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MORAL EDUCATION IN CHICAGO CATHOLIC SCHOOLS AND MORAL AUTHORITY IN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, 1945-1975

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Cardinal John Cody (1965–1982)

Cardinal Joseph Bernardin (1982–1996)

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List of Manuscript Collection Abbreviations

BEN: Sister Mary Benet Papers, University of Notre Dame Archives, Notre Dame, IN.

CC: Chancery Correspondence, Joseph Cardinal Bernardin Archives and Record Center.

CODY: John Cardinal Cody Papers Collection, Agency Files, School Board, Joseph Cardinal Bernardin Archives and Record Center.

DRP: Drop File Collection, University of Notre Dame Archives, Notre Dame, IN.

FB: Rev. Francis Brackin Collection, Joseph Cardinal Bernardin Archives and Record Center.

GEN: General Collection, University of Notre Dame Archives, Notre Dame, IN.

HOC: Frederick G. Hochwalt Papers, University of Notre Dame Archives, Notre Dame, IN.

HOY: Suellen Hoy Ph.D. Papers, Women & Leadership Archives, Loyola University Chicago.

INS: Parish and Institutional Records Collection, University of Notre Dame Archives, Notre Dame, IN.

LVHS: Lake View High School Collection. Chicago Public Library, Sulzer Regional Library, Northside Neighborhood History Collection.

MD: Most Reverend Michael Dempsey Collection. Joseph Cardinal Bernardin Archives and Record Center.

MHS: St. Louise de Marillac H.S. (Northfield), curriculum materials, 1970-1975, Joseph

Cardinal Bernardin Archives and Record Center.

RJH: Robert J. Havighurst Papers, University of Chicago Special Collections Research Center.

SB: Archdiocesan School Board Records. Joseph Cardinal Bernardin Archives and Record Center.

SCHL: School Records — Curriculum Materials, Joseph Cardinal Bernardin Archives and Record Center.

In all manuscript citations, box and folder numbers separated by a slash (or other cataloging information specific to that collection) follow collection abbreviation.

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Abstract

After the Second Vatican Council, the Roman Catholic Church appeared to suffer a collapse of its moral authority over the lay people in the United States. This has been attributed to the actions of Church elites, who intentionally created structures of dissent to keep people involved in the Church. It has also been attributed to general secularization whereby people simply reject the teachings of the Church in favor of non-Catholic ideas about individualism and moral relativism. A close examination of moral authority dynamics in the Catholic schools of Chicago demonstrates that neither explanation gives sufficient attention to the agency and experiences of lay Catholics both before and after Vatican II. During the three decades after the Second World War, Catholic school teachers shifted the moral education they provided from being focused on the rote memorization of moral rules to the experiential development of moral skills and dispositions. This change in the style of moral education was the outcome of a process of influence at the most distal levels of the church structure, like Catholic schools. These peripheral spaces, where the moral authority of the magisterium is weak and openness to the non-Catholic world is high, allow exchanges across the boundary between the "religious" and the "secular." This dissertation uses archival materials from the Catholic schools in Chicago to demonstrate the power of these peripheral spaces, not to weaken the Catholic Church—but to reimagine it.

Chapter 1: Sociological and Theoretical Introduction

1.1. Introduction

For most of the history of American Catholic schooling, children were given moral rules; they were told which specific behaviors were right and which were wrong. Over the course of the three decades following the Second World War, Catholic educationists and educators changed their minds about such methods.[1] By the mid-1970s, Catholic school children were being taught the skills and being encouraged to form the disposition to determine for themselves what was right and what was wrong. This dissertation uses Chicago Catholic schools as a case study to tell this story of transition.

The Roman Catholic Church in the United States makes for a particularly powerful entry point into broad sociological questions of the relationship between religion and modernity. Because of the way the Church was "progressively rigidified" following the Reformations, the French Revolution, and then the First Vatican Council (Ahlstrom 1972:1017), it entered the twentieth century with the appearance of being quite fixed, and anciently so. Because of the scale of the Church in the United States—particularly the scope of its institutional presence in the form of schools, hospitals, and the like—American Catholics were somewhat insulated from changes

[1] I use these two terms to distinguish between two kinds of professionals: those who primarily think about, write about, and advocate for education (educationists) and those who primarily teach in classrooms or administer schools. For example, when John Dewey was at the University of Chicago and his wife Alice was the principal of the University Elementary School, John Dewey sitting in his office writing about education was doing the work of an educationist, his wife the work of an educator. Usage of the term educationist peaked in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, but the distinction it allows one to draw is still useful, and I prefer it to phrases like "education researcher" or "theorist of education," given the centrality of these people to the story I am telling here.

in the broader American culture. The Church underwent changes in the second half of the twentieth century that, for these reasons, were all the more dramatic.

Sociologists of religion have sometimes interpreted the apparent upheavals of the Second Vatican Council as somewhat superficial, that *Humanae vitae* in particular demonstrates that the Council was an "attempt of hierarchical elites to present an impression of accommodation to the modern world," and not a real change to the power structures of the Church (Kowalewski 1993:214). I have no interest in disputing this claim, but want to qualify it by pointing out that the kinds of structures that were ultimately unchanged by Vatican II are not the only kinds of structures that are relevant to the power of the Church in the world. Paul VI demonstrated his hold on a certain kind of power in his decision to reject the majority commission report and issue *Humanae vitae.* Especially in the United States, lay Catholics found that particular kind of power decreasingly relevant to their lived experience. Long before the Second Vatican Council, American Catholic schools had begun to be open to and eventually appropriate ideas from public school circles. Despite its own structural stability, the magisterium had no power to check the larger changes in Catholic moral authority indicated by this openness of the schools. Catholic schools gradually undermined the moral authority of the rules promulgated by the magisterium by no longer being particularly concerned with moral rules at all, and instead using experiential and skills-focused moral education.

I propose a distinction between organizational authority—embodied by the pope, cardinals, and other bishops who make up the magisterium—and moral authority, which is the willingness of Catholics outside the magisterium (lower clergy, theologians, lay people) to follow the moral guidance of the magisterium. *Humanae vitae* showed simultaneously that the pope retained absolute control over official moral teachings and that fewer and fewer people were listening to

those teachings. School officials conducted moral education by teaching skills and dispositions instead of rules, while simultaneously, the locus of moral authority within the Church shifted from the magisterium to the consciences of individual Catholics.

In this dissertation I will not explain every cause of either this transition in the methods of moral education in Catholic schools or the larger transition in the seat of moral authority in the Church. Other scholars have written at length about those broader cultural changes within the Catholic Church (McSweeney 1980; Seidler and Meyer 1989; Dolan 2002; Greeley 2004; Tentler 2007). I will focus on the way the transition in moral education played out in the work of Catholic educationists, in particular their changing rhetorical relationship to their counterparts in the public schools. These Catholic educationists developed patterns of discourse with their public school colleagues, creating interreligious dialogue around moral education through the Church's highly devolved system of institutional control and rising teacher professionalization. Parish priests, school administrators, and classroom teachers had a tremendous amount of autonomy in Chicago's Catholic schools, which allowed them to experiment. They followed a rich Catholic tradition of assimilating outside ideas. Teachers in the Catholic schools and in the public schools were also professionalizing rapidly in these decades, creating an environment—in the form of professional organizations—for those outside ideas to reach the Catholic schools that were in a position to experiment.

Sociologists tend to argue that the legitimacy of Catholic doctrinal positions is built through an intentional, strategic use of secular ideas grafted onto existing doctrine (Cheney 1991:94; Burns 1992:201; Kowalewski 1993:208; Dillon 1995:160; Dillon 1996:25). This is part of a general tendency to look to the workings of the magisterium to explain changes in the Church as a whole while emphasizing the limitations of ground-up, lay-influenced change to

official doctrine (Wilde 2007:ch. 6). According to this interpretation, Vatican II ceded lay people the permission to dissent from authority that characterized the post-Conciliar Church (Dolan 1985:426).

These scholars have contributed to our growing understanding of the multiplicity of authority within the Church and of the complexity of world-accommodating policies (Seidler 1986:847) and, more broadly, the multivocality of Catholics as a group (D'Antonio 1993:380). These are significant gains, but this approach tends to focus on Church elites and doctrines rather than on lay people and their lived experiences. Scholars overstate when they make the point that what happened at the council was disconnected from people's lives (Wilde 20007:5). And by focusing on the elites and their discourse, it makes it easier to rest in the assumption that a line can be drawn between religious and nonreligious organizations, since you are looking at the "core" of the organization.

This leads to a failure to see the role of lay autonomy from the Church's moral authority, both before and after Vatican II. When we focus on the tension between "official doctrines" and "unofficial practices," we miss the crucial step of how those doctrines relate to those practices. The magisterium has incentive to think about this official/unofficial binary, but lay people in their daily lives and local clergy in their parishes have the opposite incentive. At the edges of the organization, where the Catholic worldview encounters non-Catholic worldviews, people's relationship to doctrine is characterized by openness of interpretation.

This dissertation will argue primarily that this openness was in part conditioned by the organizational realities at those organizational edges. The schools and other peripheral spaces of the Church have practical tasks that bring them into close contact with their secular counterparts. That close contact leads to openness in interpreting the boundary between the Catholic and non-

Catholic worlds.

This dissertation will also argue, secondarily and more speculatively, that this mixing and openness seen at the periphery of the Church can serve to further "unsettle the logics of institutional differentiation" (Bender 2010) that are so central to a classical secularization thesis. This work fits well with recent ferment in the sociology of religion that attends to the cultural authority of religious institutions (Gorski and Altinordu 2008; Mayrl 2016:17), specifically at a "meso" level of analysis, looking neither to the macro differentiation of spheres nor to the micro decline of individual belief (Tenteler 2007:14; Mayrl 2011:112).

Scholars have done excellent work in recent decades in questioning the assumption that we can identify religious and nonreligious entities in a way that is stable through time (Chaves 1993), in conjunction with a more general revolution of the secularization paradigm (Asad 1993; Martin 2005; Taylor 2007; Gorski et al. 2012). One very powerful part of this has been a sophisticated approach to the Catholic Church, with increasing recognition that it is not monolithic. This dissertation will further this work, striving to avoid putting the secularization cart before the horse of religious change.

The remainder of this introduction is divided into three parts. The first will discuss my choice of the Roman Catholic Church as a case, discussing at greater length the distinction between organizational authority and moral authority. The second discusses the implications of this same distinction for the sociological study of secularization and related phenomena. The third will consider moral education as an object of inquiry, discussing why the moral education happening in Catholic schools is a particularly valuable entrée into the changes of the Church as a whole in the late twentieth century and the methodological requirements of the study of this kind of education.

1.2. Organizational Authority and Moral Authority: The Roman Catholic Church as a Case

The Roman Catholic Church makes sense as the object of this kind of inquiry for both practical and theoretical reasons. Once one has decided to consider the activity of schools as a gauge of religious change (see 1.4), the Catholic schools present themselves an obvious choice, simply because of the extent of the system. Further, we would naturally expect that the biggest Catholic school systems, in proportion to their public school counterparts, would be the most autonomous and the most able to resist pressure to conform to the public school model. Public schools and Catholic schools openly exchanging ideas would surprise us most in such a case. In Chicago in 1965, 29.8 percent of all school children attended Catholic schools (RJH 109/7:4-5).

Scholars have made tremendous progress problematizing the boundary between religious and secular, but they have been focused on the non-Western settings in which the classic secularization thesis fails most readily (Shiner 1967:217; Gorski and Altinordu 2008:76; Josephson 2012:2-5). We can deepen this critique by turning our attention back to the West. The Roman Catholic Church is the most thoroughly institutionalized religious organization in the world, and it is both commonsensically religious and the ideal type of "church" in both the Weberian and Troeltschian sense (Weber 1946:302–22; Troeltsch 1931). This dissertation will show that even this churchiest of churches has permeable and shifting boundaries.

I have referred to the Roman Catholic Church in a casual way that suggests that it is a well-defined, recognizable entity. And it is a good case for this kind of investigation precisely because of the extent to which that is true, as just discussed. But this dissertation tells a story of shifting conceptions of the Church itself, and so it is prudent to discuss the ways the entity of the Church can be defined and recognized.

In the background of the events that are the focus of this dissertation, the worldwide

Church underwent a significant transition, which was codified by many of the documents of Vatican II. Lay people and lower clergy went from seeing "the Church" as synonymous with the hierarchy of bishops, the offices of the Vatican, etc., to seeing it as the "people of God," in communion around the world (O'Malley 2008:141). Sociologists of religion tend to talk about the Vatican II transition in a way that assumes the reality of the former view, and so they describe the "declining authority of the Church" when they mean the declining authority of the upper levels of the hierarchy of the Church as an organization. I will use the term "magisterium" to refer to those highest levels of the hierarchy, and use "the Church" to refer to the entirety of the organization and all its members, clergy and lay. (I will occasionally use "church" to indicate the building in a parish where worship takes place.) The magisterium comprises the pope and the bishops. Magisterium sometimes also refers to those people's teaching authority or the teaching authority of the Church as a whole, but I mean it as the people, acting collectively in the promulgation of encyclicals, canon laws, council documents, and the like.

This usage has the advantage of not passing judgment on the authenticity of any of the internal cultural variations within global Catholicism. I consider as part of the Church any institution that claims affiliation with or is recognized by the magisterium. This allows me to recognize a multiplicity of goals held by people within the Church, not simply the preservation of "hierarchical power and traditional teachings" (Kowalewskji 1993:207) that is the particular concern of the magisterium. We are free to imagine ideas of lay moral autonomy or dissent as coming from anywhere in the Church, not just being handed down to the people by the magisterium at Vatican II (cf. Dolan 1985:426; D'Antonio 1993:381).

For such an all-encompassing definition of the Church to be useful, we will require analytic subdivisions. I propose two. I will use the terms "organizational authority" and "moral

authority" as my most important division. Organizational authority is power over office-occupants and institutional participation: who gets a job in what parish, who is allowed to take communion, who is absolved in confession, who authors the encyclicals, and who revises canon law. It is the structure of the offices that make up the magisterium, the kinds of people who hold those offices, mechanisms of enforcing orthodoxy across levels, and the formal status of Church teachings. Moral authority is power over hearts and minds: whose moral ideas are listened to, whose moral guidelines are followed, whence come the worldviews and moral ideas that people in various positions in the Church hold, and how people in the Church but outside the magisterium (lay people, parish clergy, theologians) receive the teachings of the magisterium. One can think of organizational authority as de jure and moral authority as de facto. Andrew Greeley makes the distinction clear in his description of the Church at the turn of the century: "The leadership continues its authoritarian rule making. The majority of the laity and the lower clergy do not obey" (Greeley 2004:82).

The Catholic schools fall under the organizational authority of the magisterium, and it is by that right that I call them Catholic schools. Whether the schools fall under the moral authority of the magisterium (or Catholic theologians, or American secular scientism, or whatever it is) is an open question. One of the purposes of this dissertation is to simply demonstrate that openness. I have no interest in declaring that the Catholic schools of this period are "really" secular or that the public schools are "really" Protestant; I seek to make the simple point that the organizational affiliation of a school and its moral content are separate empirical questions.

I should also say something about the relationship of Chicago to the rest of the United States, and the relationship of Catholicism in the United States to the rest of the Church. Chicago is more prominent than it is representative. Chicago stands out because of the relative scale of its

Roman Catholic population and, therefore, its Catholic school system (Sanders 1977:xii), the energy and scope of its liberal Catholic activism, the scale of backlash against racial integration (McGreevey 1996), and its leadership role in education reform movements of all kinds (Tyack 1974: 256ff; Shipps 2006). Chicago is of interest because of its extremity. The role of the United States in global Catholicism is somewhat different. North American bishops were allied with Northern European bishops in voting progressively at Vatican II (Wilde 2007:61), but occupied a middle ground in their reaction to *Humanae vitae* a few years later, noticeably more liberal than their counterparts in a place like Ireland, and more conservative than in a place like Quebec (Tentler 2007:17). While I believe Chicago was a leader of American Catholics in the patterns I discuss here, I have no evidence to assert that these patterns persist outside of the United States.

1.3. Secularization, Theory of Religion

In classic secularization theory, secularity is a property of an entire society, to be observed in the power and influence of its religious institutions (Warner 1993:1046–47; Gorski 2000:158), particularly as they relate to political institutions (Taylor 2007:1–2). Over time, religious ideas would either become diffuse and generalized (Parsons 1966) or become confined to the private sphere (Berger 1969). This classic theory has mostly given way now, as research has questioned its empirical force (Jacobsen and Jacobsen 2008:10), brought to light it's ideological origins (Martin 1969; Hadden 1987), and undermined the idea that religious organizations were internally uniform.

This internal variability has mostly been examined through studies of authority within religious organizations. Mark Chaves has been particularly influential in this vein with his work developing the concept (coined by Luckmann 1967:36–37, developed significantly in

Dobbelaere 1981, 1985, 1987) of "internal secularization" (Chaves 1993; see also Martin 2005; Taylor 2007). In this line of research, internal secularization is understood as a decrease in the share of the control of a religious organization held by "religious authority" as opposed to other kinds. A given authority structure is religious if it justifies its own power with reference to the supernatural (Chaves 1994:756).

This brings to mind Weber's original definition of religious authority as that which claims a monopoly on the legitimate "distributing or denying of religious benefits," which is effective as a mechanism of social control through a kind of psychological coercion (Weber 1978:54). Chaves's work, and much that followed its lead, maintains this emphasis on the actions of elites.

Jeremy Thomas's work on the outsourcing of moral authority is one example. Thomas uses the phrase "moral authority" to refer to the task of legitimation required for moral guidance to be credible, and he finds evangelical denominations allowing this work to be done by secular entities by making use of the concept of psychological harm in its anti-pornography moralizing. Whereas Chaves found religious authorities and secular authorities working side by side inside denominational leadership—and the religious losing ground to the secular—Thomas found the same leaders abandoning the supernatural content of their own authority (Thomas 2013:458). This kind of internal secularization would allow for authority figures to maintain their positions in a religious organization, successfully exerting moral authority, but a moral authority devoid of religious content.

Chaves does add some specificity with his distinction between religion and religious authority. Instead of looking for the decline of "religion" within a denomination, one looks for the relative decline of those leaders who justify their power with reference to the supernatural compared with those who do not (Chaves 1993:7; 1994:756). While we can focus an empirical

investigation with this insight, it only saves us from the fraught process of defining "religious" by preemptively defining it as that which makes reference to the supernatural.

We face a similar problem with Weber's original definition of religious authority. If we recognize religious authority by the religious benefits it controls, we must first be able to know what are and what are not *religious* benefits. If a priest believes he holds a monopoly on religious benefits but lay people identify other benefits that they believe to be religious and that they can get from other sources, the hierocratic authority is undermined. We will see this as secularization only if we side with the priest over the lay person about what constitutes a religious benefit. What is more common is to look only at religious organizational leadership and not become aware of this potential shift of authority.

We should instead define religiousness empirically in each case. In some situations, leaders vying for power against a backdrop of a static view of religiousness may be the cause of religious change, such as internal secularization. But in some situations, people may contest the view of religiousness itself. In such a case, we will only be able to explain religious change by investigating emic definitions of religion (cf. Guhin 2014:580).[2]

When scholars focus on the power dynamics among the leadership of religious organizations (Dobbelaere 1981; Chaves 1993), they tend to look for secularization either in the machinations of elites or, in the case of a decline or void of organizational authority, in the independent actions of individual (non)believers. In both cases, our attention remains focused on

[2] I am very aware that the method I am advocating and the phenomenon that method has led me to describe in this dissertation are both about the power of individual believers to alter the boundaries and definitions of their own religious faith, and both method and phenomena have a strikingly Protestant cast. I am myself a practicing Protestant, and I will not pretend my own worldview hasn't influenced these conclusions. But I will also prevaricate by pointing out that as an American social scientist, such a worldview is overdetermined. The discipline of sociology has very deep roots in the Protestant middle class (Ross 1991:101), and much of "modern" society we owe to the influence of Protestantism, according to Troeltsch: "individual autonomy, the belief in progress … the indestructability and strength of our confidence in life and our impulse to work" (as quoted in Yinger 1948:313).

the center or core of a religious organization when the key to the story is the presence or absence of a certain kind of organizational authority. In the analysis that follows, I will intentionally decouple organizational authority from moral authority and not assume that a position of organizational authority confers permanent moral authority. I will argue that the periphery of a religious organization is not simply made up of individuals making private religious choices, but a zone of coherent worldviews that are as "religious" as those of the core.

By not focusing on the organizational core, we can also explore greater empirical richness in the "mundane and undirected process[es], advanced through inaction, informal adjustment, and evolutionary tinkering" (Mayrl 2011:113) that constitutes religious change. By taking seriously the moral authority both recognized and generated by lay people, we are freed from the obligation to determine if the Church's moral authority is "declining." The nature of the Church's moral authority was clearly different in 1975 than it was in 1945—grounded in different arguments, manifested in different practices, understood differently by different groups—but it was not clearly more or less moral or more or less authoritative in some absolute sense in either time period.

1.4. Moral Education as an Object of Inquiry

For the purposes of this analysis, I define moral education as the intentional development of a person's capacity to do right and to value the good.[3] I mean "moral" as a descriptor of the nature of the education in question, not as an assessment of its value. This is moral education as opposed to physical education or mathematics education, not moral education as opposed to immoral education (cf. Vaisey and Miles 2014:312). The word "intentional" is also important, for

[3] The definition of moral education I am using here is broader in some ways and narrower in some ways than that which I have used before (McCamant 2017:20).

moral formation has always happened in Catholic schools, just as it happens in all aspects of social life. People's moral selves are constantly being formed by the social settings in which they live and move, and the kind of moral socialization cannot be switched off at the door of a school.[4] The idea of intent also includes a kind of explicitness, not necessarily from the perspective of the students, but for educationists among themselves.

1.4.1. Rules, Skills, and Dispositions

In the chapters that follow I will describe a transition between two different styles of moral education, one based on the direct communication of moral rules, and one based on the experiential development of skills and dispositions. Rules-based moral education is the assimilation of the content of a moral order. Skills and disposition-based moral education, in contrast, is the development of commitment to that moral order. The difference between them is, as Bidwell puts it, between "knowing how one is supposed to act in a given social situation and wanting to act in that way" (Bidwell 1972:2). And fully developed dispositions are not just the desire to do something, but the tendency to do it. In the case of Roman Catholic schools' moral education, the relevant rules are the moral guidelines of the catechism, the lists of sins in confession manuals, and the proscriptions found in canon law and papal encyclicals. Moral skills are less specific and more subject to the ideas of individual teachers and may include moral

[4] It is important to acknowledge that any moral education happens against a background of continuous moral formation. Social life itself is morally formative, and certain spheres of social life—the family, the church, the school—are especially formative, even apart from any intentional schemes of moral education that they might have. The Roman Catholic Church in the mid-twentieth century is very aware of this, and many educational treatises talk about the explicit instruction of the Catholic school, the CCD program as being supplemental to the formation (moral, religious, social, economic) that happens naturally within the community through everyday activities in the life of the parish. This awareness, so much more acute that that of their public school counterparts, is likely a result of the "ghetto mentality" of the Catholic communities in the U.S. There is no reason to believe that there is less moral formation happening passively in the lives of public school students who are Protestant, but perhaps because the moral formation they are receiving is closer to the "mainstream" of American life, it is not noticed as moral formation. They are not being formed against anything, so they do not appear to be formed at all.

reflection, judgment (Bidwell 1987:211), and personal discipline.

Rules-based moral education transitioning to skills-based moral education is a story of shifting emphasis. We cannot fully separate rules and skills in any practical educational setting as many skills are simply the habitual application of a series of practical rules. When the complexity of a school environment interacts with the complexity of a developing human, "knowing and valuing, skill and commitment, are complementary and interactive" (Bidwell 1987:207).

I will also discuss a shift from rules to skills *and dispositions*. Disposition is a placeholder word as there is not a single word that satisfactorily encompasses what is being formed in this kind of process of moral education. It has something to do with character and something to do with worldview, something to do with habits, but also with habitus. The term "disposition" seems a reasonable choice to hold the middle of this cluster of concepts. Durkheim used the term as a way of differentiating the moral education that he envisioned from other concepts popular at the time: "To influence the child morally is not to nurture in him a particular virtue, followed by another and still another; it is to develop and even to constitute completely, by appropriate methods, those general dispositions that, once created, adapt themselves readily to the particular circumstances of human life" (Durkheim 1903:21). I use disposition in part because it seems to walk a line between that which is conscious and that which is embodied or habitual and thus automatic—what the culture and action scholars would call discursive and practical cognition (Vaisey 2009).[5]

[5] One could argue that a disposition is extremely similar to the personal appropriation of culture, and that moral education for disposition ought to be called cultural education in the sense of culture as shared "modes of behavior and outlook" (Swidler 2001:12). I find this terminology too likely to be conflated with cultural education such as in the visual arts or music, and too likely to slip into the transmission of knowledge of one's culture, as opposed to the formation of a way of being that is characteristic of one's culture.

Durkheim tells us that the most basic requirement of moral dispositions is that they "prompt us to act morally, not in such and such a particular instance, but generally in men's relationships with one another" (Durkheim 1903:33). This generality demands that a disposition comprise values and normative commitments organized "into motivated patterns of social conduct" (Bidwell 1987:207). This completeness and durability distinguish moral education for disposition from moral education for knowledge of rules. An example of rules-based moral education is the ethical training of professionals, which aims at specific behavioral responses to foreseeable short-timescale scenarios. In the case of professional ethics training, it is for the purposes of liability avoidance and occupational prestige maintenance. Moral formation for disposition aims at general development that will serve in diverse, unforeseen scenarios of varying durations, including the entire life course.

1.4.2. Methodological Considerations

As I have defined it, moral education for disposition must be intentional. That intentionality and the fuzziness of the concept of a moral disposition both have important methodological implications for this kind of historical study. This is an archival project. My analysis is supported first and foremost by the archives and records of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Chicago, especially the papers of the Archdiocesan School Board under Samuel Stritch (1939–1958), Albert Meyer (1958–1965), and John Cody (1965-1982). I have also made substantial use of published discourse of Catholic educationists and moral theologians.

I have defined moral education as the *intentional* development of capacities for moral action. It is necessary to have intentionality in this definition because unintentional moral education encompasses too much of social life to be a coherent object of inquiry. People undergo

morally relevant passive socialization in the course of their everyday interactions, but it is too diffuse to be understood as a single category of social process.

But intention in not just a simple method of bounding a social process. There are two aspects to the problem of intention, though they are not fully separable. First, there is the question of what constitutes intention, and second, there is the question of how the researcher can identify the presence of some intention. We can see the way they are bound together if we consider the methodological consequence of arbitrarily defining intention as aims or goals that are explicitly declared. We could then answer the question of what constitutes intent and how we identify it in the social world, but such a definition excludes a lot of interesting social situations.

An example from the broader sociology of education will serve to illustrate how these two elements function and interact. If we consider Golann's (2015) ethnography of a "no excuses" charter school, we can see that the question of what constitutes intention has several aspects. In the school in question, there are several types of actors, all of whom may have different intentions for different aspects of the school's practices. There are administrators, teachers, staff, parents, and students, all with various intentions for the schooling process as a whole and for its various components. So if we are considering whether or not some educational practice is intentional, we must ask *whose* intention we are interested in.

Individual people's intentions will also vary in both temporal and spatial scale. A student might begin ninth grade intending to eventually attend college, but by the 11th grade may intend to work immediately after graduation. A teacher may intend to instill loyalty to the school as a part of his coaching the volleyball team, but may not consider that as a goal when teaching his math class. An administrator may intend simultaneously to protect the teachers under her from burdensome bureaucratic requirements and to advance quickly in the district's leadership

hierarchy, and may find that those intentions are not ultimately compatible.

Perhaps most problematic in the above examples is the question of what intention itself means—for example, what it means for a student to intend to graduate. How explicitly must the student have thought about this intention? Can it be a vague expectation? Must the student fully understand what completing the intention would entail? All of these questions are relevant to the example of Golann's study. The powers-that-be in the school she studies intend—according to their statements—that the school's militaristic disciplinary practices will maintain order and ensure that teachers and students alike experience optimal conditions to focus on academic work. By advertising the school as "college prep," administrators suggest strongly that they intend to prepare students to be admitted to and to succeed in college, including forming the necessary dispositions. And yet Golann finds that the dispositions that are formed are those of subservience and rote obedience rather than the self-motivation and "critical thinking" skills associated with college success.

Let us imagine that there are two teachers at the school, both of whom have plainly stated their intention to prepare students for college. One of the teachers is relatively new to teaching and feels confident that the militaristic discipline of the school will only aid the students in academic achievement. The other is a veteran teacher, and while she foresees the relationship between militaristic discipline and the development of habits of obedience, she is hopeful that the students will be able to adapt in college and considers it reasonable to make compromises for the sake of academic achievement. Do these two teachers intend the same outcome if they are so differently aware of the consequences of their actions?

These examples bring us to the question of how we as researchers can perceive intention. If the two teachers in the above example discuss their plans and expectations with a researcher,

that researcher can certainly consider, compare, and discuss their declared intentions, both in relation to each other and in relation to other actions they take in their work in the school. I included intent in the definition of moral education not to draw a bright line between cases where there is intention and those where there is not, but rather to emphasize intention as a primary component of what needs to be examined.

We cannot escape our reliance on some kind of declared intention, whether it be declared in writing, in an interview, or to another actor. We must always remain aware of the discrepancy—well established by the sociology of culture (e.g., Vaisey 2009)—between the kinds of intentions that guide people's actions, which may never rise to the level of discursive consciousness, and the kinds of intentions they declare in writing or in an interview. Ultimately, we will determine the meaning of the intentionality in any given case not simply by noting its presence, but by examining the details of how and to whom the intention is stated, how it is perceived by others, and how it relates to subsequent action.

In the preceding example of the "no excuses" charter school, teachers and students had intentions that were mostly cleanly bounded, easily defined, and could be expected to be quite stable over time: e.g., attending college, professional advancement, or improved graduation statistics. When teachers and students hold intentions that are shifting in time, varied across institutional practice, and relate to the more diffuse goals of moral skills and moral dispositions, we will face more complexity. In this project I have attempted to manage this complexity by conducting a simultaneous institutional and conceptual history. This is both a history of ideas as they lived and moved inside the structures of the Catholic schools of Chicago, and a history of those structures and their power to shape those ideas. It is a study of a perpetual relationship of mutual influence. The shape of the organization provides the scope of action of the ideas, and the

ideas provide the very boundaries of the purpose and identity of the organization (cf. Koselleck 2002:23).

I am interested in the relationship between institutions as "bearers and promoters of ideals" and the people who, in their interaction with those institutions, "imbibe those ideals and take them on as their own" (Mayrl 2016:35–36). I have employed a method of analysis of shifting between synchronic event and diachronic context. Both happen in the institutional realm, and both happen in the conceptual realm. When an educationist publishes a guide to values clarification education, for example, that action is both an event happening against the backdrop of a steady state of educational psychology and moral development theory, and also a force that changes that steady state. Everything has a kind of intermediate newness—able to bring about change but also able to be comprehended. "What happens is always unique and new, but never so new that social conditions, which are pregiven over the long term, will not have made possible each unique event" (Koselleck 2002:30).

1.4.3. Why Study Moral Education

Moral education is an area of social life that is particularly effective at revealing ideas that people have about the right and the good. Any scheme of moral education requires people to be explicit (usually in writing) about the moral world that they aspire to. And while sociologists of culture warn us that it is a tenuous path from what people say they aspire to and what they accomplish in the world, both ends of this pathway are still interesting in themselves.[6]

This dissertation is based on data that is primarily this kind of explicitly aspirational

[6] When I speak of moral education as an object of sociological inquiry, I mean it as a realm in which to access cultural data, not a process. If and how moral education works is a worthy topic of study as well, but is not what I am discussing here.

writing—that is, I will be writing about the act of writing about experiential moral education. I am not writing about experiential education, except in the abstract. Because of the nature of the sources, we will not get particularly close to any actual *experiences*. But the object of this inquiry is not those experiences, but the organized belief in the power of those experiences. It is not my contention that discourse about moral education is better than other kinds of educational discourse at giving us access to the process of education or the on-the-ground experience of students. Moral education is good to study because of what it reveals about the beliefs of the adults who direct education.

Historians of American educational philosophy tell us that it is difficult for any innovations in practice to reach the experience of students. Many educational revolutions have occurred only at the level of the educationist—or perhaps the school board—and don't make it to the classroom in anything but lip service. Practices like age-grading, having lesson plans structured by textbooks, and being tested for information you have memorized are incredibly durable structures. We can learn something important about the ideological change the Church underwent in the later part of the twentieth century by examining the assertion, on the part of Catholic educationists, that experiential learning is more effective than rote learning.

Moral education is also not an area that sociologists have recently paid much attention to. The recent rise of the sociology of morality has emphasized the individual and deferred to neurological and psychological understandings of the mind that are not in keeping with my social and cultural approach. Perhaps because of its association with Parsons, the broader study of morality "went down with the functionalist ship" (Hitlin and Vaisey 2013:53). The study of moral education I am suggesting here is not a return to Parsons. Most importantly, Parsons saw values as potentially stable for long periods of time, reproduced unproblematically through

socialization (Spates 1983:28). I develop this analytic category of moral education precisely to acknowledge that it is a set of processes that varies with temporal and social context.

We are not forced into a normative stance on what moral education *should* occur by researching the moral education that did occur or was planned. Moral education research is an investigation into preferences, not a statement of preferences (cf. Dewey 1938:25; Joas 2000:10). There is also limited reason to believe that moral education is a promising site for normative change. "[B]ecause it is an exercise in the transmission of culture, moral education—however institutionalized—is always more a reflection of the social order than a mechanism by which the social order is transformed" (Hunter 2000:27).

The study of moral education is well positioned to yield further insight into the debates about the relationship between culture and action. Culture/cognition scholars are relevant not only because they study cultural objects we may classify as "moral," but because they think about the relationship between the role of morality in social life and the visibility of morality to the researcher. Swidler discusses this dilemma whereby the cultural values that are most deeply held—and presumably the most central in social life—are the least conscious. If a person is capable of talking about a value, that value "has not completely fused with experience" (Swidler 2001:19). The study of moral education hovers in this no-man's-land between skepticism and embodiment. A discourse on moral education is a moment when implicit understandings become explicit. This is necessary to see them in the historical record or in an ethnographic setting, but it also signals something about how those understandings are held and used.

The study of moral education is also an opportunity to broaden the way education itself is understood within sociology. In much of the sociology of education, education is exclusively and immediately operationalized as some numerical measure of educational achievement, namely

years of schooling or highest degree earned. “Education” then becomes a fairly static thing, either an outcome variable or a characteristic of individuals. Moral education can remind us that measures such as years of schooling or degree attainment do not capture all that happens in schools. The project of studying moral education is at the heart of the larger, ongoing project of “coming to comprehend the momentous transformations of our culture and society [in the West] over the last three or four centuries” (Taylor 1989:ix).

Finally, Americans talk about the goals and methods of moral education in a way that can sometimes feel very narrow. The historical and sociological study of moral education can bring to life lost or dormant visions of what a good life is and how schools might contribute to bringing it about. We need, as urgently as ever, to find answers to the questions of what makes for a good person, and how good people are to be formed in society. Sociologists of education are paying increasing attention to how moral education is conducted in American schools today. As sociologists of religion, we can ask if there a particular kind of moral education that is appropriate to the religious and moral pluralism of the American public school population. I will not assert that answers to those questions are to be found in the Catholic moral education ideas of the second half of the twentieth century. My purpose is instead to portray those ideas in the full richness of their context, to keep the example in our field of view. Catholic moral education schemes were varied, contradictory, borrowed, claimed, and disputed. But they have in common a vision of a human person whose education is worth all this dispute and discussion. For the Catholics who will be discussed here, it was a vision grounded in a particular theological worldview, one which I believe can be valuable to all of us.

