For their part, monarchs could rule in complete authority with papal blessing and in good favor with the papacy. For good or ill, line authority had been set.

As the feudal system of the early Middle Ages gave way to the rise of nations and the establishment of monarchies, the Catholic Church continued its peculiar partnership with civil government. This was manifested in *patronage* which referred to the rights and duties of an individual who secured land, built a church, or supported the clergy or buildings of a local congregation. In return for the nobleman's support he gained the right to present to the bishop the names of clergymen whom they chose. Thus European monarchs had extensive control over ecclesiastical appointments and temporalities.<sup>77</sup> Patronage was approved by the Council of Trent (1545-1563) which also reaffirmed papal supremacy. The extremely conservative tenets of the Council of Trent ensured

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<sup>75</sup> Noll, *Turning Points*, 109.

<sup>76</sup> Cheetham, *History of the Popes*, 65.

<sup>77</sup> Patrick W. Carey, *People, Priests, and Prelates: Ecclesiastical Democracy and the Tensions of Trusteeship* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame, 1987), 27-28.

autocratic control for the pope who in turn gave his appointed bishops control over their dioceses. Participation by the common man in the administration of the Church was exempted. In essence, the Council of Trent imparted to modern Catholics “a highly authoritarian, centralized structure that was still basically medieval.”<sup>78</sup>

The fifteenth century marked the end of feudal times, by introducing the Age of Discovery and Exploration. Portuguese and Spanish explorers discovered new trade routes to the Middle East. The Crusades of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, while having failed to conquer the Holy Land, had introduced many new ideas and products to Europe.

Centuries of Church governance remained relatively unchanged. Meanwhile the Industrial Revolution and the Information Revolution were creating new management theories. These new theories became effective and productive management structures. In many ways, these theories were also directly oppositional to Church management. The 1700-year-old structure of the European Church would not find an easy adaptation in the New World.

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<sup>78</sup> Bokenkotter, *A Concise History*, 243.

### Chapter III

#### The Spirit of Democracy

#### **The Spirit of Catholicism**

The first permanent community of Catholic educators in North America was established by eleven Ursuline sisters in 1727 in the city of New Orleans. Led by Mother Marie Tranchepain, the community established a girls' academy in accordance with the religious order's traditional and authoritarian form of governance. The Ursuline Academy was apportioned in such a way so as to provide schooling for both the wealthy and the indigent. The school was organized along divisional lines. The first division of the school accommodated the daughters of wealthy merchants. By charging the wealthy tuition for the education of their daughters, the Ursulines were able to educate the daughters of common workers in the second level, and Africans slaves and Native Americans in the third division.<sup>79</sup> By 1728, the academy reported a population of "sixteen girl boarders, seven Negresses, and twenty-five day students."<sup>80</sup>

In addressing the education of the rich, the Ursulines were able to educate the poor, thus promoting the universality, or the catholic characteristic of the Church. The Ursuline community took great risks in educating slaves and Native Americans who were

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<sup>79</sup> Catherine M. Kealey and Robert J. Kealey, *On Their Shoulders: A Short Biographical History of American Catholic Schools* (Washington, D.C.: National Catholic Educational Association, 2003), 12.

<sup>80</sup> Truman Stacey, *Mother Marie de Saint Augustin Tranchepain*, (Lake Charles, LA: Southwest Louisiana Historical Association, 2004). Accessed May 3, 2010, 2.

by law restricted from schooling. Their efforts forged a vision for Catholic education which later influenced the establishment of Catholic schools in the United States.

### **British Influences**

Anti-Catholic sentiment was deeply rooted in the British settlers. British colonists' hatred and resentment of Catholics originated in 1559 under Elizabeth I as England accepted the Act of Supremacy which completely outlawed the Catholic Church.<sup>81</sup> The Act of Supremacy declared English monarchs the heads of the Church in England. Public officials were required to take an oath accepting the king's supremacy. Those who refused were either imprisoned or executed. In 1570 Pope Pius V declared that Elizabeth I had no legitimate right to the English throne. He believed that the true queen was Mary Queen of Scots, a loyal Catholic. Pius V issued a papal bull, "Regnans in Escelsis"<sup>82</sup> that excommunicated Elizabeth I and all her loyal subjects. This papal act created tremendous difficulties in England for Catholics. They were torn between loyalty to their queen and loyalty to their pope. Catholics were viewed suspiciously as plots against the queen were revealed. Jesuit priests who were sent to England in an attempt to convert the country to Catholicism were executed for treason. Elizabeth, fearing her own cousin, had Mary Queen of Scots executed.

Elizabeth died in 1603 without a direct heir to the throne. Ironically, James I, Mary's son, succeeded Elizabeth.<sup>83</sup> With the reign of James I, Catholics found moderate acceptability in England. Priests were allowed to quietly go about the countryside

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<sup>81</sup> Peter J. Rahill, *The Catholic in America* (Chicago, IL: Franciscan Herald Press, 1960), 18.

<sup>82</sup> *The Elizabethan Church and Catholics* (June 9, 2010), Accessed September 10, 2010, <http://www.elizabethi.org/us/elizabethanchurch/catholics.html>.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

celebrating Mass in private homes. The Gunpowder Plot, a plan to blow up Parliament, in 1605, however, renewed open hostility and fear of Catholics.

Under James' successor, Charles I, English Catholics once again enjoyed moderate toleration, probably due to the fact that Charles' wife was a pious Catholic. The Catholic population grew in number and in importance. Many Catholic landed gentry were given government positions and titles. These Catholic gentlemen had learned how to reconcile their loyalties to England and to Rome. This factor was of great importance to Catholics in the British colonies and later to the Constitution itself.

While Catholics struggled in the British colonies, the Catholics of Maryland and Pennsylvania brought forth changes in the governance of their faith. Such ideas as religious tolerance, separation of religion and politics, an end to entitlement, and an emphasis on individual faith and close faith communities were wrought through these colonial struggles.

### **Anti-Catholic Hostilities in the Colony of Maryland**

Charles I granted George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, a charter to establish a colony on both sides of Chesapeake Bay, specifying that the colony be named after his wife, Henrietta Maria.<sup>84</sup> George Calvert died before he could pursue his colonizing efforts. His son Cecil, the second Lord Baltimore, assumed his father's charter which granted him complete power over the territory and granted refuge to all Catholics. Although Calvert was a Catholic himself, his primary intention was to profit from the colony. By granting safe harbor to Catholics, Calvert also aspired to keep the

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<sup>84</sup> Ibid., 23.

immigration to Maryland open and tolerant of all religions. Mass was first celebrated on the Feast of the Annunciation, March 25, 1634, by Fr. Andrew White.<sup>85</sup>

Oddly enough, the religious tolerance afforded to immigrants in Maryland was also the downfall of that very liberty. Puritans expelled from their Massachusetts Bay Colony found refuge in Maryland. Soon they outnumbered the Catholic settlers. Calvert was forced to appoint a Protestant governor. Civil war and political unrest in England sent shockwaves across the ocean. Severe penal laws were enacted against Catholic colonists in Maryland. Such legislation included double taxation penalties on all property owned by Catholics. Priests were arrested and returned to England for imprisonment.

By 1692 the Maryland Assembly had proclaimed the Church of England as the official state religion and had enacted severe penal laws restricting Catholics from political power.<sup>86</sup> Twelve years later the Maryland Assembly passed even harsher anti-Catholic legislation entitled "An Act to Prevent the Growth of Popery within this Province" which prohibited any Catholic baptism outside of existing Catholic families. It also prohibited the celebration of Mass. In 1704, the colonial governor warned a priest that "If you intend to live here let me hear no more of these things for if I do and they are made good against you I'll chastise you."<sup>87</sup> The legislation also barred anyone of the "Popish religion" from keeping a school.<sup>88</sup> Later the ban on liturgy was amended to allow private religious services. This private celebration of Catholic practice evolved into another determining influence on the American Catholic Church and its lay

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<sup>85</sup> Jay Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience: A History from Colonial Times to the Present* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1985), 75.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 84.

<sup>87</sup> James T. Fisher, *Communion of Immigrants: A History of Catholics in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 19.

<sup>88</sup> Joseph C. Linck, *Fully Instructed and Vehemently Influenced: Catholic Preaching in Anglo-Colonial America* (Philadelphia, PA: St. Joseph's University Press, 2002), 15.



involvement. This private celebration of faith in Catholic homes brought forth tightly knit faith communities. With the lack of priests to routinely celebrate Mass, it was the responsibility of the Catholic laity to conduct prayer services, baptisms, and weddings.

By mid-century Catholics encumbered further discrimination with the outbreak of the French and Indian War. The Maryland Assembly again took action by levying a special tax on Catholics to help defray the costs of the militia. Catholics were also penalized through taxation by sending their children back to Europe to be educated. Charles Carroll, ardent Catholic spokesman and wealthy landowner in Maryland, was so perturbed by these discriminations he made plans to leave the colony. Although his plan was never enacted, Carroll continued to be a petulant voice to the ears of any and all Protestants regarding religious injustices in Maryland.

### **Tolerance in Pennsylvania**

Life for Catholics in the colony of Pennsylvania was somewhat in direct contrast to the experiences in Maryland. For William Penn, a convert to the Society of Friends, his personal convictions of religious tolerance provided a strong framework for his colonial charter. He published brochures eliciting his beliefs and circulated them throughout the British Isles and on the European continent. In 1682 Penn drew up his plan of government: "That all persons living in this province, who confess the Almighty and eternal God, to be the Creator, Upholder and Ruler of the world; and that hold themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in civil society, shall, in no ways be molested or prejudiced for their religious persuasion or practice, in matters of

faith and worship, nor shall they be compelled at any time, to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place or ministry whatever.”<sup>89</sup>

In 1704, the Jesuits founded Bohemia Manor, a mission in Maryland adjacent to the Pennsylvania border. From this vantage point priests were able to travel throughout Pennsylvania. Soon Mass was openly celebrated in Philadelphia with a permanent church built there in 1734.<sup>90</sup> The Pennsylvania missions were heavily populated by German immigrants. A census taken in 1757 reported there were 692 men, 673 women, 949 of whom were Germans; 416 were classified as English or Irish.<sup>91</sup>

The French and Indian War brought similar tension and distrust of Catholics to the colony of Pennsylvania. A religious parade marking the celebration of the feast of Corpus Christi was mistakenly construed as a military drill which resulted in the colonial government passing legislation which forbade Catholics to bear arms.<sup>92</sup> For Catholics in the colony of Pennsylvania the reality of religious freedom and the experience of living at peace with other faiths was an ideal worth savoring when time came for a united plan of government.

### **The Age of Reason and Enlightenment**

As the eighteenth century began, the authority of the Catholic Church suffered significantly due to lackluster popes who had been compromise candidates of the Catholic monarchs of Europe. Caught between two worlds, one which was coming of age economically, socially, and culturally and the other a clerical hierarchy, which could

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<sup>89</sup> John Tracy Ellis, *Catholics in Colonial America* (St. Paul, MN: North Central Publishing Company, 1965), 371. Cited from *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws* by Francis Newton Thorpe, ed., (Washington, D.C.: 1909), V, 3063.

<sup>90</sup> Joseph C. Linck, *Fully Instructed*, 17.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 17-18.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*

not distinguish between real requirements of faith and nonessential accessories, papal authority diminished.<sup>93</sup> A new school of thought called rationalism emphasized human reason. Aptly described by René Descartes in his *Meditations* the sentiments of the era are depicted:

“Several years have now elapsed since I first became aware that I had accepted, even from my youth, many false opinions for true, and that consequently what I afterward based on such principles was highly doubtful; and from that time I was convinced of the necessity of undertaking once in my life to rid myself of all the opinions I had adopted, and of commencing anew the work of building from the foundation, if I desired to establish a firm and abiding superstructure in the sciences.”<sup>94</sup>

To rationalists such as Descartes the universe was ordered completely and reasonably. To Deist philosophers God had created life and then abandoned the universe to follow the course of universal laws. Ascribing to this Deist philosophy were such “enlightened” men as Jean-Jacques Rousseau, John Locke, and Benjamin Franklin.

While rationalism eroded the absolute authority of the Catholic Church, it introduced democratic ideas to a world eager to listen. Rousseau declared that society was based on a social contract to which all members must agree. The contract would treat everyone as a reasonable person, thus granting each individual dignity and respect. Rousseau’s social bond maintained that “...particular individuals and groups are not called upon to rule over others for such a rule, in no matter refined or ‘civilized’ forms it

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<sup>93</sup> Hubert Jedin, *History of the Church*, 4.

<sup>94</sup> John Veitch, *The Meditations and Selections from the Principles of René Descartes, Meditations I*, (LaSalle, IL: The Open Court Publishing Co., 1948), 21.

were exercised, could only reduce us to the most abject slavery.”<sup>95</sup> Rousseau’s philosophy altered the manner in which people thought of authority and government. Thus the stage was set for revolutions which would change the social order of two continents and reduce the authoritarian influence of the Church in Rome.

If people could reason and discover the truth, then they were capable of directing their own destinies. No longer would absolutism be acceptable. Such thinking ignited revolutions in the British colonies and France. In Italy it led to the loss of the papal states and the pope becoming a virtual “prisoner of the Vatican.”<sup>96</sup> Within one hundred years these forces would erode the worldly power of the Church.

### **The American Experience**

Two events profoundly affected colonial Catholics as the decade of the 1770s began. First was the suppression of the Jesuit order by Pope Clement XIV. Brought about by political manipulations from the Enlightenment Era in Portugal, France, Sicily, Spain, and Parma, Pope Clement XIV was forced to recall Jesuits priests from Roman Catholic nations of Europe and their colonies.

Regarding this event, Fr. John Carroll, himself a Jesuit, wrote that this action was a “fatal shock,” one from which he doubted he would ever recover.<sup>97</sup> Carroll and the other twenty Jesuit priests ministering in Pennsylvania and Maryland were determined to reorganize and stay in the colonies. This decision became very fortuitous for the Catholic Church in the early years of the republic as John Carroll would become a significant Catholic leader both in the Church and in politics.

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<sup>95</sup>Ernst Cassirer, *Rousseau, Kant, and Goethe* (New York: Harper & Row, 1945), 30.

<sup>96</sup>Alphonus Pluth and Carl Koch, *The Catholic Church: Our Mission in History* (Winona, MN: St. Mary’s Press, 1985), 249.

<sup>97</sup>Jay P. Dolan, *American Catholic Experience*, 95.

The second event was secular in nature but with profound repercussions: The Boston Tea Party. As the prelude to the Revolutionary War, Americans had to unite their forces. Uniting against the injustices of England became more important than bigotry and fear of the growth of "Popery."

Truly, the Catholic population in the colonies was not significant throughout the colonial and revolutionary periods. In the New England colonies Catholicism was almost non-existent. The Southern colonies were primarily Baptist. The Catholic population was sparsely scattered through North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, although somewhat centralized in the Charleston area. The Catholic population was greatest in the Middle Colonies, especially in the colonies of Pennsylvania and Maryland (See App., 118).<sup>98</sup> At the time of the Declaration of Independence there were approximately 25,000 Catholics among the four million colonists.<sup>99</sup>

In 1776 a four-man delegation was sent to Quebec to seek the support of French-Canadians in the fight against England. Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Chase, Charles Carroll, signer of the Declaration, and his cousin, Rev. John Carroll, met with officials but were unsuccessful in attaining their goal. Two years earlier the First Continental Congress had failed to support the Quebec Act which granted to Catholics the freedom to worship in Canada. For the Canadians, the delegation was "too little and too late" to make amends for the colonial rejections of the Canadian religious tolerance legislation. If the colonists were to fight England, it would be without the aid of Canada.

By end of the Revolutionary War Catholics had distinguished themselves in the fight for independence. George Washington acknowledged the efforts of Catholic

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<sup>98</sup> Roger Finke and Rodney Stark, *The Churching of America: 1776-1990* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992), 29-30.

<sup>99</sup> Jedin, *History of the Church*, 94.

patriots when he wrote to them stating, "I presume that your fellow citizens will not forget the patriotic part which you took in the accomplishment of their revolution and the establishment of its government; or the important assistance they received from a nation where the Roman Catholic religion is professed."<sup>100</sup> Washington supported the Bill of Rights, especially the First Amendment which granted the freedom to worship to all citizens of the United States.

Gone were the days of religious monarchies. The United States, influenced by the philosophers of the Enlightenment, pursued a different governance structure which not only abolished royalty but influenced a fledgling American Catholic Church.

### **Influences of the Republic**

Because of their faith, Catholics had been second-class citizens, denied their rights to vote, practice religion, and hold political office. The Age of Enlightenment and the Revolutionary War significantly changed the lives of American Catholics. New laws, new government gave them new religious and political freedom. In the years following the war, Catholics eagerly participated in their new nation and as their population swelled Catholics began to spread beyond the colonies of Maryland and Pennsylvania to New York, Kentucky, Virginia, and the Carolinas.

The philosophies which had emanated from the Age of Reason and Enlightenment shaped the way Catholics thought about government as well as their religion. Separation of church and state along with the concept of religious tolerance was beyond the traditions of the medieval Catholic Church. The Middle Ages had exemplified the unity between monarchies and the Church. From Charlemagne and the

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<sup>100</sup> Rahill, *Catholic in America*, 50.

Holy Roman Empire, to Ferdinand and Isabella in Spain, and even to Henry VIII in England there had been a union between the state and the Church with only one recognized religion.

