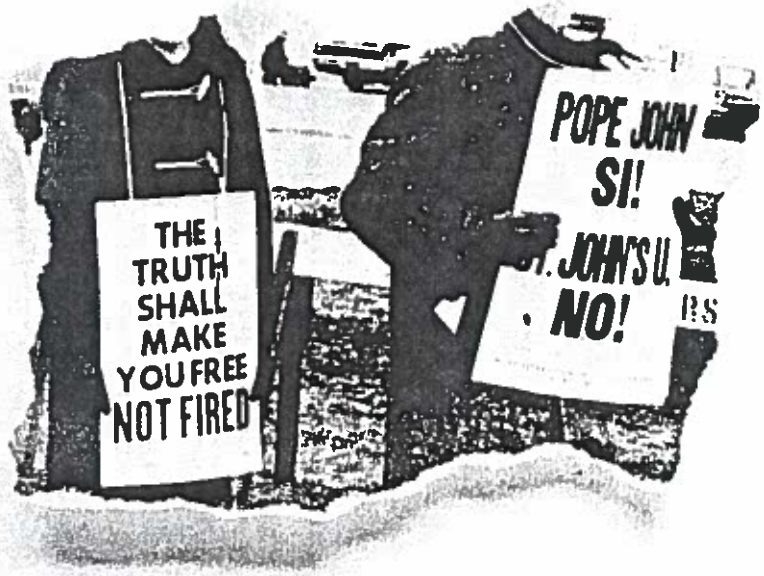
JOSEPH SCIMECCA
AND ROLAND DAMIANO

CRISIS AT ST. JOHN'S
Strike and Revolution on the Catholic Campus
JOSEPH SCIMECCA AND ROLAND DAMIANO

Random House



CRISIS AT ST. JOHN'S

Strike and Revolution on the Catholic Campus

JOSEPH SCIMECCA
AND ROLAND DAMIANO

CRISIS AT *ST. JOHN'S*

STRIKE AND REVOLUTION

ON THE CATHOLIC CAMPUS

Joseph Scimecca & Roland Damiano

RANDOM HOUSE · NEW YORK

FIRST PRINTING

Published in New York by Random House, Inc., and simultaneously in Toronto, Canada, by Random House of Canada Limited.

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 67-12734

Manufactured in the United States of America
by the Colonial Press, Inc., Clinton, Massachusetts
Designed by Victoria Dudley

The authors wish to thank the following for permission to reprint from their works:

JIMMY BRESLIN, "Interview with Father O'Reilly," *New York Herald Tribune*, December 30, 1965. © 1965 by Jimmy Breslin. "Erin Go Blah," *New York Herald Tribune*, March 13, 1966. © 1966 by Jimmy Breslin.
THEODORE CAPLOW and REECE J. MCGEE, *The Academic Marketplace*, Basic Books, Inc., 1958.
DOROTHY DOHEN, *Nationalism and American Catholicism*, © 1967 by Sheed and Ward, Inc.
JOHN D. DONOVAN, *The Academic Man in the Catholic College*, © 1964 by Sheed and Ward, Inc.
JOSEPH FICHTER, *Parochial School: A Sociological Study*, University of Notre Dame Press, 1958.
ANDREW M. GREELEY, *Religion and Career*, © 1963 by Sheed and Ward, Inc.
THEODORE M. HESBURGH, "Catholics and the Present," *Commonweal*, May 12, 1961.
FRANCIS KEARNS, "Journey Towards Maturity" from *Generation of the Third Eye*, edited by Daniel Callahan, © 1965 by Sheed and Ward, Inc.
JOHN LEO, "Freedom in the Academy," *Continuum*, Summer 1967. "Review of Daniel Callahan, ed., *Generation of the Third Eye*," *National Catholic Reporter*.
ROSEMARY LAUER, "St. John's II: The Closed University," *Continuum*, Summer 1966.
SEYMOUR MARTIN LIPSET, table in *The Radical Right*, edited by Daniel Bell, Doubleday and Company, © 1963 by Seymour Martin Lipset.
THOMAS F. O'DEA, *American Catholic Dilemma: An Inquiry into the Intellectual Life*, © 1958 by Sheed and Ward, Inc.
PETER O'REILLY, "St. John's I: A Chronicle of Folly," *Continuum*, Summer 1966.
MANNING M. PATTILLO, JR., and DONALD MACKENZIE, *Church-Sponsored Higher Education in the United States*, 1966, Washington, D.C., American Council on Education.
MARY PERKINS RYAN, *Are Parochial Schools the Answer?* Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964.
JOHN L. THOMAS, S.J., *The American Catholic Family*, © 1956 by Prentice-Hall, Inc.
UNITED FEDERATION OF COLLEGE TEACHERS, White Papers, Newsletters, Bulletins.

Contents

Preface

In a spectacularly short amount of time, St. John's University evolved from a provincial institution of modest population and means into the largest Catholic university in the country. The crisis and revolt are directly related to this incredibly rapid expansion. In about a decade, from the mid-fifties to 1966, the student body increased from 6,000 to 13,000. The faculty traditionally had been largely clerical; the lay staff members were in many cases drawn from St. John's or were carefully screened products of other Catholic institutions. After the explosion in student population, the administration at St. John's found it difficult to impose the same discriminating requirements. Inevitably, they filled vacancies with new recruits from beyond the horizon who were familiar with the prevailing winds of academic freedom and acted as a catalyst.

We were at St. John's University when a substantial part of its faculty struck against what they considered to be a paternalistic, anti-intellectual administration. At first we were unaware of the dimensions of the event. For almost all of us who took part in the strike, the decision was initially a personal one, and had to do with our personal relationship with the university, and what we felt were our responsibilities to the students, to academic ideals, and to ourselves. The ramifications, however, extended not only to St. John's and to Catholic higher education, but to all

our higher educational institutions. Catholic University, Long Island University, Drew University have since seen their faculty and students boycott classes because of what they considered the arbitrariness of their respective administrations; we believe that substantial gains for academic freedom have been the result. Strong student support and reaction certainly consolidated the victories, as they did at Berkeley. At St. John's the students remained somnambulist. The decision to write this book and the way in which it was written came out of our confrontation with the student-type at St. John's. It seems apparent to us, as educators and sociologists, that the St. John's student cannot be understood without a conception of his milieu, which he carries with him as sociological and psychological baggage. The university itself cannot be understood without an acquaintance with the community it serves. This community, in turn, has to be understood in its institutional, social, class, and educational context.

We thus presumed to regard St. John's, not as the typical Catholic university, but as the epitome of a strong strain in Catholic educational approaches that is discoverable in some degree throughout the system. We could never hope to include the totality of what we have labeled the "St. John's community," and certainly we are not attempting a definitive analysis of the role of the Catholic Church in relation to higher education. Many of our assertions are speculative and await the final judgment of empirical testing. What we have tried to present is a descriptive analysis of the largest Catholic university in the country, and its symbiotic relationship to the Catholic community it serves.

To be completely objective was problematic. We were presented with a laboratory in crisis research, but we were part of what was going on. Our observations often were bound to be personal. To balance this, we have drawn heavily from the works of others in hopes of finding a meeting ground between disengagement and involvement. To paraphrase the late C. Wright Mills, we have tried to be objective, but make no claims to being detached. Still, we were there, and the sights and sounds of the event are also part of the record.

This book tries to make clear what St. John's University was like before the crisis, how it behaved during the crisis, and what, if anything, seem to be the results of this unprecedented event.

We would like to express our gratitude to Elizabeth Currerri, Barbara Signorelli, Caroline O'Malley, and Sharon Wanderman, who helped type various drafts of this manuscript; to Rosemary Lauer of the faculty of St. John's College, Annapolis, Leonard Mayhew, and John Leo, who read the final manuscript and offered valuable comments on it.

CRISIS AT

ST. JOHN'S

The St. John's Community

THE PRIMARY concern of this book is to describe the Roman Catholic community whose social, educational, and religious needs are served by St. John's University, and to draw some implications about the mentality that the community and the university share. We intend to describe this *particular* working- and lower-middle-class community; we are not discussing the nature or structure of Roman Catholicism, American Catholicism in general, or even middle-class American Catholicism.

The "St. John's Community"—and this encompasses a wider group than those who are actually connected with the university—is characterized by a strong Catholic ethnocentricism, with its related defensiveness, puritanism, fundamentalist interpretation of religious matters, and political reaction. The predominant role of the Irish in the Church's American hierarchy, and particularly in the New York

hierarchy (only two bishops in New York are not of Irish extraction), will be studied to indicate the extent to which this Irish culture has influenced and conditioned working-class Catholic Americans.

The community that supports St. John's in turn has its values reinforced and justified by the university. This symbiotic relationship produces a defensive social mentality which is indifferent, if not openly hostile, to the struggle for civil rights and civil liberties. It is not difficult to generalize and classify this group as politically right-wing, pushing extreme. John Leo, a former editor of *Commonweal* writing in *Continuum*, states:

> St. John's students are astonishingly conservative. There is nothing like it in the New York area. A fraternity poll during the 1965 mayoral campaign showed that 92% of the students favored the election of William F. Buckley, Jr., editor of *National Review*. Another six percent supported Vito Battista (a splinter candidate to the right of Buckley); the remaining two percent was either undecided or leaning toward Republican John Lindsay or Democrat Abraham Beame. Buckley received one of his most tumultuous welcomes at the Jamaica campus. The Young Democrats had a total membership of twenty last year from among the 13,000 St. John's students.[1]

St. John's tends to attract lower-middle-class or working-class students from Brooklyn or Queens who lack the money, interest, or academic credentials to go elsewhere. They rarely demand academic quality; the B.A. is often frankly valued as a ticket into the more affluent sectors of the suburban middle class. (A rally by faculty strikers to explain the issues of the 1965 revolt to parents drew about

one hundred people, and not a single question was asked about an academic matter.)[1]

It is our contention, therefore, that St. John's University serves the function of giving social leverage to the New York Catholic proletariat in the "St. John's Community."

In turn, the demands made upon St. John's are social rather than educational, academic, or even professional. All institutions do, of course, satisfy social needs, but St. John's all but acknowledges that it is willing to meet these needs at the expense of all others. No university is ideal, but what distinguishes St. John's is that it *actively* coöperates with the limited view of its working-class community and encourages rather than discourages its students in their prejudices and hand-me-down opinions. Robert M. Hutchins writes:

> I do not say that it is the object of the university to develop and express unpopular opinions. I do not say that the object of a university is to prevent social and political conformity rather than promote it. I do say that a university in which no unpopular opinions are heard or one which merges imperceptibly into the social and political environment can be presumed, until the contrary is proved, not to be doing its job. If a university is a center of independence, thought and criticism, then a popular university is a contradiction in terms.[2]

St. John's is not a center of independent thought and criticism. It *has* merged imperceptibly into the social and political community it services, the community which in turn supports it morally and financially.

Catholic higher education is inferior to secular higher education by competitive standards, but St. John's carries

this academic mediocrity to an extreme. What St. John's receives from the upwardly mobile working and lower-middle class of Catholic New York besides money (it turns a profit of more than $6,000,000 over a two-year period) is the docility of an earlier and more centristic congregation. It offers in return the semblance of an education, or at least a degree which is the entrée to the suburbs, insurance company jobs—a Catholic education out of intellectual harm's way of heresy and secular value, and strong grounding on the *central* question of sex. It works with, instead of on, the narrowness, prejudice, and social irresponsibility which the students bring with them. It seems to put, in a sense, however unfairly, the stamp of the Church on these traits.

Whether or not St. John's is typical of all Catholic colleges and universities is not of primary importance. No doubt, most other institutions of higher learning share to some degree its faults. We are interested here in the relationship between St. John's University and its local, homogeneous, and unsophisticated community. Of course, the religious factor is of major consequence, and we will be concerned with the New York Catholic—his social and economic position, and his perception of higher education. The stated or traditional ideals and goals of American Catholicism are central to the discussion since the Catholic individual, socialized at least partly through the Church, sees the world in somewhat special terms. Our emphasis will be sociological and therefore will obviously refrain from judgments on theological or dogmatic issues.

Most St. John's students, and this is generally so at Cath-

olic colleges and universities, attended Catholic parochial and high schools. They have been instructed in a system which has always tended toward certain biases, and has justified a distinct Catholic orientation toward history. The student now at St. John's was educated in the parochial schools ten years ago, when standards and style were significantly different from what they are now. *America* magazine called attention, in its January 21, 1967 issue, to the recent upgrading of the education of teaching sisters. Citing two studies by Sister Mary Brideen Long, a Franciscan nun in Wisconsin, one done in 1952, the other in 1964, it was found that:

> . . . nearly 80% of the sisters who began their teaching in 1964 had at least three years of college. Of these, about 42% held Bachelor's degrees or better. By contrast, the figures for the sisters who began their teaching in 1955 was about 16% and 7% respectively.

However, the fact that more sisters have bachelor's degrees (42 percent is low when compared to 99 percent of public school teachers) does not entirely offset the biases and orientation of a traditionalist, illiberal education. The sisters themselves were largely recruited from the parochial school system and may not have seen any other reality. A good part of the Catholic educational process still smacks of indoctrination.* Certainly memory and rote have been overly prized. Education is frequently thought of as utilitarian, and the Church's educational system provides a safe

* The use of the catechisms, like *Come to the Father* (Paulist Press) and others like it, as opposed to the former types which stressed rote memorization, is one indication of an attempt to move toward freer and more natural intellectual investigation.

way for its children to rise socially. As Louis T. Benezet has pointed out, "One sometimes feels that American Catholicism runs the danger of so overemphasizing the principle of authority as to annihilate the equally vital principle of community which should be its complement." [3]

Secular "intellectualism" continues to be a bogeyman for far too many Catholic educators, and the working-class community remains largely persuaded that only a Catholic college can both provide the necessary credentials for securing a career and at the same time guarantee moral security.

We will describe the social personality of the St. John's student. He and his alma mata have many traits in common. The university is the culminating instrument in the establishment of an authoritarian view of reality. By isolating the specific factors which play predominant roles in his socialization, we hope to offer insight into the reality which controls and predetermines his definitions and interpretations of the world.

The Catholic religion is heavily steeped in traditions, and many members of the Church tend to accept indiscriminately all sorts of traditions which they assume to have legitimacy because of their sometimes accidental connection with the Church. Thus the concept of change is not readily available to the average Catholic mentality. Moreover, Catholics have traditionally been taught that the essential purpose of man on earth is to withstand the trials that stand between him and salvation. The Roman Catholic Church demands of its believers a high degree of intellectual acquiescence and obedience. Laymen who concern themselves with alternatives or innovations are viewed by the clerical hierarchy, who at least until Vatican II tended to see themselves as the Church, as deviant and troublesome. The primary duty of the laity and the lower clergy and religious has generally been thought to be that of supporting the hierarchy. This leaves little enough room for serious inquiry among unsophisticated adults, but for children on the parochial school level, it leaves practically no freedom to question. The exaggerated emphasis on a conformity is based on a definition of Christian faith as unchanging and unchangeable. Many matters which are not matters of faith or dogma have been given by a conservative magisterium a reverence indistinguishable from that of true doctrine. Thus the tendency had been to leave less and less area for intellectual dissent, and to encourage Catholics to accept the available opinions of the Institution and to avoid the courage and hard work that intellectual independence entails. Daniel Callahan, in the *National Catholic Reporter* of February 8, 1967, states: "Orthodoxy is a value in the Church, yet by no means the most important. At times it must give way to the more pressing demand of charity and intellectual investigation." A student cannot operate if his range of inquiry is limited. The attitude toward learning at St. John's reflects the extreme and triumphal view expressed by Brent Bozell in the same issue of *NCR:*

> Is Catholic education to be judged by its capacity to do for Catholics what secular schools do for non-Catholics; or by its capacity to endow students with Christianity's superior insights to truth and to the meaning of life? . . . What of

heresies? Is the Catholic Church's proper posture that of a student learning at the feet of Protestants, even of Communists, or that of the compassionate teacher, always listening, but confidently defending *her* truth and explaining *their* error?

This reliance on traditional truth and abhorrence of change in ecclesiastical thought and practice has tended to foster political conservatism. The strength of the Conservative Party in New York seems to rest on its Catholic membership. This trend toward conservatism in politics will be discussed more fully later, but we would point out here that it is not exclusively the result of religious or cultural indoctrination. There are many economic and political reasons for ultra-conservatism among the working and lower-middle classes. But the students' religious training in New York supports their reactionism; and if it does *not* intend to justify strongly conservative political and social attitudes, it does not always make clear that intention.

The reactionary conservatism of the administration of St. John's is symptomatic of the "status politics" * of its community. Preoccupied with satisfying this community's growing desire for status advancement on the one hand, and with maintaining intellectual and spiritual orthodoxy on the other, the leadership of St. John's encourages an atmosphere that is stifling and illiberal.

More significantly, it may be that St. John's is concerned with building an image of 100 percent Americanism that

* Seymour Martin Lipset uses this term in his article entitled "The Sources of the Radical Right," in Daniel Bell's *The Radical Right*. Lipset defines status politics as "political movements whose appeal is to the not uncommon resentments of individuals or groups who desire to maintain or improve their social status."

would strengthen the position of Catholicism in American society. (Cardinal Spellman, who stands for New York Catholicism, represents this same position.) The university's traditional American conservatism not only matches the political views of the community it serves, but also those of certain "high status" groups in American society with which part of the membership of the Church aspires to identify and which fortifies resistance to social change.

At St. John's, efforts to guarantee civil liberties are regarded as efforts to protect un-American, secularist troublemongers and their dupes. Civil libertarians are equated with social libertines. Good citizens should not require extravagant protection such as certain articles of the Bill of Rights guarantee. This response pervades the community's attitudes toward those who challenge their own moral and social perspectives. This reaction stems from an instinctive trust in all manifestations of authority. The common attitude is that the criminal gets away with everything as it is; if he is brought to trial he must be guilty. Authority is the punisher of transgressions, the protector of majority standards rather than the protector of the innocent. Jacqueline Grennan, in the same issue of *NCR*, calls attention to the Catholic attitude toward authority:

> Most of us in our formal and informal education were convinced that obedience to categorical authority, to persons or authorized codifications, was at the heart of responsible behavior, and that freedom from such defined dependency was the open door to irresponsible behavior or license.

This rationale, which values discipline and obedience over educational goals, is implemented in a special way by a

fundamentalist, puritanical tradition that has been characteristic of the Irish-American Catholic experience.

The prime source of intellectual and social leadership of the St. John's community is William F. Buckley, Jr.—folk hero to the Catholic lower-middle class. Buckley's theory is stated in *Up from Liberalism:*

> Conservatism is the tacit acknowledgment that all that is finally important in human experience is behind us: that the crucial explorations have been undertaken, and that it is given to man to know what are the great truths that emerged from them. Whatever is to come cannot outweigh the importance to man of what has gone before.

Buckley adds that "Burke said it all," and quotes him thus:

> We know that we . . . have made no discoveries, and we think that no discoveries are to be made in morality; nor many in the great principles of government, nor in the idea of liberty, which were understood long before we were born, altogether as well as they will be after the grave has heaped its mold upon presumption and the silent tomb shall have imposed its law on our pert loquacity.

Why is Buckley the intellectual darling of St. John's? How were the ethnocentric defensive attitudes of the St. John's community formed? The answer at least partly lies in a recognizable Irish Catholic set of attitudes that developed out of their position as a persecuted minority in early Protestant America. Mary Perkins Ryan, in *Are Parochial Schools the Answer?*, writes:

> Anti-Catholic prejudice was generally strong, and was enormously increased during the 19th Century by the arrival of Catholic immigrants in vast numbers. Given the predominately Protestant character of American society at the time,

> therefore, when cities or states began to establish compulsory education for all children, this seemed to Catholics to include an attempt to educate the children of Catholic immigrants away from Catholicism and toward some form of Protestantism.[4]

Mrs. Ryan further states that the Catholic schools protected their students from anti-Catholic teachings and prevented the children from being pushed into the mainstream of American life. The Irish "sought to retain their religion and at the same time become Americanized as quickly as possible."[5] Paradoxically, the conflict between these two impulses in the parochial school thus slowed up the process of acculturation.

The situation in the United States has since been basically altered. There is not the same hostility to the Church. There has been a Catholic president of Irish heritage. Yet St. John's and institutions like it, characterized by this traditional Irish Catholic mentality, still act as if the end product of an education is to protect the student from anti-Catholic teachings, to cloak him in an armor of apologetics. The working-class Catholics view the Church and St. John's as a bulwark against the "creeping socialism" of the rest of the United States. On the St. John's campus, almost anything is considered preferable to the welfare state.

The ways in which Catholicism reinforces working-class mentality and social aspirations must be of concern in any discussion of the St. John's community. The question arises as to whether the Catholic Church reinforces this mentality or develops it in the first place. John Leo wrote, in *Minorities in a Changing World*, that "of all major branches of

Catholicism, [the American Church] became the only one to hold onto the working class and to avoid anti-clericalism." [6] The New York working class has been predominately Catholic for almost a century. The structure of the Catholic working-class family prepares the children for the authoritarian orientation of the parochial school. This class traditionally depended more on the parish than the middle-class Catholic, whose social contacts with both Catholics and non-Catholics, like the rest of their class, are based on community interest and experience rather than physical proximity.*

The authority of family and Church provide security, as does tradition. "*Nihil innovetur nisi quod traditum est*" (Let nothing new be introduced that is not handed down). This mentality is not exclusively developed or reinforced by Catholicism, but there is clearly an organic relationship between ethnic group, family, and religion.

Daniel Callahan, in *The Mind of the Catholic Layman*, describes the Catholic conservative predominant in the working class: "he is prone to choose national security over civil liberties, to oppose interfaith contacts and movements, to urge Catholics to preserve their values at all costs in the face of rising secularism, to see in the agitation for social justice an occasion for Communist subversion, to suspect Catholic liberals of temporizing with Catholic principles

* In Oklahoma City there is an experimental parish that has no geographical boundaries. This may well be the future of the parish for those Catholics whose community—parochial or other—cannot be confined to physical neighbors. Bishop Wright of Pittsburgh has also established a voluntary parish for persons associated with secular colleges and universities in the diocese.

and to support any effort which would enable divine law to be fully backed by the sanctions of civil law." [7]

During the early period of immigration, Irish Catholics were held deeply suspect for what was believed to be their allegiance to a foreign religious power. In *Nationalism and American Catholicism*, Dorothy Dohen lists the traditional ideological ingredients of religious xenophobia: "ex-priests lecturing on the moral iniquities of confessional and convent; warnings about Catholic political conspiracies; widespread rumors that the faithful were drilling nightly in Church basements in preparation of an armed uprising." [8] She explains that Catholics, in a defensive reaction to such attack, affirmed their Americanism in extravagant terms.

The St. John's community has recently lived through the immigrant experience and, even more important, the depression of the thirties, and memories of their hardships are still alive. This community generally believes that the expansion of the national economy after World War II and the rise in federal spending, especially welfare spending, are granting the Negroes an unfair advantage, one which they themselves were never offered. It is their belief that they themselves survived on their own efforts and abilities; their fundamentalist conservatism implies that the individual must depend only upon himself for his worldly success. Social inequality is justified because individuals do not possess the same abilities, and social change for the purpose of establishing equality is not understood as a value.

The intense conservatism of this community is the particular reaction and expression of their social experiences. Their ethnic traditions, the stability of the Church, and

their desire to hold on to hard-won gains became translated into an emphatic resistance to all change.

The emphasis on achieved status in American society places excessive demands on the individual; and in those areas where parents have inferior status, great pressure is placed on children to rise socially. The security of the traditional ascribed-status system is totally absent. In this system, the person who successfully fulfilled the duties of his ascribed status acquired community prestige and status; if he was born the son of a farmer, he was not expected to be anything more or less. The emphasis in American society on ambition and success creates a serious dilemma for the tradition-minded working-class Catholic. Automation and even the extremely limited upward mobility of Negroes have placed excessive pressures on him. Higher education has become essential. Thus, in an industrial, heterogeneous, status-dominated society, his behavior is not completely surprising.

The members of the St. John's community realize that their social situations, religion, and ethnic backgrounds are not the most advantageous for social advancement; they are somewhat alienated from the larger society.

The Christian ideals of love, brotherhood, and charity get short shrift at St. John's, and at any other university which serves the status politics of its community at the expense of free moral and intellectual leadership. The revolution in civil rights in the last decade dramatizes the recalcitrance of the Catholic university and, to a shocking degree, the Catholic Church in America, to accept its social function. The Catholic Church teaches that racism is un-Christian and sinful; no form of prejudice, discrimination, segregation, or racial injustice can be tolerated. However, when it comes to putting this into practice, a wide gap is noticeable. Some of the bishops make pronouncements, but the community, including many of the clergy, do not take any lead in implementing these ideals with action. Working-class Catholics have reacted to the Negro's struggle for racial equality with hostility and even violence. Reaction among the middle and upper-middle class has been less overtly violent, but with a few exceptions it ranges from hostility to indifference. In the heavily Catholic community of Cicero, near Chicago, there were scenes of violent racial strife. Dr. Thomas R. Gorman, an associate professor of English at Chicago's Loyola University, takes periodic surveys among his first-year students, of whom the large majority are graduates of Chicago's Catholic high schools. His findings show that 75 percent of these students voice negative attitudes toward Negroes and civil rights issues.[9] When we asked a class in urban sociology at St. John's to conduct a survey among the Brooklyn campus students, the same kind of negative attitude was exhibited; it hovered around 75 percent among the School of Liberal Arts students and 85 percent in the School of Business Administration.

"Catholic Know-Nothings," an article in *Newsweek* of August 29, 1966, relates how "in the aftermath of racial riots [in Chicago] a nun was stoned for marching with Negro demonstrators and a Negro priest was punched and kicked just for being black." The article mentions an editorial in the *New World*, Chicago's weekly diocesan newspaper, which attacked the "Catholic Know-Nothings" who

"sprayed spittle, curses, and rocks at the clerical marchers." A reader responded to the editorial as follows: "I have a daughter, a nun; I'll disown her if she ever marches in a demonstration against her own people." A priest who took part in the march, Monsignor James C. Hardimon, stated: "I'll never go near the mob again unless I'm armed. We learned the sight of a Roman collar incited them to greater violence." The clerics were going against their own people to side with the outsider Negroes; and some of these Chicago Catholics had reacted with a form of behavior which might have indicated the degree to which social pressures are more effective than parochial school teaching concerning Christian charity.

The social concern and fear expressed over Negro inroads into Catholic communities demonstrates the "status politics" of these Catholics. It is obvious that they are not yet as solidly middle class as, for example, the Jews are (and, of course, they do not have the same liberal tradition). They are entrenched in the working- and lower-middle-class echelon, and therefore view the Negro as an economic and status threat.* Those proportionally few Catholics who have achieved middle-class status are not yet sufficiently secure, strong, or motivated to counteract effectively this push. The institutional Church, particularly in New York (and elsewhere—notably Los Angeles), has not been very vigorous in combatting the prejudice of its membership. St. John's provides another institutional support for a conserva-

* In this particular way, they resemble more the lower-middle-class deep Southerner who reacts violently to the threat of Negro political and social competition.

tism verging on social irresponsibility and hostility and an obsessive anti-Communism which substitutes for the investigation of the nature of democracy. The Church has at times been dishonest. Daniel Callahan calls attention to this:

> On innumerable occasions [the Church] has muted its prophetic role, paying heed instead to local sentiment and mores, the sensitivities of financial supporters, and the good will of secular officialdom. It has sought the favor of a well-heeled community. At times, it has used its secular influence to coerce those who opposed it. Above all, it has kept its ears attuned to the winds of public opinion in society, retreating when expedient, pushing forward when the moment was propitious. It has conformed itself to the expectations of the culture, steering clear of a witness which would disturb its community standing. By doing so, it has been led to dwell too much on its appearance, too much on its good name; it has, inevitably, courted dishonesty.[10]

Notwithstanding some exceptions, the Church has failed to identify itself intensely with grave social and racial injustices. The Church's symbols in this country are material—great school systems, great hospitals, great cathedrals, national monuments, and expensive campuses.

St. John's has been chosen for particular analysis not only because the authors were present when its faculty revolt brought many issues to the surface and had widespread consequences. But also, by focusing on St. John's as a case study, we can view the problem of faculty control of curriculum versus administration control, and even more important, the role of intellectual inquiry in a Catholic university, in light of the school's relation to the community it services. The crisis at St. John's could never have occurred without support from its "community." As John Leo points out:

> The administration opted early to take its drubbing in public without moving to meet the objections of the national academic community. The optimism of some dissident teachers who placed their bets on the power of public opinion was based on the false assumption that St. John's cared about what the public or the academics thought.[11]

St. John's did not care because it knew where its support came from.

The authors have, in this chapter, attempted to express some general impressions based on their experience and the expressed opinions of persons of recognized competence. They emphasize that this is not a summation of a single sociological study. This field is ripe for sociological study—though the Church is changing so rapidly that studies are apt to be obsolete before the data can be tabulated. This kind of study also requires the complete cooperation of the subjects, something not always easy to obtain.

Notes

[1] John Leo, "Freedom in the Academy," *Continuum*, Summer, 1967, pp. 208–9.

[2] Robert M. Hutchins, *The University of Utopia*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953.

[3] Louis T. Benezet, "The Contribution of Catholic Higher Education Today and in the Future," *Proceedings*, 1965, p. 173.

[4] Mary Perkins Ryan, *Are Parochial Schools the Answer?*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963, pp. 32–33.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 37–38.

[6] John Leo, "The Changing American Catholic," *Minorities in a Changing World*, ed. Milton Barron, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967, p. 307.

[7] Daniel Callahan, *The Mind of the Catholic Layman*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1963, p. 33.

[8] Dorothy Dohen, *Nationalism and American Catholicism*, New York: Sheed and Ward, 1967, p. 67.

[9] Quoted in John A. McDermott, "A Chicago Catholic Asks: Where Does My Church Stand on Racial Justice?," *Look*, November, 1966, p. 85.

[10] Daniel Callahan, *Honesty in the Church*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1965, pp. 56–57.