1.5. Plan of the Dissertation

Chapter 2 presents an overview of the organization of Chicago Catholic schools in this period. This chapter demonstrates the devolved organizational authority that would allow for the external input, at the periphery of the Church, that allowed for the gradual shift in moral authority.

Chapter 3 shows one avenue of this external input, before it reached the core of Catholic moral education (i.e., religion education): the influence of progressive pedagogy on civics education in the Catholic schools. I demonstrate fundamental similarities between public school and Catholic school civics education practices, arguing that Catholic educators were still so confident in the moral authority of Church teachings that they believed they could withstand methods imported from a different kind of moral authority.

Chapter 4 presents a moment in time when moral education, through the imposition of rules, failed dramatically for Chicago Catholic leaders: the efforts of higher clergy to impose racial justice views on parishioners. The response of the Archdiocese of Chicago was to step further from exhortation and towards an experimentation with formation, only surreptitiously. This was not an abandonment of exhortation; priests kept preaching racial tolerance from the pulpit, but there was an acknowledgement that people can't simply be told what to think about a moral issue and must have their consciences formed by experience.

Chapter 5 shows the result of further movement down this path to formation over exhortation, such that now the formation is explicitly presented to those who are being formed. And here we see the shift from the rhetorical move of stronghold (as in chapter 3) to the rhetorical move of ingestion, where the justification for methods—not just the methods themselves—is claimed as authentically Catholic.

The case studies that make up this dissertation vary on a few different axes. They are presented chronologically: chapter 3 addresses primarily 1945–1960; chapter 4 is focused on 1968–1974, with more background on the earlier 1960s; and chapter 5 focuses on 1972 onward. They therefore show a progression of the embrace of experiential moral-skill learning over the didactic teaching of moral rules, involving a shift from separating methods from rationales in the 1950s (chapter 3), passive implementation of experimentalism in the Operation Hospitality example (chapter 4), and both explicit experimentalism and a rhetorical embrace of new philosophy in the values clarification example (chapter 5).[7]

[7] The chapters also move in time across the life course in a few ways. Chapter 3 is focused on civics education in elementary and junior high schools, chapter 4 presents a busing program mostly aimed at junior high students, and chapter 5 is focused on high school students and the young adults who were faced with contraceptive decisions. The analysis spans thirty years, and we can imagine many different experiences happening in that time. Imagine, for instance, a person born around 1938 who, when my study period begins in 1945, is in first grade. This person would have been prime age to receive the anti-communist civics education of chapter 3 and would have been in 7th grade when the Archdiocese of Chicago issued its junior high textbook *Christian Civics*. This same person would have been 29 when *Humanae vitae* was issued in 1968 and very likely to be in the thick of contraceptive decisions. Some people who appear in this story would have experienced less of the education that is described. The parents of the middle school students who had the option of being bused during Operation Hospitality, who we can imagine as being 40 years of age in 1968, would have themselves attended the Catholic schools of the 1930s and 1940s. This is the same age as people who, in 1975, would have had high school students in schools equipped with *Help is Here*.

Chapter 2: Educational Philosophy in Practice: What it is to be a Catholic School

2.1. Introduction

This chapter will present the organizational setting of this dissertation: Roman Catholic schools in the United States after the Second World War, using Chicago as a case study. This chapter has two major sections. The first section discusses Catholic educational philosophy: its general features and particular variations. The second section describes the organizational structure of Catholic schooling in the immediate postwar period, considering the question of whether the Chicago Catholic schools can be described as a school "system." I ultimately argue that the looseness of Catholic school organization, combined with Catholic enthusiasm for participation in secular educational professional societies, allowed for the rapidity of change in pedagogical practices and justifications that so characterized the Vatican II era.

2.2. Roman Catholic Educational Philosophy

What do I mean by Catholic educational philosophy? There are three major categories of ideas that I put under this heading: (1) elements of the Catholic worldview (theological, moral-philosophical, social) that Catholic educators try to impart through schooling; (2) ideas about why Catholic schooling is important—either in the context of a Catholic life or the context of American society; and (3) ideas held by Catholic educators about how schooling functions: pedagogical practices, theories of learning, etc. In other words, Catholic educational philosophy is *what* should be taught, *why* it should be taught, and *how* it should be taught. The how, in

particular, is constrained by the organization of the school, a relationship that this chapter will only hint at in juxtaposing the educational philosophical ideas with their organizational setting. One of the larger questions of the dissertation as a whole is how ideas (such as educational philosophy) become instantiated in concrete practices (such as classroom activities). This chapter will not answer that question so much as introduce the main character and set the stage for this particular case study.

While the sources for this section span the entire period of the dissertation, they are concentrated in the first part (1945–60), and in all cases represent aspects of Catholic educational philosophy that seem to me to have persisted essentially unchanged throughout the entire period.

2.2.1. What? The Catholic Worldview to be Taught

In this section I will discuss the content of Catholic education as distinct from public education. Catholic educationists all agreed, for example, that Catholic schools should teach mathematics, but since they had this in common with public school educationists, this fact is not an aid to us in our task of understanding the distinctiveness of Catholic educational philosophy. Catholic educational philosophy is distinct from other varieties of educational philosophy in the United States in the twentieth century in its goal to teach students what it means to be Catholic. This has two aspects: first the theological and moral truths of human existence from a Catholic perspective, and second, the relationship of Catholic life to the rest of American society. Of course, the "from a Catholic perspective" is my addition, since it is my intention that this dissertation not assert an opinion on any theological issues. But it is important to remember at all times that to Catholic professional educationists, school leaders, and teachers, these are not Catholic truths; they are universal truths that non-Catholics deny. The relationship of Catholics to

non-Catholics is primarily about Catholics knowing moral and theological truths and the rest of the world denying them. This second aspect of this content has itself two elements—the idea that there is no such thing as secularity (i.e., that humanism is a religion and that Protestantism dominates most things that claim to be secular) and that Catholics have a kind of special moral privilege and an attendant responsibility to society at large. I should note that this section is not intended to describe the content of Catholic education as it was experienced by students. I am concerned not with what elements of the Catholic worldview were successfully transmitted to students, but what elements educationists at various levels *wanted* to transmit or *believed* they were transmitting.

2.2.1.1. Theological and Moral Truths

Foundations. The starting point of all Catholic education is the revealed truth of the nature of man: "fallen from his original estate, but redeemed by Christ and restored to the supernatural condition of adopted sons of God," as Pius XII put it (Manger 1949:264). In their history of Catholic schools in Chicago from 1925 to 1950, long-standing superintendent Daniel Cunningham and his colleagues summarized the consequences of this most fundamental presupposition of Catholic education:

> Catholic education is based on the certain knowledge of the ultimate aim of human life, on the proper understanding of man's dignity and value, and on the clear idea of what man should become through the process of daily living…. Through the educational process, but especially through the aid of God's grace, integration of personality is possible even though difficult. And it is through this integration that man will attain a measure of happiness in the kingdom of this world in preparation for his true and ultimate happiness in the kingdom of God....—this is the definite and never-changing aim of Catholic education. (Cunningham et al. 1950)

In a fiftieth anniversary commemorative book, Chicago's Holy Trinity high school quoted

Pius XI's 1929 encyclical *Divini Illius Magistri*, declaring that it had been "faithful to the commission entrusted by the Church to prepare man 'for what he must be and what he must do here below, in order to attain the sublime end for which he was created'" (INS 01/08:44). This kind of education stands, in the Catholic view, in fundamental opposition to "pedagogic naturalism" that, however superficially similar, is founded "on the denial or forgetfulness of original sin and of grace, and relying on the sole powers of human nature" (Pius XII, as quoted in Manger 1949:264).

Holism. This integration of the natural and supernatural, of a person's worldly life with their other-worldly destiny, lends a holistic character to all Catholic educational ideas. There is holism both in the idea of the person to be educated and in the vision of the educational process itself. The Church's expectation that Catholic parents send their children to Catholic schools is grounded in a fundamental belief that the Catholic worldview cannot be transmitted piecemeal—it must be integrated into every aspect of a person's life. This expectation was gradually softened over the course of the twentieth century with the introduction of CCD (Confraternity of Christian Doctrine) and other forms of "supplemental" Catholic education for Catholic children enrolled in public schools, but Catholic schooling remained the ideal. The Catholic worldview reaches down to the foundations of knowledge, and thus one cannot simply place a Catholic veneer over a textbook or a school experience that is fundamentally secular or Protestant—or so goes the official line in the middle of the century.

In 1958 Frederick Hochwalt, who was at that time both director of the Department of Education of the National Catholic Welfare Conference (NCWC) and executive secretary of the National Catholic Education Association (NCEA), was asked to review a guidance textbook to gauge its suitability for the Catholic schools. In Hochwalt's response to the author, he explained

that while it seemed a very good book for a secular audience, it could never be used for Catholic audiences because the "philosophical basis of the text" was completely secular. Books used in Catholic schools needed to be "integrated with Catholic theology and philosophy." Hochwalt did not think it would be possible to write a guidance text that would be appropriate to both audiences, and this book in particular was not one "that can be 'baptized'" by minor changes or additional chapters. "A book on guidance destined for Catholic schools would have to be written with the Catholic outlook on life as a basis" (Hochwalt to McLaughlin 1958, HOC 1/3).

The practical consequence of this holism from a curriculum standpoint was the diffusion of religious education across all subjects. In some of his correspondence, Hochwalt uses the term "correlation," a term he borrows and modifies from the Progressive pedagogy theorists of the early twentieth century. Correlation, defined as the synthesis of knowledge across traditional subject-matter boundaries, was so frequently invoked by John Dewey and his disciples at the University of Chicago Laboratory Schools that the school's yearbook was called "The Correlator" (University High School 1909, CMTS 3/3). In Hochwalt's view, the correlation that was proper to the Catholic school was not the correlation of one academic discipline with another (as in the trend for "social studies" in lieu of isolated history, civics, and geography courses), but the correlation of all disciplines with "one's basic Catholic philosophy" (Hochwalt to Sr. M. Judith, 1950, HOC 1/3).[1]

[1] "Correlation" is just one example of the way that the centrality of holism in Catholic educational thought brought it in close contact with the traditions of Progressive pedagogy, a topic that will be treated at greater length in the next chapter.

2.2.1.2. Relation of Catholics to Rest of Society

If one half of the Catholic worldview—as it was meant to be imparted to American school children—was composed of fundamental theological truths and their implications for human development, the other half was how that worldview compared with alternatives that the American Catholic would encounter in the broader society. American Catholic schools have their origin in the Church's minority status and the attendant fear that American children would be indoctrinated by a pervasive atmosphere of Protestantism. Even as the relative proportion of Catholics increased across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, this broad idea persisted, and by the postwar period, it was still part of the job of the Catholic schools to properly orient Catholic children to the non-Catholic environment of the larger society, teaching them what that environment was like and what their responsibilities toward it were.

No Such Thing as Secularity. The environment was secular, but Catholic educationists in the postwar period had a particular understanding of what that world implied. It was not simply a separation of church and state. As the American Bishops put in in 1948, "there is a great difference between a practical arrangement which leaves the formal teaching of religion to the family and to the Church, and the educational theory of the secularist, who advisedly and avowedly excludes religion from his program of education" (American Hierarchy 1948, GEN 106/4789:11). In 1956 the archbishop of Cincinnati warned that "moral and spiritual values" in public school programs were particularly insidious when the values chosen rested "solely or even primarily on 'public approval in a democratic society.'" Such an arrangement was not simply an omission of religious grounds of morality, but a positive assertion that conventionality was the measure of the right and good (Alter 1956, GEN 1/08:9).

In a pamphlet on "The Task Which the Secularization of the Public Schools Presents to the

Church," James Pike, an Episcopal priest and chaplain of Columbia University, wrote that "it is not possible to teach anything without a perspective, and perspectives are not in the nature of data nor are they capable of proof: a perspective or world-view is a religion. Humanistic secularism is exactly that." While Catholic educationists may not have included Pike in what they considered "the Church," they agreed with this general perception that the public schools were not in some way neutral with regard to religion, but that the worldview they sought to impart—a kind of amalgam of Protestantism and secular humanism—was itself a religion. As Pike wrote, "ethical culture is one of the permissible religions in a democracy and should not be foreclosed in any pluralistic approach, but it has no special entitlement to be the official religion of the nation" (Pike 1951, Hartnett 5/8).

Special Moral Privilege. Catholic schools would inoculate students against these moral failings of American society and put them in a privileged position as moral leaders. By basing his or her life "upon truth that is uncompromising," a Catholic school student would then prize "a right conscience above the sanction of popular approval" (Six Objectives 1963, HOC 1/10:5). Catholic education itself was understood to be, because of its grounding in revelation, "better, fuller, richer, more humane, and thus more human than any other kind of education" (Ruffle n.d., BEN 3/3).

All of these aspects of the "what" of Catholic education—its grounding in revelation, its holism, and its social and moral imperative—are summarized tidily in a 1970 statement by the principal of Gordon Tech High School on Chicago's northwest side. He explained how the theological and practical elements of the content of a Catholic education related to each other in a "Statement on the Purpose of Catholic Education" for the Archdiocese's School Study Commission:

> A Catholic education tries to introduce the baptized person gradually into a Knowledge of the Mystery of salvation, so that he may grow more conscious of the gift of faith which he received. It also tries to relate all human culture eventually to the news of salvation, to create for the school an atmosphere enlivened by the gospel of freedom & charity. It should try to develop in the young a Catholic sense of apostolic activity, this in the double aspect of spreading the Kingdom of God among men and of bringing the world into relationship with God. There is an old Theological Axiom that "grace supposes nature & perfects it." By fastening the natural development of man through education, the Catholic Schools open up to him the opportunity of developing himself more perfectly supernaturally and of fully bringing the world in contact with Christ. (Wilczek n.d. BEN 3/3)

2.2.2. Why? Purposes of Catholic Education

If one believes that the Catholic worldview discussed in the above section is true and valuable, then the primary purpose of Catholic education is self-explanatory. But there are secondary purposes that Catholic educators discuss in their writing that give a fuller picture.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Catholic schools were an important tool for maintaining ethnic identities. There was a gradual transition to the schools becoming tools of assimilation across the interwar years, and by the decades after the Second World War, social mobility was a primary goal of Catholic education (RJH 15/12, Social Functions of Catholic Education:5). The goal of assimilation was in constant tension with the idea that the Catholic schools were a bulwark against a dangerously secular society. To conservative elements in the Catholic Church, the schools were both a bastion of traditional values and a potential entry point for a threatening modernity. Pius XII, in his 1950 encyclical *Humani generis,* identified the teaching profession as a locus of "new opinions" that threaten the Church, even if such opinions were still in the minority among Catholic teachers (DRP 1/10.05:7,23).

One benefit of Catholic education had nothing directly to do with the education children received: Catholic schools provided competition to the public schools that drove all education towards excellence (Goals and objectives, BEN 3/2). Catholic schools also provided public

benefit by offering opportunities for Protestant families looking for "a better social and academic environment" than the public schools" (RJH 15/12, Social Functions of Catholic Education:9).

One widely acknowledged purpose of the Catholic schools is the preparation for citizenship (McCluskey 1948:388; Murray 1948:62; ACSB 1951:3; RJH 15/12, Social Functions of Catholic Education:10). This will be treated at length in the next chapter. In most writings, this went far beyond simply teaching children the workings of government or the basic duties of a citizen; a Catholic education was portrayed as an experience that "arms the pupil with an understanding of the current social problems and a knowledge of the principles of social justice, that he may be prepared to work and sacrifice to promote the common good by eliminating the causes of social strife" (Six Objectives 1963, HOC 1/10:4).

From discussions of the purposes of Catholic schooling, particularly those from the late 1940s and early 1950s, a picture emerges of a society gravely threatened by secularity and a population of Catholic-school-educated citizens who are equipped to save it. In the immediate postwar period, Catholic educationists framed Catholicism itself as a bulwark against the recent threat of fascism and the looming threat of communism. The thing fascism and communism had in common was secularism, and as the American bishops put it in 1948, secularism "was the fertile soil in which such social monstrosities as Fascism, Nazism, and Communism could germinate and grow" (American Hierarchy 1948, GEN 106/4789:4).

This secularism manifested itself in many ways. It was evident in the many "-isms" that "denied all that is absolute or fixed or abiding in human experience," such as idealism, immanentism, pragmatism, and existentialism (DRP 1/10.05:5). But it was also evident that secularism didn't always announce itself with such a label. Secularism was more than explicit atheism, but included those who do not deny God but failed to "bring an awareness of their

responsibility to God into their thought and action as individuals and members of society" (American Hierarchy 1948, GEN 106/4789:3). Some people saw American secularism not as the absence of religion, but as a new religion. During a radio interview in 1950, Hochwalt said he thought there was an attempt by "modern society to canonize itself" (DRP 1/10.28:9).

Naturally, educationists focused on how rising American secularism related to the Catholic schools. There was a perception that teaching and education research were professions that were particularly susceptible to the secularism-communism hybrid. One woman wrote to Cardinal Stritch to lament that *The Nation* was available in Chicago Public School libraries, citing this as evidence that more Catholic-trained teachers were needed (Bresnahan to Stritch 1950). There was a perception that in the public schools especially, zeal for schools as a tool of social and cultural reform led to a "messianic" ideology (Lynn 1952:7) in which public schools were the only savior of American democracy.

Catholic educationists understood their schools to be equipping students to counter these tendencies. The Archdiocese of Chicago's own junior-high civics text book presented the relationship between one's status as a Catholic and one's power to fight secularism quite directly, without the need of intervention by Catholic schools: "One day you knelt at the feet of a Prince of the Church who said to you 'I sign you with the Sign of the Cross, I confirm you with the chrism of salvation…' Now you are equipped to fight side by side with your brothers in Christ to save the world from modern paganism or secularism" (ACSB 1951:2).[2] But of course it was only children in the city's Catholic schools who were reading those words. In some instances, people had a vision of the Catholic schools playing a very direct role, urging Catholics into influential

[2] Part of this was the idea that Catholic school graduates would be confirmed in their personal commitment to the Catholic Church. Sociologists, Catholic and not, began in the 1950s and 1960s to try to measure the effects of different styles of education on adult religiosity. While some of those findings confirmed the efficacy of the Catholic school to solidify a person's Catholicism, others called it into question (Greeley to RJH 46/4).

professions like teaching, labor management, or library work—professions toward which "atheists, secularists and subversives swarm in large numbers" (Bresnahan to Stritch 1950; Information Regarding 1950:1).

2.2.3. How? Catholic Pedagogical Thought

When one does not share the Catholic worldview, it is perhaps easy to imagine (as I have done by breaking down the "what," "why," and "how" in this section) that the transmission of a Catholic worldview and the transmission of other information to students (e.g., mathematics) are fully separable. But instead their inseparability—both in how the subjects are understood and in the practical task of "correlation"—is itself a fundamental feature of Catholic education. The religious and the nonreligious aspects of Catholic education cannot be isolated. The religious instruction in Catholic schools is understood to impart true information about the world to students, just as the mathematical, historical, or literary instruction is understood to do. If the information presented in religion classes is different in truth value, it is in the direction of greater truth, more foundational truth, more crucial truth.

Moreover, the distinction between academic subjects, moral and religious subjects, and civic or life adjustment subjects is fundamentally less applicable to the Catholic educational worldview than it is in public schools. Holism is a fundamental characteristic of Catholic educational philosophy, something it has in common with much progressive pedagogy in its pure form. When some Catholic educators moved more explicitly to the use of pedagogic models from the public school world, there would be tension within Catholic circles over the label of "progressive," over perceived associations with that symbol of progressive pedagogy, John Dewey, and with the appropriateness of either to Catholic moral beliefs; this is the subject of the

next chapter. For our purposes here, it suffices to identify the social and holistic orientation of Catholic pedagogical ideas.

In part because of *Rerum novarum* (1891) and the social encyclicals that would follow in the early part of the century, Catholics understood themselves to have a responsibility to both understand and improve the social world through the convictions of their faith (RJH 46/4, Church as Educative Institution:14). A general sense of standing in opposition to the overweening individualism of Protestant America further reinforced the idea that a proper Catholic education was fundamentally *social* (DRP 1/10.28:7, FGH).

Catholic educationists believed that moral and religious education especially could not and should not be limited to the formal classroom. This is a natural outgrowth of an emphasis on parish life, which recognizes the educative power of the family, the neighborhood, and the community as a whole. Explicit instruction could happen in the lead-up to sacraments and at different times in the life course—in Sunday School, at summer camps, and through sermons (RJH 46/4, Church as Educative Institution:6-8). Socialization would happen in the home, in the day-to-day life of the parish neighborhood, "through involving the individual in the atmosphere and relationships of church fellowship" (RJH 46/4, Church as Educative Institution:9).

This emphasis on the social responsibility of education and its holistic integration into community and the lives of individual students will sound reminiscent of much educational thought from the first half of the twentieth century, what we might call "progressive pedagogy." Progressivism in education was an even more expansive trend, encompassing the application of administrative science to education as well as pedagogy (see Labaree 2010), and was happening in industrialized nations all over the world beginning in the late nineteenth century. Most familiar is perhaps the story of how it played out in the public schools of the United States: the work of

intellectuals like John Dewey and Jane Addams at the turn of the century, its "conquest of the organized teaching profession" (Cremin 1961: ix), and its fragmentation and diffusion in the middle decades of the twentieth century. By the end of World War II progressive pedagogy was both derided as too soft and (somewhat contradictorily), too conformist for cold warriors (Cremin 1961:336), and so deeply embedded in the most basic understandings of good education that it is identifiable in the ideas of its most vocal opponents. It had become the conventional wisdom (Cremin 1961:328).

It is no surprise that Catholic educational thought had been influenced by these general trends. The next chapter will consider in more detail how Catholic educationists themselves thought about that influence. It is also reasonable to assume that Catholic educationists came to similar ideas through parallel paths.

The continuous presence of advocacy for holistic and socially embedded education in Catholic circles suggests that it was always somewhat aspirational. The fact that Catholic educationists were talking about the holism of Catholic education in the 1940s indicates that it was a valued part of the identity of that kind of education, and Catholic educationists still talking about it in the 1970s indicates that not every school was living up to the ideal. In 1970, the Archdiocese of Chicago launched a commission to review its schools, and as the report was being finalized, members worried that it suggested too strongly that "the reason for having Catholic schools is for the thirty or forty minutes of the day called religion." Instead, they wanted it emphasized both that religious and moral education was the task of the *whole* school and that the school must take "its place in the total parish—the school relating to the family, the family relating to the parish, and the parish relating to the total community…. not just those who are 'religion teachers'" (SSC Minutes 24 Mar 1971, BEN 3/1).

2.3. Roman Catholic Educational Structures

What kind of organization would transmit this Catholic worldview, bring into practice those pedagogical ideas, all for the larger purposes the Catholic educationists and others held so dear? What is the organizational structure in which such ideas and goals could live and function? This section will describe the organizational structures of Chicago Catholic schools, arguing that the openness of that structure made it impossible to standardize the vision of Catholic schooling that anyone tried to transmit down the hierarchy. Hierarchical structure existed, but at every level of that hierarchy professional identity, political expediency, and other constraints led actors to incorporate extra-Catholic ideas into the educational practices they oversaw.

The result of this is that the meaning of Catholic education is open to interpretation by all parties, at all levels. And these myriad interpretations can coexist because the structure itself does not constrain them. If the archbishop, his superintendent, a principal, a classroom teacher, and a parent all disagree about what the most important thing about Catholic education is, that doesn't in any way prevent the system from continuing to function. This section is divided into three subsections discussing national educational think tanks, school supervision at the archdiocesan level, and the role of individual schools and classrooms.

2.3.1. Pope, Bishops, Think Tanks

The top of the Roman Catholic hierarchy is obviously the pope himself, but the popes of the postwar period were not particularly involved with Catholic education on any detailed level. Many of the papal encyclicals of the postwar period made general references to education, but not to a degree of specificity that would make much difference to educational practice. Over the course of the nineteenth century, popes had become increasingly reliant on professional staff,

including experts on everything under the Church's purview. The pope didn't think about Catholic schools; he had people to do it for him (see Kurtz 1986:15).

And because Catholic schooling was so dependent on national conditions, like population size or the relationship of the Church to the state, it made sense for much of that thinking about Catholic education to happen at the national level. The inability of the Vatican to direct religious education with any degree of detail was acknowledged in the production, after the Second Vatican Council, of a "General Catechetical Directory." This publication was intended to describe "the great diversity of cultural and pastoral conditions in different areas of the world" and thus relegate "the task of assessing these factors to the various national hierarchies" (Sullivan and Meyers 1972:iii). In the United States, this was mostly done by the Education Department of the National Catholic Welfare Council and the National Catholic Education Association. This section will discuss these two entities and their role in directing American Catholic education.

It is not easy to make a clear distinction between the Education Department of the NCWC and the NCEA. In 1929, the NCEA was relocated from Columbus, Ohio to Washington, D.C., allowing them to more easily share bureaucratic structures. Also at that time, it became traditional for one person to simultaneously hold the positions of General Secretary of the NCEA and Director of the Department of Education of the NCWC (Kennedy 1994:68). It can perhaps generally be said that the Department of Education was more focused on big-picture issues, and relations with the public schools and the NCEA was more focused on providing services to particular educational constituencies—superintendents, secondary school principals, teaching sisters, etc. According to a 1951 statement, the NCWC Education Department worked on (1) professionalization, such as broad efforts "synthesizing Catholic principles of education … with

commonly accepted standards of professional excellence;" (2) the integration of Catholic education into American community life, including interpreting its meaning and importance to the non-Catholic public; and (3) researching and advocating for the role of religious schooling in American life, including working with the NCWC legal department in promoting public support for Catholic schools (NCWC Minutes 16 Nov 1953, CC 1954, M-N/12:5–6). The NCEA was a member organization, with both individual and school members, and a lot of its work was sponsoring publications and conferences (Kennedy 1994:18–19). It is in this aspect, as a clearing house for educational information, that there is the most overlap between the NCWC Education Department and the NCEA.

As part of the general improvement of the social standing of American Catholics after the war, these two organizations had generally good relationships with their public counterparts. The NEA, after coming under the executive secretaryship of William Carr in 1952, dialed back its opposition to private schools, no longer opposing any public aid whatsoever to parochial school students in the form of busing or lunch subsidies. Catholic bishops believed that this change was due to the influence of Catholic members in the NEA (Bishops' Meeting 1953, CC 1954 M-N/12:14).[3] Also in the 1950s, Catholic educationists began coordinating with federal agencies to avoid duplication of educational research, and Catholic members were invited to join the National Advisory Committee on Education (Report of the General Secretary, CC 1954 M-N/12:7–8).

The national-level Catholic education discourse was not always of practical use to individual schools because it was concerned with national-level issues. These organizations did a

[3] The presence of Catholic individuals in institutions oriented towards the public schools is an important part of the story of American education and one that is repeated at all levels of organization. In cities like Chicago, with large Catholic populations, high proportions of public school teachers were themselves Catholic and had even been educated themselves in Catholic schools.

lot work advocating for federal funding for private schools, and generally wrote about this larger interplay of Catholic, Protestant, and secular forces in American education. In an exchange of letters, Frederick Hochwalt and the bishop of Toledo considered tactics in the fight for public funding and the dangers of "rabble rousing" by calling the public schools "godless." Hochwalt wrote, "If one had visited as many public schools and public school classrooms as I have and if one knew as many public school teachers as I do, one would quickly conclude that the public schools are not godless but Protestant" (Hochwalt to Rehring 18 Oct 1955, HOC 1/9).

This recognition forced the NCWC and the NCEA to tread very lightly around campaigns to bring religion into the public schools. In addition to the dangers of reinforcing the "strong Protestant influence in many public schools," it might also lead to the diminution of released-time religious instruction and to the rise of courses in "comparative religions with attendant dangers to the faith of Catholic teachers and pupils in public schools" (Bishops' Meeting 1953, CC 1954 M-N/12:13). Similar concerns surrounded Catholic support of programs advocating "moral and spiritual values" in public schools (NCWC Minutes, CC 1954 M-N/12:4–5).

2.3.2. The Local (Arch)diocese

In this analysis I have been assuming that Catholic schools are a meaningful category of historical analysis. But it does not follow from this that a city like Chicago necessarily then had a Catholic school *system*. The Catholic schools in Chicago were certainly less systematic than their public school neighbors. To paraphrase the great historian of American Catholic education, Harold Buetow, there is no Catholic school *system*, only a Catholic school *pattern* (Buetow 1970:xii). In this section I will describe that pattern, including its variability, from the top of the Church hierarchy, proceeding down through increasingly local levels of organization. While this

is a convenient way to organize this section, what it shows in this case is a hierarchy in structure and status, but not in power to act.

2.3.2.1. Superintendent and School Board

The relationship between the archbishop and his schools office was not unlike the relationship between the pope and the various national educational think tanks. The archbishop made speeches, signed annual reports on the schools for the archdiocesan newspaper (which were written by the superintendent and his staff), and generally was a public face for the big-picture of Catholic education in the city.

Chicago first had a full-time superintendent of Catholic schools beginning in 1926 (RJH 109/7:3) in the person of Father Daniel Cunningham. He would hold the post until 1957, and his tenure saw major expansion of the office (Kennedy 1994:69). Appointed by the archbishop, the superintendent chaired the school board but was not a voting member (School Board Constitution 1968, CODY 2/6:3). The archdiocesan superintendent of schools coordinated the school "system" at the highest level. The superintendent reported and was responsible to both the archbishop and the Archdiocesan School Board (Structure and Organization BEN 3/2). The superintendent's office contained seven thematic divisions (as of 1970): religious education, high schools, curriculum and instruction, teacher personnel, special programs, school lunch program, and business and finance (Structure and Organization BEN 3/2).

The superintendent himself did a wide range of tasks, including the very mundane, as when Archbishop Stritch asked Cunningham to book the high school bands for the Knights of Columbus parade (Stritch to Cunningham 25 Aug 1954). Chicago archbishops generally delegated school matters to the superintendent and the school board. The archbishop was the

addressee of a lot of correspondence from parents, but it was almost universally the superintendent, or someone from the schools office, who responded.

The activities of the superintendent's office and the school board varied in their effects on the day-to-day practices of the schools themselves. In documents about the role of school oversight at the archdiocesan level, the need for more centralization and more control for the sake of efficiency was a constant refrain. In 1970 Archbishop Cody commissioned a School Study Commission to consider methods for structuring the city schools at levels between the archdiocese and the individual parish. Some parishes were starting to group themselves into "clusters" of 10–15 parishes for the purpose of sharing school best practices (Rewrite 1970, BEN 3/1), but officially, the 400+ parish schools were headed by pastors who reported directly to the archbishop himself. In some cases, individual schools had their own school boards or were overseen by the superior of a religious order, or both, who could then be in communication with the archdiocesan superintendent, but at every step this oversight and communication was informal (SSC Org. and Struc. Minutes, BEN 3/2). The fact that basic conversations were held as late as 1970 about how many levels to have and how authority should move suggests how loose the organization was throughout the postwar period (Rewrite 1970, BEN 3/1).

This section will discuss the various services and types of oversight the superintendent and school board provided. It will consider the mundane services they offered, their attempts at standardization, the role of financial concerns in the nature of their power, and the variation between elementary school and high school oversight.

The archdiocesan schools offices performed some mundane administrative tasks for schools. Much of a school's interaction with the archdiocesan offices consisted in the sending and receiving of various forms. Schools submitted forms if they wanted to order copies of

national standardized tests. A general "crisis" form asked principals to check one of four crises: "not enough room," "not enough pupils," "a large exodus of lay teachers," or "other" accompanied by an explanation (ACSB Bulletin 21 Feb 1966, CODY 12/1). The archdiocesan offices would, in their turn, provide lists of available substitute teachers. Perhaps most prominent among these many forms were textbook order forms. The Archdiocesan School Board maintained an inventory of textbooks. In 1954 they sold over $230,000 worth of books to the schools. By 1969, book receipts totaled $1.6 million (Ashman to Cunningham 13 May 1954; ACSB 1969, BEN 3/2). The schools then sold the books to parents.

The archdiocese made some attempts to encourage the standardization of school curricula and policies. Beginning in the interwar period, dioceses across the country began expanding their involvement in various aspects of the curriculum (Kennedy 1994:71). In Chicago the archdiocese mandated end-of-semester exams for all students in grades 4–8, but left the content of the exams up to individual teachers (ACSB Bulletin 07 Dec 1965, CODY 12/1:1). The archdiocese imposed teacher pay minimums for elementary schools in the mid-1960s, but still had not established similar standards for high schools by the early 1980s because so many high schools are privately run by various religious orders (McManus to James C. Lalley, 26 Jul 1966, CODY 1/3; Lanier 1982:150). The school board would declare that "religious orders have the responsibility and the right to direct their private high schools in a manner consistent with the archdiocesan policies for the general welfare of secondary school pupils" (School Board Constitution 1968, CODY 2/6:1). But when schools did not comply, the board had essentially no method of enforcement, especially for the wealthiest schools who never had need of archdiocesan assistance.

The archdiocese was limited in what it could do with the schools because of simple financial limitations. This was both a cause and a consequence of the de-centralized

administration of the schools. Because individual schools were left to their own devices, they naturally did most of their own administrative work, and without a standard curriculum, the work of selecting texts and planning courses was duplicated across the city. Individual parishes were left with fewer funds to give back to the archdiocese for redistribution to the neediest schools. Most elementary schools were operated by individual parishes, a model that by 1970 was being called "wasteful and inefficient" by the Archdiocese's School Study Commission (Ruffle n.d., BEN 3/3).

By the late 1960s, many archdiocesan schools were in financial crisis. A moratorium on new parish-run schools was imposed in 1968 (SSC Minutes 05 Aug 1970, BEN 3/1). In early 1970 the Archdiocese's School Study Commission (SSC) was established to seek ways to make changes to the schools that would bring about "educational excellence and in administrative efficiency" (Ruffle n.d., BEN 3/3).

Across the United States, the cost of Catholic schooling was rising—between 1959 and 1969, the average annual per pupil expenditures rose from $375 to $696 (Statement on cost 1970, BEN 3/2).[4] The primary driver of these increased costs was the growth of lay teacher salaries, which were rising in an effort to keep up with the salaries of public school teachers, which saw annual increases between 5 and 6 percent from the early 1960s (Statement on cost 1970, BEN 3/2).

Elementary and high schools in the Catholic system are much more separate than they are in the public system, and the kinds of control the archdiocese exercised over schools differed between elementary and high schools. In many dioceses, there were diocesan-controlled central high schools, but Chicago did not develop such schools (RJH 109/7:14-15). There were some

[4] The report does not indicate if any adjustment was made for inflation.

small parish high schools, but 80 percent of high school students attended schools run by private (usually men's) religious orders, which were independently funded and/or could command high tuition, and as a result were the most autonomous schools in the city (SSC Org. and Struc. Minutes, BEN 3/2). Elementary schools were tied to parishes and thus a local community and, at least historically, an ethnic identity and an affiliated religious order (usually women) (RJH 109/7:1,13). The principals of the high schools were all members of a High School Policy Commission, whose policies were ratified by the Archdiocesan School Board. But at both the elementary and secondary level there were no mechanisms in place to impose sanctions on schools that did not conform (Structure and Organization BEN 3/2).

The archdiocese encouraged a policy of open enrollment, in which eighth-graders from anywhere in the archdiocese could apply to any high school, but they had no control over who was accepted. St. Ignatius, with its strong reputation as a college preparatory school and long tradition of legacy students, drew elite students from all over the archdiocese. In 1965 they had students from 195 different parochial schools, with only four schools supplying ten or more students. At the other end of the spectrum, in the same year St. Michael's in South Chicago drew 58 percent of its students from its own parish elementary school (RJH 109/7:21).

What oversight there was of elementary schools was extremely convoluted. In 1970 there were over 400 parish elementary schools in the archdiocese, and their pastors all reported directly to the archbishop. The archdiocese was also divided into six vicariates, but they were considered "functionally ineffective in executive or administrative matters." Pastors directly supervised school principals, but those principals also may have reported to a local school board, their religious superior, or sometimes directly to the superintendent. Some principals were also grouped into voluntary regional councils, the leaders of which formed an "informal senate for

contact and communication purposes" (SSC Org. and Struc. Minutes, BEN 3/2).