Soon after the war ended John Carroll sought to bring unity to the Catholic mission in the United States. Calling together the twenty-two priests ministering in the colonies, the clergy met at the Jesuit Whitehurst Farm in 1783. Still stinging from the dissolution of the Jesuits this meeting sought to give structure to the clergy, many of whom, like Carroll himself, were ex-Jesuits. The Whitehurst group drafted a constitution of governance for the clergy and petitioned Rome to appoint Fr. John Lewis, former head of the American Jesuits, as superior of the American mission.<sup>101</sup> Benjamin Franklin, a diplomat to France at the time, intervened on behalf of his friend, and imposed upon his European friends the idea of appointing John Carroll to the position instead of Lewis. The appointment of Carroll and the Whitehurst meeting were significant developments in the spirit of the American Catholic Church.<sup>102</sup>

With spirit of independence alive in the hearts and minds of American Catholics came the growing need for America to have a bishop. The American clergy desired to elect their own bishop "instead of being appointed by a foreign tribunal which would shock the political prejudices of the Country."<sup>103</sup> In May 1789, the twenty-two members of the American Catholic clergy elected John Carroll first bishop of the United States. The election signified a new relationship within Church governance. The American Catholic Church would recognize the pope as the spiritual head of the Church, but the

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<sup>101</sup> Jay Dolan, *American Catholic*, 104.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., 106-107.

United States would adapt the temporal affairs to the spirit of government in the new nation.

Bishop John Carroll was a man of action and vision. By 1791 Carroll was instrumental in founding Georgetown Academy, known today as Georgetown University. This academy was to serve as a “nursery for the seminary” which would give “permanency and success to our Holy Religion in the United States.”<sup>104</sup> In Baltimore that same year, St. Mary’s Seminary was opened. Carroll firmly believed that American Catholics needed American priests, men who were accustomed to the culture, climate, and government of the country. Even though he was forced to accept foreign priests to help minister to the growing numbers of Catholics scattered through the colonies and new territories, Carroll insisted that these immigrant priests study and adopt their new national identity.

Carroll also supported the use of the vernacular in liturgy. The Latin language was incompatible with the American spirit. Believing that people will better comprehend the faith when they understand what is being said, Carroll encouraged his clergy to cast aside Latin in favor of the use of English. He also recruited the Philadelphia publisher, Mathew Carey, to print the first edition of the Catholic or Douay-Rheims version of the Bible.<sup>105</sup> The Douay-Rheims was the official Latin translation of the Bible by St. Jerome. Carroll also supported the publishing of a catechism to help instruct young Catholics concerning their Catholic beliefs and prayers.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> Fisher, *Communion of Immigrants*, 26-27.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.



## Lay Trusteeism

Under Carroll's leadership the American Catholic Church had distinguished itself in two matters: first, the election and democratic model of authority within the clergy; and secondly, the local autonomy given to parishes. Influenced by their Protestant neighbors and encumbered by the lack of sufficient numbers of priests, the American Catholic parishioner had to assume many temporal duties and religious duties within the parish. Lay trusteeism was "a Catholic form of popular republicanism that asserted lay rights and powers at the parish level."<sup>107</sup> It was a system through which elected members of the laity directed the everyday affairs of the church.<sup>108</sup> The sovereignty of the people, popular elections, religious freedom, and a written constitution<sup>109</sup> were the backbone of American government and the principles of lay trusteeism. American trusteesim was firmly established in many congregations in New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, Norfolk, Savannah, St. Augustine, New Orleans, and St. Louis.<sup>110</sup>

In such parishes annual elections were held to select a board of lay trustees. These parishioners then assumed the tasks of property management, building churches, and development of the parish. Additionally, in the absence of a priest, the laity would preside over various religious services and religious instruction. Because the Catholic population was so scattered and the territory so vast, many Catholic parishes would receive a priest only once or twice a year, and then only for a few weeks. These itinerant clergy would travel throughout the territory celebrating liturgies and performing the

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<sup>107</sup> Patrick W. Carey, *Catholics in America: A History* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2004), 27.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

<sup>109</sup> Jay P. Dolan, *In Search of An American Catholicism: A History of Religion and Culture in Tension* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 2002), 35.

<sup>110</sup> Peter Guilday, *Trusteeism 1814-1821* (New York: The United States Catholic Historical Society, 1928), 9.

sacraments in an effort to help the community of believers to “catch up” on their faith. The advantages of a strong lay trustee system were summarized by a Charleston, South Carolina, trustee “to rear a National American Church, with liberties consonant to the spirit of Government, under which they live; yet, in due obedience in essentials to the Pontifical Hierarchy, and which will add a new and dignified column to the Vatican.”<sup>111</sup> These words truly summarized the intent and spirit of lay trusteeism.

Various factors brought an end to this great “enlightened” spirit within the American Catholic Church. First, lay trusteeism moved beyond everyday affairs into the realm of hiring and firing parish priests. This was viewed by the clergy as an infringement on their governance of the Church. John Carroll adamantly opposed the laity intruding into cleric appointments, stating that he alone, as bishop, had the authority to appoint priests. Arguments ensued in Philadelphia, New York, and Bardstown, Kentucky.

Secondly, Bishop Carroll saw the destructive impact of the French Revolution on the Church. The French clergy had been loyal to the monarchy and depended on the noble class for positions and gifts. During the Reign of Terror many priests, brothers, and sisters were executed. Robespierre had declared a new religion for France, defining one Supreme Being, the immortality of the soul, and one moral principle—to do one’s duty.<sup>112</sup> The French Revolution had instilled true fear in the Church.

In order to deal with the expanding population of the American Catholic Church and the influx of Catholic immigrants, Carroll had to rely more on immigrant Catholic priests. These priests, mainly Irish and French, opposed each other philosophically. The

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<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> Pluth and Koch, *The Catholic Church*, 244.

Irish aligned themselves with the spirit of freedom in the United States, having disagreed with the overbearing governance of England in Ireland. The Irish and the Americans were kindred souls. The French clergy, however, had favored the monarchy of France and allied themselves with more traditional governance. Carroll frequently was called upon to sort out the disagreements among his clergy.

The third significant factor influencing the change in church governance came with the influx of immigrants. Trustees were generally men of wealth and position. To the immigrant poor trustees were elitists and represented what they tried to escape in immigrating to this country. In Europe the Church had been their stability, their life-line. Immigrants were not about to betray the authority that had stood by them in the past. Many immigrant groups also brought their own priests to ensure their ethnic heritage. This also caused a fuller alignment with the traditional governance of the Church.

By the time of Bishop Carroll's death in 1815, the American Church was divided between those who embraced the new style of governance and freedom and those who adamantly opposed it, favoring the traditional hierarchical style of Europe. The immigration of the nineteenth century, the influx of French and Irish priests, and the appointed successor to Carroll, the French Sulpician, Ambrose Marechal, brought about the demise of lay trusteeism. The spirit of republicanism, however, remained alive in the Diocese of Charleston and in the intellect and ingenuity of its first bishop, John England. His constitutional government and leadership defined the essence of American Catholic governance.

## Chapter IV

### The Spirit of Republicanism

#### The Synod of 1791

In a letter of convocation issued October 27, 1791, John Carroll, Bishop of the Diocese of Baltimore called for a synod<sup>113</sup> of the twenty-two priests in the United States to meet on November 7<sup>th</sup> of that same year. The purposes of this meeting were to:

1. Preserve the Episcopal succession in the See of Baltimore
2. Address the need for a coadjutor to function as an assistant bishop for the division of the diocese into more manageable segments
3. Create uniformity of Church discipline throughout the United States
4. Strengthen the bonds of unity with the Holy See in Rome
5. Affirm the regulations on the administration of the sacraments
6. Address clerical discipline
7. Safeguard his priests and people from the religious indifference and secularism prevalent after the American Revolutionary War.<sup>114</sup>

While Carroll had hopefully envisioned a synod enlivened by new ideas stemming from the Revolution, he was bitterly disappointed. Carroll and his comrades

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<sup>113</sup> As defined in the *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, a synod is a gathering of bishops and clergy from a province or region, as well as a bishop and clergy of a diocese. The synod called by John Carroll was as a bishop gathering his clergy to strengthen the organization of the American Church.

<sup>114</sup> Peter Guilday, *A History of the Councils of Baltimore: 1791-1884* (New York: Macmillan, 1932), 64.

could only muster a replica of the European model of Church governance, causing him to comment that the results of the synod were hardly worth publishing.<sup>115</sup> Carroll recommended a younger coadjutor be appointed to help him preside over the territory of his bishopric and to succeed him in the event of his own untimely death (See map, App., 119).

### New Dioceses Formed

With papal approval Carroll appointed Leonard Neale coadjutor bishop of Baltimore. At the same time, Carroll also sought to establish several new dioceses in the United States. These were anticipated to be in Boston, Philadelphia, and Bardstown, Kentucky. In two letters to Charles Plowden,<sup>116</sup> one dated December 3, 1808, Carroll wrote: "You have heard no doubt of the new ecclesiastical order of things in our ecclesiastical government here: that four new Bishops are nominated and this see is erected into an Archbishoprick [sic]."<sup>117</sup> And in another letter two days later Carroll writes to Plowden concerning the division of the Diocese of Baltimore: "The immensity of the late Diocess [sic] of Baltimore, and the impossibility of extending my care over every part of it has made me long solicit [sic] its division, which however has been long deferred, but is now granted."<sup>118</sup>

These new dioceses reflected the growth of the Church as the Catholic population dispersed throughout the colonies and into the frontier. The American

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<sup>115</sup> Jay Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience*, 112.

<sup>116</sup> Charles Plowden was a Jesuit priest who assisted at the consecration of John Carroll as Bishop of Baltimore in 1790. Rector of the Jesuit boarding school of Stonyhurst College in Lancashire, England, Plowden was a lifelong correspondent of John Carroll and wrote the eulogy for the death of his friend.

<sup>117</sup> Peter Guilday, *The Life and Times of John Carroll: Archbishop of Baltimore (1735-1815)* (New York: The Encyclopedia Press, 1922), 584.

<sup>118</sup> Thomas O'Brien Hanley, S.J., ed. *The John Carroll Papers Vol. 3* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1976), 71.

Constitution's guarantee of religious freedom and separation of church and state had spurred Catholics to move beyond the safe harbors of Maryland and Pennsylvania. Rather than allowing his brother priests an opportunity to vote for new bishops, as John Carroll himself had been chosen, Carroll selected his own candidates and sent his list off to Rome for approval. While Rome approved of Carroll's nominees, it did, however, expand his list of dioceses to include New York, appointing Richard Luke Concanen, an Irish Dominican priest, as the first bishop to this new diocese.

In a report to Pius VII dated December 17, 1810, Carroll writes:

"...It is evident from another papal brief that the pallium<sup>119</sup> for the Archbishop was given by our Holy Father to that illustrious clergyman, Mr. Richard Luke Concanen, Bishop of New York, who, as the ambassador of the Supreme Pontiff, was to bring it with him, and confer it upon the said Archbishop. Thirdly, by a third brief, His Holiness determined and erected four new dioceses in the United States, assigning to each its boundaries, namely New York, Philadelphia, Boston and Bardopolis, or Bardstown in Kentucky. Fourthly, by other briefs our Holy Father proceeded to select the Bishops for these dioceses, namely Mr. Michael Egan for Philadelphia, Mr. John Cheverus for Boston and Mr. Benedict Flaget for Bardstown."<sup>120</sup>

### **Foreign Intrusion into American Episcopal Affairs**

Carroll had not chosen New York for a diocese because he had determined that there was no one appropriate to fill that see.<sup>121</sup> Bishop Carroll had preferred priests and

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<sup>119</sup> A pallium is a white woolen band with pendants in front and back worn over the back of the chasuble vestment worn by a pope or archbishop signifying full episcopal authority.

<sup>120</sup> Hanley, *The John Carroll Papers*, Vol. 3, 137.

bishops with knowledge of the people and culture of the United States. He felt that this knowledge and familiarity would strengthen the American Church.

Concanen's appointment came after a recommendation to Rome by the hierarchy of Ireland. Having lived in Rome since 1765, Concanen's appointment did not coincide with Carroll's preferences. Needless to say, Carroll was distressed. He had envisioned "a permanent body of national Clergy, with sufficient powers to form our own system of internal government."<sup>122</sup> In addition, Carroll also desired that Rome grant the Church in the United States the "Ecclesiastical liberty, which the temper of the age and of our people requires."<sup>123</sup> Concanen's appointment was clearly an invasion of foreign Church authority upon the American Catholic Church. In addition, Carroll waited another two years for Concanen to immigrate to the United States. His arrival had been repeatedly delayed because of the naval war between England and France.

Concanen died in Naples, Italy, while awaiting safe passage to the United States. During the next four years, Pope Pius VII was held prisoner by Napoleon Bonaparte.<sup>124</sup> In response to his captivity, the Pope refused to appoint any new bishops. During the interim, Carroll appointed Anthony Kohlmann, a Jesuit priest, as vicar general of the diocese of New York.<sup>125</sup>

Six years after the death of Concanen, Rome appointed another Irish Dominican priest, John Connally, as Bishop of New York.<sup>126</sup> Connally was elderly with no pastoral experience. Disappointed, Carroll could not stave off the new appointment. Concerned

<sup>121</sup> Thomas J. Shelley, *The History of the Archdiocese of New York, Vol. 1* (Albagraf, Rome: Editions du Signe, 1998), 18.

<sup>122</sup> Hanley, *The John Carroll Papers, Vol. 3*, 157.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, 168.

<sup>124</sup> Napoleon had taken control of the Papal States and imprisoned the pope. Pius VII responded by issuing a papal bull excommunicating Napoleon.

<sup>125</sup> Shelley, *Archdiocese of New York*, 20.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

that Connally's appointment was made without consulting him or anyone else in the United States, Carroll stated: "I wish this may not become a very dangerous precedent, fruitful or mischief by drawing censure upon our religious and false opinion of the servility of our principles."<sup>127</sup> The trend was set; Carroll and the *American Church* had to submit to the papal control of episcopal appointments.

### **Effects of Immigrant Priests**

In his youth John Carroll had embodied the spirit of freedom and democracy and envisioned an independent Catholic Church. In his later years Carroll eagerly sought advice from Rome on various appointments. While he still believed in a Church which ruled over only the spiritual life, Carroll shifted his impetus away from ecclesiastical control to the battle which stirred between the Irish and French priests in the United States.

Irish immigrant priests had long engaged in battles to gain rights with England. As they immigrated to the United States, the freedom and religious tolerance won through the Revolution spoke to their own desires. A free and independent Church was not beyond their ken.

French priests, however, had supported and been supported by the French monarchy. When the spirit of revolution inflamed France, the French clergy were too closely allied with the aristocracy and, thereby, enemies to the rebels who sought to overthrow the monarchy. The French immigrant priests were closely aligned to the hierarchical structure of the Catholic Church.

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<sup>127</sup> Ibid.



Carroll was in a precarious position. His efforts to be a loyal citizen and faithful prelate caused him to grow more concerned over the authority and structure of the American Church. He did not want to see the American Catholic Church break ties with the Holy See. In a letter to Charles Plowden regarding additional bishoprics, Carroll wrote: "Only one objection of much weight retards my determined resolution in favour of this scheme; and that is, that previous to such a step, an [sic] uniform discipline may be established in all parts of this great continent; and every measure so firmly concerted, that as little danger, as possible, may remain of a disunion with the holy See."<sup>128</sup> Carroll needed to organize the Church and keep peace among the Irish and French clerics.

The shortage of American priests forced Bishop Carroll to seek assistance from Europe. While Europe provided many priests from various countries, France and the Society of St. Sulpice considerably influenced the future of the American Catholic Church. The French Sulpicians were very stern and spurned American Catholicism. Sulpicians were given charge of St. Mary's Seminary and greatly influenced the future of priestly formation. One Sulpician priest extolled, "...our rule is now established in all points like in France...."<sup>129</sup> As their influence spread throughout the American Church, the spirit of republicanism diminished among the bishoprics. To the French clergy, emulating the model of Roman Catholicism, the very idea of American Catholicism was inimical.<sup>130</sup> At the local parish level, however, republicanism thrived in the form of the congregational parish and lay trusteeism.

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<sup>128</sup> Hanley, *The John Carroll Papers*, I, 524.

<sup>129</sup> Jay Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience*, 118.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, 118-120.

## **Republicanism at the Parish Level**

The congregational parish differed from the European concept of parish in that it was based on local autonomy and the democratic process of annual elections to choose members to the board of trustees. This was the basis of lay trusteeism which grew from the lack of adequate numbers of priests and structured parishes. Given the fact that much of the Catholic population was vastly scattered throughout the territory, the laity assumed responsibility for their congregations. As Jay Dolan cited, "The lay-trustee system was the most successful example of how Catholics adapted their church to the American republican ethos...It became the normative type of parish government."<sup>131</sup> The First Amendment to the United States Constitution guaranteed separation of church and state. Thus corporations and parishes could write their own constitutions, incorporate themselves, and elect boards of trustees who would be responsible for all legal and financial matters, i.e., temporal affairs. Trusteeism embodied the spirit of republicanism as it espoused the principles of American government: the sovereignty of the people, popular elections, freedom of religion, and a written constitution.<sup>132</sup> As these rights applied to the American citizen, American Catholics also felt they applied to the American Catholic.

## **Trustees and Republicanism**

At the turn of the nineteenth century, many American Catholics believed that the Old World style of monarchy was not a fitting or appropriate governance model for the

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<sup>131</sup> Jay Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience*, 114.

<sup>132</sup> Patrick W. Carey, "Republicanism Within American Catholicism 1785-1860," *Journal of the Early Republic*, 3 (Winter, 1983), 418-9, 422.

Church in the United States.<sup>133</sup> Catholics firmly sought to adapt the American Catholic Church to their culture. While European aristocracy had utilized the practice of royal patronage, Catholics in the United States sought to adapt this concept to their American lifestyle. The difference was in the democratic arena of participation. Patronage, or *jus patronatus*, had been approved by the Council of Trent. This term referred to the rights and duties of an individual who secured land, built a church, or supported the clergy or buildings of the local congregation. In return for their support, patrons received certain rights from the Holy See; the most important of these was the right to present the bishop with a list of the names of clergymen whom they chose. Royal patronage gave European monarchs extensive control over ecclesiastical appointments and temporalities.<sup>134</sup>

As the Constitution separated church and state, many American Catholic laymen saw clear separations between the temporal and spiritual affairs of the Church. Content to let the clergy deal with the spiritual and sacramental affairs of the Church, the laymen believed the temporal ecclesiastical domain should be left to the laity, including the selection of pastors. Trustees argued that, as they had the right to elect trustees, they should have the right to elect their pastors.<sup>135</sup> Elections would offer a balance of power to the American Church and give recognition to the voice of the people.