[11] John Leo, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

The Revolt

JANUARY 4, 1966

It was a bitterly cold and windy January day. St. John's University should have resumed classes the previous day, but Mike Quill and his Transport Workers' Union had stopped all public transportation in New York City, so most educational institutions had postponed their post-holiday openings. Members of the St. John's chapter of the United Federation of College Teachers, along with those on the faculty who supported them, set up their picket lines in the darkened morning hours. For the first time in the history of higher education in the U. S. a faculty was in open and public revolt against its administration. It was quite a contrast to the Berkeley revolts, where a segment of the student body rebelled against the administration and were accused of being anarchists or dupes. At St. John's the

faculty—innately conservative professional men with advanced degrees and experience as educators—had to take a stand for academic freedom which the student body did not, evidently, perceive as lacking. As Father Peter O'Reilly, a secular priest and one of the leaders of the uprising, stated:

> Catholic higher education has . . . been able to thrive despite its all but completely ignoring the whole area of academic freedom, including first, the autonomy of the governing board and the independence of its individual members and the democratic character of its procedures; second, the autonomous and determining role of the faculty (again proceeding democratically) in all academic matters; and third, the guaranteed (unthreatened) autonomy of the student as well as the professor in all matters that pertain to him as a person. . . .[1]

This strike had been called to protest an unprecedented firing without any hearings on December 15, 1965, of twenty faculty members; they were released from "all functions, duties and responsibilities, including teaching assignments, effective immediately." Another eleven faculty members had been notified that their contracts would not be renewed after June, 1966. So shocking was this action that a special committee set up by the American Association of University Professors felt it appropriate to state:

> In the threat to their reputations publicly and professionally, and in the denial of the exercise of their chief skills, the administration has injured its faculty. To have inflicted this injury without granting the faculty members an opportunity to be heard is a *grievous and inexcusable violation of academic freedom.*[2] (Italics supplied by the authors)

Of the thirty-one faculty members involved, twenty-six

belonged to the UFCT, including Father O'Reilly, the chapter president. Two other priests were also dismissed: Monsignor John J. Clancy, a canon law expert and a biographer of Pope Paul; and Father Thomas Berry, an eminent orientalist. The university never acknowledged a connection between union membership and the firings, and defined its position in the following terms:

> Considering: 1) its obligations to God, Church, Catholic Education and Country; 2) its responsibility to provide faculty and student body with the quiet and serene intellectual atmosphere vital to the pursuit of knowledge, unmarred by raucous and disruptive display; and 3) the urgent need to proceed with the liberal and beneficial updating of University structure, policies and methods—the Board of Trustees was forced to the decision that the faculty members who were thwarting these essential goals at every turn must be relieved of all faculty obligations and functions immediately.
>
> The appalling, vicious and irresponsible reaction of some of these persons—laced with demonstrable untruths—through every available media (television, radio, the press, picketing and overt threats) has served to convince the University that its action was wholly justified before God and man.[3]

The reasons for the dismissals were actually more complex than those quoted, and must be viewed in light of the recent past at St. John's.

EARLY ENCOUNTERS

In February of 1965, Dr. Andrew Robinson, chapter president of the AAUP at St. John's, obtained a copy of the 1964–1965 university budget, signed by Father Fey, the

school treasurer, and filed for tax-free corporations with the State of New York as the law requires.*

1964–1965 BUDGET ST. JOHN'S UNIVERSITY

Fiscal Year ending 6/30/65

CURRENT FUND INCOME

Tuition and Fees Received from Students	$12,209,170
From Federal Government	—
From State Government	—
Private Gifts and Grants	1,105,000
Total Current Income	13,314,170
Gross Income of Auxiliary Enterprises	1,254,105
Student Aid Income for Scholarships, Fellowships and Prizes	446,000
TOTAL CURRENT FUND INCOME	$14,014,275
Total Additions to Plant Value	$ 2,121,900

CURRENT FUND EXPENDITURES

Instructional and Departmental Research	$ 9,321,135
Organized Research Direct Expenditures	450,000
Total Educational and General Expenditures	771,135
Current Fund Expenditures for Auxiliary Enterprises	274,330
Student Aid Expenditures for Scholarships Fellowships and Prizes	695,000
TOTAL CURRENT FUND EXPENDITURES	$11,511,600

(Signed) Louis A. Fey
November 2, 1964

This budget, officially filed with the State Department of Education in Albany, is a public record available to anyone. It disclosed that St. John's University showed a surplus of

* The budget is reprinted from *White Paper I*, a report issued by the UFCT during the strike. It was subsequently followed by *White Paper II*.

$2,500,000 for the year 1964. Similar profits for preceding years are verified by reports dating back to 1958–1959, yet these figures had never been released by the university. St. John's had the lowest salary scale of the ten largest Catholic universities in the United States.*

The low faculty salaries, growing impatience with the then president, Father Burke, and his procrastination in inaugurating a pension and insurance plan (which even the majority of the smaller colleges have), and the general failure of the Vincentians to cooperate or even communicate with faculty members on these matters led to a walkout of about two hundred teachers from a general faculty meeting on March 6, 1965. St. John's was not to have any general faculty meetings for the year 1965–1966; both the fall and spring meetings were cancelled in spite of the Middle States Association's rule that one general faculty meeting a term be held.

According to Dr. Robinson, the walkout was staged "to place on record . . . our outrage at and protest against the continued unilateral decision making affecting members of the faculty." [4]

The next day, eighty-six students, calling themselves Students United for Academic Freedom, scheduled a rally to support the faculty and to demand certain academic freedoms. The rally attracted over five hundred students to the steps of St. John's Hall. William Graves, a student leader and an honor student in philosophy, called for the establishment of political clubs on campus, the right to hear controversial speakers, and the right of school publications to criticize the administration. Graves did not fit the stereotype of the crew-cut St. John's student. Amid cries of "get a haircut," he shouted: "We want the right to establish Young Republican and Young Democratic Clubs, and indeed, chapters of the Young Socialists and Young Americans for Freedom." [5]

* The national AAUP gave St. John's a "D" rating in faculty salaries for 1964–1965. The AAUP scale ranges from "AA" to "F."

This part of the demonstration was short-lived. It turned into a basketball rally when Sonny Dove, star center on the Varsity, rose to plead that Joe Lapchick, St. John's famous coach, be retained, although he would reach retirement age by the end of the season. There were a few student groans, but most cheered.

On March 15 at the Brooklyn campus, the Student Government Association invited four professors to address them.

Thomas Curley, an assistant professor of philosophy and corresponding secretary of the St. John's chapter of the AAUP, noted: "It's not simply an issue of money. . . . Many matters of educational policy and curriculum were being determined unilaterally by the administration." He inferred that because of this St. John's did "not have an outstanding academic record." [6]

The second speaker, Joseph Gannon, instructor of history, stated:

> The day of omniscience of the clergy is ended. The average college graduate knows more than the average parish priest and this applies to certain college administrators as well. . . . We've been too concerned with what St. Thomas Aquinas thought about 500 years ago. What did St. Thomas know about the pill? [7]

Dr. Marianne Githens, assistant professor of political science, added that she had been told by the university official that "it is the function of the University to protect the students from the cynical realities of life." [8] Frank Galassi, instructor of English, hoped aloud that the students at St. John's could be more like those at Berkeley.*

The growing unrest prompted Father Burke, president of St. John's at the time, to state that he would meet with the officers of the AAUP and non-AAUP representatives of the faculty of each school and discuss the problems. The meeting, which was scheduled for March 22, never took place. Instead, Reverend Joseph Tinnelly, C.M., dean of the Law School until 1959, was unilaterally appointed as arbitrator and became the administration's troubleshooter. His qualifications for this appointment were dubious. Father Tinnelly had been responsible for a review of the university's statutes that resulted in a denial of tenure as a contractural right of the faculty, and as a Vincentian, he was subject to a vow of obedience.

The board of trustees of St. John's University stated that Father Tinnelly "would have broad powers to seek information from the administration, faculty, students and alumni. He would also confer with groups at other universities and consult with accrediting agencies and professional organizations." [9] Father Tinnelly was appointed in the wake of a threat by the AAUP and the UFCT not to sign contracts for the coming year. The due date of the contract was April 2, 1965.

* None of the four speakers was still at St. John's a year later. Dr. Githens left in June, 1965, for another college. Curley and Gannon were two of the five nonunion members fired on December 15. Galassi was one of the eleven whose contract was not renewed.

In a joint statement, the AAUP and the UFCT accused the administration of playing upon the fears of the faculty to sign contracts, without considering their demands for higher salaries and a greater share in policy making.[10] The two professional organizations formulated four objectives: 1) improvement in salary and fringe benefits amounting to a 25 percent increase, to bring the university out of the "D" rating it received from the national AAUP; 2) acceptance of an elected faculty senate—not the old academic senate composed of seven elected faculty members and sixteen members appointed by the administration; 3) election of departmental chairmen by the faculty; 4) setting of specific time limits for the termination of committee studies in all areas of discussion and adaption by vote of the entire faculty.

The date for returning the contracts was postponed to April 14. The AAUP and the UFCT again claimed that faculty members who in effect had no rights of tenure were told by the administration that failure to return their signed contracts would be regarded as a resignation.

Still, there was no sign of a breakthrough. Then, in a surprise move on April 7, Father Tinnelly introduced Dr. John J. Meng, president of Hunter College, as special consultant for education planning. Dr. Meng was to assist Father Tinnelly in settling the trouble at St. John's. When asked by reporters why he had taken a leave of absence from Hunter College to come to St. John's University, Dr. Meng replied: "It's more or less a case of put up or shut up.

On more than one occasion over the last several years I've sounded off on Catholic Universities and how they must become more modern if they want to establish and maintain excellence." [11]

On April 9, Father Tinnelly and Dr. Meng appeared before the faculty in Marillac Hall, where Father Tinnelly read a sixteen-page preliminary report. At no time did he speak directly about the $2,500,000 surplus. His concrete proposals consisted of an announcement of a period of self-study, a system by which elected and appointed committees would investigate educational matters at the university; a recommendation that the university pay two thirds of the premium for group life insurance; a free major-medical plan; and salary increases ranging from $150 on the instructor level to $300 per annum on the full professor level. Not one of the four faculty demands was met. Only the first, the salary proposal, was even broached. The university claimed that salaries were raised 12 percent. Using the AAUP's average salary standards for the levels of instructor, assistant professor, associate professor, and full professor, of $6,100, $7,500, $8,200, and $10,300, respectively, the proposed raises constituted a 2.5, 2.7, 3, and 2.9 percent raise, respectively.

Faculty response was swift. At an open meeting called by the UFCT that afternoon, over two hundred faculty members rejected the recommended financial benefits and demanded that the administration engage immediately in round-the-clock collective bargaining with a committee elected by the faculty. The demand was to be channeled to the administration through the AAUP at its meeting on the

following day. This tactic proved a mistake. The AAUP disapproves the collective-bargaining approach to settling disputes, and when the meeting was held, the resolution was not sustained.

With the cohesiveness of the faculty somewhat weakened at this point, and with signed contracts being returned, the administration announced plans to begin its self-study program. There was to be a temporary faculty planning council of one hundred members, elected by the faculty by department. The council was to report to Dr. Meng, who would report to Father Tinnelly, who would report to the board of trustees. Since all trustees are appointed by the provincial, the planning council was thus four times removed from the real source of power, the Very Reverend Sylvester Taggart, C.M. In any event, the planning council had only advisory power.

As constituted, the planning council, apart from the committee on committees, consisted of eight substantive committees: instructional compensation, curriculum policy and library, educational resources, instructional personal policies, student activities, academic organization, academic freedom, and university objectives.*

Professor George Ellegaard, senior member of the St. John's Law School, addressed the planning council on the most crucial of the academic issues, that of tenure. A contractual right to tenure had been denied the St. John's faculty by the university statutes of 1960, which were still in effect. Dr. Ellegaard did not have to remind the faculty that

* Four of the elected committee chairmen were among the twenty teachers who were fired.

tenure secures for the teacher the right to teach his students without fear. He stated that "to guarantee academic freedom, therefore, tenure must include faculty salary scales varying only according to rank and length of service; within these categories all teachers must receive equal treatment." [12] By present usage the administration could determine salaries and promotions, and it used this power to discriminate against dissidence and reward loyalty.

Professor Ellegaard noted that the retirement age was not fixed and was subject to the whims of the board of trustees. The mandatory retirement age was sixty-five, but the board could retain teachers over the retirement age on a yearly basis. He also pointed out that sabbatical leaves were granted only at the pleasure of the board of trustees, and asked that sabbatical leaves be granted automatically and under uniform conditions.

Faculty hopes for substantial change were spelled out in a plan for a university senate which was adopted by the faculty planning council on June 30, 1965. The administration, however, rejected this report in favor of an alternate recommendation offered by Dr. Meng. A comparison of the two proposals is presented below:

> The Council's proposal made all full-time faculty members eligible for participation in the Senate; Dr. Meng's plan restricted membership to full and associate professors with three or more years of service, a proposal which excluded almost sixty percent of the teaching staff. In fact, enactment of this proposal disenfranchised some departments. That of Speech, for example had only one member who satisfied Dr. Meng's eligibility quotient . . . whereas the Council called for a Senate of fifty-two persons, only thirteen of whom would be administrators. Dr. Meng proposed a body composed of eighteen administrators out of a total membership of fifty. Dr. Meng's plan, moreover, required that departments having two or more members on the Senate divide representation between Jamaica and Brooklyn, although some departments may feel their most qualified candidates are located on only one of the campuses. If a department refuses to elect Senators in the manner prescribed by Dr. Meng, the Academic Vice-President is empowered to appoint substitute representatives.[13]

The university senate became a reality almost a year later, in March of 1966, three months after the faculty revolt had begun. Many of those who disagreed with administration policy were by that time out on strike.

SUMMER, 1965

In July, the board of trustees was revised on Dr. Meng's advice. St. John's administrators were no longer allowed to serve on the board, but new appointments left the board even more reactionary. The board members appointed at this time read like a Who's Who of Vincentian Seminary Rectors: The Very Reverend Sylvester A. Taggart, Provincial of the Eastern Province of the Vincentian Order; the Very Reverend Vincent T. Swords, President of St. Joseph's College, a seminary at Princeton, New Jersey; the Very Reverend John G. Nugent, Rector of Mary Immaculate Seminary at Northampton, Pennsylvania; the Very Reverend Kenneth F. Slattery, President of Niagara University; the Reverend Cornelius J. Ryan, Provincial Treasurer of the Vincentian Order; and the Reverend Donald L. Doyle,

Director of the Miraculous Medal Association of Germantown, Pennsylvania. There was no change in the power structure; all the Vincentians were subject to Father Taggart.

The new board of trustees' first appointment was the Very Reverend Joseph T. Cahill, who replaced Father Burke as president of St. John's on July 15, 1965. Father Cahill, whose highest degree was an M.A. from St. John's in 1950, had been president of Niagara University, another Vincentian school, and before that had been athletic director and a history teacher there. At the time of his appointment, Father Cahill got down to the heart of the matter when he voiced his opposition to beards on campus. He then added that he would not allow an admitted Communist or anyone else opposed to Catholic doctrine to speak on campus, a stand consistent with St. John's speaker policy. Not only had the administration never allowed Communists to speak on campus, but they had even balked at the idea of Senator Robert Kennedy, Jacques Maritain, and Bishop Sheen talking to their beardless students.*

Father Cahill did, however, state that he would talk to "the university rebels." (He not only never talked to the "university rebels," he never addressed his faculty. The sole communication Father Cahill had with the "university rebels" was by registered mail, to inform them that they were fired.)

The faculty planning council continued to meet throughout the summer, with results that were displeasing to Father Cahill and Father Tinnelly. Father Tinnelly commented that "it was evident that we were in, not for a rational discussion of problems, but for a power struggle. . . . These people wanted to take control of the university away from the Vincentians." [14]

* Students who were permitted to grow beards for a Shakespeare dramatic production in 1966 had to carry "beard passes" that bore the dean's signature. They were able to produce the passes on demand to show they were entitled to sport their beards.

On July 19, Dr. Robinson, then president of the AAUP chapter, and Father Peter O'Reilly, newly elected chairman of the St. John's UFCT chapter, issued a joint statement claiming that Father Cahill had "apparently backtracked on an agreement that ended a revolt against the previous administration." [15]

Father Cahill began to react with what one faculty member ironically called "diplomatic aplomb," and appointed a new chairman of the philosophy department as his first official act. That department immediately charged that Father Cahill had violated the terms of the board of trustees by appointing a new temporary chairman without consulting them. Father Burke had pledged in his letter of April 14 that the board of trustees' action in response to the faculty's demands included an "approval in principle of faculty participation in . . . the selection of department chairman." [16] Father Cahill justified his actions by stating that he had met with the philosophy department to explain that he was acting under existing procedures in making the temporary appointments. The philosophy department suffered the greatest number of casualties—12 of the 21 summarily discharged—when the mass dismissal was effected on December 15.

When Father Cahill's unilateral appointment of the chair-

man of the philosophy department was brought up at a meeting of the faculty planning council, Dr. Meng, acting within his rights, declared no quorum and prevented any action on the matter. Council members pointed out, however, that several times during the summer, Dr. Meng had allowed the council to conduct other business without calling a quorum.

On August 16, Dr. Robinson, chairman of the faculty planning council's committee on committees, called for a motion to adjourn. The Council members decided to adjourn *sine die* because they felt that Dr. Meng's maneuvers were hampering their freedom of action. In his closing remarks that day, Father Tinnelly observed that the adjournment did not mean the dissolution of the council. He expressed hope that the group would reconvene in the near future.

THE FALL SEMESTER, 1965

The returning St. John's students were greeted with informal picketing on both campuses by the UFCT. The picketing was to protest the board of trustees' slowness to act upon completed reports of the faculty planning council. On October 20, the AAUP called for a teach-in where faculty and administration could discuss the issues. Both the *Torch*, the Queens campus newspaper, and the *Downtowner*, the Brooklyn campus newspaper, supported the teach-in idea, but the administration denied the use of campus facilities.

In November, the faculty planning council attempted to reconvene. Father Tinnelly, in contradiction to his statement in August, asserted that the group had dissolved itself. The administration stationed campus police with night sticks at the entrances to the appointed meeting hall. When it was suggested that only the board of trustees (who had created the council) could dissolve the group, Father Tinnelly changed his mind about whether the Council was dissolved and had the board disband it. At the group's next attempt to convene, Father Tinnelly personally delivered the news of its demise.

Before Father Tinnelly could leave the meeting, Dr. John Glanville, associate professor of philosophy, branded the board's action as typical of both the timidity and arrogance the faculty at St. John's had come to expect from leaders of the Vincentian order. He called attention to the administration's fear of facing "honest questions, and arrogance in presuming that discussion by the university's owners with its professional employees is a waste of time."[17] One faculty member asked Father Tinnelly if the board of trustees could dissolve the university senate in the same arbitrary manner. As he left the room, Father Tinnelly remarked, "Yes, it can; that's the law."[18]

An administration which refuses facilities for a teach-in to discuss issues and has armed guards lock out members of the faculty planning council is capable of a good deal more. On December 15, the Vincentian administration decided it had had enough dissent and arbitrarily fired the leaders of the "university rebels."

DECEMBER 15, 1965

In an action without precedent in American academic history, and in direct violation of the statutes of St. John's University then in force, the board of trustees summarily dismissed twenty faculty members without charges or hearings. They were to be paid to the expiration of their contracts, but they were not to be allowed to enter a classroom. Eleven other faculty members were informed that their contracts would not be renewed, though they would be allowed to teach until June, 1966. The dismissals went into effect three weeks prior to the end of the fall semester.

Father Cahill said simply: "The Board of Trustees has given from 6 to 18 months' notice to certain members of the faculty that their contracts will be not be renewed. In accordance with standard university practice, neither the reasons for the action nor the identities of the persons involved will be discussed publicly." [19] Not only were the reasons not to be discussed publicly, but none of the twenty teachers was told either specifically or generally why he was fired. This was in direct violation of St. John's statute 5.7.3–4, which guarantees that in the dismissal or suspension of a faculty member, the president shall notify him by registered mail of the specific charges made against him, and of his right to request a hearing by a special hearing committee.[20]

The fired faculty themselves made public their identities. They attacked the administration for what Father O'Reilly called "a failure to enter the twentieth century and to keep up with the new ecumenical spirit in the Church."

Father Cahill, on December 23, 1965, cited eight "examples of unprofessional conduct" as the general reasons for the dismissals:

1. Placing of ads in national and local media "that serve only to discredit the university."
2. The use of "libelous and slanderous statements" in placards and literature.
3. Using classrooms for propagandizing the dissident teachers' causes and distributing propaganda literature in the classroom.
4. Participating in unauthorized demonstrations.
5. Dissemination of false and misleading information.
6. Attempting to subvert the responsibility of university officials.
7. Continuing efforts to impugn the credibility of the Vincentian community.
8. Continual challenging of the responsibility of the trustees to function as the policy-making body of the university.

The frame of mind in which the dismissals were ordered can be seen in Father Cahill's remarks in an interview following the firings: "We were finished if we couldn't do this. Here was this group of people who were trying to tear down the foundations of the place—only a small group, but small groups can do a lot of damage." [21]

Communication had broken down between administration and faculty, and the administration thought that action was necessary. The Vincentians believed that God was on their side, that any means justified their own end. As Dr. Rosemary Lauer, associate professor of philosophy, a leader

among the faculty dissidents, and one of those fired, remarked: "The administration believes that it has received its authority from God, so the faculty can't be right. Any opposition to the administration is considered heretical." [22] Monsignor John Clancy added: "It is simply a lack of comprehension of what is meant to have a university be a university. It cannot be a catechetical extension of a parish." [23]

THE STRIKE IS CALLED

The reaction of the UFCT, of which twenty-six of those fired or given notice of nonrenewal of contract had been members, was swift. In a meeting on December 17, 1965, the union members, after discussing the issues and alternatives involved, voted unanimously to strike.*

Union membership at this time was approximately seventy-five, but it quickly rose to over a hundred after the firings. The paramount issue was the dismissal of academicians without hearings or specific charges. All previous issues and conflicts at St. John's became subordinate to this vital question of academic freedom.

Dr. Israel Kugler, president of the UFCT, stated that there was only one basis for the settlement of the strike:

> Immediate restoration of the fired teachers to their teaching positions. Contractual tenure, which means that no teacher can be dismissed without a hearing for cause, with the right to call witnesses, the right to be represented by legal council with full stenographic record.[24]

* The authors were not union members at this time, but were present at the meeting. We later joined when we, too, decided to strike.

December 18 marked the seven-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Dante Alighieri. Amintore Fanfani, Italy's Foreign Minister, was to receive an honorary degree to mark the occasion. The union called for a strike, and about two hundred faculty members, their wives, and some students picketed the Jamaica campus. Dr. Fanfani, claiming prior commitments, did not arrive, and his degree was accepted by an associate. The union had shown some of its strength. Individual faculty members also began to react at this time. Dr. Melvin Ferentz, chairman of the physics department, resigned his chairmanship and vowed to support the striking teachers. Richard Washell, an instructor of philosophy, wrote to Dean Regan of the College of Arts and Sciences: "I feel I ought to be fired for the following reasons: I teach ethics." [25]

With the threat of a strike on January 3, student concern also began to mount. The student council voted to send representatives to the administration to "seek substantial and satisfactory answers to questions concerned with faculty firings and non-renewal of faculty contracts and the specific measures that have and will be taken to insure the integrity of student academic standing." [26] It would become evident that the students were more concerned with their own academic standing. The typical student reaction is summed up by the following two quotations:

"I don't think the university was dumb enough just to fire them for nothing; they must have had a good reason."
"They have to have some control, otherwise there might be a lot of Communists on the faculty. You have to protect the Faith."

The student council, however, went through the motions, and the Jamaica day session council urged all students at the university to boycott classes "as a last resort" unless there was assurance that "we shall be offered the quality of education to which we have been accustomed."[27] Again, there was no emphasis on reinstating or granting hearings to those dismissed. Indeed, Jack Curran, president of the Jamaica student council, was quick to point out that his group was not stipulating that dismissed faculty members be reinstated.

Student concern with academic standing prompted Father Cahill to state, in a letter to the students and their parents:

> We wish to assure students and their parents that there will be no interruption in the educational process despite threats of continued harassment by some individuals. All classes will be staffed by qualified teachers so that there will be no diminution of the academic program. We are aware of our responsibilities. We will continue to operate in accordance with the principles and ideals upon which [St. John's] was founded.

Father Cahill clung to his position and the university made no move to avert the coming strike. In spite of repeated attempts of Acting Labor Commissioner James McFadden, the good offices of Mayor-elect John Lindsay, Senator Robert Kennedy, and the appeals of the National AAUP to bring about a settlement, the administration remained intransigent. The strike and its implications became more and more of a reality as the Christmas vacation ebbed.

The board of trustees made a last-ditch attempt to diminish the effectiveness of the now inevitable strike: On December 28, 1965, Father Cahill wrote in a letter addressed to the faculty at large:

> The Board of Trustees had . . . enacted a number of changes in the Statutes of the University. These included revised personnel procedures, faculty cooperation in educational management through Faculty Councils, and increased faculty participation in the making of University policy through the Faculty Senate.[28]

The tenure rules which Father Cahill claimed were liberalized stated that no faculty member could be dismissed without a hearing conducted by a committee within the faculty senate. The new article was not substantially different from the one in force on December 15. In this same communiqué, Father Cahill also acknowledged the possibility of the coming strike:

> As you are aware, classes will resume on Monday, January 3, 1966. In keeping with our professional obligations and our common responsibility for the welfare of the students entrusted to our care, nothing in the way of harassment, so-called "strikes," or other distraction should in any way interfere with the conduct of the duties assigned to us.

No mention was made of the fact that the administration had violated their responsibilities to the students by rupturing the teacher-student relationship with only three weeks of the semester remaining. Even if they could find "adequate replacements"—which was doubtful from the start and grew more hopeless as the strike wore on—how could these replacements evaluate term assignments, give final examinations, and compute meaningful final grades? When it became evident within the first week of classes that the university could not fulfill its promises to the students and their parents, Father Joseph Tinnelly, in an open meeting of the Jamaica student council on January 6, asserted that adequate

replacements had been furnished for the classes of the dismissed teachers.

He added that the university was not responsible for the classes of the teachers who had refused to return out of sympathy for their colleagues. Father Cahill and the board of trustees had given the parents and students empty promises. Given the communiqué to the faculty, it seems highly doubtful that they felt there would be no strike, that they believed—particularly after the demonstration on the day that Fanfani was to be honored—that the UFCT was making empty threats. Therefore, their repeated refusal to meet with the UFCT implies ignorance or deception. Senior faculty members who have been exposed to the Vincentian mentality claim that they are capable of both to this degree.

THE STRIKE

The strikers' exuberance, which came out of their belief in the justice of a cause, was not dampened when they were accused collectively of being everything from liberals to Chinese Communists; when they were told that the Catholics should be ashamed of what they were doing, when they watched people spit on the windows of the St. John's-in-Exile headquarters, and when they saw the total indifference of the students once they had received their grades.

In the bleak cold of a January morning, spirits were high. Coffee or a shot of cognac could repress the cold, and the strikers walked for hours, from darkness until darkness. They carried signs which read "The Truth Shall Make You

Free, Not Fired," and waited for reports on the effectiveness of the strike. The first reports were comic—the administration claimed that only three teachers were missing. This estimate was revised an hour later to forty. On the second day of the strike the university told the *New York Times* that fifty-two were out; it gave the *New York Post* another figure, forty-three. In fact, during the first week of the strike, one hundred and eighty-three teachers had either picketed or remained away from class. The UFCT publicly claimed that it could produce a list of the names of one hundred and sixty-six of these teachers; the remaining seventeen did not wish to be cited publicly. When asked during a television interview about the discrepancy in figures, Father O'Reilly stated: "I suspect these men are being dishonest. Priests can lie as well as anybody else." The newspapers immediately headlined stories with *Priests Can Lie.*

Father O'Reilly is a soft-spoken, brilliant man whose quick sense of humor cheered union meetings. In the contrast between Father O'Reilly and Father Cahill can be seen the major problem confronting Catholic education today. The latter is a brusque man whose rough mannerisms and speech hide even the M.A. he received from St. John's. Father Cahill is a man who is capable of making the following statement:

> A man can teach what he wants here, I don't care, but if it's something that contradicts the morals and faith of the Catholic Church, we can't have that. If these people have their way, why, we won't be the Catholic university. Boy, I've spent 28 years of my life in Catholic education. I could have been teaching history and raising my family, but I believe in Catholic education. I don't want to see 200 years go down

the drain. I could have been working as a missionary in Africa.[20]

Father O'Reilly, on the other hand, had this to say about St. John's and what a Catholic university is:

> This strike isn't essentially a religious matter. I am a teacher in a Catholic University striking for academic freedom. That I am a priest has nothing to do with this. You don't teach in a university because you're a priest. This isn't a matter of faith or morals. This is a matter of human mentality; some people have been opened to the world. They are free and unafraid to look. Others still want rigid controls. . . .
>
> The school considers teaching in college to be the forming of minds. The school administrators feel we're supposed to place our thoughts in the students' minds. The students are not to examine and question. They are to be indoctrinated. And only with what is generally considered to be the right things.
>
> Look at the result. Civil rights. The Catholic Church should have been in the forefront. But only after the civil government asked for help did the Church, here, finally say, yes, this has been the Christian spirit all along. Civil rights is hardly mentioned on the St. John's Campus. Perhaps if it is not discussed it will go away. Vietnam? There was a demonstration which the school approved of. Most students took part in it. And then there were something like ten students who demonstrated against the war. They were moved off the grounds by the campus police.
>
> A professor Genovese * never could teach at St. John's. He would be wrong, and that's it. I say why not have him? Listen to him. Then come up with a better argument. If you can't, then something is wrong with you. Or something is right about the idea you're opposing.[30]

These are two pictures of a university—one controlled

* Professor Eugene Genovese made statements at Rutgers University that implied he would welcome a Vietcong victory in Vietnam.

and rigid, the other inquiring and open. The Vincentians did everything they could to preserve the former. In the face of allegations by the UFCT and educators throughout the country, they maintained that St. John's was functioning as a university. They claimed that the undergraduate professional schools and colleges, in which 68.36 percent of the undergraduates were enrolled, were functioning normally. They did not mention, however, that students in the schools of business administration, education, and pharmacy rely upon the liberal arts faculty for their basic liberal arts courses. At the Jamaica campus, eighteen faculty members in the English department alone refused to return to their classes. Each of these eighteen taught an average of four courses. The situation was duplicated in almost all other departments. In the sociology department, of which both authors were members, four of the eight members were on strike or refused to cross picket lines for the first few weeks. One Vincentian sociologist was teaching nine sociology courses on the Brooklyn campus in addition to his normal teaching load. The administration also turned to blatant fraud to maintain a semblance of order. The following incident was related in *White Paper II:*

> Dr. Henry Yeager did not turn in his term grades or administer final examinations. Yet in three of Dr. Yeager's sections . . . roster sheets bearing final grades over his signature were published. This fraud was intentional, for Dr. Yeager had signed these sheets for the midterm grades. The appropriation of his signature for the final grades violates not only professional ethics but any rudimentary code of morality.

