

"DE CONCILIO'S CATECHISM," CATECHISTS,
AND THE HISTORY OF THE *BALTIMORE CATECHISM*

Dissertation

Submitted to

The College of Arts and Sciences of the
UNIVERSITY OF DAYTON

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for

The Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in Theology

By

Biff Rocha

UNIVERSITY OF DAYTON

Dayton, Ohio

December, 2013

“DE CONCILIO’S CATECHISM,” CATECHISTS,
AND THE HISTORY OF THE *BALTIMORE CATECHISM*

Name: Rocha, Biff

APPROVED BY:

William L. Portier, Ph.D.
Faculty Advisor

Sandra Yocum, Ph.D.
Faculty Reader

William Vance Trollinger, Jr., Ph.D.
Faculty Reader

Michael H. Barnes, Ph.D.
Faculty Reader

Patrick W. Carey, Ph.D.
Faculty Reader

ABSTRACT

“DE CONCILIO’S CATECHISM,” CATECHISTS, AND THE HISTORY OF THE *BALTIMORE CATECHISM*

Name: Rocha, Biff
University of Dayton

Advisor: Dr. William L. Portier

The history of the *Baltimore Catechism* has been written largely by its critics. This work will provide a review of how catechisms developed over time, and the position of the leaders of the catechetical renewal. These new catechists characterize the creation of the *Baltimore Catechism* as hurried and lacking effort. A brief introduction into the life of the compiler, Fr. Januarius De Concilio, is followed by a closer examination of the text seeking to highlight some elements of originality within the work.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iii
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 1 THE ROLE OF CATECHISMS IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH	8
CHAPTER 2 THE CREATION OF THE <i>BALTIMORE CATECHISM</i>	38
CHAPTER 3 THE NEW CATECHISTS	75
CHAPTER 4 DE CONCILIO AS A PASTORAL THEOLOGIAN	115
Phase I Italian Years (1836—1860)	115
Phase II Seton Hall Years (1860—1870)	124
Phase III The Americanist Years (1870—1898)	130
CHAPTER 5 SISTER MARY CHARLES BRYCE’S STUDY OF THE <i>BALTIMORE CATECHISM</i>	160
CHAPTER 6 A NEW SOURCE FOR THE HISTORY OF THE <i>BALTIMORE CATECHISM</i>	187
CONCLUSION	212
WORKS CITED	218
APPENDICES	
A. Chronological List of De Concilio’s Writings	241
B. Summary of Comparable Study	246

C. Questions Identified by Bryce as Unique.	247
D. Comparison of Council Catechisms	249
E. De Concilio’s Handwritten Journal	253
F. Addressing Points of Criticism in <i>Revised Baltimore Catechism</i>	254

INTRODUCTION

Sherry Weddell, author of an Amazon books 2013 Catholic Best Seller, *Forming Intentional Disciples*, begins her work by affirming with statistics and polls, what many Catholics have long recognized, namely that the catechetical renewal which blossomed after the Second Vatican Council (Oct. 11, 1962—Dec. 8, 1965) has created generations of individuals unfamiliar with basic teachings of the Catholic faith.¹ Weddell remarks, “I’ve listened to hundreds of Catholic leaders lament the failure of catechetics since Vatican II Today we can presume hardly anything about an individual’s true beliefs and lived spiritual experience even when we are dealing with a baptized Catholic who attended CCD classes or received a Catholic education.”² Writing in *Commonweal* magazine Catholic theologian John Cavadini points to the alarming void in American religious education. In assessing the cause Cavadini suggests it may be in part, “the generation of catechists who left behind the *Baltimore Catechism* in favor of experience-based models that eschewed passing on the doctrinal content of the faith.”³

¹ The question of the effectiveness of the varying methods of catechetical instruction requires a quantitative analysis which is outside of the scope of this dissertation. As will be discussed later, the narration of the creation of the *Baltimore Catechism* has had an effect, and it is that narration which is of interest to this present study.

² Sherry Weddell, *Forming Intentional Disciples* (Huntington, IN: Our Sunday Visitor, 2012), 126.

³ John C. Cavadini, “Ignorant Catholics: The Alarming Void in Religious Education,” *Commonweal* (April 9, 2004) 12.

This timely dissertation sheds light on the evolution of catechetics by examining the history, criticisms and uses of catechisms; such a study focuses on the *Baltimore Catechism* (1885) but deals with current and pragmatic concerns. National and local catechisms are called minor catechisms, and they typically pattern themselves on prior catechisms and are superseded in authority by major or universal catechisms. After the Second Vatican Council, critics of the *Baltimore Catechism* suggested that the time of catechisms was past and that the genre itself was no longer of use to a multi-cultural society. The release of a new universal catechism, *The Catechism of the Catholic Church: Revised in Accordance with the Official Latin Text Promulgated by Pope John Paul II* (2000), suggests that the Vatican, at least, disagrees with the critics' assessment and affirms the timeliness of this study. The *Catechism of the Catholic Church's* popularity and welcomed reception among laity and many non-Catholics⁴ suggests that the critics' assessment needs to be revisited. From my studies it appears that catechisms in general, and the *Baltimore Catechism* in particular in the United States, have been effective tools for teaching the Catholic faith.

I am personally a product of the new catechists, having gone through my religious instruction during the catechetical renewal when the catechism was banished and instead we finger-painted and made collages. Having completed the program of Catholic religious education and having made my Confirmation, I was embarrassed to be on the wrong end of an argument with my public school freshman history professor concerning whether or not Jesus Christ was an historical figure. While I appreciate how the new

⁴ Several non-Catholic authors have applauded the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* as a cogent presentation of Catholic beliefs. For example see, Mark Noll and Carolyn Nystrom, *Is the Reformation Over?: An Evangelical Assessment of Contemporary Roman Catholicism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2005) which devotes their fifth chapter to a praiseworthy assessment of the catechism.

catechists fought to make religious education programs pleasurable, I also believe that it would be useful if those religious education programs might use a catechism or some other religious literature to teach Catholic doctrine as well.

The history of the *Baltimore Catechism* to date has largely been written by its critics. A leader of the new catechetical movement, Sister Mary C. Bryce uses her description of careless compilation by parish priest, Rev. Januarius De Concilio and the bishop of Peoria, Rev. John L. Spalding in hastily amassing a national catechism destined for the waste bin, to discredit the *Baltimore Catechism* and advance the agenda of catechetical leaders of the 1960s and 1970s to decrease or abandon use of the catechism.

After its introduction into Catholic schools the *Baltimore Catechism* garnered much praise and proved itself to be a useful tool for the religious education of American Catholics in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In the context of how the catechism's history has been told (which was overwhelmingly positive for eighty-five years, then suddenly shifting in the nineteen seventies), and focusing on De Concilio's role in its production, this dissertation argues that the *Baltimore Catechism* was a serious catechetical work, produced by De Concilio with the end in mind of becoming the new national catechism. The widespread use and general lack of criticism till a certain point in the telling of its history suggests that the disparagement of the *Baltimore Catechism* by the new catechists was done mainly to advance their methods and thoughts on religious education. The characterization of De Concilio in his creation of the catechism is inseparable from the effort of the new catechists to discourage the use of catechisms in modern religious education.

The first chapter of the dissertation looks at catechesis, starting in the New Testament, into the Patristic period and through the Reformation. The invention of the printing press greatly accelerated the creation of handbooks for religious education. By the nineteenth century in the United States it was a cultural expectation for a newly appointed bishop to authorize a new catechism for his diocese.⁵ The fathers of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore (Nov. 9, 1884–Dec. 7, 1884) argued that to combat the problems associated with so many numerous and varied catechisms, one national catechism should be published to bring unity to Catholic religious instruction in the United States.

The second chapter reviews the available accounts of the creation of the *Baltimore Catechism*. Initial references to the authorization of the *Baltimore Catechism* were found in biographies of bishops and took for granted that the catechism was a success. Thus the account was woven within the greater story of the life and achievements of a bishop or cardinal as one of his many praiseworthy accomplishments. However a dissertation written in 1970 by Sister Mary Charles Bryce at the Catholic University of America draws a different conclusion about the *Baltimore Catechism*, questioning its quality, popularity and effectiveness. Bryce was one of a handful of new catechists and expresses the thoughts of this school of thinking popularized by the Catholic University of America. Accounts on the *Baltimore Catechism* subsequent to Bryce's dissertation are negative in tone and evaluation. The chapter examines the shift in attitude and presentation of the history of the catechism that emerged with the arrival of the new catechists.

⁵ Berard L. Marthaler, *Catechism Yesterday and Today: The Evolution of a Genre* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1995), 52.

The third chapter is an overview of the new catechists. The chapter begins with an history of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine (CCD) which recruited laity to teach religion with the traditional methods of instruction. Then the chapter provides a brief introduction to three leaders essential to developing of the new catechesis: Fr. Gerard Sloyan, Sister Mary Charles Bryce and Fr. Berard Marthaler. The chapter then explores how the new catechists grew and their new methods dominated the catechetical renewal after the Second Vatican Council.

The new catechists saw the knowledge found in Catholics trained as “students of the book” as a problem. Their antidote was to increase the students’ self-esteem and provide for positive experiences and experiential learning. The new catechist believed religious instruction with a catechism was a seriously flawed method. To wean American bishops from their reliance upon catechisms, the new catechists brought into question the quality, popularity and effectiveness of the *Baltimore Catechism*. Their revised history of the *Baltimore Catechism* is one in which the author hastily compiled pieces of other catechisms within the span of a few days, with the expectation that the resulting catechism would be thrown away after the Third Plenary Council.

The fourth chapter is a brief biography of the Januarius De Concilio, who I argue is the main creator of the *Baltimore Catechism*. His life is divided into three phases. In the first phase occurs in Italy (1836-1860) where he is trained in the Scholastic method. In the second phase (1860-1870) De Concilio arrived in America and is assigned to teach at Seton Hall College.

Interacting with Bernard McQuaid, James Roosevelt Bayley and Michael Corrigan at Seton Hall De Concilio becomes a member of the conservative or Traditionalist faction of the United States clergy during the Americanist conflict of the nineteenth century.

The third phase of De Concilio's life (1870-1898) I dub the Americanist years because as a pastoral theologian De Concilio becomes embroiled in many of the issues of his day: Americanization of new immigrants, the nature-grace debate, the debate over private property prompted by Henry George, the consideration of Darwinism, especially as advocated by Fr. John Zahm, and the School Question which gained national attention through the advocacy of Archbishop John Ireland. Progressives argued from an American- centered pragmatic approach that it was best for Catholics to integrate into the public school system against Traditionalists who argued from more of a theological and international Catholic perspective.

The fifth chapter focuses in on Bryce's pivotal examination of the *Baltimore Catechism*. In her study, Bryce identifies 55 of the 421 questions listed, to be original with the *Baltimore Catechism*. After briefly nit-picking with Bryce's coding and categorization, I limit myself to working with the 55 questions Bryce identifies as original and I group them into three thematic groups: pastoral questions, theological questions, and apologetic questions.

The sixth chapter examines De Concilio's creativeness in compiling the *Baltimore Catechism*, pointing to elements of distinctiveness overlooked by the new catechists. The creation of catechisms is dissimilar to other works of literature because of a heavy reliance on borrowing from previous catechisms. An author may construct something entirely new, but a compiler of a catechism has a narrow range in which to display his

creativity. I argue that De Concilio's creativity can be seen by focusing on the wording, tone, and arrangement of his questions.

The dissertation moves from the broad horizon of Catholic catechesis to the specific textual choice De Concilio made in arranging the *Baltimore Catechism*. In between I introduce the new catechists and review how they tell the story of the creation of the *Baltimore Catechism*, because their version of the events differs significantly from the stories that had come before. De Concilio's role becomes a contested issue which plays into the new catechists' characterization of the *Baltimore Catechism* as carelessly composed and slipshod. De Concilio's other writings show him to be a serious, if pastoral, theologian.

While the new catechists had benevolent goals, to give Catholics positive spiritual experiences and to make Catholics feel good about themselves, their catechetical renewal went too far in stressing experience and feelings. The generations of Catholics instructed after the Second Vatican Council have a poor grasp of Catholic doctrine. This dissertation's reexamination of the *Baltimore Catechism* may establish a more balanced view of the weaknesses and the strengths of using a catechism in religious instruction, and help to move the conversation on catechesis forward.

CHAPTER. 1

THE ROLE OF CATECHISMS IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

Introduction

Following the 1992 publication of the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (henceforth designated simply as *Catechism* or as *CCC*) the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB) began preparations for a regional Catechism intended specifically for the United States.⁶ Over a decade after the English edition of the universal *Catechism* came out, the USCCB created a new national catechism in 2006, the *United States Catechism for Adults (USCA)*.⁷ In 2005, the year before the *USCA* was published, the Vatican issued the *Compendium of the Catechism of the Catholic Church* (*Compendium*), a much smaller summary of the *Catechism* which took the shape of a question-and-answer format, more akin to the earlier *Baltimore Catechism*.⁸ More recently, in 2010, the *Youth Catechism of the Catholic Church (YouCat)* appeared in

⁶ In 1992 the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* was published in French. Two years later, in 1994, an English translation was put into print. The official Latin edition, the *editio typica*, was not promulgated until 1997. A second revised English edition, based on the *editio typica*, was published that same year, 1997. On the background to the first edition of the *Catechism*, see the three essays in Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger and Christoph Schönborn, *Introduction to the Catechism of the Catholic Church* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1994). The second edition of the *Catechism* in English is widely available as *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, 2nd ed. (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1997).

⁷ *United States Catechism for Adults* (Washington, D.C.: USCCB, 2006).

⁸ *Compendium of the Catechism of the Catholic Church* (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2005).

print.⁹ The popularity of these works has served to revive discussion regarding catechetics in both popular and scholarly circles.¹⁰ Because of the central role the *Baltimore Catechism* has played in the United States, issues surrounding the *Baltimore Catechism* will be the central focus of this dissertation.¹¹ This initial chapter of this present dissertation will begin with a brief overview of catechetics.

Early Catechisms

By describing in general the predecessors of the *Baltimore Catechism* we are in a better position to determine its distinctive qualities compared to those catechisms that have gone before. While the creation of the *Baltimore Catechism* met a need expressed in America since the days of its first bishop, John Carroll, its roots sank deep into the fertile ground of history which offered as soil a well cultivated literary genre.

⁹ *YouCat English: Youth Catechism of the Catholic Church* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2011). The *YouCat* was originally published in German as *YouCat deutsch: Jugendkatechismus der Katholischen Kirche* (Munich: Pattloch Verlag, 2010) in connection with the upcoming World Youth Day 2011 held in Madrid, Spain.

¹⁰ Some of the interlocutors have been positive and optimistic, whereas other have taken a more negative and critical stance. A small sampling of the scholarly discussion on catechesis which includes reference to these recent catechisms, are the following: Alice Priest, "Richard Rohr's 'Everything Belongs' and Enhancing Catholic School Identity: Holding On and Letting Go," *Journal of Religious Education* 59, no. 2 (2011): 14-22; and Gerard S. Sloyan, "A Theological and Pastoral Critique of *Catechism of the Catholic Church*: Review Essay," *Horizons* 21 (1994): 159-171. More popular and pastoral examples include: Archbishop José H. Gomez, "Ways to Live the Year of Faith with Young People," *Pastoral Bíblica Juvenil* (2012): 1-14; Eamon Tobin, "A Pastor's Experience Teaching the Catechism," *Priest* 67, no. 4 (2011): 57-58; Petroc Willey, Pierre de Cointet, and Barbara Morgan, *The Catechism of the Catholic Church and the Craft of Catechesis*, with an introduction by Christoph Cardinal Schönborn (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2008); Edmund Gordon, "Adult Faith Formation: A Catholic Vision," *Lifelong Faith* 2, no. 3 (2008): 31-44; the ten articles written for a popular audience dealing with the relationship between catechesis and philosophy in *The Sower* (January-March 2006): 14-31; and Berard L. Marthaler, "The Catechism of the Catholic Church in U.S. Context," *Living Light* 30 (1993): 65-71.

¹¹ On the historical and cultural significance of the *Baltimore Catechism* on Catholics in the U.S. see, e.g., Mary Charles Bryce O.S.B., "The Influence of the Catechism of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in Widely Used Elementary Religion Text Books: From Its Composition in 1885 to Its 1941 Revision," (Ph.D. Diss., Catholic University of America, 1970).

To begin with one must differentiate between major and minor catechisms. A catechism serves as a norm of orthodoxy; it is a compendium of doctrine. A major catechism is written with a view to serving the entire Church, thus it has as its primary audience the bishops or hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church, who have the primary responsibility of instructing the laity in their respective local churches. It is usually anticipated that a major catechism will serve as a basis for the creation of minor catechisms.

A minor catechism particularly focuses on a smaller group of people, such as those from a particular country or groups distinguished by other factors such as age. Many minor catechisms are written for the instruction of children. William Cardinal Levada, Prefect of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith from 2005-2012, who was also a member of the committee responsible for the promulgation of the *CCC*, explains the distinction between major and minor catechisms with the following statement: “I have already referred to the well-known American *Baltimore Catechism*, which is another example of the inculturation of the faith: a ‘minor’ catechism adapted for use in a particular region.”¹²

Catechesis as instruction appears sporadically throughout the New Testament. Etymologically, the Greek word κατηχέω can mean to sound off, to speak to be heard, to

¹² Archbishop William J. Levada, “The New Catechism: An Overview.” Available online at: <http://www.usccb.org/catechism/resource/lev94art.htm>, accessed on April 25, 2003. Cardinal Levada wrote this piece prior to his elevation as Prefect of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith.

resound, to hand down to and to deliver a message.¹³ Biblical research shows evidence of catechetical formulas already present in the New Testament.¹⁴

In Acts 21:21 James tells (catechizes) Paul. Earlier, in Luke 1:4, Luke confirms for Theophilus the gospel he has been taught. Likewise the method of question-and-answer draws upon the rabbinical method which is strongly reflected in the writings of Paul.¹⁵ The book of Romans, for instance, is written with Paul responding to an invisible interlocutor.¹⁶

¹³ *A Lexicon Abridged from Liddell and Scott's Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 367.

¹⁴ See, e.g., Mária Kádis, "Early Christian Tradition in Theology of Apostle Paul," *E-Theologos* 2, no. 1 (2011): 56-66; Mark M. Yarbrough, *Paul's Utilization of Preformed Traditions in 1 Timothy: An Evaluation of Paul's Literary, Rhetorical, and Theological Tactics* (London: T&T Clark, 2009), especially 18-24, 58-140, and 188-193; Larry W. Hurtado, "The Binitarian Pattern of Earliest Christian Devotion and Early Doctrinal Development," in *The Place of Christ in Liturgical Prayer: Trinity, Christology and Liturgical Theology*, ed. Brian Spinks, 23-50 (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2008); James I.H. McDonald, *Kerygma and Didache: The Articulation and Structure of the Earliest Christian Message* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004 [1980]), especially 79-86; Richard J. Bauckham, "The Worship of Jesus in Philippians 2:9-11," in *Where Christology Began: Essays on Philippians 2*, ed. Ralph P. Martin and Brian J. Dodd, 128-139 (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1998); Martin Hengel, *Between Jesus and Paul: Studies in the Earliest History of Christianity*, trans. John Bowden (London: SCM Press, 1983), 78-96; and Jack T. Sanders, *The New Testament Christological Hymns: Their Historical Religious Background* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971).

¹⁵ On the common rhetorical and hermeneutical background Paul shared with the rabbis, see, e.g., Bruce D. Chilton, "Romans 9-11 as Scriptural Interpretation and Dialogue with Judaism," *Ex Auditu* 4 (1988): 27-37; E.P. Sanders, *Paul, the Law and the Jewish People* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983); Rabbi Dan Cohn-Sherbok, "Paul and Rabbinic Exegesis," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 35, no. 2 (1982): 117-132; W.D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism: Some Rabbinic Elements in Pauline Theology* (Philadelphia: Augsburg Fortress, 1980); E.P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977); and Idem, "Patterns of Religion in Paul and Rabbinic Judaism: A Holistic Method of Comparison," *Harvard Theological Review* 66, no. 4 (1973): 455-478.

¹⁶ Paul, having been trained as a Jewish Pharisee, frequently uses the question and answer method. Just in the first three chapters of the book of Romans Paul asks and answers theological questions: e.g. Romans 2:3-4, 2:21-22, 2:26, 3:1-2, 3:3, 3:5, 3:7-8, 3:27, 3:29 and 3:31. On Paul's Rhetorical strategy in Romans, see, e.g., Pablo T. Gadenz, *Called from the Jews and from the Gentiles: Pauline Ecclesiology in Romans 9-11* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 16-40, 86-93, 139-146, 178-225, and 318-321; Ben Witherington III, *Paul's Letter to the Romans: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 1-26; N.T. Wright, "The Letter to the Romans: Introduction, Commentary, and Reflections," in *The New Interpreter's Bible: A Commentary in Twelve Volumes: Volume 10: Acts, Introduction to Epistolary Literature, Romans, 1 Corinthians*, ed. Leander E. Keck, 393-770 (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2002), 393-410; Jean-Noël Aletti, "Romans," in *The International Bible Commentary: A Catholic and Ecumenical Commentary for the Twenty-First Century*, ed. William R. Farmer, 1553-1600 (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1998), especially 1553-1591; Douglas J. Moo, *The Epistle to the Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 1-29; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Romans* (New Haven: Yale University Press,

Although the word *catechesis* may be used with any subject, it has most commonly been associated with religious instruction. The word passed into ecclesiastical usage and is applied to both the act of instructing and the subject matter of instruction.¹⁷ The instruction of new believers in the early Church used the fundamental elements of the faith, the seven Sacraments, the Ten Commandments and prayers, such as the Lord's Prayer, to set a framework for instruction. The New Testament uses the word catechize as a verb.

The fathers of the early Church provide many examples of written catechetical materials, particularly baptismal catecheses and mystagogical catecheses in the form of sermons and instructions.¹⁸ Augustine wrote *Enchiridion*, a methodology and compendium for catechizing the uninitiated. This work follows a twofold structure of faith and hope, based on the Creed and the Lord's prayer, it also incorporates Jesus' two fold commandment of love.¹⁹ In the first five centuries of Christianity, catechesis focused primarily on the preparation and instruction of adults as they prepared to enter the Church through the sacrament of Baptism. "In the medieval times catechesis was developed

1993), 40-95; James D.G. Dunn, *Word Biblical Commentary 38A: Romans 1-8* (Waco: Word, 1988), xxxix-lxiii; and Paul J. Achtemeier, *Romans* (Louisville: John Knox Press, 1985), 1-24.

¹⁷ Liam Kelly, *Catechesis Revisited: Handing on Faith Today* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2000), 8-10; Johannes Van Oort, *Jerusalem and Babylon: A Study into Augustine's City of God and the Sources of His Doctrine of the Two Cities* (Leiden: Brill, 1991), 176-186; L.L. Mitchell, "The Development of Catechesis in the Third and Fourth Centuries: From Hippolytus to Augustine," in *A Faithful Church: Issues in the History of Catechesis*, ed. John H. Westerhoff and O.C. Edwards, 49-78 (Wilton, CT: Morehouse-Barlow, 1981); and Thomas Finan, "Catechesis Now and Then," *Furrow* 29, no. 1 (1978): 28-37.

¹⁸ Juliette Day, *The Baptismal Liturgy of Jerusalem: Fourth- and Fifth-Century Evidence from Palestine, Syria and Egypt* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 11-24 and 138-139; Alexander Golitzin, *Et Introibo ad Altare Dei: The Mystagogy of Dionysius Areopagita with Special Reference to Its Predecessors in the Eastern Christian Tradition* (Thessalonika: George Dedousis, 1994); and Enrico Mazza, *Mystagogy: A Theology of Liturgy in the Patristic Age* (New York: Pueblo, 1989).

¹⁹ J. Patout Burns, "Baptism as Dying and Rising with Christ in the Teaching of Augustine," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 20, no. 3 (2012): 407-438; and Everett Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church: History, Theology, and Liturgy in the First Five Centuries* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 776-815.

using various terms: instruction, Christian doctrine, compendium of faith and the summa of doctrine and theology.”²⁰

Originally the structure of catechetical approaches was quite varied. One of the first catechisms written in English is the *Lay Folk's Catechism* of Archbishop John Thoresby of York written in England, in 1357.²¹ In the Middle Ages patterns based on the number seven became popular. Catechesis could be structured around the seven capital sins, seven petitions found in the Lord's Prayer, seven gifts of the Spirit, seven beatitudes or around the seven sacraments. Contrary to the notion held by many modern historians,²² catechetical scholar and historian Gerard Sloyan notes that “Catholic catechisms and manuals of piety existed in great numbers before the Reformation.”²³ As Robert James Bast drives home, “sixteenth-century reformers built upon a foundation firmly laid by their predecessors....[such Protestant catechism production] was but one phase of a centuries-old pattern in which the Western Church struggled to establish an effective method of lay instruction.”²⁴ However, the word “catechism” itself became common in

²⁰ Levada, “The New Catechism: An Overview.” See also, e.g., Robert James Bast, *Honor Your Fathers: Catechisms and the Emergence of a Patriarchal Ideology in Germany, 1400-1600* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 1-31.

²¹ Peter Happé, *Cyclic Form and the English Mystery Plays: A Comparative Study of English Biblical Cycles and their Continental and Iconographic Counterparts* (Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi B.V., 2004), 25; Eric Josef Carlson, “The Boring of the Ear: Shaping the Pastoral Vision of Preaching in England, 1540-1640,” in *Preachers and People in the Reformations and Early Modern Period*, ed. Larissa Taylor, 249-296 (Leiden: Brill, 2001) 254; Lambros Kamperidis, “Catechesis in East and West,” in *A History of Pastoral Care*, ed. G.R. Evans, 201-219 (New York: Cassell, 2000), 209-210; Anne Hudson, “A New Look at the *Lay-Folks' Catechism*,” *Viator* 16 (1985): 243-258; and William Abel Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010 [1963]), 211-212.

²² For example, Janet Welsh writes, “Martin Luther introduced to the Western world of the sixteenth century a concise, question-and-answer handbook of Christian doctrine known as a catechism. This new literary genre served as an influential and effective instrument for spreading the teachings of the Protestant Reformation. The Catholic Church emulated this method.” Janet Welsh, “Baltimore Catechism: Historical Background,” in *The Harper Collins Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, ed. Richard P. McBrien (New York: HarperCollins, 1995), 129.

²³ Gerard S. Sloyan, *Modern Catechetics: Message and Method in Religious Formation* (New York: Macmillan, 1963), 97.

²⁴ Bast, *Honor Your Fathers*, 2.

the sixteenth century and was used then “as the technical term for a genre of didactic religious literature,” but the word “catechism” was incredibly scarce, although not entirely absent, from the late medieval period.²⁵

After the invention of the printing press, the number of catechisms grew steadily, and there was a general shift in emphasis from community catechesis to producing printed catechisms. The Reformers introduced the practice of producing multiple versions of a catechism targeting different audiences. Luther and Calvin produced “larger” and “smaller” catechisms for the learned and the uninstructed or children. According to the modern critics of manual catechesis, the process of catechesis became reduced to instruction with the book, the catechism, which frequently involved memorization of the text.²⁶

To combat the spread of Protestantism Peter Canisius wrote three catechisms: one for the general reader, one for children and one for clergy with references to Scripture and Church Fathers. “The catechisms of Canisius were written to defend the faith against

²⁵ Ibid., XVII.

²⁶ David Steinmetz, *Calvin in Context*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 3; E. Kayayan, “Calvin between *facilis brevisitas*, *confessio*, and *institutio*: Instruction of Faith in Geneva,” *Koers* 74, no. 4 (2009): 619-642; Gerhard Bode, “Instruction of the Christian Faith by Lutherans after Luther,” in *Lutheran Ecclesiastical Culture: 1550-1675*, ed. Robert Kolb, 159-204 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), entire essay, especially 159-172; Christopher Boyd Brown, “Devotional Life in Hymns, Liturgy, Music, and Prayer,” in *Lutheran Ecclesiastical Culture*, ed. Kolb, 205-207 and 216-217; Randall C. Zachman, *John Calvin as Teacher, Pastor, and Theologian: The Shape of His Writings and Thought* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2006), 131-146; Robert Kolb, *Martin Luther as Prophet, Teacher, and Hero: Images of the Reformer, 1520-1620* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 1999), 158; I. John Hesselink, *Calvin’s First Catechism: A Commentary* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1997), 1-41; Mary Jane Haeming, “The Living Voice of the Catechism: German Lutheran Catechetical Preaching 1530-1580,” (Th.D. diss., Harvard University, 1996), 10-11; Catherine Dooley, O.P., “Catechesis,” in *The Modern Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. Michael Glazier and Monika K. Hellwig (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1994), 135; Robert Kolb, “The Layman’s Bible: The Use of Luther’s Catechism in the German Late Reformation,” in *Luther’s Catechisms—450 Years: Essays Commemorating the Small and Large Catechisms of Dr. Martin Luther*, ed. David P. Scaer and Robert D. Preus, 16-26 (Fort Wayne, IN: Concordia Theological Seminary, 1979); and J.P. Meyer, “History of Luther’s Catechism,” *Theologische Quartalschrift* 26, no. 2 (1929): 112-129.

heresy, and therefore they necessarily had a strong intellectual quality. They were admirably devoid of polemics.”²⁷

Robert Bellarmine wrote a larger and a smaller catechism that were very popular, noted for having great doctrinal clarity and psychological insight. Following the usual question and answer style the book is structured around the Creed, prayer, Commandments and Sacraments. When Vatican I considered adopting a universal catechism, it was the *Bellarmino Catechism* (1597) that was recommended.²⁸ Because of interruption and the hasty adjournment, the decree was not promulgated and the universal catechism was never created.²⁹

The structure of the *Roman Catechism* produced by the Council of Trent (Dec. 13, 1545—Dec. 4, 1563), closely follows the dogmatic definitions of the Council, being divided into four parts: 1) Creed, 2) Sacraments, 3) Ten Commandments and 4) Prayer. The four pillars emerged almost naturally from the explanation of the faith for Christian initiation. The creed presents the foundational tenants of the Catholic faith. How those beliefs are lived out hangs on the liturgy and the sacraments. The guidelines are drawn by

²⁷ M. E. Jegen, “Catechesis, III, Reformation,” in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd edition, ed. Berard L. Marthaler, 232-236 (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2003), 233. On Canisius and his catechism, see, e.g., Paul Begheyn, “The Catechism (1555) of Peter Canisius, the Most Published Book by a Dutch Author in History,” *Quaerendo* 36 (2006): 51-84; and Peter van Dael, “Two Illustrated Catechisms from Antwerp by Petrus Canisius,” in *Education and Learning in the Netherlands, 1400-1600: Essays in Honour of Hilde de Ridder-Symoens*, ed. Koen Goudriaan, Jaap van Moolenbroek, and Ad Tervoort, 277-296 (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

²⁸ Giovanni Domenico Mansi, ed., *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (hereafter referred to as Mansi) vol. 50, cols.819-823 (Arnheim & Leipzig: H. Welter, 1925). Comment made by Bishop Antonio Monesillo of Jaen, Spain. On Bellarmine’s Catechism, see Berard L. Marthaler, *Catechism Yesterday and Today: The Evolution of a Genre* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1995), 52. On the call for a universal catechism at Vatican I, see Mary Heimann, *Catholic Devotion in Victorian England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 100; and Valentine G. Moran, S.J., “The Universal Catechism at Vatican I,” *Pacifica* 1, no. 1 (1988): 44-67.

²⁹ The First Vatican Council was suspended with most of its work left undone in the autumn of 1870 after troops of Victor Emmanuel II seized Rome to make it the capital of the newly formed nation of Italy. While Pope Pius IX became a prisoner of the Vatican, the military permitted the bishops to return to their home countries. The city of Rome was officially annexed to the Kingdom of Italy on Oct 20, 1870.

the Ten Commandments and the Church. And the resources for living such a life are obtained through prayer.

So catechisms then are generally books of religious doctrine, not opinion, experimentation or speculation. They are presented as references to orthodox teaching concerning the faith which may offer scriptural or patristic support. Catechisms grow out of the ministry of the Church in its instruction of its members.³⁰ The content of catechisms leads to frequent modeling where new catechisms borrow material from previous catechisms. Most often a bishop or council may adopt a prior catechism and tinker with small adaptation for the local community, or on occasion they might choose to have a theologian create a new catechism by borrowing large portions from a number of predecessor texts. Due to the large amount of time, the complexity of the subject and the need for the material to be explained in a simple form, the least common approach to creating a new text is for someone to write an entirely unique catechism.

Typically the instruction is aimed at adults, but special versions can be varied for children, parents, teachers or other groups. Later in the Middle Ages the creation of multiple versions for different audiences became popular. The question and answer approach became the standard style. Questions and answers tend to be succinct and lend themselves to memorization. These are the generic constraints of a catechism which serve as boundaries for the literary form and as measurements of quality in the construction of any new text.

³⁰ Dennis Doyle also notes the liturgical elements of a catechism: "The four original headings of creed, sacraments, paternoster and commandments should be understood as explanations of liturgical happenings." See Dennis Doyle, "F.H. Drinkwater on the Use and Abuse of Catechisms," *The Living Light* 18, no. 4 (1981): 352.

19th Century Catechisms in America

The growth of Catholicism in America occurred gradually at first. In 1493 Catholic priests accompanied Spanish explorers to America; these priests were granted rights by Pope Alexander VI in his papal bull *Inter Caetera* to evangelize and colonize the land.³¹ However near the end of the sixteenth century dominance of the exploration and settlement of North America passed to the Protestants of England. The early English seaboard colonies were generally hostile to Catholicism, thus Catholics settlers had to struggle against the prevailing Protestant culture to maintain their faith and identity.

The appointment of Bishop John Carroll to head the American missions in 1784 is considered by many to be a positive step in establishing a native hierarchy. At the time there were merely twenty-five thousand Catholics in America, served by twenty-three priests, in a population of over four million.³² John Tebbel observes that:

The existence of Catholicism, let alone its development, was hedged in by a variety of discriminatory statutes. Before the Revolution, the only Catholic books to be printed, all of them in Philadelphia, were missals, hymnals, sacramentaries and similar basic documents. Everything else—that is, biographical, historical, theological, devotional and controversial books—had to be imported. Since this was an expensive proposition, the spread of the church was not rapid.³³

³¹ Dana L. Robert, *Christian Mission: How Christianity Became a World Religion* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 29; Megan Armstrong, "Transatlantic Catholicism: Rethinking the Nature of the Catholic Tradition in the Early Modern Period," *History Compass* 5, no. 6 (2007): 1942-1966; Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004 [1972]), 37; Glen Carman, "On the Pope's Original Intent: Las Casas Reads the Papal Bulls of 1493," *Colonial Latin American Review* 7, no. 2 (1998): 193-204; John Deedy, "American Catholicism," in *The Modern Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. Michael Glazier and Monika K. Hellwig, 22-24 (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1994), 23; and James Muldoon, "Papal Responsibility for the Infidel: Another Look at Alexander VI's *Inter Caetera*," *Catholic Historical Review* 64, no. 2 (1978): 168-184.

³² Catherine O'Donnell, "John Carroll and the Origins of an American Catholic Church, 1783-1815," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 68, no. 1 (2011): 101-126; James Hennesey, "Catholicism in the United States of America," in *HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, ed. McBrien, 1284-1285; James Hennesey, S.J., *American Catholics: A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), 55; and Peter Guilday, *The Life and Times of John Carroll: Archbishop of Baltimore (1735-1815): Volume 1* (New York: Encyclopedia Press, 1922), 235 and 825.

³³ John Tebbel, *A History of Book Publishing in the United States Volume I: The Creation of an Industry, 1630-1865* (New York: R.R. Bowker, 1972), 187.

Thus it was understood by the Protestant lawmakers that books and print media were tied to the cohesion of early Catholics, and by limiting their availability the growth of the Catholic Church in America was stifled.³⁴ Tebbel comments further, “Nevertheless, in 1784 the church had its first Catholic publisher, one Christopher Talbot, who had arrived in Philadelphia from Dublin some time earlier.”³⁵

The first ecclesiastically sanctioned catechism in the United States was the “Carroll Catechism” approved by America’s first archbishop, John Carroll.³⁶ Father Wilfrid Parsons, who was a scholar in the field of catechism history, identified the small “Carroll Catechism,” *A Short Abridgement of Christian Doctrine*, as the first published catechism in the U.S. James Doyle published the catechism in Georgetown in 1793. Although the title page has it listed as the “twelfth edition” no evidence has turned up that an earlier edition was published in the U.S. It is possible prior editions were published in Ireland, but the exact history of the earlier editions is not known. A full twenty five English language catechisms were published in the U.S. prior to 1831, and an additional

³⁴ In his analysis of early Protestant literature William Trolinger states, “Survival as a cohesive denomination required an enormous amount and array of publications.” See William Vance Trolinger, Jr., “An Outpouring of ‘Faithful’ Words: Protestant Publishing in the United States, 1880-1945,” in *A History of the Book in America Volume 4: Print in Motion: The Expansion of Publishing and Reading in the United States 1880-1940*, ed. Carl F. Kaestle and Janice A. Radway, 359-375 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 365.

³⁵ Tebbel, *Creation of an Industry*, 188.

³⁶ The exact date, and original copies, of this catechism have been lost. Thomas Wangler explains that, “Early versions of the 1793 catechism . . . had been published by the Reverend Robert Molyneux of Philadelphia. He wrote to John Carroll in 1785 that he was re-publishing a catechism that he had printed ‘some years ago.’” See Thomas Wangler, “The Carroll Catechism,” *The Living Light* 30 (1994): 63. On the “Carroll Catechism,” see also Tammy K. Byron, “‘A Catechism for Their Special Use’: Slave Catechisms in the Antebellum South,” (Ph.D. diss., University of Arkansas, 2008), 192-193; James T. Fisher, *Communion of Immigrants: A History of Catholics in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008 [2000]), 27; Tim Unsworth, “The Church is Humorous,” in *The Many Marks of the Church*, ed. William Madges and Michael J. Daley, 132-135 (New London, CT: Twenty-Third Publications, 2006), 133; Marthaler, *Catechism Yesterday and Today*, 112-114; and Charles J. Carmody, “The ‘Carroll Catechism’—A Primary Component of the American Catechetical Tradition,” *Notre Dame Journal of Education* 7 (1976): 76-95.

eight French language and three German language catechisms were likewise published in the U.S. prior to this time.³⁷ It was a slow beginning, but the existence of Catholic publishers meant that American bishops could adopt, write, or sponsor catechisms for their diocese. In commissioning the catechism, the American bishops sought a means of promoting uniformity in catechetical instruction, introducing the children of immigrants to the American prayer forms and devotional practices.³⁸

John Tebbel has put together a valuable four volume history of publishing and print culture in America in which he records that “the second Catholic publisher was Thomas Lloyd, who got off to a splendid start in 1789.” Lloyd published one of the three American Catholic books sold that year. The third publisher to arrive, “Matthew Carey was, of course, the leading Catholic publisher of the century.” Tebbel notes, “His files are full of letters from priests ordering prayer books and catechisms”³⁹

While there were many catechisms in circulation in the nineteenth century the greatest number of them circulated around the established publishing centers located in the big cities such as New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore. As one move away from the east coast, most resources became increasingly difficult to obtain. In 1868 James Gibbons began his Catholic missionary experience in North Carolina. He quickly realized the serious shortage of books and the acute need for proper religious instruction. James

³⁷ Tebbel, *Creation of an Industry*, 189.

³⁸ Berard Marthaler, “Baltimore Catechism,” in *The Encyclopedia of American Catholic History*, ed. Michael Glazier, 122-123 (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1997), 122.

³⁹ Tebbel, *Creation of an Industry*, 188. On Matthew Carey’s publishing, see especially Michael S. Carter, “‘Under the Benign Sun of Toleration’: Matthew Carey, the Douai Bible, and Catholic Print Culture, 1789-1791,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 27, no. 3 (2007): 437-469; Paul C. Gutjahr, *An American Bible: A History of the Good Book in the United States, 1777-1880* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 13-14, 20, 23-31, and 35-36; and James N. Green, *Matthew Carey: Publisher and Patriot* (Philadelphia: Library Company of Philadelphia, 1985).

Emmett Ryan notes, “As an itinerant bishop, he was learning through first-hand experience the importance of bringing these prospective converts into immediate personal contact with Catholic teaching, while at the same time he was realizing the difficulties of doing so solely through the preaching of his mere handful of missionary priests.”⁴⁰

In February of 1869 Gibbons wrote to his superior Martin J. Spalding, Archbishop of Baltimore, stating his fear of a loss of faith among the Catholics who were thinly dispersed widely throughout the South. “In his letter, he reported that what was truly needed . . . were books of religious instruction, inexpensive catechisms outlining Catholic dogma in a simple way.”⁴¹ Gibbons himself would eventually be appointed Archbishop of Baltimore in 1877. Thus from early on Gibbons was concerned about both the availability and price of Catholic catechisms.⁴²

Especially noteworthy are those catechisms which were entered during ecclesiastical councils for consideration as the national catechism for the United States such as *Carroll’s Catechism* officially bearing the name, *A Short Abridgment of Christian Doctrine* (circa 1785); Martin J. Spalding’s catechism, entitled *A General Catechism of the Christian Doctrine* (1852); and *A General Catechism of Christian Doctrine for General Use* (1866) which most frequently goes by the name, the *McCaffrey Catechism*. Others possible source texts for the draft of the new national catechism of the Third

⁴⁰ James Emmett Ryan, “Sentimental Catechism: Archbishop James Gibbons, Mass-Print Culture, and American Literary History,” *Religion and American Culture* 7, no. 1 (1997): 84. On Gibbons, in addition to *Ibid.*, 81-119, see Thomas J. Shelley, “Biography and Autobiography: James Cardinal Gibbons and John Tracy Ellis,” *U.S. Catholic Historian* 21, no. 2 (2003): 31-46; and John Tracy Ellis, *The Life of James Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore, 1834-1921*, 2 vols. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing, 1952).

⁴¹ Ryan, “Sentimental Catechism,” 84.

⁴² Trollinger’s research suggests that a characteristic of religious print that deserves greater research and attention is the production of text for spiritual motives rather than profit or market driven motives. See Trollinger, “An Outpouring of ‘Faithful’ Words,” 374.

Plenary Council are as follows:⁴³ The *Butler Catechism* is officially titled *Catechism Ordered by the National Synod of Maynooth* (1882); the *Verot Catechism* is short for the *General Catechism of Christian Doctrine* (1869); the *Catechism of the Diocese of Bardstown* (1825), was written by John Baptist David.

These three catechisms have been mentioned in other histories of the *Baltimore Catechism* because of the weight of clerical testimonies, the commendation by previous synods or councils and the general reputation or claim to an historical relationship to the *Baltimore Catechism*. Whether or not these catechisms contributed to the creation of the *Baltimore Catechism*, catechisms considered for adoption at synods or councils, highlight the authority of the bishops in their role as teachers of the faith.

Catechisms as an Outgrowth of the Office of Bishop

Church councils have sometimes resulted, either directly or indirectly, in the creation of a new catechism.⁴⁴ Since the councils are generally called to discuss matters of doctrine and questions regarding the correct interpretation of previous doctrines, the natural result is the desire to pass on the conclusions of the council. A key idea that has come out of this research is the notion of a catechism as being the natural byproduct of the office of bishop. Marthaler explains that, “Many bishops in the newly independent United States were French or educated in the Sulpician tradition. They were formed in

⁴³ Previous works have compared the *Baltimore Catechism* to the *Bellarmino Catechism* and have found no substantial similarity in content. See Sloyan, *Modern Catechetics*, 88-89.