American Catholicism had no control on authority or separation of powers. This was considered by many trustees to be a threat to national security.<sup>136</sup> Religious freedom not only meant freedom from political interference but freedom within the Church as

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<sup>133</sup> Jay Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience*, 109.

<sup>134</sup> Patrick W. Carey, *People, Priests, and Prelates: Ecclesiastical Democracy and the Tensions of Trusteeship* (1987), 27-28.

<sup>135</sup> Carey, "Republicanism Within American Catholicism," *Journal of the Early Republic*, 3, 4, 1983, 423.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, 426.

well. Trustees argued that arbitrary and sometimes tyrannical exercise of Episcopal and clerical authority in their congregations violated the liberty guaranteed by their civil government.<sup>137</sup> As the laws of incorporation granted trustees the right to make laws for their own corporation, trustees argued that the Church could not suppress their civil rights.<sup>138</sup> The right to elect also inferred the right to recall. Trustees saw this as a process of checks and balances for the Church. The laity could depose clergy who were monarchical, immoral, or incompetent. In their minds the elections of clergy would strengthen the American Catholic Church by selecting those clergy whose political principles were similar to their own thus eliminating clergy who had been taught "monarchical principles subversive to the republic."<sup>139</sup>

Trustees complained that they lacked any control over the arbitrary use of authority or the separation of powers within the Catholic Church. Canon law seemed obscure to the common layman. It would be accepted only if it conformed to civil law.<sup>140</sup> A clearly defined constitution which laid out the rights and responsibilities of clergy and laity alike seemed appropriate for the American Catholic Church. The American Catholic laity desired a voice in the Church. They strongly felt that historically the Catholic Church had been founded on the principles of republicanism, had adjusted to the evolving political structures in Europe, and now needed to accommodate the structures of American republicanism.<sup>141</sup>

While Bishop Carroll supported lay involvement and trusteeism, he opposed laical election of clergy, claiming that the bishop alone had the final authority in such

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<sup>137</sup> Ibid., 422.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid.

<sup>139</sup> Carey, "Republicanism Within American Catholicism," 424.

<sup>140</sup> Guilday, *Trusteeism*, 29.

<sup>141</sup> Carey, *ibid.*, 415.

decisions.<sup>142</sup> In the years before his death in 1815, Carroll enacted legislation which reversed much of his earlier vision of the Church. In 1807 he appointed new bishops without consultation or election by his brother priests, thereby cementing his own ecclesiastical authority. In 1810 Carroll and his fellow bishops passed a law abolishing the use of the vernacular in liturgies.<sup>143</sup> English could be used only in nonessential prayer. Carroll seemed determined to strengthen the bond between America and the hierarchical Roman Church. After his death, an aging and ailing Leonard Neale briefly succeeded Carroll, followed by a reluctant Ambrose Marechal, a French Sulpician, who became the third Archbishop of Baltimore and head of the American Catholic Church. While the American Catholic Church edged closer to closing the gaps between it and Rome, John England, an Irish immigrant priest, was consecrated as the first bishop of the new See of the Carolinas and Georgia. Originally part of the Baltimore diocese, the new diocese was created by Pope Pius VII and was composed of 3,600 Catholics.<sup>144</sup> Arriving in Charleston, South Carolina, on December 30, 1820, Bishop England encountered a new diocese wrought with schism and tremendous conflict with trustees. Inculcated with the spirit of democracy and republicanism, England began to write a legacy for the American Catholic Church in the form of a constitution for his diocese.<sup>145</sup> Encumbered by lack of priests and a scattered community, England set about defining the roles of the laity and the clergy. His insight and intellect far surpassed his lifetime. England's

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<sup>142</sup> Jay Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience*, 115.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, 117.

<sup>144</sup> Dorothy Fremont Grant, *John England: American Christopher* (Milwaukee, WI: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1949), 5.

<sup>145</sup> Patrick Carey, *An Immigrant Bishop: John England's Adaptation of Irish Catholicism to American Republicanism* (Yonkers, NY: U.S. Historical Society, 1982), 126.

constitution still offers viable options for contemporary American Catholicism as it addresses the needs of the modern Catholic community.<sup>146</sup>

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<sup>146</sup> Ibid., 152.

## Chapter V

### The Spirit of Liberalism

#### **Irish Background**

John England's belief in American republicanism and constitutionalism was born long before he immigrated to his bishopric in Charleston, South Carolina. It was deeply rooted in his Irish heritage. Born in Cork, Ireland, on September 23, 1786, John England grew up under conditions similar to those restrictions experienced by colonial Catholics in the New World. British penal codes directed toward Irish Catholics deprived them of many of their civil and political rights. These laws restricted Catholic worship and education which ultimately stymied the development of the Irish ecclesiastical structures and institutions.<sup>147</sup> The penal codes created a social caste between Irish Catholics and British Protestants. The codes, however, strengthened the relationship between the Catholic laity and clergy through their persecutions.

Because of these penal codes, the Catholic faith was not the recognized state religion. Catholicism was no longer the religion of the realm as it had been through the early reign of Henry VIII. Henry disagreed with Rome over his divorces and separated the Church of England from Rome. Under Elizabeth I, daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, the Act of Supremacy and Uniformity caused Anglicanism to become the

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<sup>147</sup> Carey, *An Immigrant Bishop*, 6.

recognized religion of the British kingdom.<sup>148</sup> The Catholic Church became a voluntary institution, without the financial support of the state. Catholics were not obliged to belong to the Church of England, the state religion. Irish Catholics freely supported the clergy and their church with their meager finances.<sup>149</sup> Thus the concept of voluntarism and separation of church and state was innate to the philosophy of John England.

Voluntarism was viewed by John England as the way the Church could remain free of the British government. The Church in Ireland would rely only on the offerings of the laity to maintain and support the clergy and the few religious institutions it possessed. The Irish did not want their clergy paid by the state because they wanted no conflicts between their duties as Catholics and their obligations to the state.<sup>150</sup> To John England, the separation of church and state was grounded in the very nature of the Church. "The Church is purely a spiritual society whose laws by no means regard concerns purely temporal and civil."<sup>151</sup>

### **Political Emancipation and Veto Power**

Yielding to the pressures caused by the American and French Revolutions, the British Parliament eased some of the restrictions towards Catholics enabling them to enter previously banned professions, build schools, and vote in Irish elections. The Irish political voice, long silenced by the penal codes, began to be heard again as Fr. Arthur O'Leary, an Irish Franciscan priest and seminal thinker on religious liberty, promulgated the cause of Irish Catholicism.<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> Pluth, *The Catholic Church*, 268.

<sup>149</sup> Carey, *An Immigrant Bishop*, 6.

<sup>150</sup> Carey, *An Immigrant Bishop*, 64.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, 59.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.



The awakening political mind of the Irish Catholic caused a clamor for greater concessions from the British. Irish Catholic discontent and frustration led to the Rebellion of 1798.<sup>153</sup> British politicians urged both Protestant and Catholic leaders to agree to a union of the British and Irish Parliaments. In supporting this action, the Irish legislature would lose its independence. Ideally for the British the joint Parliament would reduce Irish Catholics in the United Kingdom to a minority, relinquishing their majority status in the kingdom of Ireland. The unification of the Parliaments would also strengthen British security against France. In return for their support of this combined Parliament, Irish Catholics would be emancipated and the Catholic clergy would receive state financial support. British politicians also asked to be given the right to veto any future appointments of bishops felt to be hostile to the state.<sup>154</sup> Through bribery, corruption, and behind the scenes chicanery, however, the Act of Union was signed into law by King George III on August 1, 1800. Irish Catholic emancipation was excluded.<sup>155</sup> Hope for any emancipation was extinguished as King George proclaimed, "I would rather give up my throne and beg my bread from door to door throughout Europe than to consent to such a measure."<sup>156</sup>

In the fall of 1812 Christopher Hely Hutchinson, a Cork representative to the House of Commons, was defeated in his bid for reelection. A long-time advocate of emancipation and an Anti-vetoist, Hutchinson's defeat dealt a blow to the Irish Catholic civil rights cause. In response a very young Fr. John England and a number of Catholic laymen formed the Association of Independent Roman Catholic Electors of the City of

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<sup>153</sup> John O'Breirne Ranelagh, *A Short History of Ireland* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 90.

<sup>154</sup> Carey, *An Immigrant Bishop*, 9.

<sup>155</sup> Ranelagh, *History of Ireland*, 92.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, 95.

Cork.<sup>157</sup> Their objective was to increase Irish Catholic suffrage. This struggle for civil rights for both Irish clergy and laity created a common bond which would prove to be a great asset for Irish and American Catholicism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.<sup>158</sup>

Ninety percent of Cork's population was Catholic. Of the 90,000 Catholics only twenty were registered voters. England and his associates set out to register all eligible voters. Prior to this event, no Irish clergyman had ever intervened in national politics.<sup>159</sup>

England worked diligently to prevent the British veto from interfering with the appointment of Irish episcopacy. Aside from the principle of separation of church and state, England could not accept emancipation with the high cost of giving to British legislators the right to veto cleric appointments attached to it.<sup>160</sup> Emancipation was a civil liberty rightfully deserved, not one to be compromised or bargained. As trustee of the antigovernment newspaper, *Cork Mercantile Chronicle*, England championed Irish rights and justice.<sup>161</sup>

### **Papal Interference**

In May, 1814, Anti-vetoists bridled after discovering that Monsignor John Baptist Quarantotti, a papal official of Propaganda, had granted veto permission which to the British was to be included in the Catholic Emancipation Bill. The Vatican had felt that granting the British government the right of veto would hasten emancipation for Irish Catholics. John England responded with furor labeling the action as anti-Irish and calling

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<sup>157</sup> Carey, *ibid.*, 15.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, 6-7.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>160</sup> Carey, *An Immigrant Bishop*, 58.

<sup>161</sup> Joseph L. O'Brien, *John England—Bishop of Charleston: The Apostle to Democracy* (New York: The Edward O'Toole Co., 1934), 5.

for Irish Catholics to voice their opposition. The Irish bishops responded by condemning the proposal. Nearly a year later, Lawrence Cardinal Litta, the papal prefect of the Congregation Propaganda Fide, informed the Irish clergy that Pope Pius VII would approve the veto if emancipation was granted.<sup>162</sup>

The Holy See favored the British who had been instrumental in gaining the Pope's release from his French captors. Additionally, bishops had been appointed customarily by approval of the monarchy. Pius VII felt strongly that by supporting the British demands he would hasten emancipation for the Irish Catholics. By the time the Pope addressed Irish oppositional views, the veto issue was dead; every emancipation bill had been defeated by George III. Anti-vetoists objected, however, maintaining that Rome's interference violated their rights as a national Church. John England defended the anti-vetoists' stand by defining the constitutional relationship between the episcopacy and the papacy and the limitations of papal power. He argued that both the British government and the Catholic Church were limited monarchies. He felt that the Vatican was interfering in internal affairs of the nation. John England claimed that the pope could not understand all local problems to adequately intervene in each affair.<sup>163</sup>

As John Carroll had tried to avoid foreign intrusion into American episcopal affairs, John England and his associates, likewise, felt betrayed by the Holy See which dealt a strong blow to the national episcopacy of the Catholic Church in Ireland. England's participation in this political arena molded his thoughts as he interacted with some of the leading political thinkers of his time. He became involved with the techniques of democratic politics and this caused him to recognize the Church as a force

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<sup>162</sup> Carey, *An Immigrant Bishop*, 20-21.

<sup>163</sup> Carey, *ibid.*, 70.

within democracy.<sup>164</sup> The veto issue clearly defined for England the realm of separation of church and state. John England was reputed as a fearless defender of Irish rights.<sup>165</sup>

### **The Church in Ireland**

British penal codes had banished bishops from Ireland causing the clergy and laity to gain control of their congregations. Even after their return, bishops had little authority; they lacked episcopal control. The Irish parish had developed as an independent unit with three distinct social classes. The Irish aristocracy was composed of bishops, priests, and gentry who were submissive to recognized hierarchical authority of both church and state. The Irish middle class, composed of merchants and lawyers and allied with some Irish priests, were democratically-oriented toward the parish as the seat of local authority. The peasantry class, composed of the uneducated poor, was largely ignored by both the hierarchical and the democratic segments of Irish society. Conflict arose among the social classes when the laity disagreed with the appointment of the parish priest. Frequently the Irish peasants would violently rise up in opposition to clerical abuses of injustice and excessive authoritarianism, particularly if the cleric, in order to better his own state in life, aligned himself with an abusive landlord.<sup>166</sup> Such incidents mirrored issues with trusteeism in the American Catholic Church during the same era.

John England shared a common bond with the Irish laity. He understood more clearly than his peers the concept of the Church as the Body of Christ. Through Baptism, John England believed that the laity had a right to express their own opinions and to participate in all ecclesiastical decisions not previously determined by an episcopal body.

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<sup>164</sup> Carey, *An Immigrant Bishop*, 26.

<sup>165</sup> Grant, *John England*, x.

<sup>166</sup> Carey, *ibid.*, 29.

This relationship with the laity distinguished John England as he later immigrated to the United States and had to attend to the problems of trusteeism as Bishop of Charleston, South Carolina.

In 1817, England called forth area priests to petition the Irish national episcopacy on a number of issues including the domestic nomination of bishops. Like John Carroll, England believed that the clergy should have a voice in appointments. He strove to give structure to the revitalized episcopacy of Ireland by encouraging the establishment of chapters, or deaneries.<sup>167</sup>

### **Catholic Education in Ireland**

England also became involved with educational reform in Cork. He helped establish the Mardyke School for the poor. As administrator of the school, England believed religion should be taught throughout the system but not through secular disciplines. This was consistent with his views on separation of church and state affairs. Parents choosing to send their children to school for religious instruction would bring them one hour before secular classes began. In setting off the religion class from the remainder of the curriculum, parents could choose not to send their children for religious training. England firmly believed in the right of parents to choose for their children.<sup>168</sup>

Realizing that not many texts existed for the largely illiterate lower classes to comprehend, England wrote texts, notably one attributed to him, *School Primer of Irish History*. Peter Guilday, renowned England biographer, cites a commentary regarding England's history book:

"...Dr. England was not content with the organization and management of the

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<sup>167</sup> Carey, *An Immigrant Bishop*, 32.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.

Cork schools. He sought to mould ideas through the school subjects, and with this purpose produced the remarkable *Sketch of Irish History for Schools*. An examination of its text will show that it was quite apart from the ordinary colourless historical primers which will be found in use even now. Throughout the text the attention of the teacher and scholar is focused on ideas and policies: it is political in every phrase, and it devotes most of its space to the forty years of contemporary history which preceded its issue in 1815.”<sup>169</sup>

Ten years after its printing, Protestant Archbishop Magee of Dublin decreed England’s book as one of the most dangerous books of its time “...since it is written in so clear a style that it was accessible to ‘the meanest capacity’ of intellect in the Irish schools.”<sup>170</sup> From his work with the poor in the prisons, schools, and slums of Cork, England learned of the moral degradation forced upon people enslaved by political and economic despotism which further instilled in him the principles of democracy.<sup>171</sup>

### **Religious Freedom**

England believed in equality and religious freedom. Religious liberty was the right of every person to entertain his own religious convictions, to express and propagate them publicly, to belong to the religious denomination of his choice without persecution.<sup>172</sup> If parents chose against religious education, they were free to so choose. All men and their ideas were to be respected and tolerated.

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<sup>169</sup> Guilday, *The Life and Times of John England 1786-1842* (New York: The American Press, 1927), 85.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid.

<sup>171</sup> O’Brien, *John England*, 6.

<sup>172</sup> Carey, *An Immigrant Bishop*, 50.

England's Irish roots prepared him well for his future bishopric. He and his fellow Irish liberals were accustomed to speaking of reform, visioning a changing world, adapting and conceptualizing republicanism and democracy as part of the Catholic Church. The Anti-vetoist controversy "developed John England's character better than anything else for the great field of labor that lay across the Atlantic."<sup>173</sup> John England's philosophy and ideals were formed in Ireland and would later be manifested in his appointment to the new diocese of South Carolina.

Across the Atlantic, Archbishop Ambrose Maréchal had informed Rome that there were no worthy candidates suitable for promotion to the episcopacy to fill the newly created Diocese of Charleston, South Carolina. The Holy See, compassionate to the need of appointing clergy with compatible language and culture, could not appoint an Englishman as vicar of Charleston because of the anti-British sentiment in the United States at this time. Thus the Bishop of Cork recommended John England as a "priest endowed with great learning, and ardent faith; a courageous controversialist and a master of moral principles; a saintly and unwearying preacher."<sup>174</sup> The Bishop also thought that Fr. England had been too much a political firebrand, especially in religious matters, and perhaps his zeal would not embarrass the American Catholic Church which was free from political entanglements.<sup>175</sup> On September 21, 1820, John England was consecrated Bishop in the Church of St. Finbar in Cork.<sup>176</sup> After a storm-tossed voyage, England and his sister Johanna reached Charleston on December 30, 1820, to begin their American Catholic adventure.

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<sup>173</sup> Guilday, *Life and Times*, 123.

<sup>174</sup> O'Brien, *John England*, 7.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid.