At this point, the students began to notice the deteriora-

tion in the educational process. On January 6, six hundred students attended an open session at the Jamaica campus of a student council meeting called to discuss the strike. The sentiment was overwhelmingly in favor of boycotting classes. The student council, however, voted against the boycott thirteen to seven, with two abstentions. The immediate cause for the absence of any meaningful student action seemed to stem from a failure of leadership on the part of the Jamaica student council. The council president stated "If the students want to do something on their own, that's all right too. They just won't have the approval of the council."[31] Though there were sporadic attempts at further demonstration, such as an all-night study-in, nothing significant was either attempted or achieved. The students attended their classes and all but three took their final examinations.

On the Brooklyn campus, the students showed somewhat more spunk, but this was a temporary reaction to an administrative snub and passed quickly. On January 12, Father Tinnelly agreed to answer the questions of the Brooklyn students at a student council general assembly. Members of the striking faculty were also invited, but only on condition that they not engage in debate with Father Tinnelly. During the meeting a student inquired if John Morressy, one of those fired, could ask a question. Joseph Fodera, the Brooklyn student council president, gave his assent. Morressy asked to be told why he'd been fired and added: "Father Tinnelly, I defy you to tell me that I am an incompetent teacher."

Morressy was one of the best liked and most respected

teachers on the Brooklyn campus, and his statement was met with a standing ovation. Father Tinnelly did not answer and instead walked off the stage and out of the gym. The students, annoyed by Father Tinnelly's high-handedness, began to boo. "He's not walking out on Morressy; he's walking out on us," a student shouted above the noise.

The student council met later that day and voted to boycott classes until the strike was settled, emphasizing that they supported neither faction; the boycott was scheduled for noon the next day. Father Cahill expressed regret that the council had advocated such a move. He was quick to point out in letters to the students that a boycott would only serve to harm individual students, and emphatically urged them to do nothing that might endanger their academic credit.

At noon the next day, Fodera's address to the assembled students was quite different from the sentiments expressed at the student council meeting. Student involvement in the strike was soon to be over. "We are going to walk out of here. You can return to class afterwards if you like," Fodera said. "The important thing is that we show our protest." Thus, before it began, the "lunch-hour boycott" was over. Four hundred students marched around the Brooklyn building, tired of it, and returned meekly to their classes within the hour.

They voted later that day, twenty-eight to one, to suspend the boycott. Whatever levers of power they held were dissipated before they could be used; the students were out of the struggle, safely in Father Cahill's pocket. As one faculty member remarked: "The Vincentians fire twenty

teachers and the students walk around the block during lunch hour. But just imagine what would have happened if twenty basketball players had been fired. They would have torn down the buildings."

One other group, the alumni, was yet to be heard from. Their initial involvement centered around a meeting they sponsored on January 17, in which four invited speakers presented their views and answered questions: Father Joseph Tinnelly, Dr. Herbert Clish, dean of the School of Education, Father Peter O'Reilly and Dr. Rosemary Lauer, the latter two both dismissed professors in the philosophy department and officers of the striking UFCT. The meeting was exceptionally lively, and excerpts from the question and answer period are enlightening.

Dean Herbert Clish, a staunch administration supporter, showed, by his responses, how little he knew about the issues:

Q. . . . do you believe that there can be substantive academic freedom unless an individual who is alleged to have violated the substance of academic freedom has a procedural right to a hearing, with charges and some form of evidence presented before there is a dismissal?

A. I think it is a very fine thing and I regret greatly that some of the delays that have been caused kept the board of trustees from being put into effect sooner.

Q. I don't think you answered my question directly. Now please, I am not asking you for the opinion or decisions of the board. I am asking you for your own personal opinion. Do you personally, with your background, believe that every person who has been placed upon the faculty, after two, three, four, five years of service . . . is entitled, as a matter of fairness, justice, equity and in light of the AAUP principles which you read, to a hearing before dismissal?

A. First of all, the matter to which you're referring is not out of the AAUP statement on academic freedom which I read. You're moving along, I think, to the procedural matter and the matter of academic tenure and I'll tell you very frankly that I believe very strongly in tenure.

Q. I have asked you for your opinion as to whether such a person, not necessarily with tenure—please don't get me off on tenure . . . should be, as a matter of fairness, of justice, of equity, entitled to a procedural hearing.

A. I don't think you can answer that without looking at what the statutes were before we had these changes come into them. I think that no matter how I may feel . . . you've got to look at how the statutes and the regulations were before we had these new ones approved, and I have been told that provision was not included in them. I'm very glad it's included in the new. . . .

Q. . . . Dr. Clish, do you approve of the firing of Dr. William McBrien and more than a score of his colleagues, and especially of the manner in which it was done?

A. Number one, I have never been given the reasons. I don't know what they were.

Q. However, you do know . . . they were dismissed for "unprofessional conduct," without hearings of any kind, without any presentation of changes.

A. If the reasons were adequate, then I would have to approve. If they were not, then I would have some serious questions.

Q. Have you done anything to obtain just and fair hearings for the dismissed professors?

A. I have not because they are not my faculty. I have all I can do to take care of my own faculty, and had one of mine been in the group, I would have gone to ask specifically what the reasons were.[32]

Dr. McBrien, who was referred to during the questioning of Dean Clish, later brought the audience to hysterical laughter when he asked Father Tinnelly a question. After

apologizing to the audience for what he said would be "narcissistic behavior," Dr. McBrien proceeded to list all his accomplishments, his positions with St. John's University, the fact that the *Brooklyn Tablet*, a Catholic diocesan newspaper, had referred to him as "probably the best teacher at St. John's University." He turned to Father Tinnelly and asked deadpan: "Don't you think there was some ambivalence in the administration's firing me?" The audience roared with laughter, and Dr. McBrien sat down.

Father Tinnelly was as evasive as Dean Clish:

Q. If these charges are substantial, then why can't you make them public? If this is moral turpitude, insubordination or incompetence, then put it on record and dismiss them. But if it is not, then you strain our credence to believe you.
A. To those who have known me for 26 years, if it is question of credence, I can put my reputation on the line.[33]

Dr. Rosemary Lauer commented on a statement she had made at a meeting of the First Unitarian Church in Brooklyn that the one statement upon which the administration had seized as evidence that the opposition to the St. John's administration was really an effort to destroy the Catholic school system.

Q. You state, as was reported in the *Times* of January 10, 1966, that churches and universities don't mix and that the Catholic Church and any other religious institution should get out of the management of universities.
A. Yes, I did say that. I don't think that this is an issue in this particular matter. The issue is whether a university can dismiss 31 teachers without giving any reasons. Now the reason for making the statement which I made . . . was as a consequence of my experiences at St. John's.

> If the Catholic Church in this country ever becomes mature enough to take seriously the declaration of religious liberty of Vatican II and to take seriously the declaration on the Church in the Modern World of Vatican II, then I see no reason why the Catholic Church should not operate universities. However, as I see the thing, the Church in this country is not yet that mature . . . it does not yet take completely seriously in practice these documents of Vatican II. When the Catholic Church does, then I think the Catholic Church can operate a university without impeding the exercise of academic freedom on that campus.[34]

Rosemary Lauer then adds that she asked "for the third time publicly" to be told publicly (as she had not been told privately—and still has not) the reason or reasons for her dismissal. She renounced in public at that time whatever claims she had to secrecy in the matter and asked that Father Tinnelly tell her in public why she was fired.

In April of 1967 Ralph Katz, UFCT lawyer, tried to get St. John's to tell him what the charges against those dismissed were so that he could prepare for the arbitration hearings. The University replied that it would make the reasons known at the hearings and at that time Katz could, if he wished, ask for a recess to prepare a defense.

Father O'Reilly was again asked about his now famous statement—"Priests can lie."

Q. Did you mean by that statement that Father Tinnelly was lying?
A. Do you see a third possibility?
Q. I didn't make the statement. I don't know what's in your mind and I am asking you what you meant by it. . . . Was he lying or was he not lying?
A. Well, I have no hesitancy in saying that he is lying, that

he has lied many times and that Father Cahill has lied many times.[35]

The alumni made one further attempt to bring the strike to an end. At the end of February, the joint committee to end the strike at St. John's University was set up. The two student newspapers and the student councils backed this alumni committee, whose recommendations were as follows:

> We thus urge that both sides at this time agree to the designation of a 15-minute panel to be nominated by the Presidents of 3 or more Catholic Universities, such as Notre Dame, Georgetown, Marquette and Boston College. The administration and the dismissed faculty members would each be permitted to select 3 persons from the panel to serve as a hearing committee. The 6 designees would elect one of them to hear the University's charges against each of the dismissed faculty members, who would in turn be permitted to be heard in their own defense. The Committee would then be empowered to make recommendations to the Board of Trustees at St. John's University, on the question of whether these individuals should be reinstated to their positions at the University. These recommendations will be made public.

The striking faculty accepted the proposal. St. John's University refused, as they had refused all prior attempts at settlement.

The Vincentians were convinced that the dismissed faculty members represented not only a threat to their conception of a university but a physical threat as well. Father Cahill told the Brooklyn student council that after two months of consideration, the board of trustees was afraid that bloodshed might result at the Jamaica campus if some of the dismissed teachers remained; he even alluded to com-

munist infiltration. John Fagin, an honor student and a member of the Brooklyn student council, reported in *The Downtowner* of January 19 on the address of Father Cahill and Father William Casey, Director of Student Activities, to the council:

> Were the twenty or so teachers who were "not renewed" and suspended involved in some kind of nationwide "plot" to take over or secularize Catholic colleges? Were some of them perhaps playing ball with Communists or with the radical left wing? These are the impressions one got listening to Fathers Casey and Cahill on Thursday and Sunday last. . . .
>
> A student asked why some of the teachers were suspended in midsemester. Couldn't they have finished out their contracts? Father Casey replied that "something worse" would have resulted had they been permitted to stay. What was the "something worse," he was asked. "Violence," he replied. He was asked why violence should have resulted. "Do you know the objectives of SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) and the DuBois Clubs?" he replied. "They've been in touch with people at St. John's," he went on. Other people had asked him to "turn his back" so they could "take care" of the situation, he continued.
>
> Other colleges' administrations had commended St. John's, he said. "You're fighting our fight," he quoted them as having said. St. John's was in for trouble because it was "number one on their list," he said.
>
> Whose "list"? What "fight"? we thought. "Communist infiltration"? We asked Dr. Casey if the twenty or so teachers were "furthering the cause of international Communism?"
>
> His reply: "That's a ridiculous question. Take it to court."
>
> He didn't say yes and he didn't say no. . . . Father Cahill . . . indicated that while, as Father Casey had hinted, the involvement of radical student groups and the threat of vio-

lence had led to the suspensions of the teachers, the nonrenewals of the same individuals, which were apparently decided upon first, had not been based on anything to do with possible subversion. The Trustees had found out about the involvement of possible subversive student groups later, he seemed to be saying.

But why weren't the teachers' contracts renewed? Father Cahill repeated the Trustees' position that there shall be no specific charges leveled against any individuals. He said that the University would be closed down before charges would be leveled. Moreover, he said he didn't think the teachers wanted to be charged. They're demanding charges "to harass us," he said. "They're out to break us . . . we're a test case," he said. "If we go, others will follow," he said. "This is an attack on Catholic education," he said. "I'll go to death to win this battle," he said. . . .

Father Cahill and the rest of the Board of Trustees, who is knifing us in the back? Who are "they" who are using us as a "test case"? Who are "they" whose "list" we're on? Who are "they" who make you think in terms of closing the University down? Why is it "ridiculous" to ask about Communism when these hints and innuendoes are being tossed around?

Why won't the Trustees level charges? If they can stand up in court, forget "libel and slander" suits. If they can't stand up, how do we know that "they" are guilty of anything at all? How do we know the Trustees aren't just overzealously defending the old order in the face of the new? What is this terrible mystery supposedly afoot? What's going on "behind the scenes" that you know about and we don't?

THE AAUP INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE

On January 13, Dr. Richard J. Wall, successor to Dr. Andrew Robinson as AAUP chapter president, wrote the

members of the St. John's chapter that the national office had appointed an investigating committee to examine the situation at St. John's. The committee members were: John Noonan, professor of law at Notre Dame University; John Christie, associate professor of English at Vassar College; and William Pendrick, professor of law at Northwestern University. On January 28, 29, and 30, the committee met with the administration, with the dismissed teachers, and with thirty members of the faculty, including those still teaching as well as those on strike. This was the fastest action that the usually staid, slow-moving professional organization had ever taken. A report was to be ready for the national AAUP meeting to be held at Atlanta, Georgia, in April of 1966.

The administration remained adamant in its refusal to give any reasons for the dismissals, and the AAUP investigating committee found itself in the same position as the faculty, students, and alumni. Indeed, the committee was informed that the administration would act in the same fashion as it had on December 15, 1965, if it judged such action imperative. The committee found the administration guilty of a "grievous and inexcusable violation of academic freedom."

THE LOCAL AAUP

When the strike began, the St. John's chapter of the AAUP conformed to the resolution adopted by the Metropolitan Area Conference of the AAUP on December

30, 1965. Paragraph 4a of the document, which was unanimously endorsed by thirty colleges and universities in the New York metropolitan area, reads: "Refusal to cross a picket line set up by one's colleagues is not a breach of professional ethics." This resolution was followed by pledges of support by local AAUP chapters throughout the nation. Only one local AAUP chapter in the United States condemned the strike—the St. John's chapter itself.

During the Christmas holidays and the first three weeks of the new year, a vigorous campaign to enlist new members for the local AAUP had been made by Dr. William McLaughlin of the School of Education. A letter was sent to Dr. Wall by a twenty-two-man ad hoc committee which demanded a meeting in accordance with a ruling which states that 10 percent of the membership can call an emergency meeting. A meeting was called on February 2, 1966. Eighty-seven new members had joined the AAUP within the last month. Among them was Dr. McLaughlin himself, whose membership dated from January 2, 1966. Thirty-two Vincentians had also joined the chapter—the same chapter that Father Burke, the former president of St. John's University, had refused to recognize for over a year. The dues of the Vincentians were paid for by the school treasurer with a single check. Six members of the athletic department, and new recruits from the conservative schools of pharmacy, education, and business administration suddenly joined the formerly condemned AAUP chapter. The executive board sought to challenge the membership of some of the members of the athletic department on the grounds that they

did not meet with classes, whereupon one outraged coach offered to match his master's thesis with anyone's.

In a brief address, Dr. Bertram Davis, deputy general secretary of the national AAUP, requested that the chapter refrain from any action until the findings of the AAUP investigating committee were made public. With the added strength of the new members, the conservative element was in a position to try a power play which would seek to ignore Dr. Davis' recommendation. A motion to condemn any action that endorsed the strike was proposed by Charles McCarthy of the College of Business Administration. Mr. McCarthy, whose only degree listed in the St. John's catalogue is an honorary Doctor of Commercial Science from St. John's University, is now chairman of the department of marketing. His motion was an explicit condemnation of the striking professors and those honoring the picket lines. It also condemned the Metropolitan Conference and the executive committee of the national AAUP, while implying approbation of the summary dismissal of the twenty professors. Dr. Vincent Smith, director of the Philosophy of Science Institute, pointed out that the dismissals violated St. John's statutes. Dr. Smith, who had previously tendered his resignation effective June, 1966, in protest against the dismissals, offered to the main motion an amendment which condemned the administration for the manner in which it fired its faculty. On a roll call vote, Dr. Smith's amendment was defeated eighty-eight to eighty-seven. The authors, who were present at this meeting, noticed that a large block of "no" votes came from the new members.

The Vincentians present all voted no. Mr. McCarthy's original motion then passed ninety-four to seventy-nine.

In reaction, the executive board of the AAUP chapter resigned. Dr. Wall explained that the resolution was passed only because of the sudden influx of thirty-two Vincentians into an organization that two years ago their officials and superiors refused to recognize. He added that the recent requests for membership from faculty members who had previously accused the chapter of communist domination was also suspect and could only be viewed with alarm. Dr. Wall stated that the purpose of the executive board was to be a watchdog, but that now it would become a lap dog. Rather than see this happen, the executive board chose to resign.

When Dr. Wall finished reading his statement, the executive board walked off the stage; Dr. McLaughlin called for those who were leaving to remain. He was booed by the departing strikers and their allies. The Vincentians and the conservative faculty returned to their seats to try and salvage what was left of the AAUP. The mood of high tempers at the end of this meeting was about the closest the controversy ever came to the "violence" that had been ominously predicted by Father Cahill.

THE AAUP CENSURE

As expected, the AAUP censured St. John's during their national convention held in Atlanta. Father Cahill had predicted as far back as January 19 that the AAUP would

take censure action against the university. He had also remarked that "censure will not hinder us in our drive for excellence." [36]

The censure of St. John's was reported in the June, 1966, AAUP bulletin: "In the history of the American Association of University Professors, perhaps no violations of academic freedom and tenure have more profoundly shocked the academic community than the violations recorded in the report of the ad hoc committee which investigated St. John's University." [37] The report specifically charged the university with violating the 1940 statement of principles of academic freedom and tenure, by dismissing six faculty members who had taught for seven years or more at St. John's, had had no specific charges leveled against them, and had not been given a hearing.

IMPACT OF THE STRIKE

On January 10, the administration published *Fact Sheet 1*, which sought to answer the allegations of the UFCT that the accreditation of the university was in jeopardy. This denial was a distortion of a news release issued by the office of Dean Albert Meder, Jr., chairman of the Middle States Association. Dean Meder, in an interview with two striking professors, asserted that the university's use of his statement involved an effective re-working of his intent. In his February 15 letter to Professor James Shields, vice-president of the St. John's chapter of the UFCT, Dean Meder stated that the affairs of the university were receiv-

ing and would continue to receive the commission's careful, full and appropriate consideration. Meder added that the university's "educational effectiveness is impaired at this moment." [38] The Middle States Association, however, was not to take positive action until almost a year later.

The university kept issuing fact sheets and the union kept answering them. The fact sheets consisted mostly of testimonials of certain faculty members as to how much academic freedom they enjoyed at St. John's. John Morressy, then drafted, and the Brooklyn picketers subsequently distributed *Fantasy Sheet 007*. The subject was academic freedom at St. John's:

> A group of employees at St. John's University, aroused by charges that academic freedom does not exist at St. John's, have issued their individual comments on the wonderful freedom they have enjoyed in their service at the University.
>
> *Sarah Gump, Cafeteria:*
> In my three years as a cafeteria worker at 72 Schermerhorn Street, no one on the administration has told me how many slices of bread to give a student. I have also felt free to give any size portion of meat or potatoes to anyone, without interference.*
>
> *Wickford Squeers, Elevator Operator:*
> I have been running the elevators at St. John's for over twenty years, and I can state emphatically that no one has ever tried to tell me when or where to stop my elevator. Even the students and faculty members who ride my elevator do not tell me what floor to stop at. This often results in my arriving at the twelfth floor with a packed elevator and

* Sarah Gump seems to have enjoyed an extraordinary amount of freedom.

> numerous complaints, but I consider this a small price to pay for true freedom.
>
> *Stanley Kowalski, Boiler Room:*
> My wife Stella and I have been stoking the furnaces of St. John's University for twelve years, and we have never been told how to shovel coal or remove ashes. We have always been treated as professionals. In my opinion, the furnaces at St. John's University are as good as any furnaces in the academic world. I have stoked furnaces at Columbia, Harvard, and Princeton and I can state that the furnaces at St. John's are far superior to any furnaces in any of these schools.

Withal the administration continued to maintain that the strike was not affecting the university's performance. The fact that close to one hundred teachers never returned after December 15, that scores of others left after their contracts expired, and that the university acknowledged a 25 percent decrease in freshmen enrollment, did not encourage the Vincentians to change their judgment of "normalcy."

COMMENCEMENT DAY

On Commencement Day, June 12, 1966, over two hundred academicians, friends, and relatives marched outside the grounds of the Jamaica campus. Inside, graduation exercises were going on as if nothing had happened. The commencement speaker was Dr. John Meng, who, in spite of his public remarks calling for a liberalization of Catholic universities, had all along supported the administration. During his speech, Dr. Meng straddled both sides of the

fence. At one point he called the striking faculty "a small self-centered group of teachers, who refused even to discuss proposals for reform of the University because they disagreed with some of them." He later stated that "the lack of academic due process in the procedure used . . . seems clear and evident," and added that he believed "along with most of the academic profession, that the University was at fault." [30]

The strike was over. Summer came and went, and the strikers prepared for new semesters at new schools.

Notes

[1] Peter O'Reilly, "St. John's I: A Chronicle of Folly," *Continuum*, Summer, 1966, p. 229.
[2] *AAUP Bulletin*, June, 1966.
[3] University Self-Study Program. "Summary of Events," St. John's University, December 22, 1965.
[4] *New York Times*, March 7, 1965.
[5] *New York Times*, March 8, 1965.
[6] *New York Times*, March 15, 1965.
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] *New York Times*, March 20, 1965.
[10] *New York Times*, March 25, 1965.
[11] *New York Times*, April 8, 1965.
[12] *White Paper I.*
[13] *Ibid.*
[14] *Los Angeles Times*, February 6, 1966.
[15] *New York Times*, July 20, 1965.
[16] *White Paper I.*
[17] *Ibid.*
[18] *Ibid.*
[19] *New York Times*, December 17, 1965.
[20] *Statutes of St. John's University*, 5.7.3–4.
[21] *Los Angeles Times*, February 6, 1966.
[22] *New York Times*, December 17, 1965.
[23] *Ibid.*
[24] *New York Times*, December 18, 1965.
[25] *New York Times*, December 19, 1965.

[26] *New York Times*, December 20, 1965.
[27] *New York Times*, December 21, 1965.
[28] *White Paper II.*
[29] *Los Angeles Times*, February 6, 1966.
[30] Quoted by Jimmy Breslin, *New York Herald Tribune*, December 30, 1965.
[31] *White Paper II.*
[32] *Brooklyn Tablet*, January 27, 1966.
[33] *Ibid.*
[34] *Ibid.*
[35] *Ibid.*
[36] *The Downtowner*, January 19, 1966.
[37] *AAUP Bulletin*, June, 1966.
[38] *White Paper II.*
[39] *New York Times*, June 12, 1966.

Aftermath of the Revolt

THOSE WHO remained in the metropolitan area picketed the first day of class at St. John's on September 19, 1966. Total enrollment at the university according to administration figures, was about 12,300, as compared to 13,125 the previous year and the union had kept its promise that it would not cease in its efforts until those who were fired were offered reinstatement. Dr. Israel Kugler and Father Peter O'Reilly coordinated efforts to keep the strike alive. They submitted a brief to the Middle States Accrediting Association, urging them to discontinue St. John's accreditation. On November 16, 1966, the academic freedom committee of the American Civil Liberties Union urged the Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools to revoke St. John's accreditation. On December 1, 1966, the Association announced that St. John's was on probation.

[26] *New York Times*, December 20, 1965.
[27] *New York Times*, December 21, 1965.
[28] *White Paper II.*
[29] *Los Angeles Times*, February 6, 1966.
[30] Quoted by Jimmy Breslin, *New York Herald Tribune*, December 30, 1965.
[31] *White Paper II.*
[32] *Brooklyn Tablet*, January 27, 1966.
[33] *Ibid.*
[34] *Ibid.*
[35] *Ibid.*
[36] *The Downtowner*, January 19, 1966.
[37] *AAUP Bulletin*, June, 1966.
[38] *White Paper II.*
[39] *New York Times*, June 12, 1966.

Aftermath of the Revolt

THOSE WHO remained in the metropolitan area picketed the first day of class at St. John's on September 19, 1966. Total enrollment at the university according to administration figures, was about 12,300, as compared to 13,125 the previous year and the union had kept its promise that it would not cease in its efforts until those who were fired were offered reinstatement. Dr. Israel Kugler and Father Peter O'Reilly coordinated efforts to keep the strike alive. They submitted a brief to the Middle States Accrediting Association, urging them to discontinue St. John's accreditation. On November 16, 1966, the academic freedom committee of the American Civil Liberties Union urged the Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools to revoke St. John's accreditation. On December 1, 1966, the Association announced that St. John's was on probation.

ACADEMIC PROBATION

St. John's University was ordered to show cause why it should not lose its accreditation, and was given until December 31, 1967, to "correct institutional weaknesses" and bring itself "into the mainstream of American higher education in the twentieth century." The Middle States report * stated:

> The unfortunate events at St. John's are symptomatic of serious institutional weaknesses that cannot be allowed to continue. Indeed if this weakness is not corrected, it is predictable that there will develop such deterioration of educational effectiveness that loss of accreditation would almost inevitably ensue.

The report stated that the Association felt it was more constructive to have the university show cause why its accreditation should not be revoked than to take it away at that time. The report continued that it regarded a show cause order as only slightly less severe than revocation and further stated:

> Actions of this sort are more numerous than might be suspected. There is rarely a time when one or more institutions are not under a requirement by the Commission either to improve their educational effectiveness or to suffer loss of accreditation. In every such case in the last decade, at least satisfactory improvement has been made and revocation of accreditation avoided.
>
> As a matter of fact, revocation of accreditation should be employed only as a last resort, because its effects are so widespread. They are not limited to the institution as such, but affect students and alumni, and may very well entail unpredictable side effects. The institution itself may not be the principal victim of revocation of accreditation when its far-reaching effects are considered.

* The report is reprinted in full in Appendix C.

When probation was announced, an official statement proclaimed that the university would "welcome the opportunity to work with this group over the next year to create an even greater St. John's University."

The union was not satisfied with the report. Dr. Israel Kugler, president of the UFCT, noted that it was completely inadequate. The UFCT newspaper, *Action*, took particular exception to certain parts of the report. It claimed that the decision was inadequate; it prolonged a problem that should be corrected immediately, and permitted St. John's "to develop a mythology of reform while the crime of last December goes unredressed." The *Action* article continued:

> How can we characterize the acceptance by the Commission that the St. John's trustees acted responsibly in the belief that the action taken was necessary to avert the destruction of the institution and to prevent riots and bloodshed? This is a fantasy, and for a governing board even to put it forth questions not only its responsibility but its sanity as well. Indeed, if a Sanity Commission is not necessary, shouldn't due process determine whether or not a clear and present danger exists?
>
> For accreditation to continue on this definition of responsibility would cause it to continue if Dr. Goebbels, as Rector of the University of Berlin, together with his trustees, fired Jewish and Liberal professors on the grounds of a worldwide Jewish conspiracy.

At a rally on January 3, 1967, which marked the first

anniversary of the strike, Father O'Reilly took particular issue with the passage in the report which read: "Even so, alternative procedures, such as the granting of leaves of absence for research, the assignment of non-teaching duties, or similar devices that could not be interpreted as impugning the professional status of the teachers could have been utilized." Father O'Reilly suggested that the Middle States Association had achieved a "breakthrough in semantic confusion." He pointed out that the commission was merely stating that other devices could have been used to get rid of those who disagreed with the Administration. He added that the Middle States Association had not mentioned exactly what St. John's had to do to show cause.

On January 6, 1967, St. John's announced plans to step up its self-study program. It established university-wide evaluating committees and a timetable for their recommendations. Miss Margaret Kelly, dean of academic development, was appointed chairman of the coordinating and steering committees for the project. Students and faculty members were quick to point out that St. John's was sincerely interested in making reforms. Concern over redressing the grievances of those teachers who were summarily dismissed seemed to be missing.

Pressures from outside agencies, however, continued to mount. *Action* reported that Samuel Hendel, chairman of the academic freedom committee of the American Civil Liberties Union, wrote to Albert E. Meder, chairman of the Commission on Institutions of Higher Education of the Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. The letter, dated January 26, 1967, stated:

> We still feel that the central issue in this dispute, which has not been squarely faced by the Commission in its report, is the unprecedented de facto suspensions of a considerable number of faculty members without charges or specifications. We say this in full recognition that the Commission's strong statement that it will look for evidence of a sincere attempt to alleviate the consequences of this act implies that its eventual decision on accreditation will depend in part on a satisfactory redress of the teachers' grievances.

Dean Meder replied:

> We believe, however, that St. John's must make its own decision for itself and not be told what it must do. Hopefully it will find the right course of action. If it does not, the Commission can, I trust, be counted on to take appropriate action.

The UFCT continued to try to resolve the dispute. On February 8, Israel Kugler, president of the UFCT, wrote to the board of trustees and suggested that a conference be held as soon as possible, either directly or under the auspices of a third party, such as the American Arbitration Association. Kugler asked for a reinstatement of all faculty affected by the dispute, including those who left in protest, and the right of faculty members at St. John's to join any organization of their choosing. If these two items were acceptable, the UFCT would withdraw all lawsuits, communicate with the AAUP, Middle States, and various learned societies that the boycott of St. John's was ended, and end all publicity concerning the dispute. On February 21, Father Cahill replied as follows:

> I write in reference to your letter of February 8, 1967 . . . to restate as I did on December 7, 1966, that for the many reasons set forth in our previous communications to you,

we do not feel a discussion between us would be appropriate or constructive. Your labor organization has no status with this university in law or in fact. Its only relationship to St. John's is as a plaintiff litigant. We accordingly again decline your request.

St. John's could not, however, dismiss the pressure of the accreditation problem as easily as it dismissed the UFCT. On March 7, 1967, Father Cahill sent letters to those who had been fired and offered to submit the dispute to the American Arbitration Association, which would be empowered to make a final and arbitrary award. The proposal differed from Dr. Kugler's only in that all those who had struck in protest were not included along with the dismissed teachers. Otherwise there was little appreciable difference.*

It is significant to note that the university's offer of arbitration was limited to a single issue—whether the university, under the conditions then prevailing, had acted reasonably in firing those teachers. The possible award therefore was limited to reinstatement, and the strictures against making the hearing public would naturally limit those involved from finally revealing the nature of the charges (assuming they were going to be able to find out). The "absolute guarantee" that the university wanted against libel and slander suits (a guarantee that many of the discharged teachers did not want) would have made it possible for the university to present their testimony with impunity.