This hodgepodge of administrative arrangements complemented a wide variety of school policies. Tuition rates were highly variable. In 1970, a year's tuition at elementary schools ranged between $75 and over $250; some schools charged per family tuition while others charged by individual student (Tuition Rates 1970, BEN 3/2). Not understanding the archbishop's lack of control over such variety, parents would write to him in confusion to ask, for example, why their children were required to attend daily mass while the children in the neighboring parish did not (Catholic Mothers Group to Cody 18 Sep 1965, CODY 1/1).

2.3.2.2. Public School Neighbors

American Catholic schools, throughout their history, have been understood in relation to public schools. In the 1880s, it was the threat of increasingly-widespread free public education that spurred the growth of Catholic schools to protect Catholic children from being indoctrinated with Protestant values. In the early twentieth century, in urban centers like Chicago, Catholic schools were also understood in opposition to Catholic others—the Catholic enclaves of other European immigrant communities. On this smaller scale, Catholic schools represented a bastion of ethnic identity in an increasingly diverse city. In the postwar period, too, even after most ethnic parish schools had broadened their base of students, the Catholic schools were still understood in their relationship to the public schools. The public schools served both as a foil in making the case to parents about why they should support and send their children to Catholic schools, and as a leader, as Catholic teachers increasingly sought formal training and Catholic educational thinkers had more and more contact with public school educational thinkers.

To some extent, certainly, what may appear to be Catholic schools aping public school

bureaucratic structures was simply both school systems responding to the same societal pressures. The baby boom demanded educational expansion of all kinds. Similarly, the race relations crises of the 1960s faced both school systems, though they had different constructions of the nature of their respective imperatives to respond.

In a 1956 address on the Catholic perspective on public education, Cincinnati Archbishop Karl Alter said that Catholics are and should be interested in the public schools in their capacity as good citizens. Because "Catholic citizens must live in the same environment and in the same moral and cultural atmosphere as their neighbors," they must "be deeply concerned therefore with the product of the public schools" (Alter 1956, GEN 1/08:8). This attitude of civic interest in education was strongly felt in Chicago and in the other direction as well. Because the Chicago Catholic schools made up such a large portion of the city's total schooling, public school officials took a similar benevolent interest in their functioning.

Catholic schools participated in many of the same trends of bureaucratization that affected American organizations of all kinds across the nineteenth and twentieth century. In many cases this meant that American public schools and American Catholic schools made similar changes at similar times. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, for example, statewide teacher certification standards were being established by public school systems. At the Third Plenary Council in 1884, American bishops mandated that dioceses set up boards to examine and certify teachers (Cassidy 1948:296), fitting comfortably in the middle of this trend. In the 1920s, many diocesan school systems submitted to state oversight of their teacher certification or curricular work as a concession in the fight to keep mandatory public school attendance laws off the books (Kennedy 1994:59).

However, it is not accurate to say that all aspects of the Catholic schools reached

"organizational sophistication" (Kennedy 1994:46) simultaneously with public schools. While the boundaries and number of dioceses has changed occasionally in U.S. history, there has never been a massive consolidation to match that of U.S. public school districts. Between 1950 and 1990 so many public school districts consolidated that the U.S. went from having over eighty thousand districts to only fifteen thousand (Corcoran and Goertz 2005:31–32). Being rather more responsive to changes in political mood, the public schools were more subject to the ebb and flow of calls for "decentralization" and "local control." The Catholic schools experienced calls for more lay control, but that was a matter of local clergy control versus local lay control, not a question of control by the diocese. The Catholic schools simply never achieved centralization to the same extent as the public schools.

Throughout the postwar period, the public and Catholic schools of the city cooperated on mundane matters, with Catholic superintendents looking to their public school counterparts for information about special education programs (Stritch to Cunningham 22 Jul 1954), the two systems coordinating shared industrial arts and home economics facilities (RJH 109/7:26), or Catholic and public school leaders attending the same conference on how to best use federal lunch subsidies (Anthony to Cody 07 Oct 1965, CODY 1/1). Catholic schools would also frequently send special-needs children to the public schools, which had psychologists and other specialists that were rarely available at Catholic elementary schools (Clark to Bohman 31 May 1968, CODY 2/3). In responding to an inquiry about the use of instructional television in Catholic schools, Frederick Hochwalt explained that he had no real idea how extensive such use was since "there is no national formulated policy with regard to the use of TV." He goes on to explain that local use can be predicted by patterns of use in public schools since the Catholic schools "usually reflect local enthusiasms, and where a great deal of interest is reflected in the

public schools, you can safely conjecture that similar interest will be reflected by the Catholic schools" (Hochwalt to Jacobson, HOC 1/3).

There is also some evidence that Archbishop Cody and Chicago Public Schools Superintendent James Redmond were on very good terms. Cody and Redmond—himself Roman Catholic—both came to Chicago from New Orleans, and while they did not know each other there, Cody had a very favorable impression of Redmond both before and after he was chosen as superintendent (Cody to McManus 20 Jul 1965, CODY 1/1; Cody to Redmond 27 May 1966, CODY 1/2). Catholics in Cody's circle had long admired Redmond, having followed his exploits as superintendent of the New Orleans public schools where he quite controversially implemented a federally-mandated desegregation plan in 1960 (Bezou to Cody 20 Jul 1965, CODY 1/1).

Catholic school leaders were very aware of the competition with public schools for students. This competition was presented as a valuable motivation to keep all the city's schools striving for excellence, such that the whole state of Illinois could have a "comprehensive program of high quality education for all children" (McManus to Cody 26 Mar 1969, CODY 2/9). They were very aware of this competition when considering how to cut back on Catholic schools in financial crisis, worrying that if lower grades were cut, those children would never be won back to the Catholic schools (Hochwalt to Connolly 29 Mar 1955, HOC 1/5).

Some of the simultaneous changes that the Catholic and public schools made had to do with coordination, not competition, as when Catholic schools and public schools in Virginia simultaneously expanded elementary schools from 7 to 8 grades. By agreeing to make the two school systems fit together seamlessly, Catholic school leaders could make it as easy as possible for parents to keep their children in Catholic elementary schools, even when there were not enough Catholic high school places for all graduates (Hochwalt to Connolly 29 Mar 1955, HOC

1/5).

Because of these attitudes of competition and cooperation, Catholic school leaders and teachers were even more inclined to see themselves as engaged in the same fundamental project as their public school counterparts. The two sets of schools served similar (and fluid) student populations, they responded to the same changes to the city's demographics and economics, and they faced similar pressures for bureaucratization. In many ways, Chicago effectively had one school system administered by two bodies.

2.3.3. Individual Schools and Classrooms

It is clear from the above sections that the archdiocese served in an essentially advisory capacity for individual schools and that the magisterium and national education think tanks were similarly advice-givers when they weren't preoccupied with political issues. This section will describe the highly variable control structures of individual schools and discuss the participation of individual Catholic school teachers in professional organizations that brought them into contact with public school teachers and their ideas and experiences.

Some parochial schools had lay school boards and some did not. Private Catholic schools, run by orders, not parishes or the archdiocese, all had their own governance structures. And the popularity of local, lay leadership was hit or miss. In the summer of 1966, Beatrice Roemer wrote to Archbishop Cody to complain about incompetent lay leadership at her parish school. Roemer was a public school teacher whose own children attended Catholic schools. She complained about the overweening power of lay groups like the "Mothers' Club," saying that now that the archdiocese was "exerting every effort to improve the professional training of its teachers, it would be wise to eliminate rank amateur extra-class planners." She spoke for her

fellow teachers in the public schools, explaining that they did so because they needed to earn enough to feed their families, but would not consider teaching in a Catholic school "when so many non-professionals are involved in school policy and administration." Superintendent William McManus replied on Cody's behalf advising her to take the issue up with her pastor since the archdiocese had no authority in the matter (Roemer to Cody 26 Jul 1966, CODY 1/3).

The opposite view was expressed by the superintendent of schools, Father H. Robert Clark, in a missive to all parish priests in the diocese:

> The question facing our schools today is not whether they should exist, but whether they can adapt themselves to the demands of a changing environment. When society was far more simple than it is today and when parents had very little formal education, the schools could be efficiently and adequately operated by pastors and nuns. Today however college-educated parents want to participate in the policy decisions which directly affect the education of their children. Many of them too are highly proficient in the professional, technical and commercial worlds in which they live. Their involvement in the decision-making process of the school, therefore, is not only a conclusion derived from their parental responsibility but also a wise utilization of their skills and ability. (Clark Oct 1969, CODY 3/3)

In the summer of 1969, the school board adopted a policy making parish school boards or parent advisory committees mandatory (Clark Oct 1969, CODY 3/3), but by the time the School Study Commission (SSC) was issuing its reports in 1971, there were still many schools that did not have them (Organization and Structure, BEN 3/2). The archdiocese had so little control over individual schools that they couldn't even get them to form their own independent governance structures.

Part of the SSC's ambivalence about organizational structure and whether the "grassroots" approach of the clusters was preferable to a top-down vicariate oversight model stemmed from real tensions in their ideals. Vatical II had emphasized increased lay control of education, and there was a strong push for decentralization of decision making onto local actors. But they somehow wanted this decentralization to not be simply every parish school under the jurisdiction

of a different pastor. Such a model, as the school superintendent in the St. Paul-Minneapolis archdiocese put it, "means that the president of the corporation has had as many vice-presidents as he has elementary schools," which constitutes "chaotic decentralization" (Gilbert 1970, BEN 3/1). This desire to bring the schools together in one system while simultaneously increasing the involvement of local communities in decision making was a tension that ran through all of the SSC proceedings.

Catholic school teachers professionalized in parallel with public school teachers, just as school organizations had followed broadly similar paths of bureaucratization. Some of this professionalization also happened in concert, as Catholic school systems gradually accepted state standards for school and teacher accreditation. The American Bishops mandated teacher certification in all dioceses in 1884 (Kennedy 1994:20), and by the 1910s, many had begun to argue that the long-term survival of Catholic schools was better ensured by their meeting external, non-Catholic standards (Kennedy 1994:55).

Thus, from early in the twentieth century, Catholic school teachers were encouraged to think of themselves in a group together with public school teachers by dioceses' decisions to use state accreditation standards, or standards that were close to identical to state standards (Kennedy 1994:57, citing O'Dowd 1935). By the early 1970s, the Archdiocese of Chicago was using State of Illinois teacher education guidelines to determine teacher salaries (Teacher Qualifications, BEN 3/3). As their school finances were increasingly strained in the 1960s, increasing numbers of teachers decamped to the higher pay of the public schools, further solidifying the sense that the city had one pool of teachers.

In addition to being an educational think tank, the NCEA was a member organization for teachers and school administrators. Through its collaboration with the NEA and by encouraging

its own members to work with—or even join—the NEA (Hochwalt to Givens, 14 Oct 1947, HOC 1/6), it fostered fellow-feeling between Catholic school teachers and public school teachers. The NCEA would re-circulate NEA materials (Hochwalt to Givens, 14 Oct 1947, HOC 1/6).

In Boston, the assistant superintendent of Catholic schools believed that supporting the work of Catholic members of the NEA would lay the groundwork for supporting their colleagues in the Catholic schools. "I can hardly expect the Catholic public school educators to rally to *our* needs, if I don't help *them* in theirs by encouraging their memberships in NEA and by discreetly giving them leadership when they are looking for it" (O'Leary to Hochwalt 17 Jan 1950, HOC 1/6).

Both Catholic school teachers and public school teachers who were themselves Catholic were members of the NEA and were particularly well-represented on curriculum and methodology committees (Hochwalt to Bradley 25 Oct 1955, HOC 1/6). It seems that there were disputes among the leadership about the political action of the groups, but among the rank and file, people were just glad for the opportunity for a professional exchange of ideas. In the early 1950s, when Frederick Hochwalt was becoming concerned about "public-school-only" rhetoric coming out of the NEA, he noted that Catholic school teachers were uninterested in giving up the "professional insight" they gained "by working closely with public school teachers in the secondary and elementary departments of the NEA" (Hochwalt to McCarthy 24 Sep 1951, HOC 1/6).

2.4. Conclusions

The purpose of this chapter has been to present background information on the Catholic schools in Chicago, the content of Catholic ideas about moral education, and the institutional forms that brought that content to life. The first section presented a summary of Roman Catholic educational philosophy in terms of its worldview, its rationale, and its pedagogical commitments, specifically as it differs from public schools. The crux of this difference is the Catholic view of humanity as fallen-but-redeemed and destined for eternal life in the Kingdom of God. From this basic theological and moral commitment follows a holistic view of the purposes and methods of education. American Catholic educationists and educators believed, throughout these postwar decades, that education was for the holistic development of beings fallen into sin but redeemed by grace. It was only through the holistic integration of every aspect of a person that true education could be achieved.

Within this worldview one needn't ask about the purpose of Catholic education, for it is obvious: to transmit the worldview to the next generation. Catholics held beliefs in the context of a broader American culture that they saw as in opposition to these truths. While the purpose of Catholic schooling *in general* was the holistic formation of the person, the purpose of Catholic schooling *in the United States for most of the twentieth century* was also to give Catholic children a correct orientation to the non-Catholic environment in which they lived. They needed to be taught that those who did not acknowledge Catholic truths were in moral danger, and that as Catholics they thus had special moral privilege and attendant responsibility to protect society from its own baseness. This included specific goals like preparation for citizenship, inoculation against secularism—especially in its fascist and communist varieties—and putting Catholic lay people in a position to speak truth to the secular elite.

These midcentury Catholic educationists held these pedagogical and methodological commitments because they believed that all development must be integrated with the whole person. They also understood education to be both a social responsibility and social in its practice. In other words, education happened in the normal course of social life: in the church, in the family, in the day-to-day life of the parish neighborhood. The Catholic school itself was meant to be a microcosm of this, where moral and religious education happened not just in religion class but in all academic work, in extracurriculars, and in the daily life of the school as a community.

The second section presented the organizational arrangements that existed in Chicago during this time period in which these ideas were, to varying degrees, manifested. Organizationally, Catholic schools are the bottom layer of a vast hierarchy, with its apex in Rome. But practically, the kinds of control and power that exist between levels of that hierarchy have only tangential relation to the day-to-day functioning of schools. The magisterium has complete control over who becomes archbishop of a city like Chicago, for example, but that archbishop then doesn't have structures in place to have much control over the schools in the archdiocese beyond removing individual clergy. There is no direct connection between the organizational authority of the magisterium and the functioning of the schools in any given locale. Similarly, the pope can make broad declarations about the nature of Catholic education, but those declarations are so broad as to have no binding effect on how schools operate or what is taught. Organizations like the NCEA function as think tanks, producing educational ideas and advocating for Catholic schools at the national level. But like the educationally relevant encyclicals, much of what they produce has no force and is merely advice. How seriously people take that advice is highly variable in both time and space.

Catholic schools also formed diocesan schoolboards, set up offices to administer issues related to the schools, and attempted to put in place other structures to centrally control and monitor the schools, participating in the trends of bureaucratization and centralization that swept through all kinds of schools in the U.S. over the course of the twentieth century. And while those diocesan bodies did take on some tasks (producing some curricular materials, selling textbooks, and being a target for complaints), their power was limited. Both school systems were tied together by shared local contexts, and in many ways they behaved like two aspects of the same school system. At the level of individual schools, governance structures were highly variable, as one would expect when power is so devolved. Especially after Vatican II, there was a push for more lay leadership of schools in the form of lay school boards, but even that had not become a universal practice even by the early 1970s. In the meantime, Catholic school teachers experienced increasing levels of contact with their public school counterparts through participation in professional organizations like the NEA. This provided a new source of moral authority in the form of professional pedagogical science, which may or may not be in conflict with the ideas promulgated by the magisterium.

The upper levels of the worldwide Church hierarchy—what I have been calling the magisterium—essentially maintained its organizational authority across these postwar decades. But this chapter has demonstrated that such organizational authority is decreasingly relevant to more distal parts of the Church like schools. The archbishop of Chicago had power over the placement of his clergy, and clergy in turn had control of the staffing of their schools, but both were constrained by the availability of information and personnel. And in neither case were there structures in place that gave these supervisors systematic information about what their supervisees were doing. The power holders were limited in their ability to know what their staff

was doing, and so not in a position to punish them for disobedience to their moral authority. The nature of the organizational authority at the boundaries of the Church was insufficient to enforce moral authority.

It is not quite right to talk of Catholic educational philosophy per se. The ideas described in the first half of this chapter are particularly prominent patterns of thought—you might think of them as a central tendency—but there is no single Catholic educational philosophy any more than there is a single lay Catholic culture or a single Catholic liturgical style.[5] And as with liturgical practice, there are attempts by those high in the Church hierarchy to impose uniformity, and those attempts meet with varying degrees of success as their authority becomes more diffuse in the distal parts of the organization.

In the particular case of the Chicago Catholic schools, being a "non-system," or perhaps part of a shared system with the public schools, created an openness to local contexts and non-Catholic ideas. Those local contexts—the city itself, the tight relationship between the archbishop and the superintendent of public schools, the similarity of scale of the two school systems—these all made it easy for players to feel that they were engaged in a larger collective project of educating the city's children, allowing those local contingencies and exigencies to influence decisions. Enthusiastic teachers connected to networks of their peers who identify first as teachers and only secondarily as Catholic school or public school teachers can do a lot in their classrooms without the oversight of pastors, principals, or higher clergy. Similarly, those teachers (and principals and pastors) who wanted to avoid change could also do so with relative freedom.

[5] There is a tension in this chapter, and indeed in this dissertation as a whole, between the unity of "Catholic education" and the variety found in particular schools and classrooms. In this chapter, I demonstrate the variety of educational ideas within the Catholic world and outline the challenges and constraints faced by Catholic schools in trying to instantiate those ideas in day-to-day practice. Conversely, this chapter is based on the assumption that Catholic educational ideas have a fundamental unity and that their manifestation in Catholic schools constitutes a meaningfully-bounded social phenomenon. My purpose is to claim that there is a recognizable and bounded category called "Catholic schools" and to demonstrate that within that category there is consequential variation.

Chapter 3: Civics Education Under the Communist Threat

3.1. Introduction

In 1948 Catholic school teachers and administrators at the annual meeting of the NCEA heard an address entitled "Christian Education for Democracy." The speaker expressed his belief—widely shared at the time in the wider world of civics education—that democratic citizenship was not a simple matter of learning how a bill becomes a law. It was, instead, a matter of individual virtue and disposition, which could only be developed through time and experience:

> The ways of democracy, then, are painfully slow and cumbersome, if only because we ourselves are painfully slow in developing within our own souls those Christian virtues which are so essential to the successful functioning of democracy and in the absence of which, on a widespread scale, democracy will inevitably degenerate and will eventually give way by default to the ever-present forces of tyranny and human slavery. (Murray 1948:62)

Here we have an elision of the methods of experiential education—and education for skills and disposition, instead of rote knowledge—with the patriotic imperatives of the early Cold War. In Catholic and public schools at this time, civics education was increasingly leaving behind the rote learning of information about government and giving students practice in the experiences of democratic living. In the Catholic schools, however, this enthusiastic embrace of progressive pedagogy for civics education is somewhat puzzling because of widespread Catholic opposition to the secular and materialist philosophical bases of progressivism. Why would postwar Catholic schools embrace progressive styles of civics education if Catholic educational philosophy is fundamentally opposed to the experience-only principle that is so central to progressive

pedagogy? And how did Catholics reconcile the intense patriotism of this style of civics education with their more fundamental allegiance to the Church?

In this chapter I consider these questions using the Chicago Catholic schools as a case study. I ultimately argue that a combination of cultural, political, and practical considerations shaped a particular compromise on this issue: Catholic educational pundits dismissed progressive pedagogy while Catholic textbook writers and teachers embraced it.

This chapter has four sections. The first presents the nature of Catholic opposition to progressive pedagogy. The second gives context for the practice of civics education in the immediate postwar period, demonstrating the extent to which progressive pedagogical techniques had permeated both public and Catholic schools. The third section presents the political context of Catholic education in the 1950s, arguing that it was these circumstances that necessitated the continued rhetorical opposition to progressivism. The fourth section argues that Catholic moral certainty about the soundness of Catholic education and about the Christian underpinnings of American democracy explains the openness to methods from the public schools.

3.2. Catholic Opposition to Progressive Pedagogy

When John Dewey's educational ideas became widely known, they were rejected by Catholic educators as being fundamentally secular and for "ignoring natural law and deifying social sanction" (Kennedy 1994:31, 63). As the new century wore on and Dewey's ideas became increasingly dispersed and diluted, Catholic opposition became correspondingly more general.[1]

[1] Catholic educationists' fixation on Dewey was most likely symbolic. Dewey is not a good representative of what was going on in progressive education by the end of the war. Dewey's own focus had shifted away from educational matters by this time, though he would continue to write on education occasionally. And the movement he was so instrumental in starting had "lost its intellectual vitality." But Dewey was still a symbol of progressive education,

Catholic opposition to progressive pedagogy occurred in the context of a long history of interaction between progressive pedagogical ideas and Catholic educational thought. Some Catholic educational theorists had always worked, not to reject progressive classroom practices, but to "Catholicize Progressive educational thought" (Kennedy 1994:33). In his 1906 *Psychology of Education,* Thomas Shields, a professor at the Catholic University, praised Dewey for his child-centered approach to education and called for Catholic education to be more aware of different social environments, the dynamism of individual growth, and the need for activity in learning (Kennedy 1994:31). Shields advocated for incorporating religious education into all subjects, de-emphasizing the rote memorization of catechism and carefully aiming texts at particular developmental levels—ideas that were taken up by many authors of Catholic religion textbooks in the early years of the twentieth century. These books sold well but were also criticized for their "affinity with secular educational theory" (Kennedy 1994:32). This tension between the practical desirability of progressive pedagogical ideas and the secular philosophies of their originators and champions would persist.

Catholic University professors reading John Dewey were far from the only vector of progressive pedagogical ideas into Catholic circles. By the 1920s, the "scientific-pedagogical approach" in religious education was well established in Protestant Sunday schools and could have traveled (albeit irregularly) to Catholic programs through the social ties forged in ecumenical Sunday school organizations.

In a sense, the puzzle of why Catholics would conduct progressive education in the face of philosophical opposition is presented the wrong way around: Catholics opposed progressive

perhaps most so for those who didn't know that much about it. He was the symbol of the stereotype, "a symbol of the educational hopes and despairs of the American people at any given moment in their history" (Cremin 1961:234, 239, 332–33).

philosophies because they were already in the classroom. The progressive practices of the civics classroom, however, are particularly striking, and thus some account is needed of how they were reconciled with Catholic educational philosophy in the particular context of the early part of the Cold War.

In 1953 a Catholic parent wrote to Monseigneur Frederick Hochwalt, executive secretary of the National Catholic Educational Association (NCEA), having read in the newspaper that NCEA curriculum development teams were working on programs in "social studies."[2] She wrote to express her concern that "social studies" implied an abandonment of the traditional (and to her mind more desirable) separation of history and geography as individual subjects and marked a turn to "progressive" methods. Hochwalt reassured her that the curriculum development process originated at the Catholic University of America's Commission on American Citizenship (and therefore was not unduly influenced by secular educationists), and "progressive education has not taken over the philosophy of the NCEA or of the Catholic schools generally" (Hochwalt to Kitty Jones 1953, HOC 1/3).

A pamphlet published by the Paulist Press in 1951 sheds light on why Mrs. Jones might have been on the lookout for evidence of progressivism in her children's school. The pamphlet, titled "Is Your School Progressive?" warns that progressivism in education should not be mistaken for education that simply "is modern or that makes progress," but that it is grounded in philosophical naturalism and socialism (Mitchell 1951, GEN 95/3709:4). The author describes Dewey as opposing any traditional teaching methods in which "subject matter and standards of conduct were handed down from the past," believing that "there *are* no fixed truths and therefore none should be taught, and that all control should be social control" (Mitchell 1951, GEN

[2] Mrs. Jones was somewhat behind the times. For example, social studies appeared in Chicago Catholic classrooms in 1942 (Archdiocesan School Board 1942).

95/3709:4). According to this pamphlet, progressive educators believe children can learn only by experience and are capable of arriving at the truth "without revelation and without benefit of the social heritage," which is exactly the opposite of what the Church teaches (Mitchell 1951, GEN 95/3709:7). Parents were told to be concerned if they saw any warning signs of progressivism in their schools: a curriculum that seemed not to be focused on the four "Rs" (reading, writing, arithmetic, and religion), the absence of letter grades, emphasis on the children enjoying their work, lack of competition between students, self-government among the children, or social pressure used as coercion or punishment (Mitchell 1951, GEN 95/3709:1-3, 14).[3]

The author of this pamphlet perceived the problem as widespread, saying that many public and private schools have become progressive in this sense, and that "some of our Catholic schools have become infected with it." She then went on to explain a distinction between philosophy and methods that absolves these Catholic educators of full apostasy: "Not that any Catholic educators subscribe to the philosophy of the progressives, of course, but in their wish to be modern and keep up with the newest things, they have been sold on the methods" (Mitchell 1951, GEN 95/3709:23). She admitted that some public school educators had fallen for the same "specious argument that the methods can be used, quietly forgetting the philosophy on which they rest" (Mitchell 1951, GEN 95/3709:23–24).

The author of this pamphlet was concerned with the same question as this chapter: the reconciliation of Catholic educational philosophy with progressive pedagogical practice. She clearly believed that such a reconciliation is not possible, and that loyalty must be to the philosophy that rejects pragmatism and all its outgrowths.

[3] It is clear that Progressive pedagogy was associated in some people's minds (and not for no reason) with a general lack of authority on the part of the teacher or general lack of discipline on the part of students. Both teachers and parents have an obvious interest in this kind of hyper local authority (see Wilson 1981:67ff).

In the early years of the Cold War, the general fear of the materialist roots of progressive pedagogy became linked in some people's minds to communist materialism. Part of the fear of communist infiltration in the schools was that progressive pedagogy (as opposed to old-fashioned emphasis on intellectual work, and top-down discipline) made children soft, open to moral relativism, and thus more susceptible to communist influence. This kind of opposition to progressive pedagogy didn't just come from Catholic circles; it was ascendant in public schools across the country and led to many reforms that attempted to return the focus of the schools to the basics of intellectual training, efforts that reached a peak in in the post-Sputnik National Defense Education Act.

Despite such swings away from progressive pedagogical ideas, they have persisted in some form in most American schools. A central idea in progressive pedagogy is that children are not capable of abstract thinking, and thus learn best when all new information is connected to their own experience.[4] In a 1969 pamphlet published by the Archdiocese of Cincinnati entitled "Educating Your Child In Religion: Some Questions Answered," this attitude is clearly still current. The program in religious education that the Cincinnati Catholic school board was defending was designed to take "into account *how a child learns*: children start with something they already know from their own experience and from their exposure to people and things. On this already acquired base of knowledge a new element is added—something similar, so there is a real association of ideas, but also something that is different, something that is new" (DRP 1/10.13:2).

The conflict between this idea and the most fundamental elements of Catholic dogma are clear: if children can only learn through experience that builds on what is already familiar to

[4] Whether this is an accurate understanding of mental development is still debated. For a cogent critique of this aspect of progressivism and its legacy in American schools, see Egan 2002.

them, they can never learn anything from having revealed knowledge handed down to them. The next section will demonstrate how widespread this experiential model of education was in the civics education of the immediate postwar period.

3.3. The Common Language of Cold War Civics Textbooks

This section will present the distinctive style of civics education in the immediate postwar period. While there were notable differences between how civics was taught in public and Catholic schools in this time period, the similarities are much more striking. This section will demonstrate that those similarities fall under the heading of progressive pedagogy—that even if they are not so named, they have in common the fundamental premise that all education must be experiential, which is in opposition to the role of tradition and authority so central to Catholic educational philosophy.

The analysis in this section is based primarily on civics textbooks and their associated teacher's guides. While textbooks do not necessarily reveal much about what was actually happening in classrooms, they at least reveal what many prominent actors *wanted* to be happening in classrooms. Civics textbooks from this period demonstrate two fundamental premises. The first is that life in a democracy is fundamentally about problem solving. The second is that good citizenship—that is, facility at social problem solving—can only be learned experientially, with the school acting as a microcosm of society. This section has three parts. The first provides a brief history of civics education. The second is an overview of the history of textbook production in the United States, and the third demonstrates the progressive content of civics texts.

3.3.1. Civics Education before the Second World War

It is difficult to briefly summarize the history of civics education in the United States because it is difficult to draw a clear boundary between that which is civics education and that which is not.

For my purposes, it is useful to separate civics education from instruction in government. The former seeks to develop the dispositions, habits, skills, and attitudes of a citizen. The latter seeks to impart information about the structure and function of American governmental institutions. There is a third thing that often happens in a civics classroom, what I will call social studies. This is the study of specific issues (communism, fascism, civil rights, crime, poverty) and can be presented as primarily informational but is more often presented as an aspect of civics education—that is, intended to form certain attitudes towards these problems and the skills and inclinations to solve them. In practice, the three categories are almost always combined, but different curricular programs exhibit different emphases. The Macgruder's American Government series, for example, is focused on the details of government structure and procedure. "Life Adjustment Education," in contrast, is primarily civics education in the sense I described above, in addition to general moral education.

Instruction in government might include a student creating a poster diagram of how a bill becomes a law (LVHS 10/4:29). It could be considered to morph into civics education when students vote for student council elections on "real voting machines" (LVHS 11/4:130). Conveniently, many of the dispositions of the good citizen were also the dispositions of an easy-to-manage student in the classroom.

Civil Defense was yet another area of educational innovation in response to the communist threat and was widespread by the early 1950s; but this was generally not a curriculum per se, (though filmstrips were common), but it included practical training, like duck and cover drills

(Hartman 2008:71).

The idea that intentional training for citizenship should be a responsibility of the schools was strengthened by the Second World War (Hartman 2008:70). After the war, the perception of a communist threat kept the patriotic purposes of civics education alive.

With varying degrees of explicitness, American history has always been considered a vehicle of civics education (Reuben 2005:12), and thus has long been a site of contestation (Zimmerman 2002:216). American history was an area where Catholic schools used their own books early on in order to avoid the anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic sentiments that were common in early-twentieth-century public school books (Reuben 2005:14). By the mid-twentieth century, what would have been considered the study of history was happening in courses called social studies or social sciences (Hartman 2008:117, (LVHS 10/4:28), which did not eliminate the traditional history material, but incorporated it into a program intended to encompass world history, American history, geography, human relations, sociology, government, and civics (Report card 1952, HPH 8/12), (INS 01/08:71-81). The need for such knowledge could be couched in terms of democratic citizenship. For example, the Social Sciences department at Chicago's Lake View High School explained that the study of the many fields that make up the social sciences "is necessary, if we are to develop into Americans who are appreciative of our hard-won heritage. Not only for our own country, but reaching far across the seas to lands that are foreign to us, this Department purposes [sic] to increase our knowledge of our native land and other countries, and causes us to be mindful of the treasures we possess upon a free soil" (LVHS 10/4:28).

In the immediate postwar period, the language of civics education permeated materials about all aspects of the curriculum. Lake View High School advertised in 1948 that their shop

classes would provide “Democratic Fellowship” for the students as they learned manual skills side by side (LVHS 9/6:24).

While educational philosophers since time immemorial had considered preparation for citizenship to be an important aspect of education, it was after the war that schools in the United States explicitly began to be seen as tools of the nation’s foreign policy objectives. A vocal proponent of this view was U.S. Commissioner of Education under Truman, John Ward Studebaker. Studebaker introduced a program in the spring of 1947 called “Education to Implant the Ideals and Benefits of Democracy and to Reveal the Evil Character and Tactics of Communism” or, more briefly, “Zeal for Democracy” (Hartman 2008:70).

There was a perception that the Soviet schools in particular were very effective at indoctrinating students, and that naïve Americans would easily fall prey to propaganda (Hartman 2008:2, 58).

There is a striking parallel between the early-Cold War fears about the potential indoctrination of American students by a foreign power (in Moscow) and the interwar fears about separate Catholic schools indoctrinating American students to be loyal to a foreign power (i.e., Vatican City) (Hartman 2008:88). Perhaps because of this parallel, because both Catholics and communists had been considered un-American, American Catholics were zealous in their pursuit of anti-communism.

3.3.2. Textbooks

Textbooks have always been part of projects of political and religious unity, especially so beginning in Reformation Europe. Luther produced texts for the mass compulsory schooling of sixteenth century German children: “the burghers and princes of the German state who

sanctioned the break from the Vatican indeed saw in mass education and literacy an opportunity for nation building" (Luke 1991:167).

The American textbook industry is as old as the American publishing industry (Reese 1995:103). An already extant textbook industry only expanded with the expansion of the "common school" model in the midcentury. Over the course of the nineteenth century, the textbook market became increasingly nationalized.[5] Without strong educational bureaucracies at either the federal or state level, by the turn of the century the market was between publishers and thousands of independent school districts. Local school boards held the primary responsibility for selecting textbooks, and they often favored continuity and tradition (Ravitch 2000:22), though there was not a huge variety for them to choose from. There was a proliferation of textbook production in the late nineteenth century. However, a few titles still tended to dominate the market (Reese 1995:104), and publishing houses would often copy the bestsellers of others (Ravitch 2000:21) so even a diversity of titles did not reflect diversity of content.

The national dominance of a few textbook titles did not fade in the twentieth century. For example, Harold Rugg's social science textbook series was read by more than 5 million American children between 1920 and 1940 (Ravitch 2000:187).[6] Indeed, the model of a national, multi-grade textbook program or series became the standard for the public school market in the postwar period and was bolstered even further by federally-funded curriculum development projects in the 1960s and 1970s that strongly encouraged standardization (Elliott 1990:42).

The degree of dominance of certain textbooks and the uniformity of the national market for (public school) textbooks thus both increased steadily over time. The content of that uniformity

[5] However, there would always be advocates for regional texts—for example, antebellum southerners would worry that "Yankee books were a Trojan horse" of abolitionism and other northern values (Reese 1995:104).
[6] They would eventually become dramatically less popular after protests from right-wing groups, but his shift to "social studies" would be essentially permanent (Ravitch 2000:187).

began to change, however, at the start of the twentieth century, with a slow shift from an ideological unity (a "republican pan-protestant religious-political ideology") to a "technical unity" as movements for scientific management and the national professional identities of teachers made themselves felt in the schools (Tyack and Hansot 1982:94–95). As controversy over the religious content of public schooling mounted and it became increasingly important for schools to present as "non-sectarian" (see McCamant 2019), a discourse of the science of curriculum and instruction allowed textbooks to become neutral bearers of skills rather than contentious bearers of particular values (Luke 1991:171).

Textbooks are an exceptionally consistent part of American schooling. Even dramatic reform efforts, such as Helen Pankhurst's Dalton Plan of the early 1920s that rejected age-graded classrooms, kept textbook-based instruction (Tyack and Cuban 1995:95). In a fit of progressive zeal, the city of Ann Arbor, Michigan abolished textbooks in its elementary schools in the 1930s, but they brought them back in the early 1940s because of widespread teacher resistance (Ravitch 2000:336). From the perspective of teachers, textbooks allowed standardization of grading. From the perspective of school administration, textbooks provided standardization of teaching—they made teachers more interchangeable.[7]

General studies of textbook publishing tend to focus on books produced specifically for public schools. The details of how Catholic communities produced books are not as forthcoming. That said, some things can be known.

Like the public schools, there was a national market for Catholic school textbooks. The *Our Quest for Happiness* series (1945), a four-volume high school religion text was widely popular, and while it followed contemporary conventions for writing style, illustrations, etc., its

[7] This, indeed, is a perpetual goal of all centralized curriculum planning: to make it "teacher-proof." It is always cheaper to produce a new textbook than to train teachers who may be resistant to changing their methods.

content was based on the Baltimore catechism and "reflected the orientation of a ghetto Church under siege by an unfriendly world" (Bryk et al. 1993:111). After 1965, this tone would change.