⁴⁴ Una Cadegen demonstrates that a rather distinct feature of Catholic print media is the role of authority in its production. Catholic hierarchy are expected to examine texts created to address matters of faith and morals. Here we see a more direct relationship as it is the clergy themselves whose decisions lead to the publication of new catechisms. See Una M. Cadegan, “Running the Ancient Ark by Steam: Catholic Publishing, 1880-1950,” in *Print in Motion*, ed. Kaestle and Radway, 397.

the tradition that saw catechizing, including the authorization of catechisms adapted to the needs of their flocks, as an essential part of their ministry.”⁴⁵

So we see that in the colonial period even though it was legally difficult to publish Catholic books, and it was expensive to import them, there was an urgent pastoral impulse for bishops to provide their congregants with the resources for proper instruction in the Catholic faith. As bishops began to write or sponsor catechisms, their names would frequently become attached to a particular volume.

Sister Mary Charles Bryce, in both her dissertation and in subsequent studies, has traced the influence of the bishops in bringing about the *Baltimore Catechism*, as well as its influence on later religious educational literature and textbooks. She informs us that throughout the United States often catechisms would become “prestigious through the recommendation or approbation of the bishop whose imprimatur they enjoyed.”⁴⁶

Msgr. Michael Wrenn, who was involved in the English translation of the most recent universal catechism, comments that the American bishops still see the production of catechisms as a continuation of the office of bishop. He observes that, “The successors of these original apostles of Jesus, the bishops of the Catholic Church, have in our day not ceased to carry on this essential work of teaching . . . they have carried out this work of teaching by commissioning, preparing and issuing the new *Catechism*...”⁴⁷

From the First Provincial Council through the first two Plenary Councils, and even during the ecumenical council Vatican I, the American bishops considered a common catechism to be a vital need. While the need for a national catechism was met in

⁴⁵ Marthaler, *Catechism Yesterday and Today*, 111-112.

⁴⁶ Mary Charles Bryce, O.S.B., “The Influence of the Catechism,” 73.

⁴⁷ Msgr. Michael J. Wrenn, *Flawed Expectations: The Reception of the Catechism of the Catholic Church* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1996), 13.

the United States, the need for a universal catechism continued until the release of the *Catechism of the Catholic Church*. After the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* was published, a chorus of professional theologians scorned the new text, which they saw as a throwback to an earlier generation. They derided not only the particular version, but the very genre and method of traditional catechesis, linking it, negatively, with the older *Baltimore Catechism*.⁴⁸ Most relevant to this discussion in our modern period, Pope Benedict XVI, as Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger when he was Prefect for Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, replied, “A fundamental and grave mistake was . . . the claim that the very genre of the catechism has been superseded and ‘surpassed.’”⁴⁹ Instead Ratzinger argued that catechisms flow from the transmission of the faith and therefore from the very nature of the Church’s mission; catechisms therefore “cannot be given up or laid aside.”

Bryce summarizes the history of American bishops and catechesis in this way. “Throughout the Church’s history in this country bishops have exercised their pastoral ministry of catechizing in several ways. Action in this realm was expressed mostly by writing or commissioning the writing of catechisms.”⁵⁰ Our next section will therefore review more closely the gathering of American bishops in council and their ecclesial desire to have a uniform catechism.

⁴⁸ See comments and responses in John C. Cavadini, “Scripture, Doctrine, and Proclamation: *The Catechism of the Catholic Church* and the Renewal of Homiletics,” *Letter & Spirit* 4 (2008): 245-253; Idem, “The Use of Scripture in the Catechism of the Catholic Church,” *Letter & Spirit* 2 (2006): 43-54; Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, “The Catechism’s Use of Scripture,” in *On the Way to Jesus Christ*, by Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, trans. Michael J. Miller, 146-153 (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2005); and Idem, “The Biblical Realism of the New *Catechism*’s Christological Catechesis,” in *Gospel, Catechesis, Catechism: Sidelights on the Catechism of the Catholic Church*, by Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, 63-69 (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1997).

⁴⁹ Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, “Sources and Transmission of the Faith,” *Communio* 10 (1983): 18.

⁵⁰ Mary Charles Bryce, O.S.B., “Religious Education in the Pastoral Letters and National Meetings of the U.S. Hierarchy,” *The Living Light* 10, no. 2 (1973): 257.

Drive for a Uniform Catechism

First Plenary Council

A new stage of Catholicism's growth in the U.S. is marked by the incoming and increasing tides of immigration that began in the early 1800's.⁵¹ From the period of 1808 until 1846 the number of Catholics in the United States was small enough that all of America was considered one province with Baltimore as the metropolitan See.

Archbishop James Whitfield convened the First Provincial Council in 1829.⁵² It lasted from October 3rd to 18th and passed thirty-eight decrees regulating various aspects of church life. The education of the laity, or more precisely, the lack thereof, was of great concern to the council. Decrees were passed on Bible translation, media, education, and more specifically for our concern, the need for a national catechism. The thirty-third decree prohibited the use or publishing of unauthorized catechisms and it was proposed that a national catechism should be prepared and issued for American Catholics.⁵³

⁵¹ Ten million Catholics arrived in the United States from Europe in the period between 1820 and 1920. See, e.g., Jay P. Dolan, *In Search of an American Catholicism: A History of Religion and Culture in Tension* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 45; Hennesey, "Catholicism in the United States of America," 1286; Roger Daniels, *Coming To America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life*, 2nd ed. (New York: HarperPerennial, 2002 [1990]), 121-285; Jay P. Dolan, *The American Catholic Experience: A History from Colonial Times to the Present* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1985), 127-157; Lawrence J. McCaffrey, *The Irish Catholic Diaspora in America* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1997 [1976]), 1, 5-6, and 202; and especially the detailed account in Paul S. Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America: 1820-1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), which includes information about the broader U.S. culture of the time.

⁵² There had been seven provincial councils in the United States between 1829 and 1849. See Peter Guilday, *A History of the Councils of Baltimore, 1791-1884* (New York: MacMillan, 1932).

⁵³ *Acta et Decreta Synodorum Provincialium Baltimori* (Romae: Typis S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1841), 26.

Provincial and later plenary councils, as a sign of their union and fidelity to Rome, sent the transcripts of their meetings and decisions to the Vatican for review and approval. Following this ecclesial custom, the decrees of the First Provincial Council were submitted to the Holy See for approval. When approving the decree in which the American bishops proposed the creation of a national catechism, the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith inserted a clause stating that the proposed catechism would be based on the catechism of Robert Bellarmine.⁵⁴ This later insertion by the Sacred Congregation specifying the new catechism be modeled on Bellarmine's catechism was apparently not well received by the American bishops and no further action was taken by the council on its creation.

By the time of the First Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1852 there were six metropolitan sees (Baltimore, Baker City-Oregon, St. Louis, New York, Cincinnati, and New Orleans).⁵⁵ Earlier at the Second Diocesan Synod of Philadelphia in 1836 Irish-born Bishop Francis Patrick Kenrick had proposed that the catechism of James Butler be officially adopted for his diocese.⁵⁶ Kenrick, now archbishop of Baltimore and the presider over the First Plenary Council, appointed a three-man committee to examine and settle the "vexing question of a uniform catechism in English."

This committee was comprised of Ignatius Reynolds, John Timon, and Martin John Spalding. Two of the three members, John Timon of Buffalo and Bishop Martin J. Spalding of Louisville, were authors of catechisms. The third member Ignatius Reynolds

⁵⁴ *Acta et Decreta Synodorum Provincialium Baltimori*, 26-27. See also Marthaler, *Catechism Yesterday and Today*, 113.

⁵⁵ The Catholic population grew from 650,000 in 1840 to 1.6 million by 1850. 1,421 priests worked in twenty-five diocese. Thirty-two bishops attended the First Plenary Council. See John Tracy Ellis, *American Catholicism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), 81.

⁵⁶ Marthaler, *Catechism Yesterday and Today*, 112

was Bishop of Charleston. In the fifth private session the committee in charge of the catechism and the vexing question of whether or not to adopt an uniform catechism, prescribed that a single catechism in English should be made available throughout all dioceses. They also put forth a restriction on Catholic publishers with the intent to limit the publication of numerous other catechisms.⁵⁷

The formal decrees of the council did not address the matter of a catechism, but the pastoral recommendations contained a proposal for a single catechism. The suggestion was made that, ‘the extensively and favorably known catechism of the Venerated Archbishop Carroll, after having received some few merely verbal and unimportant emendations, be submitted to the judgment of the Holy See, for general use in this country.’”⁵⁸ While the committee and the council recommended the *Carroll Catechism*, when the notes went to Rome for review, however, the suggestion to use the *Carroll Catechism* was marked “Omittendum” and deleted.

When finally published, the official version of the decrees and acts of the council, approved by Rome, instead carried a recommendation that the Bellarmine catechism would be used. Bryce reports, “It seems safe to assume that this was a Roman insertion similar to that made in the decrees of the First Provincial Council in 1829. Spalding’s letter to Kenrick, September 20, 1852, confirms that assumption.”⁵⁹

Spalding succeeded Kenrick as archbishop of Baltimore in 1864. Some time later there appeared a work described on the title page as “*A General Catechism of the*

⁵⁷ Guilday, *History of the Councils of Baltimore*, 176.

⁵⁸ Marthaler, *Catechism Yesterday and Today*, 114.

⁵⁹ Mary Charles Bryce, O.S.B., “The Uniform Catechism Before and After Baltimore III,” *The Living Light* 21, no. 1 (1984): 10. Marthaler remarked that Rome dropped the recommendation for the *Carroll Catechism* and replaced it with one for the catechism by Bellarmine. See Marthaler, *Catechism Yesterday and Today*, 114.

Christian Doctrine, prepared by order of the First Plenary Council of Baltimore for the use of Catholics in the United States of America,” approved by the Most Reverend Martin J. Spalding, Archbishop of Baltimore. The catechism carried no date of publication. This catechism of the First Plenary Council was a slightly revised version of Spalding’s 1852 catechism published when he was bishop of Louisville. Furthermore, that 1852 catechism was based on the *Carroll Catechism*. So Bryce summarizes her history of the council with:

In the end the Spalding catechism, somewhat revised, was the catechism promulgated as the accepted volume, although it was never “officially approved” by the full assembly of bishops. It carried the title, *A General Catechism of the Christian Doctrine, Prepared by Order of the First Plenary Council of Baltimore for Use of Catholics in the United States of America*.⁶⁰

Second Plenary Council

The Second Plenary Council of Baltimore met in 1866. It reaffirmed the position of the previous council on the need for a uniform catechism, under the heading “*De disciplinae uniformitate promovenda*” (“Promoting Uniformity of Practice”). Spalding favored the adoption of a catechism written by John H. McCaffrey in 1865, the president of Mount St. Mary’s College and Seminary in Emmitsburg, Maryland. But this recommendation was strongly opposed by Timon and Verot who found it too brief and obscure.⁶¹

Again political tensions flared between American bishops and Roman congregations. Marthaler explains that, “The First and Second Plenary Councils in 1852 and 1866 recommended that a standard catechism be used in all dioceses. The proposals were never implemented because the American bishops favored a version of the ‘Carroll

⁶⁰ Bryce, “Uniform Catechism,” 10-11.

⁶¹ Marthaler, *Catechism Yesterday and Today*, 114.

Catechism' while Rome favored an adaptation of Robert Bellarmine's Small Catechism" which was widely used throughout Europe."⁶² Thus with the repeated Vatican insertions in the official notes of the councils of the United States mandating Bellarmine's catechism as a model, instead of challenging the directive, the bishops simply put no further work towards creating a national catechism.⁶³

First Vatican Council

Between the Second and Third Plenary Councils of Baltimore, the universal Roman Catholic Church held its own ecumenical council, the First Vatican Council lasting from December 8, 1869-October 20, 1870.⁶⁴ In the ten months between December and October some seven hundred council fathers met in eighty-six general congregations and four public sessions to discuss topics which ranged from contemporary German philosophers to the relationship between faith and science. While the council is most well known for its declaration of papal infallibility,

what may be surprising is that, next to the debates and the discussions on the matter of papal infallibility, the catechism question occupied more of the council's time than any other single issue. Of significance, too, is that it was the only pastoral matter which was completely explored and decided on at the council . . . [The] discussion and debate on the

⁶² Idem, "Baltimore Catechism," 122.

⁶³ Heath refers to this inaction as "the curious neglect by the bishops of the catechism." See Mark Heath, "Review Essay Pride of Place: The U.S. Bishops and Catechesis," *The Living Light* 22, no. 2 (1986): 174.

⁶⁴ For discussions of the First Vatican Council see the following sources: Klaus Schatz, *Papal Primacy: From Its Origins to the Present* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1996 [1990]), 155-165; William L. Portier, *Isaac Hecker and the First Vatican Council* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1985); Idem, "Isaac Hecker and the First Vatican Council," *Catholic Historical Review* 71, no. 2 (1985): 206-227; Idem, "Providential Nation: An Historical-Theological Study of Isaac Hecker's Americanism," (Ph.D. diss., University of St. Michael's College, 1980), 403-442; Roger Aubert, *Vatican I: Histoire des Conciles OEcumeniques* (Paris: Éditions de L'Orante, 1964); Dom Cuthbert Butler, *The Vatican Council: The Story Told From Inside In Bishop Ullathorne's Letters* (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1930), 218-241; Idem, *The Vatican Council 1869-1870* (Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1962), 196-201; John Emerich Edward Dalberg-Acton, "The Vatican Council," in *Essays on Freedom and Power* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1948), 299-351; James Hennesey, *The First Council of the Vatican: The American Experience* (New York: Herder & Herder, 1963); and Thomas Canon Pope, *The Council of the Vatican and the Events of the Time* (Boston: Patrick Donahoe, 1872), 252-255.

schema began on February 10 and lasted, with brief intervals, proposed amendments, and a revised schema, until May 4, 1870.⁶⁵

The discussion centered around four main areas of concern: **1)** The troublesome situation and confusion made by multiple catechisms; **2)** The relationship of uniformity and unity within the faith;⁶⁶ **3)** The responsibility of individual bishops to their local diocese and to Rome; and **4)** the desirability and feasibility of creating a universal catechism.⁶⁷

Naturally several American bishops were present at this world wide council and Martin J. Spalding in particular played a significant role in several of the council's discussions.⁶⁸

There was a great deal of support for a uniform catechism and after much debate the council members approved the schema calling for its production, *Schema Constitutionis de Parvo Catechismo*. The explicitly stated intention of the council fathers was to "facilitate the disappearance" of the confusing variety of catechisms. But because of the hasty and forced adjournment of the council, the decree of 1870 was not promulgated and no such universal catechism was produced. Although years later Pope Pius X published his own *Compendio della Dottrina Cristiana* in 1905.⁶⁹

While the First Vatican Council was necessary for the worldwide Church, it is interesting to note the overall effect that the council deliberations had on the more youthful and time-conscious American prelates, as opposed to their European counterparts who were accustomed to a deliberate and measured pace. Bryce indicates

⁶⁵ Bryce, "Uniform Catechism," 16.

⁶⁶ Canon lawyer Eugenio Corecco states that catechesis must be both organic and systematic to further its task of instruction and evangelization. See Eugenio Corecco, *Il Diritto della Chiesa* (Milan: Jaca Books, 1995), 76.

⁶⁷ Bryce, "Uniform Catechism," 16.

⁶⁸ Mansi lists forty-five American prelates present at the opening session. See Mansi, L, 22-35. However James Hennesey points out that Bishop Bernard McQuaid and Abbot Boniface Wimmer were omitted but present at the Council. See Hennesey, *First Council of the Vatican*, 38.

⁶⁹ Sloyan, "Catechisms," 244

that, “As a whole the U.S. bishops found the sedentary, listening posture strenuous and taxing. James Gibbons . . . wrote that the experience was a ‘great trial of physical endurance for many of these men.’ They often asked each other, ‘What progress are we making? How long will this series of speeches last?’”⁷⁰ The American penchant for quick decisions and instant results rubbed against the sluggish speed of European tradition. The council closed with each bishop making a promise of obedience to the pope.⁷¹

Third Plenary Council

Catholic historian Guilday recounts,

The desire for a uniform catechism was never absent from the thoughts of our spiritual leaders from the days of John Carroll. . . . A uniform catechism was urged at the Council of 1829, but nothing was done until the First Plenary Council (1852) when a commission was appointed for that purpose . . . the Second Plenary Council (1866) again discussed the problem and a committee was appointed . . . but no formal approval was given.⁷²

By the time of the planning for the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore the longing for a universal catechism had grown stronger among clergy and the bishops so Archbishop James Gibbons put together the Commission of the Bishops on the Catechism, which included six bishops, to consider the need for a uniform catechism for the United States.⁷³ They were instructed to give special attention to three points and then report on their considerations to the rest of the council: “1) On the expediency of adopting a uniform catechism at the Council; 2) On naming the catechism which they preferred to be

⁷⁰ Bryce, “Uniform Catechism,” 20.

⁷¹ Mansi LII, 1325-1327.

⁷² Guilday, *History of the Councils of Baltimore*, 240. See also, James Hennesey, “Baltimore, Councils of,” in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., ed. Berard L. Marthaler, 232-236 (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2003), 41-47.

⁷³ The chairman was Archbishop Joseph S. Alemany of San Francisco, and the six bishops were: Louis de Goesbriand of Burlington, Stephen Ryan of Buffalo, Joseph G. Dwenger of Fort Wayne, John J. Kain of Wheeling, Francis Janssens of Natchez and John L. Spalding of Peoria. They were to consider the expediency of adopting an already existing catechism or reviewing the catechism of the “Germans, Slavonians, Italians, Spaniards and French” for adaptation. See *Acta et Decreta Concilii Plenarii Baltimorensis Tertii* (Baltimore: Joannis Murphy et Sociorum, 1886), xxv-xxvi.

sanctioned; 3) Whether the Germans, Slavonians, Italians, Spaniards, French, etc. should have a translation of the catechism to be adopted, or whether another catechism should be approved for them.”⁷⁴

The Third Plenary Council began on November 9, 1884 and the catechism committee requested time to meet in advance of their scheduled meeting time. Their request was granted and the committee met in a special session on 11 November. After this meeting the committee was expanded but no documentation exists which records why it was increased or who was added to the committee, although the committee met twice more in special session.

In the initial discussions committee members who favored the creation of a new catechism prevailed over those who wished to adopt a version of Butler’s catechism which had been issued by the Synod of Maynooth Ireland two years earlier. The committee made its official report to the full council on November 29 1884. After recommendations from the floor, the report was incorporated in the *Acta et Decreta* of the council. “The section regarding the catechism directed the committee to: 1) Select a catechism and if necessary to emend it, or to start from scratch if they would feel it the necessary and opportune thing to do. 2) Let them present this work thus finished to the body of Roman Catholic Archbishops who will re-examine the catechism and will provide that it be published . . .”⁷⁵

The report went on to state that the new catechism would be composed in English and would be translated into other languages so it could be used by the faithful of other

⁷⁴ Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore (henceforth AAB), 78-L-12, Circular from Gibbons to members of catechism committee, August 25, 1884.

⁷⁵ Marthaler, *Catechism Yesterday and Today*, 115.

tongues.⁷⁶ Bishop Gilmore of Cleveland later recalled that the committee did not think a draft of the catechism could be produced in time for the council to review it.⁷⁷

Based on the witnesses it appears that a priest named Father Januarius De Concilio was assigned the task of writing the new catechism on November 29 of 1884. According to the testimony gathered in Father John Sharp's investigation, De Concilio had reservations about his assigned task but ultimately he was convinced by the other committee members to accept the assignment.⁷⁸ Knowing that the final day of the Third Plenary Council was going to be 7 December, De Concilio hastily began work on the writing the first draft. Witnesses state he wrote the main text of the *Baltimore Catechism* in seven days submitting his work to Bishop John L. Spalding and the committee which made their final report on December 6.⁷⁹

Bishop Spalding used the Catholic Publication Society of New York to produce the galley drafts (and later, the original 1885 edition of the text.) The committee distributed galley proofs of the new catechism to the last full assembly of prelates at the Third Plenary Council. The committee instructed the assembly members to take their galley proofs with them and after studying them, then they were to forward their corrections, suggestions and comments to Bishop Spalding.

From the time of the council's closing until January 25th 1885, Bryce states that Spalding stayed in New York as a guest of the Paulist Fathers. She concludes that

⁷⁶ Ibid., 116.

⁷⁷ Sloyan, *Modern Catechetics*, 89.

⁷⁸ John K. Sharp, "How the Baltimore Catechism Originated," *The Ecclesiastical Review* 81, no. 6 (1929): 573-586; Idem, "The Origin of the Baltimore Catechism," *The Ecclesiastical Review* 83, no. 6 (1930): 620-624; and Idem, "Authorization of the Baltimore Catechism," *The Ecclesiastical Review* 94, no. 5 (1936): 516-517.

⁷⁹ Sloyan recounts, "According to one witness. . . de Concilio had provided the text of a catechism in a week when the committee said it could not be ready sooner" (Sloyan, *Modern Catechetics*, 89).

Spalding's residence in the Paulist house in the city of New York was close enough to De Concilio's parish in Jersey City that frequent collaboration could be had on the editing of the catechism.⁸⁰

The work went to the printer's in February and on April 6 1885, John Cardinal McCloskey of New York gave his imprimatur to the book. The published catechism of 1885, officially titled, *A Catechism of Christian Doctrine, Prepared and Enjoined by the order of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore*, carried the approval of James Gibbons in his role as apostolic delegate. But in what catechism scholar Gerard Sloyan identifies as "Spalding's *coup*,"⁸¹ Bishop John L. Spalding placed the copyright of the text, which he received from the United States government on April 11, 1885, in his own name. This was unusual not only for Catholic Church documents, but it was an unusual practice for American publishing in general. Generally the use of copyright was not well known and not frequently sought after by most authors or publishers in the nineteenth century.

Then for no apparent reason, "Using the same *imprimatur* Spalding,⁸² within months, published a shorter version, *A Catechism of Christian Doctrine, Abridged from the Catechism Prepared and Enjoined by Order of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore*. Sometimes referred to as 'Baltimore Catechism No. 1.' the abridged version reduced the contents to 208 questions and rearranged them within the chapters, thus the

⁸⁰ Bryce, "Influence of the Catechism," 104.

⁸¹ Sloyan, *Modern Catechetics*, 89.

⁸² While some historians have speculated that De Concilio may have been involved with Spalding in the editing and production of this abridged edition, no evidence has yet arisen to support this claim of De Concilio's participation.

wording in all cases remained the same.”⁸³ The abridged version was about half the size of the original.⁸⁴

Because the writing of even a meager catechism takes years, Spalding’s biographer, David F. Sweeney claims with pride, “it is a tribute to the bishops of the commission, and especially to Bishop Spalding, that within six months after the end of the Council there appeared the first edition of the Baltimore Catechism.”⁸⁵ According to the *Publisher’s Weekly* summaries for the year of 1885 the *Baltimore Catechism* was one of 4,030 books produced. The sub-category of “Theology and Religion” records 435 books published during the year.⁸⁶ Undoubtedly the catechism was unique because of its status as the only national catechism and the only book officially approved by the Catholic Church in United States to be used for catechesis.

The Third Plenary Council had decreed that the catechism should be translated into the dominant languages of the parishes, but few clerics immediately complied with this order.⁸⁷ Yet, within the year Father De Concilio translated the *Baltimore Catechism* into Italian. In 1886 it was published as, *Catechismo della Dottrina Cristiana di Monsignor G. De Concilio*, carrying the imprimatur of Archbishop Michael Corrigan of New York.⁸⁸ Over time the original version was translated into many different languages:

⁸³ Marthaler, *Catechism Yesterday and Today*, 117.

⁸⁴ Idem, “Baltimore Catechism,” 122.

⁸⁵ David F. Sweeney, *The Life of John Lancaster Spalding: First Bishop of Peoria, 1840-1916* (New York: Herder & Herder, 1965), 175.

⁸⁶ John Tebbel, *History of Book Publishing in the United States Volume II: The Expansion of an Industry, 1865-1919* (New York: R.R. Bowker, 1975), 679-680.

⁸⁷ Philip Gleason, “Baltimore III and Education,” *U.S. Catholic Historian* 4, no. 3/4 (1985): 273-306; and S.M. Ancilla, F.S.S.J., “Catholic Polish Literature in U.S. to 1900,” *Polish American Studies* 16, no. 3/4 (1959): 67.

⁸⁸ G. De Concilio, *Catechismo della Dottrina Cristiana di Monsignor G. De Concilio* (New York: Societa delle Pubblicazioni Cattoliche, 1886).

eventually translations appeared in Italian, French, German, Hungarian, Spanish, Polish, Korean and several American-Indian languages.

Bryce observes that ten years after the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore at the 1895 meeting of the Archbishops, a question came up at the meeting on whether the *Baltimore Catechism* should be revised. The meeting notes read, “Before the next annual meeting of the archbishops, each metropolitan should consult his suffragans as to whether the present catechism should be revised.”⁸⁹ Bryce explains that the matter was not discussed in the following meetings. She writes, “The minutes of the following year’s report included no report on the matter.”⁹⁰

Later in the twentieth century the United States bishops decided to produce a revision of the *Baltimore Catechism*. The process took years and involved hundreds of scholars and theologians. The result was not a single revised text, but instead a series of texts adapted to children of different ages and grades.

The Episcopal committee for the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine engaged Father Francis J. Connell, professor of Moral Theology at the Catholic University of America, as editor and theological advisor to oversee the grading and production of the texts. The first edition was released in 1941 called *Baltimore Catechism No. 2*, and contained 499 question and answers. It was followed by the smaller *Baltimore Catechism No. 1* and in 1943 the even simpler First Communion edition was created consisting of 54 questions.

⁸⁹ Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, “Minutes of the Annual Meeting of Most Rev. Archbishops, Oct. 2, 1895.

⁹⁰ Bryce, “Influence of the Catechism,” 118.

The *Baltimore Catechism No. 3* appeared in 1949 as a text intended for use of older students. It had the same questions as the No. 2 edition, but the answers were lengthier and included pertinent quotations from Scripture.⁹¹ Some time later *Baltimore Catechism No. 4* was published as a teacher's supplement. And although planned, an edition for non-Catholics, has never been produced.

Michael Zoller recounts the growing estrangement before the Second Vatican Council between the Church authorities such as the pope, the bishops, and Vatican congregations, and professional catechists, religious instructors and theologians.⁹² He explains, "During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the relationship between the American church and universities went through a shifting series of separations."⁹³ While American institutions of higher education had been founded by religious communities, the drive towards secularization and professional respectability brought about greater and greater distance from their religious identity. Originally,

anyone who wanted or had to take a degree in theology went to Europe, or later on, to Catholic University [of America] in Washington. Towards the end of the 1940s and the beginning of the 1950s seminaries and universities could recruit their new faculty members only from Catholic University, because during the war it was impossible to study in Europe.⁹⁴

⁹¹ Marthaler, "Baltimore Catechism," 123.

⁹² Patrick Carey explains that, "the predominant view of post-Vatican II developments was much more favorable to the consequences of reform, change, and pluralism. That view was articulated by a large group of intellectuals who became advisors and church leaders in a number of national and local ecclesiastical institutions." See Patrick Carey, *Roman Catholics in America* (West Port, CN: Praeger, 1996), 143; Zoller describes the insulated experience of the new catechists: "A third group now emerged, composed of a new kind of official and activist who did not enter parish service after completing his studies but rather was either assigned to a task in one of the central organizations . . . he did not go to Rome but rather went to Catholic University in Washington . . . afterward he was employed in a department of the NCWC, worked in one of the offices that the bishops like Mundelein had created within their own enlarged staff operations, or remained at the university." See Michael Zoller, *Washington and Rome: Catholicism in American Culture* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999), 156.

⁹³ Zoller, *Washington and Rome*, 230.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 231.

As Catholic academia organized and became professionally self-confident the emphasis in theological and religious instruction shifted from the seminaries to the growing academia, especially after the Second Vatican Council. “In the 1970s and 1980s the center of Catholic theology thus shifted from seminaries to universities, and simultaneously new fields of endeavor were opened to theologians as a result of the continuing expansion of the educational system and ecclesiastical organization. Therefore attempts were made to ensure the profession’s future.”⁹⁵ The Catholic Theological Society of America was founded in 1946 and sought to influence the employment practices of diocese and Catholic colleges.⁹⁶ It became evident that there was a power struggle between religious professionals and the bishops. “The controversy was initiated by theologians who argued that their academic teaching was equivalent to the magisterium.”⁹⁷ Catechesis became a public stage for the ongoing battle over authority, and accommodation to the contemporary ethos.

It is clear since the Second Vatican Council the historians of the *Baltimore Catechism* have been professional catechists. Msgr. Wren has identified these academics as the “new catechists” or, more derogatorily, the second Magisterium. I mention the new catechists here because their work is inseparable from their telling of the creation of the catechism.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Carey lists the CTSA as one among a host of newly formed likeminded reforming organizations such as (LCWR) Leadership Conference of Women Religious, (PADRES) Priests Associated for Religious Education and Social Rights, (NBCCC) National Black Catholic Clergy Caucus, (CTS) College Theology Society, and (CBA) Catholic Biblical Association. Carey, *Roman Catholics*, 143.

⁹⁷ Zoller, *Washington and Rome*, 231-232.

CHAPTER. 2

THE CREATION OF THE *BALTIMORE CATECHISM*

Introduction

The story of the creation of the *Baltimore Catechism* has only been put into writing a few times in the history of American Catholicism. Even in the handful of accounts, the question of origins is generally given a mere passing reference, if at all, rather than a careful study of the catechism's composition. With a work of literature as influential, well known and widely used as the *Baltimore Catechism*, one would expect a significant body of research to have arisen around it. Instead one finds very little research has been devoted to understanding the catechism, its history, and its significance for American Catholics.

For most of its existence the *Baltimore Catechism* has been shrouded in mystery. Even today no one has identified with certainty the author of the catechism. Regarding the catechism's sources, modern scholarship cannot state anything definitively. No research has been done on just how the catechism, used as a national religious textbook for several generations, helped to shape contemporary American Catholicism, nor has there been any study done as to why the catechism disappeared from parishes shortly

after the Second Vatican Council. These latter questions admittedly are beyond the scope of this dissertation.

There are several contributing factors to the lack of useful information surrounding the origins of the *Baltimore Catechism*: anonymity of the compiler, limited official records, loss of data, and the enormity of writing on the work which primarily offers opinion and personal reflection. As is the tradition with conciliar documents, the creators of the *Baltimore Catechism* did not write the document under their own name, but rather the catechism was presented to the public as a product of the Catholic Church. It is in the nature of a catechism of the Church to avoid theological experimentation or to advocate a particular theologian's innovative insights.

Rather the function of a catechism is to summarize the traditional doctrine of the Catholic Church. Working as representatives of the Plenary Council, and for the greater good of the Catholic Church, the compilers of the *Baltimore Catechism* followed the traditional practice of writers of ecclesiastical documents by keeping their personal identity from the council's catechism. Not only does the catechism not bear the name of its creators, but in addition few official notes were taken during the council. The official record of the Third Plenary Council Baltimore, written in Latin, is *Acta et Decreta Concilii plenarii Baltimorensis tertii A.D. MDCCCLXXXIV*, most commonly referred to as the *Acta et Decreta* (Acts and Decrees).⁹⁸ In the official record of the council three paragraphs, # 217-219, are dedicated to the national catechism. These paragraphs reiterate the call for the establishment of a commission to adopt or produce a catechism written in English for American Catholics.

⁹⁸ *Acta et Decreta Concilii plenarii Baltimorensis tertii A.D. MDCCCLXXXIV* (Baltimore: J.Murphy, 1886).

Clearly much of the discussion during the debates of the Third Plenary Council was not recorded for the official summarized record of *Acta et Decreta*. The few personal notes taken by the secretary of the catechism commission sessions have been lost from the archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore. A *Memorial Volume* of the council was published for the Catholic laity in English in 1885. Concerning the catechism it offers a single sentence: “Other important decrees were passed, such as one adopting a universal catechism, the profits on the sale of which is to be devoted to the maintenance of Catholic schools.”⁹⁹

Given the limited amount of information revealed in the official records of the council, the historian must reconstruct the events by turning to auxiliary sources. However, reconstructing the history of the first national catechism suffers from the same problem often found in the scholarship on American Catholicism, namely the loss and decomposition of data. The personal and official artifacts which document the American Catholic experience are often comprised of diaries, correspondences, notes and newspapers. Surviving sources do agree that the main body of the *Baltimore Catechism* was drafted in 1884 during the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore.

Father John Sharp’s Investigation

In the late 1920’s, realizing that many of the council participants were passing away and living memory of the council was soon to be lost, Father John Sharp set out to investigate several of the mysteries of the *Baltimore Catechism*: When was it written? By whom? What sources were used as a basis of the catechism? Rev. Sharp wrote letters to

⁹⁹ *The Memorial Volume A History of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore November 9 – December 7, 1884* (Baltimore: The Baltimore Publishing Company, 1885), 51.

the remaining bishops who attended the council some forty-four years earlier. Since many of the actual participants had already died Father Sharp also wrote their personal colleagues for information as well. These letters of response, as well as some of his own observations and hypotheses were published in a number of articles in the journal, *Ecclesiastical Review*.¹⁰⁰ It should be noted that the work of Sharp is somewhat different from what one today would consider to be an academic article. Sharp writes to bishops who attended the council and asks them about the sources and authorship of the catechism. He then collects the responses and reprints selections of personal letters, notes, recollections, and second-hand discussions in his article without attempting to harmonize the sometimes conflicting responses or memories.

In response to his solicitation for information regarding the origins and authorship of the *Baltimore Catechism*, Sharp was sent a circular letter from Cardinal James Gibbons, Archbishop and Apostolic Delegate of the Council, who felt the issue of a national catechism was significant enough to appoint a Committee on the Catechism well in advance of the council. Cardinal Gibbons writes:

That definite action may be taken on the subject during the Council, I have requested a number of prelates to serve as a special committee . . . to consider the following points, and report on the same at or before the Council: 1st. On the expediency of adopting a uniform catechism at the Council. 2nd. On naming the Catechism which they prefer to be sanctioned. 3rd. whether the Germans, Slavonians (sic), Italians, Spaniards, French, etc., should have a translation of the catechism to be adopted, or whether another catechism should be approved for them.¹⁰¹

Cardinal Gibbons assigned Archbishop Alemany, Bishop Goesbriand, Bishop Ryan, Bishop Dwenger, Bishop Spalding, Bishop Kain and Bishop Janssens to the special

¹⁰⁰ John K. Sharp, "How the Baltimore Catechism Originated," *The Ecclesiastical Review* 81 (1929): 585-586; John K. Sharp, "The Origin of the Baltimore Catechism," *The Ecclesiastical Review* 83, no. 6 (1930): 620-624; and John K. Sharp, "Authorization of the Baltimore Catechism," *The Ecclesiastical Review* 94, no. 5 (1936): 516-517.

¹⁰¹ Idem, "How the Baltimore Catechism Originated," 576.

committee. Another source recollected for Sharp that “Bishop Spalding was the dominant member” on the committee.¹⁰²

At the time of the council, Bishop John Lancaster Spalding would have been a relatively new bishop. Less than a decade earlier, in 1877, Spalding had been raised to the position of Bishop of Peoria. In the creation of the new national catechism I will argue below that Spalding delegated much of his responsibility to a priest attending the council as a theologian to the Bishop of Omaha. Based on these letters of response, Sharp came to the tentative conclusion that most of the work of drafting the catechism was performed by this Jersey City pastor, Fr. Januarius De Concilio. According to several sources, De Concilio may have written the draft of the catechism during the last several days of the council, relying upon his memory of popular catechisms.

Almost every successive commentary of the *Baltimore Catechism* has relied upon Sharp’s initial investigation. Since there are so few sources regarding the catechism, subsequent authors return repeatedly to what little has been written before them adding mostly opinion to their account. Because of its status as a national catechism, the attention and commentary the *Baltimore Catechism* has received over the years is unique when compared to other artifacts of American Catholicism.

Especially in the 1960’s, the catechism took on an iconic function in the struggle over modern Catholic identity. There seems to be no end to the number of opinion pieces and editorials on the catechism which have been sent into journals and magazines. The few articles which contain factual information become lost in the avalanche of experience or opinion-oriented commentary on the catechism.

¹⁰² Ibid, 580.

This chapter will be a historiography reviewing ten descriptions of how the catechism came into being, with particular attention given to De Concilio's role in the process. It appears that the authorial evaluation of the catechism shifted during the 1960's and 70s from one of being generally positive to an increasingly negative estimation of the document. These later authors were writing mainly from an Americanist perspective that wanted, in the Spirit of Vatican II, to welcome the modern world and break away from a conservative immigrant Catholicism, sometimes pejoratively referred to as "ghetto."

A History of the Accounts

The story of the creation of the catechism is found in the following texts: Allen S. Will's *Life of Cardinal Gibbons* (1911);¹⁰³ Peter Guilday's *A History of the Councils of Baltimore 1791-1884* (1932);¹⁰⁴ John Tracy Ellis' two volume *The Life of James Cardinal Gibbons Archbishop of Baltimore 1834-1921* (1952);¹⁰⁵ Gerard S. Sloyan's *Modern Catechetics: Message and Method in Religious Formation* (1963);¹⁰⁶ David Sweeney's *The Life of John Lancaster Spalding: First Bishop of Peoria, 1840-1916* (1965);¹⁰⁷ Mary Charles Bryce's doctoral dissertation, "The Influence of the Catechism of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore on Widely Used Elementary Religion Text

¹⁰³ Allen S. Will, *Life of Cardinal Gibbons* (Baltimore: John Murphy Company, 1911), 113.

¹⁰⁴ Peter Guilday, *A History of the Councils of Baltimore (1791-1884)* (New York: MacMillan Company, 1932), 240.

¹⁰⁵ John Tracy Ellis, *The Life of James Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore, 1834-1921*, 2 vols. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing, 1952), 236.

¹⁰⁶ Gerard S. Sloyan, *Modern Catechetics: Message and Method in Religious Formation* (New York: Macmillan, 1963), 83-91.

¹⁰⁷ David F. Sweeney, *The Life of John Lancaster Spalding: First Bishop of Peoria, 1840-1916* (New York: Herder & Herder, 1965), 172-176.

Books from its Composition in 1885 to its 1941 Revision” (1970);¹⁰⁸ Melvin Lloyd Farrell’s “A Theological Analysis of Kerygma in the Baltimore Catechism” (1970);¹⁰⁹ Catherine Dooley’s “Baltimore Catechism” (1994);¹¹⁰ Janet Welsh’s “Baltimore Catechism” (1995);¹¹¹ and Berard Marthaler’s *The Catechism Yesterday and Today: The Evolution of a Genre* (1995).¹¹²

Since each of these authors present the story of the catechism for their own particular aim, this historiography suggests that these accounts can be beneficially categorized according to their purpose and genre. Over the years, the attitude of the authors and their evaluation of the *Baltimore Catechism* have shifted from positive to negative. This chapter will lay out each account by genre and purpose, observing where the author begins and ends the story. I note what role De Concilio plays in these accounts, and how much text the story and the criticism of the catechism receive. It is my observation with these various accounts that the closer one approaches the present, the greater space criticism of the catechism receives. The dissertations of Bryce and Farrell from Catholic University of America have especially contributed to the crystallization of criticism against the catechism since their work is to date the most thorough and academic.

¹⁰⁸ Mary Charles Bryce, O.S.B., “The Influence of the Catechism of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in Widely Used Elementary Religion Text Books: From Its Composition in 1885 to Its 1941 Revision,” (Ph.D. Diss., Catholic University of America, 1970), 104-107.

¹⁰⁹ Melvin Lloyd Farrell, “A Theological Analysis of Kerygma in the Baltimore Catechism,” (S.T.D. diss., The Catholic University of America, 1970), 108-112.

¹¹⁰ Catherine Dooley, “Baltimore Catechism,” in *The Modern Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. Michael Glazier and Monika K. Hellwig (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1994), 68.

¹¹¹ Janet Welsh, “Baltimore Catechism,” in *The HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, ed. Richard P. McBrien (New York: HarperCollins, 1995), 129-131.

¹¹² Berard L. Marthaler, *The Catechism Yesterday and Today: The Evolution of a Genre* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1995), 114-119.

The first narrative of the creation of the *Baltimore Catechism* is a passing comment by Allen S. Will in his 1911 biography of Cardinal James Gibbons. The account is found in Will's eighth chapter on the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore. In one solitary sentence Will writes, "The council appointed a commission to prepare a catechism for general use, which was made obligatory after its publication."¹¹³

The second telling of the tale was written in 1932 by historian Peter Guilday who published a book on the councils of Baltimore. While the discussion of the hierarchy's desire for a uniform catechism takes over a full page, the specific discussion on the *Baltimore Catechism* consists of two sentences. Guilday records, "The desire for such a Catechism grew stronger in the interim between 1866 and 1884, and a commission was appointed for that purpose; with the result that the *Baltimore Catechism* was approved by Archbishop Gibbons in 1885."¹¹⁴

The next account is buried in John Tracy Ellis' 1952 two volume biography of James Gibbons. Again the narrative is merely three sentences in length, although they are rather long sentences. Ellis recounts:

Elder was of the opinion that 'A common catechism is certainly desirable, if there is any possibility of making one that will be generally acceptable.' Bishop Louis M. Fink, O.S.B, of Leavenworth told Gibbons, in a letter to which no reply was found, that he had for some time had a group of priests working on a catechism, and when he learned there was to be a committee of bishops assigned to the task he had ordered the work stopped; but since they were nearing the end of their efforts the priests wanted to go on; therefore, he inquired if Gibbons thought the result of their labors would be of any assistance to the council's efforts for a catechism. Thus there was begun the project which eventually brought results in the form of the Baltimore Catechism, still so widely used in revised form throughout the Church of the United States.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ Will, *Life of Cardinal Gibbons*, 113.

¹¹⁴ Guilday, *History of the Councils*, 240.

¹¹⁵ Ellis, *Life of James Cardinal Gibbons*, 236

This account is part of Ellis's chapter describing how Gibbons, as apostolic delegate of the pope, prepared for the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore. The account begins with the recognition that there was a desire for a common or national catechism. Ellis attributes the creation of the catechism to the initial work of the priests operating under Bishop Louis Fink and the later editing of the committee of bishops at the council.¹¹⁶ Ellis notes in a rather positive fashion that the catechism remains in use to his present day. His remarks also indicate that the work was at some time revised.

One of the leaders of the new catechetical movement, Gerard Sloyan writes his 1960 *Modern Catechetics*, which constitutes the first extended discussion of the *Baltimore Catechism*. The book is dedicated to the topic of new ways of teaching religion. Sloyan's discussion fills two subsections. The first is four paragraphs long and is entitled, "The Roots of the Baltimore Catechism." In this subsection Sloyan states that, "the clearest claimant to that title seems to be a volume of unacknowledged origins, also entitled, "An Abridgement of Christian Doctrine," which Sloyan suggests may have been also identified as "Collot's Catechism." Sloyan then gives brief mention to the *Deharbe Catechisms* (large and small editions), written by Josef Deharbe around 1847, and *The Christian Doctrine*, compiled by Archbishop of Tuam John MacHale in Dublin 1865. Both texts order their material as creed, commandments and means of grace, and both texts contain lists of things (virtues, vices, works of mercy, etc.) dispersed throughout.