St. John's, by offering to deal with each fired teacher individually, hoped to offset any inroads made by the UFCT, even though all the dismissed teachers were now

* Dr. Kugler's letter to the board of trustees, and Father Cahill's letter to the dismissed teachers are reprinted in full in Appendix B.

union members. The university's move was calculated to pacify the Middle States Association and the AAUP. The UFCT was placed in a precarious position. Acceptance of the offer would abandon those who had struck; if the UFCT refused, public opinion would shift in favor of St. John's. The public would merely believe that St. John's had finally relented, and that the union was reneging on arbitration. If the dismissed teachers refused on the grounds that their colleagues were neglected, spokesmen from St. John's would point out that perhaps they had something to hide. The UFCT chose to accept the offer cautiously, and stated that it "was desirous of a speedy resolution of all the outstanding issues, not just the issues which St. John's had selected."

On March 7, 1967, St. John's University offered the eighteen summarily dismissed professors binding arbitration of the dispute before the American Arbitration Association. The United Federation of College Teachers on June 19, 1967, as representative for the dismissed faculty members, reported that thirteen of the professors would accept an offer of binding outside arbitration by the American Arbitration Association, despite St. John's failure "to meet the requirements of fair procedure in several important ways." It was also announced at this time that four professors would continue to seek legal redress in the courts of law.

The eighteen professors reported that St. John's had repeatedly refused to accept the findings and advice of such distinguished bodies as the American Civil Liberties Union and the American Association of University Professors as to what would constitute traditional standards of justice.

The following quotations indicate that more desirable procedures had more than once been recommended:

> . . . we urged that accreditation of St. John's be revoked pending the reinstatement of the dismissed faculty with assurances of academic due process if charges should be subsequently brought. (From the American Civil Liberties Union's January 26, 1967, letter to the Middle States Association's Commission on Institutions of Higher Education)

> The desirable procedure, recommended by this Association to St. John's University, would have been the offer of reinstatement to the dismissed faculty members without prejudice. The University, if it wished, might then have brought charges against the faculty members and offered hearings under the procedures developed by this Association and the Association of American Colleges or through some alternative acceptable to all concerned.
>
> It is, however, a gratifying development that St. John's University has now given recognition to the denial of academic due process in these dismissals by offering to submit the cases of the faculty members for decision by the American Arbitration Association. (From the national American Association of University Professors statement following St. John's announcement of March 7, 1967)

St. John's still chooses to ignore the findings and advice of such distinguished bodies, and still fails, in this counterproposal of arbitration prior to reinstatement, to adhere to traditional standards of justice.

St. John's further insistence that all hearings be conducted in secrecy imposes an unusual and unjust condition on both the professors involved and the interested members of the public. Since the university has refused to require that the findings and decisions on all of the issues raised in

the hearings be made public and that the decision also contain whatever charges and specifications the university may bring, there is no guarantee that anything very useful will be accomplished.

The university still refuses to allow the dismissed teachers to be represented by the United Federation of College Teachers. It still abridges the freedom of its present faculty members to organize or to join existing unions. St. John's still resists any countervailing power which an organized faculty would wield. The following statement, collectively agreed to by the eighteen dismissed professors, sums up the reaction to their acceptance of the offer.

> The University's stated purpose of the arbitration proposal, namely a fair and final resolution of this matter of the dismissals, cannot be achieved by arbitration of this sort, because full justice will not be accorded to all persons. Nor, for that matter, will such a goal be achieved by the lawsuits pending in the courts. Nevertheless, in order to permit at least a partial finding to be made which will be binding on certain parties, we eighteen . . . have collectively decided to pursue both courses of action by submitting some of our cases for arbitration while continuing others in the courts of law.

The Natural History of a St. John's Student

THE TYPICAL St. John's student * has been educated in a tradition of "negativism, a family operational perception of the order of virtues, provincialism, and a certain moral-intellectual arrogance." [1]

He is a product of his socialization process and must be understood in terms of the values he internalizes and the roles he has incorporated and enacts. These roles are defined by the social institutions in which he is born and in which he matures. His memory, his sense of time and space, his motives, his conceptions of self and of social reality are shaped by a specific configuration of roles he incorporates.

* The student of whom we speak is not a statistical configuration. He represents in our judgment the "ideal type" of student whose working-class Catholic reality is reinforced by St. John's University.

For the first twenty-one years of his life, this typical student is immersed in three institutions of socialization within his working-class Catholic subculture: family, Church, and school. The Church and Catholic school system manifest themselves as distinct Catholic institutions. In a complicated way, their goals and values are different from those of the secular city; they concern themselves with spiritual well-being, and have shown a historical lack of interest in the problems of the world. Whether the Catholic family is relatively as distinct from other family groups is debatable. Father John Thomas thinks that the Catholic family forms a distinct subculture. In *The American Catholic Family*, he writes that Catholic families:

> can be identified as a distinct religious minority in our society.They embrace a common set of family values and associated practices which differ in some important respects from those generally accepted by the culture in which they live . . . these family ideals are based on a set of ultimate value premises which Catholics clearly recognize and cherish since they are authoritatively promulgated by a teaching Church which Catholics believe is of divine origin. These characteristics enable us to distinguish the Catholic minority in American society. To be sure, although other groups may support essentially the same family ideals as the Catholic minority, in no other are these ideals and the ultimate value premises upon which they rest so clearly defined.[2]

These three institutions help to maintain a Catholic subculture which differs somewhat from the rest of society. This is not to say that this subculture is static, or that it represents all of American Catholicism. John Leo suggests that the "new-breed," post-Vatican II Catholic:

resists any idea that he is an agent of the Church operating in society; he tends to be indifferent to institutional claims. Often he will bypass even the most progressive Catholic organizations in favor of work for secular service groups. The network of Catholic interracial councils, for instance, seems to hold less appeal for him than the established non-religious civil-rights organizations. In short, he is anxious to enter the mainstream of American life, to end Catholic separatism and to identify Catholic efforts with the disenfranchised instead of the status quo.[3]

However, everything is not proceeding apace. The working-class or lower-middle-class Catholic in certain enclaves in Brooklyn and Queens is not at all as open to change as is Mr. Leo's new-breed American Catholic. New potentials for change that seem more achievable in the post-conciliar atmosphere are the charge (even the obsession) of a relatively small minority of Catholic liberals. They themselves are aware of living in a ghetto, are conscious that they are more isolated from the mainstream of Catholic institutions than they are from the rest of the liberal society. They maintain an air of liberation, but their conversations are filled with in-group gossip.

Cardinal Spellman, in his annual Christmas visit to United States troops, made a speech in Vietnam in December, 1966, that most observers interpreted as harshly hawkish. No doubt, the vast majority of his constituency, and the sense of St. John's, was on his side. It was nothing new; the Cardinal has been voicing "my country, right or wrong" sentiments for a long time. A few weeks later the Catholic Peace Fellowship staged a quiet vigil in front of the Chancery. About one hundred persons, including five

priests (all Jesuits), took part. They represent a small minority of the Catholic population of New York (as did the Catholic laymen and clerics in the Chicago housing marches) and a segment that is committed to the Church but is alienated from its social manifestations. They read the liberal Catholic journals, form their responses to the problems of the modern world from their existential experience, and cultivate their own *modus vivendi* to straddle the gap between the twentieth century and the Church's institutions. Many are hanging on by the skin of their teeth.

Changes which seem so necessary to the liberal Catholic intelligentsia are sources of fear to the working class. The framework of ethnocentricity, defensiveness, puritanism, fundamentalism, narrowness, prejudice, and lack of social responsibility, defines the institutions of family, Church, and school for the St. John's student. It becomes a cherished emotional and intellectual deposit and remains a primary influence unless it is shattered by powerful conflicting experiences. At St. John's, this working-class Catholic conception of reality was not even dented by such a spectacular event as a faculty strike that won the overwhelming approval of the academic community. In an age of student disaffection and rebellion, the St. John's student is a kind of anomaly, a relic. For a few days during the strike there was a murmur of revolution on the Jamaica and Brooklyn campuses, but it died quickly. Pete Hamill wrote in the *New York Post:*

No university with a student body as feeble as that of St. John's could hope for even the façade of revolution, let alone the fact. Most students resumed the trek through St.

John's, preparing for the grand adventure of a lifetime at the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.[4]

The bland caution and social disinterestedness of the St. John's student illustrates Thomas O'Dea's accusation that American Catholicism has failed to create an intellectual life, a vigorous and creative intellectual tradition, in this country.[5]

EARLY CATHOLIC EDUCATION

Before any attempt is made to analyze the educational background of the St. John's student, it should be recalled that he is the product of the parochial grammar school system of eight to ten years ago. The *aggiornamento* was declared well after that experience.

The St. John's student was educated in a system where the techniques of teaching were authoritarian, where memorizing and repetition were stressed. Students were instructed to accept certain religious propositions without questioning, and this tendency toward acceptance became habit and spread to other disciplines. Mary Perkins Ryan, in *Are Parochial Schools the Answer?*, relates an anecdote concerning this authoritarian method of teaching:

> There was, for example, the father who came home one day to find his household in an uproar because his six-year-old son was saying that his seven-year-old daughter had told him God was a "green bean." She said no, what she really had said was "supreme bean"; that was what she had learned in school. After a moment it dawned on the father what she meant was "Supreme Being." But when he tried to find out what this phrase meant to his daughter, she only grew tearful and exclaimed, "Don't bother me with what it means. It's what we say when Sister asks us who God is." [6]

Some of the younger lay teachers at St. John's used to test such habit by offering outrageous propositions like, "The Protestant Reformation came before the Middle Ages," to see if they would get any reaction. On the whole, the overwhelming majority seemed oblivious, and one had the feeling that some would have gladly parroted it back on an examination. For the St. John's student, such habits started early. As one student told us, "You don't argue with the nuns; they don't want you to, and you learn this very quickly."

In order to provide a framework for analyzing the Catholic elementary school experience, we will use Father Joseph H. Fichter's comprehensive study of a midwestern parochial grammar school, entitled *Parochial School: A Sociological Study*, as a model for comparison.[7] We do not agree with Father Fichter's contention that St. Luke's, the school studied, is a typical school. Probably no Catholic school can be called typical, for each school tends to mirror the educational philosophy of its bishop. As Edward Wakin and Father Joseph Scheuer point out in their work on American Catholicism, *The De-Romanization of the American Catholic Church:* "The Catholic system of schools is really 148 systems, some well organized, some chaotic behind the façade of a single commitment to the Catholic education of Catholic children." [8] St. Luke's will, however, be used as a model of what a Catholic school should be, and we will compare some of Father Fichter's findings to

what the St. John's student was exposed to in his journey through Catholic education in New York.*

Father Fichter compares the punishment of students at St. Luke's to disciplinary measures in the local public school he used as a control group. Public school teachers occasionally resort to corporal punishment, whereas such methods are prohibited at St. Luke's.

In New York, public school teachers may not use corporal punishment to discipline children. In the parochial schools, however, corporal punishment was used not only to maintain discipline, but also as a motivational device for learning. When we showed Father Fichter's remarks to a St. John's student, he laughed and said, "Who's he kidding? All the nuns I ever had belted the hell out of me." Another was scandalized and asked, "How can they keep order if they can't hit?"

St. John's students related to us instances of broken noses, blackened eyes, and bruises received not only for disciplinary reasons but for not knowing a proof in geometry. One of the authors, himself a graduate of a New York Catholic high school, remembers seeing a classmate punched unconscious for not doing an assignment. The brother then reminded the class that Christ lost his temper in the temple. The reaction of the parents is often that the student must have done something wrong or he wouldn't have been hit. After a few such confrontations, the weary student makes excuses for his welts and accepts the system.

* We are basing our discussion of parochial schools on interviews and informal discussions with the students themselves. Immense changes have taken place and these will be dealt with later.

This use of corporal punishment has been a historically accepted device for maintaining order in Catholic schools. Irish and Italian parents were particularly in favor of it. Herbert Gans, in his work on an Italian-American community, notes that parents thought the parochial school was superior to the public school because the former expelled students with discipline problems. These problem children then attended public schools. The parents admired, above all, the nuns' ability to maintain discipline.[9]

Indeed, many Italian-American parents felt that the main purpose of the Catholic school was to train the children in self-control, obedience to religious authority, and submission to discipline. Gans suggests that nobody much cared that rote was soon forgotten. Parents were delighted that their children received hours of homework each night and were kept off the streets thereby.

Concerning the relative freedom and personal initiative of the Catholic school teacher versus the public school teacher, Father Fichter has this to say:

> The important difference here is that an area of personal initiative exists for the parochial school teacher which the public school teacher has largely lost. In contrast to all of the superimposed and restricted practices of the public schools, St. Luke's parochial school seems an island of freedom with a relaxed and informal atmosphere. The teacher can make decisions on the spot, and what is more significant, she can permit some freedom of choice to her pupils . . .
>
> The popular stereotype of the parochial school teacher, especially the nun, as compared to the public school teacher, seems to arise from a confusion of the private and professional lives of these teachers. As a professional, that is, in the actual performance of the teacher role, the parochial school

teacher is freer and more independent than the public school teacher.[10]

Michael Novak, however, suggests an entirely different picture of a certain type of Catholic school nun. He writes:

> Fresh from the novitiate they would come, two or so years of college work in their heads, to cope with elementary-school classrooms, whose average student enrollment was 38. Some harassed pastors loaded 80 to 100 children in a classroom rather than turn applicants away. And the sisters, unlike public-school teachers, were still trying to live according to medieval monastic standards, as well as to acquire professional competence and also to answer all requests made upon them.[11]

In many Catholic high schools in New York (especially those the St. John's student tended to attend), the conditions were basically the same—unqualified teachers, fear used as a teaching device, and the lack of academic freedom. In the high schools, because the student was older and the curriculum more complex, the shaky quality of the educational program was even more noticeable.

In New York, students are usually separated by sex on the high school level. The boys are taught by brothers and priests, the girls by nuns. With the exception of a few high schools, considered by educators to be on a par with the public high schools, Catholic high schools in New York are inadequate. The lack of qualified teachers is particularly noticeable in math and the sciences. This is true as well of Catholic colleges. Knapp and Goodrich, in their study of the origins of American scientists, pointed out that Catholic colleges and universities lie among the least productive 10 percent of all institutions and are singularly unproductive

in contributing scientists.[12] Even more damaging was a study done by Knapp and Greenbaum a year later. They stated that they had expected Catholic institutions to make relatively large contributions to the field of humanities. They found, however, that the schools, exceptionally unproductive in all areas of scholarship, achieved their best record in the field of science.[13]

The social reality for the St. John's student stresses formalism, authoritarianism, clericalism, moralism, and defensiveness which are, according to Thomas O'Dea, the five characteristics which basically structure American Catholic society.[14] O'Dea makes an important contribution with these descriptions, which we sum up here:

Formalism

This can be divided into two categories. In intellectual formalism, demonstration replaces search, abstraction replaces experience, formulas replace content, and rationalistic elaboration replaces ontological investigation. Creative thought is inhibited.

The second element of formalism is a Catholic tendency to view the world as "finished," its essence and meaning as obvious. What is of spiritual significance has already and satisfactorily been labeled. Human fulfillment and Catholic fulfillment are not interpenetrating but separate and segregated. Human fulfillment in the secular world is only tangentially related to man's religious destiny. The call of the higher secular values in general, and of the intellectual life in particular, falls here like seed upon stony ground.

Authoritarianism

Authoritarianism inherits a misunderstanding of the role of ecclesiastical authority, seeking answers to problems from formal pronouncements. Custom and convention support the views of institutional authority. The combination of authoritarianism with formalism produces *world views* in which statements of problems bear their solutions within themselves. This effectively closes the door to debate; and since each thing can be put in its proper category, there are no answerable questions. Nothing in this orderly universe eludes a searching and humble mind. Art is functional, since it contributes to, illustrates and teaches "truths." The creative tension between the Catholic scholar and the Catholic community is too often reduced to the relationship between potential mischiefmakers and policemen. The authorities take upon themselves the intellectual functions of the community—which they are often ill-equipped to exercise.

Clericalism

Those who are charged with making ecclesiastical decisions may well see the problems, tasks, risks, and achievements of the Christian life solely from their own perspective as clerics. A tradition of powerful clerical control, in cooperation with formalism and authoritarianism, imposes its single view upon a passive and demurring laity. Because it cannot quite grasp the worth and dynamism of the intellectual vocation, it tends to belittle intellectual independence and daring. It inhibits creativity and offers the intel-

lectual refuge only if he supports the structure and the acceptable body of knowledge.

Moralism

Moralism is a reduction of religion to a series of ethical prescriptions and prohibitions, and it tends to view the world as a place of imminent moral danger to the Christian soul. Life is a series of moral problems, and its dangers are to be shunned. Moralism often tends toward ethical formalism or legalism. In such a view, life apart from the reward earned by observing moral rules has no intrinsic spiritual value; therefore natural knowledge, apart from its practical applications, which Aristotle claims, all men naturally desire, has no value either. When this neo-Jansenism is grafted onto a lower-middle-class mentality, intellectual endeavor can scarcely be highly regarded.

Defensiveness

Defensiveness is the result of a long history of minority status and disability as a victim of prejudice or even persecution. It produces a kind of intellectual and ethical rigidity. All activities are informed by a strongly felt need to repulse attack, real or imagined. Defensiveness disinclines one to examine one's condition in a frank and calm manner.

The student who has been inundated by these emotional responses would be apt to develop characteristic ways of accommodating himself. This might be reinforced by his

parents and the Church until he had developed a workable method of avoiding anxiety and of gaining approval. The student merely reacts normally when he avoids anxiety. Given a choice between a proven system and unknown alternatives which may have dangers, he tends to embrace the known. An unquestioning, anti-intellectual personality type can emerge. By the time this individual reaches college, his startling lack of initiative may exhibit itself in an acceptance of, even preference for, a continuity of a way of life he has mastered and grown comfortable with. He passes to the next stage and is ready for St. John's.

CHANGES IN THE PAROCHIAL SCHOOL SYSTEM?

The viability of the parochial school system is increasingly challenged. One of its severest critics, Mary Perkins Ryan, points out that:

> a general education under Catholic auspices is no longer as necessary or even as desirable as in the past. As things are, the maintenance of our Catholic school system—not to speak of its extension—takes up a large part of our available resources, resources now needed for urgent religious tasks. Even if some form of public aid were to relieve us of part of the financial burden, should we, then, plan for the continued maintenance of our Catholic school system in the future? [15]

Mrs. Ryan, who had a reputation in Catholic circles as an author of liturgical works, created quite a stir. Father Michael O'Neill, S.J., pointed out in a recent article in

America that Mrs. Ryan's book made clear the need for careful and flexible approaches to the question of parochial schools. Both sides of the debate, he said—those who think parochial schools are excellent and critics of the parochial system—have been hampered by rigidity and lack of factual support.[16]

The inherent problems of speculating about the value of Catholic parochial education are obviously complex. What is its purpose? Is it serving it? Are parochial schools superior or inferior? These questions have been variously answered. Each of the studies used as evidence to support a particular position can be interpreted in as many ways. For example, *Catholic Schools in Action*, the Notre Dame University study published in 1966, concluded that Catholic schools are superior both in academic achievement and in learning potential. However, the authors concede that such superiority must be attributed to some degree to the selective admission policies of these schools. Father O'Neill points out this "middle-classness" of the parochial school:

> Children of educated parents with high-income, white-collar jobs are far more likely to be in parochial schools than children whose parents are in low-income, blue-collar, less educated groups.
>
> According to a national survey made in 1962 by sociologists Andrew M. Greeley and Peter H. Rossi, under the auspices of the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago, only 20 percent of children from families with incomes under $2,000 attended parochial elementary schools, as against 70 percent of children from families earning over $15,000 yearly.[17]

The results show that Catholic-educated children are

academically privileged, but middle-class children are academically privileged to begin with; therefore, what is the answer? Is Mary Perkins Ryan right when she states that the Catholic school does not adequately prepare the Catholic student for the modern world? The student spends most of his day in a sheltered, Catholic environment and is not exposed to the secular world in which he will live his adult life.[18]

Are Greeley and Rossi correct when they state that "no confirmation was found for the notion that Catholic schools are 'divisive'? There is divisiveness in American society, but it is apparently more on religion than on religious education."[19] We don't pretend to know the answers to these questions. We have observed at St. John's University the kind of young adults the parochial school system in New York City has encouraged. As Rosemary Lauer remarked, "Any thought of rebellion or even freedom of action was beaten out of them long ago." The St. John's student has come from a predominantly working-class environment whose values the Church and parochial education have supported. We report merely what occurred there. The burden of proof lies upon the parochial school defenders to show that St. John's and its students are not generally indicative of the Catholic educational system.

ST. JOHN'S UNIVERSITY

The freshman at St. John's has little anxiety; he is ready for more of the same. He will read what he is told to read,

memorize it, and hand it back on an examination. He will "pay, pray, and obey." He will become what the Vincentians appear to consider an educated Catholic layman, and he will be taught in a university which gave a gymnasium priority over a library.

The student enters the classroom and is faced with a raised stage upon which the professor stands. Authority is here, as everywhere at St. John's, combined with visible symbols. The teacher is to be looked up to; he is to be respected not necessarily because of his competence but because he represents authority. He is not to be questioned or challenged. One of us has taught at three other colleges in the metropolitan area, and was startled by the formalized deference shown at St. John's. Because he was young, the author had always to face an initial challenge from the students. The attitude at the other colleges was "He's only a few years older than I am; what does he know?" or "Show me that you know something. Then maybe I'll listen." At St. John's the atmosphere was quite different. The only crack in the armor of deference came when he remarked that the social sciences do not have all the answers and that answers may at best be only relative. The students were incredulous that a teacher would make such an admission; they needed answers. This general attitude was to be manifested clearly in the student reaction to the faculty strike.*

* To this issue, Rosemary Lauer adds that she was told by one of the "striking" students that: "If you had all been taken out on the campus and shot, the students would have said, 'Well, they must have done *something* wrong,' or 'Well, we can't take any action until we have the facts.'"

STUDENT REACTIONS

"The strike was over when the students received their grades," one of the striking teachers remarked. He was right, though some stubborn optimists had at first refused to acknowledge it. From the moment the striking teachers first told the administration that they would not submit final grades because teacher-student relations had been ruptured, the students began to show their antagonism. "They're *our* grades," they said, "what right do you have to hold them back?" Amazingly, the administration concurred. The fact that grades could be based on only eleven weeks of a term was lost in the shuffle. At this point many of the strikers did hand in grades. Some professed to feel sorry for the "helpless" students and even corrected final examinations. Those who refused to submit grades found that the administration and covering teachers solved the problem by issuing grades themselves. It turned out that these were, on the whole, far higher than the students would normally have received. After the grades were issued, the students understood the wisdom of the administration's action. Examples of upgrading were numerous. When a Spanish class previously given by Mrs. Maria DeFina, a striking teacher, was taken over by a Vincentian, eight students were failing and C and D students were numerous. The final roster sheet showed no failures and an inexplicable burgeoning of A's and B's. The music department provides another dramatic example. The average grade for all work done in five introductory music sections had been 76.3 percent or C+. When Dr. Ethel Thurston, the teacher, joined

the picket line, a Vincentian shipped in from Florida assumed her classes. Apparently musical genius flourished under his tutelage; the average grade rose from 76.3 percent to 92.8 percent.

One final examination given by a Vincentian covering a course in English deserves a place in the annals of academic humor. Some of the true or false questions follow:

1. Originality of thought is essential to poetry.
2. John Donne was a vigorous and original poet.
3. Medieval audiences were shocked at the sex in Chaucer's poetry.
4. Shakespeare had a wholesome view of sex.
5. The entire 17th century was a highly moral time in England.
6. The 17th century was an age of great men.
7. Chaucer wrote in the Christian tradition.
8. Shakespeare wrote in the Christian tradition.
9. Nobody writes in the Christian tradition.

Most of the students who received higher grades were able to satisfy themselves that all was well. The only other time the students actively participated again in the strike occurred after the Middle States Association had issued their probation decision. The students, now faced with loss of accreditation, began to rally against the UFCT, which according to them was determined to destroy St. John's University. A demonstration was organized by the students to counter-picket the picketing called by the union on December 15, 1966, to celebrate the first anniversary of the firings. Sonny Accardi, president of the Brooklyn student council, told one of the authors that "we didn't get a chance to make a decision last year." Gloria Kuzmyak, a columnist

on *The Downtowner* and a leader of NSA at St. John's, added, "We want to show that St. John's students are interested, that we're not the sheep we've been pictured as being." Accardi then chipped in with, "I believe that the university is making improvements. The old self-study was a start. We feel that we are worthy of accreditation."

The students marched across the street from the picketers. At least five hundred sang the St. John's song from song sheets provided by the administration. The students were fighting to preserve their accreditation; they wanted their diplomas to mean something. They had waited too long, however. Their grades, their diplomas—passports to prosperity and the middle class—have little value in the academic community. Still, most St. John's students will not enter the academic or intellectual world, but will go rather to the organizations and institutions which will further reinforce their accustomed roles. One pragmatic business administration student said forthrightly: "The business world will respect the St. John's student for what he did. They don't want anyone who rocks the boat."

One of the authors conducted a class in industrial sociology with a majority of business administration students. One of the assigned readings was *The Organization Man* by William Whyte, Jr., an attack on the personality type produced by the organization. The students were willing to accept the thesis that organization life breeds conformity, belongingness, and anti-intellectualism, but they saw this as the price one paid. It was, as well, the price they had paid for acceptance and success in the Catholic school system. In a sense, they were perfectly prepared, admirably "educated," to take their places in the corporation and business organization.

In one class we were discussing the fact that certain large companies interview a prospective executive's wife even before they interview him; if the wife is not found suitable, her husband's chances are diminished. When asked what he thought of this policy, one student replied, "Well, you have to be careful who you marry," and the majority concurred.

Since authority is all to the St. John's student, institutions and the status quo must be preserved; neither can be questioned. St. John's nurtures devotees of the radical right, the individual who Daniel Bell says "builds up an image of the children of darkness and the children of light." [20]

The political ideology at St. John's is an almost eccentric brand of social escapism and political reaction which passes for conservatism. It is not the political conservatism of Clinton Rossiter, but is rather a combination of the temptations and conforms of authoritarianism and "status politics."

The truism that youth rebels against the beliefs of parents is oddly absent in the temperament of the St. John's student; when he rebels, he does so in remarkably similar style and context as his parents and mentors. His dissent, Richard Hofstadter writes, is "pseudo-conservatism" based on a relentless demand for conformity. Although these "pseudo-conservatives" believe that they are conservatives, they are really deeply dissatisfied with American institutions and traditions. They bear little resemblance to the classical conservative and are, in fact, critical of the present brand of political conservatism.[21]

The Irish set the tone of the Church in New York and administer the institutions which support this mixture of Catholicism and pseudo-conservatism.

Catholicism in America is quite different from Continental Catholicism. The former was founded by the Irish, and they still largely dominate it. Will Herberg describes Irish Catholicism as "English-speaking, puritanical, democratic, popular, and activistic, but also with little of the traditional Catholic inwardness."[22] Ireland was predominantly peasant in structure with a largely alien aristocracy, and the priest was virtually the only educated man. The Irish thus brought with them an intense reverence for the clergy, which was very different from the prevailing attitudes in England and on the Continent. This reverence for the clergy was to clash fifty years later with the immigrant Italian, who, burned by the Pope's opposition to the unification of Italy, carried vestiges of anticlericalism. The Irish have managed to so dominate the Church at least in part because of the anticlericalism of the Italians.* The attitude of the Italian male is influenced by his disassociation from the idea of the priesthood as it exists. Celibacy is opposed to the Italian-American subculture, which emphasizes a certain kind of expression of virility and definition of manhood. Gans recounts an incident in an Italian-American community he studied. He recalls that there was "a rumor that one of the few priests who gained . . . affection . . . was said to be keeping a mistress. This rumor was told to me with

* The average Italian-American student at St. John's, and there are many such, is, we would suggest, "Americanized." For Catholics, this can be read, "Irish-Catholicized."

relish and pretended disapproval that reflected respect for the priest's manliness."[23]

The Irish-American clergy were respected and were deferred to; the Italian-American clergy were not. The Irish domination of the Church was not even challenged.*

Politics was another matter. Since 1945, the formula for ticket balancing in New York City has required that an Italian-American be nominated for one of the three major city-wide posts. Carmine DeSapio took over the Irish-dominated Tammany Hall in 1947. Vincent Impelliteri was elected Mayor in 1950. However, as of 1967, there is only one bishop of Italian-American origin in New York. The Irish have held an institutional monopoly. Herberg points out that the most striking feature of Irish Catholicism is the fusion of religion and nationalism in the Irish mind.[24] Dorothy Dohen, in *Nationalism and American Catholicism*, also calls attention to the nationalistic character of the Irish-Americans:

> In the tie-in of American nationalism with Irish nationalism, what mattered more than whether the Irish immigrants actually fanned the flame of the American Revolution was that in spirit (in retrospect) they thought they did. Ireland's enemy and America's enemy were the same, and the Irish immigrant to America had apparently no trouble in identifying the loyalty he bore America with the loyalty he bore his native land.[25]

This fusion has produced "superpatriotism." The Irishman, adopting this country as his own, transferred Irish to

* The Irish clerics were fellow sufferers with the laity of the English persecution; the Italian clerical class was often, or seemed to be, allied with the oppressors.

American nationalism. As Herberg states, he approached Catholicism and patriotism with the same religious fervor. The Irish Catholic's Americanism involved more than a mere sense of national belonging. "Irish Catholic" and "American" became almost identical in his mind.[26]

Cardinal Spellman's recent message urging "total victory" in Vietnam exemplifies this "my country, right or wrong" mentality of the Irish-American Catholic Church. This attitude, combined with the Church's established anticommunist policy, culminated in the overwhelming support the New York Irish gave Senator Joseph McCarthy in the early fifties. McCarthy got his largest response from the Irish in New York when he attacked the white Anglo-Saxon Protestant establishment. Harvard University, the State Department, and the United States Army were subverting the country, and the Irish Catholics were called upon to blunt the communist threat that seemed imminent.

The conservative Irish hierarchy of the Catholic Church made no attempt to hide its support for McCarthy. Despite the opposition of the Democratic city administration, Senator McCarthy was invited in 1954 to address the annual communion breakfast of the Police Department Holy Name Society of the New York Diocese.

Seymour Martin Lipset, the political sociologist, analyzed the 1952 Roper survey and the 1954 International Research Associates survey.[27] Both surveys show, he states, that Irish and Italian Catholics were among the most pro-McCarthy groups. The two surveys are compared below.