In Chicago, textbooks became a tool of standardization in the 1920s, as Cardinal Mundelein worked to dismantle the strong ethnic boundaries that characterized the city's Catholic population. He enforced the use of standard elementary school textbooks across the archdiocese, in part to make life easier for parents who moved across parish boundaries. Textbooks were voted on by the teaching sisters of the archdiocese, "confirmed by the Archdiocesan School Board," and then used for at least five years (Archdiocesan School Board 1928:13). This was the beginning of the curriculum standardization that would eventually eliminate the official ethnic allegiances of the city's schools. In the beginning, Mundelein allowed religion and language classes to be taught in parish languages, but in such cases, standardized curricula for the entire ethnicity (RJH 109/7:3). This kind of standardization was a step in the culmination of the Catholic schools' own "common school" movement (Tyack and Hansot 1982:72–73).

As in the world of public school textbooks, in Catholic educational circles, national efforts at curriculum development encouraged the production and use of national, multi-grade textbook programs as schools' main source of curricula. It was also common for Catholic educators to produce revisions of pre-existing secular texts. The most notable example of this is perhaps the Catholic revisions of the ubiquitous Dick and Jane readers, which were produced for American and Canadian Catholic elementary school children in the 1940s (Luke 1991:166). These revisions essentially added a "Catholic backdrop" to an otherwise unaltered story (Luke 1991:176) (the children's names were also changed, as Dick and Jane became Jim and Patty).

It is clear that by the mid-1960s at the latest, the archdiocesan school board had fully

standardized textbooks across the elementary schools of the diocese, receiving significant revenue by serving as a middleman between publishers and individual schools (which would then again raise the price for parents).[8] They also published some of their own books, notably for middle school civics classes.

3.3.3. Civics Education by Experience

Textbooks and teacher's guides from public schools in the 1950s present democracy primarily as an attitude towards a particular style of problem solving. The method described is collaborative, discursive, and grounded in reason. The 1956 *American Values and Problems Today* lists the four fundamental American values as: "1. A respect for the individual…. 2. The willingness and ability to coöperate in the solution of common problems and the promotion of the general welfare…. 3. The willingness and ability to solve problems through the use of reason—a faith in man's intelligence…. [and] 4. Faith in the democratic processes as the means by which we can solve our national problems" (Babcock and Quillen 1956:25–26). The 1956 *Youth Faces American Citizenship* says that "democracy seeks the perfectibility of human relations. It is based upon a faith that fellow Americans can always improve their ability to work and live together" (Alilunas and Sayre 1956:3). The 1951 *You and Democracy* describes democracy as "a growing thing that moves steadily forward not backward" (Gordon 1951:43).

Each of these books, in addition to presenting a particular vision of democracy, presents an understanding of what kinds of citizens will allow that democracy to persist. Again, these citizens are not people with particular skills or knowledge about the workings of institutions, but people with certain attitudes and dispositions. In the teacher's guide to the 1956 *Civics for*

[8] In 1969, the archdiocese's revenue from selling textbooks was $1.6 million (ACSB 1969, BEN 3/2).

Americans, the characteristics of good citizens are listed as

1. Devotion to the Constitutional government of the United States
2. Respect for law, with consequent obedience to it
3. Appreciation of the advantages of a free-enterprise economy and the desire to play a part in maintaining this system
4. Faith in the tenets which distinguish our way of life
5. Willingness to assume the responsibilities of school citizenship now [and]
6. Self-reliance and initiative. (Clark and Aitchison 1956:1)

What is desired is not knowledge of the government or the law, but devotion to and respect for both. What is expected is not particular economic practices or a particular lifestyle, but appreciation of and faith in those practices. And all must be couched in self-reliance, initiative, and a willingness to bear responsibility. This is plainly moral education.

Civics for Americans lists the relevant "attitudes" that each chapter demands in the teacher's guide. For example, the first unit aims to develop "faith and pride in the American way of life" as well as "admiration and respect for the moral strength of the founders of our country" (Clark and Aitchison 1956:11–12). Words like "willingness," "faith," "pride," "determination," "admiration," and "appreciation" appear over and over again in these lists.

Catholic materials reflect this general trend. Catholic textbooks and professional education writers alike acknowledge the experiential education that results from the integration of Catholic schooling with Catholic home and parish life. In general, "the process by which the church teaches is better called *socialization* than *instruction*.... The entire church life is a teaching program, just as family life is a teaching program" (RJH 46/4, Church as Educative Institution:5).

While much of the public school curriculum at this time focused on intellectual development and was composed of isolated academic subjects— in part in response to anti-progressive sentiments—in civics education, holism and the value of experience persisted. The

rational for this was often presented as lying in the nature of democracy itself. Democracy "should be at work everywhere in our lives, not just in politics and government, but in our everyday habits and customs, our treatment of people of other races and religions, our attitude toward our schoolfellows and neighbors, in work, in sports, games, and everything we do" (Wagner and Green 1952:17). Thus, democracy is "more than a form of government. It is a way of life in the home, in the school, in the community" (Gordon 1951:40).

There is a tradition of instruction in government, represented most prominently by Macgruder's American Government textbook series. The use of those books persisted throughout this period, and they are in fact still being used today. But especially in the middle and elementary grades, in the postwar period, government instruction was not as common as civics education. Civics texts of a progressive slant would still contain information about the structure and processes of government, but always secondarily as information useful to a person who had already developed the proper attitudes and dispositions of the citizen. This holds true for Catholic texts as well as for public school texts. As the Archdiocese of Chicago's 1951 seventh and eighth grade civics textbook put it, "Christian social living … involves the familiar word 'citizenship' which is something to be thought and lived, rather than merely learned" (ACSB 1951:3).[9] A public school text of similar vintage made the classic progressive point even more directly: "You didn't learn to swim, for example, by reading about swimming. You don't learn to drive an automobile by reading about it. You know that you get in the water to learn to swim, and that you get in a car to learn to drive. *You learn by doing*" (Allen and Stegmeir 1956:xiv).

[9] It is common for books like this to use the word "Christian" to describe the moral or social values they are trying to impart. And while these books also have a generally ecumenical outlook, presenting the triumvirate of American religions as deserving respect, I believe that this usage of "Christian" is not a nod to the moral values the Catholic church has in common with Protestant churches, but a natural usage for an author who believes the Roman Catholic church *is* the Christian church.

It was widely discussed, both in the professional discourse about Roman Catholic civics education and in instructional materials themselves, that Catholic civics education was to be much more than factual information about the workings of government or the rights of the citizen. Father Thomas Quigley, superintendent of Pittsburgh schools from 1939–55, explained that Catholic civics education was not primarily intended to transmit information but to develop "the activities and experiences through which children learn the habits of allegiance, reverence, obedience, and love for family, parish, community and country" (Kennedy 1994:63).

The 1946 *Official Handbook of the Catholic Civics Clubs of America* explained that the two necessary elements for good citizenship were knowledge about your community—which you would gain in your civics course—and "inspiration to guide your daily actions," which would come from "the teachings of Christ that have to do with your social living" (DRP 1/10.27:4).

It is in their discussion of the practical side of moral and civic formation that these textbooks reveal their vision of the processes and practices that lead to such formation. Two categories of ideas emerge: ideas about the personal circumstances or individual actions that a student can take to undergo moral and/or civic formation, and ideas about the activities of the school that can bring about such formation.

Both school systems put forward the idea that individual *action* rather than mere knowledge is the key to good citizenship development. Catholic teachers using the *Christian Social Living* series were told that "education is an active, not a passive, process; it is something that the learner does for himself under the direction and guidance of his teachers. It is accomplished by means of self-activity" (Smith and McGreal 1946:6). Similarly, public school children were warned that "if you do not practice the traits that build good character, you will

become weaker rather than stronger. Life cannot exist without change. If you do not improve your character, you will make it worse. You will begin to live on a lower level" (Blough 1956:34).

While students in their inner lives can "aim to make every thought an honest thought" (Alilunas and Sayre 1956:48), the school itself also provides opportunities for moral and civic formation. All of these opportunities follow the same logic that experience is the foundation of all learning, and so are all places and times to practice being a good citizen, with the expectation that good citizenship will develop over time this way.

Especially for the Roman Catholic books, this practice is not limited to the school. "For the child [Christian social living] is not a faraway goal which he can reach only in adulthood. It concerns his commonplace actions of the present, at home, in school, in the parish and the larger community; the grace which will help him to lift these actions to a heavenly plane is offered to him now" (Smith and McGreal 1946:17). The public school texts have their own style of talking about the experience of the family in its relation to democratic life. The 1956 *Civics* advises students that, "whether it's a question about dating, or a question about money, or some other question that concerns all of you in the family, the democratic way is to talk things over with your parents. More and more and day by day you'll find yourself learning to make sound decisions. This is a democratic way of living. Make the most of it by being a good citizen in your home" (Allen and Stegmeir 1956:43).

The similarity between the two school systems is even more striking in their discussion of the relationship between the experience of schooling and the development of good citizenship. Compare these two statements, the first from *Christian Social Living*:

> Democratic living in the classroom contributes many opportunities for the development of the child's character. It affords him opportunity for self-control and co-operation as

> well as obedience and respect for rightful authority. It provides freedom for children to work with one another toward common and individual goals under the direction of the teacher, and so promotes the development of character through self-discipline. (Smith and McGreal 1946:89)

While the above statement is directed at Catholic school teachers, a similar sentiment can be seen in this excerpt from *You and Democracy*, a public school textbook directed at the middle grades:

> The most important guardian of our precious jewels is the *understanding* of democracy. Unless you understand what democracy is, you cannot live it. How can children best learn to understand democracy? Education is the answer. The schoolroom is living democracy. There, boys and girls learn to know each other. They learn to play together, to work together. They learn that a community is made up of all kinds of people. They learn that while each child can develop his own personality, every child has a responsibility to the entire group. Later this understanding reaches out to the community, then to the state, to the nation and to the world. (Gordon 1951:59)

Democratic values thus develop through the experience of schooling. But these books also suggest that they come because Catholic children are steeped in a general culture of democracy. Though the logic of how structures of government influence attitudes towards government is somewhat torturous, this passage from *American Values and Problems Today* illustrates the general idea:

> One of the greatest influences on our ideals and standards is our democratic heritage. For hundreds of years the spirit of democracy has grown steadily in political, economic, social and religious fields in the English-speaking world. Therefore, all our ideals and standards in every phase of life are greatly influence by the type of government we have. Since we live in this tradition of representative democracy, the values that serve as a basis for democracy have become a part of each of us. Therefore, we need a clearer conception of the meaning of democratic values and their relationship to the solution of personal and social problems in contemporary America. (Babcock and Quillen 1956:24)

I have been arguing that all of these features of early Cold War civics education have their origins in the progressive pedagogy that grew from the work of John Dewey. But it should be noted that Dewey's pragmatist philosophy is not the only possible source of a firm belief in

experiential education. In some cases, the Catholic manifestations of this belief seem clearly to also have their origins in the virtue ethics tradition, with an Aristotelian—rather than Deweyan—take on the role of habit in education.

The 1946 Smith and McGreal volume emphasizes the idea that "we grow in virtue by performing virtuous acts …. education produces its best and most lasting results when, under the free guidance of the teacher and in co-operation with his fellow pupils, the child works out his own scholastic salvation" (Smith and McGreal 1946:13). "Character supposes a will freed not only from ignorance and concupiscence but from the handicap of bad habits as well …. The right kind of habits, which are the virtues, must be ingrained through practice; and in the degree that they are, the wrong kind will atrophy and disappear" (Smith and McGreal 1946:8).

Similar ideas—though without the language of "virtue"—are found in the public school materials. Students are told "your habits will also help determine your personality and character. Habits are activities which have been recreated so often that they become automatic. You are largely the product of your daily habits…. Even getting joy out of life is to some extent a habit"" (Alilunas and Sayre 1956:48).

One of the ways to form good habits is to carefully regulate one's mental life. In a rare reference to the Bible in a public school text, *Youth Faces American Citizenship* provides a quotation from Proverbs, "'As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he'" and goes on to explain, "you are not what you think you are, but what you *think*, you *are*. Clean thoughts will bring you happiness, inner peace, and personal power.… Good thoughts and actions produce good results" (Alilunas and Sayre 1956:61). *Fundamentals of Citizenship* strikes the same note: "You are changed for the better or for the worse by the kind of thinking you do. Your mind is affected by your thoughts as your body is affected by your food. If you eat impure food, you build impurities

in your body. If you think evil, you build evil into your mind and so affect your whole being" (Blough 1956:33).

The Chicago Archdiocesan textbook warned its middle school readers that "the qualities which make a good citizen cannot be obtained from others or learned from books. They are the fruits of personal effort and achievement. They are not obtained quickly and easily, but are the work of a lifetime. Intelligence alone is not enough to acquire them. Knowledge must be accompanied by will-power which is trained and strengthened in good homes and in the practice of one's religion" (ACSB 1951:38).

3.4. Political Context and the Rhetorical Need to Reject Progressive Pedagogy

This chapter began with the puzzle of why Catholic schools would use pedagogically progressive civics education curricula when so many Catholic educationists were outspoken against progressivism. But it is evident that progressive pedagogy has been intermittently present in Catholic schools for all of the twentieth century. It seems reasonable to assume that Catholic school principals or teachers vary in the relationship they maintain between what they do in their classrooms and what nationally prominent Catholic educational thinkers say. The search for a justification of the coincidence of pedagogically progressive practices and anti-progressive rhetoric begs the question of a fixed relationship between practice and rhetoric.

The accelerating professionalization of Catholic school teachers meant that they were increasingly likely, in the years after the war, to encounter the mainstream of American educational thought. Beginning in the 1950s with the rise of the Sister Formation Conference and efforts to give more pedagogical training to religious teachers, and continuing with the steady replacement of religious teachers with lay teachers—many of whom were educated outside of

the Catholic system or had public school teaching experience—there would have been many avenues besides their own hierarchy through which Catholic educators could have taken up pedagogically progressive ideas.

The purpose of this section is to suggest some reasons why Catholic educationists found it important to continue to reject progressive pedagogy, even as it became increasingly established in the civics education programs of the Church's schools. Catholics in the immediate postwar period enjoyed rising social status, but still the impression lingered in the minds of some—aided by McCarthy—that Catholics were a monolithic block, thinking as one, and fervent in the extreme in their anti-communism. The whiff of foreign influence lingered as well. These circumstances made it imperative that the Church hold the line on their principled stance against communism.

3.4.1. American Catholics in the 1950s

The American Catholic community—if we can imagine it to be one community for a moment—underwent dramatic changes over the first half of the twentieth century, as the case of Chicago demonstrates. Until after the First World War, Catholic schools were a place where ethnic loyalties were reinforced, and the anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic sentiment in the larger society could temporarily be avoided (RJH 15/12, Social Functions of Catholic Education:1-7). In Chicago at the start of the twentieth century, many parishes built their school buildings even before building churches, holding worship services in the school auditorium while they continued to raise funds (RJH 109/7:2). The urgency stemmed both from a strong desire to preserve ethnic loyalties, but perhaps more so, "to preserve the Catholic religion against what was first considered the Protestant influence of the public school and later its godless perversion"

(RJH 109/7:2).

But the ethnic identities of Catholics and the more general immigrant identity would soon begin to fade. Following the immigration restrictions of the First World War and the 1920s, the influx of new Catholic immigrants from southern and eastern Europe slowed dramatically. As a result, the proportion of Protestant and Catholic Americans stabilized (as both continued to grow), allowing for the effects of social mobility for the longest resident Catholics to be felt in the aggregate (Herberg 1955:160, Ahlstrom 1972: 1001–3).

Table 3.1 Protestants and Catholics as Percentage of Total U. S. Population (Herberg 1955:160) [a]

Year	Protestants	Catholics
1926	27.0	16.0
1940	28.7	16.1
1950	33.8	18.9
1955	35.5	20.3
1958	35.5	22.8

[a] These numbers are not perfectly agreed upon. Havighurst puts the 1940 Catholic population at 18 percent, for example. But the general trend of steady proportions holds (RJH 15/12, Social Functions of Catholic Education:1). Herberg gets these numbers from the 1960 *Yearbook of American Churches* and does not discuss how the unaccounted for percentages are classified.

The steadily rising social position of many Catholics did not eliminate anti-Catholic sentiment, however, as was made clear through the presidential campaign of Al Smith in 1928, heightening "Catholic awareness of their second-class status" (Kennedy 1994:65).

By the end of the Second World War Catholic rates of college graduation had reached the Catholic share of the population (RJH 15/12, Social Functions of Catholic Education:5). As this

social mobility continued, some in Catholic educational circles began to worry that the drive for social mobility was undermining Catholic values. Describing the typical student of the 1940s and 1950s, Holy Trinity High school in its 50th anniversary volume, said that "in many cases both parents were employed, they gave little time to the supervision of their sons' conduct or their study habits at home. Towards the end of the last war, therefore, many parents, alarmed at the attitude of their offspring, hastened to place their sons in Catholic high schools, fondly hoping that the integrity of the religious teachers would repair the damage done by a conformist society and by their own educational incapacity" (INS 01/08:37). By the late 1950s it was clear—to the old guard at Holy Trinity at least—that this "new generation of youth … bore…the deficiencies of an age of affluence," and that to succeed "the ambitions and ideals of the immigrant fathers had to be awakened" (INS 01/08:42).

Americans awareness of the communist threat had mixed effects on levels of anti-Catholicism. To some nativists, and the most conservative Protestants, the communist threat was the one thing that could eclipse the Roman Catholic threat (Zimmerman 2002:90). "It is in the McCarthyist era that the anti-Communist issue becomes so salient for members of this evangelical denomination [Baptist] (and presumably others) that they abandon their traditional anti-Catholic animus in order to take part in right-wing ecumenical anti-Communism" (Hofstadter 1965:70).

Yet it is clear that the fear that Catholics were beholden to a foreign power lingered in the broader culture, enough that the U.S. Catholic Bishops felt it necessary, in a 1955 pastoral letter, to address the Americanness of Catholic schools. The Catholic school was described as, "no foreign importation, no alien growth, but a sturdy native plant, a conspicuous example of a common religious impulse working under the favorable condition of our republic" (Kennedy

1994:1–2, quoting the American bishops' 1955 pastoral letter in Nolan 1984:179-184).

The McCarthy era brought out the political divisions that waxed among American Catholics as their former ethnic divisions waned. There was Catholic criticism of McCarthy, but it was less vocal than support for his efforts (de Santis:4), the extremity of which gave rise to new waves of anti-Catholic sentiment from the left. A reader of the Boston Pilot (01 Mar 1952, p. 5) was hopeful that the paper's moderate position would refute the idea that ""Senator McCarthy, because he is a Catholic, receives the automatic endorsement of Catholics everywhere. It is important that our neighbors cease to think about us in this way" (as quoted in De Santis 1965:5).

3.4.1. Professional Education Circles and Perceptions of Communist Sympathies

Intra-Catholic struggles over the appropriate degree and style of anti-communism were playing out in education circles, as well. There were long-standing perceptions that elite eastern education schools (especially Teachers College) and the ranks of the National Education Association (NEA) were home to communists and communist sympathizers. Illinois's Broyles Commission on Seditious Activities had a committee specifically for censoring communist ideas in textbooks (Zimmerman 2002:102). Some felt that the National Catholic Educational Association (NCEA), which was closely modeled on the NEA, was also at risk of communist influence.

In 1955, a Father Bradley, pastor of a Catholic parish in Sandwich, Illinois, wrote to Frederick Hochwalt (also the recipient of Mrs. Jones's letter over fears of progressive social studies in her child's school in section 2, above) to get his advice about a parishioner who taught at the local public school and was in trouble with her superintendent for refusing to join the NEA. She based her argument on an article in the *Chicago Tribune* that suggested that the NEA

was “Communistic dominated or inspired” (Bradley to Hochwalt 14 Oct 1955, HOC 1/6).

The article in question could have been any one of a number published in that general time period. One article, unsubtly titled “Communist Teachers,” pointed out that three different congressional committees “have been engaged for many months in investigating the leadership of the National Education Association, the other pedagogical societies, the teachers' colleges, and the whole educational setup which preaches hate toward anti-Communists and minimizes the facts of communist penetration in the teaching profession" ("Communist Teachers" 05 Nov 1952 *Chicago Daily Tribune*). This general suspicion of the communist tendencies of “the whole educational setup” was present when it came to the national Catholic educational organizations, as well.

To many, the NCEA—with its close ties to UNESCO, did not represent the values of the average Catholic parent and was ready to push communist-leaning materials and sex education onto their children. Frederick G. Hochwalt, Executive Secretary NCEA from 1944 until his death in 1966, wrote many letters testifying to the anti-communism of the NCEA and the harmlessness of its close ties to the NEA. He was unable to lend any aid to Father Bradley’s parishioner’s case, and noted that many Catholic teachers are members and hold positions of leadership on policy-making committees. His concern about the NEA was that some elements within it were strongly opposed to private education of any kind, but “to say that this idea is Communistic seems to me in all Christian charity to press the point too far.” In his experience, most NEA officers seemed to be “Christian, God-fearing gentlemen” (Hochwalt to Bradley 25 Oct 1955, HOC 1/6). He went on to say that Catholics especially “ought to be very careful about accusing anyone of Communism unless the evidence is there” (Hochwalt to Bradley 25 Oct 1955, HOC 1/6).

In 1955 Hochwalt responded to accusations that UNESCO was communist-influenced.

While he did advise caution since “an organization of its kind could become vulnerable to communist propaganda and to improper use by the enemies of democracy,” he as yet saw no evidence that it was “an international plot to destroy America and the West.” (Hochwalt to Murphy 01 Feb 1955, HOC 1/4).

In the winter of 1956–57 Hochwalt had an exchange with Cuthbert O’Gara over the communist leanings of Catholic educational circles. O’Gara had been bishop of a Catholic diocese in China before being imprisoned after the revolution of 1949 and then eventually expelled from China. Upon his return to the United States, he was a leader of the conservative Catholic anti-communist movement, among other things, delivering the invocation at a pro-McCarthy rally at Madison Square Garden in the days before McCarthy was censured by the Senate (towards the end of 1954) (Carbonneau 1994). The President of the Jesuit Educational Association was present at a lecture given by O’Gara, and he wrote to Hochwalt to alert him to the things O’Gara was saying about him and the NCEA. Hochwalt wrote directly to O’Gara, asking him to provide evidence for his assertion in the lecture that communists had infiltrated many agencies in the U.S. and, as O’Gara put it, “it is to be feared, even in Catholic educational circles.” Criticizing O’Gara’s vagueness, Hochwalt wrote that, “if communistic inroads are being made and if you have the facts, we should all know about these in complete detail so that appropriate action can be taken. I hope that Your Excellency will be kind enough to give us the benefit of your special information and of your advice and counsel” (Hochwalt to O’Gara 04 Oct 1956, HOC 1/5).

O’Gara’s response did not contain any of the details that Hochwalt asked for, but instead asked a series of (seemingly) rhetorical questions: “Have you ever made a comprehensive survey of the large number of lay professors—Catholic and non-Catholic, foreign as well as American—

in our Catholic colleges and universities, with special reference to their cultural, political and religious backgrounds, but more especially to what some of them are giving out in Catholic classrooms under the guise of Catholic teaching and education?" "Do you think that the Communists are so stupid as to stop short of our Catholic schools, the very well-springs of one of our most effective defenses against Atheistic Communism?" (O'Gara to Hochwalt 15 Oct 1956, HOC 1/5).

Hochwalt responded that the authority to investigate Catholic schools for the purpose of ousting communists lay with the relevant Bishop, not with the secretary general of the NCEA. But despite this, he asserted, O'Gara was mistaken in his assumption that he was "more concerned about the evils of communism" than Hochwalt (Hochwalt to O'Gara 14 Nov 1956, HOC 1/5). In the final letter of the exchange, O'Gara abandoned any insinuations of communist sympathies and instead attacked the NCEA for general overreach—assuming exactly the kind of authority over the schools that Hochwalt had just denied—and lack of loyalty to Catholic educational principles. He accused Hochwalt personally of showing "too little recognition of the demarcation between the thinking of the Church and the thinking of the world in educational matters" (O'Gara to Hochwalt 09 Feb 1957, HOC 1/5).

By the postwar period, Catholics were in a better social position than ever before in America, but anti-Catholic sentiment lingered and came to be linked with fervent anti-communism because of McCarthy. The Church (through its schools) faced the dual task of continuing the project of assimilation—convincing other American's that Catholics were as American as anyone and appropriately anti-communist—and simultaneously maintaining the distinctiveness that was key to the meaningfulness of Catholic education.

3.5. Moral Certainty and Openness to Progressive Pedagogy

Thus we see the maintenance of a firm line against progressive pedagogy at the level of national professional discourse, and an openness to influence from the public schools at the level of individual teachers, schools, and textbook writers. I have suggested above that this openness was partly due to increased contact between Catholic and public school teachers, and mutual influence through the big national educational associations. But I believe there is more to the explanation, that this openness is not merely a practical stance taken by actors on the front lines of Catholic education but a principled stance, grounded in a deep belief in the power of Catholic moral formation. I contend that Catholic educators felt so secure in the strength of the moral formation their schools provided that they did not fear individual teachers experimenting with progressive pedagogical methods. Despite the assertion of the "Is your school progressive?" pamphleteer that school practices can never be detached from their underlying philosophy, there is ample evidence that many Catholic educators believed just that—that the underlying Catholic philosophy of education was so robust (especially in the context of civics education) that it would shine through any methodological apparatus that might overlie it.

That robustness has two primary elements: a certainty in the force of individual moral goodness, and a belief in the Catholic origins of all democratic institutions.

3.5.1. Individual as Source of Moral Goodness

Msgr. Daniel Cunningham, superintendent of Chicago Catholic schools from 1928 to 1957, summarized the Catholic philosophy of education in 1950:

> The task of education is the integration of personality, an integration made necessary by original sin, which has resulted in the disorganization of man's powers….[The aim of

> Catholic education is] to use all the means at hand, all the means offered by the arts and the sciences, history and literature, and God's revelation in order to put our students in harmony with God's views as to the meaning of life and the meaning of the material world about them, to produce, in fact, what Pope Pius XII termed "the true and finished man of character … who thinks, judges, and acts constantly and consistently in accordance with right reason illumined by the supernatural light of the example and teaching of Christ." (Cunningham et al. 1950)

This quotation reminds us that the moral and civic education intended by the Catholic schools is intended to be holistic. "Integration of personality," as Msgr. Cunningham means it, is a feature of a whole person. It is then that person, that true and finished man of character, who is the bulwark protecting the Catholic Church from any of the threats of modernity.

Civics education in this period—which happened both in independent civics classes in middle school and as part of religion classes in elementary school—was a major vehicle of that process of formation:

> We are all in agreement that the religion course is the core of our curriculum. The answer to the question, "Are we training our pupils for citizenship?" is to be found in the answers to two other queries: "Are we developing the moral virtues among our pupils? Are we fostering, by all the experience we provide, in and out of class, good habits of respect for authority, honesty, justice, temperance, chastity, courage, patriotism, responsibility, charity?" …. the good citizen must first be a good man. (McCluskey 1948:382–83)

This individualistic approach seems somewhat contradictory to the Church of *Rerum novarum*, but is perhaps more understandable in the anti-communist fervor of the immediate postwar period.[10] Such individual moral goodness, in this understanding, is the only proper avenue of social change:

> Christian social living will bring—when we all really try to live by its principles—better wages and working conditions for those who labor, better homes, better public officers, better laws, better times; for Christlike living will make better men and women who will make all this possible. It will do all this, not by any change in government but by a

[10] O'Malley tells us that in the decades between *Rerum novarum* and Vatican II, Catholic moralists "recognized the importance of the social encyclicals, but they did not see them as intrinsic to their profession." The focus of moral thought in the Church remained the Ten Commandments and its relevance to the individual believer, "especially as the priest faced the believer in confession and the believer as he faced the priest" (O'Malley 2019:195).

> change in the minds and souls of the people. The only way this can come about is by individual change. Every citizen must learn what Christian social living means for him; and he must learn how to practice its principles in his own daily life. (DRP 1/10.27:5)

If the content of individual moral formation is sound enough, if it is built upon the correct foundations, it is perhaps enough to ward off any dangers from the questionable philosophy underlying progressive pedagogy.

3.5.2. Catholics as Having Special Moral Knowledge

In 1939 Pius XI wrote a letter to the American hierarchy, which John McCluskey, a prominent Catholic educational theorist, quoted at length in a presentation to the NCEA in 1948:

> Since the sciences of civics, sociology, and economics deal with individual and collective human welfare, they cannot escape from the philosophical and religious implications of man's origin, nature, and destiny…. Christian teaching alone, in its majestic integrity, can give full meaning and compelling motive to the demand for human rights and liberties, because it alone gives worth and dignity to human personality. In consequence of this high conception of the nature and gifts of man, the Catholic is necessarily the champion of true human rights and the defender of true human liberties; it is in the name of God Himself that he cries out against any civic philosophy which would degrade man to the position of a soulless pawn in a sordid game of power and prestige, or would seek to banish him from membership in the human family; it is in the same Holy Name that he opposes any social philosophy which would regard man as a mere chattel in commercial competition for profit, or would set him at the throats of his fellows in a blind, brutish class struggle for existence. The Catholic school, then, because it is Catholic, has the traditional mission of guarding the natural and supernatural heritage of man. In the fulfillment of this sublime mission, it must, because of the exigencies of the present age, give special attention to the sciences of civics, sociology, and economics. (McCluskey 1948:384–85)

McCluskey went on to explain that individual Catholics had "a very special obligation to enter actively into community activities of all kinds. What the world needs, we possess; we are derelict in our duty if we hoard up the grace that is in us and separate ourselves from other men of good will" (McCluskey 1948:389). This idea that Catholics possess a special moral knowledge that is particularly relevant to American democracy is widespread in civics texts of

this period as well. Part of this is a belief that democracy itself is grounded in Christian principles.

Beyond asserting the compatibility of Catholicism with American democracy, the Roman Catholic books claim Christianity as a necessary grounding of that democracy. In the essay "Education for Life" that prefaces the major curricular volume produced by the Commission on American Citizenship in 1946, George Johnson puts it this way: "The American form of government and the ideals that inspire the American way of life not only accord with the principles of Christianity, but apart from them lack any substantial foundation. The national heritage which we wish to impart to our children in all its fullness is bound up in its essentials with the teachings of Christ" (Smith and McGreal 1946:5). In these books, democracy is a fight for the rights of all as well as a relationship between citizens that demands mutual responsibility for the well-being of all (ACSB 1951:60–61), precisely because Christianity demonstrates the worth and dignity of the individual person.

Chicago Catholic children were told that "the government set up by our Constitution is based on the Christian principle: 'Every man has individual worth and dignity.' Through that government, Americans try to insure every man a life worthy of his dignity as a child of God. It guarantees every man his God-given rights and obliges others to respect them" (ACSB 1951:171). The Christian origins of American democracy imply that proper citizenship demands Christian living. "The Christian who is a citizen of the United States will strive to the best of his ability to translate his faith into action that squares with the ideals of democratic living. With the aid of the grace that has been given him, he will strive to contribute in his own way, be it small or great, to the making of a better and finer America" (Smith and McGreal 1946:9). "When we live as good Christians at home, in school, and in the community, we are good Americans. We

show love for our country by obeying its laws, praying for its leaders and people, and making sacrifices for the spiritual and temporal good of the nation" (Smith and McGreal 1946:48).

This obligation to bring the Catholic faith to the practice of democracy extended to the international stage. The Chicago Archdiocese's textbook explained to students, "as zealous Christian citizens you will want to extend the horizon of 'liberty and justice for all' until it includes not only America but also the entire world" (ACSB 1951:171). "As Christians, we have responsibilities toward the people of other countries for their spiritual and physical welfare. Justice demands that we give them all that is owed to them. Charity demands that we help to satisfy their needs" (Smith and McGreal 1946:48).

The Chicago Archdiocese's seventh and eighth grade civics textbook asserted that the Declaration of Independence "proclaims Christian ideals" (ACSB 1951:50). In their end-of unit review exercises, students were encouraged to debate the resolution, "Democracy is a product of Christianity" (ACSB 1951:63). In case the students were in doubt after their debate, they were told in the very next chapter that "*American democracy is a by-product of the teachings of Christ*. The political principles Jefferson penned were not original. Each one had been thought of and said before by Catholic theologians like Suarez and Bellarmine, the great Jesuits, more than a hundred years before" (ACSB 1951:67).

Catholic educational theorists took the idea further, however, asserting not just that the foundations of democracy were secretly Catholic ideas, but that today's Catholics have special spiritual power to perceive threats to American democracy. Whereas some people might see communism as simply a political, military, or economic opponent of the United States, the Church had "done a splendid job of educating its own members as to the total nature of communism" ("Foundation for Religious Action", CC 1954 N [2]/13:3). Only Catholics can

clearly see that the enemy underlying communism is "atheistic materialism. Whether it be entrenched in the organs of a foreign state, or in one of our own domestic institutions, it is atheistic materialism that seeks to destroy us" (Victory Our Faith CC 1954 M-N/12:2).

Chicago's Catholic middle schoolers got the same basic message:

> As you study the units of the course, may the Holy Ghost set you on fire with His charity. May you always apply the principles of Christ to your own problems. Those who live this kind of life will be "crack troops" in Christ's army. They will establish the beachhead in the campaign to save America for Christ and democracy for America…. The ideal of brotherhood is as dangerous as dynamite to governments built on power and might, to Communism, Fascism, or tyranny of any sort. On the other hand, it is the foundation of democracy, for only by Christian social living can true democracy be attained and preserved by the people in any nation. If Christ-like living is practiced in our American democracy, it will be the best guarantee for the future of *all* democracy. (ACSB 1951:4)

Taken together, these two ideas—that individual moral formation is the only appropriate mode of social change and that American democracy has special defenders in its Catholic population—automatically place the inculcation of democratic values subordinate to Christian formation.

3.6. Conclusions

In the first section of this chapter, I demonstrated that some Catholics opposed progressive pedagogy because other Catholics were already using progressive-style experiential education methods; one does not oppose that which is no threat. The second section demonstrated the extent to which Catholic and public school civics textbooks were already aligned, uniting behind an experiential education model grounded in progressive pedagogy. Both school systems, in the area of civics education, had already made the move to favoring the development of the skills and dispositions needed for democracy rather than a rote learning of the mechanics of governance and the responsibilities of citizenship. The third section explained the opposition to

progressive pedagogy as a rhetorical move on the part of Catholic educationists to bolster the Church's perceived opposition to communism. The final section discussed how Catholic schools could be open to progressive pedagogy as a result of their own moral certainty. In short, Catholic educationists and educators felt comfortable using methods that were not ultimately grounded in a Catholic worldview because they believed that Catholic truths were so powerful as to counteract any danger from the whiff of pragmatism that hung around progressive civics education.

Overall, the chapter shows a divergence at different organizational levels, with the national educational think tanks and popular educational writers holding a hard line against the pragmatist philosophy underlying progressive civics education method, and a simultaneous openness to influence from the public schools on the part of teachers, school administrators, and textbook authors. Teachers from Catholic and public schools and textbook authors serving both audiences could communicate through professional organizations, as discussed in the previous chapter. And Catholic educators were able, because of their own moral certainty, to not perceive democratic values as a threat to Catholic truth.

It is at first surprising to see Catholic educationists patterning civics education curricula after public school models, especially in the early years of the Cold War, when American public school civics education was so forcefully patriotic and oriented towards promoting democracy in direct opposition to communism. In its purest form, the Catholic worldview puts no stock in allegiance to one's polity. Membership in a state is essentially irrelevant in comparison to membership in the Body of Christ. American public school civics textbooks in this period present a three-part religious pluralism (Protestant, Catholic, Jew) that is essentially incompatible with the Catholic Church's view of its own universality.