In the "Roots" subsection, as throughout the book, Sloyan shares personal memories and thoughts. Here he remarks how his grandfather had studied the MacHale

¹¹⁶ Born in Triftersberg, Bavaria in July 12, 1834, Louis Fink was ordained in 1857 and took over the abbey and Benedictine College on June 18, 1868. He was appointed the first bishop of the new Diocese of Leavenworth, Kansas on May 22 1877. Right reverend Louis M. Fink remains the only Benedictine monk from St. Benedict's Abbey to become a bishop. He died on March 17, 1904.

catechism. Regarding the work *An Abridgement of Christian Doctrine* Sloyan remarks, “the present writer can only say of this *Abridgement* that the general bulk of its text is identical in form to the catechism of the Baltimore Catechism he memorized in the ‘twenties and thirties.’”¹¹⁷ It appears to be this observation of similarity that leads Sloyan to claim that the *Abridgement* is the predecessor of the *Baltimore Catechism*. But then he adds an offhanded remark which seems to disparage the *Baltimore Catechism*: “This fact tends to heighten the ambiguity of the celebration of 1960, when a catechism presumably only 75 years old was being hailed by the national office of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine.”¹¹⁸

The celebration is contemporaneous with Sloyan’s writing of his book and he as author finds “ambiguity” in this celebration of the *Baltimore Catechism*. Perhaps it is the age of the catechism that troubles Sloyan being that it is “only 75 years old” or perhaps Sloyan believes that the praise for the *Baltimore Catechism* should be directed towards the “real” source, the *Abridgement*. But for whatever reason, Sloyan’s comment and tone indicates at least a degree of displeasure with the contemporary events and opinions surrounding the *Baltimore Catechism*.

Sloyan’s next subsection is entitled, “How the Baltimore Catechism Originated.” This treatment of the catechism’s origins is eleven paragraphs in length which extend over seven pages of Sloyan’s book. The first paragraph introduced the phrase from the catechism’s title page, “proposed and enjoined by order of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore.”¹¹⁹ Sloyan then points out a statement from Archbishop Gibbons, dated April

¹¹⁷ Sloyan, *Modern Catechetics*, 83.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 85.

6, 1885 which claims the catechism “is hereby approved.”¹²⁰ The facts of the production are imbedded in the overall sentiment of the narrative. In a comment rhetorically designed to diminish the authority and stature of the catechism Sloyan claims, “A modicum of research establishes that this was as much approbation as the volume ever got.”¹²¹ He adds the “national body never attended to it further except to hear a chorus of complaints against it.”¹²²

Sloyan sets out an order of events whereby Gibbons sends out a letter before the plenary council appointing a committee of seven bishops to consider the issue of a national catechism. Sloyan attributes his information to the series of articles and responses by Rev. John Sharp in the *Ecclesiastical Review* from 1929-1936. Sloyan then highlights some of the events that took place during their meetings of Nov 11, 29, and Dec 6, 1884. Not until the fifth paragraph does De Concilio enter the discussion: “Messmer recalled with a ‘faint recollection’ that the actual making of the new catechism was placed in the hands of Msgr. Januarius De Concilio . . . one of the twelve priest theologians assigned to the Deputation of the Chapter on Christian Doctrine, made up of six bishops under Archbishop Elder of Cincinnati.”¹²³

Here Sloyan lines up the testimony regarding authorship, which he draws from Sharp’s articles. In addition to De Concilio, Sloyan notes that Dr. Moes of Cleveland “put some serious work up in” and that Bishop O’Connor contributed by “gathering up” manuscripts.¹²⁴ Sloyan quotes a contrary witness who was a companion of Bishop John

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid., 88.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

Lancaster Spalding, and mentions that this companion “had the impression that ‘Bishop Spalding did most of the work.’”¹²⁵ Further testimony indicated that “Spalding hurried the preparation of the catechism” and that Spalding worked on the catechism with De Concilio after the council, “from early December to at least January 25, 1885.”¹²⁶

In his ninth paragraph Sloyan identifies the *Baltimore Catechism* as Spalding’s coup. He writes, “The final result of Spalding’s coup underlines the truth that although the pen is mightier than the sword, the scissors is mightier than both.”¹²⁷ According to Sloyan’s textual comparison, the text of the *Baltimore Catechism* basically comes from the *Butler Catechism*, with influences observable from *Carroll’s Abridgement of Christian Doctrine* (1772), and *McCaffrey’s Catechism* (1866). *Verot’s Catechism* (c.1857) was suggested by someone in Sharp’s article as another possible source.

Sloyan’s tenth paragraph is one of speculation, where he wonders why the authorship of the catechism was not known.

One would think that the actual producer of this American landmark would have shortly been to the fore, but this was not the case. The man most closely associated with the diamond jubilee event of 1960 had proved so modest that he disclaimed parentage of the product outright . . . Monsignor de Concilio had evidently heard enough comment on the catechism, according to one witness, to wish to dissociate himself from it actively. If he had known how much attention it was going to receive, he would have given it more time and his best efforts, etc.¹²⁸

After claiming that De Concilio actively dissociated himself from the text Sloyan continues by commenting that “Spalding was [not] any more anxious for the title of leading spirit.”¹²⁹ The overall impression given is that the *Baltimore Catechism* was so poorly produced that everyone involved attempted to distance themselves from it and

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 89.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 90.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 91.

deny their hand in its production. Thus the compiler of the text was quickly forgotten in the annals of American Catholic history.

Sloyan's final paragraph of the subsection deals with the revision of the catechism. He notes, "it is scarcely distinguishable in spirit from the earlier work, and comprises a retrogression in its ordering of material."¹³⁰ But contrary to the original authors Sloyan observes that, "Francis J. Connell, C.S.S.R., has not hesitated to admit his considerable part in this editorial task" in the revised version.¹³¹

It is in David F. Sweeney's 1965 biography of Bishop John Lancaster Spalding that we discover our next narrative of the creation of the *Baltimore Catechism*. The chapter is inauspiciously entitled, "The Middle Years," and begins by establishing the mood of the American Catholic hierarchy and Spalding in particular, describing it as "a period of disenchantment."¹³² Sweeney then inserts a quotation written by Bishop Spalding himself: "we see that after much toil we have accomplished little. What we hoped to do, we have not; or having done, have ceased to care for."¹³³

Just a little over three pages is devoted to the discussion of the catechism and the committee created to address the need for a new national catechism. Spalding was assigned to the committee as early as August 25, 1884. There was strong sentiment in the committee to adopt *Butler's Catechism* as had recently been done by the bishops of Ireland at the Council of Maynooth but opinions changed and turned in favor of the creation of a new catechism for America. Sweeney relates that from the minutes of the

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Sweeney, *Spalding*, 172.

¹³³ Ibid., 173.

council a new commission of bishops was appointed for this task. At the last session of the council

a draft of the new catechism, hurriedly compiled by Monsignor Januarius De Concilio, pastor of St. Michael's Parish, Jersey City, and printed on galley sheets, was distributed to the assembled bishops for suggestions and changes. Time was too short, Messmer recalled, and the bishops were therefore requested to forward their suggestions as soon as possible to the Bishop of Peoria.¹³⁴

So from this narrative we learn that Butler's catechism was rejected as a model and that Spalding was involved in two commissions of bishops regarding the catechism, one to consider the issue and a second to produce the text. De Concilio compiled a draft which the bishops reviewed and forwarded their corrections to Spalding.

Sweeney remarks that, "Spalding returned to Peoria after the close of the Council, where his immediate concern was to expedite the publication of the proposed uniform catechism."¹³⁵ Sweeney elaborates on the rush to finish with the catechism. According to Sweeney a greater issue occupied Spalding's concern, namely the establishment of a Catholic University in America: "The Bishop of Peoria was undoubtedly relieved, as he said, to get the work off his hands so that he might devote his time and energies to what would prove to be a more difficult task, namely the making of a Catholic university a reality."¹³⁶

The establishment of a Catholic university held great prominence in Spalding's mind. McAvoy writes, "The Catholic University had been almost from its inception a project of the more progressive groups of the hierarchy, and had the special protection of John Ireland who had gone to Rome with Bishop John Keane to get Roman approval for

¹³⁴ Ibid., 174.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 173.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 176.

their plans.”¹³⁷ The traditionalist faction typically did not give the new university their full support. Archbishop Corrigan of New York had proposed earlier to have such school situated in his diocese.

The Jesuits felt the school was located too close to their Jesuit college of Georgetown and Bishop McQuaid regarded the university as a rival for his newly established theological seminary of St. Bernard.¹³⁸ Even as Spalding penned a note thanking Archbishop Corrigan of New York for his comments on the catechism, Spalding launched into a discourse on the establishment of the new Catholic university. Spalding was very concerned about external appearances as he writes to Corrigan. He wrote, “I am glad you are to have a meeting of the Commission on the university. I have notified Bishop Ireland but I beg you to have your secretary notify the others as it would look awkward for me to do it.”¹³⁹ To advance the cause of the university, Spalding offers Archbishop Corrigan his due deference.

Sweeney concludes his narrative on the creation of the catechism by praising the commission in charge of the catechism: “It is a tribute to the bishops of the commission, and especially to Bishop Spalding, that within six months after the end of the Council there appeared the first edition of the *Baltimore Catechism*.”¹⁴⁰ In a footnote Sweeney observes that an additional abridged edition of the *Baltimore Catechism* appeared later that year with a distinct date of September 8, 1885.¹⁴¹

¹³⁷ Thomas T. McAvoy, *The Great Crisis in American Catholic History, 1895-1900* (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1957), 72.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 73.

¹³⁹ John L. Spalding, private letter to Corrigan, Peoria, Jan. 15, 1885 (C-3). Archives of the Archdiocese of New York quoted in Sweeney, *Spalding*, 176, footnote #9.

¹⁴⁰ Sweeney, *Spalding*, 175.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 175-6, footnote #8.

The first academic study to have the *Baltimore Catechism* as its focus is Sister Mary Charles Bryce's 1970 Catholic University of America doctoral dissertation.¹⁴² Bryce's dissertation contains an introduction and conclusion with five substantial chapters. The fourth chapter, "The Baltimore Catechism: Origin, Sources, and Early History," is thirty-seven pages long and describes in detail the production of the catechism. Bryce identifies the members of the original commission, including Spalding, who were to consider the question of the usefulness of a uniform catechism. She notes that when the committee met in session on Nov. 11th, they reported back to the council immediately. They were then given additional support of other bishops and priests with whom to confer and collaborate, although no record remains which identifies the names of these additional members or the reason for the increase in the size of the commission.

On their second session held Nov. 29th they introduced to the floor of the council a statement, which after some minor emendation became decrees 217-219 in the *Acta et Decreta*, the official notes of the council. Among the relevant points this statement: **1)** refers to the Council of Trent and its command that bishops provide for the teaching of the faith to their flocks, and especially the young; **2)** proclaims therefore, that in America church pastors must be present at colleges, high schools and academies for boys and girls, to provide for the catechism lessons; **3)** regards lay teachers of valuable assistance but reminds priests that the burden of teaching remains upon them; **4)** stipulates that in preparing to receive First Holy Communion students must receive catechism training three time per week for at least six weeks—furthermore, after receiving the sacrament the

¹⁴² Bryce draws heavily from her dissertation in her book, *Pride of Place: The Role of the Bishops in the Development of Catechesis in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1984). A chapter from *Pride of Place* was separately published in *The Living Light* journal as "The Uniform Catechism Before and After Baltimore III," *The Living Light* 21, no. 1 (1984): 10.

pastor must continue to provide for at least two years of catechism instruction for these students; and 5) called for the establishment of a commission to adopt or produce a catechism to be composed in English but translated into the idiom used by the faithful of many tongues (German, French, etc.).¹⁴³

Bryce begins her next paragraph as follows, “The committee made its final report during its last meeting held on December 6. Later, galley proofs of a new catechism text were distributed to the full assembly of bishops for their perusal and suggestions.”¹⁴⁴ What remains unclear is the identity and nature of “the committee.” Did the first commission, then expanded, hand over the project of writing a catechism to an entirely new committee which they established in their statement? Or, was the first commission now sufficiently altered and expanded to take on the task itself (and thus the mention of a commission in the statement was self-referential)?

Bryce notes that since the report occurred on the final day of the council the bishops were directed to forward their suggested changes to Bishop Spalding for correction. Bryce concludes this subsection writing, “Thus the work came to rest upon two men whose names are most frequently linked with the origin of the Baltimore Catechism, Spalding and de Concilio.”¹⁴⁵

Bryce’s next subsection is entitled, “The Catechism Written and Published.” It is at this point in her narrative where Bryce’s evaluation of the text becomes most apparent.

De Concilio had accepted the task of writing a catechism while the Council was still in session, probably during or immediately following the November 29th meeting.¹⁴⁶ One writer, Mark Moesslein, observed that, ‘thinking the matter over, Monsignor de Concilio came to the conclusion that it was not worth while taking much pains about the matter of

¹⁴³ Idem, “Influence of the Catechism,” 101-103.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 103.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Bryce includes a footnote at the end of this sentence in which she cites Sharp’s 1929 article, “The Origin of the Baltimore Catechism.”

drawing up the catechism, because the Bishops would dump it in the waste basket anyhow.¹⁴⁷ Accordingly, the result was that de Concilio hastily assembled the work in about a week. This hurriedly assembled text was submitted to the Council Fathers on December 6. This was the basic text which he and Spalding worked on during the latter's stay in New York. At a later time, when the catechism had come under a barrage of criticism, de Concilio minimized his part in the work, but this must have been a change of view from that which he had when the catechism was finished. Within a year after it was published, he esteemed it worthy of translation into Italian for immigrants from his native Italy.¹⁴⁸

Bryce then offers more details as to its publication. On January 2, 1885, in a private letter, Spalding reported to Gibbons that he had made the suggested changes and that the final amendments of the archbishops would be sent from Mr. Kehoe the printer to Gibbons. Bryce quotes Spalding as writing, "Mr. Kehoe will in a day or so send you copies of the final amendments of the archbishops."¹⁴⁹ Spalding then expresses that he is eager to "get the work off my hands."¹⁵⁰

Again on February 23 1885 he writes Gibbons, "I have received suggestions from all the archbishops concerning catechism and have made such changes as seemed desirable. The corrected proof is now in the hands of Mr. Kehoe, who will send you a copy."¹⁵¹ Two months later Cardinal John McCloskey gave the catechism his imprimatur as Archbishop and apostolic delegate James Gibbons issued his approval, dated April 6, 1885. On April 11, Spalding received from the United States copyright #8558 for *A Catechism of Christian Doctrine, Prepared and Enjoined by the order of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore*.

¹⁴⁷ This direct quotation comes from Mark Moesslein, "Origin of the Baltimore Catechism," *Ecclesiastical Review* 93 (1935): 613.

¹⁴⁸ Bryce, "Influence of the Catechism," 104.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 105.

¹⁵⁰ AAB (Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore), 79-A-1, Spalding, private letter to Gibbons, Jan. 2, 1885, quoted in Bryce, "Influence of the Catechism," 105.

¹⁵¹ AAB (Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore), 79-E-15, Spalding, private letter to Gibbons, Feb. 23, 1885, quoted in Bryce, "Influence of the Catechism," 105. Underscore is found in the original letter.

Bryce notes that later, under the same Episcopal approval and imprimatur, Spalding published a redaction of the original catechism in September of 1885. While the questions were identical to the original, “Spalding had rearranged some of them, placing them in contexts different from their positions in the original manual. He had condensed the subject matter of eight chapters and fitted it into four, which affected the overall number of chapters. The first catechism contained thirty-seven chapters, while this one numbered thirty-three.”¹⁵² Bryce explains that Spalding received a different copyright (# 18968) for his abridged catechism dated September 8, 1885 and it is commonly referred to as “Baltimore Catechism Number 1.”¹⁵³

In her final sentence in this subsection she concludes, “Its major significance for this study is simply that its appearance testified to the fact that even the author of the Baltimore manual was not entirely satisfied with his first work.”¹⁵⁴ Bryce’s negative assessment of the history of the catechism coincides with the desire of the new catechists to abandon the use of catechisms in contemporary religious instruction.

A second dissertation to focus on the *Baltimore Catechism* was written in the same year, 1970, at the same university, Catholic University of America. Reverend Melvin Lloyd Farrell submitted his dissertation, “A Theological Analysis of Kerygma in the Baltimore Catechism” for approval.¹⁵⁵ Like Bryce, Farrell’s dissertation was directed by Marthaler and shares in the viewpoint of the new catechists. Relative to Bryce’s dissertation, which offers general claims based on a wide array of catechisms, Farrell’s work is much more focused, careful and nuanced.

¹⁵² Bryce, “Influence of the Catechism,” 106-107.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 107.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ Farrell, “Theological Analysis.”

It is difficult to say how much influence one may have had on the other, but it would not be unusual for two graduate students at the same school writing on the same topic to discuss their interests and research. While Farrell makes no mention of Bryce in his bibliography, Bryce does cite an article by Farrell on the catechism in her bibliography.¹⁵⁶

Farrell's dissertation contains four chapters in addition to the obligatory introduction and conclusion: chapter 1, "The Kerygma through History"; chapter 2, "The Baltimore Catechism of 1885"; chapter 3, "The Baltimore Catechism of 1941"; and chapter 4, "A Contemporary Evaluation of the Kerygma of the Catechism." His chapter on the original *Baltimore Catechism* is comprised of seventy-seven pages, a majority of which deal with the theological content of the catechism. His subsection on the historical background is seventeen pages in length and begins with the committee preparations for the Third Plenary Council. Farrell explains the adoption of other catechisms was rejected because the majority of bishops wanted a catechism "to be composed with the needs of the American Church specifically in mind."¹⁵⁷

The heart of the story of the writing of the catechism occupies two pages and this is where the reader is introduced to De Concilio. Set within a description of the events of the November 29th commission meeting, Farrell explains, "Spalding delegated the task to Monsignor Januarius De Concilio, the rector of St. Michael's Parish in Jersey City and a former professor of philosophy and theology at Seton Hall. How De Concilio went about the project is not known."¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁶ Melvin L. Farrell, "Why the Baltimore Catechism is Obsolete," *American Ecclesiastical Review* 163 (1970): 11-19. Bryce, "Influence of the Catechism," 387.

¹⁵⁷ Farrell, "Theological Analysis," 108.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 111.

Farrell also mentions that De Concilio was reputed to tell Mark Moesslein later that he expected the bishops would dump the draft in the wastebasket. Farrell adds that De Concilio may have consulted Nicholas A. Moes on the project. “At any rate,” Farrell continues, “the day before the Council closed the assembled bishops were presented with a draft of a new catechism on galley proofs.”¹⁵⁹

He enters into the forwarding of suggestions to Spalding. Farrell adds the following possibility, “There is also evidence that Spalding spent several weeks with De Concilio at a Paulist residence in New York City, presumably working over the text of the catechism. Nevertheless, the authorship of the final text remains unsettled.”¹⁶⁰ Later Farrell will comment, elaborating on this after-council editing, “A reasonable hypothesis, for lack of a better, is that Spalding and De Concilio worked out the final text themselves, appropriating the criticisms received from other bishops as they thought best.”¹⁶¹

The next two accounts of the writing of the *Baltimore Catechism* are representative modern accounts of a larger but less developed form of literature in that they appear in encyclopedias which are attempting to provide brief descriptive synopses. Catherine Dooley writes a half-page article which consists of four paragraphs.¹⁶² Understandably little new information is added to the body of knowledge regarding the catechism except one of perspective.¹⁶³ She writes, “When it was not

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 112.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 111.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 112.

¹⁶² Dooley, “Baltimore Catechism,” 68.

¹⁶³ Another factor which should be noted is that unlike any of the previous authors discussed, Dooley identifies De Concilio by his Italian first name, Gennaro.

simply memorized verbatim, it provided a syllabus for Catholic catechetical programs and textbooks until the 1960s.”¹⁶⁴

What is new in this statement is the taken for granted perspective that the *Baltimore Catechism* is passé. Of her four paragraphs, one paragraph is given to the background of a desire for a uniform catechism by all three plenary councils of Baltimore. Her second paragraph discusses the creation of the catechism in two sentences. The commission hastily put together a draft but “The final redaction is the work of John Lancaster Spalding, bishop of Peoria, assisted by Monsignor Gennaro de Concilio, a New Jersey pastor.”¹⁶⁵ From there Dooley discusses the order and size of the manual.

The next two paragraphs are devoted to the criticism and negative evaluation of the catechism. Thus the story of its creation receives two sentences while the attention to criticism has ballooned to two of the four paragraphs of the article. Included in the criticism is a list of the catechism’s weaknesses: “pedagogically, for its abstract language, monotonous format, and rote learning; theologically, for the equivalence of all doctrines, overemphasis on sin, obligation and fear of punishment, insufficient attention to the significance of the resurrection and the Holy Spirit.”¹⁶⁶ Further she flatly states “very little of the content was original but was taken from other manuals” as well as making the claim, “the catechism met with immediate criticism.”¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

The next encyclopedia entry is written by Janet Welsh and fills a two page spread consisting of four columns.¹⁶⁸ It is subdivided into three sections: “Historical Background”; “Origin of the Baltimore Catechism”; and “Evaluation of the Baltimore Catechism.” As for new information, Welsh adds (incorrectly) that Martin Luther created a new literary genre of catechism, which the Catholics then emulated. Her historical background begins with Luther and proceeds through to the First Vatican Council, taking the space of half of the entry for the catechism. One column of text is devoted to the origins of the text and the remaining column is occupied by the evaluation.

The narration of its writing introduces De Concilio then relates, “The Italian-born priest spent approximately one week composing the first draft of the manual. Later when the catechism suffered severe criticism, De Concilio minimized his participation in its composition.”¹⁶⁹ Although evidently relying on the work of earlier authors, what this quotation illustrates is the manner in which mere hypothesis becomes treated as proven fact. Welsh states, “Spalding stayed in New York . . . during that time Spalding and De Concilio worked on the catechism.”¹⁷⁰ Or again, a speculation from Bryce is related as fact, “Spalding however, was not satisfied with the catechism.”¹⁷¹ In this retelling, the story loses all ambiguity, setting the reader up for the evaluation of the catechism.

Welsh notes that during the Third Plenary Council the bishops questioned the quality of the catechism.¹⁷² Welsh adds to the evaluation the fact that nine articles appeared in the German language periodical *Pastoral Blatt* criticizing the catechism.

¹⁶⁸ Welsh, “Baltimore Catechism,” 129-131.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 130.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 131.

¹⁷² Welsh uses a quotation from Sebastian Messmer found in Sharp’s 1929 article, “The Origin of the Baltimore Catechism.” Welsh, “Baltimore Catechism,” 131.

Again a list of shortcomings is reported: the catechism “was unsuitable for children because of its incomprehensible language, the number of yes/no questions (91), the manual’s size and its monotonous style.”¹⁷³ The list then continues with the catechism’s theological weaknesses as well.

Moving to a discussion of the revision Welsh says, “The *Baltimore Catechism* endured more than fifty years of criticism before it was finally revised.”¹⁷⁴ The last bit of distinct information that Welsh adds is “the *Baltimore Catechism* relied upon other manuals. Only 49 questions and answers are unique to the *Baltimore Catechism*.”¹⁷⁵

The last narrative which discusses the creation of the *Baltimore Catechism* is by the leader of the new catechists, Berard Marthaler in his 1995 book on catechisms, *The Catechism Yesterday and Today*.¹⁷⁶ The focus of our study receives treatment in two subsections “The Catechism of Baltimore III” and “The Baltimore Catechism: Criticism and Revision.” The first subsection is eight paragraphs in length filling two and one-third pages, while the second subsection on criticism is nine paragraphs in length and occupies two and two-third pages. De Concilio’s contribution is reduced to two sentences which again states as fact, “when the Baltimore Catechism came under a volley of criticism, de Concilio was to downplay his part in the work.”¹⁷⁷

¹⁷³ Welsh, “Baltimore Catechism,” 131.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ In America the new catechetical movement desired to shift away from theological content and toward personal experience: “The distinctly American contribution began with the turn to experiential catechetics in the late sixties and is associated with such names as Gabriel Moran and Berard Marthaler.” See Kenneth Barker, *Religious Education, Catechesis and Freedom* (Birmingham: Religious Education Press, 1981), 45.

¹⁷⁷ Marthaler, *Yesterday and Today*, 116.

Marthaler again repeats the notion that De Concilio and Spalding worked together after the council to edit the text. When repeating the fact that the *Baltimore Catechism* had only 49 original questions, Marthaler, it should be noted, is more careful in his language: “Compared question by question with other works, only 49 are not found in either the Butler-Maynooth, Verot’s, McCaffrey’s, or David’s catechism.”¹⁷⁸

What Marthaler adds to our understanding is his sensitivity to and perception of the political underpinnings of the events surrounding the catechism. We learn that unlike previous products of the American Catholic hierarchy, the *Baltimore Catechism* was not sent to Rome for inspection and approval. Further, Marthaler relates that Spalding personally, and not the council, received a copyright for the text. Insightfully Marthaler comments that the initial criticism of the catechism in the *Pastoral Blatt* was motivated by more than concern over content: “Most of the shortcomings pointed out in the *Pastoralblatt* are endemic to small catechisms but the writer also attempted to undermine the authority of the Baltimore Catechism. He charged . . . the final text was not sent to the bishops for their review and approbation.”¹⁷⁹

After the criticism a description of the revision process is given to which Marthaler adds, “The 1941 text of the Baltimore Catechism was not greeted with any more enthusiasm than the 1885 edition . . . many critics took the occasion of the publication of the revised edition to rehearse the inadequacies of catechisms in general.”¹⁸⁰ Marthaler concludes his treatment of the *Baltimore Catechism* by repeating that its time of usefulness has ended.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 117.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 119.

During his time at Catholic University of America, the hub of the new catechetical movement, the position is held that catechisms are no longer a useful tool for religious instruction, and with the introduction of modern secular theories of education doctrine gets downplayed in favor of personal experience. After receiving a draft of the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* for his review, Marthaler critiqued, “It is not necessary to compile a new catechism if it does no more than expound traditional doctrine.”¹⁸¹

History of the Histories

Each of these histories is attempting to relate the creation of the *Baltimore Catechism*. As with any historiography we attempt to answer some of the basic questions: Where do the authors chose to begin and end? What are their sources? And, what is their purpose in providing the account? Will, Guilday and Ellis are closest to the events, yet they contain the least amount of information. Their focus is on relating the events of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore which is framed as both the beginning and the end of their narrative on the catechism. They seem to rely upon common knowledge for their brief description: the council was held; the catechism appeared.

It should be noted that all three tend to have a positive (or at least neutral) opinion of the *Baltimore Catechism*. While all three accounts lack any specific information on authorship, the catechism is described as having achieved the status of a national catechism (its use is obligatory, it was approved, and widely used throughout the United States). All three of these accounts were but a smaller story within larger works. Will and

¹⁸¹ Berard Marthaler, “The Catechism Seen as a Whole,” in *The Universal Catechism Reader* (New York: Harpercollins, 1990), 27.

Ellis are writing biographies of Cardinal James Gibbons and Guilday is recording a history of all the councils, provincial and plenary, of Baltimore.

The story of the catechism then fits as one story of many within a line of achievements by either the cardinal or the council. Peter Novick identifies such earlier historians as consensus historians. One marking of their writing is that such “American educators thought of students as being in constant danger of mental seduction.”¹⁸² Because of this concern for the reader these historians attempted to avoid a ‘history of doubt’ and instead look for a “discussion of national heroes.”¹⁸³

In these accounts of the writing of the *Baltimore Catechism* we see praises are being sung as individual achievements are mentioned; there is no motivation for a long detailed explanation of the catechism’s creation. The *Baltimore Catechism*’s popularity and fame are signs used by the authors to point to the great works accomplished by Gibbons or the council. Novick observes such historians “favored institutional history, in part because it seemed more objective, but also because it represented unity, stability and continuity.”¹⁸⁴

With Sloyan the genre of catechism takes a central place in the focus of his work. As such the *Baltimore Catechism* receives a significant discussion. A chronology of the events is produced with a more detailed consideration of possible literary sources. Covering more material in greater detail allows him to consider the colonial roots of the catechisms and its predecessors. When we turn to Sloyan’s sources we find the work of

¹⁸² Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The “Objectivity Question” and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1988), 67.

¹⁸³ Ibid., 71.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 72.

Rev. John Sharp in the priestly journal *Ecclesiastical Review*, paired with Sloyan's personal memories and sentiments.

From his investigation Sharp tentatively puts forth the suggestion that the actual writing of the draft appears to have been put in the hands of Januarius De Concilio. Sharp does explain that a great deal of the archived material from the council appears to be missing, lost or destroyed. To the work of Sharp, Sloyan adds memories of his grandfather and his own childhood and through these memories introduces a negative evaluation of the *Baltimore Catechism*. Novick explains this as a common trend for the time:

Without intending to, the new radical historians, by the very fact of their sudden emergence, [were] challenging fundamental assumption of existing mainstream historiography... they failed to maintain a cool and detached rhetorical style: they were often bad tempered and "sometimes allowed the tone and rhetoric of the picket line and the handbill to invade their professional work."¹⁸⁵

In discussing the American celebration of the *Baltimore Catechism's* anniversary which is occurring in his own day, Sloyan remarks as a counterpoint that throughout its history the catechism had received a "chorus of complaints."¹⁸⁶ This may reflect the response liberal historians had to any institution in the sixties. "Opposition to bureaucratic rationality and to hierarchy inevitably also influenced some young leftists' attitude."¹⁸⁷ It is unclear whether Sloyan would identify himself as a radical or a reformer however, the inclination of these individuals, according to Novick, was to dislodge and replace.

To Sloyan's work I will add the text of Marthaler to form a category where catechetics is the main topic. Sloyan and Berard Marthaler developed as scholars during

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 424.

¹⁸⁶ Sloyan, *Modern Catechetics*, 85.

¹⁸⁷ Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 430.

the sixties. Novick observes that “In the United States in the twentieth century, liberal ascendancy has traditionally provided the climate in which left dissidence flourished, from Progressivism, through the New Deal, to the Kennedy-Johnson years.”¹⁸⁸

Here the *Baltimore Catechism* plays a considerable role far greater than a mere noteworthy mention in a biography, but less than a weighty chapter of an academic dissertation. Since Marthaler’s notation is rare it is difficult to determine exactly what sources are being used. But his mention of the forty-nine questions not found in other catechisms is clearly traceable to Bryce’s dissertation which he directed. Additionally, he does cite a private archived letter from Spalding. His text, like most which follow after Bryce and Farrell, is marked by greater space given to the criticism rather than the creation of the catechism.

The purpose of Marthaler’s story of the catechism fits into the overall purpose of his work, to describe the changing course of catechesis. Almost of necessity he views the *Baltimore Catechism* as a work of the past, which viewed from the perspective of the contemporary improvements, thus renders it obsolete.

Sweeney’s treatment of the writing of the catechism fits best with the first group in that he is writing a biography. In this instance it is the biography of the person who had been put in charge of the commission on the catechism so the catechism again is treated as a product of distinction worth noting.

Sweeney relies upon the work of Sharp, but he also includes archived personal letters of Spalding and Gibbons, and a letter to the editor of *Ecclesiastical Review* by Mark Moesslein. In a footnote Sweeney relates from Moesslein’s letter De Concilio’s

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 427.

concern that his draft would end up in a wastebasket.¹⁸⁹ Yet the text of his narrative concludes by attributing “to the bishops of the commission, and especially to Bishop Spalding,” praise for the speedy publication of their *Baltimore Catechism*.¹⁹⁰ His purpose of the catechism story is to add praise and recognition for the work of the subject of his biography, Bishop Spalding.

The dissertations of Bryce and Farrell represent the pinnacle of research on the *Baltimore Catechism*. With each dissertation reaching over 350 pages and each devoting a hearty chapter to substantial research on the manual, no other work to date can compare. With Bryce and Farrell we shall create a third group, those of an academic nature. Each begins their dissertation at the apostolic age; Bryce tracing the history of the genre of catechism from the New Testament, with Farrell tracing the gospel kerygma through history from the apostle’s writings.

As new catechists trained at CUA they read the events with an Americanist mind frame. They affirm the modern spirit of the age and attempt to place at a distance the foreign elements of immigrant Catholicism. Both end their dissertations by bringing their analysis up to the time of their writing; Bryce relates the catechism to the religious textbooks of her day. She writes in her conclusion, “After four hundred years of accepting the catechism as ‘the book’ for instructing children and inquirers in the content of Christian revelation, the catechism has come under severe attack from theologians.”¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁹ Sweeney, *Spalding*, 174-5, footnote #6.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 175.

¹⁹¹ Bryce, “Influence of the Catechism,” 208.

In his conclusion, Farrell relates the kerygma of the catechism to how that message is being presented in his day. Farrell explains revising editor Fr. Francis J. Connell

sought explicit approval for his work both from Rome and from the American hierarchy, painstakingly redoing the text until all parties were satisfied. He did not, however, consult leaders in the field of catechetical theory like [Josef] Jungmann, who in 1936 had advocated a radical restructuring of the Christian message to conform with radical shifts in modern thinking.¹⁹²

A couple of pages later Farrell continues with this theme: “In the present year of 1970 catechetics is still hard at work searching for better ways to convey the kerygma to modern audiences. To some degree catechetics is still working negatively rather than positively, responding more to what appears to be clearly obsolete.”¹⁹³

What then of the particulars of the writing of the catechism? Because the *Baltimore Catechism* is the focus of their dissertations, it is more difficult to clearly distinguish what we have so far called the story of its writing. The role De Concilio played in the creation of the text seems to be the key element, thus I have noted when and where De Concilio appears within their text. Farrell and Bryce, as I will establish later, use De Concilio to discredit the catechism. For both Farrell and Bryce De Concilio becomes involved in the second meeting of the commission of November 29, 1884. With varying degrees of certainty both Bryce and Farrell attribute the editing to an ongoing collaborative effort between Spalding and De Concilio after the council.

Bryce introduces a quotation by Moesslein which claims De Concilio assumed that the bishops would dump the draft in the waste basket. Bryce makes a cause and effect argument, “Accordingly, the result was that de Concilio hastily assembled the work

¹⁹² Farrell, “Theological Analysis,” 336.

¹⁹³ Ibid., 338.

in about a week.”¹⁹⁴ Why, according to Bryce’s story, did he write it in a week? One is lead to believe that because De Concilio thought it would be dumped in the trash, he wrote it hastily (or carelessly) in one week.

The telling of the tale is set within a presumed negative evaluation of the text. The story serves the purpose of explaining why the *Baltimore Catechism* is such a poor text. It was written in a week by someone who did not care nor want to waste his time. And as her story goes De Concilio produced the text in large measure by merely copying from other catechisms circulating in his day.

The sources for Farrell are similar in that he relies upon Sharp, Moesslein¹⁹⁵ and the biography of Spalding by Sweeney. Like Bryce, Farrell’s purpose is to explain how we got to our present position, although Farrell’s focus is on the catechism as a conveyer of the kerygma message. Farrell summarizes, “the reception accorded the Baltimore Catechism of 1885 by educators was less than enthusiastic. Though the doctrine was thought to be sound and accurately stated, there were complaints that the wording was too abstract and difficult for children.”¹⁹⁶ With both Bryce and Farrell the reader senses the desire of the new catechists to move past the use of a catechism.

The last category of narratives is those accounts found in encyclopedias. These summarizations return to the brief presentations similar to our first group. This is namely because of space and focus, but here, unlike the biographies, there is mention of the issue of authorship. What distinguishes the encyclopedia entries is that in their reduction,

¹⁹⁴ Bryce, “Influence of the Catechism,” 104.

¹⁹⁵ Again the Moesslein quotation is elevated to the text of Farrell’s narrative although Farrell introduces the material with the somewhat qualifying phrase De Concilio “was reputed to have told Mark Moesslein, C.P., in a personal interview . . .” Farrell, “Theological Analysis,” 109.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 113.

suggested notions of earlier authors are presented as unqualified fact. Another common feature is the extended attention given to the evaluation or criticism of the text. While the purpose of their stories is to give a brief overview and history, the elements that are repeated deal with weaknesses in the text, the careless and hasty composition, the cut-and-paste compiling and overwhelming criticism that ended in its abandonment.

Moesslein Letter and an Alternative Interpretation

Since Bryce, Farrell and Marthaler place a great deal of emphasis and weight on the letter of Mark Moesslein, it may be a worthy endeavor to briefly return to the letter for reconsideration. Moesslein had dinner with De Concilio in 1888. So he finds himself in 1935 recalling social banter from forty-seven years earlier. Add to a questionable memory, the forgettable nature of after-meal conversations and one can hardly expect an exacting account of the dialog that occurred.

If we take a step back and remember how Bryce evaluated the letter, she drew out of Moesslein's remarks that De Concilio did a rush job on the catechism, not giving it much thought or effort so we ended up with a substandard, deficient text. Now given the character of De Concilio and the circumstances of his relating this tale, does it seem probable that he would confess to his barely known visitors that he did a substandard job on the catechism?

The story really begins with the telling by De Concilio of the creation, or as Moesslein puts it, "of his authorship" of the catechism.¹⁹⁷ The unnamed bishop comes to

¹⁹⁷ Bryce uses a variety of terms and phrases for De Concilio's role in the creation of the *Baltimore Catechism*: "making of the new manual," 103; "writing a catechism," 104; "drawing up," 104; "assembled" 104; "the two writers," 114; "authors," 115. Bryce, "Influence."

him to “discuss the matter.” Both the facts and the way in which this is worded appear to fit with what is thought to have occurred and De Concilio’s deferential style. Since events occurred later which surprised De Concilio, he tactfully fails to mention the name of the bishop in charge, so as to avoid casting him in a negative light.

We know from other sources that the bishop was John L. Spalding and that De Concilio had reservations about accepting the task. Yet here in the letter we get only the fact that De Concilio “agreed to do so.” Moesslein himself adds for the reader that at the time De Concilio was highly regarded as a scholar. One may also perceive the sense that Moesslein is summarizing De Concilio’s conversation by the use of his phrase “the *discussion wound up* with the Bishop’s requesting the Monsignor to draw up a Catechism.”

This brings us to Moesslein’s number two paragraph which contains the most disparaging testimony. “Thinking the matter over, Monsignor De Concilio came to the conclusion that it was not worth while taking much pains about the matter of drawing up a catechism, because the Bishops would dump it in the waste basket anyhow. He acted accordingly.” Considering that both previous Plenary Councils before (as well as the more recent First Vatican Council) had considered the ‘vexing issue of the catechism’ and achieved no final product, it is easy to see why De Concilio could believe his own efforts at drafting such a catechism would find their new home in a wastebasket.

I find it necessary to reiterate that the creation of a catechism within the given time constraints of the council is a next to impossible task.¹⁹⁸ From Sharp’s earlier

¹⁹⁸ Cardinal James Gibbons affirms, “The successful compilation of a catechism is acknowledged to be a most arduous task. The Rev. Dr. McCaffrey, a former President of Mount St. Mary’s College, Emmitsburg, one of the most accomplished scholars of his day, spent several years in writing a catechism; and yet, while it is justly admired by many able critics, it failed to receive the commendation of the

articles we have testimony that the committee of bishops in charge of the task of creating the catechism, thought it could not be done in time. Rev. M.A. Lambing wrote to Sharp “when the committee on the new Catechism reported that they could not be ready at the set time, the matter was turned over to Father De Concilio and he prepared the Catechism in a week; the matter was pressing and the time so short.”¹⁹⁹ Lambing reiterates the difficulty of the situation. Given the reputation of De Concilio as a national scholar the matter was turned over to him by the bishops. Lambing quoting Bishop Gilmour writes, “this much is certain, that he said Father De Concilio got up the Catechism and in a very short time, because the committee could not complete their task in time.”²⁰⁰

This leaves us with decoding “De Concilio came to the conclusion that it was not worth while taking much pains about the matter of drawing up a catechism.” From his other writings one can discern a careful and meticulous manner in his writing style. From accounts of his life one may infer a passionate commitment to the well being of his parishioners and fellow Catholics. If, as I infer from his texts and life, De Concilio is somewhat of a perfectionist, then the notion of “taking much pains” may be descriptive of his standard method of creation.

He was “surprised” to see it in print and “chagrined” at its being published. Note that he was not horrified, as one might expect if he had produced in his estimation a pitiful text. His urge and desire was to edit it and “make it something really worth while.” I would submit that any text written in seven days will have its defects, but De Concilio did not ask to abandon the work, rather he wanted to take a good work and make it better.

Second Plenary Council of Baltimore, on account of its alleged obscurity in certain passages.” James Cardinal Gibbons, *The Ambassador of Christ* (Baltimore: John Murphy & Company, 1896) 311.

¹⁹⁹ Sharp, *Ecclesiastical Review*, (1930): 621.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 622.

The fact that De Concilio related the story of the creation of the catechism to his missionary visitors indicates he maintained, even over the years, a degree of respect for the text and pride in his contribution to it.

Let us return for a moment to Bryce's account.

From the time of the council's close in early December 1884, until January 25, 1885, John Lancaster Spalding remained in New York City as a guest of the Paulist Fathers. The nearness of de Concilio's parish in Jersey City to the Paulist House in New York made it possible for the two to collaborate regularly during Spalding's winter stay in the East. Thus the work came to rest upon the two men, Spalding and de Concilio.²⁰¹

Bryce does not cite a source for her statement of the postconciliar collaboration, she only points to the geographical proximity which could have "made it possible" for the two men to work together. Geographically possible or not, one does not hear in the Moesslein account testimony of this collaboration. Instead one gets the feeling that De Concilio was explicitly excluded from the process. He sends the completed catechism to the Bishop and "he heard no more of it." His oft mentioned chagrin was due in part to the fact "that the Committee of Bishops did not let him know of the purpose to publish it [nor] give him a chance to make it something really special" as he says, which would signify a later opportunity to edit and revise the text. So Moesslein's letter indicates that whatever editing of the text occurred after De Concilio handed the work to Spalding, De Concilio was not involved in that refinement.

Conclusion

Of the various accounts, the earliest contained only a minimum of information but the overall highest regard for the *Baltimore Catechism*. Will, Guilday, Ellis and Sweeney are offering a biography or history and explaining the great works their subject has done.

²⁰¹ Bryce, *Pride of Place*, 90

The *Baltimore Catechism* is noted as a great achievement created under the authority of their subject. Therefore the narrative of the catechism buried within their biography is short but it serves to establish their subject as a great man. Whether the subject is Gibbons, or Spalding or collectively the American Bishops, the subject gets the honor or credit for the work of other because it was done under his authority and the *Baltimore Catechism* is understood to be a huge success.

Sloyan and Marthaler are involved in the catechetics movement and have a negative view of *Baltimore Catechism* which comes out in their books on catechesis. The manual represents “old ways” and is thus regarded negatively. Bryce and Farrell, both write their dissertations at Catholic University of America and are influenced by Sloyan and Marthaler. As protégés in the catechetical movement they adopt a negative view of the *Baltimore Catechism* as obsolete and not useful for the more experience driven catechesis of the day.

During this period of time Bryce and Farrell drew some of the support for their negative view from a particular letter by Mark Moesslein that I believe could be interpreted in a different fashion. It appears that these work and evaluation of the *Baltimore Catechism* during the 1960 and 70s, altered the following academic and perhaps popular views from one of being generally positive to an increasingly negative estimation of the text. As representatives of this trend I included Welsh and Dooly who write encyclopedia articles repeating the claims of the prior experts. And in repeating they expand negative elements from Sloyan and Bryce. This historiography makes us aware of the need to re-examine the history of the catechism and provide a more nuanced telling of its creation and subsequent use in America.