Lipset concludes from the table that descendants of old American Protestant families opposed McCarthy; but he

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RELIGION AND ETHNIC BACKGROUND AND ATTITUDES TO MC CARTHY

Percent Difference Between Approvers and Disapprovers

Roper 1952			I. N.R.A. 1954		
Catholics	(N)		Catholics	(N)	
4th Generation Amer.	(198)	−11	No Answer	(252)	−2
Ireland	(81)	+18	Ireland	(545)	+5
Italy	(61)	+16	Italy	(393)	+8
Germany	(54)	+13	Germany & Australia	(424)	−6
Great Britain	(13)	*	Great Britain	(272)	+4
Poland	(36)	−6	Poland	(246)	−2
Protestants	(N)		Protestants	(N)	
4th Generation Amer.	(1190)	11	No Answer	(1037)	−22
Ireland	(29)	7	Ireland	(487)	−21
Germany	(172)	2	Germany & Australia	(1226)	−19
Great Britain	(102)	−8	Great Britain	(1814)	−25
Scandinavia	(68)	−3	Scandinavia & Holland	(851)	−25
Jews	(96)	−6	Jews	(254)	−54
Negroes	(252)	−7	Negroes	(438)	−13

* Too few cases for stable estimate.

drew disproportionately from Catholics of recent immigrant background. Lipset also calls attention to what he considers a misinterpretation by Nelson W. Polsby of a 1952 Harris poll. Lipset writes:

> Harris reports that the Irish in his 1952 sample divided evenly between support and opposition to McCarthy. Since, however, McCarthy was only supported by a minority of the entire sample, a group that was evenly split on him was more favorable than most other ethnic groups, and hence Harris should be reported as finding the Irish disproportionally in favor of McCarthy.

Lipset also found from the data that McCarthy drew immense support from those whose personality traits or social background led them to give "authoritarian" responses to items from the Authoritarian Personality scale. They were generally "intolerant of ambiguity, approved of strong leadership, and favored harsh punishment for violation of social norms."

This pseudo-conservatism has a definite economic basis in New York. There is no local chapter of CORE or NAACP at St. John's University. The Negro is a threat to the working-class Catholic in New York City, just as he is a threat to the working-class white Southerner. Gerhard Lenski writes that in the modern American city, socially significant variations exist in the mobility rates among the four major socio-religious groups. The Jewish group seems clearly the most mobile, the White Protestant is second, the Catholics third, and the Negro Protestants fourth.[28]

Although Lenski's study was done in Detroit, it is not unreasonable to assume that in New York City, many Negroes and Catholics are also in direct economic conflict. A number of Catholic intellectuals suppose this to be the reason that the Church in New York waited so long to take a stand on civil rights. The overwhelming majority of students at St. John's have taken a negative stand; they

place on their cars bumper stickers which read: "I fight poverty; I work." Concerning this, Rosemary Lauer told us:

> My own experience in dealing with students leads me to judge that the strongest moral conviction the vast majority of Catholic college graduates take away with them as a result of their education is that they have a right to private property. This, of course, is part of the Catholic establishment's preoccupation with Communism as Enemy Number One, a generally simplistic preoccupation which overlooks the suppression of the human spirit itself and concentrates on the threat to material possessions—and to the Church's freedom of operation.

This is a part of the natural history of the St. John's student, his values and beliefs, and those of his parents and a significant number of the hierarchy. All are symbiotically related. The milieu is influenced by a combination of forces which reduces the working-class, unexceptional student—at best—to ethnocentrism, pseudo-conservatism and—at worst—to totalitarian beliefs or paranoia.

ANTI-INTELLECTUALISM

The overall performance of American Catholic scholars and writers is particularly galling in light of the Church's intellectual and cultural heritage. Monsignor John Tracy Ellis lays the burden of unproductivity on "an overeagerness in Catholic circles for apologetics rather than pure scholarship." Thomas O'Dea views the problem as a reflection of a milieu that is permeated by formalism, authoritarianism, clericalism, moralism, and defensiveness. John

Donovan contends that the foundation and growth of Catholic colleges and universities were not inspired by intellectual goals in themselves, but as a response to nineteenth-century missions and the minority status of the Catholic Church in the country at the time.

Possibly, the result of these tensions is epitomized by the subculture we are describing—by a significant strain in the Catholic culture and by the anti-intellectual at St. John's University. Jimmy Breslin, an Irishman and New York columnist, addresses himself to critics of the system:

> There are some people, very anti-Irish people of course, who have had the nerve to suggest a reason why there are so few Irish writers. They say that since most of the educated Celtic extracts in New York have attended or are attending Catholic schools, and since they come out of these schools unable to write a decent telegram, that something is the matter with Catholic education.[29]

Breslin pointed out that St. John's University, then the largest Catholic university in the country, had produced only one novelist, Len Giovannetti. Since Mr. Breslin's article appeared, another graduate of St. John's has published a novel; *The Blackboard Cavalier* was written by John Morressy. John Morressy was one of the twenty academicians fired from St. John's University.

Breslin claims that Fordham University, which has an enrollment of nearly 11,000 and possesses a Phi Beta Kappa chapter, one of the few Catholic universities which does, "proudly reports" that the author of the screenplay for *Three Coins in the Fountain* is an alumnus. Manhattan College has produced two writers: Howard Breslin, who

wrote *Bad Day at Black Rock*, and William Barrett, who wrote *Lilies of the Field*. Jimmy Breslin dismisses the women's colleges: "There are a couple of Catholic colleges where Irish girls go, but they don't count because they come out and start having so many children that they can't even read a book, much less try to write one." Breslin quotes Walt Kelly as saying:

> The Irish are very active in literary circles. They join clubs to ban indecent literature. It takes a lot of time to do a thing like that, you know. Most of these indecent book dealers run behind the silly First Amendment and yðu've got to fight them. And even those dopey judges, sometimes they have the nerve to rule that a book isn't indecent at all, when everybody in the indecent book club knows it is. And do you know what I heard the other day? Some stupid guy said that he thought the Irish ought to concentrate on producing writers who would fill the market with some real writing, instead of spending all their time at the indecent book club. Did you ever hear of a more stupid thing in your life?

John Leo sees the problem of a lack of Catholic writers in a different vein. In his review of *Generation of the Third Eye*, a book of personal essays by young Catholic intellectuals, Leo calls attention to the inability of Catholics to talk about themselves.[30] He writes that the book presents a succession of people in their public roles. Leo discusses the reasons for this inability to talk about oneself, so necessary for the creative process:

> . . . by training, and by virtue of the Aristotelian-Thomistic intellectual baggage we carry around, . . . Catholics are not very well equipped to write personal essays. So much of even the best Catholic writing seems incurably scholastic, essen-

tialist, deductive—ready to generalize at the drop of a hat (as here) but reluctant or unable to give proper weight to personal experience. . . .

Then, too, as Michael Novak has pointed out elsewhere, honesty is not a highly-prized virtue in the Church. Loyalty, docility, obedience and "prudence" (popular version) are considered far more valuable. If honesty seems to conflict with one of these four, it is clear which is most likely to be sacrificed. One needs only a nodding acquaintance with Protestant, Jewish and Humanist thought in America to notice how sharply Catholics differ from the rest of the culture on this point.

The trouble with Catholic education is that it is not Catholic enough. Robert Hutchins has mentioned that the Catholic Church has the longest intellectual tradition in the contemporary world, and is conscious of this tradition. This tradition must not merely be an ideal, it must be practiced.[31] Francis Bello, in his research into the origins of young scientists, found that Catholics were notoriously lacking among his sample. He sought to explain the lack by saying that the absence of a strong scholarly tradition in a high percentage among American Catholics might account for the near absence of Catholic-born scientists.[32]

The scholarly tradition of Catholic culture seems to have slipped into other energies. American Catholic education, with its emphasis on formulas, rote memorization, and paternalism, is responsible for the dearth of Catholic intellectuals. As John J. Kane put it, "If scholars dwell in ivory towers, it may be the best example of segregated housing in the United States: so few American-born Catholics appear to occupy them." [33]

Even if Catholics produce more intellectuals as they begin

to make economic and social strides, as Seymour Warkov and Father Andrew Greeley suggest, the fact is that these intellectuals are not products of Catholic universities. Warkov and Greeley notice that parochial high school graduates are as likely as others to enroll in the top twelve graduate schools.[34] Not one of these twelve schools is Catholic.

Father Greeley's study of the intellectual aspirations of 1961 college graduates has been used to defend the "immigrant theory," which postulates that American Catholics are lagging because of their late arrival in the United States. Father Greeley writes:

> The occupational values and career plans of the Catholic graduate are not such that one could argue that Catholicism inhibits his interest in economic activity or his intellectual curiosity. The Catholic graduate comes from similar economic, social and demographic backgrounds as the average American, and there is no evidence that he comes from a group less likely to send its young people to college. . . .
>
> Nor have we been able to find any evidence that Catholics do not plan to get a Ph.D., nor to continue in graduate school nor to use their academic training in research careers.[35]

Father Greeley also contends that there was no evidence that Catholic college graduates had different career plans or occupational values than did the graduates of other colleges. Hence there was no evidence for supposed inferiority when Catholic colleges were compared with the American norm instead of, as usual, with the elite schools.

Father Greeley's studies, however, do not deal with the problem of the lack of intellectuals. In his introduction to Father Greeley's study, Peter Rossi points out that the book is not a study of American intellectuals, but deals rather

with educational aspirations. Rossi also comments on Greeley's explanation for the lack of evidence "for the alleged inferiority of Catholic colleges." He states:

> Father Greeley also finds that Catholic colleges on the average are doing as well as non-Catholic colleges as far as producing graduates eager to pursue advanced studies in the arts and sciences. I am sure that some readers will construe this finding to mean that the critical comments which have been made concerning Catholic colleges and universities are not justified. Such an interpretation cannot be sustained by Father Greeley's findings. They should be interpreted to mean that Catholic schools are just as good (or as bad) as other schools *on the average*. But it is perfectly obvious that first-rank Catholic universities with faculties and facilities to match have yet to appear on the American scene. There are few major Catholic figures in science and letters, and there are no Catholic universities which can come near to the best in non-Catholic schools. Indeed, it almost looks as if the Catholic college graduate is a step ahead of the system that produced him.

All Father Greeley has done, in the words of John Donovan, is to shift "the grounds of the debate from the intellectuals we *now* have to the intellectuals we *might* have in the years ahead. Even if his data, therefore, are accepted as valid, they do not directly reply to or discredit the criticisms which were central to the works of Monsignor Ellis and Professor O'Dea."[36] Professor Donovan adds that Father Greeley's study does not distinguish between "intellectual" and "intelligent"—a critical distinction, as Hofstadter points out. The intelligent person, Donovan says, lives *off* ideas, not *for* them, and lacks the creative and speculative mind of the intellectual. Catholic education, then, may be

producing more intelligent graduates, but it is doubtful whether it has created more intellectuals.

The system which produced the St. John's graduate has not changed much. The milieu described by Thomas O'Dea still obtains. We do not contend that St. John's is typical of all Catholic education, but it remains that Catholics have *not* become intellectuals in any significant numbers. The reasons for anti-intellectualism at St. John's are clear. The university provides the proper system for parents who want assurance that their children's successes will admit them into the middle class. St. John's services these children, their parents, and the part of the New York working-class community it serves, and it provides the Catholic community with a docile population. As Father Cahill remarked of the parents:

> And the parents won't stand for it, let me tell you that. Most of the letters I have are from parents saying, "Fight them to the death! We scrimped and saved so we could send our kids to a good Catholic school, not to NYU or Columbia or something like that." Then some teacher, we had this happen here, you know—somebody tells them to read *Lolita*. Why should they read trash like that when there are good books to read? [37] *

No matter that NYU and Columbia are considered academically and intellectually superior. They do not reinforce the social needs of the working-class Catholics; nor do they clothe him in the armor of apologetics. No matter that *Lolita* is generally considered to be a contemporary classic,

* A number of reasons were put forward after the fact to explain the dismissals. The teacher who assigned *Lolita* was *not* fired; he did, however, go out on strike.

that (in the words of Leslie Fiedler) "the perverse theme of *Lolita* parodies some myth of the Sentimental Love Religion and the cult of the child." [38]

The community St. John's serves has no interest in intellectual goals. Dr. Rosemary Lauer recalled a conversation she had with the Reverend Cyril Meyer, C.M., dean of the Graduate School at St. John's. She asked him about intellectual and academic upgrading in the graduate school, and Father Meyer told her: "The parents aren't interested in intellectual upgrading. They just want their children to get a degree." Such attitudes are, of course, true of a large number of parents, but we have never heard of any other university which openly supports them.

St. John's is not typical? The principal of a Catholic elementary school, a nun, exclaimed to the authors, "Oh, God. I hope not." It remains that these students have been socialized to accept a milieu which is permeated by formalism, authoritarianism, clericalism, moralism, and defensiveness, and which proffers apologetics and belittles intellectualism. Andrew Greeley, who has been called the company sociologist of the Catholic Church, presents a study which deals with aspirations, and asks us to believe that out of this will arise reality.

All one can safely say is that a fiasco occurred at St. John's University, and that the travesty was reinforced by the relationship between an Irish-dominated Church hierarchy, working-class parents, and an anti-intellectual clerical administration. As Wakin and Scheurer point out, the clerical administrators and the clerical professors are trapped in a conflict of roles between a religious and a scholarly commit-

ment. Usually, commitment to their particular order takes precedence.[39] Anyone who has taught in Catholic colleges is aware of it. One professor in a Jesuit institution stated that he had the impression that the Jesuits "were secretly laughing because it happened to the Vincentians. In this way it brought more credit to their own order." We have, in any case, presented St. John's as one case study.

Notes

[1] John J. O'Brien, quoted in Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot*, Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press, 1965, p. 286.

[2] John L. Thomas, S.J., *The American Catholic Family*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1956, p. 7.

[3] John Leo, "The American Catholic Is Changing," in *Minorities in a Changing World*, ed. Milton L. Barron, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967, p. 313.

[4] *New York Post*, April 21, 1966.

[5] Thomas O'Dea, *American Catholic Dilemma*, New York: Sheed and Ward, 1958, pp. 35–36.

[6] Mary Perkins Ryan, *Are Parochial Schools the Answer?*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963, pp. 63–64.

[7] Joseph H. Fichter, *Parochial School: A Sociological Study*, Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1958, p. 183.

[8] Edward Wakin and Father Joseph Scheuer, *The De-Romanization of the American Catholic Church*, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1966, p. 10.

[9] Herbert J. Gans, *The Urban Villagers*, New York: The Free Press, 1962, pp. 114–15.

[10] Fichter, *op. cit.*, p. 407.

[11] Michael Novak, "The New Nuns," *Saturday Evening Post*, July 30, 1966, p. 67.

[12] Robert H. Knapp and H. B. Goodrich, *Origins of American Scientists*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952, p. 24.

[13] Robert H. Knapp and Joseph J. Greenbaum, *The Younger*

American Scholar, His Collegiate Origins, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953, p. 99.

[14] The definition of these five characteristics is taken from O'Dea, *op. cit.*, pp. 151–61.

[15] Ryan, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

[16] Father Michael O'Neill, "Four Myths About Parochial Schools," *America*, January 21, 1967, pp. 82–83.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 83.

[18] Ryan, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

[19] Andrew M. Greeley and Peter H. Rossi, *The Education of Catholic Americans*, Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1966, p. 220.

[20] Daniel Bell, "The Dispossessed—1962," in *The Radical Right*, ed. Daniel Bell, New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., p. 8.

[21] Richard Hofstadter, "The Pseudo-Conservative Revolt," in *ibid.*, p. 76.

[22] Will Herberg, *Protestant-Catholic-Jew*, New York: Anchor Books, 1955, p. 145.

[23] Gans, *op. cit.*, pp. 111–12.

[24] Herberg, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

[25] Dorothy Dohen, *Nationalism and American Catholicism*, New York: Sheed and Ward, 1967, p. 60.

[26] Herberg, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

[27] Seymour Martin Lipset, "Three Decades of the Radical Right," in *The Radical Right*, *op. cit.*, p. 406.

[28] Gerhard Lenski, *The Religious Factor*, New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1961, p. 80.

[29] Jimmy Breslin, "Erin Go Blah," *New York Herald Tribune*, March 13, 1966.

[30] John Leo, "Review of Daniel Callahan, ed. *Generation of the Third Eye*," *National Catholic Reporter*.

[31] Robert M. Hutchins, "The Integrating Principle of Catholic Higher Education," in *American Catholicism and the Intellectual Life*, eds. Frank Christ and Gerard Sherry, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1959, p. 111.

[32] Francis Bello, "The Young Scientists," *Fortune*, XLIX, June, 1954, p. 143.

[33] John J. Kane, "American Catholics and Scholarship," *The Catholic World*, CLXXXII, December, 1955, p. 167.

[34] Seymour Warkov and Andrew Greeley, "Parochial School Origins and Educational Achievement," *American Sociological Review*, XXXI, June, 1966, p. 413.

[35] Andrew M. Greeley, *Religion and Career*, New York: Sheed and Ward, 1963, p. 137.

[36] John D. Donovan, "Creating Anti-Intellectuals?," *The Commonwealth*, October 2, 1964, p. 39.

[37] *Los Angeles Times*, February 8, 1966.

[38] Leslie A. Fiedler, *Love and Death in the American Novel*, New York: Stein and Day, 1966, p. 336.

[39] Wakin and Scheuer, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

The Faculty

ST. JOHN'S offers what Dr. George Shuster calls "the old ghetto type of education." There is a question of whether such an institution should call itself a university in the broader sense of the word. It resembles the idea of the university, but is, in fact, an indoctrination center, a house organ. Its faculty members are, needless to say, caught up in the aims and attitudes of those who run the institution. In the previous chapter we described the orientation of the students. We will now try to demonstrate why a substantial part of the faculty might have lent their approbation to the university's dubious policies, or more or less shut their eyes to it.

There were four different factions during the contest at the university; we have labeled them the clerics, the traditionalist faculty, the dissidents, and the fence-sitters.

The clerics were composed of the Vincentian priests and

the other priests and nuns on the faculty. They represented only 15 percent of the faculty, but they had power, unity, and were perfectly obedient to the administration. With the exception of one nun, those members of the clergy who came to the local AAUP chapter meeting on February 2, 1966, voted to condemn the strike and the strikers.*

The traditionalist group was composed of older faculty members who, because of their seniority, had top-ranking positions. This group, by virtue of the peculiar status arrangements in the academic world, were considerably less mobile than their younger colleagues. Theodore Caplow and Reece McGee, in *The Academic Marketplace*, call attention to the mobility patterns of academia:

> Any associate professor from a leading university who goes to a minor institution will receive a full professorship there. Migration in the other direction is less common, since a full professorship in the minor league is not worth a similar appointment in a great department, and nothing less than an equivalent rank may be offered. The minor league is for the most part identified with teaching and the older academic values but also, and perhaps unfortunately, with intellectual provincialism. The "bush league," that host of small denominational institutions, teacher's colleges, junior colleges, and the like, lies quite outside the academic world of the major universities. Downward exchanges are rare, and upward exchanges are unheard of.[1]

St. John's, not even major among Catholic institutions, would certainly have to be considered "bush league." The

* With the exception of Fathers O'Reilly, Casey, and Berrigan, who were among those fired, and the one nun who voted against condemnation of the strike, all clerics of St. John's supported (at least publicly) the administration policy.

traditionalists, realizing that they are not likely to be accepted at an equal rank by other universities, had strong reason to support the administration even though the academic community as a whole condemned it. Their prestige as academicians depended on their conferred status at St. John's rather than on recognizable status in the academic community, or in their disciplines. Caplow and McGee propose the principle that the higher the prestige of a department, the greater will be the tendency for its members to be oriented to the discipline rather than to the specific university. St. John's has neither any prestige departments of national reputation, nor any faculty members who are nationally recognized to be outstanding scholars. At St. John's, promotion comes to the obedient.

The dissidents were on the whole younger than the traditionalists. Many of these men, educated at secular universities and unaccustomed to the paternalistic orientation of the Vincentians, found St. John's intolerable. They came from universities where academic freedom was not a gift or at the mercy of a fluctuating interpretation by an administration. Some had been educated at Catholic universities, even at St. John's, but had more sophisticated ideas about the character of a university. The Catholic dissidents represented a liberal view of Catholicism; they were interested in upgrading St. John's and Catholic education generally. The dissidents, who made up approximately 20 percent of the faculty, composed the bulk of those who were fired.*

* Rosemary Lauer (who introduced the UFCT at St. John's and Father O'Reilly, who with Dr. Lauer was very active in recruiting the seventy-five members without whom there would have been no rebellion, do not

The fence-sitters were the majority (we estimate 50 percent of the faculty) who saw their positions merely as jobs, or who were trapped by financial circumstances in a system over which they had no control. The older women, like those in education and the older men, fell into this category.

Thus, there were four different faculties at St. John's University, and the struggle involved each of them in a different manner. We will now take a closer look at each of these four groups to see their role at St. John's and at institutions which resemble it.

THE CLERICS

Church legislation and tradition have perpetuated a pattern of clerical leadership within the limitations of a provincial of regional structure, in spite of the numerical majority of the lay faculty. The president of a Catholic college is almost

fit the description of the "Mobile dissidents." They're both over forty-five and have all their degrees from Catholic schools and attended parochial schools as well. They were both associate professors and so not "mobile." Father O'Reilly, because he is a priest, was not likely to find an opening in a secular school, and because he might be considered a "troublemaker" he was not apt to find an opening in a Catholic school. Dr. Lauer has the handicap, in academic circles, of being a woman. Dr. Lauer will be on the faculty of St. John's College in Annapolis, Maryland. Father O'Reilly has been twice close to getting an academic appointment and twice something has come between him and the job. As this book went to press, the president of the University of Southern Illinois announced that Father O'Reilly, who had been recommended by the philosophy department for an appointment, would not be hired. No reasons were given (although rumors were rife that the Archbishop of Chicago, Cardinal Cody, had intervened) and the president's statement was damagingly ambiguous and filled with innuendo.

always a religious. The president of St. John's is always a Vincentian, and members of the order controlled the powerful positions out of all proportion to their members. The authors analyzed the 1964–65 catalogue of St. John's, and counting only the full-time members of the College of Arts and Sciences (lecturers, who are part-timers, teaching fellows, and laboratory assistants were excluded), found there were 282 faculty members, of whom 32 were Vincentians. Of the 32, there were 11 full professors, 4 associate professors, 15 assistant professors, and 2 instructors. In addition, there were 12 other priests on the faculty, of whom 2 were full professors and 3 associates. Of the remaining 238 lay members, 22 were full professors and 31 associates. A table dramatizes the percentage of lay and clerical positions:

PERCENTAGES BY RANK

	(%) VINCENTIANS	NO.	(%) OTHER PRIESTS	NO.	(%) LAY FACULTY	NO.
Full Professor	34%	11	16%	2	9%	22
Associate Professor	13%	4	25%	3	13%	31
Assistant Professor	47%	15	9%	1	34%	81
Instructor	6%	2	50%	6	42%	98
Lecturer	0	—	0	—	2%	5
Professor Emeritus	0	—	0	—	0	1
TOTAL	100%	32	100%	12	100%	238

Thirty-seven percent of all full professorships were held

by clerics though they composed only 15 percent of the total arts and sciences faculty.

Vincentian faculty members have received a cloistered education, as is indicated by a breakdown of the universities at which they took their degrees. We divided the Vincentians into two groups, those who taught philosophy and theology, and those who taught other academic subjects. None of the priests of other orders listed in the catalogue taught outside the departments of theology and philosophy, and only six Vincentians taught outside these departments. Of the six, only one had a degree from a secular university, and this degree was an LL.B. Five of the six had at least two degrees from Vincentian-run seminaries or universities. Of the remaining twenty-six Vincentians who taught in the departments of theology and philosophy, only one had a degree from a secular university. Ten held degrees from Vincentian seminaries and universities only, fourteen held degrees only from Catholic institutions (most advanced degrees coming from Rome), and one Vincentian had no degree listed.

The Vincentians, charged with running the largest Catholic university in the nation, seem ill-equipped to do so. Only two have been in the outside academic world. It is small wonder that their view of a university is narrow and eccentric. The lack of graduate school excellence in Catholic universities makes even more dramatic the inadequacy of the Vincentians' academic credentials. The findings summarized above are presented below in table form.

The Vincentians held tightly to their positions of power; it was their school. As Father Tinnelly stated about the dis-

VINCENTIAN DEGREES

	THEOLOGY & PHILOSOPHY	OTHER DISCIPLINES
One secular degree	1	1
All degrees from Vincentian institutions	10	2
All degrees from Catholic institutions	14	3
No degree	1	0
TOTAL	26	6

sidents, "there was no doubt that these people wanted to take control of the university away from the Vincentians."

THE TRADITIONAL FACULTY

The following anecdote says something about the type we have labeled "traditionalist." After the famous AAUP meeting, the authors approached a colleague who had voted to condemn the strike and support the administration. We asked him how he could have voted to deny due process to his colleagues:

> "Well, you see, I er . . . er."
> "But what if you did something wrong?"
> He quickly replied, "I'd never do anything wrong."
> "But what if the Vincentians thought you did something wrong?"
> "They'd never think I would do something wrong."

This man later became an officer on the executive board of the AAUP after the old board had resigned and the

strikers had left it. This man is typical of the cowed professors at St. John's, those who will never get their Ph.D.'s or who have doctorates from St. John's. They are frozen in their jobs, and realistic hope of promotion demands that they be trusted members of the staff and subscribe to the views of the owners. Obviously, these men would prefer not to make such an admission to themselves. They rationalized their position and clutched at the straw of "the poor student." They stuck with St. John's, they said, to protect the "helpless student who was caught in the middle."

The authors also studied the academic backgrounds of the twenty-two lay full professors at St. John's. Nine were in math and the sciences, and six were secularly educated. This might be explained by the fact that they were considered to be in less sensitive areas where heterodox thinking does not carry any doctrinal burden. And since Catholic universities are not distinguished in these disciplines, it may be a practical matter that the teaching staff would be drawn from secular schools.

Besides math and science, ten full professors in thirteen other departments had at least one degree from St. John's or from another Vincentian institution. Of the other three, one had a B.A. and an M.A. from a secular university; the second had a B.A. from a Catholic university and a Ph.D. from a secular university; the third had a Ph.D. from a foreign university. St. John's had recruited from their own graduates, and had ventured outside only when the university had expanded so rapidly that teachers were needed in excess of the system's ability to provide them. In an article in *Continuum*, Father Peter O'Reilly listed three basic cri-

teria used to determine the acceptability of applicants for faculty appointments. These criteria had been proposed by the interdisciplinary committee at St. John's:

1. If all his training has been at Catholic colleges and universities, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, it may be assumed that no conflict exists between his views and the objectives of St. John's University. Where all or part of his training had been in secular institutions, additional evidence of his philosophical position should be sought.
2. By means of an expanded interview, tactful questions should be employed in an effort to determine an applicant's philosophy. An attempt should be made to discover the willingness of the applicant to act in accordance with the objectives of the university. It was emphasized that this should not be interpreted as attempting to force a candidate to alter his convictions to bring them in line with the objectives of the university, not to require that he study Scholastic Philosophy, but it does affirm that every applicant should indicate his willingness not to teach or act in any manner that conflicts with such objectives.
3. The publications of an applicant should be considered as an additional source for determining his philosophy, particularly in areas that go beyond pure scientific research.[2]

In the matter of promotions, the Vincentians preferred their own graduates. Of the thirty-five full professors, twenty-seven were either clerics or educated within the Catholic system. This attitude was so obvious that the traditionalist widely justified it by remarking: "At the city colleges, professors have to knife each other in the back to get promotions. Here it's different." A member of the faculty remarked that the difference at St. John's was simply that one had to cater to the Vincentians to get ahead.

This was the atmosphere at St. John's before the firings,

and one can only imagine what it is like now. There can be no academic freedom at St. John's if the prevailing definition of academic freedom is commitment to a single-minded interpretation of "eternal truths."

The traditionalist is caught in a web. It is no coincidence that very few associate professors and only one full professor lent any support to the strike.

The traditionalist's peculiar situation, and the frustrations of an association with a second-rate and then a censured university, force him to go outside the academic community for his satisfactions. He looks to his family, the Church, and the segment of the Catholic community that supports it and him. He survives the brunt of the national AAUP's censure because he is a marginal member of the academic community.

John D. Donovan, in *The Academic Man in the Catholic College*, describes the precarious position of the lay professor in a Catholic institution. His description fits the traditionalist of St. John's:

> The majority . . . began their professional careers before receiving their terminal degrees . . . few colleges had the luxury of holding out for Ph.D.-qualified professors. They were anxious and pleased to give appointments to young Catholics who were academically talented, available, and inexpensive. Typically, these recruits have remained at the same institution and have provided capable and loyal service. But for many, the premature, even if necessary, acceptance of a faculty appointment has killed off their doctoral degree prospects and has frustrated their intellectual career potential.
>
> These frustrations are increased by the structure of the Catholic professor's work situation. The majority have relatively heavy class loads and . . . invest much more time in extracurricular activities. The combined results of these degree and work situations are that relatively few actively participate in professional associations and the majority have no record of professional publication. Whatever their skill in teaching and in various academic sub-roles, the low estimate of their professional achievement in publication terms is an empiric fact and a negative symbol of their stature.[3]

Many of the traditionalist faculty are marginal members of the academic world. These are unproductive in scholarly pursuits, have no doctorate, and carry an extraordinary workload.*

Because of his dependence upon the administration, the traditionalist as teacher tends to reinforce the proprietors' authoritarian attitudes and accedes to the students' attitudes as well. He lectures and permits little questioning. An anecdote related by a student shows the extremes to which the lecture method can go. A professor of history was famous for reading his notes to his students, and for never looking up to answer questions. One spring afternoon, the windows of the classroom were open and a wind scattered the professor's notes. He retrieved them and continued lecturing. He halted when he discovered a page was missing and advised the students: "Skip a page in your notebooks; we'll fill it in tomorrow."