### **John England, First Bishop of Charleston**

If John England enjoyed the proverbial honeymoon period, it was indeed shortened by the problems he immediately faced with his new congregation. The territory which comprised the Diocese of Charleston, North and South Carolina and Georgia, had a population of 1,482,559 with an estimated 3,600 Catholics and only two churches.<sup>177</sup> While many professed Catholicism they were Catholic in name only. The Catholic population was a definite minority immersed in a society antagonistic to the Catholic religion. England had experienced similar British-influenced hostility while in Ireland where ninety percent of the Irish population, however, had been Catholic. England faced not only problems with trustees in Charleston but a near schism involving an unruly priest and strong opposition from American Nativists who condemned Catholics claiming they could not be loyal citizens and faithful to their religion.

### **New Diocese, Old Problems**

Bishop England had been an outstanding Irish nationalist and clergyman; upon arriving in Charleston he became an honest, zealous American.<sup>178</sup> Within ten days of his arrival, John England issued his first pastoral letter to his flock, the first letter of its kind in this country.<sup>179</sup> In his letter England stated he found no conflict between his allegiance to the Church and his allegiance to the democratic ideals of the United States:

“We ourselves have for a long time admired the excellence of your (American) Constitution and been desirous to behold your eagle grow in strength and

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<sup>177</sup> Grant, *John England*, 12.

<sup>178</sup> Thomas McAvoy, *The Formation of the American Catholic Minority 1820-1860* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1960), 10.

<sup>179</sup> O'Brien, *John England*, 17.



beauty as his years increased.”<sup>180</sup>

England immediately set to work on the problems of trusteeism in Charleston. The new bishop equated trusteeism to the veto controversy in Ireland. While England had declared that historically “...the unwarrantable interference of the laity with church government” had produced “most of the disasters of the church,”<sup>181</sup> he was compassionate to the trustees, understanding their demands. England felt that trustees were ignorant of canon law while the clergy were equally ignorant of the American legal system and how Catholicism should relate to American republicanism.<sup>182</sup> According to England, conflicts between the clergy and the laity arose because the original contracts of incorporation of the various parishes did not sufficiently take advantage of the laws to protect the doctrines and discipline of the Catholic Church. Once the parish was founded and the trustees were formed:

“...they seldom or never made any special constitutions or laws to regulate or to restrict the power thus conferred; or if they did make any regulations, they were altogether loose and by no means sufficiently precise or technically drawn; and thus the power of the trustees generally became unlimited; it extended, if they chose to use it, over property, priest, bishops, and every person and thing that belonged to the society. This, you will clearly perceive, was not a fault of the law but a necessary consequence of not so applying its provisions as to suit the doctrine and discipline of our church.”<sup>183</sup>

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<sup>180</sup> Pastoral letter issued January 21, 1821.

<sup>181</sup> Ignatius Reynolds, ed., *The Works of the Right Reverend John England, Vol. III* (Baltimore, MD: Murphy and Co., 1849), 511-512.

<sup>182</sup> Carey, *An Immigrant Bishop*, 112.

<sup>183</sup> Reynolds, *Works*, III, 242.

## **Constitutional Government**

England's solution to this matter was an exhaustive study of the American form of government. After consulting with legal experts and examining the constitutions of numerous Protestant churches, England sought the advice of his clergy and laity. In the constitution's preface England wrote:

"...by consultation, discussion and arrangement between the Bishop, the Clergy and the Laity, in several meetings in several districts, and the outline of the entire together with some of the most important of its special provisions was laid down before the Holy See, after it had been adopted, on the 25<sup>th</sup> of September 1822. No objection having been received from that quarter, and its provisions having been more maturely examined, and tested by some experience, it is now published for the use of the members."<sup>184</sup>

With these words England proclaimed the democratic leadership of his diocese. One of the strongest assets of his work was the democratic process he evoked, collaborating with the clergy and the laity for the welfare of the diocese. He believed that order could be structured within the American Church, particularly within the Diocese of Charleston, if both the clergy and laity were consulted and their areas of expertise utilized to the benefit of all.

## **We Believe in One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church**

*The Constitution of the Roman Catholic Church of the States of North-Carolina, South-Carolina and Georgia* (Appendix 1) created a structure for diocesan administration which included the laity and clergy in the decision-making processes. Included in the

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<sup>184</sup> John England, *The Constitution of the Roman Catholic Church of the States of North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia* (Charleston: Office of the Seminary, 1826), vi.

preface England explained that some things were clearly of divine institution and could not be changed. England clearly did not relent on the apostolic character of the Church: "...One great principle however was kept sacred and inviolable throughout, viz: That the management of ecclesiastical affairs was solely in the prelates, and that they had *at least a negative* upon the management of church property."<sup>185</sup>

He further explained, however, that there were elements and circumstances which were clearly of human regulation and thereby changeable as needed by the local churches. While human in nature, these elements could not contradict the doctrine of the Catholic Church:

"The system of government which exists in the Roman Catholic Church is divided into two parts; the one, of divine institution; the other, the result of human regulation; this second part must, necessarily, be so far dependent upon the first as that no one of its provisions shall in any way counteract any principle or provision of the former."<sup>186</sup>

John England likened Church government to that of the United States: "...Each State has power to make its own laws, provided they do not contravene the general Constitution of the United States; so in each Diocess [sic] there exists the power of legislation, provided the statutes made therein be not incompatible with the Faith or general discipline of the Catholic Church."<sup>187</sup>

The constitution was divided into seven sections, or titles, dealing with doctrine, government, property, membership, district churches, the convention, and an amendment

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<sup>185</sup> England, *ibid.*, v.

<sup>186</sup> England, *ibid.*, iii.

<sup>187</sup> England, *Constitution*, vi.

process of the constitution.<sup>188</sup> In Title I England outlines the basic teachings of the Catholic Church professing the Nicene Creed as the delineation of our faith and the various teachings of the Council of Trent.<sup>189</sup>

In the section on government, England acknowledges the separation of church and state (Title II, Section I: 3-4). While this section strongly affirms the position of bishop as central to the governing of the diocese and that he alone can appoint or dismiss the clergy under him, it does offer a means of appeals to an ecclesiastical tribunal when clergy or laity disagree with the judgment of the bishop (Title II, Section III: 6).<sup>190</sup>

Regarding church property, the vestry (i.e., a body administering the affairs of a parish or congregation) held all church properties and funds in trust for the congregation. These special boards or vestries were composed of the bishop, his vicar, five elected clergymen, and twelve elected laymen. Funds for the general use of the diocese could only be spent when approved by the annual diocesan convention.<sup>191</sup>

### **Voluntary Membership**

In the section of the constitution regarding membership an individual had to be a baptized male, twenty-one years of age, free from Church censure, and assenting to the diocesan constitution. This in turn gave to the Church member the right to debate issues, vote at any meeting or election, and be eligible to hold any office or place of trust or authority therein.<sup>192</sup> Each member was equally able to voluntarily resign his membership for any reason. The sixth section addressed the power and duties of district churches. A

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<sup>188</sup> Ibid., 1-48.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid., 1-5.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid., 11-12.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid., 14-22.

<sup>192</sup> England, *Constitution*, 22-25.

district church was either a single church with large membership or a group of smaller church communities bonded together. Each district church was governed by a clergyman and a group of laymen elected by members of the church community. This vestry group was to administer the congregation's temporalities, their revenues and property, and to submit an annual financial report to the congregation. Each vestry established its own government, discipline, and qualification for membership in accordance to diocesan policies. The bylaws had to be approved by the majority of the congregation and by the bishop. A vestry's act had to be approved by the majority of laymen present at the meeting and by the clergyman. If the clergyman refused, the bishop could override his veto. Other contracts and financial agreements could be made by a majority vote of the laymen. No clergyman could veto these decisions (Title 5). This section also clearly defined the procedure for dissent should the vestry "...be displeased with the conduct or the proceedings of the clergyman" (Title 5, Section II: 10-11). With these passages England gave voice to the laity and defined a democratic process for the American Catholic Church. He pragmatically incorporated the culture of the nation with the governance of his diocese.

### **The Annual Convention**

Perhaps the most outstanding section of England's constitution was that which defined the convention. Held annually, the convention was comprised of the bishop, the House of Laity (i.e., representatives who were elected by their district churches) and the House of Clergy. In his diurnal, England wrote, "...The first Convention of the Roman Catholic Church of South Carolina assembled...the clergymen and laymen who attended

the several meetings upon this subject were unanimous in their approval of the Constitution.”<sup>193</sup>

Each annual convention opened with the celebration of Mass and an address by the bishop. After that the houses were to meet separately to discuss diocesan affairs denoted on an agenda prepared by the convention representatives prior to the convention. Together the two houses would meet with the bishop presiding to vote on specific issues. This convention was to be considered “...as a body of sage, prudent, and religious counselors to aid the proper ecclesiastical governor of the church in the discharge of his duty” (Title VI, Section III: 2).

### **Amendments to the Constitution**

The final section of the constitution was concerned with amendments. Some sections relating to Church discipline, doctrine, or divine institution could not be amended. Other areas, which could be amended, which did not pertain to ecclesiastical discipline, could be changed by the approval of a majority vote of the convention and a two-thirds confirmation of the vestries within the diocese.

### **The Republican Church**

England’s constitution, representative participation, and annual conventions emulated the ideals of republicanism. The constitution “affirmed the congregation’s right to select its own members to assist in the government of the local parish church, and to

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<sup>193</sup> Diurnal of the Right Rev. John England, D.D., First Bishop of Charleston, S.C., dated November 24, 1823.

choose members of its vestries to participate in the decision-making processes regarding diocesan discipline and government.”<sup>194</sup>

Each parish was also at liberty to refuse the constitution. All Catholics were free to accept or reject the constitution. They were free to disagree without fear of rejection. St. Mary’s Church in Charleston, an important parish to the diocese itself, was the last diocesan parish to confirm the constitution. England remarked, “...Blessed by God! We have amongst us the most perfect harmony and the most cordial union.”<sup>195</sup> The constitution helped knit together the diocese as small, scattered churches grew together in a sense of unity.

### **One Body, Many Parts**

To England, the constitution provided for freedom in the Church. He saw it as the embodiment of Paul’s letter to the Corinthians in which he spoke of one body, but many parts, with Christ its Head.<sup>196</sup> And still later, Paul wrote to the Ephesians about one body and one spirit, one faith and one baptism.<sup>197</sup>

England’s constitution was an effort to empower the laity, to recognize their expertise within the Body of Christ by giving them the means “to cooperate but not dominate.”<sup>198</sup> By limiting and defining the powers of the bishop, priests, and laymen the constitution ensured the rights of all by maintaining a system of checks and balances. The laity could not dominate over ecclesiastical properties nor could they appoint or dismiss pastors. The laity did not have direct control of parish property, but they did have

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<sup>194</sup> Carey, *An Immigrant Bishop*, 120.

<sup>195</sup> Reynolds, *Works*, V, 425.

<sup>196</sup> 1 Corinthians 12:12.

<sup>197</sup> Ephesians 4:1-16.

<sup>198</sup> Reynolds, *Works*, IV, 357.

a share in the board of trustees that supervised the expenditure of the diocesan general funds. Thus the evils which were associated with trusteeism were abated.

Priests were restricted by the fact that they could not make decisions on temporal matters without consulting the vestry. The bishop was required to submit a report to the annual convention on the use of funds and other temporalities. The clergy and laity also had the right of appeal to higher ecclesiastical courts. The clergy and laity thus were collaborators with the bishops in the diocesan community. With defined roles each contributed to the welfare of the community.

### **Parallels to Today**

Many of the problems John England and the bishops of the nineteenth century faced are still plaguing the American Catholic Church today. The shortage of clergy, the demands for greater, more meaningful lay participation, dissension among the clergy and between the clergy and laity still exist. Parishes and schools are consolidated or closed as a result of financial and staffing demands. Inner city schools which educate our poor and the influx of new immigrants find it impossible to meet rising costs. As parishes are melded into districts and parochial schools have become regionalized, Catholics are faced with similar problems of governance. Catholic schools are moving away from the one parish, one school concept established by the Baltimore Councils.<sup>199</sup> Who is to rule? How can a truer collaboration between the clergy and laity be established, particularly as vocations diminish and the number of viable clergy wanes?

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<sup>199</sup> The Council of 1884 passed a general law binding the clergy and laity, wherever possible to establish parish schools. Catholic schools were to be multiplied as quickly as possible.



As unstructured and understaffed as the young American Catholic Church was during John Carroll's time, John England's constitution gave definition to the Church by utilizing American democratic ideals. Andrew Greeley wrote,

"...John England was an incredible man. To say he was born ahead of his time would be to put the matter mildly indeed. He was probably even born ahead of our own time...He represented an option for American Catholicism...he still stands as one of the mighty giants of the American Church; and the message he preached...rings out as loudly today as it did in Charleston in the 1820s."<sup>200</sup>

The ensuing chapters will examine Church documents pertaining to lay participation and the forms of governance currently utilized in Catholic schools in an effort to interpret and synthesize a broader interpretation of governance for the future of Catholic schools.

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<sup>200</sup> Andrew Greeley, *The Catholic Experience* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1967), 63-64.

## Chapter VI

### The Spirit of Apostolicity

*What is the province of the laity? To hunt, to shoot, to entertain. These matters they understand, but to meddle with ecclesiastical affairs they have no right at all.*<sup>201</sup> Monsignor George Talbot

#### In the Beginning

In the earliest days of the Christian Church there was little distinction made between the clergy and the laity. Households met and celebrated Christ's feast together.<sup>202</sup> St. Paul, unable to travel to Thessalonica, writes to the Christian community encouraging them to undertake the same pastoral care as they received and were instructed to perform.<sup>203</sup> Toward the end of the first century, however, the roles of bishop and deacon differentiate from the laity and other community activities. During the second century, St. Ignatius of Antioch speaks of the submission of the members of the Christian community to the authority of the local bishops and deacons. Contrary to St. Paul's practice of subsidiarity, Ignatius considers the local church being personified by its bishop.<sup>204</sup> Later in the third century, St. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, speaks of the laity as deeply involved in the decision-making process in the election of bishops, appointment

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<sup>201</sup> W. A. Purdy, *The Church on the Move* (New York: The John Day Company, 1996), 158. Monsignor Talbot wrote in protest of the position John Henry Newman had expressed in his article "On Consulting the Faithful in Matters of Doctrine" published in *Rambler*, July 1859.

<sup>202</sup> Stephen J. Pope, editor, *Common Calling* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2004), 52.

<sup>203</sup> 1 Thessalonians, 3:1-13; 4:1-12.

<sup>204</sup> Pope, *Common Calling*, 34.

of clergy, conciliar decisions, and in the reconciliation of sinners.<sup>205</sup> The close relationship between the clergy and laity ended with the conversion of the Emperor Constantine in the fourth century. Upon his conversion Constantine united church and state in the eastern and western parts of the Roman Empire. Henceforth, the Church relied on kings and princes for support and assistance. The common laity were forgotten entities of the Church.<sup>206</sup>

While the Christian community actively participated on many occasions in the decision-making process in the early Church, it would be incorrect to assume that the same process can be superimposed on the governing processes of the Church today. As Francis A. Sullivan, a noted Jesuit theologian, points out, "...too many factors are different to allow anything like a reproduction of third-century practices in the twenty-first century. However, there is one conclusion that I think can certainly be drawn from this history: it is that genuine participation of the laity in decision making cannot be contrary to the nature of the church."<sup>207</sup>

### **Pope Leo XIII**

John England's efforts to bolster the lay apostolate and their responsibilities were not isolated endeavors pondered only in the United States. In the closing decades of the nineteenth century Pope Leo XIII writes in his encyclical, *Sapientiae Christianae*, issued January 10, 1890, "...No one, however, must entertain the notion that private individuals are prevented from taking some active part in this duty of teaching, especially those on whom God has bestowed gifts of mind in the strong wish of rendering

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<sup>205</sup> Ibid., 39.

<sup>206</sup> John B. Sheerin, *Decree on the Apostolate of the Laity of Vatican Council II* (Glenrock, NJ: Paulist Press, 1966), 9.

<sup>207</sup> Pope, *Common Calling*, 48.

themselves useful.”<sup>208</sup> While Pope Leo XIII recognized the dignity and talents of the laity, he often found himself at odds with lay organizations that oftentimes were too political and used the influence of their church connections to further their own political gains.

### **Catholic Action**

Clergy and laity have long struggled among themselves with the distinctions between the temporal and spiritual realms. An unsigned treatise, *The Theory of Catholic Action*, presented in 1939 at Lehigh University in Pennsylvania, relates the tensions between the spiritual and temporal powers.

“...The end of the spiritual power is eternal salvation, the end of the temporal power is man’s welfare here on earth. These powers are separate and distinct and each has means not possessed by the other for arriving at its own peculiar end in its own distinct sphere. Yet, somehow, the temporal power must be regulated by the spiritual because the spiritual end is ultimate even for the temporal order, and any temporal system which would prevent the attainment of man’s spiritual end would be false and unjust...”<sup>209</sup>

If the spiritual order works directly in the temporal domain, it trespasses into areas without adequate means and authority, ultimately compromising its own authority. Conversely, if the temporal order were to prevail, the end of the spiritual order, eternal salvation, would be jeopardized.

In 1885, Pope Leo XIII addressed this quandary in his encyclical, *Immortale Dei*:

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<sup>208</sup> Pope Leo XIII, *Sapientiae Christianae*, January 10, 1890 (New York: Paulist Press, 1941), 16.

<sup>209</sup> *The Theory of Catholic Action* (1939), 2. Unsigned manuscript presented at Lehigh University.

“...Man’s natural instinct moves him to live in civil society, for he cannot, if dwelling apart, provide himself with the necessary requirements of life, nor procure the means of developing his mental and moral faculties...no society can hold together unless some one be over all, directing all to strive earnestly for the common good, every body politic must have a ruling authority, and this authority, no less than society itself, has its source in nature, and has, consequently, God for its Author.”<sup>210</sup>

### Pope Pius X

Leo’s successor, Pope Pius X, found the need to suppress an overzealous lay group known as *Operi dei congressi*. *Operi dei congressi*, Work of the Congress, was a lay organization which promoted Catholic ideas. The Congress began as a non-political association but evolved into an intransigent organization set against the unification of Italy.<sup>211</sup> Criticized for urging freedom from papal authority, *Opera dei congressi* was disbanded by Pius X who chose to work with other apostolate groups more to his liking. In 1905 he began a new lay organization which would hopefully avoid past problems with seemingly insubordinate laity. Pius attempted to bring about more understanding and structure to the concept of lay apostolate.