CHAPTER 3

THE NEW CATECHISTS

Catholic commentators on both the left and the right today acknowledge that the current state of catechesis is a disaster.²⁰² By nearly every measure, today's Catholic youth are unable to understand, articulate or live their Catholic faith as well as the generations of Catholics living fifty or more years ago. Most polls suggest that well over 50 percent are ignorant or inactive. When Catholic youth are asked basic questions such as, "Can you name the four New Testament Gospels?" fewer than 10 percent can correctly identify all four Gospels, while over 25 percent include such non-canonical texts as the Gospel of St. Thomas or Martin Luther King Jr.'s "Letter From a Birmingham Jail." A majority of respondents, moreover, attribute the Immaculate Conception, the doctrine that Mary was conceived without sin, incorrectly to Jesus. Similarly, while the Church has always taught the need for a full four-fold sense of Scripture, which includes the literal sense, a majority of students insisted that the Catholic Church either does not use, or explicitly rejects the literal sense.

Prior to the Second Vatican Council, Roman Catholics in America formed a community living on the margins of American society, which many have labeled the

²⁰² Writing in the spring of 2005, M. Jane Carew, O.V., writes, "There are three generations of catechetically illiterate Catholics. Of the very large numbers of inactive Catholics in the United States, the largest group is those who detach from the practice of their faith prior to their twenties." "Are Seminaries Meeting the Current Challenges of Catechetics?" *Seminary Journal* 11 No. 1 (Spring 2005), 68. See also John C. Cavadini, "Ignorant Catholics: The Alarming Void in Religious Education," *Commonweal*, April 9, 2004. However assessment of catechetical methods is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

“Catholic ghetto.” These uprooted immigrant Catholics struggled to build in brick and mortar the foundations on which to sustain their ancient faith. Ostracized by the wider Protestant society, Catholics found it necessary to build their own alternative system of schools, community centers and social service institutions, including orphanages and hospitals.

This institutional framework was maintained primarily by means of religious instruction, as older Catholics sought to pass along the Catholic faith and identity to successive generations. During the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, however, a new style of teaching religion became dominant in Catholic schools and parishes²⁰³. Discouraging the memorization of doctrine from a catechism,²⁰⁴ it has sometimes been referred to as “New Catechesis.”²⁰⁵ Its advocates are identified by a variety of names such as the new catechists,²⁰⁶ professional religious educators, religious education experts or, sarcastically, as the second magisterium.

²⁰³ Bryce advises catechists that Revelation can be found outside “strictly orthodox settings” and modern catechesis ought to “rely heavily on . . . acquisition of knowledge through experience.” Mary Charles Bryce, “Concerns of the Catechetical Renewal,” *The Catholic Educator* 39, no 1 (Sept. 1968), 66-67.

²⁰⁴ Fr. Daniel Donovan critiques traditional catechesis, “Theology is a ‘hot’ medium its effect is only on sight—thus books, chiefly catechisms (doctrines and dogmas) written by male theologians become the primary means of faith formation. . . faith became more about ‘knowing’ and for Catholics the emphasis was on doctrine. . . Sister Mary Charles Bryce once described the students who were catechized by this method as ‘products’ who never really developed beyond rote memory responses.” Daniel Donovan, “The Hot and Cool of Religious Communications and Catechesis,” *Catholica Blog* (Feb. 7, 2011).

²⁰⁵ It should be noted that the “new catechists” are not a formal organization. Some members may use the phrases: new catechesis, catechetical renewal or modern religious instruction. But their methods, assumptions and principles stand in contrast to traditional approaches of religious education. The groups roughly align with the liberal and conservative factions of the American church with “traditional catechesis” being the name applied to the more conservative approach while “new catechesis” is associated with the more progressive posture.

²⁰⁶ Susan Willhauck, a student of Berard Marthaler, writes in his biography, “The 1960s, however, brought opposition to what some detractors called the ‘new catechesis’ because it was said to confront orthodoxy and water down the teachings of the church in a time of social upheaval when clarity was especially needed.” Susan Willhauck, “Berard L. Marthaler,” *Christian Educators of the 20th Century*, (2010). Found at <http://www.talbot.edu/ce20/educators>.

This chapter seeks to examine how the new catechesis²⁰⁷ came to exercise a near monopoly in American Catholic religious education. I will first consider the role of the laity as religious education teachers in the wake of the expansion of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine (CCD). Second, I will introduce some of the new catechists from CUA. Finally, I will explore the professionalization of religious education which placed limits on the number of persons considered to be experts in the field. Many of the bishops relied upon the new scholars and catechetical experts and initially gave much of their support and encouragement to the catechetical revival.²⁰⁸

An History of the CCD Movement

In 1536, a small group of men and women in Milan, Italy, gathered together under the direction of an Italian priest named Castello de Castellano to begin a school of faith, originally called the Company of Christian Doctrine. Education in Europe was at low ebb, since many of the poor were illiterate and the few operating schools were mainly considered the domain of the rich. The basic task which the Company of Christian Doctrine set for itself was the religious instruction of young and old alike.

The Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, as it came to be known, was already well established in Milan when Charles Borromeo became the archbishop in 1565. Upon seeing the success of the Confraternity, he enthusiastically supported it within his

²⁰⁷ While there are a number of persons who might be identified as new catechists, this chapter will focus on three primary faculty at Catholic University of America. It should also be noted that these individuals did much work in the field of catechesis for which current catechists should be grateful. Gerard Sloyan, Mary Charles Bryce and Berard Marthaler changed the field of catechetics in America and drew attention to the origins and use of the *Baltimore Catechism*. The present author owes them a debt of gratitude for laying the basis of this current study.

²⁰⁸ For example a new catechist and fellow Catholic University of America faculty member writes "Sr. Mary Charles Bryce had easy access to the bishops and enjoyed their trust." Berard Marthaler, "In Memoriam: Mary Charles Bryce, OSB," *Living Light* 38, no 4 (Summer 2002), 69.

archdiocese and integrated it into the discussions held during the Council of Trent. The Bishop of Capua, Robert Bellarmine, enthusiastically supported the work of the Confraternity and later wrote for them the celebrated catechism that bears his name.

CCD spread to other dioceses, including Rome, where it grew rapidly and vigorously; an early report calls it “an organization of the laity, under the direction of the Church, based on a model society in Milan; its principle ministry is to teach the catechism to children and adults.”²⁰⁹ As it began to spread beyond Italy, the Confraternity encountered opposition, with some theologians objecting that the teaching of Christian doctrine was exclusively a function of the priest, but Pope Paul V gave his full support to the Confraternity’s use of lay men and women in providing religious instruction in 1607, making it an archconfraternity and granting participants extensive spiritual indulgences for their work.²¹⁰

Success achieved by the CCD in a small village in northern Italy left an impression on a priest named Joseph Sarto, who, when he assumed the title of Pope Pius X in 1903, promptly published the encyclical *E Supremi* (Oct. 4, 1903), declaring his official papal motto to be “*Instaurare Omnia in Christo*” (To Restore All Things In Christ), an epigram culled from Ephesians 1:10. With this motto he set the tone for his reign and initiated a call to bishops, clergy and laity to renew all things in Christ by engaging with the wider culture. Pius X’s extensive pastoral experience at the parish level would inform subsequent papal teaching.

²⁰⁹ Gerardo Franza, *Il Catechismo a Roma e L’Arciconfraternita della Dottrina Cristiana* (Alba: Edizioni Paoline, 1958), 40.

²¹⁰ Joseph B. Collins, “The Beginning of the CCD in Europe” *American Ecclesiastical Review* 168 (1974) 695-706.

In *Acerbo nimis* (April 15, 1905), “On the Teaching of Christian Doctrine,” he extolled the catechism as an effective method for religious education and required that all boys and girls be taught their faith for at least one hour every Sunday and on holy days. *Acerbo nimis* breathed new life into CCD by requiring it to be established in every Catholic parish and its provisions were subsequently incorporated into the newly revised *Code of Canon Law* (1914).

Pius X’s call to renew society was given even greater authority in *Il Fermo Proposito* (June 11, 1905), “On Catholic Action In Italy” which sought to release the zeal of the laity upon the world.

Here we wish to recall those numerous works of zeal for the good of the Church, society, and individuals under the general name of “Catholic Action”. . . The field of Catholic Action is extremely vast. In itself it does not exclude anything, in any manner, direct or indirect, which pertains to the divine mission of the Church. Accordingly one can plainly see how necessary it is for everyone to cooperate in such an important work . . . All these works, sustained and promoted chiefly by lay Catholics and whose form varies according to the needs of each country, constitute what is generally known by a distinctive and surely a very noble name: “Catholic Action,” or the “Action of Catholics.” At all times it came to the aid of the Church, and the Church has always cherished and blessed such help, using it in many ways according to the exigencies of the age.²¹¹

To aid and guide the laity in their formation and ministry, the pope commissioned the publication of a simple, brief catechism for uniform use in religious instruction throughout the world.²¹²

Unlike its development in Italy and subsequently in Europe, the CCD in America grew in fits and spurts due to the minority status of Roman Catholics within the wider Protestant culture. “The history of Catholic education in America,” argues historian Neil McCluskey, “like the history of the Church itself, is a story of survival and adaptation . . .

²¹¹ Pope Pius X, *Il Fermo Proposito* (On Catholic Action In Italy to the Bishops of Italy) June 11, 1905. http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/pius_x/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-x_enc_11061905_il-fermo-proposito_en.html

²¹² *Catechism of St. Pius X* (1908).

[Catholics in America] were denied freedom to worship, to take part in civic affairs, and to educate their children.”²¹³

For the most part, religious education for and by Catholics was vigorously opposed by the Protestant majority. The founders of the Common Schools – such as Horace Mann – considered the immigrant Catholic faith as un-American and sought to use the public schools to effect their conversion. John McGreevy introduces his *Catholicism and American Freedom* with an account of the so-called Eliot School Rebellion, when, on the advice of his pastor, ten year old Thomas Whall declined his teacher’s request to read the Ten Commandments from the Protestant King James Bible, instead requesting to read from his Catholic Douay-Reims translation. When the assistant principal of the school, McLaurin F. Cooke, once again commanded him to read from the King James and Whall again refused, Cooke beat him for an hour and a half with a rattan cane until Whall passed out. Although Whall’s father sued Cooke for use of excessive force, the court ruled in support of Cooke and the school, accepting the argument that refusal to use the Protestant Bible threatened the stability of the public school.²¹⁴

It was within this hostile environment that the Plenary Councils of Baltimore shifted the Church’s position from one of merely suggesting the establishment of parish schools to one requiring that every parish build and support a parochial school. The First Plenary Council (1852) urged the erection of religious schools and ordered pastors to offer formal lessons in the catechism. The Second Plenary Council (1866) imposed a mandate on each parish to build a school, but then added the qualification that the

²¹³ Neil McCluskey, *Catholic Education in America: A Documentary History* (New York: Columbia University, 1964), 2-3.

²¹⁴ John McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom* (New York: Norton and Company, 2003), 8.

Confraternity of Christian Doctrine could be established within the parish if it lacked the means to erect a parochial school.

In 1884, at the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, over a third of the bishops' pronouncements related to education. Not only did the council fathers require every parish to build and operate a school, but they also thought it necessary to create a uniform catechism for the whole country. The difficulty of producing an accurate and readable catechism, however, reduced some bishops – and the experts who assisted them – to despair, but when the committee appointed failed to achieve results, the task was delegated to Fr. Januarius De Concilio, a *peritus* (theological expert) serving the Bishop of Nebraska, James O'Connor, who prepared the catechism within a week.²¹⁵

As Mary Boys observes, the *Baltimore Catechism* enjoyed widespread popularity and dominated the field of American Catholic instruction in the faith from its publication in 1885 until the close of the Second Vatican Council in 1965. Its question-and-answer format (the original edition contained 421 questions and answers)²¹⁶ helped to form generations of American Catholics in the grammar of their faith and its effectiveness was self-evident, as students either knew (could recite from memory) or did not know their theological lessons.²¹⁷ Thus the *Baltimore Catechism* aided in establishing for Catholics

²¹⁵ John Sharp, "The Origins of the Baltimore Catechism," *The Ecclesiastical Review* 83 (Dec 1930), 621; See also ASH, Archbishop Correspondence O'Connor to Wigger, May 7, 1884.

²¹⁶ The private copyright taken out on the original publication of the *Baltimore Catechism* by Bishop John Lancaster Spalding created quite a problem for American Catholic publishers desiring to produce and sell the official national text. To get around the copyright infringement later publishers would add vocabulary, study aids, or Bible references. The catechism was also graded and numbered which added to the multiple editions. Others sought to publish new catechisms "inspired" and based on the original. In the 1940s the *Baltimore Catechism* was officially revised, reorganized and expanded by the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine and contained 515 questions.

²¹⁷ Mary C. Boys, *Educating in Faith: Maps and Visions* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1989), 95.

what many have called the “golden age of Catholic schools” where every child was “Catholic through and through.”²¹⁸

Together the schools, laypeople, clergy and the *Baltimore Catechism* sustained Catholic identity through many troublesome years, so much so that later Catholics would accuse their predecessors of triumphalism for the many honors they heaped upon the tiny text and the simple parish classroom. For more than eighty years, the *Baltimore Catechism* reigned supreme as *the* religious education textbook for Catholics in America. In the wake of the new catechism, published and translated into the numerous languages of the many immigrant communities and approved for uniform use in religious instruction, Archbishop Michael Corrigan of New York established the first canonically recognized chapter of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine in the United States.

With the country’s continued expansion and the accompanying boom in the number of immigrants, the resources of the American Church were increasingly strained. Adults and children alike displayed a growing ignorance of their faith due to a lack of formal instruction. On June 30, 1920, therefore, Father Edwin O’Hara presented a paper at the national convention of the Catholic Educational Association in which he issued a call to action for the laity to organize.²¹⁹ Laypeople responded enthusiastically, with thousands registering for correspondence courses in the Catechism and the Bible. Men and women also volunteered to teach at summer vacation schools and helped establish local CCD chapters in their parishes.

²¹⁸ James Youniss, John Convey, and Jeffrey McLellan (eds.) *The Catholic Character of Catholic Schools* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2000), 2, 11.

²¹⁹ Edwin O’Hara, “The Rural Problem in its Bearing on Catholic Education,” *National Catholic Educational Association Proceedings and Addresses*, Vol. 17, No 1 (1920): 232-245.

At a Rural Life Conference held in October 1933, O'Hara announced the creation of a national office for the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine which would be headquartered on the campus of the Catholic University of America (CUA) in Washington DC. On May 10, 1935, after adequate facilities had been identified on CUA's campus, approval obtained from Rome, and the American hierarchy requested to approve a committee of bishops to be responsible for the development of the Confraternity, the National Center of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine was finally declared open.

From the beginning, the National Center and the Catholic University of America enjoyed a symbiotic relationship. CCD meetings were held on campus, CUA faculty and graduate students provided catechetical lectures, CCD sponsored workshops and teacher training, and CCD summer courses were taught, in conjunction with catechetics courses in the university, for certification and attainment of higher degrees. It was shrewd strategy on the part of the Confraternity to locate its national headquarters at Catholic University of America, which had established itself as the national center for Catholic intellectual endeavors. "As a center of scholarly publication," writes Philip Gleason, "the University had no rival on the American Catholic scene."²²⁰

The Professionals of the Catholic University of America

Renewal movements which began in Europe in the 1930s eventually received a hearing in America in the 1960s and 70s. The U.S. catechetical renewal movement traced its lineage to *The Good News Yesterday and Today* (1936) by Fr. Joseph

²²⁰ Philip Gleason, *Contending With Modernity: Catholic Higher Education in the Twentieth Century* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1995), 86.

Jungmann.²²¹ His book calls for a return to the simple gospel message or “kerygma.” The origin and development of kerygmatic theology owes much to Jungmann, a professor at the University of Innsbruck, noted for his research in liturgy and catechetics. While Jungmann developed the kerygmatic perspective in Germany, Johannes Hofinger popularized the approach throughout Europe by sponsoring numerous international “Study Weeks” to discuss and debate Jungmann’s ideas. Michael Warren comments, “Jungmann suggested that Theology was not suitable for nourishing the faith of ordinary people and that it should be replaced with the kerygma.”²²²

What developed out of these international Study Weeks was a distinction between two different theologies, one kerygmatic and intended for ordinary people and the other theology [Scholastic] meant for professional theologians.²²³ The German school, of which Jungmann was a member, held it was insufficient to renew the method of catechesis without also renewing the content of catechesis. The Bible, the liturgy and experience, which was a source and sign of faith, could be drawn upon for the renewal.

Joseph Collins summarizes Jungmann’s concern. “Religious instruction was a joyless affair, a purely intellectual operation which has become a mixture of abstract theological dogma, weak minimalism, and the recitation of countless moral obligations.”²²⁴ Jungmann advocated stripping away the many accretions of the centuries to one single message, the kerygma of the early Church.²²⁵

Most people know all the sacraments; they know about the person of Christ, as well as about our Lady, Peter and Paul, Adam and Eve, . . . but what is lacking among the

²²¹ Michael Warren, ed., *Source Book for Modern Catechetics* (Winona, MN: Saint Maria’s Press, 1983), 194.

²²² Ibid.

²²³ Ibid.

²²⁴ Joseph Collins, *CCD Methods in Modern Catechetics* (New York: Bruce Publishing, 1969), 24.

²²⁵ Joseph Jungmann, “Kerygmatic Theology,” in Michael Warren ed., *Source Book for Modern Catechetics* (Winona, MN: Saint Maria’s Press, 1983), 204.

faithful is a sense of the wonderful message of divine grace . . . to rejoice in their riches, to see the whole plan of salvation and begin to shape their lives accordingly.²²⁶

Thus kerygmatic theology and catechetical renewal in Europe was a precursor to and helped shape the catechetical renewal in the United States.

In 1954, a group of lay people in Syracuse, New York, asked Fr. Gerard Sloyan to take the steps necessary to publish a book on catechesis in honor of the former chair of CUA's Department of Religious Education, Fr. William Russell, who had died two years earlier.²²⁷ On his trip to Europe, where the "New Catechesis" movement was developing, Sloyan began to solicit and assemble a collection of essays from European scholars such as Jungmann. This collection of essays was subsequently published as *Shaping the Christian Message* in 1958, and represented a new departure in catechetics for most American Catholics.²²⁸

Philip Scharper, the editor of the popular liberal magazine *Commonweal*, was so excited by the book that he wrote an essay derived from its contents entitled "The Parrot and the Dove," which asked whether American Catholics wanted their young to simply regurgitate religious formulae or act as messengers of peace holding forth olive branches. Scharper's essay brought increased attention to Sloyan, as well as, in Sloyan's view at least, bringing to life American Catholic interest in religious education.²²⁹

The revolutionary character of such writings for the American Catholic Church cannot be understated. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the

²²⁶ Ibid., 213, 215.

²²⁷ In the forward to his book dedicated to providing a history of the New Catechetical movement in the United States, Michael Warren identifies Gerard Sloyan as the "chief architect of catechetical renewal in the United States." Warren, *Sourcebook*, 9.

²²⁸ Gerard Sloyan, *Shaping the Christian Message: Essays in Religious Education* (New York: Macmillan, 1958).

²²⁹ Philip Scharper, "The Parrot and the Dove," *Commonweal* (March 8 1957): 586-589.

development of higher criticism of the Bible, particularly in German Protestant circles, had called into question many traditionally held views on the nature of revelation and religious authority. This new liberal theology in the nineteenth century represented a confluence of several streams of Enlightenment thought, which envisioned progress in evolutionary imagery drawn from Darwin's *Origin of the Species*, but it was a sphere to which Catholic scholarship was largely closed.²³⁰ Such higher criticism was largely a German Protestant phenomenon and those Catholic scholars who ventured into it prior to the Second World War often found themselves at odds with the magisterium sooner rather than later. Beginning in the 1940s and 1950s, Catholic theologians displayed a new willingness to engage with this new theology.

Foremost in this endeavor was the Lumen Vitae International Institute of Pastoral Catechetics in Brussels, which sponsored workshops and training programs for scientific catechetics all over the world. To support and popularize their efforts, they published the international catechetical journal, also named *Lumen Vitae*. Some theologians and many of the new catechists also began to introduce the language of science into their work, at a time when the scientific method was considered by many enlightened thinkers to be the hallmark of the modern.

In an interview near the end of his career, Sloyan recalled how, thirty or forty years before his time, Fr. John Montgomery Cooper had observed that there was little opportunity for laypeople to earn a higher degree in the study of religion. The School of Sacred Theology at the Catholic University of America was exclusively for the training

²³⁰ Mary Boys describes the rise of liberal theology in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as "a rethinking of Christianity in light of science . . . energized by the metaphor of evolution." *Educating in Faith*, 44.

of clergy. As a result, Fr. Cooper volunteered to teach a college religion course for laypeople at CUA during his lunch hour and was eventually released by Archbishop Curley of Baltimore to teach religion on a full-time basis.

Not wanting to be part of the School of Theology, Cooper “did an end run; he invented the Department of Religious Education, and got for it degree granting power at the M.A. and Ph.D. level.”²³¹ Cooper’s successor, Fr. William Russell, championed the new approach to education then gaining popularity in Europe, namely the kerygmatic theology, which, as was previously mentioned, was closely associated with Joseph Jungman. During the 1960s, Sloyan would come to see himself as following in Russell’s footsteps, importing such European innovations as biblical studies, liturgics and pastoral theology into American religious education.

Gerard Sloyan was born in New York on December 13, 1919. He spent two years at Seton Hall College before transferring to Immaculate Conception Seminary. In June of 1944 he was ordained and his Bishop, William Griffin sent Sloyan to CUA to obtain his doctorate. At CUA Sloyan was “exposed to the great minds of European liturgical and theological traditions . . . Victor Warnach, Ildefons Herwegen, Odo Casel, H.A. Reinhold, Leo von Rudloff . . . additionally there was Karl Adam, dogmatic theologian of University of Tübingen, Matthias Scheeben, Joseph Jungmann, [and] Emile Mersch.”²³²

Sloyan’s dissertation, *Christian Concepts in Social Studies in Catholic Education* (1948) examined the Social Studies curriculum in Catholic elementary schools. After earning his Ph.D. Sloyan returned to his diocese of Trenton, New Jersey.

²³¹ Gerard S. Sloyan, “Interview,” *Religious Educators Oral History*, (New York: Union Theological Seminary, 1997) Vol. 12 Session 1-4.

²³² Annette Pelletier and Patricia Panganiban, “Gerard S. Sloyan,” *Christian Educators of the 20th Century*, (2010). Found at <http://www.talbot.edu/ce20/educators>.

Nine years later, Monsignor Maurice Sheehy of CUA's Department of Religious Education asked the Bishop of Trenton, Bishop George Ahr, to release Sloyan to teach in the Department of Religious Education at Catholic University. Sloyan recounts when he came to CUA in 1943 on his superior's orders.

Reflecting on his time as a professor Sloyan confesses, "between '52 and '57 we served as a faculty quite satisfactorily at college level and quite unsatisfactorily at graduate level, because Monsignor Sheehy's interest was in young men."²³³ In 1957, Sheehy was reassigned and Sloyan was appointed head or Chair of the Department of Religious Education. He went about making new hires: "It took about three years before we could convince anybody anywhere that the Department of Religious Education was a place to send anyone for a Ph.D. in Religion."²³⁴

During his tenure [as the Chair] the department progressively became a center for research in the history of religious education and for the preparation of professors and teachers in Catholic schools and religious education programs throughout the United States, and the world through missionaries earning graduate degrees.²³⁵

For example, Br. Gabriel Moran, one of Sloyan's earliest students, went on to be influential worldwide in the field of modern catechetics.

Another student for whom Sloyan developed a fondness was Sister Mary Charles Bryce.²³⁶ Born on June 14, 1916 in Ramona, OK she was the second of nine children.²³⁷

²³³ This *Oral History* project was not distributed widely and, being late in their careers, many of the leaders being interviewed provide surprisingly candid responses. It is a valuable resource for their behind-the-scenes activity and personal reflections. Sloyan, *Oral*, 1-8.

²³⁴ Sloyan, *Oral*, 1-10.

²³⁵ Pelletier, "Gerard S. Sloyan," (2010).

²³⁶ Personal interview with Sister Eunice Ballman, archivist for the Red Plains Monastery (Feb. 28, 2011).

²³⁷ Her brother John would become a doctor and run his own medical practice as well as serving as Chairman and President of St. Joseph's Hospital in Parkersburg, OK. www.fritziinc.com/tree/pafn1434.htm. Her brother Walter would become chief executive officer of Bryce Insurance Agency, while another brother, Charles, would own Bryce Oil Company. Taken from

Bryce entered the Order of St. Benedict taking her final vows on June 18, 1943. She earned her B.A. from a school run by her order and later Bryce went to Catholic University of America where she earned her M.A. degree and wrote her thesis *A Study of Some Attempts to Integrate the Life of Worship into Catechisms in the Modern Period* (1960).²³⁸

While the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) was still in session Bryce authored a sixty page book entitled, *Come Let Us Eat* (1964) and a complimentary parent manual.²³⁹ This small guide was intended for preparing children for First Communion. Her texts diverged from traditional catechesis anticipating shifts to come in the new catechesis movement.²⁴⁰

Historical theologian Ann M. Heekin writes, “*Come Let Us Eat* was written for young children and employed the insights of the modern psychological and educational theorists.”²⁴¹ For example, former CUA professor and educational psychologist Thomas E. Shields, who stressed the child is to become the active agent in the learning process. Bryce’s adaptation of content to what she felt was the child’s level of understanding is evident in both what she included and in what she left out of her book. She puts off discussion of the Trinity as too abstract for the child insisting “God must never become

“Obituaries,” *San Angelo Standard Times* April 12, 2002. Posted online at files.usgwarchives.net/tx/tomgreen/obits/2002/040802.txt.

²³⁸ Gerard Slovan directed her thesis while Chair of the Department of Religious Education at CUA. “In 1964 Fr. Slovan arranged a full-time faculty appointment in religious studies for Bryce.” Carol Dorr Clement, “Catholic Foremothers in American Catechesis,” *Living Light* 37, no. 2 (200), 63.

²³⁹ Mary Charles Bryce, *Come Let Us Eat*, and *A Parent-Teacher Manual for Come Let Us Eat*, (New York: Herder and Herder, 1964).

²⁴⁰ Bryce’s works were submitted to the Apostolic Delegate for Censure. Berard Marthaler, “In Memoriam: Mary Charles Bryce, OSB,” *Living Light* 38, no 4 (Summer 2002), 69.

²⁴¹ Ann Heekin, “Mary Charles Bryce OSB: The Americanization of Catholic Religious Education,” *Christian Educators of the 20th Century*, (2010). Found at <http://www.talbot.edu/ce20/educators>.

an abstraction.”²⁴² Taking a position which would later become associated with the new catechists, Bryce omits the practice of First Confession in preparation for First Communion. Bryce defends her stance “as a response to the new psychology that indicated small children are not guilty of sin.”²⁴³

Sloyan later invited her to become faculty in his department. Sloyan recalled, “As chair, I asked her religious superior if she could be released for full time teaching.”²⁴⁴ Since he felt it was unhealthy to populate a department with its own graduates, he proposed that she obtain a doctorate in any other subject while teaching full-time in the Department of Religious Education.²⁴⁵

In 1967, when Sloyan accepted a position at Temple University²⁴⁶ in Philadelphia, he recruited a young Conventual Friar of the Midwestern Province, Fr. Berard Marthaler, who possessed a doctorate in ancient numismatics from the University of Minnesota, to replace him.

Born Lawrence Marthaler on May 1, 1927, near Chicago, Illinois, he would become the oldest of four children. He attended Our Lady of Carey Seminary in Carey, Ohio. Upon entering the Franciscan novitiate in 1946 he was given the name Berard. He was ordained on March 29, 1952. Berard then took graduate courses at the University of Minnesota. His dissertation was entitled, *Two Studies in the Greek Imperial Coinage of Asia Minor* (1960). Years later, Marthaler recalled that while a doctorate gave him some credibility, “I didn’t know what the issues were. Thanks to Mary Charles Bryce – she fed

²⁴² Bryce, *Come Let Us Eat* (1964), 44.

²⁴³ Bryce, *Parent-Teacher Manual* (1964), 16.

²⁴⁴ Sloyan, *Oral*, 1-12.

²⁴⁵ Personal interview with Sister Eunice Ballman (Feb. 28, 2011).

²⁴⁶ While Gerard Sloyan formally retired from Temple University in 1990 he remains active writing and giving guest lectures.

me all this literature – and I didn’t know some of these, even the household names in religious education at the time.”²⁴⁷

As Chair of the Department of Religious Education, Marthaler continued following and expanding upon Sloyan’s vision for the department. “Under Father Marthaler’s leadership the curriculum attempted to respond to the questioning attitudes of the 60s and 70s . . . Courses in phenomenology of religion, Protestant thought, Eastern religions and the Black religious experience were added.”²⁴⁸ Former colleagues and students remember Marthaler as a great mentor.²⁴⁹

Because the Second Vatican Council had, in the words of Sloyan “energized the whole Catholic operation” and because the university authorities were proving more generous with graduate assistantships, the department saw a dramatic increase in enrollment. Knowing that he needed more than a single woman lecturer still earning her doctorate, Marthaler therefore hired a second sister-teacher.²⁵⁰

Since the Department of Religious Education was independent of both the School of Theology and the Department of Education, none of the CUA administrators knew how to deal with it. “We weren’t bound by all those restrictions that are part of seminary training,” Marthaler later recalled, “and Gerry [Gerard Sloyan] was able to pursue a much more imaginative curriculum.”²⁵¹ In 1968, Marthaler reorganized some of the programs

²⁴⁷ Berard L. Marthaler, “Interview,” *Religious Educators Oral History*, (New York: Union Theological Seminary, 1997) Vol. 6 Session 1-62. Near the end of their second session the interviewer William Bean Kennedy comments, “one of the most fascinating things for me is your entry into the field proper [being]. . . taught by Mary Charles and the reading list she gave you,” an observation which Marthaler confirms. 2-111.

²⁴⁸ Susan Willhauck, “Berard L. Marthaler,” *Christian Educators of the 20th Century*, (2010). Found at <http://www.talbot.edu/ce20/educators>.

²⁴⁹ Personal interview with Margaret Wilson McCarty, Executive Director of the National Federation for Catholic Youth Ministry (May 20, 2013).

²⁵⁰ Sloyan, *Oral*, 1-14; Marthaler, *Oral*, 1-59.

²⁵¹ Marthaler, *Oral*, 1-61.

and changed the name to the Department of Religion and Religious Education.

Departmental chairman for all but six years between 1967 and 1987 (when, until forced into retirement by a heart attack, Christian Ceroke was in charge), Marthaler oversaw the formation of numerous instructors of catechesis.

Professionalization in Religious Education

New catechists such as Sloyan, Marthaler and Bryce were at the forefront of the rising tide of academic pressure for greater professionalism in religious education.²⁵²

Sloyan was instrumental in the formation and development of the College Theology Society (CTS), a professional organization of academically certified men and women, lay and religious, with an interest in teaching Theology of Religion at the college level. Originally founded at CUA under the name Society of Catholic College Teachers of Sacred Doctrine on June 18, 1953.

Professionalization of the disciplines of learning began with the hard sciences at the end of the nineteenth century and continued to extend into various fields throughout the twentieth century. The usual picture of this professionalization involves a transition from a wide field of amateur scholars practicing a variety of methods to a confined group of approved experts in general agreement on an acceptable approach.²⁵³

This transformation is commonly accomplished through the creation of professional societies or associations, promoting a list of uniform criteria for being a

²⁵² Commentators note, Sloyan “spearheaded the professionalization and modernization of Catholic faith education From 1957 to 1967 Sloyan was chairperson of this department which, in the wake of Vatican II, became the foremost center in the Catholic Church for the reform of religious education and catechesis in the United States.” Pelletier, “Gerard S. Sloyan,” (2010).

²⁵³ Providing an overview of the then current field of religious education in 1963 Sloyan remarks, religious training “is given by the few hundred who are catechetically competent and the many more thousands who are not.” Gerard Sloyan, “Catechetical Renewal” *Worship* 37, no 2 (Jan. 1963), 99.

professional and tied to academic institutions which then provide resources and funding for scholarly journals and conferences. The faculty in the best positions at the best schools promote professionalization through certification, the granting or denial of advanced degrees, the selection and mentoring of favored students or younger faculty, access to conferences, panels and paper presentations, and academic journals that they create, and ultimately through placement and promotion in teaching positions and places of employment.²⁵⁴ Such professionalization leads to controlled access to the practice within a field, and to heightened status, increased job security and greater autonomy for those deemed worthy.

Gerard Sloyan and the Catholic University of America both had significant influence on the founding and development of the professional society for theology and religious education which today is the College Theology Society. In her *Joining the Revolution in Theology*, Sandra Yocum Mize observes that as late as the 1960s Catholic colleges often relied upon members of their sponsoring religious communities, regardless of their academic preparation. In defining the qualifications for membership to the CTS, clergy, members of the religious orders and laypeople were to be considered eligible if they held an advanced degree in Theology or Religion and taught the subject at the college level. However, Mize notes, “requiring an advanced degree excluded many actually teaching college religion in 1953.”²⁵⁵

²⁵⁴ For example, George Kelly remarks, “Bishops have been talked out of using certain scholars or texts because they are ‘too orthodox.’” Numerous cases of professional religious educators advancing the interests of their society at the expense of other persons outside of their catechetical establishment are commonly documented. For one such example see George Kelly, *The Battle for the American Church* (New York: Doubleday, 1979), 124.

²⁵⁵ Sandra Yocum Mize, *Joining the Revolution in Theology: The College Theology Society 1954-2004* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007), 10.

A rough estimate of the size of the society may be deduced from the founding meeting, which was attended by forty-four teachers from twenty-six colleges. Nevertheless, it was somewhat surprising that this fledgling organization for Roman Catholic teachers of religion specified membership qualifications which “had nothing to do with official ecclesiastical status . . . To found such a society with this stated purpose was a significant moment in the transformation of theological studies from a seminary-defined to a university-defined academic discipline.”²⁵⁶

Historian Peter Novick has commented of his own discipline that limiting the number of “qualified” practitioners can lead to improvised or poorly planned teaching, and conferences and meetings overly concerned with encouraging the cult of personality and stifling genuine criticism. “Much of what passed for professionalism was superficial,” he concludes. “While universities offering the Ph.D. thought of themselves as centers from which scholarly missionaries poured forth, often they were service stations for legitimation.”²⁵⁷

As the CTS increased in size it also sought to assert its influence in ecclesial matters. In a 1964 CTS convention speech, Gerard Sloyan argued vigorously that its members must make the Church change its position on maintaining the Index of Prohibited Books – those deemed to pose a danger to the education and faith of Catholics.

The Society followed Sloyan’s lead and approved a resolution adopting the language of “reform.” So uncharacteristic was it for Catholic faculty members to

²⁵⁶ Mize, *Revolution*, 12-13. A contemporary scholar notes, “Over its five-plus decades of existence in the United States, the CTS has become increasingly lay, and increasingly female. Tim Muldoon, “Introduction: Catholic Identity and the Laity,” in *College Theology Society Annual* Vol. 54 (2008): 7.

²⁵⁷ Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The 'Objectivity Question' and the American Historical Profession* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 48.

publically go against the teachings and practices of the Catholic Church that the Society's resolution was noted by the *Washington Post*, which questioned how the "organization of Catholic college teachers overwhelmingly passed a resolution aimed at drastically revising or completely abolishing the centuries-old Roman Catholic Index of Prohibited Books."²⁵⁸

Of the 265 colleges and universities which identified themselves as Catholic in the early 1960s,²⁵⁹ few granted a master's degree and fewer still a doctoral degree. Roy Deferrari, writing in 1963, noted that among the forty-two members of the National Association of Graduate Schools, only one – the Catholic University of America – identified itself as Catholic,²⁶⁰ while Mize remarks that "women and laymen had few options for study other than Catholic University."²⁶¹ As the flagship school of Catholic higher education, CUA wielded considerable influence.²⁶² When Sloyan raised the profile of the Department of Religious Education and published *Shaping the Christian Message*, this had an immediate impact on the handful of other Catholic institutions of higher learning.

According to Marthaler, Sloyan's work "provided the underlying philosophy for the revitalization of the graduate program at Catholic University in the early sixties."

Although the University of Notre Dame had introduced its master's program in 1950 and

²⁵⁸ *Washington Post*, April 1, 1964.

²⁵⁹ James Davidson, ed., *The Search for Common Ground: What Unites and Divides Catholic Americans* (Huntington, IN: Our Sunday Visitor, 1997), 17.

²⁶⁰ While CUA was not the only Catholic institution granting PhDs in the United States, it was one of only a handful. Roy Deferrari, *Some Problems of Catholic Higher Education in the United States* (Boston, MA: Daughters of St. Paul, 1963), 22.

²⁶¹ Mize, *Revolution*, 32.

²⁶² Within CUA, Sloyan, Marthaler and Bryce exercised major influence on the department and its programs. Clement, *Catholic Foremothers* (2000), 63.

Marquette University followed its example the following year, during the 1960s and 1970s both institutions took many of their cues from the innovative structure and content of CUA's religious education program, as did emerging departments at such Catholic colleges as Fordham University, Providence College and Loyola University in Chicago.²⁶³

The Second Vatican Council and the New Catechesis

While the significance of the Second Vatican Council in recent Catholic history is undisputed, its meaning remains hotly contested by contemporary theologians. In seeking to bring the Church into dialogue with the modern, and increasingly secular world, the Council Fathers refrained from condemning erroneous theories as heretical through dogmatic pronouncements. Rather, the Council adopted the themes of *aggiornamento* (bringing up to date) and *ressourcement* (returning to sources) that had been promoted by Pope John XXIII.

At the same time, the Council in large part abandoned the technical theological language and categories previously utilized by the Church. The fact that some bishops spoke of the operation of the Holy Spirit in their midst as a new Pentecost led to expectations among reformers of a sharp break from the past and inevitably provided the basis for numerous innovations at the grassroots.

In America, the implementation of the decrees of the Second Vatican Council coincided with the shifting currents of a contemporaneous cultural revolution. Known as the decade of "sex, drugs and rock and roll," the 1960s were permeated by a

²⁶³ Berard Marthaler, "The Modern Catechetical Movement in Roman Catholicism: Issues and Personalities," in Warren, *Sourcebook*, 284-285.

counterculture that responded to the conflict in Vietnam, campus protests, and the rise of the New Left with an explosion of “rights activism,” embracing causes that included civil rights, feminism, and the sexual revolution.

Amidst this cultural change a wide array of pronouncements issued from religious experts and bishops that were intended to inform and educate the Catholic laity. “This clashing of the tectonic plates of culture,” remarks Philip Gleason, “produced nothing less than a spiritual earthquake in the American Church.”²⁶⁴

It was inevitable after the Council that there would be no uniform understanding of what had been promulgated.²⁶⁵ With little or no advance warning the bishops had abolished the discipline of abstinence from meat on Fridays, replaced the Latin liturgy with one couched in the vernacular and affirmed that the principle of religious liberty necessitated a spirit of ecumenism rather than one of separatism. Some Catholic laypeople naturally wondered if the frequent impression that centuries of Church teaching and practice could now be casually discarded was what the Council Fathers had intended.

The changes that took place after the Second Vatican Council caused confusion among the laity who tended to gravitate towards opposing sides pitting liberal Catholics against those of a more traditionalist bent. Many of those who came to be identified as new catechists or religious education experts identified themselves with the progressive interpretation of the Council, which considered the Council to have made a sharp break with the Church’s past and which favored further liberalization in the “Spirit of the Council.” Among its objectives were the greater involvement of women in ministry, a

²⁶⁴Gleason, *Contending With Modernity*, 305.

²⁶⁵ Dennis Doyle, *The Church Emerging from Vatican II* (Mystic, CT: Twenty-Third Publications, 2002).

married priesthood, lay consultation in respect of official teaching on human sexuality, lay selection of bishops, and increased academic freedom and due process for theologians.

Religious education became the battleground for these competing interpretations of Vatican II. Given the reforming nature of the Council, progressive theologians, priests and the new catechists enjoyed an early advantage. For the new catechists the *Baltimore Catechism* became the lightning rod for criticism of traditional catechetical methods.

“Sloyan,” noted Kenneth Barker in 1981, “served as an eloquent opponent of the Baltimore Catechism, which had been revised as late as 1941 . . . He argued that the 1941 revision was theologically, biblically, and pedagogically inadequate.”²⁶⁶ According to Sloyan’s evaluation of the catechism, it is joyless.²⁶⁷ In Sloyan’s view it is known for its “failure to present a vivid picture of our faith.”²⁶⁸ Sloyan argues against a religious education that requires memorization. “All children no matter where they live . . . must memorize not only the same answers but even the same questions; questions which many times have no meaning for them because they would never have thought to ask them . . . the question and answer method is a pedagogical strait jacket.”²⁶⁹

Instead Sloyan recommends a method of catechesis where “the life of the Spirit in us must therefore take priority over the teachings and formulations of faith.”²⁷⁰ While Sloyan would prefer that no catechism be used at all, if one must be used then “the

²⁶⁶ Kenneth R. Barker, *Religious Education, Catechesis and Freedom* (Birmingham, AL: Religious Education Press, 1981), 53.

²⁶⁷ Gerard Sloyan, “Religious Education as a Correlate of ‘Religious Knowledge’: Some Problem Areas,” *Speaking of Religious Education* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1968), 15.

²⁶⁸ Sloyan, “Problem Areas” (1968), 16.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ Ibid., 17.

language of the catechism for the most part should be in prophetic, sapiential, value-weighted and experiential language.” Furthermore Sloyan taught “before the ages of 11 or 12 children are unable to understand religious concepts as they are understood by adults. . . . The child can experience religious emotions before he can entertain religious thoughts. Therefore . . . for children, religion is first of all feelings and action.”²⁷¹ Sloyan declares that catechesis without a catechism would be a blessing.²⁷² Rejecting what Sloyan identifies as a book-centered approach, he warns “the catechism can easily create a harmful illusion. As a neat package of faith, tied up with the ribbon of Episcopal approval.”²⁷³

Concurring with Sloyan, in her 1970 dissertation, *The Influence of the Catechism of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore on Widely Used Elementary Religion Text Books from its Composition in 1885 to its 1941 Revision*, Bryce comments, “Those responsible for revising the Baltimore text seemed completely unaware of, and uninfluenced by, the more thought-involving trend evident in newer religious manuals.”²⁷⁴ Despite progressive psychological and educational theories of John Dewey and Edward Thorndike, Bryce laments, “Very little of the progress which professional educators regard as valid and valuable was acceptable”²⁷⁵ by those who revised the *Baltimore Catechism*.

Sloyan’s influence on Bryce is unmistakable. Not only in the approach of their dissertations but also in their distaste for the way religious education traditionally

²⁷¹ Sloyan, “Problem Areas” (1968), 22-23.

²⁷² Sloyan, “Catechetical Renewal” (1963), 96.

²⁷³ Sloyan, “Problem Areas” (1968), 20.

²⁷⁴ Bryce, *The Influence of the Catechism* (1970), 227.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 143.

employed the *Baltimore Catechism*. Just as Sloyan's dissertation examined Social Studies among textbooks for students, so Bryce's dissertation examined the *Baltimore Catechism* on textbooks for students. While finding many faults with the national catechism, Bryce reserves for her conclusion the innovative principles from the Second Vatican Council by which she declares the *Baltimore Catechism* to be no longer relevant.