Operating in this authoritarian style, tied to their Vincentian superiors, the traditionalists lead the students by example and by coercion to the same position. If they published, they might possibly benefit from the prestige that

* One of the authors testifies to the workload situation. He signed a contract which stated that no new teacher would be given more than two preparations, nor more than twelve hours of class. He was assigned three preparations and thirteen hours.

publishing brings—but they do not. In a comparison of those Catholic faculty members who publish and those who do not, Donovan notes that the publishing group were usually graduates of non-Catholic secondary schools, colleges, and universities. The non-publishing professors, on the other hand, were products of the Catholic educational system from elementary school through the university.[4]

In his summation of the institutional setting and the productivity of Catholic professors, Donovan offers this remark:

> . . . Catholic professors are inhibited in their opportunities for scholarly achievement by the structure of academic policies and practices, by their heavy workloads, and by the absence of supporting services. These conditions vary, of course, by college, and they vary, too, in their relevance for the academic performance of individual professors. Some achieve scholarly success in spite of the institutional setting in which they work; others would not grow in stature whatever the policies, the load, or services. . . . The absence of any significant faculty voice in the formulation of policies and practices is particularly noted by the Catholic professors as a source of frustration and tension. They are disturbed, too, by the heavy teaching schedules which most of them carry, and by the absence of research facilities.
>
> These complaints of the Catholic college faculty are not unique to them, but their situation in many of these respects is often less good than it would be in comparable non-Catholic institutions. To the import of their professional values and role perceptions, these institutional settings add little. They may not inhibit the scholarship of the few, but they may abort the prospects of professional growth of the many.
>
> As they perceive their situations, however, the greatest frustration . . . is their "second-class citizen" status. They

> recognize the structural basis of this in the religious administration of the college, but their numerical majority and their increasing professional sensibilities have made it less and less tolerable.[5]

The traditionalist is analogous to what Robert Presthus, in his study of bureaucracies entitled *The Organizational Society*, has called an "upward-mobile." [6] Strong identification with the system is highly productive in personal terms since it qualifies the upwardly mobile faculty member for universities' major rewards. The traditionalist, conscious of available premiums and promotions, becomes a sort of secular Vincentian. The university elicits his loyalty and affirmation, and provides a constant and dependable point of reference. Although Presthus is speaking of the large business organization, the analogy between the upward-mobile and the traditionalist faculty is appropriate because St. John's is a bureaucracy. Presthus explains that the upward-mobile, because he accepts the purposes of the organization, finds involvement easy. Because he can oversimplify and idealize, he is not disturbed by the organization's contradictions and imperfections: "he must avoid reality by cultivating the illusions that its actions eventuate in perfect justice." [7]

A traditionalist faculty member was capable of remarking to one of the dissenters, "You must have done something wrong, or they wouldn't have fired you."

THE DISSIDENTS

The dissident minority that rocked the boat at St. John's are analogous to Presthus' "ambivalent" type—the man who

cannot accommodate himself to the bureaucratic structure. The "ambivalent" individual perceives that custom is "no guarantee of either rationality or legitimacy. This perception is sharpened by his inability to accept charismatic and traditional bases of authority; rationality alone provides a compelling standard."[8] Fathers Cahill and Taggart were priests engaged as administrators, and their authority was not automatically acceptable. The dissidents viewed the Vincentians as merely backward, but the students' parents and many others did not agree. One striker who had spent five years in a seminary received calls from relatives warning him that he was doing a terrible thing in "fighting the Catholic Church." The Church is often confused with a variety of social and institutional appendages.

To broaden the picture of members of this group, we present the results of a questionnaire administered to the strikers by Dr. Chester Feurstein, who is an ex-member of the gradute department of psychology at St. John's. There were forty-two respondents.* Some of the results of the study are presented below.

The dissidents were fairly young: three were between 20 and 25 years of age; sixteen were 26 to 30; fourteen were 31 to 35; two were 36 to 40; two were 41 to 45; four were over 46; and one did not respond. Most were instructors and assistant professors. (Tenure is given only at the associate professor level at St. John's.) There were no full professors, and only seven associate professors. Nineteen were assistant professors and sixteen were instructors. The dissidents were fairly mobile, since colleges hire more readily on the lower academic levels.

* Between eighty and ninety faculty members remained out on strike until June, 1965, and constitute the dissident category. Therefore, we feel that forty-two represents a substantial sample. Dr. Feurstein, who is a practicing psychoanalyst, had findings more extensive than the six we will represent. We have chosen these as sociological as opposed to psychoanalytical.

Those who answered the questionnaire had been somewhat more exposed to secular education than the average member of a Catholic university. Twenty were products of Catholic parochial schools, nineteen of Catholic high schools, twenty-three of Catholic colleges, and only ten of Catholic graduate schools. The 79 percent who had secular graduate school education represented a far higher percentage than the full professors. Twenty already had doctorates, and eighteen were actively working on their Ph.D's. This also increased their mobility.

The dissidents were politically liberal, particularly for the staff of a Catholic college of the stamp of St. John's. They were far to the left of the students, the administration, and the rest of the faculty. Two considered themselves "conservative"; twenty-eight "liberal"; five "left"; four "middle of the road"; and three did not respond. They voted in the 1964 election as follows: twenty-seven Democrat; three Republicans; one Conservative; three Liberal; and eight did not vote or respond to the question.

Eighteen of the dissidents indicated that they thought the strike would have an impact on Catholic education, and twenty-one further proposed that it would affect all American higher education. But it is interesting to note that only eighteen thought the fired faculty would be reinstated.

As we have suggested, the dissidents had a fair degree of

mobility. Twenty-five replied to the survey that they had obtained a better position, three got positions of equal rank, and ten of lower rank. Four did not respond. However, as of September, 1966, the UFCT stated for the record that all strikers who had sought positions had obtained them.

The ideal dissident type, then, would appear to be under thirty-five, an instructor or assistant professor, and a product of at least some secular education. He either has his doctorate or is working on it, and is a mobile member of the academic world. He is probably a political liberal, and he believed that the strike would accomplish something worthwhile.

The dissidents revolted over conditions which they found intolerable. The subversion of their rights and dignity was described by Father O'Reilly:

> Whoever controls appointments, promotions, wages, hours, class size, admissions, etc., inhibits the responsible acts of the students and professors under his domination. Controlling or dominating in a university or college always directly or indirectly means indoctrination; always at least indirectly means preventing someone from fulfilling his responsibilities; always means usurping or violating someone's rights; and always means subverting to some degree the academic processes which can thrive only in freedom.[9]

THE FENCE-SITTERS

Some of the fence-sitters were merely indifferent; but others were victims—they were trapped. Those who were indifferent to the lack of freedom and the attitudes of both

administration and student body were just coasting along at St. John's. Their jobs served purposes other than their strong ambitions as teachers. Their academic backgrounds resemble those of the dissidents, but they seem to lack any real commitment. St. John's is located in the heart of the metropolitan area; it is convenient. They stay until something better comes along; they know very few people, socialize little, and rarely remain when their chores are finished.

The students were perhaps not the only "helpless victims" of the strike. There were those faculty members who saw clearly what issues were at stake but could not act. Some stayed out at the beginning of the strike, using the transit strike or illness as an excuse. For a number of reasons, including economic need or enrollment in a Ph.D. program at St. John's, they eventually withdrew their support. The administration capitalized on their fears by warning them that grave measures would be taken if they did not return to their classes during the first few days of the strike. Faced with the intransigence of the administration, they became convinced that the striking faculty would not win and accepted a promise of amnesty if they returned to the fold.* Many, however, were afraid that their brief defection would be remembered. When they could find jobs elsewhere, they moved; there was a large turnover in September of 1966. Those who did not find other jobs stuck with the system and submitted to a situation of which they disapproved.

* At the beginning of the strike, the UFCT had the names of 183 professors who were out on strike. By June, only eighty or ninety remained.

FACULTY PROFILES

In order to give the reader a clearer picture of the four academic types at St. John's University, we will present eight faculty profile sketches, two from each of the four factions. We are indebted to Professor John D. Donovan, who used this method of presentation in *The Academic in the Catholic College*. He writes that his sketches indicate composite representatives of the types, not individual professors. The faculty profiles do, however, add some "flesh and blood" to statistical skeletons.[10] We have followed this plan.

With the exceptions of the two dissidents, John Morressy and Carlo Prisco, the profiles follow the procedure described by Professor Donovan.

THE CLERICS

Father A is forty-eight years old. He holds a B.A. from St. Joseph's College in Princeton, New Jersey, and an M.A. from St. John's University. He is a product of Vincentian education from the age of fourteen, when he entered St. John's Prep and is now an associate professor of theology. He is not a scholar and readily admits it. His teaching experience before St. John's was limited to teaching history at St. John's Prep, but he has spent the last ten years at the university. At the Prep, he was known for a quick temper and a heavy hand. At the university, Father A maintains an authoritarian manner in his theology classes. There is little give and take because theology is a matter of faith and

morals. The student quickly learns that arguing with him may result in charges of heresy and low grades; few students take the chance. If they read the textbook, particularly the summary at the end of each chapter, Father A's true and false examinations are not so difficult. When asked by one faculty member if he really believed that Father Cahill was defending the Catholic Church and Catholic education, Father A replied, "Yes, my son." Father Cahill, he said, was to be checked *true*, the striking faculty *false*.

Father B is thirty-two years old. He has a B.A. from St. Joseph's College in Princeton and an M.A. and Ph.D. in psychology from a midwestern Catholic university which is rated somewhere between St. John's and the top Catholic universities. Father B is an assistant professor. He is well liked and could be a scholar if he wanted to. He has a sharp, penetrating, questioning mind. He is also deeply devout and he sees this devotion as best served by "helping people." While receiving his graduate training in the Midwest, Father B was instrumental in establishing after-school programs for underprivileged children in slum areas. He has already set up a similar program in Bedford-Stuyvesant Catholic schools. He grew up in the poorer section of a northeastern city. He has been at St. John's for two years, and it is his first teaching assignment. He is, as he says, "too busy helping people to take time to do research."

Father B was appalled at the firings, but mindful of his vow of obedience to his superiors, he remained silent throughout the strike and took over courses of picketing

teachers. At one point he was teaching twenty-seven hours a week. His only outward show of dissatisfaction with his superiors was his non-attendance at the AAUP meeting dominated by the cleric-traditional faculty, where he knew he would be called upon to condemn the strike.

Father B feels that a new order is coming for the Vincentians. Men like Taggart and Cahill will be replaced, and liberal elements will take over the Vincentians and St. John's University. Until then, he will go along "helping people." If he speaks up, he may well be transferred.

THE TRADITIONAL FACULTY

Professor C is fifty-two years old. He holds a B.A. from St. John's University and an M.A. in education from a secular university. He is an associate professor of philosophy and has been with the university for over twenty years. He is married, the father of seven children, and a devout Catholic. When he began at St. John's right after the war, he taught speech and philosophy. He has been in the philosophy department for eight years. Before his career at St. John's, he had spent six years in a seminary.

Professor C is greatly indebted to the university; he could never have reached so high an academic rank with only a master's degree in education. His formal education ended after he had twice failed his comprehensive examinations at the secular university from which he received his master's degree.

Professor C regards the striking faculty as anti-Catholic.

He has alluded to them in his philosophy classes as possible dupes of communist infiltration. Besides teaching introductory philosophy, he also teaches contemporary philosophy, but students maintain that he has never discussed any contemporary philosophers who were not Catholic. When a student asked him a question about Camus, he replied that the student shouldn't read Camus—"it will weaken your faith." When any argument arises in his class, he merely throws up his hands and says, "Don't argue with me, boys and girls, I'm an old man."

Professor D is thirty-seven. He received his B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. from St. John's. Professor D is an associate professor of history. He is married, the father of two children and is a conservative who blames Franklin Delano Roosevelt for every evil that has befallen the United States since 1932. He has alluded in class to alleged sordid details of Roosevelt's private life which he refuses to explain. His are the Westbrook Pegler kind of anti-Roosevelt remarks.

Professor D thinks of himself as a scholar, and is fond of lecturing history majors on what it takes to become an historian. His own historical scholarship is limited to a dissertation on *The Political Support of Senator Joseph McCarthy*, which he had published at his own expense, and which he has made required reading in his course in twentieth-century history. When asked about the ethics involved in assigning his dissertation, Professor D explains that he is sure Toynbee and Commager assign their own works.

THE DISSIDENTS

John Morressy is thirty-six years old and married. He received his B.A from St. John's University and an M.A. in English from New York University. Until December 15, 1965, Morressy was an instructor in the English department. He has asked Father Tinnelly why he was fired. He has asked the Middle States Association. He has asked the board of trustees. No one has answered.

The question is nagging him: Incompetence? Any student will tell you how good John Morressy was in the classroom. Political beliefs? Morressy was a conservative, a former advisor to the Young Conservative Club, a contributor of stories, poems, and articles to the *National Review*. Heretical religious beliefs? Morressy is a devout Catholic.

Morressy is an intellectual. His first book, *The Blackboard Cavalier*, has been praised for its style and wit, and Morressy has been called a satirist of exceptional promise. Morressy was a fighter; if something was wrong, he said so, and tried to do something about it. Morressy might have spent a lifetime trying to rectify the wrong at St. John's. He was a St. John's graduate and believed that his alma mater's standards could be raised.

Shortly after he had been fired, Morressy answered an ad in the national AAUP bulletin for an English teacher. In these transactions only code numbers were initially used. He received a letter of inquiry from an all-white southern university in which there was mention of its segregation policies. Morressy answered the letter, signed it with a name which sounded more Anglo-Saxon than Irish, and gave a Harlem address. He wrote in the letter that he wasn't interested in the job, but would forward the information to some neighbors who were. He did not receive an answer from the school. He has not yet received any answer from St. John's.

Carlo Prisco is forty-four years old. He holds a B.A. from Seton Hall and an M.A. and Ph.D. from Fordham. He was an associate professor of Italian until January 4, 1966, when he became co-chairman of the picketers on the Brooklyn campus. Prisco was not fired; he walked out and picketed. He has a wife and two O. K. children. He knew that because of his rank and salary, he would have trouble getting a job in the metropolitan area if the strike proved a failure. Even when it became clear that the fired teachers and strikers could not return to St. John's, Carlo Prisco could have. He received informal feelers from members of his department. When asked why he would not go back, he replied: "There's just so much a man can put up with, without taking action. The firings were too much." Prisco continued to walk in the cold as co-chairman of the picketers. The job he finally did accept is beyond commuting distance from his New Jersey home, and he has had to take a room near his new college, and go home to his family only on weekends. He will have to work summers to compensate for the higher salary he was getting at St. John's.

THE FENCE-SITTERS

Professor E could not have cared less about the strike. She is twenty-eight years old, has a B.A. from St. John's and an

M.A. from a secular university, from which she expects to get her Ph.D. next year. The strike was an inconvenience, and some of her friends in the English department were fired.

She lived just a few blocks from the Brooklyn campus in Brooklyn Heights, and needed the libraries in New York for her dissertation work. English teachers without Ph.D.'s are in oversupply.

Professor F was one of the trapped. He received his B.A. from a seminary and his M.A. from a Catholic university and has been working on his dissertation on French political parties for five years. He is thirty-four years old, has four children under seven, and not much time to work on his dissertation; he has only two years left to get his Ph.D., or must start fresh at another university. Professor F is an assistant professor of political science at St. John's. He has the ability to be a scholar and is already a fine teacher. The dissertation, the workload, and the family responsibilities have thus far kept him from producing anything of scholarly significance.

He felt bad about the strike and the firings. His best friend on the faculty had been among those fired and was picketing. Professor F explained his circumstances to this friend, and was subsequently told to take over two of his friends' courses. When he came to school he entered by a back entrance.

Notes

[1] Theodore Caplow and Reece J. McGee, *The Academic Marketplace*, New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1958, p. 48.

[2] Peter O'Reilly, "St. John's I: Chronicle of Folly," *Continuum*, Summer, 1966, p. 233.

[3] John D. Donovan, *The Academic Man in the Catholic College*, New York: Sheed and Ward, 1964, pp. 110–11.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 167–68.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 184–85.

[6] Robert Presthus, *The Organizational Society*, New York: Vintage Books, 1964.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 168–69.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 258.

[9] O'Reilly, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

[10] Donovan, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

The Historical Role of the Catholic University in America

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH is deep in the business of higher education, and is in many cases floundering. Even more important, it is facing a crisis which questions its existence. Without rehashing the debate on the dearth of Catholic intellectuals, it is sufficient to say that the Catholic educational system on all levels has failed to fulfill an intellectual role in American society proportionate to their numbers. This is not to say that the Catholic educational system, particularly on the college level,* has not fulfilled a certain *historical* role. This role, defined by the nineteenth-century

* Unless specifically designated otherwise, the word "college" will be used to mean both college and university.

hierarchy out of a peculiar experience, is pre-Vatican II, but still carries a great deal of weight.

The crisis at St. John's University was the culmination of problems which have been facing Catholic colleges ever since their traditional functions began slowly to pass out of existence. The demise of this function has been described by Mary Perkins Ryan:

> . . . in the midst of a predominantly Protestant society, hostile both to Catholicism as such and to the traditionally Catholic immigrant groups, the Church established a school system of her own and attempted to establish a parochial life which would keep Catholics away from harmful influences, enabling them to preserve their faith and some semblance of a Catholic pattern of life.
>
> The situation of the Church in our country today is clearly no longer the same. The tone of society is no longer positively Protestant; active hostility to the Church is a thing of the past; Catholics and predominantly Catholic racial groups are now considered as American as anyone else. While Catholics, like Protestants and Jews, may still tend to form separate social groupings, we are all subject to the same mass media and the same cultural influences as other Americans; in our working lives and other spheres of activity we mingle with people of all faiths and of no faith at all.[1]

Education has been too often, and on too many levels, subordinated to religious purpose, and teaching has been oriented more toward persuasion and apologetics than intellectual development. Wakin and Scheuer see this trait in the Church's repeated plea for an "intellectual apostolate." This, they write, is a contradiction in terms, and threatens to turn the intellectual into a panderer for the Church. The intellectual, they say, is committed to ideas free of prejudgment,

whereas the apostle is committed to the dogma that the Catholic Church is the supreme authority on faith and morals. A merger of the two roles is thus a threat to intellectual honesty.[2]

Justus George Lawler wrote that the early Catholic colleges "were concerned more with the training of the will than with the cultivation of the intellect, and more with the moral life than with the life of the mind." [3] He added that although most nineteenth-century schools had this same ethical bent, few of the outstanding sectarian colleges in the twentieth century, and fewer still of the secular schools, now regard their mission as primarily moralistic.

The early Catholic colleges were also primarily places to train priests. "The purpose of the early college under Catholic auspices was institutional as well as instructional; to become a seminary while offering a preparatory curriculum." [4] Their purpose was not aimed at the dissemination of liberal culture. In the words of Bishop McEntegart of the Diocese of Brooklyn: "Judgment on the effectiveness of an educational system should be something more profound and more subtle than counting heads of so-called intellectuals who happen to be named in Who's Who or the Social Register." [5]

What are these subtle and more profound measures of effectiveness? They are programs designed to train, not educate, much less create a milieu of questioning intellectuality. This has led Richard Hofstadter to remark:

> One might have expected Catholicism to add a distinct leaven to the intellectual dialogue in America, bringing as it did a different sense of the past and of the world, a different awareness of the human condition and of the imperatives of institutions. In fact, it has done nothing of the kind, for it has failed to develop an intellectual tradition in America or to produce its own class of intellectuals capable either of exercising authority among Catholics or of mediating between the Catholic mind and the secular or Protestant mind. Instead, American Catholicism has devoted itself alternately to denouncing the aspects of American life it could not approve and initiating more acceptable aspects in order to surmount its minority complex and "Americanize" itself.[6]

Catholic higher education was founded on a system that is now anachronistic. This can best be seen by looking at the cultural complex of the time when Catholic education first appeared in this country.

THE HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The evolution of early Catholic education in the United States has been divided into two periods: the first from Colonial times to the Revolutionary War; the second from the Revolution to the Civil War. The first Catholic schools in the English colonies are considered to be those founded by the Jesuits in Maryland. Isolated schools also appeared in some of the other colonies, particularly in New York and Pennsylvania.

The first Catholic college in America was Georgetown, established in 1789. St. Mary's College, in Maryland, was founded soon after. The other forty-two Catholic colleges of this period were established in the first half of the nineteenth century—for seminary preparation, missionary activity, and moral development. Catholics were endeavoring

to relate their distinct religious and cultural traditions to the changing patterns of a dominant non-Catholic culture. The emphasis in the Catholic college was on apologetics and defensiveness. With a number of notable exceptions, this emphasis has scarcely changed. The early Catholic colleges, founded to produce priests, were not dissimilar to other colleges which educated for the ministry. However, in most other denominational colleges, the original function as a training ground for the ministry has given way to a more specifically intellectual function. Too many Catholic colleges have really only shifted their emphasis; they now mold lay clerics and safe Catholics.

The Catholic Church and the community it served had to adjust to, or at least cope with, a hostile environment. This real and imagined hostility from the Protestant population, and the complex problems of immigration and assimilation, demanded a specific type of educated Catholic —one who would be aware of the non-Catholic discrimination against Catholics; one who would feel himself very much a member of the Church militant, and not identify with the outside, secular, and Protestant life. These factors tended to segregate the American Catholic population, to hinder a profound and wholehearted participation in the national life, and to infinitely complicate the development of a creative relationship between Catholicism and the national culture. Thus, from its inception the Church primarily served the needs of its own community and, at the same time, equated the rest of the population with forms of anti-Catholicism. Catholics were *in* but not *of* American culture. The inevitable repercussion was a clannishness

that came to characterize the Catholic social and educational community.

In the early stages of Catholic higher education, faculties were almost exclusively clerical. There was little conflict between Catholic and secular values since secular values were either ignored or despised. As the system expanded, however, the layman began slowly to penetrate the faculties of Catholic colleges.

THE EARLY LAY FACULTIES

The initial influx of the lay faculty member was an exceedingly slow process; refugee scholars from Europe and ex-seminarians constituted the bulk of the lay faculty. As John D. Donovan writes:

> Numerically they were never a significant group during this period, since they were appointed only when the necessary number of clerical professors could not be provided. In 1850, for example, they numbered only 26 out of a faculty of 240 in 25 colleges. This proportion increased so slowly that by 1872 in 55 colleges with a total faculty of 677, 597 were male religious and only 80 were laymen. In American higher education during this post-civil war period, this clear-cut domination of the teaching staff by priests and brothers was a significant point of contrast of the situation in other American colleges. Initially they, too, had been staffed largely by clergymen, but after 1860, despite a continuance of denominational control, the faculty was composed increasingly of lay professors.[7]

The lay faculty member was early-on relegated to the second-class citizenship he has ever since endured in the

Catholic educational system. The layman was bound to the same regulations as his religious colleagues even though he had taken no vows. He could not leave the grounds of the college without special permission, and had to extinguish his candle by nine in the evening. He could not drink alcohol or use tobacco; if he violated any of the many regulations, a part of his salary, meager to begin with, was withheld. Needless to say, the rights and duties attached to his role of teacher, which were defined by the religious orders in charge, gave him little pleasure. Edward Powers writes that the layman who associated himself with Catholic higher education took many risks. If student enrollment dropped, he was expected to teach at a lower salary or was dismissed; he was not protected by tenure. He was thought of as an expendable temporary employee.[8]

St. John's did not offer tenure as a contractual right until 1966, and many Catholic colleges still do not have tenure policies. *Newsweek* reported in May of 1966 that the University of San Diego College for Women, a small liberal arts school run by the Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, fired two assistant professors for criticizing the college's academic standards. The two professors "were dismissed by the administration after a closed-door meeting; in a decision worthy of Torquemada, the committee voted to burn the tapes of the proceedings." [9]

Apropos, Rosemary Lauer adds that the minutes of the Board of St. John's Trustees meeting, at which the decision on the dismissals was taken, consist only of the statement that the meeting was held and the decision taken. No reasons are listed.

The first laymen to enter the Catholic college system in the early and middle nineteenth century were not scholars. Those who did become scholars and teachers of quality represented a small portion of the total lay faculty. This academic inferiority has been glossed over by some Catholic historians, who had only praise for these lay faculty members and their religious colleagues. Edward Powers calls attention to this:

> Some Catholic college historians have discovered that every Catholic college president was a great scholar and an administrative genius, every Catholic college teacher was endowed with wisdom, intellectual brilliance, and prudence; all of the students were perfect or near perfect morally and intellectually. These flourishes make good reading; they may convince some, for example, in some of the histories dealing with particular schools, that the faculty was the best on the continent. All of the teachers were scholars of the first order, all were skilled craftsmen in the classroom, all were leaders of men and gifted directors of boys.[10]

As second-class citizens laymen were often excluded from meetings concerning college policy; if they were present, they were frequently asked to leave when important issues arose. The Catholic college was an institution of Catholic doctrinal goals and moral formation, and the religious order and clergymen and presidents ruled with an iron hand. Lay faculty members were considered competent only in their particular disciplines, and even their behavior there was scrutinized by clerical superiors. Conditions have really changed very little. With noted exceptions (which will be discussed in the following chapter), the faculty has little or no say in matters of policy—a ves-

tige of an era when colleges were seminaries, and lay teachers ex-seminarians.*

Rosemary Lauer, in an article in *Continuum*, called attention to this attitude at St. John's:

> . . . the faculty was often reminded by the Vincentians that "we own the University." The mere fact that such a statement can be made indicates first of all that the "owners" have somehow confused the "university" with the grounds and buildings—unless, of course, the "owners" are somehow capable of imagining that they "own" the faculty and student body. But as though this obtuseness concerning the nature of a university was not sufficient, administrators like those at St. John's—and I suspect they are the majority—evidently intend to imply that, since they "own" the university they may do with it what they please. Consequently, if an employee (that is what a professor is in such an institution) is unhappy with the policies of management, the obvious solution is for him to go elsewhere.[11]

Lay teachers are not subject to the authority of religious superiors as religious members of faculty obviously are. The lay academician cannot be silenced, but outspoken and vigorous objections to administration policy are viewed as disloyalty in terms of the authority-obedience value structure of the religious community. Punishments for disloyalty, when the lay professor chooses not "to go elsewhere," vary.

Dr. Lauer recalled her treatment when she criticized the administration of St. John's University. Although she was

* We do not intend to imply that faculty members at all secular colleges have freedom. They, too, have structures imposed upon them. However, the faculties of secular colleges do enjoy more academic freedom, a greater voice in policy making, and are not considered second-class citizens.

appointed as a professor in the graduate school, she was during her last two years given no dissertations to read, was not put on examinary committees, and was eventually given no graduate courses. As a final punishment for having spoken out, she was dismissed.

Laymen now constitute over 75 percent of the total faculty of Catholic colleges, yet they still have relatively little power. The clergy (or the orders, or the hierarchy) have guarded their prerogatives. One of the results of this repressive, defensive method of control is that Catholic colleges have been unable to achieve academic equality with secular schools, and have faltered in practically all their academic aims, as compared with nonsectarian institutions. The Chicago *Tribune* rated the top ten colleges and universities in America in 1957. Its education writer, Chester Manly, was assigned the task of evaluating America's colleges on the basis of (1) which schools were awarded National Science Foundation Fellowships, and (2) which schools were the first choice of the young National Merit scholars. He also sought the advice of Dean William DeVane of Yale and Dean McGeorge Bundy of Harvard. Criteria for rating schools were "quality of faculty, quality of research, student body, physical facilities, and above all the ethos of a university—whether it has the character of a community of scholars." [12] No Catholic college appeared on the list of forty colleges and universities.

In his 1960 study entitled *Graduate Education in the United States*, Bernard Berelson listed the top twelve universities in America. Again, no Catholic university was on the list.[13]

In May of 1966, a study of one hundred and six graduate schools by the American Council on Education failed to list a single Catholic university that had one distinguished or even strong graduate department. This study, under the direction of Dr. Allen M. Cartter, vice-president of the American Council on Education, is of particular importance because it is the latest, most thorough, and the most comprehensive study ever made of the American university.

Monsignor John Tracy Ellis added a great deal of fuel to the debate on Catholic intellectuals. In his 1955 study, *The American Catholic and the Intellectual Life*, he stated that there should be no more than three full-blown Catholic universities in this country—one on the Atlantic seaboard, one in the Midwest, and one on the Pacific Coast.[14] A Fordham administrator predicted that "there eventually will be only three Catholic universities left—Notre Dame, St. Louis, and, hopefully, Fordham." According to the American Council on Education, even those top three Catholic universities—which are considered by some to be competitive with secular institutions—compare very unfavorably. One hundred and six major universities which grant 95 percent of the Ph.D. degrees awarded in the United States were analyzed. Seven Catholic universities were included in the survey: Georgetown, Fordham, St. Louis, Loyola (Chicago), Catholic University, Notre Dame, and St. John's. Although St. John's and Loyola were included, they never were rated in any of the quality categories used (distinguished, strong, good, and adequate plus) when ranked by the quality of the graduate faculty; and they

never were rated extremely attractive, attractive, or acceptable plus when ranked by the effectiveness of the graduate program. Since St. John's and Loyola were not considered to have quality departments, we will concentrate rather on the "top five" Catholic universities: C.U., Fordham, Georgetown, Notre Dame, and St. Louis. It was expected that St. John's would fare poorly when compared to other universities; even apologists for Catholic education will not deny the obvious. However, it is significant that the other five universities did not fare much better than St. John's.

THE AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION AND CATHOLIC UNIVERSITIES[15]

The major findings were divided into two categories: quality of graduate faculty and effectiveness of graduate program. The top two ratings listed the various universities in numerical order. Ratings of good and adequate plus in regard to quality of faculty listed the schools alphabetically, as did the acceptable plus category under effectiveness of the graduate program. We will now deal with both categories, omitting only the engineering departments, and five disciplines in which none of the five Catholic universities granted a Ph.D. degree.

1. *Classics*

In quality of graduate faculty, Catholic and Fordham universities rank in the fourth and lowest quality category of adequate plus. As mentioned above, universities were merely listed alphabetically in this category. Therefore, a

minimum of seventeen and a maximum of twenty universities had better departments.

In effectiveness of graduate programs, Catholic and Fordham ranked in the lowest quality category, acceptable plus. A minimum of thirteen and a maximum of twenty universities had better classics departments.

2. *English*

In quality of graduate faculty, Fordham, Notre Dame, and St. Louis ranked in the lowest (adequate plus) category. A minimum of thirty-four and a maximum of forty-eight universities were ranked higher.

In effectiveness of graduate programs, no Catholic university ranked in any of the three quality categories. Forty-two non-Catholic universities were listed.

3. *French*

In quality of graduate faculty, Catholic and Fordham were in the lowest (adequate plus) category. A minimum of twenty-four and a maximum of thirty-two schools were higher.

In effectiveness of graduate program, Catholic and Fordham were in the lowest (acceptable plus) category. A minimum of fifteen and a maximum of thirty-one departments were higher.

4. *German*

In quality of graduate faculty, no Catholic university was rated in the four quality categories.

In effectiveness of graduate program, no Catholic university was rated in the three quality categories.

5. *Philosophy*

In quality of graduate faculty, Fordham, Notre Dame,

and St. Louis were in the lowest category of adequate plus. A minimum of twenty-three and a maximum of thirty departments were rated higher.