Moving away from the term “Christian democracy” used by Leo XIII, Pius X preferred the more defined term “Catholic Action.” According to the Pontiff, “...Those works of the laity cannot be conceived as existing in independence of the counsel and sovereign direction of the ecclesiastical authority, especially insofar as they must be

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<sup>210</sup> Pope Leo XIII, *Immortale Dei*, November 1, 1885 (The Missionary Society of St. Paul the Apostle in the State of New York: Paulist Press, 1941), 3.

<sup>211</sup> Hubert Jedin and John Dolan, eds. *The History of the Church, Vol. IX, The Church in the Industrial Age* (New York: The Crossroad Publishing Company, 1981), 483-486.

governed by the principles of Christian teaching and morality; still less possible is it to conceive them as existing in opposition, more or less open, to the ecclesiastical authority.”<sup>212</sup> Pope Pius X’s purpose was to bring lay activity in line with Church authority rendering structure to the work of the lay apostolate. Catholic Action was an important step in the Church’s approach to lay apostolicity.

Still later in his papacy, however, the dictum of Pius X stated, “...the one duty of the laity is to allow themselves to be led and, like a docile flock, to follow their pastors.”

<sup>213</sup> This mandate for passivity affected the lay apostolate for decades to come. The particular result was to exclude the laity from any voice or participation in the temporal management of Church affairs. The laity was again subjugated to “pray, pay, and obey.”

### **Pope Pius XI**

Aware of the growing secularization of Europe and the chasmal separation of clergy and laity, Pius XI continued the work of his predecessor. In 1922, Pope Pius XI further defined Catholic Action as “...the participation of the laity in the apostolic mission of the hierarchy.”<sup>214</sup> Catholic Action was characterized as the work of laymen and of lay responsibility; it is an apostolate; it is organized in a special way; and it is under direct authority of the hierarchy.<sup>215</sup> The need for Catholic Action was directly proportional to the shortage of priests. He explained to his fellow bishops that the laity participated in their work by carrying abroad the knowledge of Christ. He explained, “Then, indeed, they are worthy of being hailed as ‘a chosen generation, a kingly

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<sup>212</sup> Robert A. Graham, S.J., “The Laity and the Council,” *The 2<sup>nd</sup> Vatican Council* (New York: The America Press, 1962), 47.

<sup>213</sup> Paul Lakeland, *The Liberation of the Laity: In Search of an Accountable Church* (New York: Continuum, 2003), 17.

<sup>214</sup> Graham, *Laity and Council*, 48.

<sup>215</sup> *The Theory of Catholic Action* (1939). Unsigned manuscript presented at Lehigh University.

priesthood, a holy nation.”<sup>216</sup> Pius XI’s pontificate was dedicated to the effort of making the term “Catholic Action” synonymous with the lay apostolate and distinct from party politics which was particularly influential in Italy at the time.<sup>217</sup> He tirelessly worked to distinguish Catholic Action as an organized apostolate directly under the hierarchy contrary to Catholic participation in politics. In 1926 he stated to Italian Catholic men, “Catholic Action, while avoiding politics, seeks to pursue good and lofty political ends, it seeks to educate politically the conscience of citizens in a Christian and Catholic sense.”<sup>218</sup>

The work of laymen and of lay responsibility by definition is the participation of the laity in the apostolate of the hierarchy, namely the propagation of the Gospel. It is the responsibility of the laity to inject Christianity into the temporal order. In essence it is the laity who brings about the work of social reform while the work of the hierarchy is to declare whether a given institution aligns with Christian principles.

Catholic Action is an apostolate because the laity is called to play a personal and active role in the Church’s mission. It involves participation in this life, being in and of this world; Christ among us in each person. As an apostolate, it is a call to move from the passivity of the laity and the clericalism of the priests to a cooperative effort in fulfilling the Christ’s command to “Go teach all nations.”

The third characteristic of Catholic Action refers to organization. While this implies the organizational structure of the hierarchy, it speaks to the order needed for Catholic Action to occur. Catholic Action requires an organized structure in which each individual best utilizes his/her talent for the betterment of the world. In the epistle to the Ephesians, St. Paul writes, “It was He who ‘gave gifts to mankind;’ He did this to prepare

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<sup>216</sup> Lakeland, *Liberation*, 27.

<sup>217</sup> Purdy, *Church on the Move*, 161.

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.*, 161.

all God's people for the work of Christian service, in order to build up the body of Christ."<sup>219</sup> No one person, priest or layman, is expected to perform the entire mission of the Church. "Each one works in that field which he knows best, and for which he is best trained, so that his work is always solidly based on the realities of life."<sup>220</sup> Secondly, the work of Catholic Action is broken down to levels of demographics: parish, diocese, nation, and world. Christ's mandate to go out to the world is thus organized and ordered into groups, levels, tasks, and abilities, coordinating and combining efforts for work in the temporal order.

The fourth characteristic of Catholic Action involves the direct authority of the hierarchy. While Catholic Action takes place in the temporal realm and is the responsibility of the apostolate, it is the responsibility of the hierarchy to ensure that this work aligns with the spiritual realm. The authority of the hierarchy mandates such work and oversees the spiritual aspects of Catholic Action, i.e., the work of the St. Vincent de Paul Society provides shelter for the homeless, food pantries, clothing and emergency funds for indigent families. This work is done by the laity. The hierarchy ensures that the organization remains true to the charism of St. Vincent de Paul as a charitable organization assisting the needy.

Often criticized for its flaws, the participation of the laity in Catholic Action was frequently suspected to be a manipulation by the clergy to extend their influence into societal and temporal affairs. There was no form of Christian engagement which belonged to laymen by right. All activity had to be managed by the clergy. In spite of its flaws, Catholic Action brought to the forefront the relationship between clergy and laity,

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<sup>219</sup> *The Theory of Catholic Action*, 10-11.

<sup>220</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.



the work of the layman, and laid the groundwork for future dialogue during the Second Vatican Council.

## **Pope Pius XII**

In 1943, Pope Pius XII furthered St. Paul's explanation of Church as the mystical body of Christ in his encyclical, *Mystici Corporis Christi*.<sup>221</sup> In *Mystici Corporis Christi* Pius XII boldly moved away from the pyramidal institutional model of Church and began what is now common language as the Church as a *community* of interactive and interdependent people.<sup>222</sup> Later in February 1946, Pius XII delivered a discourse to the newly created cardinals: "...Lay believers are in the front line of Church life; for them the Church is the animating principle of human society. Therefore, they in particular ought to have an ever-clearer consciousness not only of belonging to the Church, but of being the Church, that is to say, the community of the faithful on earth under the leadership of the Pope, the common Head, and of the bishops in communion with him. They are the Church."<sup>223</sup>

Pius XII concluded that there are two authentic forms of the lay apostolate. The primary form is determined by the nature of the lay state itself. Because of their unique position in the Mystical Body by living the temporal order, it is the task of the laity of "stamping the divine impress of Christ upon human institutions"<sup>224</sup> or, in other words, taking Christ's Gospel into the marketplace.

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<sup>221</sup> Pope Pius XII, *Mystici Corporis Christi*, June 29, 1943, (New York: Paulist Press, 1943), Encyclical given in Rome on the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul.

<sup>222</sup> Russell Shaw, *To Hunt, To Shoot, To Entertain: Clericalism and the Catholic Laity* (San Francisco, CA: Ignatius Press, 1993), 78.

<sup>223</sup> Taken from Branche's *Pius XII: The Laity and the Church's Mission*, "Discourse To the New Cardinals," February 20, 1946, A.A.S., XXXVIII (Rome: Pontificia Universitas Internationale, 1960), 149.

<sup>224</sup> *Ibid.*, 141.

Plagued by the horrors of World War II, Pius XII worked ceaselessly to build a better world, a Christian world. He fully understood it would be the work of the entire Church, each member with his/her own task and skill, further knowing that the responsibility of the lay apostolate was not just to bring the Gospel message to the temporal order but also to apply it through Christianizing human institutions.<sup>225</sup> The twentieth century was marred by the passivity of the laity, the infectious influence of Communism or Nazism on Catholic populations, and anti-Christian persecutions both in Europe and Asia.<sup>226</sup>

The secondary form of the lay apostolate is dependent upon the will of the hierarchy because it is a participation in activities specific to the hierarchical apostolate. This form would not include all the laity since it requires specific qualities and skills not possessed by all, i.e., counseling, teaching, youth ministry, etc.

In 1957 Pius XII addressed the World Congress of Lay Apostolates explicitly stating *consecratio mundi* (making the world holy) is the essential work of the laity and independent of the shortage of priests.<sup>227</sup> "Let the ecclesiastical authorities, here apply the general principle of subsidiarity and complementary aid, and let them entrust to laymen the tasks which they can fulfill as well as or even better than the priest, and let laymen, within the limits of their functions or the limits imposed by the common good of the Church, act freely and exercise their responsibility."<sup>228</sup> The importance of this statement emphasizes the official position of the Church on lay involvement reflecting

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<sup>225</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>226</sup> *Decree on the Apostolate of the Laity of the Vatican Council II*, Commentary by John B. Sheerin, 10.

<sup>227</sup> Purdy, *Church on the Move*, 176.

<sup>228</sup> Ibid.

the reality of the contemporary Church harkening back to the early workings of the infant Church of St. Paul's time.

Pope Pius XII foresaw the need for the Second Vatican Council. Like King David who dreamed of building a temple in Jerusalem but knew it was not for him to accomplish, Pius anticipated the worldwide council. Aware of the stirrings among the laity and their supporters for greater responsibility, he encouraged them to study theology, especially in comparative work with other sciences.<sup>229</sup> Without this doctrinal knowledge to complement their understanding of the arts and sciences the laity would surely succumb to further subservient status in the hierarchical Church.

### **The Second Vatican Council**

In January 1959, shortly after his election, Pope John XXIII announced his decision to convene a new council. Nearly eighty years of age, the new pontiff surprised all sectors of the Catholic Church with the pronouncement of his papal initiative. Inheriting from his predecessor a world divided by the Cold War and a Church apathetic to Catholicism "unyielding in its certainties,"<sup>230</sup> Pope John XXIII believed the Church was on the threshold of a historical junction in which it was necessary "to specify and distinguish between what belongs to the realm of sacred principles and the perennial gospel, and what changes with the passing time.... We are entering a period that might be called one of universal mission...and we need to make our own the admonition of Jesus to recognize the signs of the times...and to discern amid such great darkness the many indications that give good cause for hope."<sup>231</sup>

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<sup>229</sup> Ibid., 177.

<sup>230</sup> Giuseppe Alberigo, *A Brief History of Vatican II* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2006), 2.

<sup>231</sup> Ibid.

to recognize the signs of the times...and to discern amid such great darkness the many indications that give good cause for hope.”<sup>231</sup>

General sessions were to be held each autumn for four successive years (1962-1965). Each session took place in St. Peter's Basilica conducted in Latin. Pope John XXIII called the twenty-first ecumenical council to order on October 11, 1962. The Council's first orders of business were issues concerning the liturgy, mass communications, Eastern rite Catholic Churches, and the nature of revelation. The Council's document, *The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy* (1963), mandated the formation of national conferences of bishops, and the formation of new dioceses and liturgical commissions.<sup>232</sup>

The second session of the Council was delayed due to the untimely death of Pope John XXIII on June 3, 1963, Pentecost Sunday. In some regards this was similar to the ill-fated First Vatican Council which had ended prematurely due to the Franco-Prussian War. France was unable to protect the papal state. Thus in September 1870, the Kingdom of Italy captured and annexed the city of Rome. Pope Pius IX suspended the council indefinitely. Now with the death of John XXIII the continuance of the Second Vatican Council was in jeopardy.

A brief conclave met in Rome June 19-21, 1963, and elected as pope the Archbishop of Milan, Cardinal Giovanni Battista Montini. Choosing the name Paul VI, the pope in his first papal message, assured the continuation of the council.<sup>233</sup>

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<sup>231</sup> Ibid.

<sup>232</sup> Gerald O'Collins, S.J., *Living Vatican II: The 21<sup>st</sup> Council for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (New York: Paulist Press, 2006), 19.

<sup>233</sup> Alberigo, *A Brief History*, 35-36.

Successive sessions resulted in the approval of the *Dogmatic Constitution of the Church (Lumen Christi)*, the *Decrees on Ecumenism (Unitatis Reintegration)*, and the *Decree on Eastern Catholic Churches (Orientalium Ecclesiarum)*.<sup>234</sup>

Forthcoming from these sessions was the *Decree on the Apostolate of the Laity (Apostolicam Actuositatem)* in 1965. It was declared that the laity was to exercise their apostolate both in the Church and in the world, individually or as members of groups or organizations. It proclaimed that all baptized share in the priestly, prophetic, and royal office of Christ. The term "People of God" was to apply equally to laity, religious, and clergy.<sup>235</sup>

Clarifying the special vocation belonging solely to the laity, they are to seek the Kingdom of God by engaging in temporal affairs and by ordering them according to the plan of God.<sup>236</sup> It is the work of the laity to make the Church present and operative in the world. The document also enjoined parish priests not to regard the laity as second class citizens or frivolous adolescents. All are baptized as one in Christ. The diversity in ministries between clergy and laymen does not constitute inequality, inferiority, or superiority.

*The Decree on the Apostolate of the Laity* was adopted by the Council on November 18, 1965. On December 7<sup>th</sup> the final session of the Second Vatican Council ended. The work of this Council was visualized in the growing renewal of the laity. Through the 1960s and 1970s lay participation at the local parish level was significant. Various ministries were formed, i.e., Eucharistic ministries, consultative and advisory

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<sup>234</sup> Ibid., 136.

<sup>235</sup> Pope Paul VI, *The Decree on the Apostolate of the Laity* (New York: Paulist Press, 1966), 11.

<sup>236</sup> Ibid., 12.

commissions, and planning and budgeting boards.<sup>237</sup> Given the opportunity the laity generously responded.

In November 1972, the National Conference of Catholic Bishops issued a pastoral message, *To Teach as Jesus Did*. It was written "against the background of the Second Vatican Council's *Declaration on Christian Education*" requesting national hierarchies to issue detailed statements on the educational ministry in their own countries.<sup>238</sup> The educational ministry of the Church was defined by three essential elements: the message revealed by God, fellowship in the life of the Holy Spirit, and thirdly, service to the Christian community and the entire human community.<sup>239</sup> Citing *The Decree on the Apostolate of the Laity*, the bishops reemphasized the importance of parents as the first teachers of their children and the need for the community to aid them in their efforts.<sup>240</sup> The bishops' message concludes stating all have a role in the educational ministry of the Church. It does not belong to one program or institution. All should have a voice in planning and directing this educational mission of the Church.<sup>241</sup>

Later, in November 1980, the American Catholic bishops issued a statement entitled "Called and Gifted: The American Catholic Laity" which affirmed the vision set forth by the Second Vatican Council regarding the laity. The bishops noted the outstanding response of the laity to leadership in the parish, in their homes, neighborhood, school, government, and workplace.<sup>242</sup> Parish priests were to bring together the diversity of talents with their parish community to serve the People of God.

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<sup>237</sup> Pope, *Common Calling*, 102.

<sup>238</sup> National Conference of Catholic Bishops, *To Teach as Jesus Did*, November, 1972.

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>240</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

<sup>242</sup> National Conference of Catholic Bishops, *Called and Gifted*, U.S. Bishops' Committee on the Laity (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Catholic Conference, 1980).

In 1989, however, the encyclical *Christifideles Laici* (*The Vocation and the Mission of the Lay Faithful*) written by Pope John Paul II spends much effort in defining laity participation as a sharing in the priestly *mission*, not *ministry*. Even in circumstances in which laypeople are required to minister due to the shortage of priests, John Paul II writes of the “ministering to the faithful,”<sup>243</sup> unwilling to refer to the laity as lay ministers. While Pope John Paul II firmly attests to the oneness bestowed through the sacrament of Baptism, he holds firm to the distinctions of ordained priesthood and lay participation in the priestly mission of the Church.

Again in 1995 the American Catholic Bishops issued a document regarding the laity entitled “Called and Gifted for the Third Millennium.” Realizing the challenges ahead for the American Catholic Church and the continued call to utilize the talents of the laity, the bishops reiterated the need to: 1) develop and commit resources necessary to help the laity prepare for church ministry; 2) practice justice in the workplace and provide a living wage for lay ministers; 3) incorporate minority lay ministers into ecclesial leadership; 4) ensure the Church becomes an exemplary steward of all its human resources; and 5) bring Catholic tradition to life in new generations.<sup>244</sup> The decrees of the Second Vatican Council beckoned the laity to take an active role in the Church. The bishops’ statements “*Called and Gifted*” not only recognized the need to utilize the talents of the laity but to support them in their efforts to educate and fulfill their ministries.

From the Apostle Paul, to the small colonial church of John England, to the Vatican and Pope John Paul II, the role of the laity has been formed and defined by

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<sup>243</sup> Lakeland, *Liberation*, 127.

<sup>244</sup> National Conference of Catholic Bishops, *Called and Gifted for the Third Millennium*, Nov., 1995, (Washington, D.C.; U.S. Catholic Conference, 1995).

history. Perhaps the best explanation of the laity is defined by John Henry Newman.

When asked the question "Who are the laity?" to which Newman responded, "The church would look foolish without them."<sup>245</sup>

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<sup>245</sup> Pope, *Common Calling*, 51. Newman's remark is quoted in John Coulson, *Newman and the Common Tradition* (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1970), 112.