American Catholics were advancing socio-economically at an unprecedented rate, and it is plausible in such an environment to see the mirroring of public school civics education as an intentional, strategic effort to assert that Catholics had finally become fully American. It is a difficult task to simultaneously prepare Church members for American citizenship (and social mobility) and preserve the distinctiveness of the Church and its educational offerings. The methodological elements of mainstream civics education and the emphasis on experiential learning were not incompatible with the major strains of Catholic educational philosophy (see 2.2). While the most prominent public school educationists who advocated for such methods (e.g., Dewey) looked to pragmatism for philosophical justification, pragmatism was not the only philosophy that could support such practices. The Catholic use of progressive pedagogy raises the question of how meaningfully one can differentiate progressive and non-progressive pedagogy at a point in history when such ideas had permeated so deeply into the common sense of American educational practice. Moreover, Catholic moral philosophy had a lot in common with certain aspects of progressive pedagogy, and whether this is the result of influence or parallel evolution is an open question.

The widespread adoption of progressive methods and a patriotic tone are explained by the American Church's own confidence. In this sense, the puzzle itself breaks down. How could Catholics, whose first and only allegiance is to the Church, participate in a system that elevates the state as the primary unit of society? What if they trust so fundamentally in their allegiance to the Church that American patriotism seems but a superficial stance, essentially unthreatening? I do not mean to suggest that the magisterium did not see it as threatening, but that from the perspective of lay Catholics working in education, it would be relatively easy to reconcile one's faith with participation in the tone of the larger society, and it would be especially easy to see

how doing so would further the social interests of one's students. This chapter has shown some of the consequences of the peripheral openness that was discussed in the previous chapter. And it begins to hint at a kind of openness that is peculiar to the Catholic case: an openness—one might even say an openness to the secular—that is itself grounded in faith.

One of the things this chapter also shows is a disconnect between certain levels of educational rhetoric and educational practice. There is generally a dispute within the history of Catholic schooling in the U.S. over the extent to which the Catholic schools followed the lead of public schools or maintained their own pure vision of education. Part of our inability to resolve this dispute is the perpetual difficulty of studying educational philosophy and educational practice in relation to each other. If Catholic schools maintain a distinct educational philosophy as evidenced by its elite discourse, but adopt the classroom practices of the public schools, what does that mean for the purity of Catholic Education?

One of the assertions of progressive civics pedagogy is that participation in democracy—a loyalty to democratic systems and facility with democratic processes—cannot just be taught by rote. Democracy is not a kind of knowledge, but a set of skills and dispositions. This is the same fundamental question that the Catholic Church faced in the second half of the twentieth century: what is the role of tradition as opposed to individual experience in the development of the faithful? Can the moral truths of Catholicism be handed down, or must they be discovered anew in people's lives?

The question of an American Catholic's patriotism and how that patriotism should be inculcated—how it should relate to one's faith—is an abstract one and was even during the Cold War. Throughout the Cold War, there was not a clear divide between the magisterium and the laity on what the proper moral response was to communism. Pretty much everyone agreed that

anti-communism was important and that democracy was the only way to preserve a religious society. The next chapter will discuss a case that lacked this kind of moral consensus, one in which the moral divide fell along lines of clergy versus laity, and upper class versus working class. And the Church experimented with yet more experiential moral education methods to resolve the dilemma.

Chapter 4: Operation Hospitality: Race, Moral Authority, and the Formation of Catholic Moral Culture

4.1. Introduction

This chapter uses as a focal point a single case study: the Archdiocese of Chicago's "Operation Hospitality," a program that bused black children from Catholic elementary schools in the inner city to parish schools in the suburbs and outer ring of the city, operating between 1968 and 1974. This particular episode is situated in a larger story of the racial transition of Chicago neighborhoods and a larger story of the cultural divides within Catholicism that arose in this historical period and were manifest in Chicago.

By the mid-1960s, the American Catholic hierarchy had finally come around to participation in the civil rights movement. They were fully convinced—as evidenced in a 1958 Pastoral Letter—that the Catholic faith demanded action for racial justice. In contrast, the American Catholic laity—especially the white, working-class population still residing in ethnic neighborhoods—saw participation in civil rights activism as sign of left-leaning or possibly communist sympathies. They did not locate the center of Catholicism in abstract moral principles or particular interpretations of the gospel, but rather in their own personal, familial, and (overwhelmingly) neighborhood identity. To them, the religious and cultural unity of the parish neighborhood was the essence of Catholicism. People described their neighborhoods by the parish, not the neighborhood name. The influx of (mostly non-Catholic) blacks to the city's south and west side neighborhoods was thus not just a perceived threat to property values and the

safety of the neighborhoods, but a threat to the identity of the neighborhood and, by extension, all the families in it.

Archbishop Cody, the staff of the education office of the archdiocese, and some parish priests believed that racial integration was a moral imperative and the only way to keep the Church alive in the inner city. They communicated this with their white constituents directly, in the form of sermons and editorials in the *New World*, and indirectly, through Church policy. Operation Hospitality was essentially a statement from the archdiocese about the relationship between racial justice and the Catholic faith, and it was a relationship that many (though not all) white, working-class parishioners did not accept.

This chapter will demonstrate that this experimental program was not intended by the archdiocese to primarily improve the academic outcomes of black students. It was instead part of a larger effort to educate the city's white laity in their moral duties regarding racial justice. It is a response that recognizes the collapse of the Church's ability to enforce moral rules and sought to find other avenues for moral education. It represented the shift from an emphasis on moral education through rules to moral education through experiences that develop skills and dispositions.

The first section will discuss the context of Operation Hospitality in terms of historical background: racial demographics in Chicago and the political and financial situation of the Church in the 1960s. The next section will present the basic history of Operation Hospitality. The following two sections will explore the reasons why Operation Hospitality happened as it did, first through a discussion of the various subcultures of Chicago Catholicism at the time and then through an analysis of materials about Operation Hospitality that show it was intended as moral education for white parishioners. A final section will discuss the implications of this

interpretation of Operation Hospitality for our broader understanding of the changes to Catholic education after Vatican II.

4.2. Background: Neighborhood Change and Financial Crisis

4.2.1. Changing Neighborhoods, Changing Catholic Schools

While this chapter is ultimately about internal and religious changes in Chicago's Catholic schools, those schools underwent significant changes in the decades following the Second World War because of external, demographic factors that affected the city's public schools in similar ways. The most important of these were population growth from the baby boom, the arrival of blacks in the great migration, and the re-arranging of populations within the city and its suburbs.

The student population of the Catholic schools in the Archdiocese of Chicago peaked in the mid-1960s—for elementary schools in 1963 with 289,721 students in 440 schools, and for high schools in 1966 with 78,105 pupils in 96 schools (Figure 4.1). When those numbers are broken down by region of the city, one can see a more nuanced story of a steady shift of Catholic families from the inner city to the outer ring and the suburbs (Figure 4.2).

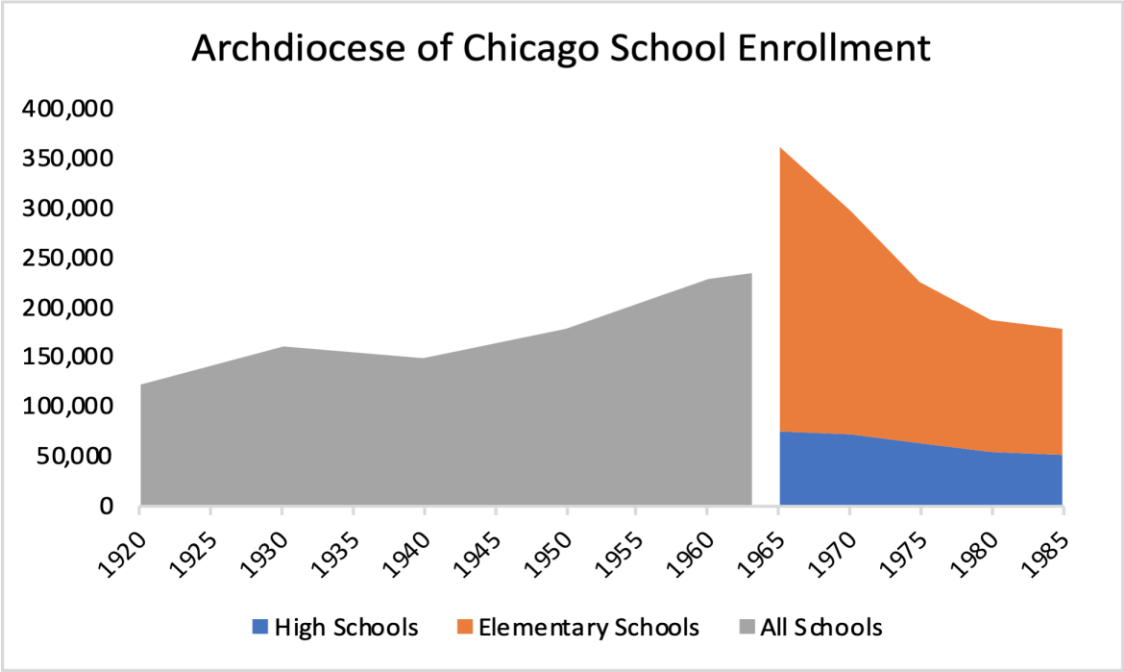

Figure 4.1. Archdiocese of Chicago School Enrollment, 1920-1985 (RJH 51/5, Faraone 2013:90)

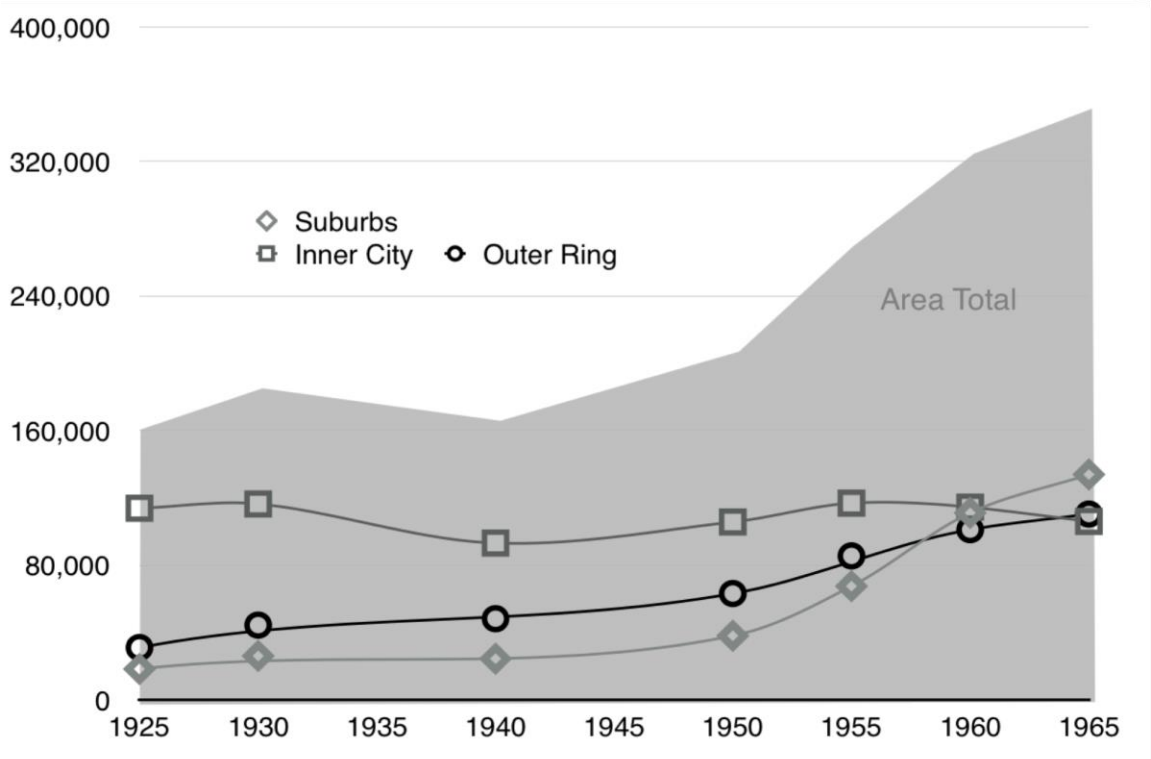

Figure 4.2. Chicagoland Catholic School Enrollment by Region (Sanders n.d., RJH 109/7).

Chicago's population swelled not only because of the Baby Boom, but also because of the Second Great Migration. Unlike the in-migration made up of Catholics from overseas into cities that occurred in the early twentieth century, most of the migration after the Second World War was of non-Catholics from rural areas of the United States (RJH 15/12, Social Functions of Catholic Education:5). Between 1940 and 1970, Americans migrated in large numbers from rural areas to cities: blacks from the south, whites from Appalachia, Mexican Americans from California, and Puerto Ricans (Tyack 1974:276-277). These populations disproportionately attended public schools, such that by the mid-1960s, public school populations were majority nonwhite in most major American cities, even in cities where the overall population remained majority white (Tyack 1974:278).

In Chicago, the black population in 1920 was 4 percent (McGreevy 1996:30).[1] It rose to 22.9 percent by 1960 (McGreevy 1996:180). Because of the concentration of black children in public schools and white flight to the suburbs, the overall population percentage of 22.9 percent meant that in 1960, the percentage of black children aged 5–14 in the inner city was 45.2 percent (RJH 109/7:6).

This increasing concentration of black students in parts of the city did not affect the Catholic schools as much as it could have numerically because the black population was no more generally distributed than the Catholic population (RJH 109/7:7). Indeed, many neighborhoods were starkly defined by a dominant ethnic, racial, or religious make-up. For example, in 1960 Beverly enrolled more than 60 percent of its children in Catholic schools, while heavily Jewish North Park, in contrast, only 10 percent (RJH 109/7:6).

[1] It is difficult to overestimate the value of John McGreevy's 1996 *Parish Boundaries* to the development of this chapter. I will cite it specifically when appropriate, but the influence of its insight and careful scholarship will be evident (especially in section 3) on every page. I am also grateful to Omar McRoberts for first putting it into my hands.

There had, of course, always been black people in Chicago. But the dramatic acceleration of their population growth postwar and especially in the 1960s caused attitudes about race in the city to shift. The Catholic Church was no stranger to "racial" tension, but before 1940 "the primary 'race' problem for American Catholics … was the physical and cultural integration of the various Euro-American groups into the parishes and neighborhoods of the urban North, not conflicts between 'blacks' and 'whites'" (McGreevy 1996:9). There were relatively easy transitions as European ethnic groups moved through neighborhoods. McGreevy cites German priests welcoming Polish people to St. Boniface in Chicago, and other examples of Irish nuns learning Italian to better serve their new populations. The same patterns did not hold with African American movements through the city, and to a great extent, it was the presence of blacks in the city in large numbers that finally unified the various European ethnic and national groups into "whites" (McGreevy 1996:35-6).

Some of those "white" Catholics were also moving to the suburbs. Already by 1965 only 27 percent of the total Roman Catholic school enrollment in the Archdiocese of Chicago was in the inner city, with 40 percent in the suburbs. In 1925, when much of the city's Catholic population was concentrated in the industrial areas of the northwest and southwest sides, 70 percent of enrollment was in the inner city (RJH 109/7:4).

While the economic prosperity, improved transportation, and decreasing anti-Catholic feeling (McGreevy 1996:83) of the postwar years allowed increasing numbers of Catholics to move to the suburbs, their numbers lagged behind that of other whites. Catholic churches themselves lacked the financial resources and flexibility to move to the suburbs as Protestant churches and Jewish synagogues could.[2] The constitution of the parish as specifically a

[2] This process paralleled the determinants of individual relocation to the suburbs. The most affluent and flexible moved to the suburbs first (Jackson 1985:11). On the individual level, veteran status was also relevant. The 1944

geographic area and the concentration of the Church's wealth in the physical plant of churches and schools meant that there was good reason for the Church to try to hold people in the city as long as they could (McGreevy 1996:19). Catholic families themselves also tended to be less mobile, with lower incomes, larger families, and tighter ties to the neighborhood. As Catholics moved to the suburbs with other whites, the total number of Catholics in the city decreased, but the Catholic proportion of the white population grew (McGreevy 1996:131).

The Catholic schools played a complicated role in this phenomenon of "white flight." As the city's white population grew increasingly Catholic, so too did the Catholic schools enroll increasing proportions of white children—45 percent by 1965 (RJH 109/7:6). There is evidence that Catholic families were less inclined to move to the suburbs because suburban Catholic schools were known to be over-enrolled (RJH 109/7:12), and inner-city Catholic schools were staying predominantly white longer than local public schools. Catholic schools could serve to anchor white families in the city, just as the Chicago Public Schools hoped magnet schools would do (Kryczka 2019). As of the mid-1960s, however, the vast majority of white Catholic school children lived in all-white neighborhoods and so would not have gone to integrated public elementary schools no matter what (RJH 109/7:11).

In the 1967–68 school year, ninety percent of Chicago Catholic elementary students went to schools with students of only one race, in contrast to high school students, where four out of five attended integrated schools (Operation Hospitality 1968, CODY 2/2). Elementary schools were almost always run by individual parishes and thus drew only from neighborhood populations, whereas the cities Catholic high schools had always tended to draw from across the

Servicemen's Readjustment Act created a mortgage program for veterans (Jackson 1985:233). Not only were veterans of the Second World War overwhelmingly white, but white veterans were more likely to take advantage of veterans benefits.

city. By the 1967–68 school year, the black population of Chicago Catholic schools had risen to 8 percent, but they remained concentrated in a small number of overwhelmingly black schools (Ryan 2017:58).

Integration of the city's Catholic high schools was more substantial. The city had long had a policy of "open enrollment" where Catholic eighth graders could apply to and attend (if space was available) any Catholic high school. Archbishop Stritch (in office 1940–58) was particularly active in putting pressure on high schools to accept black applicants and would "quickly, if privately, eliminat[e] dissent among the clergy" (McGreevy 1996:89).

These were, in Stritch's time, mostly black *Catholic* students. While Chicago did not have a substantial historical population of black Catholics, it was a national leader in conversion efforts, beginning in the end of Mundelein's tenure in the late 1930s and reaching a peak of zeal under Stritch (Avella 1992:281).[3] The archdiocese did not begin collecting race data on their students until 1963, but it seems likely that until that time the total proportion of non-Catholic black students never exceeded 25 percent. In the high schools, that proportion stayed lower for longer (Figure 4.3).

[3] The earliest available numbers on black Catholics in America are from 1928, when about half of the 203,000 black Catholics in American were in Louisiana. There were smaller pockets (25,000 and 22,000, respectively) in New York City and the Washington, D.C./Baltimore area, but no other major concentrations (Dolan 1985:359). By 1959, the national total had risen to almost 600,000, mostly through conversion (Dolan 1985:370), with 12,000 new conversions every year nationwide in the early 1960s (McGreevy 1994:224–25). It seems reasonable to assume very few black cradle Catholics arrived in Chicago in the great migrations; but conversions in the 1930s and 1940s would mean that many of the city's black Catholic school children in the mid-1960s would have been second or even third generation Catholic.

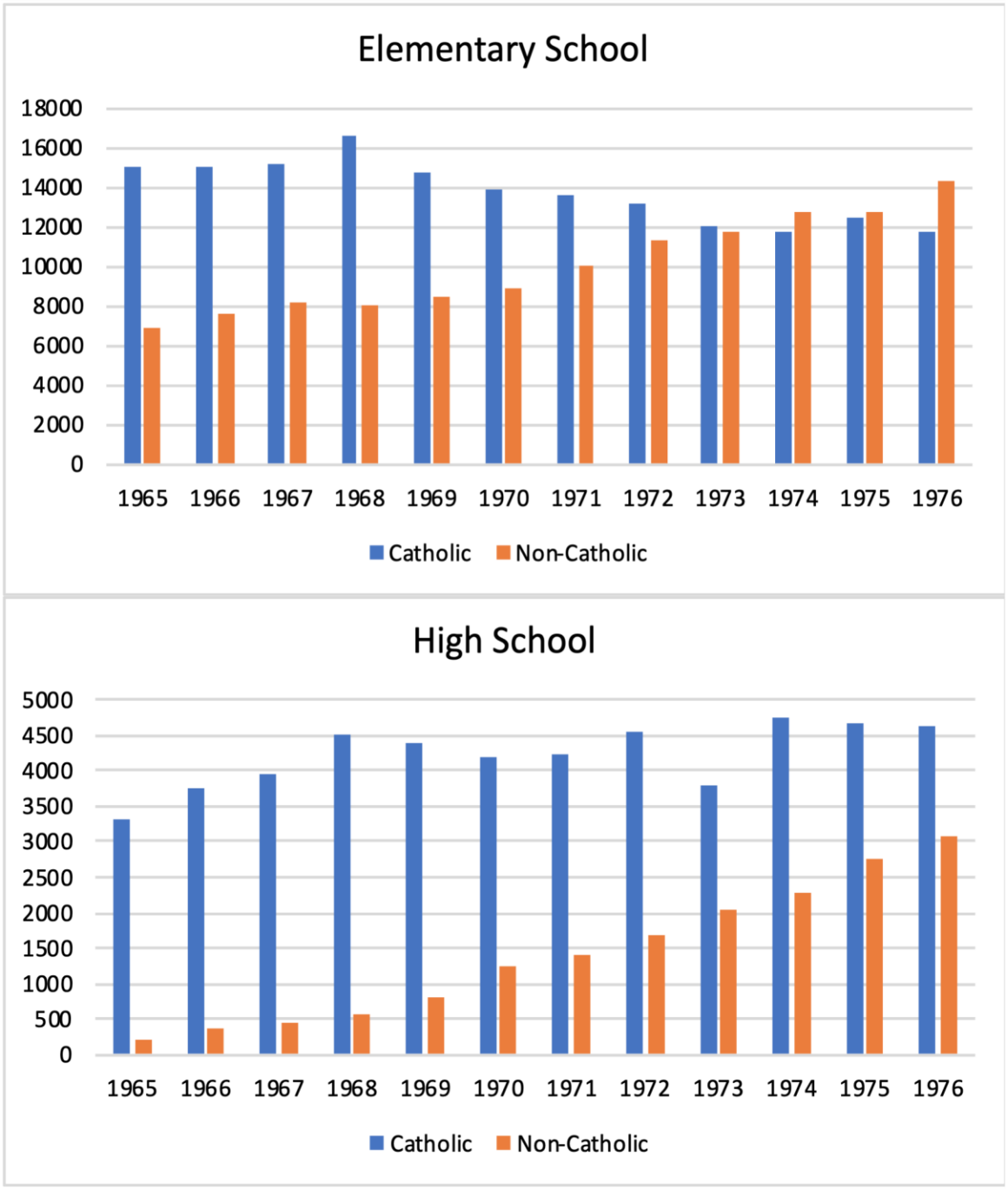

Figure 4.3. Religious Affiliation of Black Students in Archdiocese of Chicago Schools, 1965–1976 (Statistical Reports 1976-77, CODY 12/7)

4.2.2. City Politics and Mayor Daley

The Church's action (or lack thereof) for racial integration was always in the context of city

politics. Especially during the Daley administration (1955–76), the relationship between city politics and Catholicism was complicated. Daley himself was a product of the predominantly white and Catholic Bridgeport neighborhood, an example of the parish-centered culture that persisted among lay people across the city. Daley would sometimes use this background to urge moderation in the criticism of those who resisted neighborhood integration. When frustrated by the questioning of an activist nun, he responded, "Look sister, you and I come from the same background … houses as old as on the west side, but the people took care of them, worked hard, kept the neighborhood clean" (as quoted in McGreevy 1996:194). Daley also presented a very public microcosm of a dilemma faced by many lay Catholics when Catholic teachings conflicted with their political views: when his son's religion teacher assigned a social studies book that criticized Chicago machine politics, Daley threatened to pull him out of the Catholic school. Apparently, he told the priest teaching the course, "We thought this was a religion class" (McGreevy 1996:194).

The view that the advocacy of specific political positions was unrelated to the teaching of religion was widespread among the city's laity who opposed racial integration; this will be discussed at greater length in section 3. The question of the relationship of religious belief to political action is, of course, a major theoretical question behind this entire dissertation. The Second Vatican Council, for all its liberalism and ecumenism and other things that might appear to be secularization, also attempted to broaden the field over which religious ideas held sway by telling the faithful that it was their duty as Catholics to participate in social and political life as Catholics.

Mayor Daley, like Cardinal Cody, had to balance several constituencies with different ideas about integration including "liberals concerned about racial integration, a more assertive African

American population, and a shrinking, but increasingly fearful body of working and middle-class whites" (McGreevy 1996:192).

4.2.3. The Church in Financial Crisis

By the late 1960s, overall Catholic school enrollment was in decline, most strikingly in the inner city. The black populations that were displacing white Catholics were not predominantly Catholic, even if some were sending their children to Catholic schools. This meant that as a neighborhood increased in its proportion of black families, the ratio of children in the Catholic schools to families without children who still supported the parish steadily grew. The financial base of the parish began to shrink to just those families with children in the parish school. At the same time, the proportion of nuns teaching in parish schools (who were paid a pittance because their living expenses were covered by their order) was decreasing relative to that of lay teachers who demanded wages that were at least at a subsistence level, if not approaching those of their public school counterparts. The Church had built new schools at a high rate between the mid-1950s and mid-1960s, and so these pressures were combined with the maintenance cost of a portfolio of urban infrastructure of unprecedented size (Koenig 1981:96; McGreevy 1996:85).

As a result of these factors, Chicago Catholic schools were in financial crisis by the mid-1960s. Stable neighborhoods, with large numbers of Catholic families, were in the clear interest of the Church's finances. There was therefore a very practical reason for the Church to encourage white Catholics to stay and welcome the black families that moved into their schools and neighborhoods.

Of all these factors, the rise of lay staffing that occurred across the 1950s and 1960s was perhaps the most significant. By the mid-1960s, the availability of religious teachers was

declining at an accelerating rate that became genuinely alarming to the archdiocese. Whereas in the 1950s, concern over lay teachers was more about how to properly train them, the scale of the problem had, by the mid-1960s, become so great that it was a financial crisis, not just a cultural issue.

Efforts on the national scale to professionalize teaching sisters began in 1948, only two years after such efforts began in the public schools, indicated by the establishment of the National Education Association's National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards (Beane 1993:5). In 1950 there were approximately 90,000 religious sisters working as teachers in the United States (Beane 1993:3), a little over 60 percent of all the women religious in the country (Berrelleza et al. 2014:2).

In 1953, nationwide only 10.3 percent of teachers and principals in Catholic schools were lay persons (Bishops' Meeting 1953, CC 1954 M-N/12:15). Chicago's share of this was 350 lay teachers in 1954; of these, 248—or 71 percent of Chicago's lay Catholic teachers—had at least a four-year college degree (Number of Lay Teachers, CC 1954 C/15). The proportion of women religious holding bachelor's degrees nationwide would not surpass 50 percent until 1966 (Beane 1993:133). In 1950, the figure for public school teachers with at least a college degree stood at 55 percent (Beane 1993:10).

Anxiety over the role of lay teachers in the Catholic schools began in the 1950s. A master's thesis on lay teachers was written at the Catholic University of America every year in 1957, 1958, and 1959 (Nale 1957, Glass 1958, Dawson 1959). The decline of the availability of religious sisters to teach in Chicago's parochial elementary schools accelerated through this period. The years 1967, 1968, and 1969 saw declines of 5 percent, 8 percent, and 13 percent, respectively (SSC Minutes 05 Aug 1970, BEN 3/1). The age of teaching sisters reflected the

duration of such trends. In 1970 half of lay teachers were under age 30, and half of religious teachers were over 50, with a negligible number coming up behind them (SSC Minutes 05 Aug 1970, BEN 3/1).

The Archdiocese's School Study Commission of 1970 used language like "almost zero" and "a trickle" to describe the number of new candidates for the religious life (SSC Minutes 05 Aug 1970, BEN 3/1). The archdiocese kept records of how many high school graduates entered the religious life, and those numbers (boys and girls combined) declined from 543 in 1965–66 to 128 in 1969–70. Numbers for girls, which were lower to begin with, declined to only 5 individuals in 1970 (Clark to SSC 01 Jul 1970, BEN 3/3).

The base numbers of religious vocations was not the only factor in the declining number of religious teachers. While many communities had been entirely dedicated to one institution (such as a single parish elementary school), during this period they began to change their policies such that individual sisters could choose the type of work they wanted to do, with a discretion similar to lay teachers (SSC Minutes 05 Aug 1970, BEN 3/1). The variety of such options also increased over this period, "drawing some Sisters out of the classroom into other activities" (Effective Catholic Commitment, BEN 3/3).

The increasing proportion of lay teachers created financial pressure in Catholic schools. It was traditional for teaching sisters either to be paid very little, with the assumption that they would receive room and board from their order and few other expenses, or to be paid a larger amount with the assumption that they would immediately donate it back to the school. These "contributed services" accounted for a substantial portion of the total operating budget of the schools. This portion declined as the number of religious teachers declined (SSC Minutes 05 Aug

1970, BEN 3/1).[4]

In 1959 the annual stipend paid to teaching sisters in Chicago was raised to $900—this was consistent regardless of whether the sister had a college degree or not. It is estimated that elementary school teachers in the public schools at that time averaged $4,800 per year (NCES 2007). The increasing proportion of lay teachers prompted the Archdiocese's Office of Education to expand its services with the understanding that more teachers would require services they could not obtain elsewhere (Koenig 1981:96–97), which further increased administrative costs, making the archdiocese less able to subsidize teacher salaries.

4.3. Practical Details of Operation Hospitality

It was in this context of rapid racial change in the city and rapidly declining financial prospects for the archdiocesan schools that efforts began to be made to respond through racial integration. In 1963 the federal government mandated that the Chicago public schools collect data on the racial make-up of its schools. In January of 1964, the Archdiocesan School Board followed suit, officially approving "taking a head count of Negro pupils and other minority groups." The official language of the change did not make reference to the situation in the public schools but instead explained that the board felt that "no serious programs of integration could be initiated unless there was information about the racial composition of the schools" (McManus to Board

[4] Not all of the changes brought about by the increasing proportion of lay teachers were considered problematic. There was general consensus among the archdiocese's educational leaders that the professional qualifications of lay teachers was often high and steadily improving over this period. An oversupply of lay teachers also meant that the schools had a choice of candidates (SSC Minutes 05 Aug 1970, BEN 3/1). This would also improve when schools took a different attitude towards hiring lay teachers following a recognition that they were going to always be necessary. Some SSC documents suggest that part of the problem with the current lay teaching staff not providing a sufficiently Christian atmosphere is that they were hastily hired because of a perception that to do so was "an 'emergency measure' until enough Sisters would again be available to the schools" (Effective Catholic Commitment, BEN 3/3).

1967b, HOY 8/10:5).

Integration in Chicago Catholic schools happened mostly in high schools. The archdiocese had long had a policy of "open enrollment" in which students graduating from Catholic eighth grades could apply to any high school in the city or suburbs. Schools were allowed to set their own admissions criteria, so in practice schools were able to control the racial composition of their student bodies if they chose to, but simply by drawing from neighborhoods all over the city, most high schools ended up with some racial mixing. By 1966 the Archdiocesan School Board had as part of their official policy the statement that "racial integration of students gives children of both races an opportunity to learn lasting lessons of justice and charity" (McManus to Board 1967b, HOY 8/10:5). At the end of 1966 the Board approved a "human relations" program that would involve producing a television program for teachers and parents, the appointment of a specially trained human relations coordinator for every school in the archdiocese, and a renewed emphasis on school observations of "Brotherhood Week" (McManus to Board 1967b, HOY 8/10:5).

The original idea for Operation Hospitality, which was announced in January of 1968, was to bus black children from the inner city and white children from the outer-ring and suburbs, in grades four through seven, to each other's schools for the entire year (Faraone 2013:83-84). Families interested in sending their children on buses and parishes interested in receiving bused children (provided their schools had space) would be recruited on a volunteer basis. In the receiving parishes, one family would volunteer to host each child, providing lunch when necessary, and being on call in case of emergency (Cody 1968, CODY 2/2:2; Untitled Report 1969, EXEC 21610/289:1-2).

As it happened, the archdiocese was not able to recruit any white children to be bused to

black schools (Ryan 2017:55). This was not entirely unforeseen; an archdiocesan school board report from 1965, which asserted that busing for integration ought not to be "a one-way street," admitted that such reciprocity would be "a difficult bill of goods to sell" (Administrative Patterns 1965, HOY 8/10). The same report recommended aggressive action, first in areas of the city that were already open to it, and then in areas that seemed able to be convinced. This convincing would require "work[ing] on the Catholic idealism of white and Negro parishes, parishioners, sisters and priests" (Farrell 1965, HOY 10/8:1-2). The report concluded that "integration is never accomplished by permissiveness or good will alone. Strong aggressive implementation is always necessary" (Farrell 1965, HOY 10/8:4). Cody did not quite follow this advice in announcing the program to the entire archdiocese. He would receive complaints from parishes that did not participate and were under no obligation to participate.[5] Principals and faculty members in receiving schools participated in a three-day training in the summer, with a follow-up day in the winter (Untitled Report 1969, EXEC 21610/289:2).

In the first year of Operation Hospitality, black families presented 256 children to be bused (Ryan 2017:72), and nineteen white schools volunteered to receive them. Over the years, students steadily dropped out of the program, usually citing the burden of long bus rides. In the spring of 1972 they decided to stop recruiting new children, and the program was cancelled at the end of the 1973–74 school year. Over the course of the entire program some 350 students participated, and it cost the archdiocese a little over half a million dollars (Brackin to Cody 19 May 1976, EXEC E2610/262).

The protest against the program was concentrated when the program was announced in the spring of 1968, but it essentially calmed down by the autumn. There was widespread

[5] Except, of course, financially. Many letter writers objected specifically to having money they'd paid into archdiocesan fundraising efforts being used for "other people's" parishes.

confusion—especially among those already mobilized against neighborhood integration—about the mandate of the program. Some protested that children should not be bused without parents' permission, not understanding that the program was always intended to be fully voluntary.

After the first year of the program, the archdiocese conducted a survey of all the participants and found that most were still enthusiastic about the program. The author of the report based on that survey wrote, "It would, however, be unrealistic to deny that there were many voices raised in loud protest within the Catholic community itself. Nevertheless, in the best interest of Christianity the program proceeded and it is significant to note that on the first day of schools there was not even token protest at any of the sites." He went on to note that while statistics were not kept for parents withdrawing their students from receiving schools in protest, he believed the numbers were small (Untitled Report 1969, EXEC 21610/289:2).

Those who did not plan to participate again (15 out of 256 in the first year) mostly cited the burdens of the long bus ride, but two were rising eighth-graders who wanted to graduate from their home parish schools (Untitled Report 1969, EXEC 21610/289:4). After the first year, suggestions were made to ensure that black students were not fully isolated from black culture. It was recommended that receiving schools buy books on black history for their libraries and get a school subscription to *Ebony*, which would provide "invaluable bulletin board materials so the image-producing techniques become supportive of our effort to reduce racial isolation" (Receiving School, EXEC 21610/289:3).

The largest section of this report focused on the host families and their experience of the program. It was noted that the most enthusiastic responses (from sending and receiving families) came where the bused child had eaten lunch regularly with the host family. In some cases, children would have even more contact with the host family: "One little boy who was being

tutored once a week spent that night with his host family; another whose home burned down was with his hosts for two weeks" (Untitled Report 1969, EXEC 21610/289:5-6).

Most of the complaints in this first-year review were from sending families who were disappointed that half of the program had not come to fruition: no white children were being bused to black parishes. And while sending families often travelled to receiving parishes to participate in social events or witness extracurriculars, no black families reported any of the white hosts coming to similar events in the black parishes.

Ernest Yancey, who directed the program for the archdiocese (and who was a parishioner at the racially integrated St. Thomas the Apostle in Hyde Park), wrote that this particular dissatisfaction held "the seed of Operation Hospitality's demise" and that "such a demise would be most unfortunate for the future of race relations in our schools" (Untitled Report 1969, EXEC 21610/289:12).