Bryce, like Sloyan, was influenced by the streams of thought which had come from Europe. As mentioned earlier, Jungmann advocated a kerygmatic theology. In the twentieth century this kerygmatic approach spread throughout Europe. Adherents saw it as a way to proclaim the gospel through scripture and liturgy while at the same time avoiding the general Scholastic approach that informed the *Baltimore Catechism*. Kerygmatic theology called for a return to the language of the early Church and an increasing appreciation for history. It called for the experience of liturgy and scripture to inform the life of the Church. Jungmann desired catechetical methods to be adapted to the children's abilities.²⁷⁶

Bryce writes, "Inter Mirifica (Decree on the Instruments of Social Communication) exhorted educators to use modern media in their dissemination of Christian truths."²⁷⁷ From *Apostolicam Actuositatem* (Decree on the Apostolate of the Laity) Bryce remarks, "Children must also be educated to transcend the family circle."²⁷⁸ Continuing to point out failings of the catechism Bryce points to "Gaudium et Spes (Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World) explained that Christian

²⁷⁶ Jungmann, "Kerygmatic Theology", 213

²⁷⁷ Mary Charles Bryce, *The Influence of the Catechism of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore on Widely Used Elementary Religion Text Books from its Composition in 1885 to its 1941 Revision*, Dissertation (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1970), 235.

²⁷⁸ Bryce, *The Influence of the Catechism* (1970), 235.

doctrine must be related to the ‘findings of the secular sciences, especially of psychology.’”²⁷⁹ While *Gravissimum educationis* (Declaration on Christian Education) indicates according to Bryce, “definitional statements of doctrine alone are no longer acceptable.”²⁸⁰ Heekin concludes, “Bryce’s survey of the history of the American catechism leads one to conclude that its failings were not the aims of the endeavor but the limitations of the genre . . . She finds the most compelling lesson of the history of the Baltimore manual in the idea that no single uniform text will ever be sufficient in handing on the faith.”²⁸¹

An increasing number of lay Catholics, however, identified a different set of issues from those considered by the progressive experts to be the primary concern of the Church, including widespread ignorance of Catholic teaching, the growing incidence of divorce and general deterioration of the condition of marriage, the radical decline in number of Catholic elementary and secondary schools, a continuing downturn in priestly and religious vocations, and the inability of many Catholic universities to sustain the faith, devotion and orthodoxy of the students entrusted to their care.²⁸² Such traditional Catholics read the documents of Vatican II as part of the continuity of Catholic tradition. “These groups,” argues Dennis Doyle, “tend to believe that liberal reformers have read changes into Vatican II that were never there. Such is the stance of a conservative

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ Heekin, “Americanization,” (2010).

²⁸² Doyle offers the qualification that many people find themselves between the two poles described. He also notes despite the apparent polarization, there is much agreement on numerous theological issues. Doyle, *Church Emerging*, 3-4.

organization called the Fellowship of Catholic Scholars with a membership of nearly a thousand Catholic academics from various fields.”²⁸³

Furthermore, the laicization during the 1960s and 1970s of many priests and nuns, many of whom sought to be laicized in order to marry, left a void in the field of religious education that could be filled by the same laymen and laywomen who, as part of Catholic Action, were being encouraged to assist in that sphere. “Teachers in all-day Catholic schools,” concludes Sloyan, “became religion teachers *faut de mieux*.”²⁸⁴

Sloyan’s comment not only demonstrates that the laity filled the teaching void left by those religious who were leaving their vocations, but also that the new professional catechists frequently viewed the work of lay volunteers as inferior.²⁸⁵ Sloyan, Marthaler, Bryce and other professional catechists understood the need to increase the size of the professional class of religion instructors, but they also persuaded the American bishops to make it a requirement for any lay person presuming to teach religion to be certified by an appropriate Catholic college or university.²⁸⁶

For their part, the laity considered themselves to be answering the call, first voiced by Pius X and reemphasized at Vatican II, to engage the world.²⁸⁷ Since the nineteenth century, lay Catholics had gathered in sodalities which encouraged their

²⁸³ Doyle, *Church Emerging*, 4.

²⁸⁴ Sloyan, *Oral*, 1-48.

²⁸⁵ Msgr. Wrenn explains “The modern catechetical movement grew up in too large a part out of what has become an almost all-pervasive sense of dissatisfaction with the way religion was taught in Catholic schools and Confraternity of Christian Doctrine classes . . . to some degree this dissatisfaction extended far beyond the question of catechesis alone and included dissatisfaction with the way Catholics lived their faith generally.” Michael J. Wrenn, *Catechisms and Controversies: Religious Education in the Postconciliar Years* (San Francisco: Ignatius, 1991), 80.

²⁸⁶ Sloyan, *Oral*, 1-48, 51.

²⁸⁷ *Apostolicam Actuositatem* (The Decree on the Apostolate of Laity Solemnly Promulgated by His Holiness, Pope Paul VI), November 18, 1965.
http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decree_19651118_apostolicam-actuositatem_en.html

members to engage in “intense Catholic activity,” which in Europe acquired the appellation of Catholic Action.²⁸⁸ By the 1930s, the phrase “Catholic Action” was prevalent in American Catholic writing, as witnessed in two articles penned by Daniel A. Lord, one of the first promoters of Catholic Action in the United States, in 1933, entitled, respectively, “Sodalities in America and Catholic Action,” and “Schools of Catholic Action.”²⁸⁹

At the close of the 1930s, some laypeople helped Dorothy Day and Peter Maurin establish Catholic Worker houses, laypeople helped organize the Legion of Decency and the National Organization for Decent Literature, and participated in Bishop Bernard Sheil’s Catholic Youth Organization. At St. John’s University in Collegeville, MN, Benedictine monks began publishing *Orate Fratres* (now called *Worship*) as a pioneer magazine for lay people interested in renewing the liturgy.²⁹⁰

The National Catholic Welfare Conference (first organized by the American bishops in 1919) also organized various agencies to further the cause of religion for which lay persons could volunteer, and later began publishing a monthly *Catholic Action* magazine.²⁹¹ According to Philip Gleason, the expressions “apostolate of the laity,” or “lay apostolate” were being used interchangeably with “Catholic Action” by the 1940s.²⁹²

²⁸⁸ See Wilfrid Parsons, “A Papal Slogan: Catholic Action,” *America* 40 (Feb. 2, 1929): 400-401; see also John Harbrecht, “What is Catholic Action?” *Commonweal* 10 (April 24, 1929): 708-10.

²⁸⁹ Daniel A. Lord, “Sodalities in America and Catholic Action,” *Studies* 22 (June 1933): 257-70; “Schools of Catholic Action,” *Studies* 22 (Sept. 1933): 454-67.

²⁹⁰ Donald Thorman, *The Emerging Layman: The Role of the Catholic Layman in America* (Garden City, NY: DoubleDay, 1962), 76.

²⁹¹ Louis Mathias, *Catholic Action: Theory and Practice* (Madras: Huxley Press, 1952), 92.

²⁹² Gleason, *Contending With Modernity*, 153.

The participation of the laity in the ministry of the Church was further solidified in the 1941 revised edition of the *Baltimore Catechism*. In the lesson on the Church, question 151 asks:

How can the laity help the Church in her care of souls? The laity can help the Church in her care of souls by leading lives that will reflect credit on the Church and by co-operating with their bishops and priests, especially through Catholic Action.

151A. What is Catholic Action? Catholic Action is the active participation of the laity in the apostolate of the Church and under guidance of the hierarchy.

151B. In what ways can the laity participate actively in the apostolate of the Church? The laity can participate actively in the apostolate of the Church when they arouse the interest of non-Catholics in the Catholic faith; promote high standards in the press, motion pictures, radio and television; participate in the work of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine; take part in the activities of Catholic societies and organizations; represent under proper direction, the Church's position in speaking and writing; and go as lay missionaries to foreign lands.²⁹³

It should be noted that Catholic Action as envisioned by the *Baltimore Catechism* assumes cooperation between the laity and the clergy, based on their theological connectedness as members of the same Body of Christ. The necessary prerequisite for successful action envisioned by the *Baltimore Catechism*, however, is proper formation through religious instruction. This requirement of advanced formation and complete religious instruction echoes the words of Pius X in his 1905 encyclical:

To carry it out right one must have divine grace, and the apostle receives it only if he is united to Christ. Only when he has formed Jesus Christ in himself shall he more easily be able to restore Him to the family and society. Therefore, all who are called upon to direct or dedicate themselves to the Catholic cause, must be sound Catholics, firm in faith, solidly instructed in religious matters, truly submissive to the Church and especially to this supreme Apostolic See and the Vicar of Jesus Christ. They must be men of real piety,

²⁹³ Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, *The New Saint Joseph Baltimore Catechism No 2 Official Revised Edition* (New York: Catholic Book Publishing, 1941). This edition explained by Father Bennet Kelly, C.P. contains illustrations, Bible readings and study helps.

of manly virtue, and of a life so chaste and fearless that they will be a guiding example to all others. If they are not so formed it will be difficult to arouse others to do good and practically impossible to act with a good intention.²⁹⁴

The new catechists, by contrast, sought to promote a different understanding of religious education, in which catechesis based on doctrine was replaced by catechesis based on experience.²⁹⁵ One critic of the movement observed that “a number of secular theories were imported into Catholic catechesis in the sixties and seventies with little regard for their suitability, and which only succeeded in doing harm,”²⁹⁶ by which he probably refers to the increasing resort to anthropology, sociology, psychology and John Dewey’s theories on education.²⁹⁷

“Proponents of religious education,” argues Mary Boys, “were clear and consistent in articulating their aim: the reconstruction of society, even if the precise meaning of that was less obvious. The faith in the democratic process gave this goal a distinctively American and generally white, middle-class cast.”²⁹⁸ She further notes that

²⁹⁴ Pius X, *Il Fermo Proposito*.

²⁹⁵ “The interpretation of experience is the distinguishing feature” of the new modern catechesis. Warren, *Sourcebook*, 282. Barker indicates “experience as the key category . . . The notion he points out, has, since Dewey dominated educational discussion in the United States.” Barker, *Religious Education*, 138.

²⁹⁶ Catholicus, *DOA: The Ambush of the Universal Catechism* (Notre Dame, IN: Crisis Books, 1993), 137. The notion that new catechists imported popular secular principles into their religious education is affirmed by John Elias. Early progressives Edward Pace and Thomas Shields “began the trend of taking secular developments in science, psychology and education so seriously that future scholars, beginning at Catholic University and later extending to other universities, introduced considerable changes in the theory and practice of Catholic education. It is no accident that the Department of Religious Education at Catholic University under the leadership of Gerald (sic) Sloyan, Bernard Marthaler, and Mary Charles Bryce and their many graduates, most especially Gabriel Moran and Michael Warren, were highly influential in the Catholic educational renaissance.” John L. Elias, “Edward Pace: Pioneer Catholic Philosopher, Psychologist and Religious Educator,” paper presented at the 2005 annual meeting of (REACH) Religious Education Association Clearing House, (Nov. 4, 2005), 2.

²⁹⁷ Warren observes Dewey’s “influence in contemporary catechetics is as unmistakable as it is pervasive.” *Sourcebook*, 282. Barker spends a chapter reviewing new trends in catechesis and the integration of theories from the social sciences. Barker, *Religious Education*, 73-100.

²⁹⁸ Boys, *Educating in Faith*, 49, 58. Ann Heekin describing Sister Mary Charles Bryce writes, “She more than an historian of religious education; she was an activist.” Heekin, “Americanization,” (2010).

one of the theorists for the new catechesis, Michael Warren, has argued that the quantum leap in modern catechetics is in the realization of the relationship of catechesis to “political realities” and “systematic evil found in social and political structures.”²⁹⁹ New catechist Thomas Groome echoes this commenting, “Both [Plato and Aristotle] saw education as a political activity . . . [but] John Dewey posed education as a source of social reconstruction rather than maintenance.”³⁰⁰

According to the proponents of the new catechesis, rather than a new uniform catechism the Council Fathers at Vatican II had favored the production of directories and guidelines³⁰¹ which would then be particularized and enculturated at the local level.³⁰² In the years following the Council many traditional markers of Catholic identity faded from the scene.³⁰³

Popular devotions such as the Rosary and Novenas ceased to be practiced, publications such as *American Ecclesiastical Review* and *Ave Maria* folded, Catholic summer camps closed, the *Baltimore Catechism* was discarded and the value of maintaining a separate Catholic school system was called into question.³⁰⁴ Religious

²⁹⁹ Boys, *Educating in Faith*, 96.

³⁰⁰ Thomas H. Groome, *Christian Religious Education: Sharing Our Story and Vision* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1980), 15.

³⁰¹ For example when writing for *America*, a popular magazine, Marthaler explains “the fathers of Vatican II consciously rejected every proposal to commission another catechism. Instead, they mandated a General Catechetical Directory . . . (which) gave guidelines for catechesis.” Berard Marthaler, “Catechisms Revisited: New Things and Old,” *America* (Sept. 20, 1975), 150.

³⁰² M. Jane Carew, “Are Seminaries Meeting the Current Challenges of Catechetics?” *Seminary Journal* Vol. 11 No. 1 (Spring 2005): 70.

³⁰³ Church historian Patrick Carey remarks how the liturgy itself became a tangible sign of change. The Mass was put into the vernacular as Latin was discarded, the altar was turned around and statues of Saints were put into storage. Subsequently, meatless Fridays disappeared, Lenten fasts were modified and more and more religious abandoned their habits or collars for secular dress. Patrick Carey, *Catholics in America: A History* (New York: Sheed & Ward, 2004), 116.

³⁰⁴ Kelly, *The Battle for the American Church*, 239-240; Mary Perkins Ryan, *Are Parochial Schools the Answer? Catholic Schools in Light of the Council* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1964).

programs now sought to incorporate changes in the liturgy, new higher-critical understandings of Scripture, and an emphasis on social issues. “It is a truism,” new catechist Catherine Dooley declares, “to say that the 1960s were a time of unparalleled change.”³⁰⁵

The small cadre of progressive religious leaders in the United States that included Sloyan, Marthaler and Bryce, trained the next generation of catechetical leaders in their particular reading of Vatican II. The methods, assumptions and aims of these new religious experts inevitably conflicted with some Catholic laypeople who disputed that their vision was what Vatican II truly entailed. Catechesis or religious education became a laboratory for experimentation in the cause of implementing the “Spirit of the Council,” most notably in its shift away from the doctrinal basis of the *Baltimore Catechism* in favor of personal experience, which it then interpreted in terms of prevailing secular psychological theories.³⁰⁶

Such experimentation provoked a reaction. According to Dooley, catechesis “became the focal point of the backlash. ‘Crisis’ and ‘polarization’ were words used frequently to describe the reaction to the ‘new catechetics.’”³⁰⁷

Despite the initial enthusiasm of the some laypeople recruited to help teach religion in elementary and secondary schools, individuals increasingly began to question the lack of content, ambiguities and inadequacies of the new methods, even though a number of the bishops continued to rely heavily upon the academics and professional

³⁰⁵ Catherine Dooley, “The Religious Education Curriculum in Catholic Schools,” in *The Catholic Character of Catholic Schools* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2000), 160.

³⁰⁶ Bryce explains how scientific advances in biblical studies were changing Catholic Theology, then affirms “religious educators were also profiting from advances in the behavioral sciences.” Bryce, “Concerns of the Catechetical Renewal,” (1968), 66.

³⁰⁷ Dooley, “Religious Education,” 160.

catechists.³⁰⁸ Critics would not be ignored, however. A number of Catholic scholars began to voice the concern that many colleges and universities were becoming resistant or even hostile to the teaching of the hierarchy and the Catholic scholars organized an alternative to the CTS, dedicated to promoting fidelity to the Church, in 1977. The official history of the Fellowship of Catholic Scholars puts the matter bluntly:

Since the Second Vatican Council, Catholicism in America felt the effects of secularization and modernism as there came to be established a 'new Catholic knowledge class.' Significant events that marked this establishment included the reactions to *Humanae Vitae*, the publication of the Catholic Theological Society's statement 'On Human Sexuality,' and the Land 'O Lakes declaration from Catholic college and university leaders . . . Amid the prevailing sentiment of the late 1970's, scholars committed to the Catholic Church experienced a sense of intellectual alienation, both from the Church in America and from the colleges and universities in which they worked.³⁰⁹

While the Fellowship of Catholic Scholars was both a lay organization and an academic professional society, nonacademic laity formed groups such as Catholics United for the Faith (CUF) and the apologetic Catholic Answers to promote religious education below the college level. Formed by H. Lyman Stebbins, nine years prior to the Fellowship of Catholic Scholars, CUF sought "to support, defend, and advance the efforts of the Teaching Church in accord with the teachings of the Second Vatican Council . . .

³⁰⁸ In an introduction to one of the bishops' documents the author expresses frustration that in this instance the bishops refused to do as they were advised. "The need for Guidelines for Doctrinally Sound Catechetical Materials seemed questionable to everyone on the NCCB/USCC task force except the bishops. The task force consisted of three bishops and a multicultural group of 15 catechetical professionals . . .the catechetical professionals questioned the publication of the GDSCM on the grounds it might undermine the catechetical renewal . . . As a result, this group of catechetical scholars and practitioners strongly encouraged the bishops to invest their resources in promoting the previously published catechetical documents." Eva Marie Lumas, "Overview of Guidelines for Doctrinally Sound Catechetical Materials," *The Catechetical Documents: A Parish Resource* (Chicago: Liturgy Training Publications, 1996), 567.

³⁰⁹ Fellowship of Catholic Scholars, "About Us: History," <http://www2.catholicscholars.org/Default.aspx?pageId=367408>. Accessed June 18, 2010.

[an object] accomplished by joining members in a common apostolate to be formed doctrinally and spiritually in the Catholic faith.”³¹⁰

CUF also launched *Lay Witness*, a magazine dedicated to catechesis and evangelization, which today contains a regular column called Master Catechist with articles such as that found in the October 2010 issue, entitled: “Why Are the Catholic Laity Mainly Responsible for Re-evangelization?”³¹¹

Catechetical instruction underwent a transformation after the Council, in turn driven by changes in the nature of diocesan structures that reflected the new involvement of the laity, most notably the parish committee. “Many bishops convoked parish councils, diocesan priests’ senates, and diocesan pastoral councils,” writes Patrick Carey.³¹²

Just as the bishops rather than the curia had developed policy at the Second Vatican Council, so now ordinary parishioners wished to contribute to the entirety of parish life, including religious education. A noteworthy example of a successful implementation of this subsidiarity can be found in Oklahoma, where Bishop Victor Reed established the first diocesan board of education in the United States comprised of both religious and laity in 1960. The board encouraged its parochial schools to secure state accreditation and worked to increase the salaries of the teachers.

Next, the Diocese established an Office of Religious Education, which was soon followed by a proposal for a creation of a committee to oversee programs of religious instruction. A diocesan priest trained by catechetical experts in Brussels at *Lumen Vitae*

³¹⁰ Catholics United for the Faith, “CUF Background,” <http://www.cufmilwaukee.org/> Accessed June 18, 2010.

³¹¹ John Hardon and Michael Mohr, “Why Are the Catholic Laity Mainly Responsible for Re-evangelization?” *Laywitness* (October 2010), 26.

³¹² Carey, *Catholics in America*, 117.

became the Director of Religious Education, presiding over a nine-person office in charge of all the elementary, junior, high school, youth and adult education programs in the diocese.³¹³ This pattern was repeated throughout numerous dioceses across the United States. The oversight of religious education shifted from the pastor to the laity, and the laity sought training by those who were trained in the most up to date catechetical techniques and philosophies available.

The publication in 1992 of the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* reflected a major shift in the history of catechetics.³¹⁴ Written in a narrative style, it returned to the traditional four pillars used by the *Baltimore Catechism* and the earlier *Catechism of the Council of Trent*: Creed, Sacraments, Commandments and Prayer. Even before early drafts of the new universal catechism had been officially released, American theologians and leaders of the new catechetical movement attempted to have the *Catechism* halted,³¹⁵ by analyzing and critiquing sections of the *Catechism* as they became available for review. The Woodstock Center at Georgetown University, for example, held conferences on the *Catechism* and ultimately published a collection of American responses to it.

In the introduction, Father Thomas Reese of Georgetown University explained that “after the Second Vatican Council, religious educators revised their methods and texts to reflect the reforms and teachings of the council. Incorporated into the texts and

³¹³ Jeremy Bonner. *The Road to Renewal: Victor Joseph Reed and Oklahoma Catholicism, 1905-1971* (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2008), 121-123.

³¹⁴ Cardinal Avery Dulles observed in 2003 that “religious illiteracy has sunk to a new low” yet was optimistic that the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* marked the first step towards genuine Catholic revival. Avery Cardinal Dulles, “True and False Reform,” *First Things*, August/September 2003.

³¹⁵ “Bishops of the church consulted Berard regularly throughout the process of developing the directories and later the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* . . . Berard was one of several Catholic scholars who debated the 1985 Synod’s decision to commission a catechism.” Willhauck, “Berard L. Marthaler,” (2010).

courses were fruits of contemporary scripture scholarship, ecumenism, [and] liturgical renewal . . . these changes did not come without controversy. The improvements were opposed by conservatives . . . [However] few Catholics want to return to the old and simple days of the *Baltimore Catechism* . . . but these few were often vocal and active.”

When he reviewed the new *Catechism*, Reese further stated: “The catechism fails to reflect contemporary developments in scripture, history, doctrine, catechetics and moral theology. In my opinion, the document needs to be totally rewritten.”³¹⁶

Other authors echoed Reese in their scholarly response to the *Catechism of the Catholic Church*³¹⁷. Mary Boys of Boston College wrote that “as a commentary on Scripture, the catechism is an unreliable guide.” Elizabeth Johnson, then of CUA noted that “the figure of Jesus comes across as a cold fish, knowing everything [and] in complete control . . . the Christ is far above our human struggles, and so rather useless for preaching, evangelization and catechesis.” Lisa Sowle Cahill considered it unfortunate that the “catechism’s basic frame of reference for understanding sexuality’s meaning is heterosexual, permanent, procreative marriage,” while religious educator William O’Mally of Fordham commented that he found it “not just unhelpful for its ultimately intended audience, but a positive obstacle.”

“I was not ‘disappointed’ in the catechism,” O’Mally added, “since much of it was just what I feared: mind-vinging prose, the suffocating proliferation of quotations from scripture . . . consistently sexist language.” Fr. Richard McBrien of Notre Dame continued to advocate that “this project should be abandoned,” while Fr. Reese concluded

³¹⁶ Thomas J. Reese, *The Universal Catechism Reader* (New York: Harper Collins, 1990), 1.

³¹⁷ To explain Sister Mary Charles Bryce’s absence from this work one should know that she retired from Catholic University of America in 1983. She developed Alzheimer’s disease and spent her final years at Mount Saint Scholastica Convent in Atchison, Kansas, passing to new life in 2002.

that “official approval of this text . . . would be more than a setback, it would be a disaster.”³¹⁸

In his book, *Gospel Catechesis Catechism*, Cardinal Ratzinger wrote with regret how the new *Catechism of the Catholic Church* had been “shut-out” of academia and the religious establishment of experts. “Meanwhile, there is no overlooking the fact that the Christian world has pronounced a very different judgment. Wherever it is published, the *Catechism* generates a demand that puzzles not only sociologists and pollsters but . . . catechetical experts.”³¹⁹ Interestingly enough, not only has the *Catechism* been well received by the hierarchy and laity of the Catholic Church, but many Protestants, especially Evangelicals, have given it resounding praise.

In *Is the Reformation Over*, Protestant historian Mark Noll devotes a chapter to evaluating the Catholic *Catechism* and writes that “Evangelicals or confessional Protestants who pick up the *Catechism* will find themselves in for a treat. Sentences, paragraphs, whole pages sound as if they could come from evangelical pulpits . . . readers will also notice the depth of scholarship, worn quite lightly, with hundreds of references to Scripture but also citations from early theologians of the Christian faith.”³²⁰

In *Flawed Expectations: The Reception of the Catechism of the Catholic Church*, Michael Wrenn observes that “many of these critics were to be found in the ranks of academics, theologians, and religious educators, in general among . . . the very kind of people who should have been interested in a clear, consistent, post-Vatican II statement

³¹⁸ Thomas J. Reese, *The Universal Catechism Reader* (New York: Harper Collins, 1990), 11, 43, 70, 166, 201.

³¹⁹ Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, *Gospel Catechesis Catechism: Sidelights on the Catechism of the Catholic Church* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1997), 7.

³²⁰ Mark Noll and Carolyn Nystrom, *Is the Reformation Over? An Evangelical Assessment of Contemporary Roman Catholicism* (Grand Rapids MI: Baker Academic, 2005), 116.

of what the Catholic Church holds and teaches,” but “the catechetical establishment in the United States does not much like the Catechism of the Catholic Church and has been expending considerable energies preparing commentaries and training materials evidently aimed at neutralizing if not replacing it.”³²¹

Conclusion

From 1960 to 1980, an experiment in teaching religion dominated Catholic schools and parishes. Observing that average Catholics were not living a joyous Christian life, even while they were able to recite questions and answers from their catechism, scholars such as Sloyan, Marthaler and Bryce discouraged memorization. They adopted new methods of catechesis which integrated the new social sciences of anthropology, psychology and sociology, with the latest theories in child development and learning.³²² It was a noble attempt to improve religious education by making it more palatable to the children. These methods and principles were quickly replicated across the country. Professionalization of the field of Religious Studies allowed a handful of schools such as the Catholic University of America to train an entire generation of new teachers in the immediate aftermath of the Second Vatican Council.

Those initially trained by the professional catechists to teach religious education quickly multiplied through the proliferation of graduate programs. Marthaler recalls in his history of the modern catechetical movement that “*Lumen Vitae*, catechetical and pastoral

³²¹ Wrenn *Flawed Expectations: The Reception of the Catechism of the Catholic Church* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1996), 164, 204.

³²² Groome, *Christian Religious Education* (1980), 121.

centers in Europe and the Third World, graduate programs in the United States . . . all spoke with a single voice.”³²³

In time, however, parent groups, teacher groups and clergy all began to urge their bishops to investigate problems inherent in the new methods.³²⁴ One commentator attributes the bishops’ initial slow response to their ignorance of the anti-magisterial trend sometimes found in the catechetical movement arguing that “Church authorities too have been baffled as they have often been buffaloed, by their professional religious educators.”³²⁵ Today with the proliferation of opportunities for lay people to earn Theology degrees, “[in] many cases, lay people are better trained than the clergy in the study of theology, scripture, church history, canon law and ethics.”³²⁶

Ultimately, the pope and bishops concluded that the best cure for the difficulties that arose in the 1960s and 1970s is a uniform catechism. Once published, the new *Catechism of the Catholic Church* broke all previous publishing records as laypeople emptied the shelves of booksellers and began to educate themselves and their children, taking to task errant instructors. New instructors, new programs and new publications fed the laity’s request for religious instruction with content and zeal, confirming Michael Warren’s maxim that “ultimately the most dependable safeguard of genuine catechesis is the Christian community itself.”³²⁷

³²³ Marthaler, “The Modern Catechetical Movement,” 286.

³²⁴ Sloyan, *Oral*, 2-109.

³²⁵ Catholicus, *Ambush*, 136.

³²⁶ Tim Muldoon, “Introduction: Catholic Identity and the Laity,” in *College Theology Society Annual* Volume 54 (2008): 7.

³²⁷ Warren, *Sourcebook*, 19.

CHAPTER 4

DE CONCILIO AS A PASTORAL THEOLOGIAN

PHASE I ITALIAN YEARS 1836-1860

Of his childhood not much is known other than the fact that Januarius De Concilio was born in Naples,³²⁸ on July 6th 1836,³²⁹ and that from a young age he professed a desire to become a Catholic missionary and travel to America. It is highly probable that he was named in honor of San Gennaro (St. Januarius) the patron saint³³⁰ of the city of Naples.

Januarius De Concilio was recruited and trained as a missionary for America. He was educated at the Archiepiscopal lyceum in Naples, and then ordained as a deacon in 1857. That year he entered the Brignole Sale seminary in Genoa, which was famous for training missionaries for foreign service.³³¹ It is reported that he studied English with an

³²⁸ At the time of De Concilio's birth there was no single Italian nation-state. Rather there was a collection of small kingdoms and republics: Tuscany, Kingdom of Sardinia, the Two Sicilies and the Papal States. Naples was the capital of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

³²⁹ Reuss, *Biographical Cyclopaedia of the Catholic Hierarchy of the United States 1784-1898*, 31. While most sources give De Concilio's date of birth as July 6th 1836, one other record has his birth occurring in 1835, but that source gives the date of birth as July 5th 1835. See James Grant Wilson and John Fiske, *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1887-1889. Reprint Detroit: Gale Research, 1968), 704

³³⁰ Antonio Mangano, *Sons of Italy: A Social and Religious Study of the Italians in America* (New York: Missionary Education Movement, 1917), 74.

³³¹ Wilson and Fiske, *Appleton's Cyclopaedia*, 704.

almost frantic zeal. He lived on a frugal diet and offered this self-mortification up to the Lord for the success of his study of languages.³³²

He was ordained into the priesthood by Archbishop Andreas Charvas³³³ in May of 1859 and designated for the diocese of Newark, New Jersey in the United States. De Concilio's seminary training occurred within the rise of the revival of Scholasticism which took shape as a self-conscious philosophical and theological counter offensive to powerful movements of the nineteenth century such as rationalism, skepticism, liberalism and nationalism.³³⁴

Father De Concilio the Scholastic

Italian historian Silvano Tomasi introduces his readers to De Concilio as that “brilliant Neapolitan, [and] disciple of the philosopher Sanseverino.”³³⁵ In America De Concilio gained a reputation as a Thomistic scholar. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography* of 1888 notes, “Monsignor Concilio has made a special study of the summa of St. Thomas Aquinas, and contributed frequent articles to the Catholic journals.”³³⁶ De Concilio's *Elements of Intellectual Philosophy*³³⁷ introduces students to the Thomistic approach, while *The Doctrine of St. Thomas on the Right of Property and of its Use*³³⁸

³³² “Learned English for U.S. Ministry,” Clipping from unidentified newspaper. Reported by Anne Mae Buckley. Archives of Georgetown University.

³³³ Reuss, *Biographical Cyclopaedia*, 32.

³³⁴ Gleason, *Contending With Modernity*, 107.

³³⁵ Silvano M. Tomasi, *Piety and Power: The Role of the Italian Parishes in the New York Metropolitan Area 1880-1930* (Staten Island, NY: Center for Migration Studies, 1975) 62.

³³⁶ James Grant Wilson and John Fiske, *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography vol. I* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1888-1889), 704.

³³⁷ Januarius De Concilio, *Elements of Intellectual Philosophy* (New York: D. & J. Sadlier, 1878).

³³⁸ Januarius De Concilio, *The Doctrine of St. Thomas on the Right of Property and of its Use* (New York: Fr. Pustet & Company, 1887).

applies Thomas' theology and principles to current social questions regarding socialism and the appropriateness of personal property.³³⁹

In the preface to one of his books *De Concilio* explains his reliance on Thomas and how he sees the usefulness of St. Thomas for the modern Catholic.

With regard to matter, we have followed throughout the philosophy of the "Angel of the Schools," in which we were brought up from our youth, and from which we have never swerved in our manhood, experience and more profound studies having led us to adhere to that philosophy more tenaciously and more ardently. Every one knows that all modern errors have originated in the abandonment of Catholic philosophy as embodied in the Catholic schools, and especially in that of St. Thomas. Consequently the only way to put a barrier to these errors, to refute them, is to turn back to that grand philosophy created by geniuses as great as Plato or Aristotle, and guided by the truth of God, which those heathen geniuses had not.³⁴⁰

Clearly *De Concilio*'s intellectual training under Sanseverino left a deep stamp of Scholasticism upon his scholarly worldview and his approach to living Catholicism in the United States.

Known as the restorer of the Scholastic philosophy in Italy, Gaetano Sanseverino began as a canon of the cathedral of Naples and later became a professor of logic and metaphysics in the seminary.³⁴¹ Sanseverino had been educated in the Cartesian system, which prevailed at that time in the ecclesiastical schools of Italy. But his comparative study of the various systems of philosophy supplied him with a deeper knowledge of the Scholastics, particularly Thomas Aquinas, and of the intimate connection between their doctrine and that of the Church fathers. From that time until the end of his life, his

³³⁹ Professor Joseph Perrier discusses *De Concilio* in his fifteenth chapter on "The Neo-Scholastic Revival in the United States and Canada" recommending four of *De Concilio*'s works in the bibliography as exemplary Scholastic writings. *The Revival of Scholastic Philosophy in the Nineteenth Century*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1909).

³⁴⁰ Januarius De Concilio, *Elements of Intellectual Philosophy*. (New York: D. & J. Sadlier, 1878), 3-4.

³⁴¹ "From 1846 until his death he [Sanseverino] taught philosophy in the diocesan Liceo in Naples; in 1846 he also founded . . . the Academy of St. Thomas Aquinas." R.M. Pizzorni, "Sanseverino, Gaetano" *New Catholic Encyclopedia* Vol XII (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1967), 1056.

primary goal was the restoration of Thomistic philosophy, “in which, not only by his writings, but by his lectures and conversation, he was of supreme assistance to Leo XIII.”³⁴²

During the period of 1820s–1850s the revival of Scholasticism was taking shape as an organized movement in Italy. Richard Gaillardetz explains that “though [Neo-Scholasticism’s] official birth date is often given as 1879, the year in which Pope Leo XIII issues his encyclical *Aeterni Patris*, Neoscholasticism actually had its roots in the earlier nineteenth century work of theologians such as Joseph Kleutgen, Gaetano Sanseverino and others.”³⁴³ Historian O’Connell writes that before Leo XIII’s appeal to turn to Thomas “a quiet revolution had already begun in Italy. 1846, the very year Pius IX was elected . . . Canon Gaetano Sanseverino founded in Naples an academy of Thomistic Studies.”³⁴⁴

In particular the Italian seminaries were centers of Scholastic instruction.³⁴⁵ Scholasticism’s origins are traced to monastic education and the phenomenon of cathedral schools which gave birth to the medieval universities. “About 1200 a new institution and educational revolution takes place . . . [and] lasts until about 1800.”³⁴⁶ The church school or university developed a method for training its students. “Reading and disputation, were the common teaching method of all disciplines.”³⁴⁷

³⁴² U. Benigni, “Gaetano Sanseverino,” *Catholic Encyclopedia*, (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912), 453.

³⁴³ Richard R. Gaillardetz, “John A. Ryan: An Early Revisionist?” *The Journal of Religious Ethics* 18 (1990) : 107-122.

³⁴⁴ Marvin O’Connell, *Critics on Trial: An Introduction to the Catholic Modernist Crisis* (Washington D.C.: Catholic University Press, 1994) 37.

³⁴⁵ Philip Gleason, *Contending With Modernity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 106.

³⁴⁶ Antonie Vos, “Scholasticism and Reformation,” in *Reformation and Scholasticism: An Ecumenical Enterprise* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2001), 102-103.

³⁴⁷ Baldwin, John *The Scholastic Culture of the Middle Ages 1000-1300*, (Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, 1997), 60.

Religious life provided a safety and distance from the harsh experience of the common persons of the medieval period. “Unconcerned by the passage of time or the conflicts of the world, secure in his rural seclusion, the monk cultivated his learning in isolation.”³⁴⁸ Scholasticism’s period of influence was wide; some historians date the “continuity of scholasticism from the beginning of the eleventh century until the end of the eighteenth century.”³⁴⁹ Scholastic thought developed its own analytical techniques, methods and ways of thinking.³⁵⁰ The educated churchmen primarily used Latin as their language of intellectual exchange. “Philosophical works were written in Latin; and so the expression of delicate shades of thought demanded the creation of a special vocabulary and of a specific latinity.”³⁵¹ Thus the theological terminology became very specialized and inaccessible to the general populous. This educational revolution brought with it a totally new way of thinking. “This type of the medieval university is the scene of a fundamental *paradigm change of thought*. The theoretical way of thought itself changed.”³⁵²

The Scholastic thought pattern began to rise and dominate during the medieval period. Medieval historian Maurice De Wulf suggests one may “define scholasticism by its syllogistic procedure, with the attacks and defenses, distinctions and sub-distinctions, which such procedure implies.”³⁵³ This educational training focused on bringing together opposing views with the purpose of discrediting and eliminating one side to present a

³⁴⁸ Baldwin, *The Scholastic Culture of the Middle Ages*, 36.

³⁴⁹ Vos, “Scholasticism and Reformation,” 101.

³⁵⁰ Vos, “Scholasticism and Reformation,” 102.

³⁵¹ Maurice De Wulf, *An Introduction to Scholastic Philosophy: Medieval and Modern*, translated by Coffey (New York: Dover Publications, 1956), 23.

³⁵² Vos, “Scholasticism and Reformation,” 103.

³⁵³ De Wulf, *Scholastic Philosophy*, 34.

coherent system. Luco J. van den Brom relates the goal of the Scholastic method this way. “The aim of scholasticism is the effort to explicate critically both the meaning and the rationality of Christian faith. In doing so, possible inconsistencies must be sought out and eliminated as far as possible in order to achieve maximal clarity.”³⁵⁴ In this method there was a driving concern for a coherent presentation “taking into account that the truth claim in question must also be reconcilable with other accepted claims.”³⁵⁵

Many of De Concilio’s later writings are responses to the encroachment of these philosophies which were perceived to be eroding away the authority and strength of traditional Catholicism.³⁵⁶ The Scholastic revival was aimed primarily at the recovery of the ideas and philosophy of the master of the scholastics, St. Thomas, to establish a unified Catholic teaching firmly grounded in a solid and rich intellectual foundation. Maintaining there was an essential unity and harmony in the world, held together by a transcendental design giving moral order to the universe and comprehended by faith based on divine revelation, Scholasticism asserted the capacity of reason to comprehend reality.³⁵⁷

As Catholic philosopher Fergus Kerr states regarding later Neo-Scholastics, “The essential thing, for Catholic theologians born between 1890 and 1940, was that they

³⁵⁴ Luco J. van den Brom, “Scholasticism and Contemporary Systematic Theology” In *Reformation and Scholasticism: An Ecumenical Enterprise*, eds. Willem J. van Asselt and Eef Dekker, 277-294. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2001), 287.

³⁵⁵ van den Brom, “Scholasticism and Contemporary Systematic Theology,” 287.

³⁵⁶ De Concilio’s series which we are examining here was published as a response to Rev. John Gmeiner’s *Mediaeval and Modern Cosmology* (Milwaukee WI: Hoffmann Brothers, 1891). Rev. Gmeiner is identified as a progressive Catholic in the camp of Father John Zahm, minimizing the role of Church teaching while maximizing the emerging modern sciences as determinative of truth claims. Concerning Gmeiner Mariano Artigas writes he was “the most progressive of the liberals before Zahm . . . [who] advocated a minimalist interpretation of ecclesial authority.” *Negotiating Darwin: Vatican Confronts Evolution 1877—1902* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 2006), 292.

³⁵⁷ Patrick Carey, *American Catholic Religious Thought* (New York: Paulist Press, 1987), 46.

should be grounded in 'thomistic philosophy'. This was to inoculate them against infection by the idealist, subjectivist and positivist philosophies, which were held to have created 'the modernist crisis'.³⁵⁸ The adherence to the philosophical writings of Thomas Aquinas serve as the continuing thread, beginning in the early Scholastic period, united to those promoting the Scholastic revival in the nineteenth century and promoted by the later Neo-Scholastics of the twentieth century.

As a Thomistic scholar De Concilio returns time and again to the writings of Thomas Aquinas to provide principles for his argumentation. One of De Concilio's later series, "Scientific and Metaphysical Cosmology" is representative of his writing throughout his life which reflects this Scholastic intellectual framework. Throughout the article De Concilio references Aquinas, "St. Thomas has foreseen the difficulty . . . and has replied to it as he is wont to do."³⁵⁹ De Concilio summarizes the purpose of his refutation, "We conclude our demonstration by adding the scholastic theory has the support of all those naturalists who admit the atomodynamic system to explain the essential principles of bodies."³⁶⁰

An assessment of his published works indicates De Concilio's writing style fits within the classically Scholastic generic constraints. This method, which became the general Scholastic practice in the thirteenth century and thereafter, focused on application to the individual question.³⁶¹ The core of the Scholastic method was disputation consisting of a dialectic technique in which four aspects can be discerned. 1) The

³⁵⁸ Fergus Kerr. *Twentieth-Century Catholic Theologians: From Neoscholasticism to Nuptial Mysticism*. (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), 1.

³⁵⁹ Januarius De Concilio, "Scientific and Metaphysical Cosmology: Third Article Proof of the Scholastic Theory," *American Ecclesiastical Review* Vol. 6 (1892), 218.

³⁶⁰ De Concilio, "Scientific," 220.

³⁶¹ De Wulf, *Scholastic Philosophy*, 26.

presentation of a thesis or question (*quaestio*). 2) Identification of subjects that stand to be discussed in regard to that question. 3) Treatment of a series of arguments or objections against the author's adopted position (*objectiones*). 4) The formulation of an answer to the objections (*responsio*) which takes accounts of all available sources of information, and applies all the rules of rational discourse, followed by an answer to the question which is as comprehensive as possible.³⁶²

De Concilio's three part series on "Scientific and Metaphysical Cosmology" follows this pattern by presenting the question of the essential constitution of atoms, and identifying related subjects. Then De Concilio examines each alternative theory, First, pure or mechanical Atomism, second, Dynamic Atomism, third, Chemical Atomism and fourth, Dynamism. Finally, De Concilio presents the scholastic response, the Peripatetic system.

De Wulf points out "This method . . . insisted on the necessity of collecting all the arguments and doctrines in opposition to a given thesis and of discussing and refuting them in regular order."³⁶³ Theological masterpieces such as Thomas Aquinas' *Summa theologiae* were not divided into chapters, but were divided into units called articles, which treated a single proposition. Similarly, De Concilio would write multiple articles for journals or newspapers, which later would be bound together and published in book form. The subject of a particular article was generally phrased as a question to provoke discussion. In this series De Concilio begins,

The problem is:--the essential constitution of bodies organic as well as inorganic. In other words, we wish to find out the first necessary essential principles which enter into the

³⁶² Willem J. van Asselt and Eef Dekker, introduction to *Reformation and Scholasticism: An Ecumenical Enterprise* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2001), 25-26.

³⁶³ De Wulf, *Scholastic Philosophy*, 26.

composition of a body which make it what it is, and distinguish it from all other beings in the universe.³⁶⁴

Then the author would marshal authorities opposing the question, and then follow with an examination of each text which present alternative solutions. Finally stating his own conclusion the author answers the series of opposing arguments. In identifying each alternative as true or false the Scholastic theologian attempted to eliminate conflicting authorities³⁶⁵ and formalize the reasons for supporting his own original conclusion. Concluding De Concilio writes, “We maintain that the scholastic system, when properly and sufficiently understood, is the only possible solution of the problem of the essential constitution of bodies.”³⁶⁶ Throughout his life De Concilio applied this Scholastic style to the issues of his day, in an attempt to demonstrate both the truth and relevance of the Catholic faith to the lives of his parishioners, and the modern world.

Having mentioned how well De Concilio fits within the Scholastic tradition, I should mention stylistic choices where De Concilio departs from Neo-Scholastic norms of the earlier twentieth century. While De Concilio’s method follows the generic constraints of the Scholastic form, he departs from the Neo-Scholastic expectations in a few clear ways. Thomas F. O’Meara explains,

Paradoxically, the revival of Thomistic philosophy in the wake of Leo XIII’s directive, intended to keep modern philosophy out of Catholicism, and especially German Romanticism, kept to very much the same canons of rationality as we find in the Enlightenment. The Enlightenment ideal was to attain timeless, universal and objective conclusions by exercising a unitary and ahistorical form of reasoning. Similarly, neoscholastic theology ‘identified truth and life with immutability and rationality; it opposed being to history and ignored concreteness in human life and in the economy of

³⁶⁴ De Concilio, “Scientific,” 19.