## Chapter VII

### The Spirit of the Time

#### Organizational Structure

The Church's organization and structure were developed throughout its first millennium. This unified not only the Church in its mission and work but stabilized Western Europe through the Middle Ages. As the Church grew in numbers, in communities and in bishops, an expansion in the chain of command resulted in additional levels in the organizational structure. A division of labor was first set by the Apostles when they realized that the mission at hand was growing too large for them to accomplish; they enlisted deacons to help.<sup>246</sup>

The Church could not continue as loosely coupled communities awaiting news from the Apostles. Unfortunately as the Church expanded, the clergy and laity grew farther apart, adopting an attitude of superior to subordinate. Additionally, there needed to be a *determinate hierarchy*, which defined the authority and jurisdiction among the positions in the chain of command. It further determined a *span of control*,<sup>247</sup> identifying the number of bishops (i.e., managers) needed to effectively fulfill the bishops' responsibilities. The papacies of Leo I and Gregory I attained this order and structure within the Church; this continued through the Middle Ages.

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<sup>246</sup> Acts of the Apostles: 6.

<sup>247</sup> William Scott, Terence R. Mitchell, and Philip H. Bimbarum, *Organizational Theory: A Structural and Behavioral Analysis* (Homewood, IL: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1981), 30, 33.

While this form of organization effectively served the Church in Europe, its hierarchical structure seemed foreign and inappropriate to the American Catholic community which was antithetical of royalty and patronage. The United States was founded on the ideals of religious freedom and separation of Church and state. The self-reliant individual was largely free to follow his own path and determine his ultimate fate. The American Revolution had freed the country from monarchies. More than an ocean separated the Church in Europe from the Catholic Church in the United States. The spirit of the new republic permeated the visions of Bishops John Carroll and John England as they strove to organize and structure the American Catholic Church. Strapped with the problems of too few priests and growing communities dispersed over large expanses of territory, Carroll and England both recognized organizational concepts that took the Catholic Church another 150 years to promote during the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965): collegiality and lay participation; and the use and respect of human resources.

By the early 1800s systemic changes had been brought about by the Industrial Revolution and the introduction of the factory system. Urban areas were expanding rapidly and a middle class with heretofore incomparable prosperity was emerging. Fewer businesses were small family-owned cottage industries. Large factories and more workers replaced the small personal setting of family business. Business management began to examine the relationship between management and workers. During this period, Robert Owen and Charles Babbage established the basis for twentieth century classical school management. Owen was credited with making specific suggestions regarding

management technology in the use of human relations. Babbage was credited with developing the concept of specialization.<sup>248</sup>

Classical and Neoclassical Organization Theories are systematic attempts to address the problems of organizational complexity.<sup>249</sup> Classical Theory deals primarily with the structure of the organization. Neoclassical Theory deals with behavioral sciences. It analyzes how classical principles are influenced and modified by human behavior.<sup>250</sup> The scalar principle,<sup>251</sup> part of the Classical Theory of Management which deals with an organization's vertical growth, is reflected in the early Church's developing hierarchy. A scalar subprinciple is *unity of command* which indicates that subordinates should be accountable to one superior.

The Neoclassical Theory is more accurately a modification to classical theory. Neoclassicists injected the concept of human resources in an attempt to refine existing Classical Theory. It recognizes that human motivation is a complex affair that could only be understood by behaviorally slanted investigations. The classical human relations studies conducted at the Hawthorne plant of Western Electric Company highlighted the importance of worker attitudes. Workers felt important because someone was observing and studying them at work.<sup>252</sup> By changing the workplace lighting, cleaning work stations, and removing hazards from the floor space, the workers felt the organization

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<sup>248</sup> Stephen W. Hartman, "Management Theory," Accessed September 18, 2010, <http://www.iris.nyit.edu/~shartman/mba0120/Chapter 2.htm>.

<sup>249</sup> Scott, Mitchell, and Birnbarum, *Organization Theory*, 25.

<sup>250</sup> Ibid., 41.

<sup>251</sup> Scott, Mitchell, and Birnbarum, *Organizational Theory*, 30.

<sup>252</sup> John M. Ivancevich and Michael T. Matteson, *Organizational Behavior and Management* (Homewood, IL: Irwin, 1993), 7.

was interested in them, and they responded positively. Their social and work activities changed; their performance increased.<sup>253</sup>

The human relations movement brought a sensitivity to management. Supervisors were encouraged to befriend and counsel. Workers were also to be involved or at least consulted before changes were made in the organization. The Church that had brought strength and structure to the society during the Dark Ages and then focused on its own strength and structure through the Middle Ages left the laity voiceless and without a meaningful role to play within the Church. The laity were "to hunt, to shoot, to entertain"<sup>254</sup> or better yet to "follow like a docile flock."<sup>255</sup>

### **Social Changes of the Twentieth Century**

The past century saw tremendous change in the rise of the blue-collar worker in industry. This "lower class" worker was the first group to organize and remain organized.<sup>256</sup> In the later years of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century the majority of American workers were farmers and domestic workers. These workers required little education and relatively little training; their jobs were experience-based. The shift to industrial positions required little more knowledge or training, hence, the term on-the-job training. Blue-collar wages were not significantly better than those of farm or domestic workers. The work hours were, however, clearly specified and were far

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<sup>253</sup> Scott, Mitchell, and Birnbaum, *Organizational Theory*, 81.

<sup>254</sup> Purdy, *Church on the Move*, 158.

<sup>255</sup> Lakeland, *Liberation*, 17.

<sup>256</sup> Peter Drucker, *Managing in a Time of Great Change* (New York: Truman Talley Books/Dutton, 1995), 219.

shorter than those for most farmers and domestics.<sup>257</sup> Management theorists evaluated inputs, outputs, and efficiencies.

As quickly as the "blue collar" working class rose in society, it fell nearly as quickly giving rise to a new middle class worker, "the knowledge worker."<sup>258</sup> This new breed was learning-based, requiring more formal education and continuous learning. By the close of the twentieth century one-third of the nation's working class were knowledge workers.<sup>259</sup> They needed the ability to acquire and apply theoretical and analytical knowledge. This shift from experience-based to knowledge-based workers required a new management model. Society had changed without the revolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

### **Modern Organization Theory**

In the 1960s, as Pope John XXIII was planning for and calling the Second Vatican Council to order, a new approach to management was emerging which would correlate with the Pontiff's vision for the Church. Modern Organization Theory bases its analysis of complex organization upon "systems" concepts.<sup>260</sup> Accordingly, organizations are composed of interrelated groups or subsystems which form a hierarchy of components. Problems within the organization stem from elements in these interrelationships. Modern Organization Theory assesses the organizational health and goals of the system. Systems theory also examines how an organization interchanges with its environment.<sup>261</sup> In an *open system* the organization exchanges information,

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<sup>257</sup> Ibid., 224.

<sup>258</sup> Ibid., 226.

<sup>259</sup> Ibid.

<sup>260</sup> Scott, Mitchell, and Birnbaum, *Organizational Theory*, 43.

<sup>261</sup> Ibid.

energy, materials and people within its environment.<sup>262</sup> As the environment changes, the organization reacts to realign and follow.

Pope Pius XII had recognized the need for change.<sup>263</sup> His successor, Pope John XXIII, determined to affect that change.<sup>264</sup> His hopes for the future of the Catholic Church and an expanded role for the laity were embedded in the documents of the Second Vatican Council.

In the years following the Second Vatican Council, Pope John Paul II issued a revised Code of Canon Law to complement the vision of Vatican II. Key to governance would be the principles of collaboration and subsidiarity.<sup>265</sup> With regards to Catholic education, Canon Law recognizes the rights of parents to choose the means and institutions best suited for their children. Canon Law states that the Church has the right to found and run schools, and that parents should help found and maintain them.<sup>266</sup> Additionally, Canon Law recognized the need for shared ministry (Canon 517, 2). This opened the way for the formation of parish councils and a revival of education commissions and school boards. Ultimately, it provided a meaningful voice for the laity.

### **Education Commissions and School Boards**

School boards were not a new concept to Catholic education. In the 1800s the Baltimore Councils established school boards to aid the bishop in the administration of

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<sup>262</sup> Peter P. Schoderbek, Richard A. Cosier, and John C. Aplin, *Management* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988), 46.

<sup>263</sup> Purdy, *Church on the Move*, 177.

<sup>264</sup> Alberigo, *A Brief History*, 2.

<sup>265</sup> Regina Haney, Stephen O'Brien, and Lourdes Sheehan, RSM, *A Primer on Educational Governance in the Catholic Church* (Washington, D.C.: National Catholic Educational Association, 2009), 5-6.

<sup>266</sup> John M. Huels, O.S.M., J.C.D., *The Faithful of Christ: The New Canon Law for the Laity* (Chicago, IL: Franciscan Herald Press, 1983), 45-47.

schools in the diocese.<sup>267</sup> Pope Paul VI issued the Decree on the Apostolate of the Laity declaring:

Christian husbands and wives are cooperators in grace and witnesses of faith for each other, their children, and all others in their household. They are the first to communicate the faith to their children and to educate them by word and example for the Christian and apostolic life. They prudently help them in the choice of their vocation and carefully promote any sacred vocation which they may discern in them.<sup>268</sup>

Parents are the first teachers of their children. Commissions and school boards are a natural process for parents to have an impactful voice in their children's education. Participation in the ministry of Catholic education allows the laity to significantly impact the life of the Church. Participation by the laity is the sole basis for Catholic education boards.<sup>269</sup>

Consolidation and regionalization of Catholic schools have expanded the traditional concept of school boards. Corporate boards or boards of trustees are organized by individual persons or religious congregations desiring to operate schools in compliance with state law (See App., 120,121). It is the ultimate governing authority with the exception of that which, under Canon Law, is the authority of the bishop, namely the Catholicity of the school.<sup>270</sup>

These past ten years have brought other changes to Catholic schools. Parents dissatisfied with parochial schools seek alternatives in home schooling and independent

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<sup>267</sup> Lourdes Sheehan, RSM, *Building Better Boards* (Washington, D.C.: National Catholic Educational Association, 1990), viii.

<sup>268</sup> Pope Paul VI, *Decree on the Apostolate of the Laity*, 11.

<sup>269</sup> Sheehan, *ibid.*, ix.

<sup>270</sup> Haney, O'Brien, and Sheehan, *A Primer on Educational Governance*, 68.

Catholic schools. Seton Home Study School and The National Association of Private Catholic\* and Independent Schools (NAPC\*IS), an association of independent Catholic schools, are two such initiatives. NAPC\*IS invites parents to start small Catholic schools:

With ever-declining educational and moral standards in established schools, groups of Catholic parents who are faithful to the Magisterium are following in the footsteps of their ancestors: they're starting their own, vigorously orthodox, schools... All are loyal to the Church and have proven track records...NAPC\*IS schools were founded by parents to give their children the best education possible.<sup>271</sup>

Parents seeking more control and more Catholicity in the education of their children are pursuing these options in Catholic education. Both organizations frequently cite Vatican Council II's document of the *Declaration of Christian Education*: "Parents, who have the first and inalienable duty and right to educate their children, should enjoy true freedom in their choice of schools."

### **Empowered Laity**

Fully in concert with the aspirations of Vatican Council II are two relatively new private Catholic schools in southern California: St. Anne Elementary and JSerra High School.

St. Anne's was founded in 1992 by a group of parents, clergy and community leaders. In July 2006 it began the process of becoming a private Catholic school. It is a non-profit religious corporation, registered as a tax-exempt organization with the federal

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<sup>271</sup> The National Association of Private Catholic\* and Independent Schools, Accessed May 10, 2010, <http://www.napcis.org/feasibility.htm>.



and state authorities. Its school governance is comprised of two levels: a Board of Trustees and a Board of Directors.

The Board of Trustees has three classes: permanent, founder, and regular. The Abbot of St. Michael's Abbey serves as the sole permanent trustee, guardian of the school's Catholicity. The founders of the school also serve as trustees. The regular trustees are the current chairperson and vice-chairperson of the Board of Directors. The trustees have the sole right to remove from office any director; they give consent over the election of the chairperson and vice-chairperson to the Board of Directors; and they retain authority over the articles, by-laws, mission, and philosophy of the school.<sup>272</sup>

The Board of Directors is predominantly composed of school parents. A minimum of 60% of the board are to be St. Anne School parents; 60% of the board must be Catholic; the chairperson must be Catholic. The board is responsible for the adoption and approval of all school policies pertaining to programs, expenditures, facilities, and operational issues. The Board of Directors is composed of volunteers who are required to make or secure an annual financial contribution to the school. They are expected to be actively involved in the committees of the Board: religion, academic, student life, development, marketing, finance, executive, audit, and governance. Committee chairs must be directors or key administrative leadership. Committees are encouraged to include individuals with vision and expertise.<sup>273</sup> St. Anne's is a good example of an *open system* in tune with its inputs, outputs, and environment.

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<sup>272</sup> *St. Anne School Governance*, 2008.

<sup>273</sup> *Ibid.*

JSerra High School is governed by a similar constitution. These two private Catholic schools serve as excellent models of what can be produced in the true spirit of the Second Vatican Council.

Peter Drucker, a well known economist and leader in business management, writes that a nonprofit organization needs a clear and functioning governance structure. Nonprofits also need effective leadership and management. They differ from businesses because nonprofits lack the bottom line requirements that businesses have. Even more important for nonprofits is a clear definition of results. For this reason they must have a clear understanding of their mission.<sup>274</sup> For the Catholic school that mission is to grow in faith, build community, strive for academic excellence, and take the faith into the world.

School boards have been given responsibility in policy matters.<sup>275</sup> Drucker, however, questions whether anyone understands what policy truly is and what boundaries there are to policy-making boards. How many policies does a board continue to make year after year? An effective board talks about work. The work of each system or group within the board is clearly defined.<sup>276</sup> In the example of St. Anne's board there are marketing, advertising, development, student life, religion committees, etc. Each group knows what its task is and what results are expected. They work in committees with a specific mandate to perform.

Additionally, Drucker believes that nonprofit boards need to know how to raise money. Americans give when they see the organization's *results*. They no longer give to

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<sup>274</sup> Peter Drucker, *Managing for the Future: the 1990s and Beyond*, (New York: Truman Talley Books/Dutton, 1992), 218.

<sup>275</sup> Haney, O'Brien, and Sheehan, *A Primer on Educational Governance*, 24.

<sup>276</sup> Drucker, *Managing for the Future*, 222.

charity, good intentions, or pure hearts. School boards must be held accountable for their own performance and results. This calls for an appraisal system, not only for the paid workers, but also for its dedicated volunteers. If a board member is not meeting expectations, Drucker states, the CEO must call for that member's resignation.<sup>277</sup> It is the responsibility of the CEO to make the organs of governance efficient and effective, and to create a proper working relationship between them.<sup>278</sup>

Peter Drucker writes that nonprofit institutions need to be committed to a cause; they have a mission and they have to be imbued with passion.<sup>279</sup> This is difficult to maintain because nonprofit boards are unpaid, outside, part-time help which causes governance to malfunction as frequently as it functions.<sup>280</sup> According to Drucker, nonprofits, e.g., Catholic schools, need effective leadership and management; their boards cannot be purely ceremonial. Without legitimate functions, boards flounder; they meddle and they get into mischief.<sup>281</sup>

Catholic school governance needs imaginative change. Boards need real, meaningful and measurable work. As society has changed from experience-based work to knowledge-based work, so too must Catholic schools. School governance needs more knowledge-based workers.

Vatican Council II set the stage for greater participation for the laity. Private Catholic schools such as St. Anne's, those of NAPC\*IS, and others like them have set the pace.

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<sup>277</sup> Drucker, *Managing for the Future*, 222.

<sup>278</sup> Peter Drucker, *Managing the Nonprofit Organization* (New York: Harper Collins Publisher, 1990), 171.

<sup>279</sup> *Ibid.*, 226.

<sup>280</sup> *Ibid.*, 217.

<sup>281</sup> *Ibid.*, 220.

## Chapter VIII

### The Spirit of the Future

#### Challenges for Today

Catholic schools have greatly contributed to the heritage of education in the United States. From the earliest mission schools to those of today, Catholic schools have effectively educated students. In 1993 a study conducted by Harvard University entitled *Catholic Schools and the Common Good*<sup>282</sup> reported that Catholic schools overall outperform their public school peers, especially in the area of educating the poor in urban areas. While this success is well documented, significant challenges, however, threaten Catholic schools and the Catholic Church in the United States. Demographic shifts, the changing role of religion in the lives of American Catholics, the increasing educational options for parents and immigration, particularly among the Latino population, create interrelated challenges for the Catholic Church and Catholic schools.<sup>283</sup>

In the last half-century as social changes affected the workforce and impacted the organizational structure of business, so too were Catholic schools undergoing significant transition. Catholic schools now service half as many students as they did forty years ago. Fewer priests and religious have changed the make-up of school faculties. With

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<sup>282</sup> Anthony Bryk, Valerie E. Lee, and Peter B. Holland, *Catholic Schools and the Common Good* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 340.

<sup>283</sup> Notre Dame Task Force on Catholic Education, *Making God Known, Loved, and Served: The Future of Catholic Primary and Secondary Schools in the United States* (South Bend, IN: Notre Dame University, 2006), 2.

fewer priests, parishes have merged and schools have consolidated or become regionalized. Private schools and other charter schools have been founded. During the span of eight years (2000-2008), 1,267 Catholic schools were closed with elementary schools being the most seriously affected by these closures. Enrollment decreased by 382,125 students.<sup>284</sup> Charter schools have become rivals to Catholic schools because they can offer many of the characteristics of Catholic schools, i.e., smaller classrooms, discipline, more challenging curriculum, or updated technology without the expense of tuition. Catholic schools, particularly single-parish schools, are in jeopardy. New configurations and a closer look at governance models are in order. It would be naïve to believe that Catholic schools can continue surviving purely on tuitions and parish subsidies, or that the schools built through the 1950s and 1960s to accommodate the “baby boomers” are still viable and necessary to educate a decreasing Catholic enrollment. It is similarly naïve to believe that elementary and secondary Catholic schools can continue without the support of Catholic universities and their resources.