The demise of the program, at least according to memos from within the schools office, was the cost of the busing, which had "become exorbitant in relation to the number of pupils being bused" (Clark to Cody 26 Feb 1973, EXEC E2610/262). Clark declared it to be an unqualified success, but also believed it was an experiment that had run its course. What did he understand to have been successful about it? What had been its purpose in the first place? How did it fit in the landscape of Chicago Catholic culture? I turn to address these questions in the next two sections.

4.4. Cultures in the Church

This section will present the cultural context for Operation Hospitality by describing the attitudes and behaviors of various identifiable groups within the archdiocese. It is my contention that Operation Hospitality was driven by the desire, on the part of the archdiocesan leadership, to bring all of these various groups back under one moral umbrella.

Many scholars have noted the fracturing of Catholic culture in the postwar period (Kennedy 1988; McGreevy 1996:92, 205), but much of this literature suggests that there were broadly two Catholic cultures that diverged at this time: one was politically conservative, respected the traditional institutional authority of the Church and emphasized sacramental and parish life; the other was politically liberal, questioned the authority structures of the Church, and emphasized the transcendent moral principles of the global Church. The Second Vatican Council is generally presented as the unexpected triumph of the second culture over the first (e.g., Wilde 2007), and it is widely recognized that that culture continued to grow in strength among the laity (Alwin 1986; Ellison and Sherkat 1993). The example of Chicago and the particular case of racial integration suggests that the elements of these cultures were deployed more fluidly, and particular attitudes towards the moral authority of the Church hierarchy were highly variable and not correlated with any given political view. In this section, I will discuss the laity and then the clergy, distinguishing within both groups cultural differences that attend differing opinions on integration.

4.4.1. Laity

4.4.1.1. Pro-Integration Laity

Pro-integration laity in Chicago most cleanly fit the model of liberal Catholicism that is often identified as being on the rise in the post-Vatican II period.

Many laity in Chicago were involved in the civil rights movement in some way or another or were members of the Catholic Interracial Council. By the mid-1960s, this represented a convergence of the two approaches. Some older Catholic interracialists were skeptical of the methods of the civil rights movement, expressing "qualms over 'procedure' and hint[ing] at communist influences upon the freedom riders" (McGreevy 1996:140). Through the mid-1960s, especially in Chicago where there were plenty of protest activities to participate in, Catholic interracialism became more activist.

These people generally rejected the authority structures of the parish and looked to religious activist leaders as well as national and international Catholic thinkers. Rather than worry about the possible communist influence on civil rights leaders, they vocally believed that civil rights action was a necessary part of undermining communist propaganda. They believed that publicity about racial injustice in the United States turned people in the developing world to communism. In 1955 Robert Kennedy told an audience of Catholic interracialists in New York that "any effort to win 'colonial peoples' rested on cleaning 'up our own house and pursuad[ing] our allies to do the same" (McGreevy 1996:106). Kennedy had only recently been on Joe McCarthy's senate staff.

All of these ideas were held as part of a worldview that came increasingly to criticize the authoritarian structures of the Church. This left pro-integration Catholics in a bit of a bind since

the American hierarchy had long been outspoken on issues of racial justice. But they could not appeal to the authority of the hierarchy and maintain a stance that the hierarchy should be more deferential to lay people. In the eyes of Chicago's interracialists, the doctrine was correct, but the method of implementing it was both objectionable in principle and in practice disrupted by "timid bishops, recalcitrant laypeople, [and] ignorant priests" (McGreevy 1996:216).

John McDermott, executive director of the Chicago Catholic Interracial Council (CIC) from 1960–68, was generally critical of the archdiocese's race-related programs because they didn't include enough lay people in decision-making capacities. He wrote, "We are not going to get anywhere in social action in the Church until laymen get up off their knees before the clergy" (as quoted in McGreevy 1996:217). Another CIC leader protesting a fundraising drive that had been announced without any lay consultation said, "I sometimes think the place of the layman in the Catholic Church is similar to the place of the Negro in American Society. He is treated as a powerless nobody and he must struggle and shout to be treated like somebody" (McGreevy 1996:218).

Liberal, pro-integration Catholic laity met with limited success when trying to make inroads in conservative parishes. To the city's anti-integration laity, they were outsiders who did not understand the moral weight of loyalty to one's parish and neighborhood (McGreevy 1996:108).

4.4.1.2. Anti-Integration Laity

In keeping with conventional views of the two Catholic cultures, the anti-integrationist laity in Chicago in the late 1960s were indeed conservative politically and deeply committed to a form of Catholicism grounded in the parish and the sacraments. But they were not, as such views

predict, deferential to authority. As I mentioned before, the American hierarchy were staunchly pro-integration.

Many anti-integrationists believed that communists were behind the civil rights movement and other associated social action (McGreevy 1996:175, 228). When Archbishop Cody supported open housing laws and protest marches swept through predominantly white Catholic neighborhoods on the northwest side, people spotted signs attacking "Archbishop Cody and his commie coons'" (McGreevy 1996:190). People thought that efforts at integration were intended to "stir up trouble," destabilizing society and leaving it open to communist influence.

On a basic level, many people were opposed to integration for practical, material reasons. They saw integration as leading directly to decreases in property values and the eventual re-segregation of the neighborhood. Still lagging behind other whites in economic prosperity, Catholic whites were less able to abandon the city. Those that could afford to had already done so my the mid-1960s, leaving a more solidly working-class population behind. Deeply committed to their neighborhoods, they were less willing to abandon the city. They were, as anti-integration priest Francis Lawler put it, "forgotten people who are caught between the ghettos and the suburbs" (McGreevy 1996:232).[6]

The apparent material consequences of integration were particularly grating to communities that felt they had only recently emerged from a hard slog begun by their immigrant ancestors. In some cases, new parish schools had recently been built. In neighborhoods that already were identified with church buildings, it was distressing to think that a newly built

[6] It is worth noting that this divide between liberal interracialists and conservative anti-integrationists is an oversimplification. Interracialism as a movement reached its rhetorical peak in the 1960s and was the primary strain of lay Catholic racial justice action in Chicago when Operation Hospitality was put into place. But it would be displaced by the resurgence of Black Power movements in the late 1960s and early 1970s, movements that did not see race as a superficial characteristic, destined to be ignored by a just society (Ryan 2016:16). For an overview of the history of interracialism in Catholic lay circles, see (Johnson 2013:3–9).

school, paid for with the plate money of the people of the neighborhood would soon be handed over to other people's children (see McGreevy 1996:85). Many expressed frustration that activists were so focused on integration instead of combatting poverty in black neighborhoods (McGreevy 1996:197).

These frustrations were expressed in open rejection of the moral leadership attempted by clergy. In one parish, where the few black parishioners needed a police escort to attend worship, white people booed the priest for admonishing them (McGreevy 1996:100). People began to be skeptical of sermons with a theme of "brotherhood" and "loving your neighbor," assuming this was a smokescreen for a scolding about race relations (McGreevy 1996:182–83, 233).

Strikingly, this open refusal to take the moral counsel given by clergy was often couched in a defense of one's own status as a "good Catholic." In an article for *Collier's*, the novelist Alan Paton interviewed a man who declared of himself and his white neighbors, "We mean to get the jigs out, that's all…. I'm a Catholic ... and a good one I'd say. But the Church hasn't got a right to tell me who I should live next to" (as quoted in McGreevy 1996:100). A woman prefaced her complaints with the assurance that she "had never used birth control pills or allowed 'hanky panky,'" (McGreevy 1996:233). Another man, writing to Monsignor Daniel Cantwell, expressed his skepticism of integration with reference to his family's Catholic credentials:

> I have three cousins that are priests and two that are nuns and thank God none of them think like you do. How can anyone have respect for a priest when he makes a monkey of himself by marching down the street with a bunch of nitwits or sits on a curb to demonstrate[?] I tried living with them when they moved into our neighborhood in Chicago. ... I worked all my life and still have a mortgage for what I lost. (as quoted in McGreevy 1994:236–37)

Objecting to clergy making public spectacles of themselves was not necessarily restricted to those who opposed integration. This attitude was not restricted to the debates in Chicago either. In response to a school boycott in Milwaukee in which many clergy participated, a group

of laymen wrote to their archbishop saying, “It is regrettable that Catholic clergy should encourage contempt for the law by urging children and young people to aid and abet this school boycott. During their formative years children should be taught discipline in accord with the fourth commandment” (McGreevy 1996:200-201).

It seems likely that the largest group of laity in the archdiocese were ignorant of or indifferent to Operation Hospitality or other Church efforts to promote integration. The evidence presented in this section comes mostly from letters written by lay people to Cody or to the archdiocesan school office. Whether in support or in criticism, this means that only those who felt strongly enough to write are represented.

There is also an important category of letter writers who did not explicitly object to integration, but objected to clergy and religious participating in protests or marches. One such person thought priests should “preach Christ’s views on the Mystical Body … as did St. Paul” instead of “join[ing] in with Communists and college brats,” which was not a good “way to appeal to rational thinking” (as quoted in McGreevy 1996:171). This suggestion contains within it a very particular vision of the kind of moral education the Church ought to be involved in, namely, reasoned appeals from the pulpit.

4.4.2. Clergy and Leadership

4.4.2.1. Clergy and Religious

Like the laity, the city’s clergy and religious were divided in their opinions of integration, though it seems that the majority of clergy were in favor, following the dictates of the American hierarchy. Since the early 1960s, Catholic clergy and religious had been catching up to their

Protestant colleagues and participating widely in civil rights actions, first in the South and later in the North. In the summer of 1966, Chicago was host to a number of protest marches around open housing markets, and many priests and nuns—having been asked to do so by Cardinal Cody—participated (McGreevy 1996:187).

Clergy were quick to relate their social justice actions to the principles of Vatican II. This included a general orientation towards the Church being—as the Association of Boston Urban Priests put it—"part of the world" instead of "a sanctuary from it" (McGreevy 1996:209). Clergy who were receptive to this kind of idea also tended to be liturgically liberal, accepting both major aspects of Vatican II together. Like laity who would sometimes pick and choose which priests to listen to depending on their politics, clergy had to decide which level of the Church's hierarchy they would attend to in situations where their immediate superiors seemed unwilling to buy-in fully to the conclusions of Vatican II.

There weren't many clergy in the city who openly opposed integration, but those few were vocal. Monsignor Patrick Mollow, pastor of St. Leo's near 78th and Halsted, turned away a black woman looking to enroll her children in the parish school, saying, "I don't give a damn about him [Catholic school superintendent Monsignor William McManus] or [Archbishop] Meyer. Nobody's gonna push me around" (McGreevy 1996:121).

This willingness to disregard the explicit instructions of his superiors is typical of anti-integration clergy and is the primary way they depart from the standard "two cultures" model of Catholic identity. Ironically, the idea that individual conscience should prevail in the face of institutional strictures is precisely what so many liberals celebrated about Vatican II. The concepts and language of individual rights and freedom were being used by people at all positions on the political spectrum (see McGreevy 1996:233).

4.4.2.2. Cody and his Staff

Archbishop Cody is an interesting case study in seemingly contradictory views. Like the liberal laity, he was fully convinced that it was the Church's job to work for racial justice. But unlike them he had no qualms about the full authoritarian might of the Church's traditional institutional structures. Cody was a full participant in the liberal culture of the national and international Church at this time, following the lead of the American Bishops' 1958 Pastoral Letter on race, and presenting the heart of Catholic identity as adherence to the abstract moral principles of the Gospels, love of neighbor, and an understanding of fellow humans as members of the mystical body of Christ. Simultaneously, he ran the archdiocese in a very traditional, top-down, hierarchical—some have said authoritarian—manner. He demanded a liberal theology. This in itself is somewhat paradoxical. But a close examination of the context in which Cody became archbishop and the liberal Catholic culture in the city at the time will demonstrate that it is a practical combination. Both "cultures" were available to him, and he made use of the practical tools of one to further the cultural goals of the other.

Born in St. Louis in 1907, Cody attended seminary in Rome, returning there immediately after ordination to serve as Vice Rector at his alma mater, The Pontifical North American College in Rome. He then worked in the office of the Secretary of State of the Vatican until he returned to the U.S. to become an auxiliary bishop in St. Louis in 1947. Right before coming to Chicago in 1965, he had been bishop of New Orleans, where he had a reputation for opposing segregation. He famously excommunicated several local Catholic politicians who publicly supported segregation (American Catholic Who's Who; Moses 1978:71; Faraone 2013:78).

Cody's long years in Rome seem to have been deeply formative, for he tended to prefer working with clergy. But his leadership style was off-putting to many of them. He had an

"autocratic administrative style," a "high-handed and paranoid episcopal style," and practiced "seemingly ad hoc and secretive decision making" (Faraone 2013:34, 48). People perceived him as being primarily political in his orientation and fiercely controlling when it came to money matters (Faraone 2013:51).

Thus, while Cody's ultimate beliefs about integration were as liberal as anyone could wish, he only wanted changes to occur on his terms. He was particularly controlling when it came to clergy appointments, appearing to some observers to manipulate the distribution of black priests in an attempt to "silence militant African American voices" (McGreevy 1996:226). Father Clements of Holy Angels Church in Bronzeville said retrospectively, "I don't think Cody really liked black people very much, but he felt obligated to do something for them" (Lanier 1982:152).

And do something he did. During Cody's administration, he directed about $40 million in subsidies—money mostly raised in wealthier outer ring and suburban parishes—to inner city black and Hispanic parishes (Lanier 1982:152–53). Cody met with Martin Luther King Jr. in the lead-up to the 1966 protests and was an active participant in the movement, sending a statement to be read at King's Soldier Field rally, which was then repeated from the pulpits of over 450 parishes (McGreevy 1994:235).

His principles came through in quieter moments as well. When a white woman wrote to complain about (her mistaken understanding of) Operation Hospitality being imposed on parishes that did not want it, Cody responded to her racist comments with patient explanation and exhortation. He explained that the program was modeled on the Archdiocesan Resettlement Committee, which used similar host family set-ups to welcome refugees from Poland, German, and Italy at the end of the war. He explained to the woman:

> The black people in our country have similarly suffered from the ravages of a different kind of war—a war which excludes them from some neighborhoods and some

> occupations and has kept some of them in slavery long after the Emancipation Proclamation. It is all well and good to suggest that they help themselves but our society has refused to give them the necessary means to help themselves. Their schools are deplorable. Their housing is inadequate and the ordinary civic services such as building inspection, garbage collection, and street maintenance are badly administered. Pray to God that we will learn to live in peace with one another as children of God should. (Cody to Gizzi 25 Jun 1968, CODY 2/4)

4.5. Evidence of Operation Hospitality as Moral Formation

As the above sections have demonstrated, there are many interrelated reasons why the Archdiocese of Chicago would push various forms of racial integration onto a lay population that was resistant. Especially in the immediate wake of Vatican II, racial justice was a high priority in national and international Catholic circles. In Chicago, there were simultaneous efforts to integrate the public schools, and integration was one method of staving off financial crisis in inner-city parishes. But the archdiocesan leadership had additional reasons that were more specific to the Church's educational mission. This section will discuss one of those reasons: racial integration as a form of moral education. This motivation is evident in discussions around Operation Hospitality, the archdiocese's pilot busing program.

Cardinal Cody did not believe that Operation Hospitality would lead to the widespread integration of the city's parochial schools. He knew that it was an experimental program, and that its purpose was to see whether exposure to children of another race in the setting of a Catholic school could prepare children for a future in which an open housing market would naturally lead to integrated schools.

One sympathetic critic of the program wrote to Cody that it was only treating a symptom of the racial divide in the city. Cody responded, "I agree that Operation Hospitality will not solve the problem of racial segregation in our city but we hope it will have a decisive effect to the extent that it will give children living in Negro ghettos some hope for the future and that it will

prepare white youngsters for the eventuality of an open and free housing market" (Cody to Brown 28 Mar 1968, CODY 2/2).

The rationale behind Operation Hospitality was the moral value of spending time with people of other races. In a memo to his school board, Cardinal Cody explained that

> in our Archdiocese some Negro parents, deeply concerned about the effects of segregated education, want to give their children an opportunity to mingle with white children. Some white parents worry that their children are being deprived of an opportunity to know Negro youngsters in the friendly atmosphere of a Catholic elementary school. (Operation Hospitality 1968, CODY 2/2)

Cody wrote that despite the uncertain and likely small scale of the project, they should nevertheless "at least begin to reduce racial isolation. Let us give some hope that Negro children and white children can come together for their Christian education. Let us begin at the grass roots of the individual parish where people are kind and hospitable" (Cody 1968, CODY 2/2:2).

The program was specifically contrasted with the busing programs being implemented simultaneously in the city's public schools. This was the purpose of the emphasis on "hospitality" as a specifically Christian virtue. The use of host families in the receiving schools was the center of this idea. Church leaders also emphasized that the program was fully volunteer. Together, these two elements were intended to allay "the natural fears of the sending parishes, fears heightened by the publicity given the negative reactions of large segments of the public to similar programming in the area" (Untitled Report 1969, EXEC 21610/289:1-2). For the people at the white schools who would have contact with the black children, the program would "emphasize the truth that visiting children are not faceless, nameless individuals, but persons, real children, not merely to be tolerated but to be welcomed and loved in a generous spirit of Christian hospitality" (Operation Hospitality 1968, CODY 2/2).

In an editorial in the archdiocesan newspaper following the announcement of the program,

Cody explained that in his role as the spiritual leader of the city, it was his duty to "proclaim the Gospel of Jesus Christ and to apply it to crucial problems of our day. Racial discrimination, segregation and isolation are contrary to the Gospel doctrine of charity towards all men. In witness to that truth, I have spoken out in favor of fair and equal employment, open housing and racially integrated education" (Cody 1968, CODY 2/2:1).

Obviously, not all Chicago Catholics agreed with Cody about this method of translating the Gospel into practical action. One woman wrote in protest saying, "I know Vatican II said the Catholic Church is to determine what theology to teach our children, but it has not yet said they must be bused to learn that theology!'" (McGreevy 1996:239). But Operation Hospitality was inspired by the belief that this particular aspect of theology could not simply be taught, but had to be experienced.

If anything, the Church's commitment to the morally formative aspects of Operation Hospitality was strengthened by the negative reactions they received as such reactions confirmed the problem they already suspected—that large numbers of Chicago Catholics did not properly understand their moral duty to work for racial justice. Cody and his school superintendent also took the letters of complaint themselves as opportunities for moral education. One woman wrote that she thought any help given to black people discouraged them from helping themselves, as her own immigrant ancestors had done.

Another woman threatened to take her children out of the Catholic schools should any busing program be put into effect. Cody wrote back to her saying, "While I can perhaps understand your feelings, I am sure that if you study this matter in the light of a Christian conscience, you will come to the conclusion that this is but a step in bringing about the spirit of love and unity among all races" (Cody to Milewski 26 Mar 1968, CODY 2/3). At one point,

Cody invited some particularly vehement objectors to come to the superintendent's office so he could explain to them "the proper attitude Christians of this day should have on racial matters" (Cody to Clark 01 May 1968, CODY 2/4).

The hope was that through their experiences with Operation Hospitality, a few people would come to this proper Christian attitude, and it would then disperse more broadly in the community, from children to parents and from right-thinking parents to other adults in their parish. The instructions given to receiving parishes said that "every opportunity to share the lessons of Operation Hospitality should be seized within both the parochial community and the geographic one. The ways and means of doing this may vary from parish to parish but there should be a sense of obligation to spread this word manifest in each of the participating parishes" (Receiving School, EXEC 21610/289:4).

The final evidence of the archdiocese's conception of Operation Hospitality as a moral education program is in their assessment of the program after it finished. After a couple of years of the program, they commissioned a study that concluded that white students in the participating schools were more likely to associate blacks with the words "good, friendly, safe," "smart, bright, [and] lively." They noted that the participating black students also showed more positive attitudes towards whites (Ryan 2017:72–73).

As the program was winding down in 1973, the superintendent wrote an internal memo to Cody saying, "Operation Hospitality has been an unqualified success. The research we have done shows that the attitudes of both black and white pupils has been substantially altered. They feel much more comfortable with one another and many of the stereotypes which each had of the other have been eliminated" (Ryan 2017:73). It is interesting that this measure of success does not make reference to any of the religiously-weighted terms from discussion of this program or

other kinds of integration, like hospitality or brotherhood.

4.6. Conclusion

This chapter has presented another case of Catholic schools shifting from an emphasis on moral rules, delivered via exhortation, to an emphasis on the development of moral skills and dispositions gained through experience. Unlike the case of experiential civics education from the previous chapter, in the case of Operation Hospitality, the relevant experience is passive rather than explicitly taught. White school children needed only to attend school with black children, and their views of the morality of racial integration would be shaped naturally. This chapter has also demonstrated that the changes to people's receptions of the Church's moral authority do not fall cleanly along liberal/conservative divides. The influence of the public schools also takes a different form in this case, this time operating through the parallel offices of the Chicago Public Schools superintendent and the archbishop. The circumstances of the city itself—its demographic changes, neighborhood transitions, and political battles—form the peripheral space in which the Church overlaps and intermingles with the non-Catholic world.

The main finding of this chapter—that busing was not for the academic achievement of black students but the moral education of white students—is surprising from the perspective of a sociology of education that is focused on racial inequalities, but not in the context of the narrative this dissertation presents. For Cody to implement this kind of passive, experiential mode of moral education merely demonstrates that the larger movement of the schools from rules-based to skills-based moral education picked up speed in the 1960s.

Operation Hospitality embodied a belief in the possibility of passive, experiential, moral education. I contend that this is representative of a larger shift in the locus of moral authority

within the Church. By proposing Operation Hospitality as a partial solution to the archdiocese's race relations problem, Cody was asserting his trust that given the right circumstances, people could be expected to develop right consciences. This does not mean that Cody himself had given up on moral education through telling people what to do, or that this larger shift in moral authority was clean and complete by the late 1960s. Cody continued to exhort his clergy to preach racial reconciliation from pulpits, and he continued to use his organizational authority to remove clergy whose resistance became extreme. Given his affection for his own authority, Cody likely saw a program like Operation Hospitality as a supplementary concession to the practicalities of moral authority, not an admission that traditional methods were no longer appropriate. The shift from a rules-based to a skills-based vision of moral education and the shift in the locus of moral authority in the Church— from the magisterium to the consciences of lay people—progressed simultaneously; one did not cause the other in any straightforward way.

It is not that the clergy saw people rejecting their moral authority and as a result decided to try a passive, experiential approach. Both moves are part of bigger, longer-term shifts that emerge into view in this case. One could imagine, on a larger stage than the case study of Operation Hospitality, that certain people in the Church could perceive the failures of moral authority on the race question and attempt to address that problem by intentionally developing moral education that was more focused on skills and dispositions. But it is equally easy to imagine that it was the weakening of top-down moral authority that opened the boundaries of the Church world to experiential education ideas coming from non-Catholic education circles. And at the same time, it could be that ideas coming from "outside" were themselves the cause of the shift in moral authority from the magisterium to the people. Obviously, all of these were happening together. The openness of the peripheral areas of the Church—like schools—to non-

Catholic American ideas about individualism and psychology caused a shift in the moral authority of the Church from the magisterium to the consciences of individuals. And simultaneously, that shift in the location of moral authority is what opens the peripheral areas.

To lay Catholics, the question of the seat of the Church's moral authority appears as a question of who counts as a "good Catholic" and who gets to make that determination. This chapter has shown that people with varying political perspectives and class locations are making the determination for themselves. Thus, in addition to people feeling free to question the power of any given moral pronouncement, there is a shift in who has authority over Catholic identity itself. Whether it is conservative working-class people centering their Catholic identities on the experience of parish life, or liberal upwardly mobile people centering their Catholic identities on the abstract moral principles of the civil rights movement, neither allowed clergy to define their identity for them.

We can perhaps imagine that the lay Catholics who opposed integration had material incentives to do so. We could then explain their rejection of the Church's moral counsel on race relations as a story of simple secularization, in which the authority of the Church had declined sufficiently to allow these people to weigh nonreligious considerations in their decision making. But such an interpretation both oversimplifies the relationship of the secular to the religious in these people's lives and underestimates the scale of the changes the Church was undergoing. Those changes were not simply a retreat as the "secular" took up more and more space in society, but a fundamental rethinking of who and what constituted the core of the Church.

Liberal and conservative, middle class and working class lay Catholics differed in the way they were re-imagining the nature of the Church. They also differed in the day-to-day moral dilemmas they faced, giving them fundamentally different orientations to the moral teachings of

the magisterium. Liberal Catholic lay people who were in favor of integration may very well have already moved to the suburbs or were living in stably-white north side neighborhoods, and so they could consider race questions abstractly. The white Catholic laity in neighborhoods in transition would naturally see the same moral dilemma very differently. For them, it was not a question of taking a principled stand or standing idly by; it was a question of dramatic changes to all of their most intimate, daily experiences. Whether someone takes up a piece of moral instruction or not may have much more to do with the person than with the content of the moral rule itself, or any abstract view of the nature of the Church's moral authority. This was not just a moral dispute, but a moral dispute in a place where the moral became practical. For some Catholic interracialists and theologians, this particular question never become practical. It is a very different thing to believe in your heart that the races are equal and that housing should not be restricted and to decide to not sell your house when all your friends and family already have.

The case of racial integration in Chicago reveals the complexity of this shift in the location of moral authority. This dissertation discusses a broad move of the *locus* of the moral authority of the Church, but people also differ on the *scope* of that of moral authority. There were Chicago Catholics who believed that integration was right for the workplace, but that the home (including the parish neighborhood) was a private space that was subject to a different kind of moral authority. Some people were not rejecting the moral good of racial integration, but felt that it was superseded by the moral good of loyalty to family, neighbor, and the traditional parish. These many nuances can all be summed up by the Michigan Catholic who complained to his church leadership in 1956, saying, "Segregation is not wrong just because you say it is" (McGreevy 1996:91). The content of everything beyond that "just" is vast and varied.

There are "two cultures," but they are not simply one traditional and one liberal (cf.

Kennedy 1988). Both are breaking free of the moral authority of the magisterium and relocating the Church's proper moral authority in their own experiences and consciences. They differ in how those consciences are formed: in one case, the conscience is formed through tradition, family, and loyalty, and embedding oneself in parish life is the measure of one's conscience. In the other case, we see a preference for abstract values and reflection on the relationship of those values to society. This latter view of conscience formation would become particularly prominent in the schools in the early 1970s, as the next chapter shows.

Chapter 5: Teaching the "New Morality" after *Humanae Vitae* Through "*Help is Here"*

In this final empirical chapter, I present the moral education side of the introduction of sex education into the Catholic schools following Vatican II. While a full treatment of the Church's attitude towards sex education is beyond the scope of this dissertation (and would end up being about gender, which I don't want to specialize in), insight can be gained by focusing on the relationship between sex education in the Catholic schools and a trend in moral education that was simultaneously called "values clarification."

The puzzle here is why would a morally certain organization like the Roman Catholic Church ever countenance a relativistic form of moral education? The answer cuts to the heart of the Church's strategy for survival in the world, the rhetorical construction of its philosophical constancy.

The answer really has to do with the fit between a style of moral reasoning that was on the rise in the Catholic Church (especially post-*Humanae vitae*) and a style of moral formation that was popular in developmental psychology and the public school world. There are two aspects to this fit: (1) The pre-existing fit, or the "conscience turn" in the Roman Catholic Church. This already fit with a lot of material if one is willing to detach a relativist morality from the classroom practices of values clarification. (2) The process for improving fit by philosophical absorption. The relativist philosophy is brought inside the Catholic tradition, Thomist ideas are brought up, and there is an argument made for continuity, such that the change is not change but renewal.

5.1. Introduction

By the late 1960s and early 1970s, the movement from moral rules to moral skills had reached maturity. Catholic educationists who employed skills and dispositions-based ideas were no longer trying to separate progressive pedagogical techniques from their underlying philosophical ideas—they were instead claiming that those philosophical ideas had always been rooted in traditions of Catholic thought. Archbishop Cody and the school board in Chicago were no longer hoping that moral dispositions would be developed passively through the demographic make-up of the city's schools, and they were encouraging teachers to explicitly teach an experiential method of moral formation. From one kind of confidence in Catholic moral theology (that it was immune to change) grew a new kind of confidence: change was cyclical, perpetual, and safe under the umbrella of a larger truth. This move paralleled the social situation of American Catholics. In the midcentury, when the "ghetto" mentality was only just beginning to wane, it is unsurprising that the Catholic characterization of its relationship to secular pedagogical ideas would be one of wariness, opposition, and a desire to maintain a stronghold. But as American Catholics experienced higher and higher levels of social mobility and as cultural differences between Catholics and their Protestant neighbors lessened (indeed, more and more Catholics *had* Protestant neighbors), ethnic identities became less and less salient, and the Catholic stance towards an ostensibly secular pedagogy would turn to a model of incorporation.

The Second Vatican Council also played its part in this transition, as the larger Church fundamentally changed its official orientation to the world and other religions. By the late 1960s, the documents of Vatican II had been widely distributed, and indeed, assimilated by large numbers of clergy and women religious. The schools, which already tended to be staffed by people on the cutting edge of liberal Catholicism, were able to hit the ground running when

Vatican II gave them approval for things they were already doing.

For those who had been resistant to the new pedagogy, Vatican II gave them permission to experiment with it. For those who were already on board, it gave justification that they had all along been following the very spirit of the Church. This had all happened such that by the early 1970s, when calls for some concerted effort in sex education came to a peak in Chicago, teachers and the school board (and a silent majority of parents) would not bat an eye at the adoption of a program of sex education integrated with religious and moral education that was strongly psychological, individualist, experiential, and borderline anti-authoritarian.

This chapter will characterize this "maturity" of the moral skills stance through the case study of this sex education curriculum change in the early 1970s in Chicago, which resulted in a book called *Help is Here*. This book was not a curriculum guide per se, but a resource book for teachers, giving them an overview of the kind of sex education they were expected to provide and giving them resources for books and articles they should read, tasks they might assign, and activities they might use in the classroom. Teachers accepted it with enthusiasm. *Help is Here* was very much in line with a broader trend in Catholic moral theology at the time—what we might call the "new morality"—that advocated for the integration of sex education with all other aspects of personal development, including religious and moral education. It is thus a window into how Catholic teachers were thinking about the process of moral education in the early 1970s.

This new morality and the vision of moral education that went with it was grounded in the necessity of a well-developed individual conscience and the belief that an overweening legalism was harmful to true Catholic morality. This chapter will argue that this should be seen not as a concession or outsourcing to the secular world, but as a particular kind of assimilation or

incorporation in which the "other" is brought inside and claimed as authentically one's own. This reveals a broader pattern of the boundary between ostensibly secular and ostensibly religious organizations that is not characterized by increasing privatization or differentiation of the religious from other spheres of modern life, but a local blending. In the peripheral areas of the Church, where idea becomes practice and local contexts provide constraints, the religious and nonreligious are not so easy to distinguish.

This chapter will proceed in four sections. This remainder of this introduction will detail the circumstances of the production of *Help is Here*. Section 5.2 will discuss the context of the "new morality" and the contraception encyclical *Humanae vitae*. Section 5.3 will present the vision for moral formation embodied by *Help is Here* and the literature in which it is situated. Section 5.4 will discuss the implications of this vision for the Church's relationship to secular pedagogy in the 1970s.

Perhaps the most revolutionary change the magisterium undertook in Vatican II was its embrace of freedom of conscience regarding fundamental religious beliefs (see Abbott 1966:336ff). The magisterium acknowledged that there was some legitimacy in non-Catholic religions, and asserted that true faith had to be arrived at through an individual's own conscience and could not be forced. That faith must be a free act was not new to Church doctrine, but it had never before been a doctrine with many tangible consequences in the everyday lives of Roman Catholic people (Nelson 1972:28).

This presented an obvious dilemma for Catholic religious education as its task became not training people to be Catholics, but educating them to use their freedom of religious choice well, i.e., to freely choose to be Catholics. If an indoctrinated Roman Catholicism was not as truly

faithful as a freely chosen Roman Catholicism, how should students be prepared to make such a free choice? How much did they need to know about other religions? Many parents felt that it was not possible to "lead young people to appreciate the religious experience of all men and then expect them to maintain their identity as members of the Catholic Church" (Nelson 1972:27).

This broad dilemma was particularly fraught when one considered the question of what Catholic sex education should be like. In 1968 the issuance of the encyclical *Humanae vitae* by Pope Paul VI reaffirming the Church's opposition to contraception of any kind brought to the surface the growing divide between the moral leadership of the magisterium and the moral sensibility of the laity. The archdiocesan schools in Chicago were already discussing how sex education should be conducted, and the discussion came to a head in the early 1970s. They responded by commissioning a book: *Help is Here: A Teacher Aid to Help Young People Develop Christian Values in Understanding Personal Growth.* This book is representative of the maturity of the shift that this dissertation has been describing, from understanding moral education as a task of information transfer in the form of moral rules to understanding it as a task of individual conscience formation through the development of moral skills and dispositions.

During the course of the 1971–72 school year, many of the archdiocese's high schools wrote to the schools office requesting "help for their teachers on questions concerning human sexuality." A subcommittee of the school board responded by suggesting that a "teacher resource book" be prepared that would contain up-to-date information on "what competent psychologists, theologians and the official magisterium were saying about a variety of topics such as pre-marital sex, contraception, abortion, homosexuality, etc." (Clark to Cody 07 Jun 1976. CODY 12/8). Two teachers were hired to spend the summer of 1972 assembling the book. The project dragged out beyond that time frame, and many more authors got involved, including the Associate

Superintendent in charge of Religious Education. By the beginning of the 1975–76 school year, drafts of two volumes were completed, one for freshmen and sophomores (Level One) and one for juniors and seniors (Level Two). It was decided that no more progress could be made until they had feedback from teachers, so drafts were distributed with the understanding that the teachers in the pilot would give back their copies at the end of the year, not duplicate or circulate any material, and provide written feedback (Clark to Cody 07 Jun 1976, CODY 12/8).

Drafts of *Help is Here* went out to teachers in at least twenty-four of the archdiocese's fifth-three high schools ("Race and Catholic Schools" 1974) in advance of the 1974–75 school year, and another version again in 1975. All of the quotations in this chapter come from the 1975 draft. There is no evidence that further versions were produced, though it does seem that this version received a warm reception from many teachers and members of the Archdiocesan school board (Davis to Cody 24 Nov 1975, CODY 12/8). The main criticism that teachers provided was that the book was not as clear as it should have been in distinguishing the ideas of "psychologists and theologians from the official teaching of the magisterium" (Clark to Cody 07 Jun 1976. CODY 12/8). My own sense is that it makes the distinction with reasonable clarity, but so emphasizes the views of psychologists and theologians that the official teaching of the magisterium seems to get lost.

Help is Here was intended as a resource for teachers, but it was more of a guide to background reading than a curriculum guide. The advice that it provided about curriculum design was that it should be attentive to developmental stages and that topics should be presented in the context of the other topics whenever possible. The actual structure of how the topics would be integrated into a religion course or religion curriculum were not specified.

Despite these limitations and the steps taken towards confidentiality in the piloting of the

book, parents gradually became aware of the existence of *Help is Here.* Those who opposed any sex education in the schools were quick to perceive it as a new sex education curriculum. Archbishop Cody received letters of complaint from the Catholic Physicians' Guild of Chicago and Catholics for Truth In Education (a south suburban parents' advocacy group) urging him to stop using *Help is Here*, which they saw as immoral and violating the rights of parents to approve what their children are taught in school (Dietz to ACSB 28 Apr 1976, CODY 12/8; Davis to Cody 24 Nov 1975, CODY 12/8).[1] There is no indication of how they learned of the existence of *Help is Here*, or even how they thought it was being used. The claim was that "not only is the program and book scientifically and morally unsound, but it is so defective in its basic premises and approach that no amount of revising would be sufficient to correct these underlying defects" (Dietz to ACSB 28 Apr 1976, CODY 12/8).