³⁶⁵ Rousselot describes the resulting uniformity required by the goal as “the tranquillizing satisfaction of the intellect at the harmonious sight of all truths assigned to the proper places in the hierarchy of an organized system.” Pierre Rousselot, *The Life of the Church*, (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1933), 195.

³⁶⁶ De Concilio, “Scientific,” 137.

salvation'. For neothomists, as for Enlightenment philosophers, appealing to experience, tradition and historical studies was the wrong way to get to truth.³⁶⁷

These three assumptions (adopting an ahistorical approach to life, rejecting change in life, and ignoring the concreteness of life) do not appear to be operational in De Concilio's work. Instead one finds in De Concilio a recognition of history, an openness to change, and an illumination of the concrete everyday experience of being human. This may suggest a wider breadth of what was considered as Scholastic prior to *Aeterni Patris* and the growth of the Neo-Scholastic school of theology.

PHASE II SETON HALL YEARS 1860-1870

Januarius De Concilio arrived in America on April 10, 1860³⁶⁸ at the request of Bishop James Roosevelt Bayley, the first bishop of the diocese of Newark, to help with the newly erected diocese.³⁶⁹ The organization of the Church in America was chiefly geographical with diocese organized around the population centers where Catholics lived. The episcopal see of a diocese was usually one of the more important cities of the region. Thus the bishop worked with the local priests and members to solve the problems within his diocese. This gave a strongly regional flavor to nineteenth century Catholicism in the United States.

Bishop Bayley became the first bishop of the diocese of Newark in 1853 and remained there until he was appointed Archbishop of Baltimore in 1872. Bishop Bayley

³⁶⁷ Thomas F. O'Meara, O.P., *Thomas Aquinas Theologian* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999), 171. [cited by Fergus Kerr. *Twentieth-Century Catholic Theologians: From Neoscholasticism to Nuptial Mysticism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), 2.]

³⁶⁸ Rev. Anthony F. LoGatto, *The Italians in America 1492-1972: A Chronology and Fact Book* (New York: Oceana Publications, 1972), 9.

³⁶⁹ Silvano M. Tomasi, *Piety and Power: the Role of the Italian Parishes in New York Metropolitan Area 1880-1930*. (Staten Island, N.Y. : Center for Migration Studies, 1975), 62.

saw a great need for solid Catholic instruction and so in 1860 he opened one of the earliest Catholic colleges, Seton Hall College, and its affiliated seminary, Immaculate Conception in South Orange, New Jersey.³⁷⁰

Father De Concilio's time was officially split between assisting a pastor, Father Anthony Cauvin and teaching at the new local seminary. Like his mentor, Gaetano Sanseverino, he would become a professor of logic and metaphysics. De Concilio was initially assigned to serve as Fr. Cauvin's assistant rector of the Church of Our Lady of Grace in Hoboken.³⁷¹ But in September of 1860 De Concilio accepted the position of professor of Dogmatic Theology, Logic and Metaphysics in Seton Hall College and Immaculate Conception Seminary.³⁷²

It was at Seton Hall that De Concilio would meet some of the men who would become the voice for the traditionalist faction of the U.S. hierarchy during the Americanist crisis. At the seminary De Concilio was introduced to his fellow professor, Michael Corrigan, who would soon succeed Bayley as the bishop of Newark, the diocese of which encompassed the whole of the state of New Jersey. Another key figure, Bernard McQuaid served as the president of the college and would soon become the bishop of Rochester.

While still assistant to Father Cauvin in Hoboken, in November of 1860 Bishop Bayley created the mission of St. Michael's in Jersey City of which he put De Concilio in charge.³⁷³ Bishop Bayley and De Concilio developed a close friendship. Eventually in

³⁷⁰ Bishop Bayley was also instrumental in the founding of the American College in Rome.

³⁷¹ Wilson and Fiske, *Appleton's Cyclopaedia*, 704.

³⁷² John Foster Kirk, *A Supplement to Allibone's Critical Dictionary of English Literature* (Philadelphia, J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1891), 372.

³⁷³ Schiavo, *Italian Contribution*, 344.

1872 Bayley would rise to the highest office in the nation, as the Archbishop of Baltimore. De Concilio built the main building and the rectory first; ultimately he would construct a school, an orphanage and an academy.³⁷⁴ Named St. Michael the Archangel's mission, its care was overseen by De Concilio throughout the time he was reassigned to serve as the assistant to Father Louis Senez in St. Mary's church in Jersey City from 1861-1867.³⁷⁵

Even with these increases in his duties De Concilio remained active at Seton Hall as the pro-synodal examiner³⁷⁶ for theology and as the school's chaplain.³⁷⁷ Over the years he would continue to teach courses in theology, logic and philosophy.³⁷⁸

Phase II: The Italian Problem Part One

In America, every bishop struggled with the problem common to our missionary territory status: too little money, too few priests, and too many souls for which to care. To help lessen the problem American bishops regularly turned to Europe for help. Sending missionary societies were organized in countries such as France, Italy and Germany to encourage young priests to join the mission to America. Bishop Martin J. Spalding discussed the success of frontier revivalism at great length in his 1844 book, *Sketches of the Early Catholic Missions of Kentucky*.³⁷⁹ The transatlantic connection

³⁷⁴ Carl Derivaux Hinrichsen, "De Concilio, Januarius Vincent." In *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd edition, ed. Berard L. Marthaler, (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2003), 704.

³⁷⁵ Wilson and Fiske, *Appleton's Cyclopaedia*, 704.

³⁷⁶ For example, Corrigan writes in his diary that De Concilio showed up to join Corrigan in giving students exams on November 22, 1876. Joseph Mahoney (ed), *The Diocesan Journal of Michael Augustine Corrigan, Bishop of Newark 1872-1880* (Newark: New Jersey Catholic Historical Records Commission, 1987), 116.

³⁷⁷ Seton Hall College Catalogue for Academic Years 1861-7.

³⁷⁸ C. D. Hinrichsen, "De Concilio," 704.

³⁷⁹ Martin Spalding, *Sketches of the Early Catholic Missions of Kentucky* (Baltimore: J. Murphy, 1844).

would become even clearer in the 1850s and 1860s as parish missions increased in popularity in both Europe and the United States.

At the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1866 the American hierarchy adopted a proposal promoting the parish mission.³⁸⁰ The bishops of the Council, as an authoritative rationale for their action, cited the Sept. 8, 1745 encyclical of Pope Benedict XIV, *Gravissimum supreme* (On the Utility of Missions) which was exclusively devoted to promoting parish missions within the kingdoms of Italy.³⁸¹ Historian Jay Dolan notes, “The guiding force of the council, Martin J. Spalding, had introduced similar legislation at the Cincinnati regional council in 1858, and now as archbishop of Baltimore and architect of the council he again promoted the parish mission.”³⁸²

As an early Italian missionary to America, De Concilio is named among the first pioneer priests in the United States by the Center for Migration Studies.³⁸³ Italian historian, Giovanni Schiavo, in his 1934 text, *The Italians in America Before the Civil War* counters the frequent charge made by Irish Catholics that Italian Catholics were lazy. Schiavo describes De Concilio and the other early Italian missionary priests as “indefatigable workers”³⁸⁴ who were “altruistic, imbued with a spirit of self denial.”³⁸⁵

³⁸⁰ In the same year, “in 1866 the Italian government applied Piedmont’s ecclesiastical legislation to all of Liberal Italy . . . religious congregations were suppressed, their lands auctioned, their personnel pensioned off. The government abolished chairs of theology in state universities, provided religious instruction in public schools only when parents requested it and required civil matrimony.” Peter D’Agostino. *Rome in America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 45.

³⁸¹ *Acta et Decreta Concilii Plenarii Baltimorensis II* (Baltimore: Joannes Murphy, 1866), page 237 paragraph 473 and footnote 1.

³⁸² Jay P. Dolan, *Catholic Revivalism: The American Experience 1830-1900* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1978), 47.

³⁸³ Giovanni Schiavo, *Four Centuries of Italian-American History* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1992; reprint from 1952), 254.

³⁸⁴ Giovanni Schiavo, *The Italians in America Before the Civil War*, (New York: Arno Press, 1975; reprint from 1934), 297.

³⁸⁵ Schiavo, *Before the Civil War*, 297.

He rhetorically questions his readers: How many people would give up their princely home in Rome for a log cabin among the Indians? Schiavo summarizes emphatically, “Founders of churches, schools, hospitals, colleges, orphanages, these missionaries deserve the gratitude of the American people . . . not only were they servants of God but jacks-of-all-trades compelled by the conditions of the new land to make and to learn new things.”³⁸⁶

Father Cauvin was assigned two Italian assistants: Father Januarius De Concilio and Father Francis Anelli. Together they traveled and performed mission work throughout New Jersey riding on horseback as far north as Lodi.³⁸⁷ In a later two volume work *Italian-American History: The Italian Contribution to the Catholic Church in America*, published in 1949, contains a chapter on “Pioneer Priests in New Jersey.” In a section on the first Italian priest, Father Cauvin, the author remarks in passing about Fr. Cauvin’s earliest assistant Father De Concilio, “Rev. De Concilio, became one of the outstanding pastors in the history of the Church in New Jersey.”³⁸⁸ In discussing expansion of the Catholic Church and the importance of frontier priests such as De Concilio and Cauvin, one should keep in mind that both the population and the frontier line were constantly shifting and moving. At the edges of the frontier there existed a few people, scattered widely and in need of spiritual services.

The Church met this need as best it could by building new churches for settled populations, establishing mission churches for transient pioneers or more remote

³⁸⁶ Schiavo, *Before the Civil War*, 297.

³⁸⁷ Schiavo, *Italian Contribution*, 344.

³⁸⁸ Giovanni Schiavo, *Italian-American History: The Italian Contribution to the Catholic Church in America* vol 2 (New York: Vigo Press, 1949), 344.

communities, holding revivals, riding on horseback to visit sparse and scattered individuals in their homes. Jay Dolan elaborates,

In the United States the religious situation was ideally suited for parish mission. The scarcity of priests encouraged an itinerant ministry that reached out to scattered settlements of Catholics. The priest's visit did not last very long, and during his stay some type of brief but intense evangelization was necessary. Since it might be years before a priest returned to rural communities, something extraordinary was needed to rekindle the fires of religion among churchless, priestless Catholics. Something more special was needed to keep people's religion alive.³⁸⁹

While the influx of immigrants in the nineteenth century, the great majority of which were Catholic, was considered problematic for the historically Protestant dominated society of America, a particular ethnic group, the Italians, were seen as undesirable by both the country and the American Catholic hierarchy.³⁹⁰ The American clergy was largely comprised of the Irish, former immigrants who had risen up the American social ladder. Historian Thomas McAvoy recounts, "With the exception of the occupant of the primatial see, Archbishop Martin John Spalding, and one or two others of English ancestry, the government of the American Catholics had been taken over almost completely by the English-speaking Irish clergy, with a minority of German, French and other non-English bishops."³⁹¹

The Irish adopted a strong U.S. nationalism. Eventually many of these Irish prelates became the driving force in the Americanist faction of the U.S. hierarchy. The ability of the Irish to speak English allowed them to assimilate quickly, and many shunned the incoming immigrants for being too foreign. McAvoy observes that the

³⁸⁹ Jay P. Dolan, *Catholic Revivalism: The American Experience 1830-1900* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1978) 15

³⁹⁰ Italian historian Alexander DeConde notes, "The hierarchy spent a lot of time discussing the 'Italian problem' within the church." Alexander DeConde, *Half Bitter, Half Sweet: An Excursion into Italian-American History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971), 93

³⁹¹ Thomas McAvoy, *The Great Crisis in American Catholic History 1895-1900* (Chicago, IL: Henry Regnery Company, 1957), 3.

repeated attempts of these Irish clergy to impose their American nationalism on the immigrants of various national origins resulted in a series of controversies within the U.S. Church.

As both priest and pastor De Concilio was thoroughly involved in the “Italian problem.”³⁹² The liberal camp of the American hierarchy desired a rapid Americanization that involved the immigrants³⁹³ abandoning ethnic customs and practices as well as their native languages in favor of English and adopting more “American” ways. McAvoy notes that these “Americanizing Irish prelates”³⁹⁴ were frequently charged with “minimalism,” “Protestantism,” and Liberalism,³⁹⁵ by Catholics who felt the dominant Protestant American culture contained many practices and beliefs which were at odds with traditional Catholicism.³⁹⁶

PHASE III AMERICANIST YEARS 1870-1898³⁹⁷

Phase III Italian Problem part Two

³⁹² Peter D’Agostino describes the “Italian Problem” as the propensity of American “Catholics [who] lamented Italian immigrants’ unwillingness to finance parishes, their lack of respect for clergy, aberrant devotional styles, vulnerability to Protestant proselytizing and radical politics and veneration of Mary above Jesus.” Peter D’Agostino. *Rome in America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 59.

³⁹³ In February of 1861 Victor Emanuel II was declared King of Italy by the National Italian Parliament. Funds were seized and allocated to the military causing an economic collapse which sent many immigrating to the United States. “What was lacking to his kingdom was Rome as its capital.” More than 300 bishops gathered in Rome June 8, 1862 for the canonization of thirty 16th century Japanese martyrs. “If any bishops had missed the point of their assembly, Pius IX explained it in a talk the next day in which he denounced the Italian government.” James Hennesey, *American Catholics: A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 164.

³⁹⁴ McAvoy, *Crisis*, 4.

³⁹⁵ Ibid.

³⁹⁶ Ibid.

³⁹⁷ De Concilio wrote on a number of additional issues typically categorized under the Americanist controversies such as Henry George and Fr. Edward McGlynn and the question of private property. De Concilio wrote *The Doctrine of St. Thomas On The Right of Property And Of Its Use* (1887) as a critique of Fr. McGlynn’s use of Thomas Aquinas in support of Henry George’s position. Similarly De Concilio wrote *Harmony Between Science and Revelation* (1889) as a challenge to Fr. Zahm’s approach to Darwinism.

De Concilio wrote pamphlets deploring the neglect of Italians in America and the “Italian Problem” within the American church.³⁹⁸ In 1888 he published an article in pamphlet form, *Sullo Stato Religioso degli Italiani negli Stati Uniti d’America*³⁹⁹ which was a widely circulated study of the statistics regarding the sociological condition of Italian immigrants, along with a suggestion of remedies. For example De Concilio pointed out that there were forty priests of Italian origin in the United States who were charged with an apostolate to nearly 500,000 Italian immigrants, thus the poor religious state of his fellow countrymen in America resulted from their high numbers and comparatively few clergy that could help instruct them and meet their needs.

De Concilio dedicated his article to Pope Leo XIII and sent copies of the pamphlet to all the Italian bishops and members of the Sacred College of Cardinals.⁴⁰⁰ Eventually it was paraphrased and carried as an article in the Jesuit newspaper *Civiltà Cattolica*.⁴⁰¹ In December of 1888 Pope Leo XIII released his encyclical *Quam Aerumnosa* (On Italian Immigrants in the United States). Bishop “McQuaid was in Rome when the letter of the Pope appeared, and he wasted no time in informing Corrigan, on the evening after its publication in the *Moniteur de Rome*, that the papal statement was based on a work by Januarius De Concilio.”⁴⁰²

³⁹⁸ C. D. Hinrichsen, “De Concilio,” 704.

³⁹⁹ Januarius De Concilio, *Sullo Stato Religioso degli Italiani negli Stati Uniti d’America* (New York: Tipografia J.H. Carbone, 1888).

⁴⁰⁰ Stephen DiGiovanni. *Archbishop Corrigan and the Italian Immigrants*, (Huntington, IN: Our Sunday Visitor, 1994), 73.

⁴⁰¹ “Delle Condizioni Religiose Degli Emigrati Itlini Negli Stati Uniti D’America,” *La Civiltà Cattolica*, XI (September 15, 1888): 641-643.

⁴⁰² Henry Browne, “The ‘Italian Problem’ in the Catholic Church of the United States, 1880—1900,” *Historical Records and Studies* Vol 35, (New York, NY: United States Catholic Historical Society, 1946), 66. See also, Carl D. Hinrichsen, *The History of the Diocese of Newark 1873-1901* diss. (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1963), 311.

In the battles over ethnic parishes De Concilio stood among the conservatives, maintaining that every parish should have a priest who understood the native language of the people. In Jersey City he tried to bring the Italian Catholics together and establish a parish specifically for them. He constructed the first chapel for the Italian Catholics, which later became the parish of Holy Rosary. Father Mazziotta served as the first pastor of Holy Rosary in 1886.⁴⁰³

While invited by the American hierarchy to the United States as a missionary, De Concilio personally experienced discrimination within the church. The Irish prelates dominated the clergy among the Catholic churches of Newark. Mounting pressure from a growing German presence was temporarily placated by the appointment of a German priest, Father Winand M. Wigger as the third bishop of Newark in 1881. De Concilio served on the council of Bishop Winand Wigger during the first years of his administration as he had served as a member of Bishop Michael A. Corrigan's council.⁴⁰⁴ When Bishop Wigger named the Italian De Concilio to be his vicar-general, the Irish priests launched such a protest that the bishop was forced to withdraw De Concilio from consideration and an Irishman was appointed in his stead.⁴⁰⁵

The period of 1880-1924 is identified as the high point of Italian migration. During this period it is estimated that over four and a half million Italians entered the United States.⁴⁰⁶ Edward Stibili, in his work on the St. Raphael Society for the Protection of Italian Immigrants, traces the emergence of "Italian problem" in America through both

⁴⁰³ Schiavo, *Italian Contribution*, 346.

⁴⁰⁴ C. D. Hinrichsen, "De Concilio," 704.

⁴⁰⁵ John Cunningham, *Newark*. (Newark: New Jersey Historical Society, 1966), 207. See also, Carl D. Hinrichsen, *The History of the Diocese of Newark 1873-1901* diss. (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1963), 178.

⁴⁰⁶ Stibili, *St. Raphael*, 4.

the country and the church. De Concilio was a founding member of this benevolent society for immigrants. He became the treasurer for the St Raphael Society for the protection of Italian Emigrants.⁴⁰⁷

Stibili observes “the word ‘problem’ was used rather frequently in reference to the Italians who emigrated to the United States during the period of mass migration.”⁴⁰⁸ He continues to highlight the offensive nature of the phrase by quoting an Italian lawyer Gino C. Speranza who comments, “It is a strange fact how few Americans ever consider how very unpleasant, to say the least, it must be to the foreigners living in their midst to be constantly looked upon either as a national problem or a national peril.”⁴⁰⁹ The situation for incoming immigrants was difficult. “These were farm people, ill prepared for urban life. They came without education, money or friends, because America represented a chance. They took the dirtiest jobs, eager to prove themselves in the land of the free.”⁴¹⁰

The Italians quickly displaced the Germans as barbers and the skilled masonry workmen were well employed in the construction of the growing cities. But for the most part the jobs of Italian immigrants were menial, hard and often dangerous. The Italian Catholic was separated from other Catholics by both economic barriers and language.

Italians considered the American Catholic church uncongenial mainly because the Irish dominated it and infused it with a fierce, even harsh, militancy. These qualities repelled Italians. . . . At first they had little choice; they had to use the Irish priests or dispense with religion. Some chose to abandon Catholicism, but most remained loyal, or nominally so, but in their own way.⁴¹¹

⁴⁰⁷ C. D. Hinrichsen, “De Concilio,” 704.

⁴⁰⁸ Edward Claude Stibili, *The St. Raphael Society for the Protection of Italian Immigrants 1887-1923* Ph.D. Dissertation, (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1977), 17.

⁴⁰⁹ Stibili, *St. Raphael*, 17. For an elaboration of this position see, Gino Speranza, “How it Feels to be a Problem” in Wayne Moquin and Charles Van Doren, ed., *A Documentary History of the Italian Americans* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974).

⁴¹⁰ John Cunningham, *Newark* (1966), 207.

⁴¹¹ DeConde, *Half Bitter, Half Sweet*, 92.

De Concilio sought to help the Italian immigrants adjust to their new homes through a variety of methods such as writing on their behalf, attempting to establish Italian parishes, advocating the use of native languages be permissible, and participating in the St. Raphael Society.

Father De Concilio the Pastor

Because of his status as an Italian immigrant he could not be promoted up the ranks of the hierarchy as easily as native born men like Corrigan. Thus his authority was less than that of the bishops most visibly engaged in the Americanist controversies. But even as a mere pastor, especially one situated in Newark, the power center of Corrigan, Bayley and McQuaid, De Concilio participated in several noteworthy national issues of his day, as well as caring for the local needs of his parish.

Typical of many of the brick-and-mortar priests of this period, De Concilio was concerned with providing his community adequate facilities for the instruction and practice of their faith. De Concilio decided to remodel the church and then open a school. He hired lay teachers to staff his school and also invited religious orders to assist. Then he built a convent for the Sisters of Charity. In 1870 he built a rectory and in 1873 he began construction of the imposing new church which was dedicated on October 8, 1876. The churches, rectories, and schools were not ends in themselves but merely means by which Catholics could be taught to live out their faith. As a pastor De Concilio not only saw to the building up of structures, but the building up of the faith lives of his parishioners. Historian Finn observes,

Like Pope Pius X, his contemporary, his interest in catechetical instruction was so strong that for over 20 years he personally prepared all the children of St. Michael's for the reception of first Holy Communion and Confirmation; moreover, in his weekly visits to

the parish school he would take the opportunity to instruct the children not only in the principles of their faith, but also in the secular phases of their curriculum.⁴¹²

Education became a point of tension between Catholics in the United States. It was set in the context of a wider debate among American Catholics on how the American church should respond to the wider American culture.

The liberal camp was much in favor of Catholic students attending the public or common schools while the conservatives saw the need for a private parochial system. The earliest public schools were heavily influenced by evangelical Protestants establishing a culture hostile to other faiths such as Jews and Catholics.⁴¹³ With the onset of heavy European immigration in the nineteenth century, Catholics were forced towards institutional separatism. Parochial schools became the locus for the preservation of the immigrant cultures.

De Concilio passionately advocated in favor of the parochial school system, which was designed to preserve the Catholic faith which was constantly being challenged within the Protestant American culture. Aided by the introduction of religious orders of women and men, Catholic parochial schools grew steadily over the nineteenth century. For this nation's Protestant majority this separate system of schools once again called into questions Catholic loyalties to the American society and fueled the rising virulent anti-Catholicism. Schiavo observes with some pride that De Concilio opened one of the earliest parochial schools in the state of New Jersey.⁴¹⁴

⁴¹² Finn, *A Brief History*, 6.

⁴¹³ Steven M. Avella, and Elizabeth McKeown. *Public Voices: Catholics in the American Context*. (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1999), 3.

⁴¹⁴ Schiavo, *Before the Civil War*, 294.

Primitive State of Man 1879

As a pastor the majority of Fr. De Concilio's time was spent addressing immediate concerns of his parish and popular issues disturbing American Catholics. However, from time to time he was able to enter into some of the theological debates occurring in the Catholic journals and newspapers. In 1879 in the pages of *Catholic World* De Concilio enters into the theological debate on the primitive state of man.

Since the nature-grace debate has been a reoccurring theological issue in Catholic circles, it is difficult to identify the specific article or person to which De Concilio is responding. In the article itself, De Concilio does not name his ideological counterpart. Based on other writers in the pages of *Catholic World*, there seem to be two most likely candidates. The first is Edward Youmans who founded the *Popular Science Monthly* magazine in May of 1872 with the purpose of disseminating scientific knowledge to educated laymen. The early issues were mostly reprints of English periodicals with the addition of articles and opinion pieces written by Edward and his brother William. The magazine became an outlet for the writings of Charles Darwin, Henry Ward Beecher and Thomas H. Huxley. In June of 1878 an anonymous author writes on "Hell and Science"⁴¹⁵ and mentions his article is a reply to Professor Youmans stating "The editor of the *Popular Science Monthly* gave us in one of his late issues an article concerning the belief in Hell."⁴¹⁶ A handful of other authors address the issue of the final state of man, especially in regard to Hell. In fact, De Concilio will write "On Man's Destiny" a year later.⁴¹⁷

⁴¹⁵ Anonymous, "Hell and Science," *Catholic World* Vol 27 (June 1878) : 321-336.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid., 321

⁴¹⁷ Januarius De Concilio, "On Man's Destiny," *Catholic World* Vol 30 (1879-80) : 519-529.

A second contender for being De Concilio's intellectual sparring partner in "Primitive State of Man" is William R. Alger who re-released a newly edited version of his work, *The Destiny of the Soul* in early 1878.⁴¹⁸ In the preface to the work Alger's identifies his purpose as an analysis on the final state of man. "The present work is in a sense, an epitome of the thought of mankind on the destiny of man."⁴¹⁹ Alger reviews how the Hebrews viewed the afterlife, then he reviews various New Testament authors. Near the conclusion of his book he explains how the notion of Heaven, Hell and Purgatory is a political weapon.

The doctrine of purgatory—a place intermediate between Paradise and Hell, where souls not too sinful were temporarily punished, and where their condition and stay were in the power of the Church on earth,—a doctrine which in the Middle Ages became practically the foremost instrument of ecclesiastical influence and income.⁴²⁰

The second candidate seems most likely since in this investigation of future life De Concilio feels compelled to go back to the primitive state of man and the workings of nature and grace. De Concilio begins with his primary question and a preview of two main principles. "What was the primitive state of man when God Almighty created him? To understand which careful attention has to be paid to two principles which are fundamental in the present question. The first is the final and supreme end of man. The second is as to the nature of the means necessary to attain such an end."⁴²¹

As the article turns to the first point, the end of man, De Concilio explains, "the final end of man consists in the intuitive vision of God."⁴²² To which he adds the

⁴¹⁸ William Rounseville Alger, *The Destiny of the Soul: A Critical History of the Doctrine of Future Life* (New York: W.J. Widdleton, 1878).

⁴¹⁹ Alger, *The Destiny of the Soul*, iii.

⁴²⁰ *Ibid.*, 404.

⁴²¹ Januarius De Concilio, "What was the Primitive State of Man?" *Catholic World* Vol. 29 (1879), 602.

⁴²² *Ibid.*, 602.

observation, “All Catholic theologians are agreed upon this.”⁴²³ He then sets out the point of difference. “But whether the intuitive vision of the Godhead is the final end of man simply because God chose to elevate man to such a grace or privilege, or because the intuitive vision of God’s essence is the end and termination to which an intellectual creature naturally aspires . . . are questions which are warmly disputed.”⁴²⁴

Having discussed the final end of man, he moves onto the debate concerning a natural end of man. One school maintains the natural end of man is not this intuitive vision of God but consists merely in a knowledge of God which one may possess in this life. De Concilio contrasts the first school with the second school of theology holding the opposite opinion. De Concilio elaborates that the second school of thought may be called the common opinion of the schoolmen, who may be identified as the Scholastics. The schoolmen maintain every intellectual creature naturally aspires to the vision of God, but, the creature by its own natural powers could not reach its natural end. Therefore God created man giving him supernatural means to reach his end.

Before clarifying his position De Concilio summarizes the reasons he counts himself in agreement with the second school of thought. “We hold this second opinion not only for its intrinsic merits, but also because it is the most common opinion of the schoolmen, and of St. Thomas in particular.”⁴²⁵ Then adding to its intellectual merits and popularity among Scholastics, De Concilio adds the theological observation that this view is “the bridge which unites the natural with the supernatural in the most convincing manner.”⁴²⁶

⁴²³ Ibid.

⁴²⁴ Ibid., 603.

⁴²⁵ Ibid.

⁴²⁶ Ibid.

De Concilio returns to the position of the Scholastics in order to state it with more exactness. He lays out three points. The first point is that the natural end of man is not merely knowledge acquired in this life but an immediate vision of God to which man naturally aspires. The second point is though man aspires to such a vision he can never actually attain it by his natural powers of intellect and will but must receive supernatural aid from God to enable him to attain such a vision. In his third point De Concilio will begin by dealing with a hypothetical question: Could God have created man with a natural desire for this vision and without the supernatural means to achieve the vision?

De Concilio responds, “We admit that, considering the power of God isolated from, and independent of, all his other attributes, God could create man without giving him such supernatural aid to enable him to reach his end.”⁴²⁷ Of course this is not the end of his response because as he goes on to explain, the hypothetical question misdirects. Instead, “Omnipotence, as it really exists and acts, not isolated but in most perfect harmony with wisdom and goodness, could not leave man to himself, signing after an end which he could not possibly attain.”⁴²⁸

After having laid out his position De Concilio enters into a subsection of his article entitled, “Proof.” Here he establishes several claims and relies heavily upon the writings of Thomas Aquinas as support for his claims. Along the way he brings up arguments from his opponents and then attempts to refute those arguments. He begins by claiming that the end of every being may be discovered from the specific faculties of its nature; the specific faculties of man which De Concilio identifies are the intellect (which seeks the truth) and the will (which seeks the good).

⁴²⁷ Ibid.

⁴²⁸ Ibid., 604.

He brings his argument to a point. “Now, if the object of man’s intelligence is not this or that particular truth but universal truth, if the object of his will is also universal good, it is evident that the end which corresponds to these specific faculties of man can be no other than God, the absolute truth and the absolute good.”⁴²⁹ He then addresses the response of the opponents that the end may be truth and good “but only in an indefinite way.”⁴³⁰

To refute this claim De Concilio moves to analyze the essential conditions necessary of the object destined to be man’s end. He cites four such conditions and after each provides direct quotations from Thomas Aquinas’ *Summa Contra Gentiles* Book Three “On God and the End of Creatures.” First, the object must fully and perfectly satisfy the innate desires of the man seeking it. Second, it must exclude all fear and sadness. Third, it must be possessed without end. Fourth, the act of acquiring it must be the highest and greatest act of his specific faculties.⁴³¹ De Concilio again draws his claims to a point stating, “Now if these premises be true—as they undoubtedly are . . . who can fail to see that man’s natural end can only be found in the immediate vision and possession of God’s essence?”⁴³² He reminds his readers of the position of the opponents, “It is said that man’s natural end is only an abstract knowledge of God”⁴³³ as he then proceeds to illustrate how merely abstract knowledge fails to meet each of the essential conditions necessary in the object which serves as man’s final end.

⁴²⁹ De Concilio, “Primitive” 604.

⁴³⁰ Ibid.

⁴³¹ Ibid., 605.

⁴³² Ibid., 606.

⁴³³ Ibid.

For example, assuming a man obtained this abstract knowledge of God, would that not create in him the further desire to encounter God? “And will not this further desire which would be created in man, nay, this failing of satisfying fully and perfectly man’s craving after infinite truth and goodness, imply pain and sadness and afford anything but happiness to the subject?”⁴³⁴

Abstract knowledge of God as man’s natural end, as entertained by the opponents, would in De Concilio’s words “not really embrace God in himself, but an idea of him, a shadow, a footprint” which falls short of the real God.⁴³⁵ Ending this portion of the argument De Concilio turns again to Thomas. “We conclude therefore, in the words of St. Thomas: ‘It being impossible that the natural desire should be void, which would be the case if it were not possible to attain to the intelligence of the divine substance—a thing *which all minds naturally desire*—we must admit that it is possible to see the divine substance by intellect.’”⁴³⁶

Having built what he believes to be a solid case for God as the necessary natural end of man, De Concilio moves on to deal with objections to his position raised by theologians of the first school. The first objection of his opponents may be stated as follows. Because man by his natural powers, unaided by God, cannot possibly attain the immediate vision and possession of God’s essence, therefore the immediate vision of God cannot be the natural end of man.

De Concilio observes that in arguing so they have rejected all aid outside of the creature itself. “Our adversaries make a great mistake in exacting a proportion of nature

⁴³⁴ Ibid.

⁴³⁵ Ibid., 607.

⁴³⁶ Ibid.

between the faculties and forces of a being and its end in all cases. This is only true when the being has to attain its end by the exclusive unfolding of itself and its faculties, if such a case ever existed, of which we have grave doubts.”⁴³⁷ After explaining the opponents’ faulty logic in this scenario De Concilio provides an illustration of a plant as a counter example. “For instance, a plant, to attain its end, to reach its full growth, must suppose the existence of a certain amount of earth from which to receive its food, also the existence of a certain amount of air, etc.”⁴³⁸ The plant cannot or does not grow in isolation from these other elements. “They are independent of, and beyond the native force of the plant; when it is put in contact with them it has native force in itself to attract them, but unless favored by circumstances the plant will remain sterile and will fail to attain its end.”⁴³⁹

De Concilio then attempts to turn the opponent’s argument against them. They claim that the natural end of man consists in the abstract knowledge of God. Yet they must acknowledge that man should be placed in favorable circumstances to arrive at such knowledge. Such circumstances are beyond man’s power. “Consequently, if a proportion of nature is required between the forces of being and its end, man could not even attain to an abstract knowledge and possession of God.”⁴⁴⁰

⁴³⁷ De Concilio, “Primitive” 608.

⁴³⁸ Ibid.

⁴³⁹ Ibid., 609.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid.

Father De Concilio the Author

In the preface of his 1878 book entitled *The Knowledge of Mary*, one finds a rare occurrence of Father De Concilio revealing personal information of his youth, but this self-disclosure also indicates some of his perspective on his role as author.

When young we use to have the habit of reading everyday something on Mary, and we never cared for emotional books which did not build their practice of devotion to Mary on the basis of a solid knowledge of her. Since we have been a priest all the moments we could spare from other duties we have consecrated to this subject; and we can safely say that we have read every book worth reading treating of Mary, so that we can assert that there is no thought or idea redounding to her glory written by others which will not be found in our book. And here we want to acknowledge, once for all, that the construction, the logical order of the book is our own; the matter has been furnished by others, among whom we shall mention De Vega, Micchoviensis, Castelpiano, Segneri, Ventura, and others.

May this little effort of our love for a subject so grand, which has charmed us all our life long, and which will, we trust in Mary, be our hope and our joy in death, do the good it is calculated to produce; and may all Catholics, all our younger brethren in the ministry, for whom it is specially intended, study it carefully and patiently, and they will feel the grandeur and sublimity of the faith which they preach; they will obtain a solid foundation for that sweet and tender love which burns in their bosom for Mary; they will acquire facility in preaching that devotion, in inculcating it, in every way and by every means at their disposal; and may some one (and there are many bright intellects among them) try to do better than we could do, and write a work on Mary which, for science, for eloquence, for beauty of style and language, may shame our own, and then our heart will be content, for then our shame will be the glory of our Mother.⁴⁴¹

From this passage we can derive several important facts. De Concilio sees the role of an author as one which does a near exhaustive reading of the available literature on the topic, then synthesizes the best from the works of previous authors to produce something new by bringing clarity, order and a more logical progression to the subject. Considering himself within the role of author, his words reveal his attitude and character. De Concilio passes any praise for his text to the worth and value of the content derived from other writers' works, while concurrently assuming the blame himself for any possible short

⁴⁴¹ Januarius De Concilio, *The Knowledge of Mary* (New York: Catholic Publishing Society, 1878) 8-

comings of his text. De Concilio also speaks to his motivation for writing. First, he writes for the education and instruction of others.

Further, he identifies his work as “scientific” and assumes that comprehension of his text will require of the reader careful and patient study. One may well wonder how a priest writing devotional literature on Mary the Mother of God may consider his work scientific. Historian Peter Novick explains the intent of nineteenth century scholars who would occasionally appropriate the label scientific.

Science was dedicated to ‘the truth’ about the natural world: bringing its descriptions into correspondence with ‘what was out there.’ . . . Science was both cumulative and progressive. Unlike other realms, in which particularistic loyalties might produce partisan results, science was universalistic. Whereas findings in other fields might reflect the preferences of the investigator, science was value-neutral. Other disciplines suffered from the intrusion of ideological currents, but science proceeded in serene isolation from such distorting influences.⁴⁴²

Such assumptions compliment not only the Scholastic method but so too the Scholastic worldview of the existence of an objective reality which is approachable and knowable.

The editor of *Catholic World* echoes this belief in his commentary as he reviews De Concilio’s release of *Catholicity and Pantheism*. “F. De Concilio is one of our most learned and acute philosophers and theologians, a disciple of no modern clique or innovating system, a vender of no patent contrivance of his own for reconciling contraries, but a modest yet intrepid advocate and defender of the old time honored scholastic wisdom of S. Thomas.”⁴⁴³

From De Concilio’s quotation it is important to note also that he believes the intellectual exercise will give rise not to mere information or head knowledge, but rather

⁴⁴² Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The ‘Objectivity Question’ and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 524-525.

⁴⁴³ Editor, “New Publications.” *Catholic World* Vol. 18, Issue 105 (December 1873), 426.

a pleasurable and positive experience of true faith.⁴⁴⁴ Finally, in a particularly powerful passage De Concilio mentions his wish to be outdone by younger scholars “for then our shame will be the glory of our Mother,”⁴⁴⁵ indicating both his humility and devotion to Mary and God.

In the preface to another text, *Elements of Intellectual Philosophy* (1878), De Concilio explains some of the stylistic choices he made in writing this book.

The author who should attempt to write a book on the elements of philosophy . . . [must] be guided by, the following principles, which have reference to the language, to the style, and to the matter of the book. I. The book should be written in English. The matter treated of in philosophy is hard enough to understand, even by the brightest intellect which just comes from the study of *belles-lettres*, fascinated by the matchless beauties of the ancients clothed in the finest language, to undertake to master hard, dry things, without flesh and blood, but abstract and immaterial. Now to present such things in a foreign language is to render the difficulty of apprehending them unnecessarily greater, and to heighten the aversion which young minds naturally feel for abstract ideas. It is like covering a beautiful painting with a double veil. For language, after all, is a veil which covers the idea. Now, if you clothe an idea in language foreign to the student, no matter how well he may be supposed to know it, you oblige him, in order to look at the idea, first to uncover the veil of the foreign language to make room for the veil of his own native language, and then to catch the idea.⁴⁴⁶

De Concilio displays sensitivity towards his audience by considering how his writing will be best understood by American readers.⁴⁴⁷

As he speaks about language, style and content he lays down principles by which an author might make the material more accessible to the reader. He begins by arguing against the convention of writing primarily in Latin. “To write a book . . . in the Latin

⁴⁴⁴ The debates of the new catechists in the 1960s set intellect and experience at odds with one another. Here it can be seen that De Concilio holds that intellectual growth is a pleasurable experience, thus doctrine and experience can work together.

⁴⁴⁵ De Concilio, *Knowledge of Mary*, 9.

⁴⁴⁶ De Concilio, *Elements*, 1-2.

⁴⁴⁷ De Concilio is aware of the different learning abilities of the “young minds” for which he is writing. Modern catechists affirm this principle which they call “age-appropriateness.”

language is to confine the study of this most necessary science only to those who have gone through a classical course”⁴⁴⁸

Instead De Concilio favors writing in the native language of the intended audience, in his case Americans who speak English. But even when using English De Concilio as author considers both the age of the readers as well as the word choices and how certain words might affect the reader.

We have thought proper to discard, whenever it was possible, all words which may remind one too much of the schools, always translating into the best English we could muster, anything of such a nature; so that in reading our *Elements* the young student will meet with no hard word which may require the use of the dictionary, or which may stop him in his endeavor to catch the idea.⁴⁴⁹

Adapting the material to the age and understanding of the audience also plays into stylistic choices for De Concilio. “With regard to the style . . . there is hardly a theory laid down which is not illustrated by one or more examples. . . . We have also, whenever we possibly could, tried to illustrate our theories by quotations from the poets, to loosen the tension of the mind by something pleasing and interesting.”⁴⁵⁰

The task of writing for Januarius De Concilio is an extension of his role as pastor; some theologians may identify such work as an apostolate of the pen. All of his books are written to defend the Catholic faith; as a Scholastic he relies upon Thomistic philosophy, as a missionary he write to evangelize and explain and as a pastor he writes to remove obstacles from his flock’s spiritual journey.

Almost all of De Concilio’s books are apologetic in nature written to explain and defend the Catholic worldview against contemporary challengers. *Catholicity and Pantheism* (1874) tackles creeping relativism, *The Knowledge of Mary* (1878) challenges

⁴⁴⁸ De Concilio, *Elements*, 2.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid., 3.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid.

mere emotionalism, *The Doctrine of St. Thomas on the Right of Property* (1887) confronts George Henry and Socialism, the *Harmony Between Science and Revelation* (1889) challenges the easy theological fit between Darwinism and the Catholic faith claimed by John Zahm and George Mivart, and his *Apology for State Omnipotence in the Matter of Education* (1892) rebuts his opponents in the School Controversy.

Even in the one text that may be considered the exception, *Elements of Intellectual Philosophy*, which was written as a textbook for Philosophy for seminarians and other students, De Concilio announces an apologetic impulse since “all modern errors have originated in the abandonment of Catholic philosophy”⁴⁵¹ thus suggesting that students who learn Catholic philosophy will be able to counteract these modern errors.⁴⁵² The editor of *American Catholic Quarterly Review* elaborates on the essentially apologetical nature of De Concilio’s Philosophy textbook and how it meets a great need of the day.

The history of modern philosophy reveals a succession of systems, one more erroneous and pernicious than another; idealism, sensism, skepticism, pantheism, materialism, nihilism; of which the outcome is chaos. . . The literature of the day, with which young Catholics must become more or less familiar, reflects this confusion and contradiction. The books of science, the reviews, and magazines, which they can scarcely be expected not to read, abound in reckless assertions, false assumptions, or illogical conclusions, which it is essential that they should be able to detect and expose. They must know how, at a glance, to distinguish a fallacy from an argument, and recognize sophistry from sound reasoning. More than this, to sustain their part as educated Catholics, they must be ready not only to refute, but also to convince; not only to defend the truth, but also to attack error and rout its forces.⁴⁵³

As is standard in the academic field each of De Concilio’s books received criticism, but overwhelmingly his books were recognized as valuable contributions and received much praise. The editor of *Catholic World* said of De Concilio’s *Catholicity and*

⁴⁵¹ Ibid., 4.

⁴⁵² Ibid.

⁴⁵³ Editor, “Book Notices,” *American Catholic Quarterly Review* Vol. 4 (1879), 177.

Pantheism, “his essay is superior to anything ever before published in this country, and we trust that due attention and a just mead of praise will be awarded to it.”⁴⁵⁴

When one does examine the criticism De Concilio’s work received, it can often be classified as basically oriented towards his content, towards his being Italian, or towards his use of new methods and style.⁴⁵⁵ The book review of *Elements of Intellectual Philosophy* found in the *American Catholic Quarterly Review* serves as a typical example. In a six page book review, two pages are dedicated to offering example after example of grammatical mistakes: “On page 195 ‘particular goods’ should be ‘a particular good.’”⁴⁵⁶ The journal editor continues, “Besides the incorrect use of the definite article, to which we referred above, we noticed several instances of the wrong tense used. . . .”⁴⁵⁷ to fill another page. Moving to errors which are less clearly grammatical the editor explains, “On page 190 there are two mistakes. [First,] it is not grammatical to speak, as this article does repeatedly, of ‘introducing form *in* matter.’ [And second,] an arrow does *not* reach the mark because it is *thrown* by the archer. Arrows are supposed to be *shot* with a bow.”⁴⁵⁸

These lists of errors culminate in the editor’s comment,

Indeed the author affects a preference for words of Anglo-Saxon origin. But, like most foreigners, in dealing with such words he lacks the delicate instinct to appreciate their

⁴⁵⁴ Editor, “New Publications.” *Catholic World* Vol. 18, Issue 105 (December 1873), 426.