### **Partners in Education**

New partnerships are evolving between Catholic schools and their Catholic university counterparts. One such program initiated at The University of Notre Dame, The Alliance for Catholic Education, helps strengthen and sustain Catholic schools through their commitment. Founded in 1994 by Fr. Timothy Scully and Fr. Sean McGraw, The Alliance for Catholic Education (ACE) focuses on twelve response areas to assist Catholic schools to meet the needs in the major areas of Catholic identity,

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<sup>284</sup> Regina Haney and Joseph O’Keefe, SJ, editors, *Design for Success I: New Configurations for Catholic Schools* (Washington, D.C.: National Catholic Educational Association, 2008), 8.

leadership formation, academic excellence, and finance. Notre Dame's response includes:

1. Recruit and form a new generation of effective Catholic school teachers.
2. Recruit and form effective Catholic school leaders.
3. Cultivate a lay apostolic movement in service to Catholic schools.
4. Build a national initiative for the academic improvement of Catholic schools.
5. Build a national initiative to strengthen the Catholic identity in its schools.
6. Develop partnerships with individual Catholic schools.
7. Form partnerships with other Catholic colleges and universities.
8. Use Notre Dame's marketing expertise to attract new families to Catholic schools.
9. Attract and support the Latino community through its Catholic schools.
10. Design and build the ACE consulting initiative.
11. Develop a national program to form effective parish school leadership teams.
12. Access public funds and resources for Catholic schools and their students.<sup>285</sup>

The University of Dayton School of Education and Allied Professions initiated the Lalanne Program which specializes in supporting novice Catholic school teachers.

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<sup>285</sup> Notre Dame Task Force, *Making God Known*, 5.

Teachers in its post-graduate program make a two-year commitment to teach in under-resourced Catholic schools. They live together in a faith community and fulfill their master's degree requirements during the summer months at the University of Dayton.<sup>286</sup>

While living in a community with other Catholic teachers, they develop a personal, professional, and spiritual support system. The Lalanne Program currently serves Catholic schools in Dayton, Cleveland, Indianapolis, and San Antonio, Texas. This program helps form faith-centered Catholic education leaders while helping them continue their education and gain teaching experience in urban area schools.

Within the next ten years a new generation of lay people will be responsible for leading our Catholic schools. These laity are different from their lay predecessors because so few of them have any experience in religious life.<sup>287</sup> The rich culture of Catholic education passed down by generations of religious who worked diligently in these schools is in jeopardy unless measures are taken to inculcate a strong Catholic identity and leadership ideals in future leaders. Programs such as Lalanne are positive steps toward providing a future generation of knowledgeable, faith-filled Catholic teachers.

In an upcoming article in *Catholic Education: A Journal of Inquiry and Practice*, Regina Haney, executive director of the Department of Boards and Councils at the National Catholic Educational Association (NCEA), reports on "five shifts" in Catholic school governance: shifts away from the single-parish school; shifts in authority; shifts

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<sup>286</sup> The University of Dayton School of Education and Allied Professions, "About the Lalanne Program," Accessed, September 5, 2010, <http://www.udayton.edu/education/cce/lalanne/about.php>.

<sup>287</sup> Notre Dame Task Force, *Making God Known*, 6.

in purpose and responsibilities; shifts in membership; and shifts toward increased use of committees.<sup>288</sup>

### **Shifts Away from the Single-Parish Schools**

While the parish school still remains the predominant model for Catholic elementary schools, it is the most vulnerable to demographic changes and closures.<sup>289</sup> As a whole, Catholic schools have had to confront the hard realities of downsizing and reorganization. Most recently, Archbishop Timothy M. Dolan of New York has revealed a plan, "Pathways to Excellence," for the Catholic schools in the Archdiocese of New York. The plan is expected to take much of the "parochial" out of parochial schools, merging or closing nearly thirty grade schools, about 14% of the Archdiocesan elementary schools. Dolan states, "While the classic model of a parish school should still remain the norm, we must admit that the days of expecting a parish by itself to support its school are coming to an end."<sup>290</sup> Dolan projects that new regional schools will be established and governed collaboratively by a board of the parishes' pastors and parishioners.<sup>291</sup>

Parochial schools, removed from their close parish ties, create new challenges and concerns. Older parishioners or families with children not attending Catholic school may feel further disenfranchisement with a regional or merged Catholic school. Without the parish identity, the school must ensure a strong Catholic identity. Haney points out, "The current movement away from the single-parish school will require school

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<sup>288</sup> Regina Haney, "Design for Success: New Configurations and Governance Models for Catholic Schools," *Catholic Education Journal* (awaiting publication in December, 2010), 3.

<sup>289</sup> Notre Dame Task Force, *Making God Known*, 16.

<sup>290</sup> Archbishop Timothy Dolan, "Back to School," *Lord to Whom Shall We Go?* (Sept. 9, 2010),

<sup>291</sup> *Ibid.* <http://www.cny.org/archive/tdcolumn/tmd090910.htm>.



communities to identify ways to ensure the schools' connection to the parishes that give them their purpose for being, and bring school families back to their respective parishes."<sup>292</sup>

Some Catholic schools, especially in urban areas, have restructured forming *consortiums*, or regional schools. These schools are administered by a single administrative body. Other schools have merged, combining several schools into fewer sites, while still other Catholic schools have formed K-12 systems administrated under a centralized structure.<sup>293</sup> It has become a matter of density, scale, and cost.

Demographics and the conditions of existing schools are factors in determining new configurations for Catholic schools. While single-parish schools decrease in number and new configurations emerge, one challenge persists: financing education.

The Diocese of Wichita has adopted a program of total stewardship. The "Stewardship for Life" program commits the Catholic school system to the generosity of parishioners throughout the diocese.<sup>294</sup> This program has eliminated all tuition for elementary and secondary students, thereby increasing the availability of Catholic education to everyone. Similarly, the new plan for the Archdiocese of New York introduced by Archbishop Dolan disperses the financial responsibilities of supporting the Catholic schools to all parishes in the diocese, in strong support of the Church's mission to teach.<sup>295</sup> The responsibility to educate children rests not only with the parents but on the entire Church community. Too often, Catholic schools have been viewed as a drain or burden to the parish. Older parishioners whose children are no longer in Catholic

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<sup>292</sup> Haney, "Design for Success," (December 2010), 20.

<sup>293</sup> Haney, *ibid.*, 4.

<sup>294</sup> Haney and O'Keefe, SJ. *Design for Success I*, 10.

<sup>295</sup> Archbishop Timothy Dolan, "Back to School."

schools have “handed over the job” to younger families. This, Dolan comments, is simply non-Catholic,<sup>296</sup> referring to catholic as the Church’s mark of universality. As schools seek new configurations, they pursue governance models which must support them. Notre Dame’s Task Force concluded that appropriate and effective models of governance already exist.<sup>297</sup> The model of governance, however, must fit the needs of the school. And more importantly, board members must be carefully selected for their talents, abilities, and appreciation for the school’s Catholic identity.

### Shifts in Authority

There are three basic types of Catholic school boards. *Advisory boards* participate in the process of policymaking and then recommending this policy to the person in authority. The authority is not bound by the board’s advice. *Consultative boards* also participate in the process of policymaking and their responsibilities are defined in its governing document (constitution); the authority is required to consult the board when making decisions in these designated areas, but is not bound by the board’s advice. *Boards of Limited Jurisdiction* participate in policy-making by formulating, adapting and enacting policy. The board has final authority to enact policy in certain delegated areas according to its constitution or by-laws. These areas of authority must be clearly defined as well as the reserved powers of the individual with final decision-making authority.<sup>298</sup>

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<sup>296</sup> Ibid.

<sup>297</sup> Notre Dame Task Force, *Making God Known*, 16.

<sup>298</sup> Regina Haney and Stephen O’Brien, *Design for Success II: Configuring New Governance Models*, (Washington, D.C.: National Catholic Educational Association, 2008), 11-12.

*Who has the authority to make decisions in which areas?* and *Who owns the property?* are key questions in determining the type of board needed to govern a school.

No one certain model is ideal; there is no “one size fits all” solution.<sup>299</sup>

*Who owns the school?* There are three types of Catholic schools. The first type of Catholic school is established and operated by the competent authority himself, the bishop or the local ordinary, who is usually the pastor. In this case “ordinary” refers to anyone who is attached to an office and can exercise the power of that office. Ordinary power can be delegated, but it is limited to only specific, well-defined areas of authority. This type of school is typically operated by the Holy See (the papacy), the diocese, or parish schools administered by the pastor.

The second type of Catholic school is directed by a “public ecclesiastical juridic person.” In this case schools are founded by recognized religious orders such as the Society of Mary, the Sisters of Notre Dame or the Jesuits. Juridic persons are constituted either by the prescript of law or by special grant of competent authority given through a decree. They are aggregates of persons (*universitates personarum*) or of things (*universitates rerum*) ordered for a purpose which is within the mission of the Catholic Church and goes beyond the purpose of individuals (Canon 114.1).<sup>300</sup> In other words, only a corporate entity whose activities are devoted to legitimate Catholic purposes can be a “public ecclesiastical juridic person.”<sup>301</sup>

The third type of Catholic school is typically a private school without any particular juridic or legal identity in canon law but “recognized by competent authority”

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<sup>299</sup> Rev. Phillip J. Brown, SS, J.D., J.C.D. *Restructuring Catholic School Governance for a New Age: Creativity Meets Canon Law* (Washington, D.C.: National Catholic Educational Association, 2010), 2.

<sup>300</sup> Haney, O'Brien, and Sheehan, *A Primer*, 73.

<sup>301</sup> Brown, *Restructuring Catholic School Governance*, 9.

as Catholic. Consent must be given in writing attesting to the status of a school's Catholicity. Simply stated, a school cannot determine itself to be a Catholic school, nor can a school be founded under the guise of "Catholic" if not first recognized by "competent ecclesiastical authority" that it is indeed a Catholic school in adherence to the magisterium, i.e., the teaching authority of the Catholic Church.

*Who has the authority to make decisions?* In an interview with Haney, she stresses the importance of clearly defining who has the final decision-making authority and who makes the decisions in which areas.<sup>302</sup> This clarification must be incorporated in the board's constitution. Clearly defined authority and responsibilities improve the effectiveness of the school board. This allows board members to do meaningful work. They become stakeholders, envisioning a bond between their involvement and the success of the school. Board members can take ownership of issues under their rightful jurisdiction.<sup>303</sup>

### **Shifts in Purpose and Responsibilities**

The responsibilities of school boards have significantly changed. No longer can they be groups whose time is spent listening to endless reports and rubber stamping the decisions made by the pastor or administrator. The National Congress for Catholic Schools for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century called for leaders to establish governance structures that "give all those committed to the Catholic school's mission the power and the responsibility to achieve it."<sup>304</sup> Pertinent to this empowerment is the competence and connectedness to the community necessary today for effective boards. Boards are

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<sup>302</sup> Interview held with Regina Haney, Sept. 19, 2010, regarding Catholic school boards.

<sup>303</sup> Convey and Haney, *Benchmarks of Excellence*, 46.

<sup>304</sup> Michael Guerra, Regina Haney, and Robert Kealey, *Catholic Schools for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (Washington, D.C.: National Catholic Educational Association, 1992), 26.

involved with issues pertaining to finance and budget needs, policy, mission, philosophy, strategic planning, development, marketing and enrollment. Board members need the skills necessary to effectively serve these various areas. Members must be committed to the degree of involvement it takes beyond the regular meeting. Effective board members are able to relate to various constituencies: the parish council, the school's faculty, various organizations within the school, i.e., booster organizations or PTAs, and to the business community and community agencies. In a regionalized or K-12 school, board members need to know what the school's relation is with the city's Catholic parishes.

### **Shifts in Membership**

In the past, board members were frequently chosen by nomination or self-nomination, placed on a slate of candidates and voted into office by the school/parish community. Haney emphasizes, however, the best boards are formed by *selection* not *election*. It is important to choose candidates with the necessary knowledge and ability to serve effectively. Members need to be connected to the community, but with external links to other businesses, and be able to effectively communicate with constituents. Their "connectedness" broadens the circle of supporters and audience to the school.<sup>305</sup> It is important to include alumni and local businessmen who can bring a historical appreciation and knowledge of technology and business contacts.

Board members must be selected according to their leadership qualities. Members should be able to motivate, gain the confidence of the group and be self-assured. Able to shape the vision of the organization, effective board members are also open to accept the input of others. Additionally, it is imperative that members work to

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<sup>305</sup> Convey and Haney, *Benchmarks*, 51.

achieve unity and prevent conflict that inhibits progress. All board members must have the maturity to recognize that the organization and its vision are greater than the individual. Their work needs to be enduring long after their terms of office. Being the driving force behind a project and having it fail due to lack of interest or leadership does nothing to profit the school. Finally, board members must have the ability to see where the organization is now, where it needs to be and how to achieve it.<sup>306</sup>

The need for specific skills and knowledge, for leadership, and constituencies emphasizes even more the need for a selection process for board members. Selection can be made by personal references, committee recommendations, or other endorsements. Once candidates are identified, however, there must be a careful screening to assure the most effective candidate for the position has been recruited. Finally, the board must approve of the nominations. While eagerness and good intentions were enough for school boards of the past, today's boards and future board members must be job specific and knowledge-based much like their counterparts in the business world.

### **Shifts Toward Committees**

Effective school boards have actively working committees, such as an executive committee, finance, policy, marketing, development, buildings and grounds, and nomination committees. These standing committees can form subcommittees, seeking further talent and expert guidance for their work. Different from school boards of prior years, these committees must be held accountable for their work and evaluated regularly as to their effectiveness. Haney also emphasized the need for nominating committees to

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<sup>306</sup> Convey and Haney, *ibid.*

be independent minded. They must actively seek new candidates, abandoning old practices of deferring to the influence of the pastor or the principal.

New board members must receive in-service training so they will understand their responsibilities and the limits to their authority. In-service training, however, should not be reserved for only the newly elected; it should extend annually to the entire board, administration, and faculty.

### **Conclusion**

The future of Catholic school governance rests in creativity and imagination. The past models do not meet the needs of contemporary Catholic schools nor will the existing models meet the needs of the future. Regrettably, perhaps, the single-parish school may vanish just as the one-room school house succumbed to the greater educational needs of society. The trends of merging parishes and converging schools reflect the population migration from the urban setting to the suburban areas. How will Catholic schools be affected as people move from the suburbs to the exurbs? While the future may be unpredictable as to demographic trends and the health of the economy, there remain a few constants:

1. Catholic schools provide a necessary service to the teaching mission of the Catholic Church.
2. Catholic schools are effective in their teaching mission.
3. Catholic schools have well-educated and talented alumni who can provide much needed assistance through their expertise.
4. Schools cannot be financed solely by tuition and subsidized by the Sunday collection. Stewardship must become reflexive to all Catholics.

5. The history of Catholic schools has never been easy. Each generation has fought to preserve and enhance them.
6. Catholic schools have well served the immigrants and the indigent throughout their history.
7. Catholic schools are well worth the effort.

In his address at The Catholic University of America in 2008, Pope Benedict XVI stated, "Indeed, everything possible must be done, in cooperation with the wider community, to assure that they (Catholic schools) are accessible to people of all social and economic strata. No child should be denied his or her right to an education in faith, which in turn nurtures the soul of a nation." Pope Benedict XVI also noted that Catholic schools are "an enormous heritage and an indispensable instrument in carrying out the Church's mission in the third Christian millennium." He further extolled the priests and religious to "...not abandon the school apostolate; indeed renew your commitment to schools especially those in poorer areas."<sup>307</sup>

As schools of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries studied the basic three Rs of the curriculum" reading, 'riting, and 'rithmetic, the Catholic schools of the 21<sup>st</sup> century must study the three Rs of survival: reinvent, revitalize, and renew.

1. Reinvent—establish new school configurations and new governance models to fit their needs
2. Revitalize—empower and energize boards with specific and meaningful work
3. Renew—strengthen Catholic identity and ensure the Catholicity of each school

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<sup>307</sup>Quotes taken from Pope Benedict's address at The Catholic University of America, April 17, 2008.



### **Commissioning of the Apostles**

“As they were looking on, he was lifted up, and a cloud took him from their sight. Suddenly two men dressed in white garments stood beside them. They said, ‘Men of Galilee, why are you standing there looking in the sky?’”<sup>308</sup>

Catholic school leaders of the 21<sup>st</sup> century cannot stand by looking perplexed and skyward. In searching for solutions for the future of Catholic school governance, perhaps the best direction is looking backwards to the management practices of John England, an Irish immigrant bishop, who wrote a well defined constitution and empowered his talented laity.

Catholic leaders of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, why are you standing there forlorn? Reinvent, revitalize, and renew the face of the earth. There is much work to be done.

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<sup>308</sup>St. Luke, Acts of the Apostles 1: 10-11.