In effectiveness of graduate program, no Catholic university was placed in the three quality categories. A total of twenty-nine non-Catholic universities were.

6. *Spanish*

In quality of graduate faculty, Catholic University was listed in the good category, the third of four quality groupings. A minimum of sixteen and a maximum of twenty-five were ranked higher.

In effectiveness of graduate program, Catholic University was listed in the acceptable plus category, the lowest quality designation. A minimum of seventeen and a maximum of thirty-five were ranked higher.

7. *Anthropology*

In quality of graduate faculty, no Catholic university was listed in the four quality categories. Nineteen non-Catholic universities were.

In effectiveness of graduate program, no Catholic university was listed in the three quality categories. Eighteen non-Catholic universities were.

8. *Economics*

In quality of graduate faculty, no Catholic university was listed in the four quality categories. Thirty-six non-Catholic universities were.

In effectiveness of graduate program, no Catholic university was listed in the three quality categories. Thirty non-Catholic universities were listed there.

9. *History*

In quality of graduate faculty, Notre Dame was listed in

the lowest quality category of adequate plus. A minimum of thirty-three and a maximum of forty-nine departments were ranked higher.

In effectiveness of graduate program, no Catholic university was listed in the three quality categories, as opposed to three non-Catholic universities which were.

10. *Political Science*

In quality of graduate faculty, no Catholic university was listed in the four quality categories. Thirty-seven non-Catholic universities were.

In effectiveness of graduate program, no Catholic university was listed in the three quality categories, while thirty-one non-Catholic universities were.

11. *Sociology*

In quality of graduate faculty, no Catholic university was listed in the four quality categories. Thirty-four non-Catholic universities were.

In effectiveness of graduate program, no Catholic university was listed in the three quality categories. Twenty-nine non-Catholic universities were.

12. *Bacteriology/Microbiology*

In quality of graduate faculty, St. Louis was listed in the adequate plus category. A minimum of forty-three and a maximum of sixty departments were ranked higher.

In effectiveness of graduate program, no Catholic university was listed in the three quality categories. Fifty-seven non-Catholic universities were.

13. *Biochemistry*

In quality of graduate faculty, St. Louis was listed in

the third (good) category. A minimum of twenty-seven and a maximum of thirty-nine non-Catholic universities were ranked higher.

In effectiveness of graduate program, St. Louis was listed in the lowest (acceptable plus) category. A minimum of twenty-six and a maximum of fifty-three departments were ranked higher.

14. *Pharmacology*

In quality of graduate faculty, Georgetown was listed in the lowest quality category—adequate plus. A minimum of twenty-eight and a maximum of thirty-nine non-Catholic universities were ranked higher.

In effectiveness of graduate program, Georgetown was listed in the acceptable plus category. A minimum of eighteen and a maximum of forty-three departments were ranked higher.

15. *Physiology*

In quality of graduate faculty, St. Louis was listed in the adequate plus category. A minimum of thirty-two and a maximum of forty-five departments were ranked higher.

In effectiveness of graduate program, no Catholic university was listed in the three quality categories. Fifty-five non-Catholic universities were.

16. *Psychology*

In quality of graduate faculty, no Catholic university was listed in the four quality categories. Sixty non-Catholic universities were.

In effectiveness of graduate program, no Catholic university was listed among the three quality categories. Fifty-one non-Catholic universities were.

17. *Astronomy*

In quality of graduate faculty, no Catholic university was listed in the four quality categories. Twelve non-Catholic universities were.

In effectiveness of graduate program, no Catholic university was listed in the three quality categories. Twelve non-Catholic universities were.

18. *Chemistry*

In quality of graduate faculty, Notre Dame was listed in the third (good) category. A minimum of twenty-eight and a maximum of forty-six departments were ranked higher.

In effectiveness of graduate program, Notre Dame was listed in the lowest, acceptable plus category. A minimum of twenty-three and a maximum of fifty-nine departments were rated higher.

19. *Mathematics*

In quality of graduate faculty, Notre Dame was listed in the adequate plus category. A minimum of thirty-two and a maximum of forty-five departments were rated higher.

In effectiveness of graduate program, Notre Dame was in the lowest category—acceptable plus. A minimum of twenty and a maximum of forty-three departments were rated higher.

20. *Physics*

In quality of graduate faculty, Notre Dame was listed in the adequate plus category. A minimum of thirty-eight and a maximum of forty-eight departments were rated higher.

In effectiveness of graduate program, Notre Dame was

listed in the acceptable plus category. A minimum of nineteen and a maximum of forty-seven departments were rated higher.

The evidence indicates that Catholic universities are academically inferior to non-Catholic universities. In order to summarize the above findings, the authors devised two simple scales based on the two rating categories. On the scale measuring quality of graduate faculty, a four was given for a department rated as distinguished, a three for strong, two for good, and one for adequate plus. On the scale rating effectiveness of graduate program, a three was given for a rating of extremely attractive, two for attractive, and one for acceptable plus. Thus 80 is the highest attainable score for the first scale and 60 for the second.*

To show the relative position of Catholic universities, we took five comparable universities in the immediate area of each of the five Catholic universities, and compiled their scores as a basis for comparison. The five non-Catholic universities were chosen because they served the same geographical area as the Catholic ones and are not elite schools. The latter criterion of choice is in answer to Father Andrew Greeley's complaint that Catholic colleges should be "compared with the American norm instead of with elite schools, as they so often are." [16] The composite results are presented below:

* It must be noted that all universities do not give Ph.D's in all of the twenty areas listed; therefore a score of 80 or 60 is theoretical in all but the top universities. However, by comparing the scores of five Catholic universities to five comparable secular universities, this weakness in the scale balances out.

TOTAL SCORE: QUALITY OF GRADUATE FACULTY

CATHOLIC		NON-CATHOLIC	
Catholic Univ.	4	Johns Hopkins	49
Fordham	4	New York Univ.	36
Georgetown	1	Univ. of Maryland	11
Notre Dame	7	Univ. of Indiana	44
St. Louis	6	Washington Univ. (at St. Louis)	25

TOTAL SCORE: EFFECTIVENESS OF GRADUATE PROGRAM

CATHOLIC		NON-CATHOLIC	
Catholic Univ.	3	Johns Hopkins	38
Fordham	2	New York Univ.	19
Georgetown	1	Univ. of Maryland	9
Notre Dame	3	Univ. of Indiana	25
St. Louis	1	Washington Univ.	15

Catholic schools do not fare well if comparative academic standards are used as criteria. The graduate facilities of the top five Catholic universities compare unfavorably with secular universities.

The basic problem of Catholic universities is simple and bears repeating. They are interested more in their Catholic status than in their academic status. Originally, this religious function may have been justified because of the hostility of the Protestant-dominated United States. This is not the case today. Pope John XXIII and the Ecumenical Council tried to break down some of the barriers between Catholics and non-Catholics, but the vast majority of Cath-

olic colleges have not yet changed their traditional orientation. They are still producing instructed Catholics, not educated intellectuals or even citizens. Reverend Bernard J. Cooke, S.J., in an article entitled "College Theology and the Ecumenical Spirit: Preparation for the Dialogue," calls attention to this:

> If my observations do not betray me, I think that many of us who have moved in non-Catholic intellectual circles have found little animosity for the Church or for the Catholic position. What we have found often is the assumption that Catholicism has little to say in our times. What really does the Catholic Church have to offer the ambitious, the creative young people in our American society? With a lifetime of achievement and discovery and enjoyment of the "good life" before them, they find little reason to accept the standard religious questions as real questions; but they do have questions and problems and dreams.
>
> We must educate our young Catholics so that they understand and take seriously these questions and problems and dreams of twentieth-century man.[17]

Catholic colleges continue to be an in group; they hire non-Catholics and graduates of non-Catholic schools only when Catholic graduates of Catholic universities are not available.* This inbreeding has been noted by Pattillo and Mackenzie in their study of *Church-Sponsored Higher Education in the United States* for the Danforth Foundation. They found that over 40 percent of the faculty members at Roman Catholic colleges in the United States were teaching at the institution from which they received their

* We are aware that some progressive colleges—Fordham and Marymount College in New York, for example—actively seek non-Catholics, but they are exceptions.

baccalaureate degrees.[18] This inbreeding supports paternalism, which in turn supports the "pay, pray, and obey" syndrome observed at St. John's. St. John's is not unique in its attitudes toward faculty and students. In 1963, Catholic University refused permission for Hans Küng, Godfrey Diekmann, Gustave Weigel, and John Courtney Murray to speak. St. Louis University did not at first (though it yielded) allow Roger Garaudy, the French Communist author of *From Anathema to Dialogue: A Marxist Challenger to the Christian Churches*, to speak in January of 1967. Garaudy, now published by the Catholic publishing house of Herder and Herder, came to America specifically to open a dialogue between Christians and leftists. Francis Kearns, who was dismissed from Georgetown University because of his activities in the civil rights movement, recounted two incidents which occurred at the university:

> The first case involves a lay professor. Two years ago a colleague of mine, who had come to Georgetown as a Catholic, was married in a Protestant church. Warned privately by his chairman that this marriage might affect his tenure at Georgetown, he sought out the university's President and Academic Vice-President for clarification of his future prospects at the university. According to the instructor, both men told him they would look into the matter and confer with him later. Next semester, . . . the young instructor received a letter announcing that his association with Georgetown was being terminated because of "departmental requirements."
>
> Despite several inquiries, the young man claims, he was never able to discover the meaning of the term, and he finally left the university without ever having been informed why he was really fired. . . .
>
> The second case involves a group of students at George-

> town. At a time when the Diem regime was still in power and Buddhist monks were still immolating themselves in protest against their government's alleged religious persecution, it was announced that Madame Nhu would speak on the Georgetown campus. Immediately the Georgetown Young Democrats began to make plans for a peaceful demonstration against the South Vietnamese First Lady, and they cleared their preparations with both local Democratic Party headquarters and the local police precinct. Nevertheless, when the Jesuit Student Personnel Officer was informed of the intended public display, he indicated his strenuous disapproval and warned students that "any outward display of opposition such as hissing, booing, and sign-carrying would result in expulsion from the University." Two hours before Mme. Nhu's arrival on campus, however, the Jesuit official finally relented. But by that time the Young Democrats had been so intimidated that few were still willing to demonstrate. On the other hand, Young Americans for Freedom and Young Republicans were there in force, and the next day the nation's newspapers reported the jubilant reception accorded Mme. Nhu at Georgetown.[19]

Is it any wonder that Bishop William J. McDonald, the rector of Catholic University, stated to *Newsweek:* "My biggest crisis of late was getting a good commencement speaker. We have yet to have a sit-in. I don't know what's wrong with our students." [20] *

The educational system itself is wrong. The students, products of their environment, have been taught from childhood that Catholics are a separate people who must be educated separately and who must embrace all things and all

* The students did, in April of 1967, prove that they were alive to the crises of academic freedom by following the lead of the faculty in boycotting classes over the issue of the dismissal of Father Charles Connor, a member of the theology department.

ideas as Catholics. A young instructor in a well-known Catholic college for men told the Danforth Commission that his students were eager to learn and well behaved. He suspected, however, that their docility and their excessive respect for authority were results of their previous training, not of their presence in a Church school.[21]

The students have been docile, the faculty has been classified as second-class citizens, and the administration has assumed that it owns the school.

This idea of "owning" a university has not been a problem only at St. John's. One respondent told the Danforth Commission that at universities which are owned by religious communities, the clerical administrators and faculty members consider the university a family affair. They jealously guard their proprietorship, thus restricting the role of the lay members as policy makers.[22]

Another respondent pointed out a similar problem:

> The frustrations generally have to do with the fact that religion is necessarily a body of teaching that speaks with authority, and this authority is often rightly or wrongly extended to its ministers, so that the administrators of Catholic colleges—particularly clerics who are used to literal obedience—may often justify ruthless suppression of academic freedom on spurious theological grounds. More often, in fact, the whole way of life of people with a public commitment to religion—that is, priests, nuns, etc.—leads them to be quite oblivious to the fact that they are riding roughshod over the sensibilities of faculty members. Moreover, that Catholic colleges are highly unified by reason of the stronger authority possessed by the administrators and by reason of the common religious viewpoint, often induces a kind of pseudo-family relationship into faculty-administration contacts.[23]

A teacher of humanities in a large Roman Catholic university commented on clerical control:

> For reasons closely connected with the religious foundations of the university, the control of policy has been left almost exclusively in the hands of clergymen. In some cases, the resulting stability and relative invulnerability of the administration has been an advantage; but it naturally causes discontent among the faculty and students who are occasionally pinched by it, or who envision ways in which they might be pinched. . . . There have been problems (gradually diminishing, I must say) about the position of religious dogma and the pseudo-dogma. Occasionally, the dogmatic allegiances of the institution have resulted in touches of anti-intellectualism, escapism, and intellectual compliance.[24]

The Catholic administrator seeks to protect the student from exposure to heretical ideas and provide him with the armor of apologetics so that he will remain safely in the Catholic Church. Monsignor George W. Casey opposed the present uses of the parochial school system. "Let us face it," he remarked, "the chief reason for the Catholic school system is the preservation of the faith." [25]

We have attempted to present the traditional historical role of the Catholic university in America. This is not to say, however, that Catholic higher education is not changing. One has only to pick up the latest newspaper to read about a new occurrence. St. John's major contribution to Catholic education may be that it has been a catalyst for such change. For as Jacqueline Grennan stated, "Making this into a big issue will make it clear that the suppression of academic freedom can no longer happen in secret."

Catholic education will never be the same because of St.

John's University. It has exposed the question of the changing character of Catholic education, of whether it is shedding its old function of preserving the faith in a hostile atmosphere, for one more sophisticated, more scholarly, more imaginative, and more congenial to the "Secular City," post-Vatican II world.

Notes

[1] Mary Perkins Ryan, *Are Parochial Schools the Answer?*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964, pp. 40–41.

[2] Edward Wakin and Father Joseph F. Scheuer, *The De-Romanization of the American Catholic Church*, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1966, p. 261.

[3] Justus George Lawler, *The Catholic Dimension in Higher Education*, Maryland: The Newman Press, 1959, p. 36.

[4] Edward J. Powers, *A History of Catholic Higher Education*, Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1958, p. 36.

[5] Quoted in Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot*, Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press, 1963, p. 297.

[6] Richard Hofstadter, *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life*, New York: Vintage Books, 1966, p. 136.

[7] John D. Donovan, *The Academic Man in the Catholic College*, New York: Sheed and Ward, 1964, pp. 23–24.

[8] Powers *op. cit.*, p. 99.

[9] "Identity Crisis on the Catholic Campus," *Newsweek*, June 27, 1966, p. 85.

[10] Powers, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

[11] Rosemary Lauer, "St. John's II: The Closed University," *Continuum*, Summer, 1966, pp. 241–42.

[12] *Newsweek*, May 6, 1957, p. 74.

[13] Bernard Berelson, *Graduate Education in the United States*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960, p. 280.

[14] "Identity Crisis on the Catholic Campus," *op. cit.*, p. 84.

[15] Allan M. Cartter, *An Assessment of Quality in Graduate Education*, Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1966, pp. 20–77.

[16] Andrew M. Greeley, *Religion and Career*, New York: Sheed and Ward, 1963, p. 138.

[17] Reverend Bernard J. Cooke, "College Theology and the Ecumenical Spirit: Preparation for the Dialogue," *Proceedings*, 1962, p. 168.

[18] Manning M. Pattillo, Jr., and Donald M. Mackenzie, *Church-Sponsored Higher Education in the United States*, Report of the Danforth Commission, Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, p. 110.

[19] Francis Kearns, "Journey Toward Maturity," *Generation of the Third Eye*, ed. Daniel Callahan, New York: Sheed and Ward, 1965, pp. 108–9.

[20] "Identity Crisis on the Catholic Campus," *op. cit.*, p. 85.

[21] Pattillo and Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 159.

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 169.

[25] Quoted in Rosemary Lauer, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

The Modernization of Catholic Higher Education

ALMOST every week, the Catholic and secular press report some public changes in the structure of a Catholic college.* Although dramatic changes are occurring at a number of Catholic campuses, the depth of the *aggiornamento* is not yet clear. The tenor of the debate is defensive. Nor has it been fully and honestly opened to questioning the very existence of the Catholic educational system. At an NCEA meeting in Atlantic City in March, 1967, Bishop Ernest J. Primeau, of Manchester, New Hampshire, put the question this way: "Why should the Church be operating schools at all?" But he admonished: "Please note that the simple asking of the question in no way implies the answer, 'The Church should *not* be operating schools.' "

* Again, "colleges" here refers to both colleges and universities.

With a few exceptions—Jacqueline Grennan is the most famous—this is generally the way the question is being asked, but it is indeed a peculiar question that can be answered only one way. Having disposed of the necessity of an answer for his sticky question, Bishop Primeau said: "But even so, in honesty to ourselves, to the Church and to American society, we are . . . duty-bound to formulate the reasons for the existence of a Catholic school system in the United States at this particular moment in history." The educators were being asked to frame a more persuasive answer rather than consider the problem.

The other element in these public admissions of inadequacy and need for reform is optimism. Reverend P. Reinert, S.J., president of St. Louis University, states simply that Catholic education "should hold a great and exciting promise." Unquestioned optimism (verging on Triumphalism) about an unquestionable proposition does not promise logic or depth.

However, important changes are being made. Father Neil G. McClusky, S.J., professor of education at the University of Notre Dame, wrote that a number of religious orders that run Catholic colleges are relinquishing control over school policy. This, he says, "may well be the most sweeping innovation in the history of Catholic higher education." [1] Recent moves among Catholic universities to turn some control over to laymen have been described by an observer as "a race to see who can secularize best."

Jacqueline Grennan, president of Catholic Webster College in Missouri, made the front page of the *New York Times* when she simultaneously announced her resignation

from the Order of the Sisters of Loretto and her plans to secularize Webster. The college is to become a "legally . . . secular institution in which the power of Christian presence is an important force." Miss Grennan's position answers the question about Catholic education in a manner that Bishop Primeau had ruled out:

> It is my personal conviction that the very nature of higher education is opposed to juridical control by the Church.
>
> The academic freedom which must characterize a college or university would provide continuing embarrassments for the Church if her hierarchy were forced into endorsing the action of the college or university.

This raises fundamental questions about the nature of any religious control of Catholic colleges and about the limitations on intellectual freedom in the name of orthodoxy. There is also the little-questioned issue of whether the operation of colleges furthers or hinders the Church's mission of service and preaching the word, as defined by Vatican II, especially in the *Constitution on the Church in the Modern World*. Open and vigorous thinking about these questions is necessary if we are to make any judgments about the relevance of Catholic education to the Church, to American Catholic life, and to the general society.

One aspect of the feasibility of Catholic education rests on its financial viability; this concerns federal aid, competition with private and state-supported institutions, potential for growth, ways of pulling back special services, and cooperation with secular institutions or amalgamation of existing Church-run schools. Critics have called attention to the June, 1966, Maryland Court of Appeals decision which

ruled out federal aid to three Church-affiliated colleges (two Catholic and one Methodist) on the grounds that they projected a religious image, but allowed money to be given to a United Church of Christ school that had a more secular image. The Attorney General of Maryland appealed the decision to the United States Supreme Court. The Court did not accept jurisdiction and thereby allowed the Maryland Supreme Court decision to stand. Schools which put laymen on the boards of trustees and divert some of the control from the religious orders do create a more secular image, but Father Hesburgh, president of Notre Dame, has remarked that "It would be silly to make this move just to get financial aid." Others in Catholic colleges, staggered by the financial problems of competition with state-supported institutions, are not as sure about the foolishness of such a move.

CLERICAL CONTROL AND PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Three weeks after Miss Grennan's announcement, the *National Catholic Reporter* of February 1, 1967, reported that the University of Notre Dame, the University of Portland, St. Louis University, Detroit University, and Loyola University of Chicago had given over some control to lay members of their boards of trustees. Similar moves were also under way at John Carroll University in Cleveland; at Holy Cross in Worcester, Massachusetts; and at St. Mar-

tin's College in Olympia, Washington. Other institutions will certainly follow suit.

These rearrangements, along with the recent appointments of laymen to positions of authority, are giving Catholic universities a more liberal appearance. Rosemary Lauer, however, is skeptical about this "liberalization." She told us:

> The appointment of laymen as vice-presidents and deans is another way of posing as liberal, but the experience of faculty members is that ordinarily such laymen are puppets of the establishment. The recent appointment of Dr. John Meng to an administrative post at Fordham's new Lincoln Center campus, for example, can scarcely be thought of as representing any diminution of clerical control at Fordham. Father Peter O'Reilly, after returning from a visit to Chicago, where he called on Archbishop Cody, said that Dr. Meng secretly contacted the archbishop during the height of the St. John's battle and asked him to recall Father O'Reilly to the Chicago archdiocese. Father O'Reilly, Meng is reported to have said, was the leader of the faculty opposition to the Vincentian administration and if he were removed the opposition would collapse.

There is more involved here than lay versus clerical authority. The question arises as to what is the difference between lay authority and secularization. Even a university that is "lay controlled" but religious differs—vis-à-vis authority—from independent institutions. What are the implications of Jacqueline Grennan's remark that Webster will be a "secular institution in which the power of Christian presence is an important force"? Does lay control equal secularization? Secularization means a rooting in this world. Harvey Cox's *The Secular City* argues persuasively that

the props, terms, and institutions of a former (sacral) era are no longer pertinent to this post-Christendom "secular age." What possible connections are there, then, between the residuary institutions and the present reality?

On a practical level, it has also been pointed out that a lay administration could be a buffer between religious who run schools and the local bishop, and that this might give the religious orders more control than previously. Moreover, those schools that have initiated liberalizing action represent only a small minority of the three hundred and thirty-nine American Catholic colleges and universities. We hear, for instance, about Webster, Mundelein, Marymount, and Immaculate Heart as progressive girls' colleges, but what of the others? John Cogley has described these as growing "out of nothing more academically substantial than the social ambition of Mother Superiors who wanted to gain for their orders the prestige supposedly attached to conducting a college. Beginning as finishing schools where the 'learning' was light, and the 'living' easy, they have remained pretty undistinguished through the ages." [2]

Catholic historians and educators, such as John Tracy Ellis, have argued that there are far too many Catholic colleges, and that they cannot foreseeably compete financially with secular schools. Harvard University has an endowment of $1 billion; Notre Dame, the best-endowed Catholic university, has $42 million. Daniel Callahan suggests that finances are a main stumbling block in the upgrading of Catholic education, and points to the ambiguity of Catholic graduates toward Catholic education: "Cath-

olics don't understand the concept of a chair. They will give to build a dormitory with their name on it, but not to endow a chair." The pressures toward more secularization are good, Callahan says, because "People who felt they would never go back to a Catholic university are now returning to teach there." He also feels that to limit Catholic education to three universities on a graduate level would strengthen it considerably.

One solution to particular financial problems is the merging of Catholic colleges in a particular city, or the joining of small Catholic colleges to a federation of large secular institutions. Immaculate Heart College in Los Angeles, for example, is joining the Claremont group in California. Mergers also offer academic benefits in shared libraries, faculties, and other facilities. Some examples of this include tentative plans to group seminaries around the University of Chicago; cooperation between Fordham University and the Union Theological Seminary, and the status of St. Michael's within the University of Toronto.

Martin F. Larrey, S.J., spelled out some proposals in an article in *Commonweal*. Claiming that the Jesuits operate "the best second-rate colleges and universities in the nation," he suggests that one great Jesuit University of America be established to compete with the best secular universities.

Catholic colleges are beginning to look critically at their institutional structures; there are schemes to cut down on the number of graduate universities, to consolidate and to upgrade. The editors of *Commonweal* point out the generally harmful effects of total control by a religious order.

Such restrictions limit the aspirations and influence of lay faculty members, and subject the internal policies of a university to nonacademic pressures, particularly pressures from Rome.[a]

Commonweal's stance does not, of course, answer Jacqueline Grennan's question; Miss Grennan, if one understands her correctly, is talking about *total* lay control. But can an institution be secular if it has clerical or even hierarchical connections with Catholicism? What is the identity of a Catholic college, and what is the nature of the secular institution in which, as Miss Grennan proposes, the "Christian presence is an important force"? More precisely, in Miss Grennan's scheme, what would be the *institutional* connection between the Christian force and the college's structure? Miss Grennan stated, at the time the Webster move was announced, that she was convinced that the very nature of higher education is opposed to juridical control by the church. "The academic freedom which must characterize a college or university would provide continuing embarrassment for the church if the hierarchy were forced into endorsing or negating the action of the college or the university." Well and good, but it is frankly difficult to know how a legally secular institution can *guarantee* that the *Christian presence* will be or remain an important force, if the word Christian is taken to refer to dogmatic matters, and if those who run the institution are to be really free, even to change their own makeup. Miss Grennan has not spelled out this notion concretely, except to state for the Webster school paper that she was not about to give a ten-year plan for Christian presence.

Richard Horchler points out that Catholic universities are losing their identity, and that they will have to establish another one. That new identity will have to contend with the questions of freedom and orthodoxy. The Church has to show its critics that dogmatic authority *does not* interfere with liberal education and that free intellectual inquiry is compatible with religious orthodoxy. Jacqueline Grennan's direction is one possible solution, and Catholic universities, in their search for a new identity, will have to consider it. They will have to offer alternatives to it or to the present situation if they are to survive and improve.

ORTHODOXY AND ACADEMIC FREEDOM

The conflict between the intellectual's need for freedom and the Church's demand for orthodoxy has been a problem since the beginnings of the medieval Catholic universities. Copernicus, Galileo, ecclesiastical censorship of publications, heresy trials, the Syllabus of Errors, and the attacks on Darwin, Marx, and Freud are examples of this tension. But *Commonweal* called attention to a recent charge of heresy leveled again certain members of the philosophy department of the University of Dayton:

> An investigation was undertaken to determine the truth of the charges. Subsequently, those charged were cleared of suspicion. But what if, hypothetically, they had been guilty? The implication of the very investigative process itself was that the teaching of heresy is a punishable offense in a Catholic college. But if this is so, then the phrase "academic freedom" as ordinarily used can have only a limited meaning

in the Catholic university context; and this would be a clear fruit of "juridical control." [4]

The editors of the Jesuit magazine *America* claim that even a college which enjoys academic freedom does not completely escape outside control. The states regulate academic institutions within their boundaries, just as the Church exerts control over Catholic schools. Thus, "the great difference in academic freedom between secular and ecclesiastical institutions is to be found at the level of practice, not the level of principle." [5] In investigating charges of heresy, the line between practice and principle in this instance was blurred to extinction.

The Jesuits, who operate twenty-eight colleges, have been guilty of imposing "orthodoxy" on their members. Pierre Teilhard de Chardin was forbidden to publish, and his work no doubt suffered from the lack of discussion that publication would have brought. In 1965, the Reverend Daniel Berrigan, S.J., associate editor of *Jesuit Missions* magazine and a co-chairman of the Clergy Concerned About Vietnam Committee, was precipitately transferred to Latin America after he had denounced United States policy in Vietnam. The Jesuits also try to impose their views on lay faculty members in their schools. Just a few weeks after Father Pedro Arrupe, Superior General of the Society of Jesus, stated at Fordham University that "the university must be free to analyze. . . . Where such freedom fails to flower, invaluable sectors of human experience are inevitably cut away," a prospective Fordham faculty member received a phone call from the departmental chairman concerned asking him whether he would resign from

the United Federation of College Teachers. The professor informed the Jesuit that he would not. Subsequently, he received a letter which explained that there would not be an opening for him during the coming year, although he had previously been assured that he would be appointed. There is a degree of nervousness in the face of a union which threatens to give teachers power. *America* reflected this fear of unionism on the college level in an editorial. It stated that St. John's University's efforts to recover from the strike had earned the respect of the academic world. The editorial went on to say that *all* colleges and universities, and the AAUP, were "indebted to St. John's for its lonely, yet successful, fight against the raucous United Federation of College Teachers." [6]

America expressed this opinion almost three months before St. John's agreed at last to submit to arbitration by the American Arbitration Association. The magazine, which has supported the right of the California grape pickers to unionize, was of a different mind on the matter of academic unions.

Francis Kearns, fired from Jesuit Georgetown University because of his outspoken views on civil rights, wrote an article in *Commonweal* in which he suggested that Georgetown and Catholic schools in general tended to place barriers between their students and the spirit of the social encyclicals. Subsequently he described the repercussions of his publishing the article:

> In the days that followed I received twenty letters, primarily from teachers at other Catholic schools, almost all expressing solicitude about my future at Georgetown or frankly wish-

ing me luck in finding a new job. And two newspaper reporters who phoned seemed somewhat surprised that I had not yet been fired.

Indeed, there did seem to be cause for concern. One theology professor announced to his class that I would not be back next year. Another priest began questioning my students about any unorthodox religious or political views I might have expressed in class. Still another Jesuit, one who had sympathized with the article, told me he was sickened by talk among some older Jesuits in the community about "getting me." [7]

Kearns also expressed concern about "the public lying of certain Jesuits." Individuals who had privately told him that they supported his views denounced him in public. It is inevitable that clerics in colleges, whether as teachers or administrators, will experience a conflict between their religious and academic commitments. The administrator's first concern seems too often to be the order's image. In one New York school operated by an order of nuns, two sisters voluntarily left the religious community several weeks before the end of a semester. The official explanation was that they were ill. Writing in *Continuum*, Rosemary Lauer recalled a similar incident of dishonesty at St. John's:

> . . . members of the St. John's graduate faculty were shocked when a high-ranking administrator of the university asked their help in "slanting a report" (the expression is his) to the New York State Department of Education, which was pursuing its investigation of the graduate school with a view to discontinuing accreditation in certain departments at the doctoral level.[8]

Loyola University fired a number of faculty members just prior to the institution of tenure policies. They com-

plied with the AAUP statement that notice of nonrenewal of contract must be given at least six months prior to the end of the term, and in this way avoided "another St. John's." It is obvious that the Jesuits and Vincentians are not alone in such maneuvers. Catholic University has breached spectacularly the principle of academic freedom and the separation of church and school. Dr. Joseph M. Hernon, Jr., a thirty-year-old assistant professor of history at the university, reports that the administration had directed that "if possible" a Catholic be employed to teach medieval history. The best-qualified candidate, the history faculty thought, was an Episcopalian who had been vetoed by the executive committee of the board of trustees. Hernon decided to publicize the issue because many lay teachers were repelled by what he called the "anti-intellectual position" of the bishops who direct Catholic University. (The university is governed by a board consisting of the thirty-two American Catholic bishops and twelve laymen selected by the bishops.) Dr. Hernon contends that the ecclesiastical views of the bishops "take precedence over our professional views," and that the history department had been of the overwhelming opinion that religion should not have been a consideration in filling the job.[9] Hernon had led a walk-out from a faculty meeting the year before to protest what was regarded as arbitrary rulings by the presiding officer.