⁴⁵⁵ De Concilio is aware of this language difficulty. Hoping to get published in Brownson’s *Review*, De Concilio asks the editor to smooth out such difficulties. “As english is not my mother tongue I would prefer someone to look it over before publication and I suppose that if you admitted it in your review you would look over it yourself and that would be invaluable.” De Concilio to Orestes Brownson Nov. 27, 1874. Orestes Brownson Papers, Notre Dame Archives.

⁴⁵⁶ Editor, “Book Notices,” 179.

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 180.

⁴⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 181. What the editor here identifies as a mistake is a nuance of the English language that De Concilio missed. Similar cultural phraseology and nuances fill the pages of the *Baltimore Catechism*. For example the first chapter of the catechism is titled, “Lesson First.” See *A Catechism of Christian Doctrine Prepared and Enjoined by Order of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore* (New York: The Catholic Publishing Company, 1885), 1.

nice shades of meaning, and to apply them correctly. The book is full of inaccuracies, both of expression and statement; mistakes of language and style which would be considered discreditable in one to whom English were not a foreign tongue.⁴⁵⁹

But what is the editor's evaluation of the content of the textbook? After five and a half pages of criticism regarding minutia, the editor states in the concluding paragraphs, "The chief merit of the 'Elements' and it is no inconsiderable merit, lies in the skillful division and orderly arrangement of the subjects. The chapters are not too comprehensive; the articles are sufficiently short; the subject-matter distinctly stated."⁴⁶⁰ Concluding his evaluation with the concession, "We cheerfully acknowledge all the merit to which it can lay claim. Fr. De Concilio has undertaken to labor in a field which promises a plentiful harvest."⁴⁶¹ So even the critics, such as this editor, admit that there is theological merit in writings of De Concilio.

Father De Concilio the Theologian

On August 25, 1884 Archbishop James Gibbons wrote the U.S. bishops concerning the need for a national catechism. Before the upcoming council, he desired a committee to meet and to look into the issue of adopting or creating a national catechism.⁴⁶² Father De Concilio attended the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore (1884) as the attending theologian of the Bishop of Omaha. Bishop James O'Connor had requested De Concilio because of his reputation as a scholarly theologian.⁴⁶³ To prepare for the council Gibbons sent each bishop a chapter on a subject to be discussed at the

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid., 182.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid.

⁴⁶² The Catechism Committee was comprised of Louis de Goesbrand, Stephen Ryan, Joseph Dwenger, John L. Spalding, John Kain, and Francis Janssens. Archbishop Gibbons to Bishop James O'Connor Aug. 25, 1884. Archives of the Archdiocese of Omaha.

⁴⁶³ Bishop James O'Connor to Bishop Winand Wigger May 7, 1885. Wigger Papers, Seton Hall University Archives.

council. Bishop O'Connor sent a copy of his chapter to De Concilio to review. Wanting to understand how the one chapter fit within the whole, De Concilio requested of Gibbons a copy of the entire preparatory schema.

Your Grace, Bishop O'Connor of Omaha has done me the honor of electing me as his theologian for the next Council. He has sent me the chapter of the allotted to that province. As there are things in that chapter which cannot be well and thoroughly understood without a knowledge of the previous chapters, so I have thought of begging your Grace for a copy of the whole schema that I may get up that chapter thoroughly and intelligently.⁴⁶⁴

Schiavo remarks that it was at the Baltimore Council where De Concilio distinguished himself as a Catholic theologian and scholar.⁴⁶⁵

After being assigned to serve on the Catechism Committee, De Concilio was asked to compose the first draft of this new catechism. He worked frantically and composed the schema in about seven days.⁴⁶⁶ Through a variety of historical circumstances only a handful of editorial changes were made on De Concilio's draft which Bishop Spalding sent to the printers and was then printed as the *A Catechism of Christian Doctrine Prepared and Enjoined by Order of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore*.⁴⁶⁷

In another chapter we will deal in greater detail concerning the content of the *Baltimore Catechism* but for the moment it is sufficient to recognize that for a half century the contents of the officially approved American national catechism represented the standard by which other religious instruction books were compared. Much like his other works, the *Baltimore Catechism* receives criticism regarding word choice,

⁴⁶⁴ De Concilio to Gibbons, June 16, 1884. Gibbon Collection, Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore.

⁴⁶⁵ Schiavo, *Before the Civil War*, 294.

⁴⁶⁶ "The catechism was commenced and completed within the time of the Council." Rev. John K. Sharp, "How the Baltimore Catechism Originated." *The Ecclesiastical Review* 81 (1929), 574.

⁴⁶⁷ C. D. Hinrichsen, "De Concilio," 704.

arrangement and detail, but theologically it was considered a fitting presentation of the Catholic faith. Fr. Sharp surveyed the surviving council fathers as to their memories of the *Baltimore Catechism*'s creation. "The Baltimore Catechism would attain all the perfection that could be reasonably demanded of a uniform catechism."⁴⁶⁸ Another priest affirmed, "It is highly accurate theologically."⁴⁶⁹ Another council father explained the difficulty in authoring a catechism. "No one can write a catechism overnight. It is regarded among theologians as the most difficult form of composition."⁴⁷⁰ And still another witness concludes, "The *Baltimore Catechism* is a synthesis of all that seemed best in the earlier catechisms but combined with its original matter."⁴⁷¹

Archbp. Ireland and the School Question 1890-1893

In 1890 Archbishop John Ireland addressed the National Education Association in St. Paul and in passionate language he endorsed the public schools. Ireland's political ambitions were mingled with pragmatic concerns. Ireland's nationalism was reflected in his opinion that public schools were the epitome of beneficent American institutions. At the same time he hoped to relieve his church of financial and staffing burdens involved in running separate parochial schools.

Protestants and the non-Catholic press suspected his plan would lead to Catholic control of the public schools. While Catholics in contrast suspected treason as Ireland turned against the Third Plenary Council's requirement of building parochial schools. When in 1891, two of Ireland's parishes, Stillwater and Faribault located in Minnesota,

⁴⁶⁸ Sharp, "How the Baltimore Catechism Originated," 576.

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid., 580.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid., 581.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid., 585.

signed a contract with local public school authorities, the move attracted national attention.

Hoping to calm the matter Cardinal Gibbons secretly recruited Thomas Bouquillon, a moral theologian from Catholic University of America, to write an article providing a theological defense of Ireland's proposal. Bouquillon thus wrote, *Education to Whom Does it Belong?*. Two east coast theologians, Fr. Januarius De Concilio and Fr. Rene Holaind responded by writing against Bouquillon and in support of the rights of the parents and Church to educate their children in the parochial school system.

Father De Concilio's 1892 book, *The Apology for State Omnipotence in the Matter of Education: Proclaimed by Dr. Bouquillon in his Pamphlet, "To Whom Does Education Belong?"*⁴⁷² is a compilation of a series of articles he published in the *Freeman's Journal* of New York, and reveals some of Father De Concilio's positions on a number of matters concerning the school controversy. De Concilio creates a fictitious dialog between a layperson and his local pastor to examine and critique the ideas set forth in Dr. Thomas Bouquillon's pamphlet, "To Whom Does Education Belong?"⁴⁷³ which was written the year prior in 1891.

While De Concilio is addressing the thoughts of Dr. Bouquillon on the school question, Dr. Bouquillon is at best a secondary audience,⁴⁷⁴ as De Concilio has in mind as his primary audience, Catholic laity in America. The burden of the layman, De Concilio

⁴⁷² Januarius De Concilio, *The Apology for State Omnipotence in the Matter of Education: Proclaimed by Dr. Bouquillon in his Pamphlet, "To Whom Does Education Belong?"* (New York: S.N. , 1892)

⁴⁷³ Thomas Bouquillon, D.D., *Education: To Whom Does It Belong?* (Baltimore: John Murphy and Company, 1891).

⁴⁷⁴ Reilly concurs describing De Concilio's response as "designed for popular consumption" yet also admitting his work contained "severe and formidable criticism." Daniel Reilly, *The School Controversy, 1891-1893* diss. (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1943), 124.

slips into the mouth of his parishioner right at the beginning of the dialog, “Now, what is a poor layman like myself, with only a certain quantum of learning, though with sufficient natural shrewdness and common sense, to believe, when men of such eminence disagree on a question of so vital importance?”⁴⁷⁵ While it is doubtful if an actual lay person would refer to himself as “a poor layman” this expression reveals our priest’s paternal concern for the situation of his flock. This paternal concern motivates the writing of a series of articles to the *Freeman’s Journal* because the fictional parishioner represents “one of thousands who are anxious to be set right as to the true Catholic position on this great subject.”⁴⁷⁶ The publication in this New York newspaper provides for the dissemination of this “conversation” or critique to a wide audience.

Dr. Bouquillon states his argument regarding the authority of the State in matters of education as follows:

Civil authority has the right to use all legitimate temporal means it judges necessary for the attainment of the temporal common welfare, which is the end of civil society. Now among the most necessary means for the attainment of the temporal welfare of the commonwealth is the diffusion of human knowledge. Therefore, civil authority has the right to use the means necessary, for the diffusion of such knowledge, that is to say, to teach it, or rather to have it taught by capable agents.⁴⁷⁷

Dr. Bouquillon first submitted his work as an article to the *American Catholic Quarterly*, but Archbishop Ryan of Philadelphia declined to publish the piece.⁴⁷⁸ Dr. Bouquillon returned to Cardinal Gibbons for advice on how to proceed. The Cardinal desperately wanted to help his friend Archbishop Ireland, so Gibbons advised Dr. Bouquillon to publish his article separately as a circulating pamphlet.

⁴⁷⁵ De Concilio, *Apology for State*, 3.

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid., 4.

⁴⁷⁷ Bouquillon, *Education*, 11-12.

⁴⁷⁸ Merylann J. Schuttloffel, “Education: To Whom Does It Belong?” in *Catholic Schools in the United States: An Encyclopedia* (ed.) Thomas C. Hunt. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004), 247.

De Concilio's answer was originally published on February 13, 1892. Instead of having his answer published in the form of a pamphlet, which would most likely be published for a few theologically minded persons, De Concilio sent his response to the New York *Freeman's Journal*, a Catholic newspaper with a much wider audience. The *Freeman's Journal* was a weekly newspaper which published this series of articles by De Concilio over five successive weeks.⁴⁷⁹ Later that same year those articles were collected and published in book form as *The Apology for State Omnipotence in the Matter of Education: Proclaimed by Dr. Bouquillon in his Pamphlet, "To Whom Does Education Belong?"*.

Through five hypothetical conversations De Concilio examines the theories proposed by Dr. Bouquillon. Each of the five conversations is presented as a separate article for the newspaper. While the five articles are intended to work together as a refutation of Dr. Bouquillon's pamphlet, they are designed in such a way that it is not necessary for the reader to have followed the series. A person reading any one of the five articles would be presented with serious flaws in the theories supporting state control of education.

The first conversation presents and refutes Dr. Bouquillon's arguments in favor of the State's direct right to educate. De Concilio tackles at the beginning what he sees as the most troubling propositions of Dr. Bouquillon, all of which revolve around the issue of claiming for the state a direct and special right to educate.⁴⁸⁰ Later *Civiltà Cattolica*

⁴⁷⁹ The articles titled "The School Question: To Whom Does Education Belong?" were printed on subsequent Saturdays (Feb 13, 20, 27, March 5, 12, 1892) in the *Freeman's Journal*. When the articles are later published as a book, an error is contained in the footer of the title page attributing the fourth conversation to March 6.

⁴⁸⁰ De Concilio, *Apology for State*, 12.

echoed De Concilio's point and "attacked Bouquillon's attributing the right of education to the State."⁴⁸¹ The second conversation examines the sources of authority used by Dr. Bouquillon to support his claim. In the third conversation De Concilio uses Dr. Bouquillon's sources to develop a positive argument as to the separate spheres of rights of the parents and the State. The fourth conversation examines unintended possible ends of Dr. Bouquillon's argument. The fifth conversation examines the desired ends for which Dr. Bouquillon has put forth his claim of the State's direct right to control education. Throughout the apology De Concilio returns to the principle of the parental right to educate their children. "Government is a system of defense for society, whilst its foundation is the family."⁴⁸² De Concilio identifies the first two conversations as a negation of Dr. Bouquillon's arguments, while the remaining three conversations he describes as a positive development of the issues.

Rather than resolving the school controversy Bouquillon's pamphlet exacerbated the problem. The battle between Ireland and Corrigan was conducted publicly via their proxy theologians and the controversy was covered by both Catholic and secular media. Catholic citizens complained to the Vatican about Ireland's proposal. "Corrigan too had informed Propaganda that Ireland forced upon American Catholics a 'new and foreign theory: that state schools best suited the needs of our times.'"⁴⁸³

Ireland was summoned to Rome in 1892, while Gibbons joined his defense by sending the pope a lengthy summary of the archbishops meeting in Saint Louis. After a year of investigation and consideration the pope issued a decision. The papal statement

⁴⁸¹ Gerald Fogarty, *The Vatican and the American Hierarchy From 1870 to 1965* (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1985), 73.

⁴⁸² De Concilio, *Apology for State*, 30.

⁴⁸³ Fogarty, *The Vatican and the American Hierarchy*, 71.

affirmed the fundamental principles and legislation of the Third Plenary Council regarding parochial schools, but noted that in Ireland's diocese the Faribault plan could be (*tolerari potest*) "tolerated." The pope's response was carefully worded so as not to offend either the Americanists or the Traditionalists but still it was intended to end the school controversy.

Years later Daniel Reilly's dissertation, written in 1943 at the Catholic University of America, is considered to be the most in depth consideration of the issue,⁴⁸⁴ simply entitled, *The School Controversy, 1891-1893*.⁴⁸⁵ While the Vatican's decision that Ireland's cooperation with the public schools could be tolerated, was designed to end the public conflict, the conservatives continued to attempt to spin a positive interpretation of Rome's decision.

Reilly notes, "before the Archbishop's meeting there began to circulate in certain Catholic circles of the United States an English translation of an anonymous Italian pamphlet entitled "*La Questione Scholastica degli Stati Uniti & La Decisione della Propaganda*" which enumerated many of Archbishop Ireland's behind the scenes

⁴⁸⁴ Catholic historian John Tracy Ellis warns that while Reilly's dissertation is the most complete, it should be referenced with caution because Reilly "suffers from a failure to consult the Corrigan side." Reilly favors the progressive position and therefore his language choices and narration position the progressives in the best light. Ellis, *Life of Gibbons*, 654. Historian Frederick Zwielerin goes further to explain that Reilly was a student of Richard J. Purcell who still harbored resentment from the ecclesial clash. Zwielerin writes, "When biographies of Archbishop Corrigan and Bishop McQuaid appeared in the columns of the American Dictionary of Biography from the pen of Professor Richard J. Purcell of the Catholic University in Washington, D. C., written contrary to the known historical evidence, it became manifest that the old conspiracy in favor of Archbishop Ireland against Archbishop Corrigan and Bishop McQuaid was still active even though out of date at this late day. This was confirmed all the more in the publication of *The School Controversy (1891-1893)* by Daniel F. Reilly of the Order of Preachers in 1943, being a dissertation 'conducted under the direction of Richard J. Purcell, Ph.D., LL.B., Major Professor.' For this dissertation has been exposed by historical criticism not as objective history, but a partisan tract on the Archbishop Ireland side of the old controversy. This does not mean that we are not grateful for the documents conveniently put at our disposal in this book." Frederick J. Zwielerin, *Letters of Archbishop Corrigan to Bishop McQuaid, and Allied Documents* (Rochester, NY: The Art Print Shop, 1946), preface.

⁴⁸⁵ Daniel Reilly, *The School Controversy, 1891-1893* diss. (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1943).

manipulations.⁴⁸⁶ Archbishop Ireland naturally characterized the pamphlet as a “vile and contemptible thing.”⁴⁸⁷ Generally Reilly concludes the Vatican’s decision was a victory for the Americanist bishops. However, Reilly thinks it is important to note that after Ireland’s school plan was deemed tolerable by the Vatican, the arrangement imploded.⁴⁸⁸ Ultimately both the Faribault and Stillwater Boards of Education rejected the arrangements made with Archbishop Ireland.

Conclusion

While a good percentage of De Concilio’s time was spent caring for the physical facilities for his parish, he was still able to write to various magazines, journals and newspapers to engage in the debates surrounding issues of Americanization. De Concilio drew the attention of pope Leo XIII and the curia to the plight of Italian immigrants here in the United States, prompting the encyclical *Quam Aerumnosa* to be written. This in turn meant that Rome would monitor the treatment of the immigrants in America more closely.

De Concilio removed from McGlynn’s arsenal the approbation of Aquinas, illustrating how ownership of property and real estate was not against natural or moral law. De Concilio explained to the Catholics of this country why handing the right to educate religious children over to a secular State is a dangerous policy. He emphasized

⁴⁸⁶ Reilly explains that in the January 1893 edition of the *Chicago Post* the writer of the pamphlet was identified as Rev. Gerardo Ferranti, Archbishop Corrigan’s secretary. The translation into English of the pamphlet was done by De Concilio which drew Ireland’s fire in the Jan 14, 1893 run of the *New York Freeman’s Journal*. See Reilly, *The School Controversy*, 207, footnote #44.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid., 207.

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid., 165, 196.

the traditional position of the pope and bishops that parents have a divine right and responsibility to teach their children and to be the domestic church.

While open to the new sciences De Concilio cautioned Catholics that all scientific theories need to be tested by science. Then these theories need to be evaluated theologically considering how the new knowledge might properly fit with what is known from divine revelation. In these issues De Concilio helped to move the conversation forward by theologically assessing the issue and making the debate more understandable to the public. But of course the task for which American Catholics should appreciate his efforts is in the construction of the *Baltimore Catechism*; the national catechism which trained generations of American Catholics and which for a half century received near universal praise.

In February of 1886 he was appointed by Pope Leo XIII, papal chamberlain (Cameriere Segreto) to his holiness.⁴⁸⁹ This honor entitles the person receiving it to be henceforth addressed as “very reverend monsignor.”⁴⁹⁰ Without much detail Finn also remarks in passing that De Concilio was a friend of Pope Leo XIII.⁴⁹¹ In May of 1887 he was named a domestic prelate.⁴⁹² In 1892 he was given a doctorate of divinity from Georgetown University in Washington D.C.⁴⁹³ De Concilio was widely recognized for his pastoral and scholarly influence. During his lifetime De Concilio authored several books and frequently wrote articles for New York’s *Freeman’s Journal*.⁴⁹⁴ He

⁴⁸⁹ Bishop Wigger to De Concilio Feb 24, 1886. Wigger Papers, Notre Dame Archives.

⁴⁹⁰ James Wilson and John Fiske, *Appleton’s Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1887-1889. Reprint Detroit: Gale Research, 1968), 704.

⁴⁹¹ Finn, *A Brief History*, 4.

⁴⁹² Francis X. Reuss, *Biographical Cyclopaedia of the Catholic Hierarchy of the United States 1784-1898* (Milwaukee: M. H. Wiltzius & Co., 1898), 32.

⁴⁹³ C. D. Hinrichsen, “De Concilio,” 704.

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

contributed several articles to various other Catholic journals as well.⁴⁹⁵ In addition to his scholarly work De Concilio ventured into the more popular venue of entertainment by writing three plays, the *Child of Mary* (1891), *The Irish Heroine* (1880) and *Woman's Rights*.⁴⁹⁶ Due to troubled health his physician advised him to take a year off from the arduous duties of his pastorate so De Concilio sailed for Europe on September 10th of 1896. He remained abroad for the year spending most of his time in his native city of Naples.

De Concilio's main concern was his congregation but his life displays a man that is more than the brick and mortar priest. While he built local schools and chapels he also helped to build up the intellectual life of Catholics in America. By writing the *Baltimore Catechism* he left behind him a rich legacy of discipleship whereby generations of Catholics were trained in the faith. He died on Wednesday morning at 7:30 am on March 23, 1898.⁴⁹⁷

Schiavo writes that "at his funeral the concourse of people was so immense that many were not able to get into the church."⁴⁹⁸ His remains were buried in the priest's plot in Holy Name Cemetery.⁴⁹⁹ The local paper observed that his funeral gathered one of the largest and most representative crowds the city had even seen. Among the Catholic clergy who gathered were Bishop Wigger and Archbishop Michael Corrigan. The newspapers state that over 7000 people assembled at St. Michael's church to mourn his passing.⁵⁰⁰

⁴⁹⁵ Wilson and Fiske, *Appleton's Cyclopaedia*, 704.

⁴⁹⁶ Carl Hinrichsen mentions these three plays but only two are listed in Worldcat database. There is one copy in existence of the *Irish Heroine* in the United States and as far as I can determine there are no copies of the *Woman's Rights* here in America. C. D. Hinrichsen, "De Concilio," 704.

⁴⁹⁷ Reuss, *Biographical Cyclopaedia*, 32.

⁴⁹⁸ Schiavo, *Italian Contribution*, 346.

⁴⁹⁹ Finn, *A Brief History*, 6.

⁵⁰⁰ "Noble Priest of God," (Jersey City) *The Evening Journal*, March 25, 1898

CHAPTER 5

SISTER MARY CHARLES BRYCE'S STUDY OF THE *BALTIMORE CATECHISM*

Prior Study by Bryce

This chapter will examine the content of the *Baltimore Catechism* that is not found in contemporaneous catechisms, and will trace the creation process through a number of manuscripts or versions. By doing this I hope to provide evidence against the claims of Bryce et al. that the *Baltimore Catechism* was nothing more than a mere compilation of prior catechisms. Instead the review of the content and creation process point to significant elements of distinctiveness which were overlooked by the new catechists of the 1960s and 1970s.

In her section on the “Sources of the Catechism” (pages 108-115), Sister Mary Charles Bryce begins, “Even a superficial perusal of the manual discloses a remarkable similarity to texts in the entire catechism genre.”⁵⁰¹ It should be noted that such is the nature of catechisms which are a presentation of Catholic doctrine. Historically the standard practice of writing a catechism involved copying the best material from prior

⁵⁰¹ Bryce, *The Influence*, 108.

catechisms and arranging the questions for better coherence occasionally making minor changes to the wording, while adding and removing questions as one felt necessary.

Bryce explains that because “no empirical evidence of these comparisons was available, the writer felt it expedient to make such a study herself.”⁵⁰² She compares the *Baltimore Catechism* to four other catechisms reputed to have been used as the source of the council’s catechism. After presenting arguments and historical attestation for the inclusion of each catechism in her study, Bryce summarizes her textual comparison in a handy table (see appendix 1). Below the columns she sets a note of conclusion, framing it between two bold horizontal bars which draw the reader’s eyes to the note. “Ten percent of the Baltimore Catechism’s total contents were not found in any other manual.” She explains, “Of Baltimore’s 421 questions, 372 were present in the four catechisms . . . At the conclusion of the comparison, there remained 49 questions and answers unique to Baltimore alone.”⁵⁰³

An appendix to her dissertation is an expanded question by question comparison of the catechisms. Bryce’s summary table stated that ten percent of the *Baltimore Catechism*’s total contents were not found in any other manual. With 421 questions, one would then expect 42 of these to not be found in the other catechisms, instead Bryce’s table identifies 49 new questions. Worded affirmatively one could conclude that at least ten percent of the material was original.⁵⁰⁴ But in her table Bryce lists the questions from the *Baltimore Catechism* in numerical order, then to the right she maintains four columns,

⁵⁰² Ibid., 109-10.

⁵⁰³ Ibid., 112.

⁵⁰⁴ By stating her findings negatively, that ten percent of the *Baltimore Catechism*’s contents were not found in any other manual, Bryce leaves open the possibility that the percentage of material unique to the *Baltimore Catechism* could perhaps be further reduced if further catechisms were compared in addition to the four selected.

one for each of the catechisms suggested as a source. In reviewing the number of questions without reference to one of the four source catechisms there are 55 questions, not 49 as asserted in the summary table.⁵⁰⁵

The first table column details in narrative, what is being counted, such as “Total number of question—answers.” Moving horizontally one reads that the Baltimore has 421, Butler 457, Verot 212, McCaffrey 447 and David 743. The next counted quality given is stated as “Number of question—answers identical to those in Baltimore.” The resulting numbers listed are Butler 235, Verot 180, McCaffrey 230 and David 239. The table sets up the impression that the author of the *Baltimore Catechism* cut and paste question and answers from the source catechism into his own manual.

In particular the phrase “questions—answers identical to” implies a word for word exact replication. But counted by Bryce as “identical questions” are wordings that are not word for word identical. Question 83 from the *Baltimore Catechism* reads, “Q. Why did Christ suffer and die?” A. Christ suffered and died for our sins.” Bryce gives the McCaffrey source as V-4. The fourth question in McCaffrey’s fifth lesson reads, “Q. Why did He suffer?” A. Jesus suffered for our sins.” In this parallel there is an exchange of “Christ” a messianic title, for “Jesus” a personal name, and the pronoun “he.” Furthermore a gap exists between one who “suffered” and the phrase “suffered and die?” Such minor changes affect the theological meaning of the text.

In another couplet of identical questions the *Baltimore Catechism* 10 asks, “Q. How shall we know the things which we are to believe?” The McCaffrey question (I-8) is

⁵⁰⁵ According to her appendix A the following questions have no parallel in the catechisms of Butler, Verot, McCaffrey and David: 31, 56, 122, 123, 125, 126, 127, 133, 134, 135, 140, 141, 142, 143, 145, 146, 151, 157, 159, 160, 161, 164, 165, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 247, 275, 283, 285, 288, 289, 292, 293, 294, 300, 320, 321, 322, 325, 333, 356, 357, 359, 360, 370, 383, 403, 404, 406, and 407.

similar, “Q. How shall we know what we are to believe?” but the answers, while similar, have a noticeable difference. “A. We shall know the things which we are to believe from the Catholic Church, through which God speaks to us.” says the *Baltimore Catechism*. McCaffrey answers, “We shall know what we are to believe from our Holy Mother, the Catholic Church.” McCaffrey’s personification reflects a romantic sentimentality prevalent in the period. The word “Mother” adds a distinctly human and maternal character to the Catholic Church, while the word “Holy” marks the divine nature of the Catholic Church. Theologically, McCaffrey’s answer calls the reader to trust the Catholic Church because she is a divine institution. In contrast the *Baltimore Catechism*’s answer, points the reader to the ultimate source of belief, the person of God. The direction is God working through the Catholic Church to speak to “us.” Referencing another catechism she writes, “David’s manual, the earliest in chronological order, had 239 questions and answers identical, or nearly so, to the same number in Baltimore.”⁵⁰⁶

Given as an incidental qualification, “or nearly so” raises a serious methodological question. How much diversity was tolerated within the category of “identical”? One example of the great latitude is BC 44. “Q. What befell Adam and Eve on account of their sin? A. Adam and Eve on account of their sin lost innocence and holiness, and were doomed to sickness and death.” To which Bryce parallels McCaffrey’s X-7: “Q. How was the sin of our first parents punished? A. By eating the forbidden fruit, our first parents became enemies of God and slaves of the Devil, lost heaven, and with all their posterity were doomed to suffer and die.” This is not a word for word identical

⁵⁰⁶ Bryce, *The Influence*, 112.

repetition⁵⁰⁷ where the compiler of the *Baltimore Catechism*, merely lifted the question from the pages of McCaffrey's catechism. Based on this "identical" question, one could easily raise the question whether the creator of the *Baltimore Catechism*, in fact, had the McCaffrey catechism before him at the time of writing.

Bryce's research was very helpful to this present chapter. I am extremely indebted to Bryce for raising the question of authorship and content. My study of De Concilio's distinctiveness is dependent upon Bryce's research and identification of those fifty-five questions. In choosing to do a textual comparison she investigated which catechisms were attested to have influenced or been a source to the *Baltimore Catechism*. While it is possible that another catechism may have been used in addition to those named, Bryce has selected the catechisms with the greatest historical attestation for being primary sources.

Bryce was attempting to set the ceiling on the original contribution of the *Baltimore Catechism*. As she summarizes her findings, "At the conclusion of the comparison, there remained 49 questions and answers unique to Baltimore alone."⁵⁰⁸ Bryce's mentor and a leader of the new catechists, Marthaler publicizes the lower number of 49 of the 421 questions were not found in other contemporaneous catechisms. While Marthaler does not cite Bryce, he is clearly relying upon her research and more forcefully states her conclusion, "The Baltimore Catechism is a compilation . . . the Baltimore Catechism derived almost all its contents from other works."⁵⁰⁹ But Bryce has set not the

⁵⁰⁷ Making Appendix A more confusing Bryce also has a looser category of material she believed to be borrowed (with greater diversity between the original and the Baltimore version) which she has marked with an asterisk. Bryce, *The Influence*, 241.

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid., 112.

⁵⁰⁹ Berard Marthaler, *The Catechism Yesterday and Today* (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1995), 116.

ceiling but the floor, that is to say, her findings suggest the lowest limit of distinctiveness or originality. Through her assessment she finds no fewer than 55 questions unique to the catechism (see Appendix 3).

In her analysis of these questions she identifies two to three categories of interest. Initially Bryce is drawn to the great many questions regarding the Church; she later subdivides this category between questions which deal with the Church's legislative role (which she identifies as its attributes, authority, infallibility, indefectibility) and the Church's sacraments in general (baptism, matrimony, gifts of the Holy Spirit). These questions reflect the chronological proximity of the *Baltimore Catechism* being written shortly after the First Vatican Council of 1870.

Her second category is transitional questions. Bryce explains that these questions "linked a foregoing question with one which followed, or they formed a part of a developing sequence of questions." Summarizing this section on sources, noting the questions unique to the *Baltimore Catechism* reflect the flavor of the previous ecumenical council. Yet she limits the content of new items as stylistic necessity, "Apparently in the hope of clarifying and making logical transitions they added some questions."⁵¹⁰

Current Study on Unique Questions

Limiting myself to an analysis of just the questions Bryce has identified as unique to the *Baltimore Catechism*, I divide the questions into three groups: pastoral, theological, and apologetic.⁵¹¹ The pastoral items would contain those questions most likely to be

⁵¹⁰ Bryce, *The Influence*, 114-115.

⁵¹¹ Such categories are not rigid, and the concerns of any one category might overlap on a particular question, so understanding the aspects required to constitute a mortal sin (Q 56) could be both practical and theological. Nevertheless some questions appear to be efforts for greater theological distinction, while other questions, although still theological in nature, accent features distinguishing a

asked by the laity. The more immediate or practical questions deal with issues the laity can effect in some way. Questions 164 and 165, for example, deal with the obligations of godparents. The theological category contains questions which are more theoretical which a priest might ask of a parishioner to help them understand the spiritual life better. The definition of “mystery” (Q31) or the gifts of the Holy Spirit (Qs.178-184) do not seem like pressing concerns for immigrant manual laborers, but a better understanding may provide spiritual resources for hard times. The category of apologetic stresses differences between Catholics and Protestants; this sort of question might provide a response to a charge by a Protestant neighbor. Under this category would be placed questions regarding the authority and infallibility of the Catholic Church.

Apologetical Questions

Regarding the questions found only in the *Baltimore Catechism* twenty six are primarily theological, nineteen are pastoral and just ten are apologetic in nature. Working backwards the ten apologetical questions are: 122,123,125, 126, 127, 133, 134, 135, 356 and 357. The majority of these deal with the claims of the Catholic Church about itself, covering its attributes, authority, infallibility and indefectibility.

Question 127 asks in whom the attributes are found in their fullness with the answer being the pope. Question 133 clarify in which church these are found with the answer being “the Roman Catholic Church alone.” The following questions of 134 and 135 explain the Catholic Church derives its life, holiness and authority from God. The next questions 356 and 357 concern the Sabbath. While the previous eight questions

majority of Protestants from Catholics, and thus these questions can be deemed more apologetic in nature.

would hit on concerns of Protestants generally, at first blush questions 356 and 357 appear to be more theological explication. Yet I would propose that these two questions reflect the growth of particular denominations in nineteenth century America.

America became the birthplace for the voluntary religious association termed the denomination. While most denominations were a continuance of European churches, America has given rise to a number of new faiths. The nineteenth century saw tremendous growth, particularly in the Northeast, of a movement that would eventually become known as the Seventh day Adventists. With roots in the Millerite Movement of the 1830s, 3,500 members of the denomination located in 125 congregations, were officially organized and named by James and Ellen White on May 21 1863.⁵¹² Shortly thereafter in 1864 Michael Belina Czechowski, a former Catholic priest, decided to leave the United States to spread the Seventh Day Adventist message throughout Europe. The distinctive practice of Seventh Day Adventists was to observe the Sabbath on Saturday rather than Sunday.

The second denomination to consider is the Seventh Day Baptists. Originating as part of the English separatists, the first record of their appearance places believers in Newport Rhode Island in 1647. Frequently individuals would personally come to a revelation of Saturday as the biblical Sabbath. Initially they would honor the Sabbath quietly on Saturday until circumstances at the particular Baptist congregation of which they were a part would force them to withdraw and form their own congregation.

It was in 1705 that a deacon of the local Baptist congregation of Piscataway, New Jersey, Edmund Durham, had to make such a withdrawal. Thereafter the Seventh Day

⁵¹² Gary Land, *Adventism in America: A History*, 62.

Baptist Church was characterized by its missionary activity and aggressive evangelism, particularly of German immigrants.⁵¹³ The denomination grew and fanned out establishing a select school in 1836 in Alfred New York which became Alfred University. The growth continued at such a rate the denomination soon established a seminary by 1871.

As with the Seventh Day Adventists, the Seventh Day Baptists hold that God presented the Sabbath as a sign of his covenant and Saturday should be observed as part of one's obedience. Given the growth of these movements, strenuous evangelization and geographical proximity to De Concilio's parish in Jersey City New Jersey, it seems likely the questions regarding the celebration of a Sunday Sabbath were more than spare theological detail. It should also be noted that while apologetical, none of these ten questions are polemical.

Pastoral Questions

Examining the pastoral questions is our next concern. The nineteen questions are: 164, 165, 283, 285, 288, 289, 320, 321, 322, 325, 333, 359, 360, 370, 383, 403, 404, 406, and 407. I contend that the inclusion of these questions in the *Baltimore Catechism* reflects Father De Concilio's experience as a parish pastor who is close to the concerns of his immigrant congregation. These questions take up some of the more immediate and practical concerns of the laity: Is it a sin to work on Sundays to feed my family? What is my role as a godparent? Can my daughter marry a Protestant? These lay concerns are placed by De Concilio into words of similar style to those of the rest of the catechism,

⁵¹³ The home of the new congregation in Piscataway, is a mere 27 miles from Jersey City, New Jersey where De Concilio was pastor.

and are integrated into the flow of the particular lessons. While the parishioner perspective of these questions may be self-evident, I would like to elaborate this parishioner perspective with two stylistic aspects of De Concilio's authorship, number and tone.

To compare the *Baltimore Catechism's* treatment of a subject, I have selected two other catechisms associated with American plenary councils: McCaffrey's catechism and the catechism of Martin Spalding. All three catechisms deal with the subject of marriage but De Concilio the pastor includes more questions concerning marriage than either the archbishop or the seminary president. Martin Spalding deals with the subject of marriage within his sixth chapter on the sacraments.

The subject of marriage is dealt with in six questions (see appendix 3, figure 3.1). The first provides a definition. "Q. What is Matrimony? A. Matrimony is a Sacrament which gives grace to the married couple to love one another and bring up their children in the fear of God." The answer explains the grace is given so the couple may love one another. The wording of such an answer implies that this is a difficult task, for a husband to love his wife and a wife to love her husband, will be difficult and they need the grace of God to love one another. The second task for which this grace is given is the raising up of children in the fear of God.

While this definition is accurate answer also reflects a priest's perspective. Men and women religious have forsaken marriage to become priests and nuns. Combating the grass is always greener syndrome, this definition reminds the religious that being married to another person, and raising children can be hard work. Grace is needed to love one's spouse and grace is needed to love and raise children.

The next two questions discuss the relationship between an husband and a wife. While contemporary twenty first century standards in American society call for a marriage relationship to be equal and indistinguishable in all respects, the relationship of Martin Spalding's catechism is envisioned not as identical, but complementary. The husband will comfort and protect while the wife will submit and respect. While such roles might bother modern audiences with feminist sensitivities, they reflect a more traditional notion taken from the creation account in Genesis where the woman was created as a helper or fitting complement to the man.

These questions draw further from the Bible in that these roles are based upon an ecclesiastical parallel of Christ and his spouse the Church. While some new catechists claim that the Third Plenary Council and the *Baltimore Catechism* moved the American church towards a more centralized and institutional form, clearly in these questions the institution of marriage is already tied to the sacrament. It should also be noted that the word used to describe the relationship of the couple is "behave." Rather than asking how the husband should feel, think or act, the question selects the word behave. This again addresses criticism from the 1960s and 70s of the *Baltimore Catechism* for being too concerned with rules and behaviors. Here Martin Spalding's catechism lays down approved behavior of husband and wife, using the word "behave" to describe their relationship and offering the institutional parallel of Christ and Church as a model. The *Baltimore Catechism* neither employs the word "behave" in its teaching on marriage nor does it include either of these two questions from Martin Spalding.

The fourth question climaxes the six question sub-section on marriage. "Q. Can the bond of marriage be dissolved?" The questions have been building up. The definition

of the sacrament of matrimony has been given. The role of the husband and the role of the wife have been determined. Now the segment asks if the bond of marriage, formed during the sacrament, can be undone. Can the individual human, now tired or displeased with the union, separate the bond? The response, “never but by death,” indicates the seriousness of marriage and the power of the sacrament. No qualification or nuances are given for those individuals seeking a divorce.

To support this definitive response Martin Spalding includes a direct quotation from Jesus Christ, “What God has joined together let not man put asunder.” This quotation reinforces the association between God and Church; the marriage of two individuals which the Church has put together, is one and the same with what God has put together. God acts through the Church to unite an husband and a wife. In addition to the direct quotation of Matthew 19:6, two other biblical references are given: Romans 7 and 1 Corinthians 7.

Martin Spalding concludes his teaching on marriage with two remaining questions: Why do so many marriages prove unhappy? and What should be done in order to receive worthily the Sacrament of Marriage? The last question is offered to help the couple prepare for the sacrament and directs them to approach God for assistance. They are advised to make a good confession then ask God first for pure intention and second for direction in their choice.

These steps are ones which a Catholic couple could benefit from in their marriage preparation, but they bring attention to the prior question as being a bit odd. That an engaged couple might survey their friends and family and find a number of unhappy marriages seems unlikely. Given that priests were confided in and trusted with family

secrets, hearing in the confessional the lament of neglected wives, and the sorrow of adulterers, it is far more likely that priests in general would hold the view that a number of marriages were unhappy.

If read from the vantage point of a priest, the question, why do so many marriages prove unhappy, logically fits into the flow of the sub-section on marriage. The definition is given in which the catechism teaches that grace is needed for the husband to love his wife. The roles of husband and wife are established and based on Christ's love for the Church and the Church's response to Christ. Being united by a divine act of God and his Church the bond cannot be dissolved. So, if the grace was given, if God and the Church acted to united, then why are there so many unhappy marriages? And finally what can be done to avoid this?

The catechism answers, "Marriages often prove unhappy because persons enter into that holy state from unworthy motives and with guilty consciences." Therefore, to alleviate the problem, before marriage the parties should make a good confession, beg God to grant them a pure intention, and direct them in their choice. Read from a priestly perspective the question fits into the overall logical flow of the segment. ---There are so many unhappy marriages because particular individuals enter the holy state with unholy motives; it is their fault, not the fault of the priest who performed the ceremony, or the Church, or society's influence. So we as priests need to encourage couples who are about to get married to examine their motives and pray for God's direction before they enter this indissoluble union.

The question has an odd fit only when read from the mindset of a married lay person. An unhappy husband learns his marriage is a *fait accompli*; it is his fault and

there is no getting out of it. It is unlikely that this particular question originated with Martin Spalding as most catechism repeat and reuse material from earlier catechisms. But it reflects and fits best with the segment and the overall catechism which is produced from the bishop's perspective writing a catechism for other priests to use.

Whereas Martin Spalding placed his question on marriage at the end of a chapter on the sacraments, McCaffrey's questions regarding marriage are found in their own section, "Lesson XL, Matrimony." McCaffrey's catechism contains ten questions on marriage. McCaffrey's catechism bears a strong similarity to Martin Spalding's catechism. Of the six questions found in Martin Spalding's catechism, all six are incorporated in some form into McCaffrey's catechism. Within those six questions borrowed from Martin Spalding, we find a keen similarity. While none of the answers are word for word identical, frequently the difference involves just one word, with little change in the overall meaning. "A husband should love. . ." becomes "*The* husband should love. . ." and where Martin Spalding answers "the bond of marriage can never be dissolved but by death," McCaffrey answers "*only* by death." The tension remains between the desire of the human couple and the power of the divine command which united them in marriage.

Among these six answers the greatest alteration is found in what I identified as the problem and solution pair from Martin Spalding. "Q. Why do so many marriages prove unhappy? A. Marriages are often unhappy, because the parties marry in a state of sin, and from unworthy motives. Q. What is necessary, that one may receive the Sacrament of Matrimony worthily? A. To receive Matrimony worthily, one must be in a state of grace and comply with the rules of the Church." The first noticeable shift is from Martin

Spalding's "Marriages often prove unhappy. . ." which indicated a sort of final evaluation of the marriage, to McCaffrey's more present and ongoing discord in his words, "Marriages are often unhappy." Again the problem of unhappy marriages for Martin Spalding's catechism is "because persons enter into that holy state from unworthy motives and with guilty consciences." Comparatively, McCaffrey's "because the parties marry in a state of sin, and from unworthy motives" is more pungent, attributing to the unhappy couple not merely guilty consciences but rather more holistically being in a state of sin.

In regard to the earlier observation concerning rules language, we find more of it in McCaffrey's lesson on marriage, than that of Martin Spalding's catechism, which possessed more than the *Baltimore Catechism*. For McCaffrey's solution to the problem of unhappy marriages is "to receive matrimony worthily." Thus when entering the sacrament the couple "must be in a state of grace and comply with the rules of the Church." Where Martin Spalding's response guides the couple to God to grant them pure intention and direct their choice, McCaffrey's response advises them to follow all the rules of the Church. Earlier in giving definitions of the sacrament Martin Spalding wrote "the married couple [should] love one another" whereas McCaffrey expresses a similar idea using rules language of "fulfill their duties to each other."

Thus McCaffrey uses all six of the questions found in Martin Spalding's catechism in a similar manner, except at times where the questions reveal a more priestly, distant perspective through the use of greater rules-based language. Part of McCaffrey's authorial originality lay in moving the dissolution question up from its fourth place

position in Martin Spalding's catechism to take second place in his own lesson, thereby placing greater emphasis on the permanence of the sacramental bond.

This emphasis is further supported by the addition of a new question. "Q. What is Matrimony a type of? A. Matrimony is a type of the Perpetual Union between Christ and His Church—Ephes. v. 22 to 33." Relying upon the same parallel made by Martin Spalding, McCaffrey explains that the human marriage is not merely modeled on the relationship of Christ to the Church, rather the very relationship of the marriage is a type of, a form of, this ultimate relationship. The addition has the effect of drawing the couple into deeper participation in the institution. While McCaffrey uses scriptural quotations more than Martin Spalding's catechism, both place the scripture as backing of critical points. McCaffrey concludes his lesson with a question not seen in the earlier catechism. McCaffrey concludes his lesson with this final question: "Q. Is continency preferable to Marriage? A. A life of perfect chastity embraced for God's sake is a better and more blessed state --- 1 Cor. vii. 32, 33, 40." Our layman learns, not only is his troubled marriage totally his fault, from which he cannot escape, but in addition, life as a single person is better. The flow of the lesson provides more comfort for a priest reader. --- But why do I hear of so many unhappy marriages? Because the parties married in a state of sin and they married with unworthy motives. The priesthood is a better and more blessed state than the married life. McCaffrey's lesson on marriage suggests an argument in favor of priestly celibacy.