## **APPENDICES**

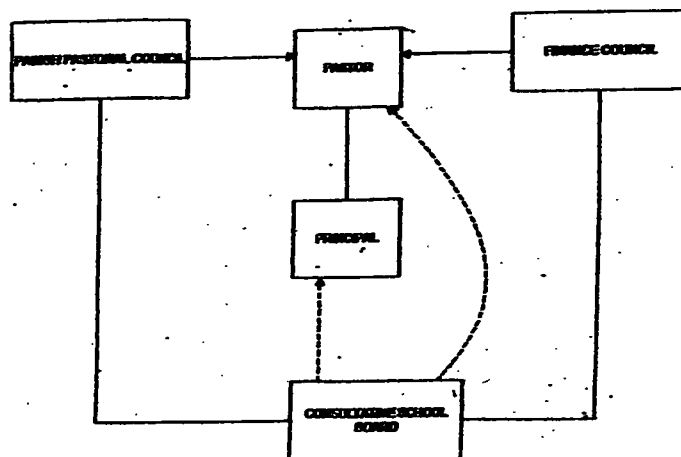
### TIME LINE

<b>112 A.D.</b>	<b>St. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, defined role of bishops</b>
<b>185 A.D.</b>	<b>St. Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons, clarified apostolic succession</b>
<b>248 A.D.</b>	<b>St. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, defined bishops' responsibility extended over entire Church</b>
<b>313 A.D.</b>	<b>Constantine issues Edict of Milan allowing religious freedom throughout empire</b>
<b>325 A.D.</b>	<b>Council of Nicea, first ecumenical council, addressed heresy of Arianism</b>
<b>366-384 A.D.</b>	<b>Pope Damasus declares the Bishop of Rome's authority over all other bishops</b>
<b>440-461 A.D.</b>	<b>Pope Leo I defined Roman supremacy; addressed heresy of Eutyches</b>
<b>500-1000 A.D.</b>	<b>Dark Ages</b>
<b>585 A.D.</b>	<b>Pope Gregory the Great, leadership led to the establishment of Christendom throughout Western Europe; forged close ties with European monarchies; Emphasized primacy of the papacy</b>
<b>800 A.D.</b>	<b>Pope Leo III sought support and protection from Charlemagne; crowned Charlemagne emperor of the Holy Roman Empire</b>
<b>1200-1500 A.D.</b>	<b>High Renaissance Period of Middle Ages</b>
<b>1545-1563 A.D.</b>	<b>Council of Trent; approved <i>patronage</i></b>

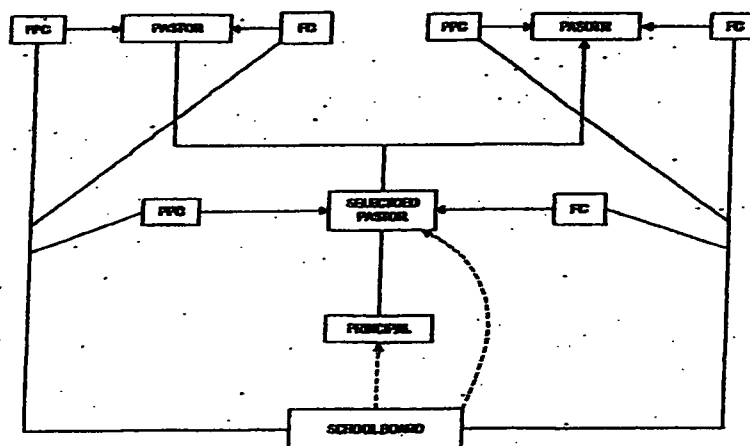
<b>1727 A.D.</b>	<b>New Orleans Ursuline Girls' Academy established</b>
<b>1770 A.D.</b>	<b>Suppression of Jesuit order by Pope Clement XIV</b>
<b>1776 A.D.</b>	<b>Quebec delegation seeking support against the British included Fr. John Carroll Adam Smith, <i>The Wealth of Nations</i>; beginning of Classical Theory</b>
<b>1783 A.D.</b>	<b>Meeting at Jesuit Whitehurst Farm to unify American Catholic clergy</b>
<b>1789 A.D.</b>	<b>Baltimore recognized as first diocese in United States; John Carroll elected first bishop of the United States</b>
<b>1791 A.D.</b>	<b>Georgetown Academy founded Synod of 1791 Leonard Neale appointed coadjudicator</b>
<b>1808 A.D.</b>	<b>Dioceses of Boston, Philadelphia, New York and Bardstown, Kentucky formed</b>
<b>1814 A.D.</b>	<b>John Connally appointed bishop of New York</b>
<b>1815 A.D.</b>	<b>John Carroll dies</b>
<b>1815-1840 A.D.</b>	<b>Problems occur with Lay Trusteeism</b>
<b>1820 A.D.</b>	<b>John England appointed first bishop of Charleston, S.C.</b>
<b>1822 A.D.</b>	<b>The Constitution of the Roman Catholic Church of the States of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia adopted</b>
<b>1823 A.D.</b>	<b>Annual Conventions begin</b>
<b>1842 A.D.</b>	<b>John England dies</b>
<b>1885 A.D.</b>	<b>Pope Leo XIII; <i>Immortali Dei</i></b>
<b>1890 A.D.</b>	<b>Sapientiae Christianae</b>

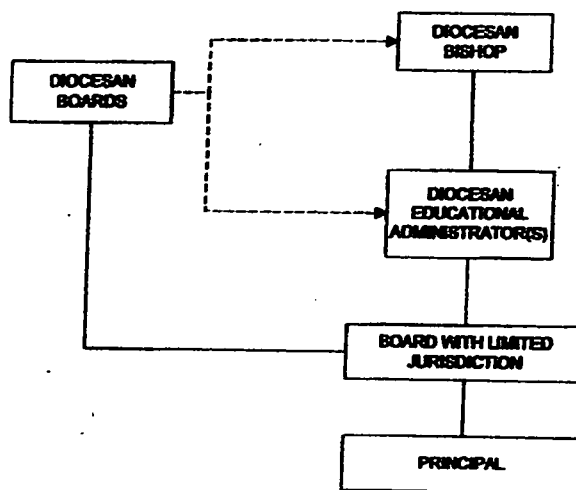
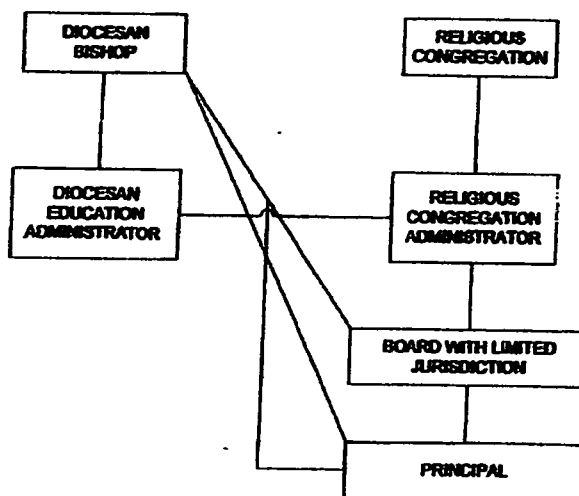
<b>1905 A.D.</b>	<b>Pope Pius X defines Catholic Action</b>
<b>1922 A.D.</b>	<b>Pope Pius XI further defines Catholic Action</b>
<b>1935 A.D.</b>	<b>Conference at LeHigh University; <i>Theory of Catholic Action</i></b>
<b>1943 A.D.</b>	<b>Pope Pius XII; <i>Mystici Corporis Christi</i>; defines Church as community of interactive and interdependent people</b>
<b>1950s A.D.</b>	<b>Neoclassical Theory</b>
<b>1957 A.D.</b>	<b>World Congress of Lay Apostolates</b>
<b>1959 A.D.</b>	<b>Pope John XXIII calls for ecumenical council</b>
<b>1960s</b>	<b>Modern Theory begins; systems theory</b>
<b>1962 A.D.</b>	<b>Second Vatican Council convenes</b>
<b>1963 A.D.</b>	<b>Pope John XXIII dies; Pope Paul VI announces plans to continue with Council</b>
<b>1965 A.D.</b>	<b><i>Decree on the Apostolate of the Laity</i> <i>Lumen Christi</i></b>
<b>1972 A.D.</b>	<b><i>To Teach as Jesus Did</i></b>
<b>1980 A.D.</b>	<b><i>Called and Gifted</i></b>
<b>1985 A.D.</b>	<b><i>Christifideles Laici</i></b>
<b>1995 A.D.</b>	<b><i>Called and Gifted for the Third Millennium</i></b>

### SINGLE PARISH CONSULTATIVE SCHOOL BOARD



### INTERPARISH SCHOOL BOARD



**DIOCESAN SCHOOL****PRIVATE  
SCHOOL MODEL  
BOARD WITH LIMITED JURISDICTION**

**Denominational Percentages by Region, 1776,  
Based on Number of Congregations**

**NEW ENGLAND (N=1,039)**

Congregationalists	63.0
Baptist	15.3
Episcopal	8.4
Presbyterian	5.5
Quaker	3.8
Other*	3.6

**MIDDLE COLONIES (N=1,285)**

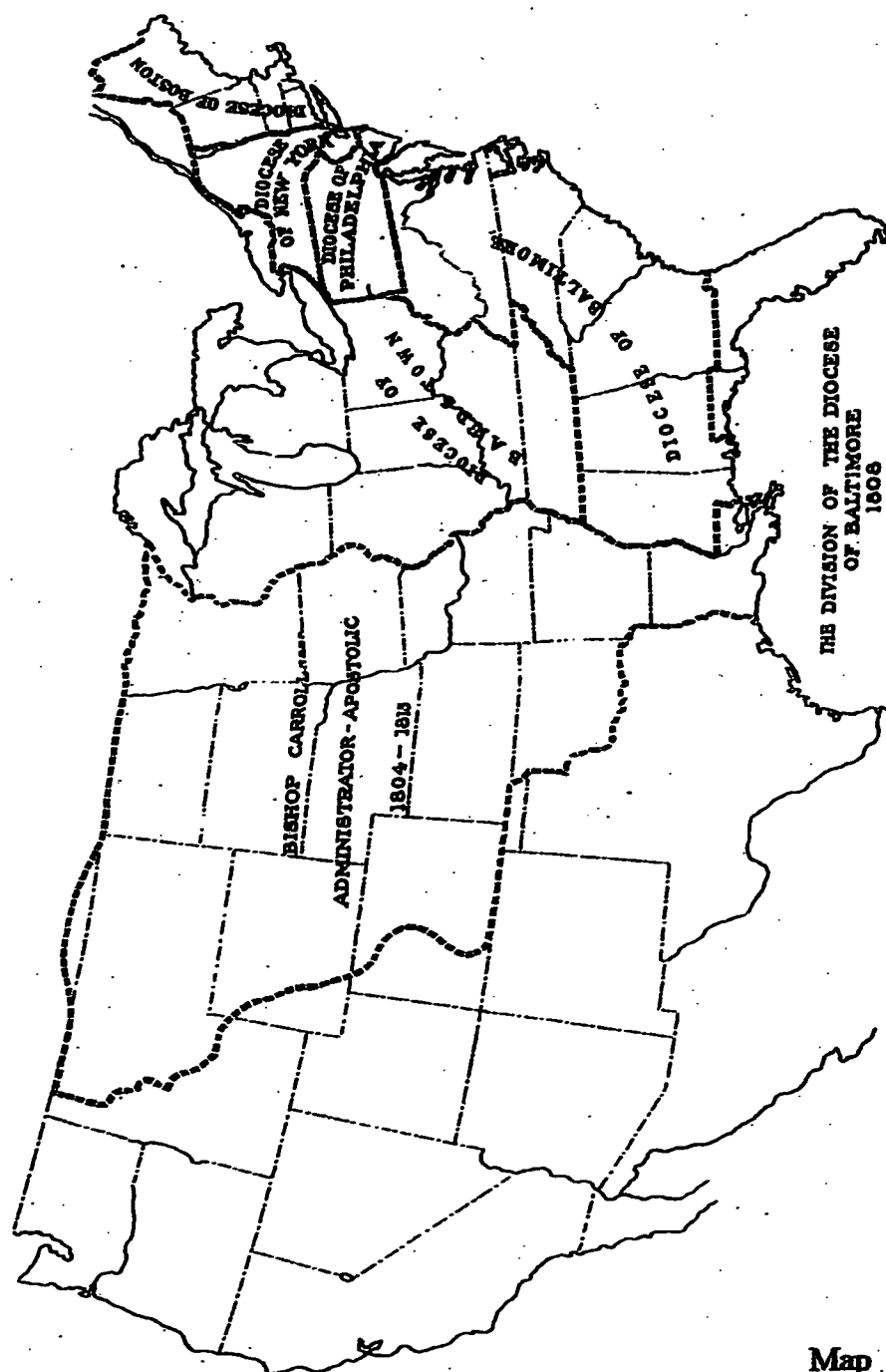
Presbyterian	24.6
Quaker	14.1
Episcopal	12.9
German Reformed	9.8
Dutch Reformed	8.9
Lutheran	8.6
Baptist	7.6
Roman Catholic	4.2
Methodist	3.8
Moravian	1.8
Congregationalist	0.3
Other*	3.1

**SOUTHERN COLONIES (N=845)**

Baptist	28.0
Episcopal	27.8
Presbyterian	24.9
Quaker	9.0
Lutheran	3.8
German Reformed	2.8
Methodist	1.4
Moravian	0.6
Congregationalist	0.1
Roman Catholic	0.1
Other*	1.2

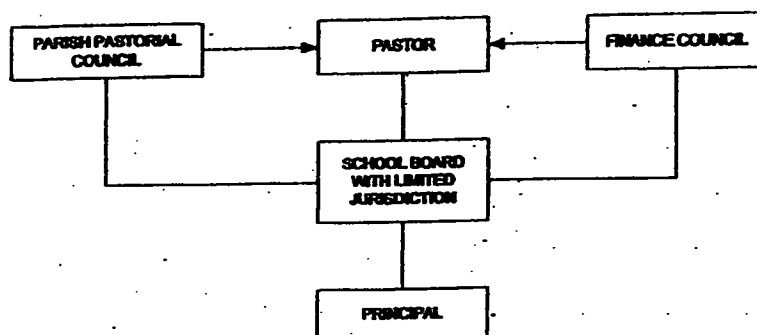
\*Includes Separatist and Independent, Dunker, Mennonite, Huguenot, Sandemanian, and Jewish.



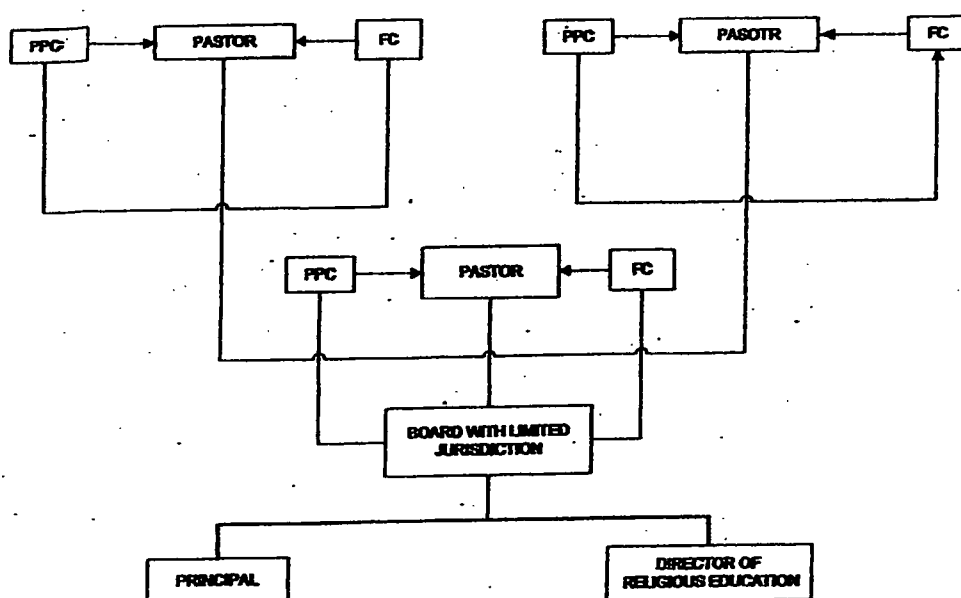


Map  
Division of the Diocese of  
Baltimore

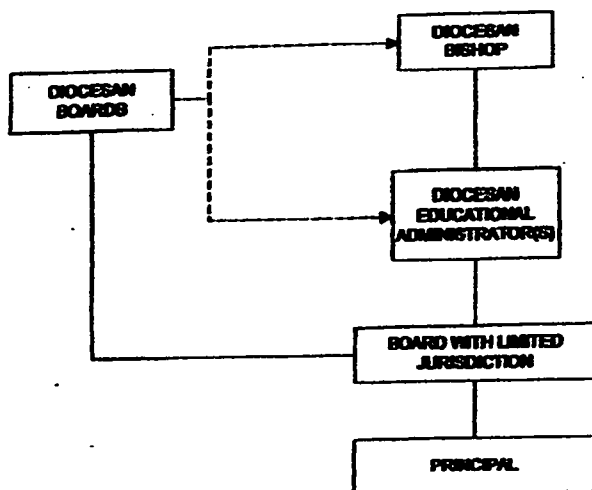
### BOARDS WITH LIMITED JURISDICTION SINGLE PARISH



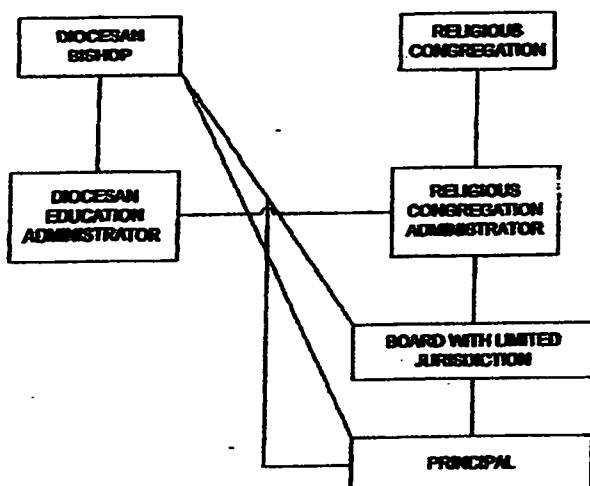
### INTERPARISH EDUCATION BOARD



## DIOCESAN SCHOOL



## PRIVATE SCHOOL MODEL BOARD WITH LIMITED JURISDICTION



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