By the spring of 1976, Cody had received what he described as "an avalanche of protests about this book" (Cody to Clark and Sullivan 11 May 1976 CODY 12/8). The aunt of a recent graduate of the prestigious boys' high school Brother Rice wrote to complain that since his graduation "he has had no faith." She was at a loss to explain "where he arrived at some of his 'notions'" until she learned that the school had been using *Help is Here*. She wrote to Cody to urge him to end distribution of the book "before it leaves another group of misguided youths in its wake" (Mullarkey to Cody 10 May 1976, CODY 12/8). There are many reasons why Mary Mullarkey's nephew might have begun to appear less pious, but her readiness to blame *Help is*

[1] Why they think they have such a right is an interesting question. In the most prominent court cases addressing private and religious education, much hay was made about parents' rights to direct, broadly, the education of their own children. It could be that these folks heard about those arguments and thought they extended to approval of individual aspects of the curriculum. They also objected to the School Board furthering this project without parental consent, saying that "It should be kept in mind that the primary reason for the existence of the School Board is to represent the parents" (Dietz to ACSB 28 Apr 1976, CODY 12/8). It is again not clear where they got this idea about the school board, which answers only to the Archbishop—perhaps from their knowledge of elected public school boards.

Here suggests a deep anxiety about the moral and religious formation of the next generation, a sense of a loss of control, and the abandonment of tradition. She was not imagining these changes; the next section will discuss the changes to Catholic mores that were the context for *Help is Here.*

5.2. *Humanae Vitae* and the Rise of "Conscience" Talk

Beginning in the 1960s, the Church began to explicitly acknowledge that changes in society warranted changes in the Church's educational practices. Vatican II's declaration on Christian education, *Gravissimum educationis,* acknowledged that priests and other educators must teach children "the doctrine of salvation in a way suited to their age and circumstances and provide spiritual aid in every way *the times and conditions allow*" (emphasis added). By the late 1970s, John Paul II would go so far as to say, in an apostolic exhortation, that catechists must know deeply the cultures in which they teach such that the people can "bring forth from their own living tradition original expressions of Christian life, celebration and thought." In the same document, he acknowledged the historical context of the gospel texts themselves, and that the gospel message cannot be isolated either from the "cultural milieu in which Jesus of Nazareth lived" or from the history of its transmission and interpretation by the world's cultures (Cateshesi Tradendae, par. 53).

This general awareness that mores were shifting and that it was reasonable to take those shifts into account was accompanied by a more specific acknowledgment on the part of theologians and commentators of the challenges of the moral mindset of youth. Authors argued that it needed to be approached realistically, that it was based on real differences in experience, and that it could even be considered as an improvement or expansion of Catholic morality.

There was no longer moral consensus as there was when a Christian could find his norms for behavior "clearly spelled out in catechisms and religious books … from the detailed instructions of the confessor and the preacher of his parish…[and] from his parents and his community, all of whom shared the same basic view" (O'Connell 1972:89). An article in a general interest Catholic magazine lamented the good old days "when it was possible for us to teach our children the same 'doctrine' or 'content' in the same way as we were taught" while pointing out that not only do students disagree with their teachers but "even our textbook writers, authors, theologians and bishops differ. The day of the crystallized catechism curriculum is history." The same author believed that the way to address the catechist's "waning influence with teenagers" was to recognize the reality of young people's humanistic and secularist tendencies and to meet them where they were. They essentially needed to be converted before they could be catechized: "human values may need to be reinforced and nourished before our students can arrive at the doorway of faith, before they can name that immanent otherness 'God,' and be converted" (Downs 1972:20–21,42).

The Jesuit theologian John O'Callaghan, writing in a journal whose audience was primarily parish priests in the Archdiocese of Chicago, acknowledged that this apparent rebelliousness of youth was a natural result of being brought up in a world in which obligations were no longer accepted without question (O'Callaghan 1972:60). Some went farther, not only acknowledging the causes of the "new morality" but praising it and encouraging others to see youthful rebellion from behavior prohibitions (against eating meat on Fridays or missing Sunday mass) as part of a larger and principled moral stance. The philosopher and theologian John Milhaven, at the time professor at a Jesuit seminary, wrote in a Catholic literary magazine that people were too alarmist when it came to behavioral prohibitions and ignored "the buildup of

morality in other areas." He saw young Catholics' concern for "psychological health, for personal maturity and responsibility, for racial equality, for the diminution of poverty, for peace, for the rights of the citizen before the police, [and] for the experience of community" as indicating a growing "sensitivity and responsibility" (Milhaven 1968:42). Authors like Milhaven perceived these young people as having a less individualistic, more communal understanding of morality. They were "rejecting independence and self-sufficiency in favor of brotherhood and communion" (Nelson 1972:5), and this shift underlay the rejection of dogmatic legalism.

In this world of the "new morality," one event was particularly impactful in shifting American Catholics' ideas about the nature of the Church's moral authority: Paul VI's encyclical on birth control, *Humanae vitae*. Not trusting the issue to his fellow bishops in the Second Vatican Council, John XXXIII kept birth control off the council's main agenda and instead in 1963 appointed a special commission that included some bishops, theologians, and married lay people (Greeley 2004:55–56). The existence of the commission was widely known. In 1967, the commission produced majority and minority reports, both of which were leaked and subsequently published in the *National Catholic Reporter* (Dolan 1985:435). The majority report, which was supported by an estimated 80 percent of the commission's members, recommended that "contraception no longer be considered intrinsically evil" and expressed the belief that "married couples could if necessary practice birth control" (Dolan 2002:249).

By this time John XXIII had died, and his successor, Paul VI, rejected the majority report and then issued the encyclical *Humanae vitae*, which confirmed the Church's stance that all means of artificial birth control were unlawful and placed the couple in a state of sin. Widespread knowledge of the existence of the Pontifical Commission on Birth Control and the leaked reports meant that there were strong expectations among clergy and laity that a change in Church

teaching was about to come. Many priests in the U.S. were already advising married couples to make their own decisions about birth control (Greeley 2004:34,55–56). *Humanae vitae* was largely ignored by the laity. Catholic lay support of the Church's ban on birth control was already in decline, but it "plunged sharply" after the encyclical was issued (Davidson 2007:194).

Many American bishops downplayed the consequences of the encyclical, as did their colleagues around the world, and priests and theologians made their dissent known publicly. In Washington, D.C., Archbishop Patrick O'Boyle, an outspoken supporter of *Humanae vitae,* suspended the ministerial responsibilities of fifty-one priests who refused to accept it. Twenty-five of those priests eventually left the priesthood (Dolan 1985:435).

Humanae vitae didn't make much of a difference in birth control use among Catholics. After all, it simply reaffirmed what was already the Church's position. Catholic and Protestant fertility had already begun to converge by the early 1960s (Westoff and Jones 1979; Hayford and Morgan 2008). Andrew Greeley estimated that in 1965, when *Humanae vitae* was still three years away, 51 percent of Catholics were using forbidden forms of birth control (Dolan 2002:249, citing Greeley 1977:143). What *Humanae vitae* did do was further damage the American laity's belief in the moral authority of the Church. The message of *Humanae vitae* contradicted the larger message of Vatican II, which American Catholics had already been absorbing: following one's conscience was more important than obeying a rule (and its questionable if indeed they needed to be told this by the Church at all). The "confusion, disappointment, and anger" (Greeley 2004:56) prompted by Paul VI's partial reversal of this idea only reinforced the trend in Catholic moral thought towards an emphasis on conscience.

5.3. The Moral Vision Contained in *Help Is Here*

Help is Here is both representative of the "new morality" in American Catholic theology after *Humanae vitae* and of the larger move from moral exhortation to moral formation that spans the whole postwar period. As in the other examples this dissertation has provided, there are four aspects of this move to formation: (1) meeting people where they are, (2) the influence of developmental psychology, (3) providing experiential learning opportunities, and (4) a de-emphasis on top-down authority and emphasis on personal responsibility. This section will discuss these four elements as they are represented in *Help is Here* and the background and curricular materials it recommended.

5.3.1. Meeting People Where They Are

This belief that what the students want is relevant to what they should be taught is the culmination of a shift towards a student-centered approach that takes into account social context and developmental stage. *Help is Here* is an example of how dramatically Catholic moral education has turned towards a model of meeting people where they are—responding to social, cultural, and historical circumstances, attending to developmental stages, and being concerned with student wants and needs. Such concerns were present earlier in the twentieth century, especially after the Second World War (see chapter 3), but it was not until the late 1960s that all traces of the *Baltimore Catechism* seemed to have left the Catholic schools.

It is not possible to pin down a specific moment when the *Baltimore Catechism* gave way to the kind of experiential, individualist, and situationalist form of moral education represented by *Help is Here*—American Catholic dioceses and schools run by different religious orders all moved at different paces along this trajectory. But it is possible to make broad periodizations that

indicate that exposure of Catholic students to the *Baltimore Catechism* dropped precipitously after the Second Vatican Council. Catholic educators had been criticizing the Baltimore Catechism as a pedagogical tool since the at least the late nineteenth century (Gribble 2009:32) and began to derive new methods. New editions of the catechism were produced, which gradually added more and more context, hedging, and alternative pedagogical ideas to the original question and answer format. Williams and Davidson (1996:281) found generational differences in Indiana Catholics' exposure to the *Baltimore Catechism*. Focus groups of people who came of age in the 1960s or before recalled memorizing it, while younger people did not mention it at all.[2]

When an emphasis on individual conscience formation is combined with attention to developmental stage, the result is careful, gradual introduction of the idea that rules are not simply to be followed blindly. Telling a student who has reached Kohlberg's "postconventional" stage of moral reasoning to follow his conscience is unproblematic. But to a student in the "conventional" stage, such advice would sound like "'don't listen to anyone; you're on your own.' And to the preconventional, it may simply mean 'the lid's off; do as you please'" (James DiGiacomo, as quoted in Cajka 2016:286).

Educationists in this movement give specific advice for when to introduce which aspects of the new morality. Seventh graders, for instance, should not be told that they can use their conscience to determine if they should fast or go to mass or not; they are "not ready" for this kind of reasoning (O'Callaghan 1972:71). *Help is Here* warns that students must already have some experience making decisions on the basis of abstract values before they can really

[2] This study used birth year, dividing participants into three cohorts: born 1940 or before, born 1941–60, and born after 1960. These are obviously very broad brush strokes. A person who graduated from high school in 1960, well before Vatican II, would have a very different relationship to it than someone who was in grade school while the council was in process and not graduating from high school until after *Humanae vitae.*

understand the new morality's messages about sin and conscience (ACSB 1974, CODY 12/8:60).

Attention is paid, not just to student abilities, but to their wants and their needs as they perceive them. There is a widespread recognition in this literature, and reflected in *Help is Here*, that young Catholics want to understand the reasons behind rules, that they want to have their own moral behavior be regulated internally. Their desire to do the right thing is "not based on what they were told to do, but on what they must personally be convinced is the right thing" (Kenny 1971:7–10). This is particularly striking in the case of sex education, where it is recognized that values must be general enough to adjust as the students mature. Sex education must "offer an ideal worth aiming at, and it must provide [students] with a sense of values by which they can judge the opinions and behavior which they come across as they grow up" (Haughton 1972:12–13).

In part spurred on by the controversy of *Humanae vitae*, by the early 1970s professional Catholic education writers were all advocating for sex education in the Catholic schools. The argument was that circumstances demanded it—young people were not able to avoid information about sex from popular culture in "a society flooded by sex information of all kinds, much of it misleading" (Haughton 1972:12). They would need to make decisions about their own sexual lives long before theologians and the pope would be able to come together on a view of the morality of contraception. As it was put to teachers in *Help is Here*, "doubtlessly in time the Church will resolve the host of questions which converge around the issue of contraception. In the meantime, however, the teacher cannot indulge in the luxury of delay. Students want answers to their questions and they want answers now" (ACSB 1974, CODY 12/9:38).

Part of this willingness to adapt instruction to the wants and needs of students is a broader recognition of societal-level cultural change. Young Catholics in America in the late 1960s and

early 1970s were "surrounded by a 'do your own thing' atmosphere" that they couldn't help but internalize such that they then faced conflict with "mind, heart and friends telling them one thing and parents and past training telling them another" (Kenny 1971:7). There was a growing recognition that rules, whether or not they reflect moral truth, were no longer effective with the current generation. Whereas their parents might have been "reassured by the clarity of specific rules," young Catholics who were presented as children with a view of sex that was all about regulations, taboos, and embarrassment "are confused and/or rebellious about such an approach toward a deeply personal part of their lives" (Kenny 1971:7).

5.3.2. The Influence of Developmental Psychology

The influence of developmental psychology, and in particular the moral development theories of Lawrence Kohlberg, are evident throughout *Help is Here*. In some cases, knowledge of psychology is invoked as being critical to moral authority, even for priests: "Realistically speaking, the fact of ordination does not make a priest a master of moral theology nor does it necessarily give him insight into the generation gap nor guarantee that he will keep up to date on theological thinking and psychological counseling" (Kenny 1971:13).

The authors of *Help is Here* demonstrate their commitment to the Kohlbergian view in many ways. A summary of Kohlberg's stages of moral development is presented as settled scientific consensus early in the first volume (ACSB 1974, CODY 12/8:41-44). And even when Kohlberg is not mentioned specifically, his vocabulary is used throughout, as when teachers are told in the preface that they can present material in any order that suits them, provided that "continuity and development of moral decision-making be a primary concern" (ACSB 1974, CODY 12/8:vi).

One of the consequences of this faith in Kohlberg is an acknowledgment that the kind of advanced development of individual conscience that the "new morality" envisions is going to be difficult if not impossible to achieve in very young students, and that any success depends on the moral development state of teachers and the moral atmosphere of the school. As *Help is Here* explains, "if the teacher is trying to help the learner reach the fifth and sixth stages of moral development, the teacher must be operating on these levels first. One cannot educate to a level he or she has not reached" (ACSB 1974, CODY 12/8:44).[3] Similarly, "if the school environment is one of rules and regulations only (stage 4), one cannot expect the learner to go beyond this level except in an accidental way" (ACSB 1974, CODY 12/8:44).

A broader consequence of the Catholic adoption of psychological expertise is a tendency to conflate psychological and moral harm. The moral authority claimed by *Help is Here* takes on a clinical tone. For example, when the authors address masturbation, they introduce the discussion this way:

> The responsibility of the adolescent between puberty and seventeen or eighteen years of age is to avoid the formation of a habit that is psychologically and morally harmful. Education, counsel, guidance, encouragement, and reward will facilitate the development of better habits. Superego guilt will work against this goal. Parents, teachers, priests, and ministers can do irreparable harm by labelling adolescent masturbation as sinful, impure, or dirty. It can and should be handled as any developmental problem (ACSB 1974, CODY 12/8:70)

One of the ways the influence of psychology on this literature can be seen in what has long been a rhetorical method of Catholic education: the assertion that psychology and the other

[3] It is notable here that this is how "values clarification" practices and other commitments to experiential moral learning diverge somewhat from Kohlberg's vision. To Kohlberg, a person advances to a higher state of moral reasoning by discussing moral dilemmas with someone who themself operates at one stage higher. The student is given the opportunity to practice moral reasoning at the next level, and over time, that practice becomes habit. In Kohlberg's vision, this is a teacher instructing a student in a given form of moral reasoning. Values clarification, in contrast, involves much less explicit instruction. The advances in moral reasoning that are expected are instead prompted by discussion with one's peers in moral reasoning, by role-playing moral dilemmas, and by private written reflection on one's moral commitments.

educational sciences are value neutral and thus can safely be used by Catholics who will impose their own values (see chapter 4). It is neutral enough that "the expert speculations of scientists in secular education are equally applicable to religious education" (Downs 1972:42). Those expert speculations, in this case, are the progressive pedagogical ideas that students "need to be more actively involved in the teaching-learning process" through discussion and activities, and that this involvement requires that they also "be involved in curriculum design" (Downs 1972:42).

Along with calling into being the Second Vatican Council itself, John XXIII announced in 1959 that the Canon Law, which had first been presented in a single document in 1917, would be substantially revised. The revision was completed in 1983 and reflects an openness to outside, non-Catholic expertise in religious education. Undated curricular planning materials from the Archdiocese of Chicago note three laws in particular that encourage the use of whatever sources of inspiration are necessary. In Canon 769 it is asserted that "Christian doctrine is to be proposed in a manner accommodated to the condition of its listeners and adapted to the needs of the times." And Canons 779 and 780 indicate that this accommodation involves the use of "all those helps, teaching aids and communications media" that would allow religious instruction to be adapted to the "characteristics, talents, age, and conditions of life" experienced by pupils. In order to do this, catechists must "learn in theory and in practice the norms proper to the pedagogical disciplines" (As quoted in SCHL/C8100/118).

5.3.3. Experiential Education

Of the four elements I have identified in the shift from moral exhortation to moral formation, the most important is the idea that moral formation must be experiential rather than merely intellectual. In the Catholic civics education of the early Cold War, this was manifested in student

government, school activities committees, and other ways for students to practice "democratic" skills. When they implemented Operation Hospitality, Cardinal Cody and his schools staff imagined that the daily experience of going to school with children of another race would gradually bring about moral convictions concerning race relations and brotherly love. In *Help is Here,* the experiential element manifests in two primary ways: in the use of "values clarification" practices and in the integration of sex education with religious education more broadly understood.

If one has in mind a stereotype of the Catholic Church as a monolithic enforcer of moral rules, then the idea of values clarification practices being used in a Catholic classroom is indeed odd. Values clarification is a process meant to cause the internalization of moral values through conscious reflection. Practically, it manifests as class discussion and other group activities centered on moral dilemmas and the values that underlie moral choices.

There is a recognition in much of this material that values clarification is the only kind of moral education that can get through to children of this age and this generation. The introduction to *Help is Here*'s section on "The Moral Self" of high school freshmen and sophomores (Level One) explains that "many adolescents at Level One resent adult interference and no longer want to acquiesce to what adults think is right or wrong" (ACSB 1974, CODY 12/8:41).

This text also reflects the belief that values clarification is the only way forward because of the particular false ideas that American culture of the 1960s had given youth. The authors of *Help is Here* distinguish two attitudes toward morality that contemporary teenagers may have picked up from secular society: (1) The idea that effort is the determinant of the goodness of a given behavior—that if they tried their best the outcome will necessarily be morally good; and (2) the idea that there is no such thing as an underlying right or wrong, there is only opinion and

all are entitled to their own. They are thus "quick to reject the 'phony' values of adults, yet slow to replace them with values that are sound" (ACSB 1974, CODY 12/8:41).

The values clarification exercises that *Help is Here* recommends for younger high school students are so they can learn "what a value is and where values come from," and ask themselves, "What are some of my values? [and] What do my values say about me?" (ACSB 1974, CODY 12/8:17). The authors explain that they "are not suggesting that teachers or adults impose their values on children but rather help children develop their own valuing and attitudinal system" (ACSB 1974, CODY 12/8:24).

Most of what values clarification brings to *Help is Here* is a set of classroom practices: discussion of moral situations, role play, and written assignments of moral reflection. These could be either guided by the teacher or prompted by structured activities.[4] The idea is that such discussions and activities "will help them expand their awareness of others' moral attitudes" (ACSB 1974, CODY 12/8:44), exposing the students to both the level of moral reasoning their peers have reached and the specific values they hold. Teachers are encouraged to present filmstrips with titles like "Our Values" and "Personal Commitment: Where do you Stand?" and an audio recording titled "What Are Your Values and Why?" (ACSB 1974, CODY 12/8:17).

Examples of group activities can be seen in Richard Reichert's 1972 teacher's guide (recommended by the authors of *Help is Here*), *The Real Thing*. One activity involves students anonymously filling out a questionnaire in which they are given a list of actions and then asked to rank from 1 to 4 the areas of human potential among "Health," "Awareness," "Freedom," and "Relationship with others" affected by the action. Reichert encourages teachers to come up with their own list of actions, but provides three suggestions: "engaging in premarital sexual

[4] A game is recommended that moves students through many one-on-one role plays of moral dilemmas that they pull from a can. It is called *Can of Squirms* (ACSB 1974, CODY 12/8:46).

intercourse," "using LSD, pot, or similar mind-expanding drugs that are not considered *hard,*" and "drinking alcohol to get high." The students then rate each action from 1 to 15, whether doing that action will make you less human (1) or more human (15). Reichert is forceful that these should not be collected or even looked at by the teacher, but are "intended only to help [the students] to relate various actions with the effect they have on their development as persons" (Reichert 1972:92–93). The students would then repeat the questionnaire in small groups, aiming to come to consensus on the rankings, providing "a good opportunity for the students to share their moral values with one another and requires that they defend their ideas in a group, thus forcing them to clarify their own thinking" (Reichert 1972:94).

A fundamental feature of values clarification in secular settings is the idea that the skills of value-based decision making can be learned separately from any particular value or from the commitment to a particular value system. Students can be taught to make decisions based on values, and you can slot in particular values later (e.g., ACSB 1974, CODY 12/9:9). This is at the heart of what makes it puzzling for values clarification to be used in Catholic schools, even in the post-Vatican II, post-*Humanae vitae*, Church.

The authors of *Help is Here* assert that while this separation has happened in public schools where values clarification has been used, it is not a necessary feature of the method. Catholic values can be presented *alongside* the skills of value-based decision making. Indeed, such separation is necessary to prevent students from scenting indoctrination in the air and rebelling actively.

Ultimately, these materials are ambiguous about how these Catholic values should be presented, and indeed, what those values are. *Help is Here* is a first attempt at providing guidance for a problem that the teachers of the archdiocese felt was both sudden and grave. It is

perhaps not surprising that they would throw together what resources they had and not be overly concerned about whether it presented a unified and internally consistent moral theology and/or pedagogical theory. Just as the canons directed them to, they were to look wherever useful tools were to be found.

Though the requests that prompted the creation of *Help is Here* were focused on sexuality, the book itself is quite holistic in its approach. The first volume (for teachers of high school freshmen and sophomores) contains sections entitled "Growing into Self," which includes sub-sections on personality, values, and sexuality; "The Social Self," including sections on culture and roles; "The Moral Self," which has a summary of Kohlberg's stages; and "The Biological Self," which includes sections on the morality of masturbation, human development, and health (including venereal disease, alcohol, and drugs) (ACSB 1974, CODY 12/8:2-4). When they say "sexuality," they mean everything that we would include under both sexuality and gender: "What does the term 'human sexuality' signify to people? To many it denotes primarily sexual intercourse. But the fact is that human sexuality has a much broader connotation—i.e., all that is 'masculine' about the male and 'feminine' about the female" (ACSB 1974, CODY 12/8:23).

It is also clear from the introduction to the book that the authors believe that the burden of sex education—in its context in moral education—has always fallen on religion teachers. They lament this traditional division of labor whereby the religion teachers conduct "Christian value-teaching," and other teachers provide "content" (ACSB 1974, CODY 12/8:i). The larger argument of the book's introduction is that sex education needs to be integrated into every aspect of a person's development as a person, and this is best done by the entire community of parents, church, and school working together.

Despite this advocacy for an integrative, holistic approach in the introduction, the rest of

the book provides little guidance for how the social, moral, and sexual aspects of personal development can be integrated in teaching. The "Biological Self" section, for example, is a list of resources on the mechanics of human reproduction, with no reference to how that information can be brought into relationship to the moral development of the students. What the book presents is a vision of a curriculum that is inclusive of the many aspects of the self—moral, intellectual, biological, and social—but it doesn't directly approach how they interrelate until the second volume, intended for the teachers of juniors and seniors in high school (ACSB 1974, CODY 12/8:74–75).

This broad view of sexuality includes etiquette; it is suggested that girls be taught "hair, makeup, walking, standing, sitting, clothes, color combinations, job interviewing, etc." and boys "poise (how to handle himself in various situations) through clothing (what to wear when), job interviewing, conversation, attracting 'them', etc." (ACSB 1974, CODY 12/8:11). Background reading for teachers in this section include an article in *Seventeen* magazine and the best-selling self-help book *I'm OK – You're OK.* It is clear that different aspects of *Help is Here* bear different relationships to the Catholic identity teachers are hoping to foster.

Rosemary Haughton, the British-born lay theologian, believed that the integration of sex education and religious education was required because of the natural integration of the person of the child. The process of developing "a whole, Christian personality" is a unitary process, and so adult guidance of the process must interfere as little as possible (Haughton 1972:39). "Well-meaning adults want to protect children from adult sexual exploitation—but adult emotional and spiritual exploitation can be just as destructive, even if it is done with the best possible motives" (Haughton 1972:39–40). To Haughton, the best moral, spiritual, and sexual education would give children the conceptual tools to interpret and grow through their own experiences:

> In a sense, early religious and sexual education consists in safeguarding the child's integrity. So, we should not try to *teach* too much…. What matters is the *whole* personal development of the child. We want him to approach the world with confidence, as God's creation entrusted to his stewardship, with hope and generous love, but with the ability to form discriminating moral judgments. This is not a thing we can teach by telling a child things. Moral sensitivity is learned by growing up in an atmosphere of love in which the child himself is treated with respect, and in which the adults have clear moral principles of their own, by which they really live, and which grow from a living faith. (Haughton 1972:40)[5]

This holism participates in the anti-legalist arguments of the new morality as well. If a sin is no longer a specific behavior—and in the case of sex, a physical action—it is instead an orientation of the whole person, towards God and towards one's fellows, always grounded in relationship. The more vague the boundaries of "sex education," the more the individual is enabled "to act with responsibility rather than by rote" (Kenny 1971:7). Thus, the teacher following the advice of *Help is Here* will frequently remind her students that "no rational decision about family limitation can be made in isolation from more general considerations about the meaning of human sexuality and Christian marriage" (ACSB 1974, CODY 12/9:50).

The holistic religion class is also a nod to the interests and desires of students. It represents a belief that the bible, the liturgy, and theology are not what interest teen-aged students most and that their interests should be respected, both because it is inherently valuable and because doing so will better hold their attention. One author characterized this preference as being for "psychologically oriented topics" like friendship, love, careers, and sex (Downs 1972:42).

[5] This idea, which strikes me as obviously true, is also impossible to instantiate in a school system. This is the constant problem of educational philosophy in the industrial era; if schools are to intervene in a harmful process of social reproduction, they must be completely staffed by people who are somehow above that same process. The rhetorical success and practical failure of schools like Dewey's University Elementary School can be attributed to the simple fact that it is very hard to run a classroom of self-directed students pursuing independent projects, and very expensive to train teachers to be able to do it effectively. If Haughton's vision for moral formation is true, then no Catholic child can experience successful moral formation until every Catholic household has an atmosphere of love and all Catholic adults live consistently by conscious moral principle grounded in "living faith." This is a very tall order.

5.3.4. De-emphasis on Authority

Compared to the previous episodes—civics education at the height of anxiety about communism and the racial tensions of the late 1960s—this third case study is particularly striking for the extent to which the new vision for moral formation de-emphasized authority. If we agree with Greeley that the Pontifical Commission on Birth Control and *Humanae vitae* were perceived by the American laity as a bait and switch (Greeley 2004:56), it is perhaps not surprising that by the early 1970s American Catholic pastors and theologians were looking for ways to justify actions in contradiction to the authority of the pope, and that Catholic educators would take up those ways.

Tentler argues that the birth control debates lead Catholics to "a sense of moral autonomy" (Tentler 2004:3, as quoted in Cajka 2016:8). If the ideas of meeting people where they are in terms of their moral formation, being open to the insights of psychology and having that formation be primarily experiential have some elective affinity, then it is likely that the seeds of the "sense of moral autonomy" were planted long before the birth control debates of the *Humanae vitae* era. People's dissatisfaction with being told what their moral opinions should be was apparent long before *Humanae vitae* in the racial transition of ethnic Catholic parishes. And the idea that democracy had to be practiced rather than learned by rote was present from the mid-1940s at least.

This sense of moral autonomy did reach a kind of conceptual maturity after *Humanae vitae*, and by that time it had penetrated the ranks of the American Bishops. Their pastoral letter in response to the encyclical (which the authors of *Help is Here* quote at length) called upon priests and people "to receive with sincerity what [the pope] has taught, to study it carefully and to form their consciences in its light" (ACSB 1974, CODY 12/9:46). Theologians were even

more forceful in their rejection of the encyclical, which the *Help is Here* authors also pointed out (ACSB 1974, CODY 12/9:47).

As it manifested in *Help is Here,* this de-emphasizing of authority has three categories of ideas: (1) that a Catholic's moral obligations are to transcendent moral truths, rather than obedience to particular rules, (2) that these questions of obedience are best understood in the context of relationships and community, and that (3) the Church, as a human institution, is capable of erring in its interpretation of those transcendent moral truths.

5.3.4.1. Transcendent Obligations

The de-emphasizing of authority that is exemplified in *Help is Here* is grounded in a larger trend in American Catholic moral theology toward new conceptions of the nature of sin, drawing a clear distinction between moral law and positive law, and in general the transcendent obligations of a Catholic as opposed to obedience as a primary virtue. The perception of Catholic moral theology, sometimes discussed jokingly among Catholic moral theologians themselves, is that "the more moral theology you study the more you can get away with." The now derogatory connotations of the word casuistry attest to this perception. The moral theology of the post-*Humanae vitae* era said instead, "the more moral theology you study the more committed you should become in the service of God and neighbor, and the more able to judge for yourself" (Kenny 1971:13).

Positive Law and Moral Law. This turn in moral theology is marked by humility. By emphasizing transcendent moral standards, this work also acknowledges the limits of human ability to perceive and codify those standards. The Chicago Jesuit theologian Jack O'Callaghan laid out this position in a 1972 article in *Chicago Studies*, distinguishing moral law, which is intrinsic to the nature of the created world, and positive law, which is the Church's attempt to specify reasonable applications of moral law (O'Callaghan 1972:61). The moral law is binding on all creatures. We must all be what God made us to be, and "we are not free not to be human" (O'Callaghan 1972:62). The moral law is thus what we must do to achieve our final end; it is how we respond to God's call.

As an example of the distinction between moral law and positive law, O'Callaghan uses rules about fasting before receiving communion. The relevant moral law is that we must show "reverence for Christ in the sacrament of the Eucharist." The positive law that is intended to reflect this moral law has changed over time. It was once that one must fast from midnight the night before, then it was three hours before, then it was one hour before (O'Callaghan 1972:63). The changeableness reminds us that the positive law is only an attempted specification of the moral law, for particular circumstances. Attendance at Sunday Mass is another example, a reasonable but arbitrary specification of the more abstract moral law of worship: "We as creatures must worship our Creator. Not because of some extrinsic fiat of God but simply because this is what it means to be a rational creature: we in some way need for our own wholeness a relation of adoration to the all-powerful Being who made us" (O'Callaghan 1972:64).

In this analysis, positive laws are only conditionally binding. A person can determine her obligation to obey a positive law based on an analysis of its relation to the moral end it is

intended to embody. “If the [positive] law in itself cannot lead to the moral value involved, then it is a bad law, and so an invalid law, or no law at all” (O’Callaghan 1972:65). Positive laws that do lead to moral ends still have a place in human life, “as an external grace, as a shoring up of our weak wills,” but too strong a reliance on them weakens moral faculties (O’Callaghan 1972:71).

A New Vision of Sin. A major part of the theological argument that emerges in support on conscience over obedience is a rethinking of the nature of grave sin. Similar to discussions about the relationship between positive law and the moral law, this new way of talking about sin emphasized the imperfection of human attempts to codify wrongdoing and how such failures led to a tendency to not see the more transcendent obligation.

Help is Here provides the text of an article, “What is Mortal Sin,” by Felix Podemattam, which appeared in *The Clergy Monthly* in 1972 and presented a succinct introduction to “the contemporary moral theology of sin” (ACSB 1974, CODY 12/8:47).[6] At the heart of this contemporary moral theology is the idea that no single action can be assessed for its sinfulness without considering it in light of its context in a person’s life and that person’s fundamental stance in relation to God. In such a model, there is no list of mortal sins because mortal sin is “more a state than an act.” Mortal sin should refer only to a fundamental disposition that is turned away from God. Any action that does not reach this level of one’s “basic orientation to the Absolute” is what Podemattam calls “morally light” (ACSB 1974, CODY 12/8:48–51, quoting Podemattam 1972).

[6] Podemattam quotes Charles Curran, who famously held on to his position teaching moral theology at the Catholic University after several bishops on the university board sought to remove him for teaching about the role of conscience in contraception decisions in 1967. Students and faculty boycotted classes, and Curran’s contract was renewed. His case was one of the many public demonstrations of shifting mores within the larger Church that led people to be blindsided by *Humanae vitae*.

Podemattam is particularly opposed to catalogues of sins, in confession manuals, catechisms, and textbooks. Such lists encourage one to consider an action in isolation when it is more properly understood as ambiguous in itself and only meaningful "insofar as it is revelatory of the human person and his relationship with God" (ACSB 1974, CODY 12/8:47,51 quoting Podemattam 1972). Podemattam argues that venial sin is "not sin in the strict sense of the word," as a self-disposal against God. "We cannot speak of a grave and a light self-disposal against God. It is indivisible and it does not admit of degrees. Either I dispose of myself against God or I do not. There is no middle course" (ACSB 1974, CODY 12/8:56, quoting Podemattam 1972).

Which is not to say that in such a vision the actions formerly known as venial sins are not bad. In this formation-centric orientation, a more superficial bad action "prepares and readies" a person to commit mortal sin: "A moral choice which occurs on the periphery of our personality will not directly modify nor considerably intensify the attitude we have assumed in the centre of our person. Yet it is not without influence upon that centre" (ACSB 1974, CODY 12/8:56, quoting Podemattam 1972).

Like most of the material in *Help is Here*, this reproduction of the Podemattam article was intended as formation for religion teachers to prepare them for inevitable conversations with students about sin. There is no suggestion that teachers present students with a comprehensive theology of sin; rather the idea seems to be that they can use their own knowledge of this theology to reassure students that choosing to use contraception, for example, is not necessarily a grave moral choice if they make the decision with a well-formed conscience and a fundamental orientation towards God.

What Podemattam does not address in his article, but which would have been central in the minds of the teachers reading his article in *Help is Here*, is how the religion teacher can

encourage a fundamental option in favor of God among the students. A section summarizing Lawrence Kohlberg's work on the stages of moral development comes right before this reprinting of Podemattam's article, but no connection between the two is made. It is not clear if there is a particular stage of development at which point someone can be assumed to have set their fundamental orientation either towards or away from God. And nor is there any discussion in the values clarification materials of how those exercises lead to a deeper commitment to God in this sense.

Responsibility and Relationship. *Help is Here* uses a language of responsibility and argues that an overemphasis on rule-following can undermine the development of an adolescent's conscience and sense of responsibility. In such a vision, it is the individual's responsibility not just to do the right thing, but to discern what is right to do. For example, *Help is Here* presents masturbation as a bad habit which, if allowed to become too habitual, will begin to lead youth away from God.[7] They should not be told that it is a mortal sin, but nor should they be absolved of all responsibility:

> An adolescent should feel remorse… just as he or she should for indulging in any potentially bad-habit forming activity such as cheating or reckless driving. But there is a world of difference between conscious remorse or self-reproach and guilt or anxiety over mortally sinful acts. The youth at this age has the responsibility to seek counsel, either from parents, teacher, or priest, in order to avoid formation of a bad habit. The responsibility also extends to translating helpful advice into behavior. In other words, the adolescent must work on the problem also and see himself as the ultimate agent of change (ACSB 1974, CODY 12/8:71).