In April of 1967 a priest in the theology department of Catholic University, Father Charles Curran, was informed that his contract would not be renewed. There was a suspicion that this decision was made because of Father Curran's publicly stated views on birth control. Faculty

and students won their battle to keep Father Charles Curran from dismissal by effectively closing down the entire university with a student-faculty boycott initiated by the theology department and supported by the other schools. Unlike the situation at St. John's, a majority of the faculty objected to the summary dismissal of Father Curran. His colleagues on the theology faculty (who had recommended him for promotion from assistant to associate professor) interpreted the dismissal as a threat to the academic freedom of the entire faculty. The boycott forced a reversal of the board of trustees' decision to drop Curran without stating any reason and without granting him any hearing.

A few years before, Catholic University had refused permission to lecture on campus to theologians Hans Küng, Godfrey Diekmann, John Courtney Murray, and Gustave Weigel.

At Catholic University, birth control was deemed a crucial issue, subject to the demands of orthodoxy. On May 11, the *New York Times* reported that Fordham University would have a series of lectures on sex which would include information about birth control. The university officials defended themselves against possible criticism by stating that the discussion would take place outside of the teaching of morals. In other words, the Church had not changed its position on birth control, but Fordham very wisely defended its students' right to be informed, and to be informed within the boundaries of an academic milieu. Many religious-run institutions of higher education, however, have refused to admit that intellectual inquiry cannot be limited

if a university is to be a university and not an extension of a parish.*

The basic problem of orthodoxy and freedom of intellectual inquiry was summed up by Rosemary Lauer, who claims that the freedom of thought, speech, and action which is necessary for intellectual development is seriously limited in Catholic schools. Such a limitation exists because priority is granted to theological orthodoxy and ecclesiastical authority, and preservation of the rights of religious orders rather than serious scholarship.

The major problem in Catholic education today is whether academic freedom can be limited in an institution which calls itself a university. Catholic universities have lagged behind secular institutions in this area. At many Catholic institutions the freedom of the teacher is limited by specific doctrinal tests which are irrelevant to competence and professional ethics. The final criterion is often the danger of "loss of faith" among the students.

In light of these incidents, Jacqueline Grennan's position demands serious discussion. The question is larger than the maintenance and the nature of the Church schools—it has to do with the whole relationship of freedom and the individual. But it is particularly pertinent at schools where organized and brutal intimidation has taken place. Uni-

* Daniel Callahan charges that "the American parish, financially and spiritually, has almost become an appendage of the school." Although he is talking about the parochial school system, another remark in the same context could be applied to the tendency of the Church to hold on to its investments in its educational apparatus, parochial or higher, come high water. Callahan says: "There is a faith in the schools, and a zeal for their welfare, which is proof against any statistics, questions and alternative suggestions." [10]

versities have special obligations in the pursuit of truth that inevitably and constantly call into question the rights of intellectual freedom and the limitations of orthodoxy. The teacher must be protected from teaching what he does not believe in. Rosemary Lauer has written that a great step forward

> could be taken if college presidents . . . would declare publicly that they will no longer consider it their obligation, that they will consider it even contrary to their obligation, to concern themselves with the "orthodoxy" of the teaching in their institutions. One must ask, can they possibly do less to convince the academic world of their sincerity when they speak of the desirability of academic freedom? But one must also, unfortunately, realize that, as the Catholic Church functions in this country . . . Catholic college presidents do not *dare* make such a declaration. Until this picture changes, until the official Catholic Church comes to see that using the university to insure religious orthodoxy, to preserve people in the faith, is an unconscionable violation of the nature of the university—until then, the Catholic Church and the universities "can't mix." [11]

Father Theodore M. Hesburgh, president of Notre Dame, may be the first Catholic college president who could take this giant step toward academic freedom. He has already vowed to "hire the best in the field" for Notre Dame. Wakin and Scheuer point out that when Father Hesburgh asked a committee of prominent psychologists to recommend someone to head Notre Dame's psychology department, he informed them that they need not choose a Catholic.[12]

Father Hesburgh outlined what he considers to be the role of Catholic higher education in the twentieth century before the National Catholic Education Association:

> Here is an age crying for the light and guidance of Christian wisdom. What must future judges think of us if we live in the most exciting age of science ever known to mankind, and philosophize mainly about Aristotle's physics? We live today in the threatening shadow of cosmic thermonuclear destruction and often theologize about the morality of war as though the spear has not been superseded by the I.C.B.M.
>
> If we are to create a peak for Catholic higher learning today, two essential requirements at least are crystal clear: One, we must understand the present-day world in which we live, with all of the forces and realities that make it what it is; and two, those two best and most unique assets we have, philosophy and theology, must begin to be more relevant to the agonizing, very real, and monumental problems of our times. . . .[13]

Father Hesburgh's views can be seen as an alternative to Jacqueline Grennan's, but neither of them solves the immense problems of the possibilities *and opportunities* of the school in the Christian community. It is a pleasure to note that Father Hesburgh's solution is not evangelical, as are those of Bishop Primeau and Father Andrew Greeley. The matter will be debated for years to come. If anything, the burden of proof is on Father Hesburgh and those who choose his alternatives. Catholic higher education in America has a long history of suppression of academic freedom and a short history of change. As Sister Charles Borromeo, C.S.C., on leave from St. Mary's College in South Bend, and visiting professor of theology at St. Xavier College in

Chicago remarked, "Up until the last two years or so, most Catholic colleges might as well have been in a greenery. They didn't know what was happening."

Catholic education is in a crisis as well as in a period of change. Even its backers talk about their troubles. Bishop Primeau noted at the NCEA meeting that "we have been smug, content—badly out of touch." They are not apt, in the face of the evidence, to remain so, but this is not enough. They must decide, as Thomas O'Dea said, whether or not they value intellectual maturity and growth enough to risk losing those who are weak in faith or those who cannot meet successfully the intellectual challenge.

The alternatives open to Catholic higher education as it seeks modernization range from the polar extremes of St. John's to Webster College. Catholic educators must ask themselves whether or not juridical control by the Church is opposed by its very nature to higher education. To pose questions which can be answered only one way, as Bishop Primeau does, is an evasion of the problem. To refer to the matter as a "noncontroversy," as Father Andrew Greeley did in a review of the Danforth Commission study, *Church-Sponsored Higher Education in the United States*, by Manning M. Parrillo, Jr., and Donald M. MacKenzie, is similarly an evasion. One might ask Father Greeley to explain to those whose intellectual freedom has been limited in the name of orthodoxy, how they were involved in a "noncontroversy." Greeley reasons that, since "the Creator and the Mediator are the same God," billions of dollars should be poured into institutional Catholic schools. But the Church (and its theoreticians) will have to decide

whether this immense expenditure is the best way to "journey toward the heavenly Kingdom," or whether the effort and money could be better spent.

We have presented the problems of Catholic higher education by offering the arguments of leading Catholic spokesmen. Although we have alluded to the philosophical questions inherent in proposed changes and solutions, we admit that we are not able to give the answers to these questions. All we can offer is our own experience and judgments. We have, however, been in a position to analyze some of the more general social factors which have precipitated this controversy.

The controversy over goals and purposes among American Catholic colleges has been created by the antagonism of faculty members (both lay and religious) to the traditional authoritarian control exerted by the religious congregations.

The current problem in Catholic higher education is how American Catholicism as an institutionalized ideology can mend the cleavages within. The Church, through its instruments (churches, schools, and religious orders), in fact maintains the ideology. Although an ideology must always cope with challenges, it tends to resist criticism or innovation. Then, when the dissenters have enough support and it is no longer possible to ignore them, the ideology makes concessions to reestablish equilibrium.

Catholicism in this way realized that it had to adjust itself to the problems of the modern world—this precipitated the calling of Vatican II. In fact, Catholicism's longevity owes much to its ability to respond to demands for

reform and updating. It could not have survived the stresses occasioned by Galileo, Luther, Darwin, and Freud without a great amount of flexibility.

Whether the Catholic colleges in the United States will show the same flexibility is yet to be seen. If the administrators continue to conceive of the university as a place for the protection of the faithful and stress religious apologetics, they may eventually put off most serious scholars. To think of the Catholic university as an instrument of the teaching mission of the Church is a grave error. The Church can carry out its teaching function in the sacraments, the pulpit, the liturgy, the encyclicals, the community of the people of God and the insights of the Councils. If the Church refuses to recognize the university as a community of scholars dedicated to the pursuit of truth no matter where it might lead, its universities will remain second and third rate at best.

Catholic colleges are safe for the moment, but what will happen when the present Catholic working class has its diplomas and moves into the middle class? Will they, as parents, pay tuition to educationally and socially inferior Catholic colleges? Only time will tell whether Catholic colleges have estimated the direction and amount of change necessary to perpetuate their existence.

At least the complications of the problem are being currently well aired. There have been a number of books devoted to the subject, both symposiums and longer essays, and it is a hot subject in Catholic journals as well as the general press. The argument is taking place on a fairly open level; there is general agreement that something must be

done. John Cogley gave a speech at Marquette University * in which he made a valuable contribution to clearing up some of the doubletalk about Catholic universities being a little bit pregnant with freedom. He also, at least until the last few paragraphs, opposed himself to the triumphalism that pervades even most of the critical arguments against the Catholic education establishment. Cogley predicted the end of the Church-run institutions identifiable as Catholic universities, and offered an alternative to the word (and sometime cliché) of secularization. Cogley takes strong exception to a quoted remark of Father Hesburgh's that the Catholic university "touches the moral as well as the intellectual dimension of all the questions it asks itself and its students." Cogley opposed as well another (unnamed) spokesman for Notre Dame who was quoted as saying that the goal of the university is "building bridges between the world and the wisdom of the Church." On the contrary, Mr. Cogley reasserts, the job of any university is to concern itself with higher learning ("it is not an ideological boot camp"). He adds, "It is not the university's job to shape the 'questions' in such a way that their 'moral dimensions' can be isolated and *decreed* rather than intuited by the individuals faced with making choices. Mr. Cogley supports not secularization but *universitizing*, which amounts to pluralizing the Catholic campus. That would put him somewhere in between Webster and Notre Dame. But it does not yet answer the question of why the Church (as an institution, again) should be in the business of educating at all. By all means, for the sake of the next genera-

* Reprinted in *Commonweal*, June 2, 1967.

tion or two that will attend Catholic colleges, they should be improved. For the sake of their teaching staffs, they should grant ordinary, minimal academic freedom. For the sake of the society, they should immerse themselves in the world. But the question of Church-run schools is still wide open, and its adherents have not made their arguments finally persuasive.

Notes

[1] Neil G. McClusky, "The New Catholic College," *America*, March 25, 1967, p. 414.

[2] John Cogley, "Catholics and Their Schools," *Saturday Review*, October 15, 1966, p. 73.

[3] *Commonweal*, January 27, 1967, p. 442.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *America*, January 28, 1967, p. 138.

[6] *America*, December 17, 1966.

[7] Francis E. Kearns, "Journey Towards Mutiny," *Generation of the Third Eye*, ed. Daniel Callahan, New York: Sheed and Ward, 1965, pp. 106–7.

[8] Rosemary Lauer, "St. John's II: The Closed University," *Continuum*, Summer, 1966, p. 246.

[9] *New York Times*, January 21, 1967.

[10] Daniel Callahan, "Liberal Catholicism in America," *The Future of Catholic Christianity*, ed. Michael de la Bedoyere, Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1966.

[11] Lauer, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

[12] Edwin Wakin and Father Joseph F. Scheuer, *The De-Romanization of the American Catholic Church*, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1966, p. 81.

[13] Theodore M. Hesburgh, "Catholics and the Present," *Commonweal*, May 12, 1961, pp. 178–79.

[14] Thomas O'Dea, *American Catholic Dilemma*, New York: Sheed and Ward, 1958, p. 38.

Appendix A

G. Robert Ellergaard professor of law at St. John's Law School for twenty-nine years, wrote the following letter to the alumni describing the state of academic freedom. Greetings:

. . . The policies of the University and Law School administrations, which provoked the current bitter and notorious strike by the more courageous of the dissident faculty, are the very policies which have frustrated the fulfillment of the promise, which the Law School in its early years gave, of becoming a truly great institution of legal learning, ranking with the best law schools in the City of New York and across the country. The policies have demeaned, divided and demoralized students, faculty and alumni; they have stifled academic freedom and obstructed the educational process; they have depreciated the quality of the student body and the competence of the faculty.

Thus, ethnic and religious discriminations have barred qualified applicants for admission while enrolling Roman Catholic students with inferior qualifications. Similar discriminatory policies have excluded able candidates from appointment to the faculty and caused the resignations of veteran teachers. Personal and invidious discriminations in salaries, in appointments to extra-compensated extra-curricular faculty posts, in extra-compensated summer teaching, in course assignments and in many other administration decisions are employed to divide the faculty by punishing the recalcitrant and favoring the rest.

Vindictive administration practices have throttled free intramural discourse among faculty and students. The faculty may not communicate with one another via the faculty bulletin board or by memoranda on curricular matters. All discussions at faculty meetings are subject to censorship by deletion or distortion in the minutes. So regimented are the students in curricular and extra-curricular action, in dress and deportment, in communications *inter sese* and with the faculty, that the better students, who are able, transfer to other law schools; those that remain are dispirited.

Administration interference with the educational process is pernicious. The practice which I pursued for a quarter of a century of returning all examination answers to students, replete with my written criticisms accompanied by model answers, was peremptorily terminated by fiat of the dean. The faculty are not free to choose their teaching materials. Twice I was refused permission to use nationally renowned casebooks, once because the book then being

used was published by St. John's University Press, and as the then Dean said: "How can I justify abandoning it? Why, we have a whole roomful left!"

The administration interferes with the preparation of examinations and with the grading of examination answers. Faculty reported grades are arbitrarily altered by the administration and students are prevented or discouraged from obtaining a review of their papers or an explanation of their grades. The faculty Committee on Admissions and Grades, appointed and chaired by the administration, does not even report its proceedings to the faculty.

The faculty have no effective voice in the formulation and implementation of educational policy. There can be no freedom of the faculty to execute their pedagogical responsibilities according to their trained professional judgments unless they are protected by job tenure against harassment by the administration. Although the Board of Trustees has engaged in the pretense of providing tenure by recent amendment of the University statutes, the administration retains the power to fix salaries and other emoluments of faculty status, to grant or deny sick and sabbatical leaves and to lower the compulsory retirement, whereby to cull the independent teachers from the faculty and to cow those who remain. Whereas I am a senior professor of law after twenty-nine years of service, I am the lowest paid full professor on the law faculty.

Appendix B

To: Board of Trustees
St. John's University
Dear Board Member:

Well over two months have elapsed since the Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools issued its unprecedented public show cause order.

In an effort to resolve the difficulty, I addressed a letter on December 7th to Father Cahill offering to sit down on an off-the-record basis to resolve this dispute. Unfortunately, this did not evince a positive response.

You will recall that Dr. Albert E. Meder of Middle States did state that St. John's University must do something about the affected teachers as a demonstration of correcting its "institutional weakness."

The Faculty Council of the Liberal Arts Colleges, the student newspapers, "Downtowner" and "Torch," have all

expressed the sentiment calling for the reinstatement of the affected faculty.

We are most eager to end the controversy and participate actively in rehabilitating the reputation of St. John's University in the academic world. We would consider it an unfortunate tragedy to have this institution destroy its effectiveness as a university dedicated to the provision of a good education for its students.

We ask that a conference be held at the earliest possible moment, either directly or under the auspices of a third party, such as the American Arbitration Association. In the interests of harmony, we would agree that no publicity be attached to this conference unless by mutual consent.

At this conference we would ask for the following:

1. An offer of reinstatement to all faculty affected by the dispute. This would include those paid until the end of their contracts as well as those who left because of conscientious protest. The former group should be cleared of all charges or presented with charges under mutually agreeable due process.
2. The faculty of St. John's be free to join or not to join an organization of their choice, including the United Federation of College Teachers. Such an organization would have equal rights with other faculty organizations in distribution of literature and the holding of meetings on campus.

If these are satisfactory, the UFCT would offer to do the following:

1. Withdraw all lawsuits.

2. Communicate with the AAUP, Middle States, and various learned societies asking that censure and boycott of St. John's be ended forthwith.
3. Secure complete cooperation from the public school teaching staff in cooperating with the St. John's School of Education on practice teaching.
4. End all publicity on the dispute—picketing, meetings, press releases, etc.

May I hear from you at your earliest convenience. Further delay makes necessary corrective measures more and more difficult.

Sincerely yours,
Dr. Israel Kugler
President, UFCT

St. John's University
Jamaica 32, N.Y.

March 7, 1967

Mr. _____

Dear Mr. _____:

Enclosed is a proposal for the adoption of an agreed procedure in which the issues between us may be resolved. If you find it acceptable, please let us know and we will have an agreement embodying its terms prepared and submitted for execution.

Very truly yours,
Very Rev. Joseph T. Cahill, C.M.
President

PROPOSAL

To each of the faculty members who were notified on or about December 15, 1965, that his contract with St. John's University would not be renewed on expiration, the University offers, on the understandings described below, to submit to arbitration the question whether under all of the circumstances then prevailing the Board of Trustees acted reasonably in notifying such faculty member, on or about December 15, 1965, that his contract would not be renewed; and further offers with regard to each such faculty member who was also notified that he was immediately relieved from classroom assignments to submit to arbitration the question whether under all of the circumstances then prevailing the Board of Trustees acted reasonably in so relieving him. The arbitrators are to specify an appropriate remedy in any case where they find a remedy should be applied.

The understandings upon which this offer is made are:

1. Any arbitration hereunder shall be held before a panel of three arbitrators to be selected by the American Arbitration Association.

2. The panel shall be empowered to make a final and binding award.

3. Each party shall have the right to have counsel.

4. Either party may publicize the final award in any arbitration, but the hearings themselves shall be conducted privately, shall be attended only by the arbitrators, representatives of the American Arbitration Association, a stenographer, the parties, their respective counsel, and their respective witnesses. The proceedings shall be kept confidential, with neither party directly or indirectly publicizing them.

5. Both parties in each arbitration shall agree to an absolute privilege against claims of libel or slander by the other.

6. Prior to the arbitration each party accepting this offer shall withdraw without prejudice all litigation heretofore brought by him against the University, its officers, and/or Trustees. And any party accepting this offer who has not brought such litigation shall agree not to do so.

Appendix C

MIDDLE STATES REPORT on ST. JOHN'S UNIVERSITY

MIDDLE STATES ASSOCIATION OF
COLLEGES AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Commission on Institutions of Higher Education
In the matter of ST. JOHN'S UNIVERSITY

I

On or about December 15, 1965, St. John's University took steps to separate 31 faculty members from the staff. Ten of these separations were routine notices that appointments would not be renewed. Twenty-one also involved immediate suspension from teaching and other duties. This action led to a strike against the University in January, 1966, to the resignation of other faculty members, the separation of still others who failed to meet their classes or accept their second semester schedules, and to the with-

drawal of a number of students. Doubtless the precise number of students and faculty separations attributable to the University's action will never be accurately known.

The University gave notice only to persons not on tenure and arranged to pay their salaries in full to the end of their terms. Nevertheless, there were in the group persons who had served the University for a considerable period of time and who under the ordinary practice of American colleges and universities, as expressed in the 1940 Statement of Academic Freedom and Tenure, should have enjoyed tenure, would normally have had such status elsewhere,* but did not have it at St. John's.

In addition to giving notice of intention not to reappoint, the University simultaneously removed the 21 professors from their classrooms and relieved them of all duties. In an earlier statement (issued on April 29, 1966) the Commission characterized this action as de facto suspension and called it reprehensible, because in its opinion such suspension of faculty members without the filing of charges runs directly counter to sound academic practice.

A faculty member who is forbidden from performing any normal duties is clearly a faculty member in name only. His status has been seriously impaired. The normal course of action following notice of non-reappointment would have been to permit each of the faculty members concerned to have carried out his assigned schedule for the balance of the year. But the University felt that it was essential to get the faculty members out of their classrooms at once. Even so, alternative procedures, such as the granting of leaves of absence for research, the assignment of non-teaching duties,

or similar devices that could not be interpreted as impugning the professional status of the teachers could have been utilized.

It is difficult to see how the University can have the matters both ways: if the action was intended solely as notice of intention not to reappoint, present activities of each teacher should not have been altered; if the action was in fact intended as suspension or summary dismissal, charges should have been filed.

II

It becomes important to inquire into the locus of responsibility for these acts, and the reasons for them. The first question is easily answered: The Board of Trustees itself states that the actions were taken by it, on its own responsibility, freely and without coercion by the administrative officers or by the Vincentian Order, as being necessary to the welfare of the University, and with complete willingness to accept the consequences, whatever they might be.

Neither this Commission nor anyone else need agree with these views of the Board, to believe, on sufficient evidence, that the Board was actuated by the conviction, justified or not, that the acts were necessary despite their character and their consequences.

Having heard the Board's explanation, given by one of its lay members at a meeting at which all the Trustees were present, the Commission representatives were convinced that the evidence was indeed sufficient to believe that the Board did act from the motives set forth above. The Commission thereupon stated that responsible government had not ceased to exist at St. John's University.

No statement in the Commission's preliminary judgment has been more misunderstood. Let it be noted that this Commission has not said that the action was appropriate, wise, desirable or necessary, merely that it was the act of responsibility seriously. The Commission believes that the Board took this action in the considered belief that it was appropriate, wise, desirable and necessary. The Commission judgment was and is that the action was reprehensible.

III

We now comment on the relationship between member institutions and the Commission. A member institution is obligated to furnish information requested by the Commission but such information is never divulged by the Commission. As a matter of fact the Commission receives a great deal of confidential information, dealing with such matters as salaries, institutional plans, competence of faculty and staff, that would never be available on any other basis, and that is necessary for the Commission properly to function as an accrediting agency. Similarly, when the Commission makes a report to an institution, the report belongs to the institution. Institutions may publicize what has passed between them and the Commission, but on the Commission's part, all such communications are confidential. Actions by the Commission are made public by the Commission only in exceptional circumstances. The Commission remains convinced that its relations with institutions holding or seeking Middle States accreditation must in the nature of the case be maintained on a strictly confidential basis; any strictures as to silence with respect to the facts or findings in the case of St. John's University or any other institutions should be

directed against the institution, not against the Commission.

Within this framework the Commission can say only that it is convinced that the Board of Trustees of St. John's University believed that the University faced a clear and present danger to its very existence, and that immediate and drastic action was called for, and believed further that the action taken was necessary to avert the destruction of the institution and to prevent the belief of the Trustees as valid in any objective sense, there is no question whatsoever that the Trustees themselves were satisfied that they faced precisely such a crisis. (To avoid misunderstanding, let it be said explicitly that the Commission is making no comment on the credibility of this belief.) Manifestly there is no way by which the Commission, the Trustees, or anyone else can now determine what would have happened had the Trustees not acted as they did. It should be pointed out that this action does not accord with the Trustees' own notions of sound academic governance as reflected in the Statutes as to academic freedom and tenure and as to the internal organization of the University that they adopted virtually simultaneously with their action under discussion here.

IV

It now becomes essential for the Commission, in determining its own course of action with respect to the accreditation of St. John's University, to distinguish between these actions of the Board themselves, and their consequences. With respect to the latter one must ask, among other questions, the following:

What price will the University pay? Has its educational effectiveness deteriorated to the point where this Commission must state that it no longer meets the standards of this Association? In particular, has this episode led to resignation of faculty members, withdrawal of students, inability to recruit replacements, or similar untoward events, to such an extent that the University no longer possesses the capability of meeting its objectives effectively?

With respect to the actions themselves one must ask whether these actions per se, without regard to the consequences they may entail, are sufficient evidence of deterioration that the institution is to be judged unworthy of a place on the accredited list. This position has been vigorously maintained by some members of the academic community.

To determine this issue, it is necessary to examine the nature and significance of accreditation. Accreditation is a judgment by the Commission that the institution has worthy objectives, adequate resources to attain them in reasonable measure, and in fact is doing so. It is to be revoked when an institution no longer has such objectives, programs, or outcomes.

Accreditation is not an accolade or certificate of merit awarded to exemplary institutions, to be removed by the Commission when an offense that seems heinous to some portion of the academic public has been committed. Loss of accreditation comes about because of loss of educational effectiveness.

Without in the slightest degree condoning the serious violation of sound academic practice inherent in the Board's

action, the Commission does not believe that accreditation can depend on any single action or factor, but rather must be determined by the weight of all the evidence, and therefore concludes that the actions of the Board, in themselves, do not warrant revocation of the accreditation of St. John's University.

V

But what of the consequences of these actions? Have they led to serious deterioration in the educational effectiveness of the University? This is the overriding concern of the Commission. From the point of view of the Commission, which is not a vehicle for the redress of individual grievances, it is the effect of the Trustees' actions on the educational effectiveness of the University that basically must determine our actions concerning its accredited status.

The Commission has accordingly assembled all the evidence it could on this point. The summary that follows is based on reports submitted by the University, answers to questions raised by the Commission after studying the reports, a visit to the University by representatives of the Commission—all either members of the Commission or its staff—as well as a brief submitted by the United Federation of College Teachers and conversations by representatives of the Commission—similarly chosen—with several of the dismissed faculty members.

St. John's University has in fact improved its salary scales, its procedures for faculty involvement in policy determination, its manner of dealing with student concerns, its academic standards, and the qualifications of its faculty. It is

also spending considerable sums of money to improve its physical facilities for faculty scholarship and research. Documentation for each of the points in the above summary statement either exists in the files of the Commission or has been examined in the University files by members of the Commission.

The Commission concludes that the actions of the Board of Trustees have not as yet led to critical deterioration of the educational effectiveness of the University, and that the University has taken action intended to correct the basic conditions that led to the crisis of December, 1965.

VI

There is another ground upon which revocation of accreditation might be supported, and this, too, has been urged upon the Commission. It is that this action would force St. John's University to redress the grievances of the individual faculty members injured by the actions of the Board of Trustees. The Commission rejects this view on two grounds: first, that action would be inappropriate and a misuse of the Commission's prerogatives; and second, that as stated in our preliminary judgment, the Commission is not a vehicle for the redress of individual grievances. (We note parenthetically that there is no evidence at all that the proposed action would accomplish the desired end, and considerable ground for believing that it would not.)

VII

There is, however, still one other factor bearing on accreditation that seems to the Commission more significant than any of the three already discussed. The unfortunate

events at St. John's University are symptomatic of serious institutional weakness that cannot be allowed to continue. Indeed, if this weakness is not corrected it is predictable there there will develop such deterioration of educational effectiveness that loss of accreditation will almost inevitably ensue. Though the University has already taken some steps in this direction, it is important that efforts be vigorously increased to strengthen the administrative structure of St. John's University, to improve understanding on the part of the Trustees, administration and faculty of the objectives of higher education and of the procedures appropriate to their attainment and to bring the University more fully into the mainstream of American higher education in the twentieth century.

Though the Commission, as pointed out above, cannot be officially concerned with the grievances of individuals as such, neither can it overlook the institutional weakness that these dismissals reflected. It holds that this matter cannot be allowed to remain unresolved in the hope that the issue will fade away. Just as the dismissals were an outward manifestation of internal weakness, so a sincere attempt to alleviate the consequences of this act will be strong evidence of increased internal strength. The Commission will look for such evidence.

VIII

The Commission on Institutions of Higher Education is neither a super-administrative agency to correct institutional errors or to approve or disapprove their acts, nor does it have any penal powers. The issue before this Commission

in this case is not whether St. John's University has violated the generally accepted norms of American higher education: it has. The issue is not whether it should be punished for its behavior: no such power is vested in the Commission. The issue is not whether the public should be made aware of unsatisfactory conditions at St. John's University: this has already been done through press reports generally, and particularly by the censure visited upon the University by the American Association of University Professors.

The purpose of the Commission, as has been stated publicly many times, is to help institutions achieve and retain satisfactory and ever-increasing levels of excellence. The Commission does not place an unaccredited institution on its accredited list until it is satisfied by evaluation that the institution meets its standards. On the other hand, the Commission does not remove an institution from its list until that institution has had an opportunity to put its affairs in order. The normal procedure is for the Commission to establish what amounts to a probationary period during which it endeavors to assist the institution to correct its defects, to improve its manner of conducting its affairs, and to attain a higher and at least a satisfactory level of excellence.

The Commission regards such an order to show cause why accreditation should not be revoked as a more constructive method of accomplishing improvement than the summary revocation, and only slightly less severe. Actions of this sort are more numerous than might be suspected. There is rarely a time when one or more institutions are not under a requirement by the Commission either to

improve their educational effectiveness or to suffer loss of accreditation. In every such case in the last decade at least satisfactory improvement has been made and revocation of accreditation avoided.

As a matter of fact, revocation of accreditation should be employed only as a last resort, because its effects are so widespread. They are not limited to the institution as such, but affect students and alumni, and may very well entail entirely unpredictable side effects. The institution itself may well not be the principal victim of revocation of accreditation when its far-reaching effects are considered.

IX

Applying these principles to the instant case, the Commission believes that the combination of censure by the American Association of University Professors—which it considers richly deserved—together with a show cause order will better enable the Commission to assist St. John's University in putting its affairs in order and to restore the University to its proper place in the educational community than would its expulsion from the Middle States Association at this time.

It is accordingly ORDERED that St. John's University show cause through a full reevaluation of all aspects of the University's life and work not later than December 31, 1967, why its accreditation should not be revoked.

By unanimous vote of the Commission in session at New York, N.Y., November 18, 1966:

Albert E. Meder, Jr.
Chairman

Index

About the Authors

JOSEPH SCIMECCA was a member of the sociology department at St. John's University when the faculty strike occurred. Neither faculty activists nor union members at the time of the mass dismissal, Mr. Scimecca and his colleague Roland Damiano joined the union and the strike to support the rights of their fellow faculty members.

Joseph Scimecca is a native New Yorker and an instructor of sociology at Upsala College. He is, at present, concluding his doctoral studies at New York University. He is a bachelor and lives in New York City.

ROLAND DAMIANO, born in New York City, is an instructor of sociology at the State University of New York at New Paltz. Mr. Damiano attended Dartmouth and Brooklyn colleges and is finishing his doctoral work at the City University of New York. He lives in New Paltz with his wife and two children.