For other elements of sexual morality, a similar move is made, emphasizing the larger context of a person's life and relationships over any given instance of an action. And the

[7] I should note that the Church's stance on the morality of masturbation is not of particular relevance to my argument in this chapter (just as the Church's view of the morality of racial integration was not the object of the previous chapter). What is of interest to me here is not whether the Church thinks masturbation is wrong, or how they came to teach that it was wrong, but how they understood the process of communicating that wrongness to young people.

difficulty of that analysis, compared to simply obeying a prohibition, is what makes this a superior method of moral formation:

> It is more difficult for young men and women to examine their relationship in order to judge their behavior than to simply apply a very specific rule. This takes the burden and puts it on them—just where it should be…. In the past, such specific actions [necking, kissing, etc.] have been placed under automatic ban and the ban—besides not working very well—has distorted understanding of sexual responsibility. (Kenny 1971:10)

A couple must examine "the philosophy and psychology of the relationship that surrounds" any given sexual act in order to know if it was sinful. They must ask, "Does the physical freedom which I am enjoying with this other person correspond to the depth of the intellectual, emotional, and interpersonal involvement that I have with him or her?" (Kenny 1971:9–10). This is a greater challenge than simply asking a priest if it was a sin and, therefore, a better exercise for the growing conscience.

Youth who have been steeped in an atmosphere of prohibition against any sexual act have come to believe that it is sexual pleasure itself that it wrong. The discussion in *Help is Here* and in the many articles and books that it directs teachers to instead argues the much broader and much more demanding stance that "it is not the pleasure that is wrong; it is the isolation of pleasure from its human context that is out of kilter. Ask not whether you enjoyed pleasure, ask rather whether there was respect for yourself and for another person and honoring of the commitment to the twofold commandment of loving God and neighbor" (Kenny 1971:11).

5.3.4.2. Community, Obedience, Relativism, and Authority

The downplaying of the Church's authority in this literature is an acknowledgment that the humans who promulgate doctrine might err in their specification of moral truth, but it is not intended as a suggestion that moral truth does not exist. The trends I describe here are about a

change in the way the Church understands how moral truths are transmitted to the next generation and does not represent an alteration of the Church's fundamental moral realism. But it is easy to imagine that talking to teenagers about how they must ultimately rely on their own consciences might lead them to confuse this point and think that one's conscience is one's opinion, and that we are all entitled to our own.

Anxiety over this possibility is evident in *Help is Here* and the literature it represents. It manifests in clarifying remarks about three kinds of moral ideas that might come up that should be discouraged among students: the moral relativism of "everyone's entitled to his opinion," a "situationism" that asserts that no action can be considered moral or immoral in abstraction, and the idea that morality is or ought to be determined by social convention. This question of how the individual, the individual's particular circumstance, and the broader society should be weighed against each other in the determination of moral action is then mediated by the law of the Church in an interesting and somewhat paradoxical way.

Help is Here warns that many high schoolers, particularly freshmen and sophomores, will believe or claim to believe that "everything's just an opinion, and my opinion is just as good as yours." The authors say that by doing what you can to "begin to break down that idea" (ACSB 1974, CODY 12/8:85), you will be doing the student a great service. Such a gentle approach is clearly also in keeping with the idea of meeting students where they are (see section 3, above).

Help is Here also warns that adolescents are particularly prone to thinking about their own individualism as being in opposition to the values of society, and in general that they will think individuals and society are naturally opposed in their interests (ACSB 1974, CODY 12/9:6). This raises an interesting contradiction in this material, which reveals the complex and conflicted view the Church has of "society" itself.

When Catholic educationists in the 1950s wrote in opposition to the pragmatist philosophy that they believed lay beneath progressive pedagogy, one of their primary objections was to the idea of conventional morality—that morality was grounded in a particular culture, place, and time and that people ought to look to the community to know what was right and what was wrong. This is the obvious stance to take for a minority religion that perceives itself to be under siege. If the conventional morality of American society is Protestant, it poses a great danger to Catholic children. Those Catholic children must be trained to follow their individual conscience such that they can stand up against a crowd of their peers and hold true to the faith.

But the proliferation of American subcultures as the postwar period wore on and the increasingly mainstream position of American Catholics would perhaps diminish the apparent threat of Protestant ideas. It seems likely that conservative Protestant and Catholic parents would have similar fears about "youth culture" just as Protestant and Catholic youth would both be inclined to mistrust the culture of their parents.[8] But this fear of a morality determined only by social convention is not completely gone, even among authors writing in this new morality tradition. One of the articles that *Help is Here* recommends students be given to read connects the moral development stages of Lawrence Kohlberg to Catholic moral development. It argues that Catholics must reject "both psychoanalytic and social conditioning explanations of morality" and affirm "notions of conscience, freedom and responsibility wholly consistent with the Christian tradition" (Joy 1972:14).

This move to conscience is a result, in part, of a broad movement towards individualism. But there is alongside this a strong effort to maintain the authority of the community as a whole.

[8] The authors of *Help is Here* recommended that teachers read Emile Durkheim's *Moral Education* as one of a few "classic books on the moral development of children" (ACSB 1974, CODY 12/8:61). While this may represent a very dramatic softening of the Catholic stance towards conventional or socially-constructed morality, it seems more likely to be based on a hasty reading of the Durkheim text.

Some of this "new morality" literature presents positive law as having a very complex relationship to moral truth. It is variously suggested that positive law gains its moral authority from widespread community approval. Yet it is also said that the positive law is never equivalent to the moral law, that it is a mere manifestation of the moral law whose accuracy is culturally conditioned and "subject to new and growing understanding" (O'Callaghan 1972:62) as revelation unfolds in time.

Once the absolute law-giving authority of the Church is softened, once the rightness or wrongness of an action is no longer solely determined by the law, a law-giving organization needs to find another reason to make use of the law. The law needs to take on a different role in the process of moral validation. Here we get assertions of the law as representative of the community of the Church. Even a well-formed conscience must "turn to the community's experience for general principles, and that the principles, in effect, are as binding on the Christian as an absolute prohibition based on a particular law of God" (Milhaven 1968:44).

In this model, the properly formed conscience knows its own limits and knows when to turn, "not hesitatingly, not begrudgingly, but gratefully, to the Church, to society, to his peers and acquaintances, to reasonable and perceptive men wherever they may be" to seek "a deeper and fuller understanding of the human values in his situation" (O'Connell 1972:97). Here the same idea, from *Help is Here*, and in reference to contraception:

> Students will certainly ask whether married Catholics can in good conscience dissent from the encyclical and practice contraceptive intercourse. The answer is certainly yes if they have sufficient grounds for such dissent. Every man must form his own conscience so that he does only that which he personally judges to be morally good. One does not, however, form his conscience purely autonomously or in a vacuum. He must take into serious account not only his own experience and knowledge but that of the Christian community which is the Church. It is much more likely that the community's perception of the will of God will be more accurate than that of the individual Christian. (ACSB 1974, CODY 12/9:49)

It remains ambiguous what exactly is meant by "the Christian Community which is the Church." The rest of the *Help is Here* discussion of contraception suggests that it is not the magisterium, but the collective wisdom of theologians and lay people.

John O'Callaghan, in an article for *Chicago Studies*, wrote at some length about the relationship among a law, the cultural context in which it arose, and the moral law to which it points. He argues that one can only perceive the moral principle that is being invoked by a given law by understanding that cultural context (O'Callaghan 1972:66). This is particularly important when one is trying to interpret a law made in a code law system when one is living in a common law society, or vice versa. In such a situation, one is likely to misunderstand how rigidly a law was meant to be obeyed—whether it is meant to reveal a general principle or it is to be taken as already "adapted and specified" to your own particular situation. This phenomenon causes American Catholics to obey rules formulated in Rome more rigidly than any Roman would (O'Callaghan 1972:69).

5.3.4.3. The Humanity and Fallibility of the Church

Help is Here reflected the broader implications of the moral theology discussed above. The distinction between moral law and positive law and the redefinition of mortal sin as only that which touches one's fundamental option for or against God both point to the human origins of the Church's moral teaching. "The Church, like all men, is searching for the humanly good thing, no more and no less" (O'Connell 1972:93). This recognition of the fallibility of the Church has consequences not just for obedience to the Church's teachings but also for one's relationship with the Church more broadly. It opens the door for the idea that the Church isn't necessary to mediate one's relationship with God. A survey done by the Diocese of Davenport found that

while 68 percent of Iowa high school students felt that being understood by God was "very important" or "essentially important," only 29 percent considered being understood by the Church as equally important (Downs 1972:21).

Help is Here was quite direct in its discussion of *Humanae vitae* in light of this. It made it clear that *"*the religion teacher, acting as a witness of the Church, should teach without ambiguity that it is at present the official teaching of the magisterium of the Church that every contraceptive act is objectively immoral" (ACSB 1974, CODY 12/9:48). But it made it equally clear that no reasonable Catholic should think that that teaching was infallible or likely to be unchanging. *Help is Here* suggested that teachers should disabuse their students of the notion that "all Catholic teaching is infallibly defined or that every pronouncement of the Church carries the same weight." On the contrary, it should be made clear that "no pope has ever infallibly defined a moral teaching, and the teaching of the encyclical *Humanae vitae* is no exception. Since the teaching of the pope in this question is neither infallible nor irreformable, it could be modified or changed substantially at some future time" (ACSB 1974, CODY 12/9:49).

5.4. Conclusions

The evidence indicates that *Help is Here* itself was distributed to twenty-five schools in the 1974–75 school year. There is also evidence that the mindset of *Help is Here* was already present in some of the schools of the archdiocese. At St. Louise de Marilac High School, for example, in 1970–71 they offered a religion course called "Decision," which was described in the catalog as intended "to help students work through their own approach to moral decision-making. The course will begin with a discussion of the psychology of the human person. It will deal with such questions as: 'Is man free?' and 'What does it mean to love?' The meaning of conscience, law,

authority, and the moral attitudes of Jesus will be explored" (MHS 32268.05 1971, 26). In 1973–74, they also offered "Morality Today," which investigated "personal development, conscience, church and morality, and authority and humanness" (MHS 32268.05 1973:17) and "Values." During that course, students would

> be given the opportunity to discover and clarify the values which are operative in her life. During the class students will investigate—discover and discuss—the factors which influence an individual's value system. The student will be challenged to clarify and evaluate her own values as well as consider alternative positions—valueless-ness and Christian values. (MHS 32268.05 1973:17)

Because of this project's focus on Chicago, I am not in a position to comment on the extent to which other Catholic dioceses participated in this style of moral education or what patterns (of geography, demographics, or other factors) might exist within that extent. It could be that this kind of thing is widespread in northern cities where there are big populations of liberal, professional, Catholic lay people who are influential on school boards. It could be that this is unique to Chicago, and that it has something to do with the unique relationship between the Chicago Catholic schools and the Chicago Public Schools that resulted from their relative sizes and the happenstance of city politics aligning with leadership in the Church.

The evidence I do have that this is more widespread than Chicago, however, is the depth of similarity between the ideas put forward in *Help is Here* and the way values clarification is described in the most popular and influential texts of the public school world. The authors of *Help is Here* were clearly steeped in this literature. And so while I do not have direct evidence that other Catholic school systems adopted this model of moral education, I have good reason to believe that if they were looking to the public schools for ideas about how to change their moral education in this time period, this is what they would have been confronted with, both in terms of Catholic moral theology and values clarification practice.

The changes to sex education the Church provided and the attendant changes to moral theology that allowed for those changes have had one of the most visible effects on the relationship of Catholic Americans to the organization of the Church. Vatican II, and perhaps more dramatically *Humanae vitae*, drove Catholics away from the moral authority of the magisterium. Between 1967 and 1993, Catholic approval of birth control went from 40 percent to more than 85 percent. "Among those Catholics born after 1960, as many as 90 percent of them believe that the practice of birth control should be a decision left 'entirely up to the individual'" (Dolan 2002:249). In the midst of this decline, John Paul II reaffirmed *Humanae vitae* (Dolan 2002:249), reminding lay Catholics that the Church's official moral teachings (on this matter) were in opposition to their own. There was also a broader decline in belief in the moral authority of the magisterium, whether or not reactions to *Humanae vitae* caused it. As Father Greeley tells us, "In 1973, 70 percent [of American Catholics] thought that it was 'certainly true' that Jesus had handed over the leadership of his Church to Peter and the popes; ten years later that proportion had fallen to 42 percent. Only 32 percent think that it is 'certainly true' that the pope is infallible when he speaks on matters of faith and morals" (Greeley 1977:128).

Recognizing the losing battle on contraception, the American Bishops would turn their attention to abortion and gay marriage (Tentler 2007:17). If *Humanae vitae* was an attempt by Paul VI to bolster his own moral authority, it had the opposite effect. It is difficult to know what caused the rise in lay Catholic approval of contraception. The most common explanation is the wider acceptance of contraception in non-Catholic society: Catholics had their beliefs transformed by the secular and Protestant society around them (Dolan 2002:250). This, I think, gives Catholics themselves too little credit and makes them seem too suggestible. It also paints this "secular culture" as unrealistically monolithic. These are the sticky details that are of interest

here. What is the nature of this negotiation in influence between Catholics and non-Catholics, Catholic ideas and non-Catholic ideas?

The puzzle of this chapter is very closely related to the puzzle of chapter 3: Why would the Catholic schools adopt a pedagogical idea that originates in non-Catholic circles and appears to contradict Catholic teachings? In this case, as in chapter 3, the premises of the puzzle itself are not quite correct in that Catholic teachings are not so monolithic so as to easily determine what is and what is not contradictory to them. And it is not perfectly clear, in an environment like Chicago schools, what it means for something to be "non-Catholic" when the two school systems are so closely bound by context, politics, and the large Catholic population of the city, many of whom are employed by the public schools.

What differentiates this chapter from chapter 3 is the extent to which the Catholic educators in question are willing to address the question of the "Catholicness" of the ideas they are taking up. In the progressive civics classrooms of the 1950s, the question was essentially dodged by imagining that the pedagogical methods were being isolated from the problematic philosophy in which they originated. Educationists trusted to the power of Catholic moral truth to overcome the influence of the secular world. By the late 1960s, that Catholic moral truth was substantially fragmented and thrown into doubt. A more substantial rhetorical maneuver had to be accomplished to make the claim that these techniques were sufficiently Catholic. This was not merely a change in rhetorical strategy. The "Catholic" to which these two suites of pedagogical techniques were being compared to was itself not the same across the two time periods. *Help Is Here* was written in a world where the "new morality" of the post-Vatican II, post-*Humanae vitae* world already existed. This new morality literature provided a new Catholicism with which to determine if these educational practices were Catholic enough.

In the *Help is Here* moment, we have not only a new kind of rhetorical project of bringing non-Catholic pedagogy into the Catholic schools, but a newly central concept in Catholicness with which to make the case. The distinctive style of moral theology that arises in the post-*Humanae vitae* period, which makes substantial use of the concept of conscience, provides a link between the psychologically inspired "values clarification" pedagogy and Catholic traditions of morality. Of course, conscience was not a new idea in Catholic moral theology in the late 1960s—conscience was a foundational concept in the thirteenth century moral thought of Thomas Aquinas, and it had a prominent place in confession manuals of the 1940s and 1950s (Cajka 2016:23). But its prominence was new, and the way it is discussed in relation to the moral life of lay people, the nature of the Church's moral authority, and how Catholic moral formation ought to be conducted, was all new.[9]

The importation of ideas from secular psychology found in the example of moral education in Chicago Catholic schools is reasonably understood as not isolated to education, but part of a larger shift in the nature of Catholic moral authority. The close conceptual ties between *Help is Here* and the "new morality" of the post-*Humanae vitae* era suggests that the educational changes are merely one manifestation of this larger shift. The changing attitudes about the nature of sin cannot be fully isolated from deeper changes in the view of the magisterium's moral authority. It is a very different world when an entity that has always provided a list of the things it was wrong to do changes tack and begins to advise (and train) people to develop their individual skills at discerning how to follow abstract moral principles in the concrete situations

[9] The particular moral development theory of Lawrence Kohlberg is perhaps particularly useful to the Church in this moment, since as a model it assumes an objectively best morality. Kohlberg thinks of the best morality in procedural terms—you have reached stage 6, the most advanced stage of moral reasoning, when you make moral decisions in reference to abstract principles. It is clear that Kohlberg has in mind principles like "justice," but it is the relationship of the principle to the moral decision, not the content of the principle itself, that qualifies the moral reasoning as stage 6.

of their lives.

It might be tempting to think that by looking to developmental psychology for its vision of moral formation the Catholic schools were ceding ground to the secular world, or that the Church as a whole was in some sense "outsourcing" its moral authority (cf. Thomas 2013). But this business-derived metaphor is not particularly useful in this case. There is no evidence that schools turned to secular sources of moral ideas for purposes of cost-saving or efficiency. But on a more fundamental level, the spatial implications of the outsourcing metaphor are not quite right. It should perhaps be thought of as more equivalent to a label that reads "made in the USA of foreign and domestic parts." The story here is not where the Church is getting ideas—it has a very long history of taking what is useful to it from local surroundings—but what it does with those ideas once they are brought inside the church. They are not simply imported, whole hog, but are remade into a Catholic product.

The importation of "values clarification" is not wholehearted in *Help is Here* and the literature in which it is embedded. Authors will praise the methods as being effective at "exercising cognitive, reasoning skills" and at extending the range of students' moral concerns. But they will also warn that the originators of such methods "advocate a relativist ethic" such that any Catholic educator who uses the method must support the approach within "a hierarchical value system" (Joy 1972:15). This separation of a pedagogical technique from the worldview of the person who invented or advocates for the technique was discussed briefly in chapter 4, and it is still at play occasionally in these later materials. In an article recommended to students by *Help is Here,* the author argues that what is useful about Lawrence Kohlberg's vision of moral development is the basic idea of developmental stages and the interview method he developed to determine a given child's stage. There is an "approach" that comes from Kohlberg that

essentially has a place where a "value system" or "ethic" can be slotted in. Thus some can use a values clarification approach with a "relativist ethic," but Catholic teachers can substitute "a hierarchical value system" (Joy 1972:15).

Making this kind of distinction involves making a broader distinction between religious development and the narrower "cognitive moral development" such that the "concerns of religious educators" can be seen to "extend beyond concern for cognitive moral development" (Joy 1972:16). The values clarification method can be approved of as "a device for exercising cognitive, reasoning skills" (Joy 1972:15–16), which can be used with any value system one chooses.

But in *Help is Here* and the materials it recommends, this technique of separation of methods from justification is a less common rhetorical move. More common are attempts to re-classify previously problematic justifications as authentically Catholic. One method of doing this is to argue that the Church goes through cycles of decline and renewal, through which the relationship of its teachings to moral truth also varies.

Many of these authors, after introducing psychological language and theories such as Kohlberg's developmental stages then use that same language to explain the failings of the Church's previous methods of moral education.[10] Joy acknowledged that the "moral indoctrination approach" of the Baltimore Catechism will only get someone to—and will perhaps get them stuck at—Stage 4 (Joy 1972:15). Any moral scheme with obedience to rules at its center prevents people from understanding the deeper meaning of the rules: "The basic Christian commitment is to love the Lord your God with your whole Heart and your whole Soul and your whole Mind and to love your neighbor as yourself. What in effect is really happening with so

[10] For more on the diffusion of psychological language among American Catholics in this period, see O'Toole 2004.

many Christians is that they have never deeply penetrated the meaning of this commitment. It is something that they take for granted: I am a Catholic, I follow certain rules, I live a certain kind of moral life. What is overlooked is the relationship between this commitment and these rules, this moral life" (Kenny 1971:12). If the age-dependency of Kohlberg's developmental stages is taken seriously, one arrives at the idea that the old Catholic morality, a law and order type, is the morality of a child, and the new morality is the morality of an adult that takes some responsibility for experiential consequences (Milhaven 1968:38–39).

In 1972 John Nelson was a newly-minted lay professor of religious education at Fordham. That year he published an article called "Catechetics in a Future Tense" in the *New Catholic World*. In this article he presents a vision of the Church as undergoing constant cycles of stagnation and renewal, an organizational "rhythm from consolidation to dispersion." According to Nelson, "the explosive changes of the recent past were necessary to loosen us from the forms which had become sterile and restrictive…. and it is time to find in our present diversity a consensus upon which we can base a fresh theory and new programs of religious education." By "retaining what was valid in the expansion of the last ten years and by creatively planning for the next ten, we can transform much of the present chaos into living order" (Nelson 1972:4).

This kind of vision suggests that there is an unchanging, underlying core to Catholic faith, and this kind of cycle operates on a different level. The fitness of the Church's catechetical structures to the local and historical circumstances can vary, as can the energy and unity brought to those structures by the people of the Church, depending on where they are in this cycle of "consolidation" and "dispersion." This is an obvious fit with the emphasis on transcendent moral obligations and recognition of the fallibility of the Church seen in the new morality of this time period. In both cases it functions as an explanation for the presence of change in the Church's

systems. The change needn't be *real* change and is instead understood as a return to truths that were present all along. And it could even be that "the modern mind" with its "empirical, pragmatic approach" has a special insight into these permanent truths (Milhaven 1968:43), and so there is reason to believe that the fruits of this most recent return to renewal will be even better than those of previous cycles. It is not necessary to have this cyclical view to believe that there is a transcendent truth out there that the Church imperfectly reaches for. A more linear view of the slow unfolding of revelation also allows for such a vision. Thus the new morality can be described as "simply the full consistent development of the tradition" (Milhaven 1968:45).

Chapter 6: Conclusions

6.1. Summary of Findings

In this dissertation, I have documented a transition within the Catholic schools of Chicago, from a style of moral education that emphasized moral rules to one that emphasized moral skills and dispositions. In the immediate postwar period, teachers encouraged the rote memorization of right and wrong behaviors, and by the mid-1970s, they sought to provide experiences that would allow young people to develop the ability to decide for themselves the difference between right and wrong. I have suggested that this move from moral rules to moral skills is part of a larger shift, within the American Church especially, of the location of moral authority from the magisterium to the consciences of individual Catholics. The connection is logical: If the source of proper moral authority is the magisterium, then the key task of a Catholic moral education is to transmit correct knowledge of the teachings of the magisterium. If moral authority rests in individual consciences, in contrast, the task of moral education becomes one of forming those consciences.

The ground was laid for this shift within the schools through a combination of philosophical and organizational patterns. The empirical argument begins in the relative autonomy of Catholic schools in the United States from the rest of the hierarchy, as documented in chapter 2. The schools are not just somehow cut off and left to drift on their own without guidance, but are pulled into the orbit of a newly independent educational sphere, which is itself neither fully religious nor fully secular. The professionalization of teachers and educationists,

which had been proceeding apace throughout the twentieth century (Lagemann 2000), by the postwar period has manifested in organizations like the NEA, which Catholic school teachers were encouraged by Catholic educationists to join. Inside these organizations, professional methods superseded religious affiliation, and teachers were taught to believe that technique was isolatable from values. The teacher organizations and the teachers themselves became a permeable membrane at the edge of what might otherwise be considered "differentiated" spheres of the Church and the public schools. These teachers created a new center of power with ideas that overlapped both religious and secular spheres.

The beginning of this shift to a skills-based rather than rules-based moral education is evident first in a particular kind of moral education: education for American citizenship. In chapter 3 I argue that experiential-, skills-, and disposition-based methods of civics education were used in the Chicago Catholic schools in the early Cold War era, in part because of the influence of public school teachers on their colleagues in newly prominent professional teacher organizations. Catholic educational philosophy, while grounded in Catholic theology and eschatology, also had a deep tradition of holistic non-classroom education. This combined with the pervasiveness of progressive pedagogical methods in American schools throughout the twentieth century makes it unsurprising that such pedagogical ideas would have reached Catholic schools. Catholic educationists wrote about the strength of Catholic moral teachings to withstand any danger that might be incurred from the pragmatist philosophy underlying these progressive pedagogies.

By the late 1960s, the question of moral education had become a prominent practical problem at the local level in Chicago, as conservative white lay people were resisting the urgings of their clergy when it came to racial integration (while some lower clergy were resisting the

urgings of their superiors). With the issue of school integration in the news because of planned experiments in the public schools, Archbishop Cody decided the time was ripe for another foray into experiential moral education for disposition, and he initiated a pilot busing program called Operation Hospitality. This program was intended to passively develop the dispositions of white students by exposing them to their black peers, making them more open to racial integration. Operation Hospitality was described in chapter 4.

The move towards moral skill development at the expense of moral rules took hold by the early 1970s when the Archdiocese of Chicago commissioned a teacher's manual for combining religious, moral, and sex education. Chapter 5 examines the resulting volume, *Help is Here*, in the context of the moral theology environment in which it arose, giving a clear picture of the moral authority system in which the Catholic schools were operating by the mid-1970s. A "new morality" had arisen, and obedience was not absent but made subordinate to "other Christian virtues, such as charity and justice" (Milhaven 1968:45). The arbiter of the right and good had become the conscience. The magisterium and the lower clergy and laity differed on the role the official doctrines of the magisterium ought to play in the formation of conscience, but in 1969, even Paul VI described conscience as "the interpreter of an inner and a higher norm" (as quoted in Cajka 2016:265–66).

In its manifestation in the schools, this new morality was strongly influenced by the newly popular public school curricular trend of "values clarification," which was itself grounded in developmental psychology. The exposure of Catholic educationists and educators to public school ideas had only increased as the professional organizations of teachers and administrators got stronger. But by the 1970s, in contrast to the adoption of progressive civics education methods in the late 1940s and 1950s, those Catholic educationists were involved in a different

rhetorical project to make it reasonable that such non-Catholic methods be used in Catholic schools. Whereas materials from the earlier period suggested that while the underlying philosophy of experiential education methods was fundamentally incompatible with a Catholic worldview, the reality of Catholic truths and their moral force in the lives of Catholic school students was sufficient to protect against any negative influence. The rhetoric around the use of values clarification methods, which carried the same threat of moral relativism, was instead about claiming the underlying philosophy as authentically Catholic from the beginning, asserting that conscience has been central to Catholic moral thought since Aquinas.

The phenomena I have found indicate a kind of convergence between the Catholic schools and developmental psychology, but it is not a case of the schools (or the Church) handing over moral authority for Catholic religious education to psychology. The Church took content from psychology; it did not cede authority to it. It was not the Church retreating from the realm of individual psychology, but expanding into it, placing the mark of the Church on more total ideas about who people are and how they become moral agents. Because this overlapping and ingestion of the "secular" happened at the periphery of the Church and was done by people with most of their lives anchored in the non-Church world, it was not a process that was intended or directed coherently by the magisterium. It grew from the organized sensibility of American Catholic lay people. They began to see limitations to the Church's moral authority after the war. Vatican II codified a movement that was already underway, one that redefined the Church as the people of God as opposed to the organizational hierarchy of the magisterium. The foundational truth of the Gospel message remained the same, but one looked elsewhere to see the its earthly manifestation.

6.2. Final Discussion

In this dissertation I claim that there was a transition in Catholic schools, in Chicago and cities like it, from a form of moral education that emphasized rule following to a form that emphasized the skills of moral reflection and analysis. I then make a further claim that this move was representative of a larger shift in the locus of moral authority in the Church: while organizational authority structures remained unchanged across this period, moral authority shifted from the magisterium to the consciences of individual Catholics. The theoretical relevance I have claimed for this is that in the case of the schools, this movement of moral authority was facilitated by ideas from the public schools, i.e., the "secular" world, and this influence was able to take hold because of the interpenetration of Catholic and non-Catholic worldviews in the practical environment of an urban Catholic school system. The existence of such peripheral zones of the Church in turn suggests that sociology of religion misses the complete picture when it focuses its stories about secularization on the elite core of religious organizations. This much, I believe I have demonstrated. I now want to make the more speculative suggestion that there is a deeper critique of secularization theory evident in this case.

Even in the best, most nuanced work on secularization processes, there persists a view of the religious and the secular as being in a zero-sum relationship. Whether it is in the authority dynamics of a church, in the landscape of an institutional field, or in the heart of an individual person, an increase in the "secular" requires a corresponding decrease in the "religious." This tendency is deeply grounded in the close relationship between secularization theory and what David Martin calls "counter-religious ideologies." In its classical form, "secularisation is less a scientific concept than a tool of counter-religious ideologies. Such ideologies select certain phenomena as *really* 'religious,' for the purposes of their own practical politics and according to

the logic of their metaphysical systems, and then for similar reasons utilize the notion of inevitability to symbolize their own triumph over such recalcitrant phenomena" (Martin 2015:177).

If I subscribed to the zero-sum model, I might present an account of Catholic teachers coming up with rhetorical justifications for educational ideas that were "really" secular, as they convinced themselves that they were Catholic or compatible with Catholicism. I would call this secularization. Alternatively, I could tell a story of elite Church officials intentionally incorporating secular ideas into Church doctrine (at Vatican II, say) in a practical effort to keep people in the Church, all while diluting the "real" Catholicism of the institution. Or, looking at the conservative bishops who resisted the changes of Vatican II, I could attribute their actions to fear of the loss of their own power.

This latter is the kind of story Kowalewski relates in order to explain *Humanae vitae*. He argues that the minority commission report, which Paul VI conformed to in the encyclical, was motivated by "the fear that any change would undermine the authority of the church" and was not based "primarily on moral grounds" (Kowaleski 1993:214). When we imagine this kind of anxiety for organizational power as mutually exclusive with "moral grounds," we fail to see how fundamental morality is to a religious worldview. If we assume good faith on the part of the minority-report authors, it becomes easy to imagine that they understood the authority of the Church to be held *for the purpose of promulgating moral truths*. For these people, "moral grounds" is not some isolated area of analysis or one set of reasons among many they could use to justify decisions.

In a zero-sum view, the importation of something like values clarification into Catholic schools would constitute either an expansion of the Church into secular territory or an expansion

of the secular into the Church's territory. Someone must retreat. But I believe there is evidence that Catholic school religion teachers in the decades after the Second World War did not perceive this to be a zero-sum game. They were open to these secular ideas because the structure of oversight allowed them to be and because their professional networks made them available. However, they also had faith that there was a moral and religious truth that transcended both them and Church leaders, and they had an obligation to be open to it wherever it appeared.

That faith is a deeper allegiance to a religious truth that transcends the organizational authority of the Church. Chapter 5 discussed the "new morality" of the Vatican II era in its relation to moral development and methods of conscience formation in Catholic schools. But when considering the Church as a whole, the new morality's most profound idea was the acknowledgment of the fallibility of the magisterium through history. If popes and bishops are human beings whose interpretation of revelation is truly *just an interpretation*, however privileged, then that interpretation is subject to revision as history unfolds. The shift in moral allegiance I have described is no less than an acknowledgment that one's allegiance should always have been to the revealed truth itself, not to the interpretation of any particular moment in the Church's history.

The theologians, teachers, and educationists who promoted changes in the moral education of Catholic schools saw the work of the Church in interpreting that revelation as never complete. Vatican II ushered in a belief in a Catholic's fundamental responsibility to constant flexibility. If revelation is unfolding in history, the human understanding of it must move to meet it. It was a new attitude towards historical change. Before the Council of Trent (1545–63), historical change was not in the conceptual vocabulary of the Church. But the intellectual ferment of the centuries and decades before Trent (the Italian Renaissance, the rise of textual criticism and the discipline

of philology, and the Reformation itself) allowed the idea of change to be present at that Council. Ironically, the model of change that emerged from it was one of restoration (O'Malley 2019:8, 35–36, 39). In the life of the Church, change revealed a cyclical pattern of return and confirmation of changeless truths, a declaration that when the Church appears to change it is always merely returning to the past.

John Henry Newman modified this attitude towards change in the Church with his 1845 *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine.* While it took a long time for his ideas to become influential—they had no noticeable impact on the First Vatican Council (1869–70), for example—they form the basis of the attitude towards change presented by the Second Vatican Council. Church "teachings evolved while remaining true to their origins. Teachings were both continuous and discontinuous with their earlier articulation" (O'Malley 2019:48–49). The attitude of Vatican II that the secular or Protestant "other" was seen "more as potential partner than enemy, more an object of reconciliation than alienation, less as a danger than as a potential enhancement" (O'Malley 2019:28), was present in the periphery of the Church even before the council.

In this dissertation I have focused on the opportunities for collaboration and idea sharing among Catholic school and public school educators, but this cultural context suggests a deeper element of the motives behind participation in that sharing. Catholic civics teachers in the early Cold War era were open to methods from the public schools in part because of their faith that Catholic moral truths would always prevail. Religion teachers adopting values clarification methods could be interpreted as an even more dramatic secularization, but it could also represent a deepening of that same faith, a confidence in the Roman Catholic worldview that allowed the secular "other" to represent not a threat, but an opportunity to reflect on and appreciate one's

own beliefs. The juxtaposition of value systems as a method of reinforcing and refining one's own values was the premise of values clarification itself.

This case raises many questions about the relationship between tradition and change. The interpretation of the events described in this dissertation requires some sense of whether the rise of individual conscience, as a seat of moral authority in the Church, constitutes a break from tradition or a new rhetorical means to reach a traditional end, as has been suggested (Cajka 2016:263). This same question underlies the sociology of Catholic change that identifies the intentional manipulation of secular ideas by the magisterium for the purposes of maintaining Church membership. One seems always to be asking if the Church *really* changed, or if it only appeared to for some ulterior purpose, or if some new idea was *really* Catholic or if the modern changes to the Church undermined its fundamental identity.

These are not questions that take religion seriously. Taking religion seriously means "granting it parity as an interpretive frame work," trying "to interpret the significance of … events in terms of the hopes and aspirations of their participants, including their hopes for salvation and spiritual renewal, rather than trying to mold these events to fit some preconceived views about the secular movement of history" (Wuthnow 1991:14). Teachers and educationists who felt an allegiance deeper than their loyalty to the magisterium were forced to always consider the relationship between the organizational authority of the Church and its moral authority. To what extent is the Catholic faith bound with the organizational elements of the magisterium? This question became an increasingly important one in these decades for Catholics in their daily lives, especially so for those whose daily lives were directed towards the moral and religious formation of youth. We cannot investigate the same question without recognizing that it

was a genuine question for these people.[1]

The process of how it became a genuine question is importantly related to the antiquity of the Church's authority. That antiquity is itself a source of the Church's moral authority. And yet the Church has a vast body of tradition, much of it contradictory. The magisterium periodically magnifies parts of that tradition in the form of papal encyclicals, revisions to canon law, and the documents of the Vatican councils. But such declarations of the "official" line don't eliminate other strains of thought, nor do they prevent the meaning of those declarations from being altered in peoples' understandings and restatements. We can imagine a school teacher who reads about the importance of individual conscience in a Council document about ecumenism. She is herself steeped in the developmental psychology literature and will naturally interpret the original statement as she applies the concept of conscience to her religion classroom. The antiquity of the Church's moral authority both bolsters it and provides fodder for multiple interpretations.

Whether the events described in this dissertation constitute a "decline" in the moral authority of the Church or not depends entirely on conceptions of what constitutes the moral authority of the Church that are themselves fundamentally constitutive of that Church. If what one means by "the moral authority of the Church" is that everyone is doing exactly what the pope tells them to do on some moral matter, then it is clear that Vatican II, *Humanae vitae*, and the gradual work of the schools to emphasize moral skill formation over the transmission by rote learning of moral rules led to a decline in that authority. If what one means is instead that lay Catholics think about their duties to God, neighbor, and their ultimate spiritual well-being when making moral decisions, then perhaps these same forces brought about a great renaissance of Catholic moral authority. To choose one of these interpretations as the "real" moral authority of

[1] I mean this in the sense James (1896:328ff) describes of live, forced, and momentous.

the Church is to take an unjustifiable liberty. For the Catholic teachers, textbook writers, and school administrators working on the front lines in these decades, they themselves saw the Church as the People of God, and we owe it to them to consider their actions in light of those beliefs.

Local interactions between religious and nonreligious actors blur the conceptual boundaries between the religious and the nonreligious. In a situation such as schooling in Chicago in these decades, it is difficult to determine where religious ideas end and secular ideas begin. But that same boundary is not only empirically difficult to discern, but it is not socially meaningful (cf. Martin 2015:178). It is not simply that it is hard for an historian to determine if the Catholic uptake of values clarification is really secular or really Catholic because there is so much back and forth and so much rhetorical work being done to recast these ideas for different audiences. Instead it is that the very concept of "really Catholic" is itself disrupted. It is disrupted both for us, as researchers, and for American Catholics in this time period.

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