In the comparison of the catechisms on the subject of marriage all three catechisms contain questions on matrimony. Archbishop Martin John Spalding's catechism put forth six questions on marriage at the end of a chapter on the sacraments.

Father John McCaffrey devoted an entire lesson comprised of ten questions to the issue. The *Baltimore Catechism* contains eighteen questions on marriage throughout its pages (see appendix 3, figure 3.2). Ten of which are found together in the twenty sixth lesson, “On Matrimony.” The other seven questions are integrated throughout the rest of the catechism. It should be interesting to note that just within the 55 questions Bryce identifies as unique to the *Baltimore Catechism*, nine concern marriage. These then are not transition questions but contribute additional content.

The sacrament of matrimony is first encountered in the thirteenth lesson which is on the sacraments in general. After listing the seven sacraments in question 137, question 142 asks, “Which are the Sacraments that increase sanctifying grace in our souls?” The response lists matrimony among those sacraments called “Sacraments of the living.” The follow up question of 143 elaborates. “A. Confirmation, Holy Eucharist, Extreme Unction, Holy Orders and Matrimony are called Sacraments of the living, because those who receive them worthily are already living the life of grace.” Compared to marriage’s treatment in the previous catechisms the tone of this response is striking. Presented positively with an affirmational tone the sacraments of Holy Orders and Matrimony stand side by side, both identified as bestowing additional grace on those who are already living the life of grace.

Here in the twenty sixth lesson we encounter a series of questions which begins not with the previous dichotomy expressed between human desire and divine command, rather a new dichotomy arises of Church vs. State. The lesson begins with the definition in question 282 where matrimony is the sacrament which unites a Christian man and woman in lawful marriage. Question 282 elaborates that there are no other means for a

Christian man and woman to unite in lawful marriage. Question 284 is similar to the question asked by Martin Spalding and McCaffrey (Q. Can the bond of marriage be dissolved?) but it specifies a “Christian” marriage and adds “by any human power?”

Alone the question may be read to reflect the human agency of the couple, but read in light of question 287 (287. Q. Who has the right to make laws concerning the Sacrament of marriage? A. The Church alone has the right to make laws concerning the Sacrament of marriage, though the state also has the right to make laws concerning the civil effects of the marriage contract.) “human power” is seen to refer to the mere human authority of the State as compared to the Church where divine authority resides.

In Martin Spalding’s catechism the question, “Can the bond of marriage be dissolved?” climaxes in the midst of the marriage sub-section and the response becomes a firm rule. “What God has joined together let not man put asunder.” Human desires cannot undo divine command; divorce is not permitted. McCaffrey takes a similar approach but moves the rule up in his lesson to the second question. Then to reinforce the rule, adds an additional question on marriage as a type of perpetual union, and supports his response with additional scriptural passages. The rule of no divorce is then followed by the logical consequence of how the two parties involved in a marriage should behave toward one another. For De Concilio, however, the tension is not between the couple and the Church but rather between the State and the Church. The response, while remaining the rule, is transformed into a promise. No human, not even the incredibly powerful State, can dissolve your marriage.

The logic of the lesson continues. Given that it is the Church, and not the State, who has the authority to make laws concerning marriage, does the Church forbid

marriage to anyone? Yes, answers question 288, “the Church does forbid the marriage of Catholics with persons who have a different religion or no religion at all.” For McCaffrey and Martin Spalding the rule of no divorce ends the lesson for the laity. The problem and solution reflection on unhappy marriages works better as advice to priests to avoid more future unhappy marriages.

De Concilio’s catechism contains two rules: 1) no divorce and 2) no marriage to a non-Catholic. But De Concilio’s catechism provides the question for which the laity naturally ask. Why? “289. Q. Why does the Church forbid the marriage of Catholics with persons who have a different religion or no religion at all? A. The Church forbids the marriage of Catholics with persons who have a different religion or no religion at all, because such marriages generally lead to indifference, loss of faith, and to the neglect of the religious education of the children.” The catechism answers the laity that the Church wants what is best for her sons and daughters in the faith; behind the rules there is a purpose of caring protection.

Two more questions remain in this lesson. De Concilio has copied the interrogative “Why do many marriages prove unhappy?” (Q. 290) but the response has been softened: “Many marriages prove unhappy because they are entered into hastily and without worthy motives.” The sense that nearly all marriages are unhappy is eliminated by changing “so many” simply to “many marriages” and the stated cause is not unworthy motives and “guilty consciences” (Martin Spalding) nor “state of sin” (McCaffrey) on attributed to the couple but “because they are entered into hastily and without worthy motives.” Hastily is not only less condemning than “state of sin” but such a description would more likely garner agreement from the married layperson reading the catechism.

Similarly notice the inversion of thought that De Concilio makes in his reply. Instead of entering the marriage with “unworthy motives,” the *Baltimore Catechism* reads the Christians entered marriage “without worthy motives.” This seemingly slight inversion presents a dramatically different picture of the couple. The former description of entering a marriage with unworthy motives calls to mind negative stereotypes of the “shotgun wedding” where someone is seeking to marry for wealth or under threat of violence to cover the embarrassment of an unplanned pregnancy.

The latter description of entering into marriage without worthy motives may be explained by the youth and inexperience of the couple or the rush of romance to tie the knot. De Concilio’s inversion lacks the negative attributes of the previous catechisms in regard to unhappy marriages. The lesson on marriage in overall tone is far more positive than the other catechisms. They describe marriage as a difficult relationship which requires the supernatural grace of the sacrament to enable the “parties” or “persons” to love one another. De Concilio’s description assumes the couple is already loving one another and is already living the life of grace. The effects of the sacrament of matrimony are given in the answer of question 285: “1. To sanctify the love of husband and wife; 2. To give them grace to bear with each other's weaknesses; 3. To enable them to bring up their children in the fear and love of God.” His lesson ends not with a reflection on the better and more blessed state of the religious but rather with question 291 “Q. How should Christians prepare for a holy and happy marriage? A. Christians should prepare for a holy and happy marriage by receiving the Sacraments of Penance and Holy Eucharist; by begging God to grant them a pure intention and to direct their choice; and by seeking the advice of their parents and the blessing of their pastors.”

Like Martin Spalding's catechism, the question directs the couple towards God. But *De Concilio's* text directs them towards God by entering deeper into the community of the Church. Even a "bad" marriage can receive assistance from the sacraments of Penance and the Holy Eucharist, by praying to God, and by including the advice of other members of the faith community such as their parents and their pastors. The pastoral tone and structure of the questions indicate that it was intended for use by a lay audience.

Later in the *Baltimore Catechism* more questions on marriage appear mixed into one of the sections on Church regulations. The thrust of these marriage questions is again to provide spiritual resources for the couple, make the marriage easier and draw them into community with the Church. Question 403 explains that couples should not marry relatives. Question 404 tells them not to marry privately but with the blessing of God's priests and witnesses, that is, they should marry within their faith community. Question 405 states not to marry during a solemn time such as Lent. Questions 406 and 407 recommend marriage with a nuptial Mass "to invoke a special blessing upon the married couple . . . show greater reverence for the holy Sacrament and bring richer blessing upon their wedded life."

At this point it may be useful to recall that we are examining the pastoral questions of the 55 questions Bryce identified as unique to the *Baltimore Catechism*. In particular we have compared the *Baltimore Catechism*, to the catechisms of Martin Spalding and John McCaffrey with regard to two stylistic aspects of authorship: number and tone. The *Baltimore Catechism* contains eighteen question on the topic of marriage which is almost double McCaffrey's ten questions and nearly triple Martin Spalding's six questions. Not only are there more questions in number, but I have argued that the

questions themselves reflect the concerns of the laity rather than the concerns of a priest. This pastoral tone of having the parishioners in mind is also reflected in an overall more positive timbre to the text. Previously I have cited question 290 which uses word inversion to cast the marriage partners in a better light. Briefly I would like to examine the inversion technique as De Concilio uses it in dealing with the fifth and sixth commandments (see appendix 3, figure 3.3).

In the *Baltimore Catechism* we see a general pattern illustrated here by the treatment of the fifth and sixth commandments. A question is asked which requires the student to state the particular commandment. Then one question asks the student to positively state what is commanded by the commandment, followed by another question which asks the student to state what is forbidden by that same commandment. The result of this technique becomes more evident when set in contrast to the other catechisms.

The chief aspect of these other catechisms is the overwhelmingly negative approach and attitude. Concerning the fifth commandment Martin Spalding offers three questions forbidding practices, as McCaffrey offers four such negative questions (see appendix 3, figure 3.4). Examining the sixth commandment Martin Spalding's catechism forbids in general "all kinds of sins of uncleanness," "all kinds of immodesty," and "immodest plays and comedies." McCaffrey uses the general "all kinds" approach with "all kinds of sins of immodesty," "all other sins of impurity," and "all exposing of oneself or others to occasions of lust by looks, words, or actions" but then feels the need to particularizes the forbidding of immodest dresses, dances, familiarities, amusements, reading, plays, comedies, and shows.

The creation of such lists of sinful and forbidden practices can be daunting but De Concilio uses his inversion technique to achieve the same ends by means of shifting the responsibility from the creator of the catechism to the Christian participating in pastoral care. A list of forbidden sins defines for the reader what is considered sin by the compiler. An immigrant who gets invited to play cards, when looking to such sin lists may conclude that cards are not listed so they are acceptable. Or he may try to compare his knowledge of card playing to the already prohibited sins. Is card playing a familiarity? Is it an amusement, and then is it an immodest amusement?

De Concilio's inversion technique does not give the reader the answers, but rather principles by which the reader may discern the answer. "We are commanded by the sixth Commandment to be pure in thought and modest in all our looks, words, and actions." The decision making process would occur in conversation with one's spiritual director or priest. It moves from correctly fitting the abstract activity of playing cards into the compiler's categories of immodest familiarity or amusement, to the particular activity of whether in my playing of cards I am able to remain pure in thought.

Theological Questions

Having examined the apologetical and pastoral questions, there are twenty six questions in the theological category. They are: 31, 56, 140, 141, 142, 143, 145, 146, 151, 157, 159, 160, 161, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 247, 275, 292, 293, 294, and 300. As a group these questions are dominated by two theological concerns: grace and the Holy Spirit. As we have examined each grouping of questions identified by Sister Bryce as found in the *Baltimore Catechism* alone, you may have noticed that the numbers for the questions frequently fall in closely related series.

This indicates new topics being dealt with in the *Baltimore Catechism* or substantial beefing up of otherwise common topics. This is to be contrasted with the questions falling sporadically throughout the catechism as one might expect if the author was mechanically cutting and pasting the best questions from multiple source catechisms. Instead we find that the “new” questions are built to establish a logical sequence or pattern. So these pre-existing questions that are lifted from other sources are then incorporated into the catechism to form something innovative.

The string of question in lesson 16 follow two questions which situate the Holy Spirit in his ecclesiastical role. As we just saw #176 lists the effects of the sacrament of Confirmation. Question #177 is the parallel or in Bryce’s’ terms the borrowed material found in McCaffrey. “Q. Which are the gifts of the Holy Ghost? A. The gifts of the Holy Ghost are Wisdom, Understanding, Counsel, Fortitude, Knowledge, Piety, and the Fear of the Lord.” Here the unique questions undergird my earlier description of being questions of a theological nature which a theologian or priest might ask of a parishioner to help them understand the spiritual life better. These questions have a strong edge of application. For example, “179 Q. “Why do we receive the gift of Piety? A. We receive the gift of Piety to make us love God as a Father and obey Him because we love Him.”

Martin Spalding felt it sufficient in his catechism merely to mention that the one confirmed received from the bishop the Holy Ghost and his sevenfold gifts. McCaffrey elaborated by actually naming each of the seven gifts. De Concilio goes further and explains why Christians are given these gifts. In other words, he addresses the question from the laity’s perspective, How should I use each of these gifts? Each of the seven gifts help the Christian to better understand and be active in his or her spiritual life.

The reader might have noticed that I used #179, the second in the string as the example instead of question #178. Some critics assume that the catechism contains multiple rules for the purpose of increasing fear. That fear is then used to keep people in line and force them to obey. Yet De Concilio explains the gift of piety. We receive piety so we can obey God, but that obedience is sandwiched between two affirmations of love. “A. We receive the gift of Piety to make us love God as a Father and obey Him because we love Him.” The description of God is that of a divine father which we as children of God, love. We obey him because we love him. These questions do not possess an uncaring tone, nor a depiction of a harsh, wrathful God. Indeed, when fear is introduced, as in question #178, it is not united with obedience. The picture painted by the catechism is not one of a child cringing in fear of an impossible to please tyrant. Rather the obedience is motivated by the love of a child for the father. The fear of the Lord is connected to a “dread of sin” because it is sin which separates us from God.

The gifts of the Spirit, while not explicitly identified as grace by the text, are theologically reflections of the manifold grace given to Christians by God. Likewise many of the questions in the theological category touch on the nature and function of grace. Some of these questions introduce far greater theological refinement and precision than exemplified in the earlier catechisms. Questions #293 treats the distinction between grace of Sacraments and the sacramentals. Question #56 elaborates the necessary prerequisite components for sin to become mortal: “a grievous matter, sufficient reflection, and full consent of the will.” Question # 157 distinguished between the three kinds of baptism: “of water, of desire, and of blood.” This distinction in the grace and

means of baptism is then further elaborated in questions #159-161, just as the grace of the sacramental is elaborated in questions #292, 293, 294, and 300.⁵¹⁴

The majority of the twenty six questions placed in the theological category explicitly reference the theological notions of “grace” or “gift.” The questions are characterized not as obscure definitions or arcane topics, but as having an edge of application. “292. Q. What is a sacramental? A. A sacramental is anything set apart or blessed by the Church to excite good thoughts and to increase devotion, and through these movements of the heart to remit venial sin.” Such a response goes beyond a raw factual definition and moves into a functional definition which points the reader to actions and means of grace to aid them in their spiritual life. These questions are also characterized as personalized responses, # 293 states in part, “sacramentals excite in us pious dispositions.” The objective reality is complimented by the subjective dimensions; more than defining a sacramental, the questions continue to investigate what is the purpose of the sacramental for me.

This chapter has examine the content of the *Baltimore Catechism* that is not found in contemporaneous catechisms. I have traced the creation process through a number of manuscripts or versions. Limiting myself to an analysis of just the questions Bryce identified as unique to the *Baltimore Catechism*, I divided the questions into three groups: pastoral, theological, and apologetic. It is hoped that this discussion provided evidence against the claims of Bryce et al. that the *Baltimore Catechism* was nothing more than a mere compilation of prior catechisms. Instead the review of the content and creation

⁵¹⁴ As a reminder, we are dealing with the questions from my “theological category” which utilizes the questions Bryce found in the *Baltimore Catechism* alone. De Concilio actually devotes an entire lesson of eleven questions (#292-302) on the sacramentals, of which #292, 293, 294, and 300 are incorporated.

process point to significant elements of distinctiveness which were overlooked by the new catechists of the 1960s and 1970s.

CHAPTER. 6

A NEW SOURCE FOR THE HISTORY OF THE *BALTIMORE CATECHISM*

Thus far I have allowed the research of Sister Mary Charles Bryce to set the parameters of my focus. I appreciate her work on identifying these questions and use her work to produce this chapter. In concentrating on the 55 questions she found in the *Baltimore Catechism* alone, I was able to categorize them as apologetic, pastoral or theological. To accentuate the text of the *Baltimore Catechism* I compared and contrasted De Concilio's text with two other catechisms that were under consideration in plenary councils to become the national catechism.

Because of the very nature of a catechism as a manual of Catholic doctrine we have seen that many of the topics (Ten Commandments, and seven Sacraments) are repeated. But the compiler's choice of wording, phrasing, ordering and organization can affect the resultant catechism in tone, detail, precision, as well as logical flow, and theological emphasis. Furthermore, the logical flow and theological emphasis may reveal an anticipated audience's worldview. The catechisms of Martin Spalding and McCaffrey evidence the cares and concerns of priests more than De Concilio's catechism which attends to the questions and needs of his immigrant parishioners. The next demonstration in this textual analysis will compare versions of the catechism which culminated with the publication of the 1885 *Baltimore Catechism*.

Available texts

The majority of scholars who have written on the *Baltimore Catechism* have either dealt almost exclusively with the published catechism itself, or they have relied upon the comments of previous scholars in their analysis of the catechism. The one exception is Bryce who begins to draw in archived resources.⁵¹⁵ I followed her example by searching through various archives discovering additional references, meeting notes, comments, official statements or personal opinions regarding the catechism. To move the discussion forward by presenting a fuller picture of the origins and nature of the catechism I compare different drafts and editions of the *Baltimore Catechism* to examine the editorial design. This section will briefly describe the standard 1885 version, the abridged text, Italian translation, the 1941 revision, then the galley draft and handwritten journal.

Standard

Analysis of the *Baltimore Catechism* done in this dissertation has used the text copyrighted on April 11th, 1885, as the baseline or standard version. After the *Baltimore Catechism* was released for publication, since the original version was copyrighted by Spalding, nearly every Catholic printer released their own version.⁵¹⁶ While some printers

⁵¹⁵ Bryce uses a few personal letters found in the archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore.

⁵¹⁶ It was unusual for Spalding to obtain a personal copyright both because it was a Church document, but additionally because international copyright laws were just being formulated. "Over the course of the nineteenth century various attempts were made to encourage Congress to pass an international copyright law; this was not accomplished until 1891." Jane Regan, *A Study of the Examination of Conscience as an Element of Catechesis*, dissertation Catholic University of America, (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1989), 128.

may have added word definitions, glossaries, or pictures to get around paying the copyright fee to Spalding, the wording of the text remained constant.

In our present time of 2013 this standard version of the 1885 catechism is still available both online and in paperback form. Bryce believes that this version represents the cooperative editing of De Concilio and Spalding and implies Spalding contributed the greater portion. I hypothesize that De Concilio was left out of the loop on the final portion of the editing since Spalding was in a rush to get the catechism finished and to push for the Catholic University, but that De Concilio produced the bulk of the work prior to Spalding's final editing.

After the standard version of the *Baltimore Catechism*, two other versions play supportive roles in our understanding of the text, the shorter abridged version and the 1886 Italian translation. The later 1941-1949 revision series, while not integral to the investigation of authorship still deserves mention.

Abridged Version

After the original *Baltimore Catechism* was published, Bryce claims Spalding reduced the text to create an abridged version, commonly referred to as *Baltimore Catechism #1*. From this historical incident Bryce introduces the most prominent characteristic of her new story containing the negative assessment of the catechism. She draws the conclusion that the release of the smaller version indicates that the author(s) was not pleased with the original version. This adds significant rhetorical power to her presentation of the catechism everyone criticized.

This edition was thirty-six pages long, with thirty-three chapters and 208 questions and answers. These selected question-answers were identical to those in the parent manual, but Spalding had rearranged some of them, placing them in context different from their

positions in the original manual. He had condensed the subject matter of eight chapters and fitted it into four . . . [the abridged edition's] major significance for this study is simply that its appearance testified to the fact that even the author of the Baltimore manual was not entirely satisfied with his first work.⁵¹⁷

Yet as Bryce notes, *Baltimore Catechism #1* is not a re-working of the original. The wording of question and answers remains untouched. Furthermore the questions in the smaller volume maintain their number from the original volume. So in the first lesson the reader visually can identify what has been cut as they open the page and read:

1. Q. Who made the world?

A. God made the world.

2. Who is God?

A. God is the Creator of heaven and earth, and of all things.

3. Q. What is man?

A. man is a creature composed of body and soul made to the image and likeness of God.

6. Q. Why did God make you?

A. God made me to know him, to love Him, and to serve Him in this world, and to be happy with Him for ever in the next.

9. Q. What must we do to save our souls?

The layout of the text proclaims the smaller version's reliance upon and submission to the larger original catechism. It is unclear why the bishops or whomever, felt it necessary to produce a smaller version. Perhaps it was the habit of the time to produce a smaller version for younger children to begin their catechetical education. Regardless of the motivation to produce *Baltimore Catechism #1*, by maintaining the same numbering which reveals the absence of missing questions the text itself points to its parent manual as the completion of one's education in the catechism. Bryce implies that the smaller text is a re-working, another try after an apparent failure. Instead the text

⁵¹⁷ Mary C. Bryce, "The Influence of the Catechism of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore on Widely Used Elementary Religion Text Books from its Composition in 1885 to its 1941 Revision" (1970), 106-107.

of the smaller work presumes one will graduate to the fuller and more complex original manual.

Italian Translation

De Concilio released an Italian translation of the catechism within a year of the original's publication.⁵¹⁸ It was the first translation of the catechism into another language and none of the previous scholars make use of the text. Since Bryce argues that *Baltimore Catechism #1* was the result of author(s) trying to improve the original catechism, it would make sense for De Concilio to follow the "improved" catechism for his Italian translation. On the other hand if *Baltimore Catechism #1* was not an improvement but a simple reduction for younger children, it would be expected that De Concilio would follow the original version of the text for his translation.

It is my hypothesis, that De Concilio wrote the first English edition, then Spalding merely edited it down to form BC #1. Bryce, assuming that De Concilio and Spalding worked together on both catechisms, concludes that BC #1 is a sign that together Spalding and De Concilio were unsatisfied with the original catechism. I am suggesting that if De Concilio was sufficiently satisfied with the original, he would have translated it, without reduction, into Italian.

The Italian translation is not a translation of the abridged catechism but rather is translated from the original standard catechism. Comparing the Italian translation to the standard catechism one notes a couple differences. Not only does De Concilio name

⁵¹⁸ The Italian translation of the catechism was extremely difficult to find, with the WorldCat database identifying only three copies of it in the United States. I am extremely grateful to Robyn Reed and the InterLibrary Loan people at the University of Dayton who were extremely helpful in obtaining a Xeroxed copy of the Italian *Baltimore Catechism* for use in this dissertation.

himself as translator, but he also went out of his way to obtain his own copyright which is placed on the title page of the catechism. The copyright belonging to Bishop John Lancaster Spalding is replaced in the Italian version with bold typeface and all caps, “TRADOTTO DALL’INGLESE **PER MONSIGNOR G. DE CONCILIO.**”⁵¹⁹ This translation also receives approval of the apostolic delegate Archbishop of Baltimore James Gibbons, but with a new imprimatur from the Archbishop of New York Michael Corrigan, carrying the date of March 20, 1886.

Revised

During the years 1941 to 1949 the original 1885 *Baltimore Catechism* was revised and transformed into a number of serried texts varied according to student grade level. Since I refer to these texts here collectively they will be called the *Revised Baltimore Catechism*. This revised catechism provides a nice historical foil for the original in that all of the procedural shortcomings were overcorrected (see appendix 5 for greater detail).

The revised version attempted to set itself apart on the very points of criticism that the original catechism received. As with any book, there can always be suggestions for improvement. While the *Baltimore Catechism* was officially approved and used throughout the parochial school system minor criticisms appeared in clerical journals. Later these comments were magnified and portrayed as signs of almost unanimous disapproval for the text by the new catechists who desired to move away from reliance upon catechisms for religious instruction.

⁵¹⁹ Gennaro De Concilio, *Catechismo della Dottrina Cristiana Preparato e Prescritto per Ordine del Terzo Concilio Plenario de Baltimore*, (New York: Schwartz, Kirwin & Fauss, 1886).

Like the original, the support and popularity of the *Revised Baltimore Catechism* came from the majority traditional laity and clergy. Catholic laity spoke approvingly of the catechism, purchased the book for home and school and used it as a centerpiece of religious education. Meanwhile professional progressive religious educators and new catechists spoke against both the revised text and the current methods of catechesis, suggesting that the genre itself was no longer useful.

Galley Draft and the Extent of Collaboration

Prior to the public presentation of the standard version of the *Baltimore Catechism* copyrighted on April 11th, 1885, I have found two other versions which, I argue, play key roles in our understanding of the creation of the standard version. The first is the printed galley draft distributed to the council fathers on December 6, 1884; the second is De Concilio's hand written copy of an early draft of the catechism.

Both the galley proof copy of the *Baltimore Catechism* and the hand written journal are located in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore.⁵²⁰ De Concilio worked on writing the catechism during the council, and then before the council ended De Concilio turned his work over to Spalding who sent it to the printers. Thus the galley draft would represent the culmination of De Concilio's work during those early days of the council. Spalding's biographer David Sweeney mentions that each member of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore received a copy of the galley draft, but with time being short, they were instructed to forward their comments, corrections or suggestions to

⁵²⁰ While at the archives I had a Xerox copy of the galley draft made, and shortly thereafter a copy of the handwritten journal was made by the archivist's assistant and forwarded to me at the University of Dayton. The cooperation of the archivist, Tricia Pyne and her assistant is much appreciated.

Bishop Spalding. Therefore, the galley draft is a pivotal point in the life of the text.

Historical investigation suggests that Spalding was not involved in the editorial process until *after* the galley draft was submitted to the council.

It is important that I establish these two phases as the collective consensus by scholars of the catechism. The first phase is the gathering of material by whatever means done by De Concilio alone. The second phase is the collaborative process of editing the text into its final published version. Recall the timeline that Bryce provides us in her dissertation. The first phase is short and relatively simple. In this first phase of writing De Concilio collects or compiles appropriate questions from previous catechisms. Bryce writes, “De Concilio had accepted the task of writing a catechism while the Council was still in session, probably during or immediately following the November 29th meeting . . . accordingly, the result was that de Concilio hastily assembled the work in about a week. This hurriedly assembled text was submitted to the Council Fathers on December 6. This was the basic text which he and Spalding worked on during the latter’s stay in New York.”⁵²¹

Here we see the transition into the second phase which Bryce concludes on February 23, 1885, the date of a letter Bryce found in the Baltimore archives from Spalding to Gibbons. Presenting Spalding’s letter Bryce writes, “In the final reference to his work Spalding reported to Gibbons on February 23 that the archbishops’ recommendations were in. In that report he wrote: ‘I have received suggestions from all the archbishops concerning catechism and have made such changes as seemed desirable. The corrected proof (underscoring, his) is now in the hands of Mr. Kehoe, who will send

⁵²¹ Bryce, *Influence*, 104.

you a copy.”⁵²² So according to Bryce the second phase in the creation of the text occurred from the close of the council on December 7, 1884 until February 23, 1885.

The same division can be seen in Bryce’s Catholic University of America classmate, Melvin Farrell, who writes in his dissertation that when disagreements among the council’s catechism committee made the fate of a new national catechism appear impossible, “Bishop Spalding of Peoria took it upon himself . . . to hurriedly assemble a catechism before the Council adjourned.” Then Farrell explicitly explains how Spalding went about this task, “Spalding delegated the task to Monsignor Januarius De Concilio . . . How De Concilio went about the project is not known . . . At any rate, the day before the Council closed the assembled bishops were presented with a draft of a new catechism on galley proofs.”⁵²³

With regard to the second phase, while stated more cautiously, Farrell’s hypothesis concurs with Bryce’s claim of collaboration. Farrell writes, “There is also evidence that Spalding spent several weeks with De Concilio at a Paulist residence in New York City, presumably working over the text of the catechism. Nevertheless, the authorship of the final text remains unsettled.” Later Farrell says in summary, “A reasonable hypothesis, for lack of a better, is that Spalding and De Concilio worked out the final text themselves, appropriating the criticisms received from the other bishops as they thought best.”⁵²⁴

Similarly Berard Marthaler concludes, “The draft of the catechism that was distributed to the bishops was, according to accounts of the time, prepared by Italian-born

⁵²² Ibid., 105.

⁵²³ Farrell, *Kerygma*, 109-110.

⁵²⁴ Ibid., 111, 112.

Monsignor Januarius de Concilio, pastor of St. Michael's Church in Jersey City."

Marthaler continues his narrative explaining, "Spalding took up residence in the rectory of the Church of St. Paul the Apostle in New York City until 25 January 1885. The location, a ferry ride across the Hudson from Jersey City, made it possible for him and de Concilio to collaborate."⁵²⁵

The new catechists of the 1960s and 1970s, as part of their research, relied upon the Sharp's 1929 article where he collects personal testimonies from eighteen sources which he letters A through R.⁵²⁶ All the men who attended the council identify De Concilio as the main author of the *Baltimore Catechism*.⁵²⁷ The one exception is found in letter J. In a footnote Sharp records that this information came to him "Through the courtesy of the Rev. T. E. Shea, Chancellor of the Diocese of Peoria, Jan. 7, 1929." I will here reproduce the J source in its entirety:

J. The Rev. F. J. O'Reilly, pastor of St. Patrick's Church, Danville Illinois, has written as follows: "I lived with Bishop Spalding as pastor of his Cathedral and Chancellor of the Peoria Diocese for fourteen years. My impression is that Butler's Catechism was bent to suit United States needs. Bishop Spalding did most of the work."

The author of letter J did not attend the Third Plenary Council, but worked under Bishop Spalding in Peoria. He testifies that Spalding claimed he "did most the work." Spalding's name is mentioned by a couple of the other sources in Sharp's collection, but less as creator and more as administrator of the task. Rev. Sebastian G. Messmer (source A.) reported from his personal notes of the council, "the Bishops were requested to forward their suggestions as soon as possible to Bishop Spalding of Peoria, who was to

⁵²⁵ Marthaler, *The Catechism Yesterday and Today*, 116.

⁵²⁶ John K. Sharp, "How the Baltimore Catechism Originated." *The Ecclesiastical Review* 81 (1929) : 585-586.

⁵²⁷ For example, Joseph Schrembs Bishop of Cleveland, goes on to report to Sharp that to confirm his belief in De Concilio's authorship he contacted Bishop Denis O'Connell and Doctor Moes of Cleveland and both corroborated "that I was right in this, that deConcilio wrote the final draft."

make a full report to the next Conference of the Archbishops. After the Archbishops had adopted the final form of the new Catechism, it was to be returned to Bishop Spalding for publication. But no copyright was to be taken out, so that any Catholic publisher might publish this Baltimore Catechism provided he got the necessary Imprimatur.”

The Rev. Thomas McMillan (source K.) explained to Sharp that “Bishop Spalding, of impetuous nature, foresaw much protracted discussion, and, with the permission of the Archbishop of Baltimore, hurried its preparation.” Finally, Rev. Michael J. Duffy (source I.) wrote, “I have been told that the Committee of Bishops headed by Bishop Spalding of Peoria gave the task to Mons. deConcilio of Jersey City and that the Catechism is really the work of that Monsignor.”

An examination of the sources supports De Concilio as responsible for the writing of the galley draft during phase one. I now turn to question the claim of collaboration between De Concilio and Spalding during phase two. Identical to Bryce, Marthaler suggests the physical location of Spalding’s visit with the Paulists in New York which was just “a ferry ride across the Hudson from Jersey City” is sufficient evidence for their collaboration. It was this physical proximity as Marthaler writes which “*made it possible* for him and de Concilio to collaborate” (emphasis mine).

This same phrase, “made it possible” is used by Bryce when she writes, “The nearness of de Concilio’s parish in Jersey City to the Paulist House in New York made it possible for the two to collaborate regularly during Spalding’s winter stay in the East.” Providing additional support for her assumption, Bryce cites Mark Moesslein’s article in *Ecclesiastical Review*, and two personal letters from Spalding to Gibbons found in the Baltimore archives. The first of these two letters is dated January 2, 1885 and is a

report by Spalding of his progress. The second letter from Spalding is dated February 23, 1885 and states Spalding has received all the suggestions from the archbishops.

Yet David Sweeney's biography of Bishop Spalding gives us reason to question the detail of physical proximity. In his chapter entitled "The Middle Years" Sweeney identifies the occasion immediately after the Third Plenary Council as a "period of disenchantment." Sweeney writes, "In the lull before the gathering storms, Spalding returned to Peoria after the close of the Council, where his immediate concern was to expedite the publication of the proposed uniform catechism."⁵²⁸

So Sweeney's research indicates that Spalding returned to Peoria after the council. As he describes Spalding's eagerness to rid himself of the work of the catechism so as to re-direct his energies towards the establishing of the Catholic University, Sweeney draws upon the same personal letter from Spalding to Gibbons on January 2, 1885. Sweeney uses a direct quotation from Spalding regarding the catechism that he wanted to "get the work off my hands."

If the letter had not been sufficiently clear Sweeney makes the implication explicit. Spalding wrote, "to get the work off his hands so that he might devote his time and energies to what would prove to be a more difficult task, namely the making of a Catholic university a reality."⁵²⁹ When Bryce refers to this letter of January 2, she simply gives the date, but Sweeney includes in his footnote that the archived letter originated from Peoria. In further discussion concerning the new Catholic university, Sweeney uses another personal letter from Spalding to Archbishop Corrigan of New York. This letter is

⁵²⁸ Sweeney, *The Life of John Lancaster Spalding*, 174.

⁵²⁹ *Ibid.*, 176.

dated January 15, 1885 and is again designated as having been mailed from Peoria.⁵³⁰ If Sweeney is correct, which these archived letters provide some evidence towards his claim, Spalding returned to Peoria after the council. Spalding's editing would have been done at great distance from Jersey City.⁵³¹ The letters of Spalding themselves should be noted for their lack of plural pronouns. ("I have examined all the suggestions . . . I hope they will send me their observations. . . that I may get the work off my hands.")

Further clues suggesting a lack of collaboration between De Concilio and Spalding can be found in the 1935 letter to the editor by Mark Moesslein which Bryce relies upon so heavily for her characterization of De Concilio's writing process. Moesslein's narrative coincides with our notion that De Concilio worked without Bishop Spalding's help during the first phase of writing. "When finished, Monsignor De Concilio sent the production to the Bishop with whom he had discussed the matter. He heard no more of it."

Moesslein then reports De Concilio's astonishment, "Great was his surprise to see it in print . . ." Recalling Moesslein's earlier admonition that the catechism should be called *De Concilio's Catechism*, he concludes with "the story of the authorship of the Catechism, as I got it from the lips of the author." Whatever Spalding's role in the editing of the catechism after the galley draft, De Concilio, as presented by Moesslein, reveals little knowledge of it. Moesslein begins his letter with "the Monsignor told us of his

⁵³⁰ This letter referenced by Sweeney of Spalding to Corrigan dated January 15, 1885 is to be found in the Archives of the Archdiocese of New York, folder C-3. In her bibliography when Bryce lists her archival material, she only lists material from the Baltimore Archdiocesan Archives, so it does not appear that she consulted the New York archives.

⁵³¹ It is possible Spalding corresponded with De Concilio through the mail concerning the editing of the catechism, but a search of the archives of New York, Baltimore, Newark, Seton Hall, Philadelphia, Cleveland and Cincinnati has not revealed such correspondence between the two.

authorship of the Catechism” and likewise concludes his letter by identifying De Concilio as the author. This letter provides evidence then that from De Concilio’s perspective as narrated by the writer, after his initial work was done, there was a period of silence before the catechism appeared in print, which would correspond nicely with the suggested three months of phase two.

A comparison of the galley draft to the standard published catechism further supports the idea that little editing was done to the galley draft. The galley draft of the catechism contains 32 chapters. The published standard edition of the catechism contains 37 chapters. Laying indexes of each, side by side, one discovers the titles for particular lessons are word for word identical. The five additional chapters found in the standard published version are: “On Creation,” “On the Attributes and Marks of the Church,” “On the Gifts and Fruits of the Holy Ghost,” “On the Manner of Making a Good Confession,” and “On Indulgences.” The order of the remaining lessons remains constant; no change in the ordering of lessons is found from the galley draft to the standard version.

So in the topics treated, the wording of the titles, and in the ordering of the lessons, no editorial change is found. In examining the questions, one finds a similar pattern to that of the lessons, namely that particular questions have been added (presumably in response to some bishops’ comment or suggestion) but the remaining questions of the galley draft appear unaltered in the standard version. On rare occasions a specific question will shift up or down in sequence, but this happens generally to accommodate the addition of a new question. So for the most part the galley questions which are carried over to the standard version are presented word for word identical form, confirming the notion that little editing work was done to the galley draft.

By comparing the galley draft to the published standard version, the evidence suggests that the editorializing which occurred consisted of adding questions as a response to comments from council fathers.⁵³² Comparison indicated the main text of the catechism which De Concilio wrote remained substantially unchanged during Spalding's editing. The main difference between the two texts is found in the five additional lessons, about which more will be said shortly.

Handwritten Journal

At the Archdiocese of Baltimore Archive I came across a folder simply labeled "hand written copy of *Baltimore Catechism*." In that folder was a hardcover personal journal with yellowed and tattered pages. Upon examination I recognized the handwriting as being that of Father De Concilio. The hardcover journal was a work in progress: words are crossed out, comments are written in the margins, and entire sections are scratched out. From this description of the text in the journal I conclude that this is the earliest draft currently known to exist.⁵³³

At present it shall suffice to give a brief overview of its arrangement, with only a few examples of content. What is significant for our present study is the observation of

⁵³² Since each bishop took their galley copy of the catechism home to their diocese, any diocesan archives could be in possession of a particular bishop's copy on which he may have made comments of editorial remarks. I did not have sufficient time during the writing of my dissertation to visit and search the archives of all American Catholic dioceses in the United States.

⁵³³ Handwriting tends to vary from one person to another, and is usually distinct enough to be used as an identifier of an author. The handwritten manuscript in the archives is a personal journal; that is to say, a book of blank pages, on which someone had written question and answers found in the *Baltimore Catechism*. While it is identified in the archives as "hand written copy of the Baltimore Catechism" there is no notation as to who wrote it or possessed it. I am making the claim that I can recognize the handwriting in the journal as being that of Fr. De Concilio, after having examined numerous personal (signed) letters from Fr. De Concilio. Furthermore, I have acquired a couple copies of John Spalding's personal letters and have been able to conclude his hand writing is different from that of the handwritten manuscript.

the dramatic development from this initial journal to the galley draft. Compared to contemporaneous catechisms of the day, De Concilio's journal is highly original in approach, even if inconsistent in style.

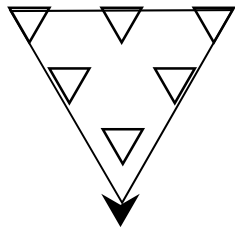
The pages of his journal provide evidence against both notions of either bending one pre-existent catechism to the needs of the United States, or simply compiling the best questions of previous catechisms. De Concilio arranges his early catechism into seven parts, each with roughly four to six lessons each. Section One examines the mystery of God. While De Concilio does not title the sections, he has given titles to the lessons. It is clear from these titles that mystery plays a significant role in his thinking.

Part One for example begins with the lesson one "Of God," lesson two "Of the Mystery of the Blessed Trinity," lesson three "Of the mystery of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ," lesson four "Of the Mystery of Our Divine Redemption," and Part One concludes with lesson five "Of the Holy Ghost." As you can see the topics and arrangement are counterintuitive to the general expectation of simply treating God as Trinity with one lesson on the Father, another lesson on the Son and another lesson on the Holy Spirit. Instead, De Concilio's lesson on God is presented with a trinity of mysteries: the mystery God himself as Trinity, the mystery of how the Word took on flesh at the Incarnation and the mystery of God with us as our divine redemption.

Part Two of the journal is no less original as it centers on religion with lessons focusing on the nature of the Church combined with the theological virtues. Part Three examines the will of God made known through the commandments of God, the commandments of the Church, with lessons on grace and sin. The fourth and fifth sections deal largely with the sacraments. Part Four focuses on Baptism, Confirmation,

the Blessed Eucharist, Communion, and Penance, but ends with lessons on necessary dispositions and satisfaction. Part Five covers Extreme Unction, Holy Orders, Matrimony but ends with lessons on sacrifice, the Mass, and prayer.

Next, Part Six has lessons on the cardinal virtues, on sins and their opposite virtues, the last four things, and a lesson on purgatory and indulgences. The final Part Seven is completely different in tone and style. It is composed of two lessons, one on instructions for confession and a second lesson on instructions on devotions and communion. All of Part Seven uses a narrative style, forsaking the question and answer format. As you can tell, this early attempt at a catechism is not merely a list of questions or cut and paste parts. Its design can be visualized as an inverted pyramid composed of six contingent triangles capped with a spear headed wedge.



Each part appears to begin with lesson(s) giving the broad general view, but then within the part, the lessons become more particularized. Oversimplified one could suggest a movement in the context of each part from doctrine to practice. Similarly, within the whole catechism the parts move from those topics of a more theoretical nature to instruction on everyday practices. So Parts One, Two and Three deal with the mystery of God, religion and God's will, respectively. But the spearhead Part Seven provides concrete instructions, including model prayers, for one going through confession, devotions, and Communion.

So one might ask, if this early draft is so creative, can one truly say that it is in the lineage of the *Baltimore Catechism*? I affirm that while the arrangement and topics have changed, an examination of the questions reveals many of the same concerns highlighted in our earlier analysis. I concede that some of the wording of the questions has changed, but the ideas are present in nascent form.

If we return for a moment to some of the questions that Bryce identified as unique to the *Baltimore Catechism*, we will recall question 31 “What is a mystery?” which can be found in the second lesson of Part One of the journal. In the galley draft, the answer provided is, “A mystery is a truth which we cannot fully understand.” while in the journal the answer written is, “A mystery is a divine revealed truth, which is above our human comprehension.” De Concilio was not a native English speaker. He grew up in Italy where he learned English in seminary. The journal reveals initial attempts at forming questions written with odd phraseology and sentence structure, which are corrected for the galley draft. In this response we find a “divine revealed truth” rather than a divinely revealed truth. But take for example the frequent interrogative formulation of “Q. What is, to honor God?” which becomes in question 127 of the galley draft, “How do we adore God?” Also notice in the response to “What is a mystery?” that not only has De Concilio corrected his grammar but he has simplified his language: “divine revealed” has been omitted before “truth” and instead of “human comprehension” he writes more simply, “we cannot fully understand.”

Representing some of the other unique questions/concerns, we find the shift from Saturday to Sunday Sabbath, necessary aspects comprising mortal sin, the permissibility of servile works, and the indelible character with which a sacrament imprints the soul.

Here are a couple of representative examples of questions particular to the *Baltimore Catechism* being found as ideas and questions in the journal. In her search of catechisms, Bryce found questions 356 and 357 only in the *Baltimore Catechism*.

356. Q. Are the Sabbath day and the Sunday the same?

A. The Sabbath day and the Sunday are not the same. The Sabbath is the seventh day of the week, and is the day which was kept holy in the Old Law; the Sunday is the first day of the week, and is the day which is kept holy in the New Law.

357. Q. Why does the Church command us to keep the Sunday holy instead of the Sabbath?

A. The Church commands us to keep the Sunday holy instead of the Sabbath because on Sunday Christ rose from the dead, and on Sunday He sent the Holy Ghost upon the Apostles.

In Part Three of the journal *De Concilio* writes:

q. what day is the sabbath day?

a. ~~this~~ Saturday.

q. we are then bound to keep holy, Saturday?

a. no: because the church for good reason, has changed it into Sunday.

q. why did the church make this change?

A. because several of our divine mysteries, happened on Sunday: it was on Sunday that the almighty began to create this world, on Sunday Jesus Christ rose from the dead, on Sunday also he sent the holy ghost to his apostles, and for these reasons, Sunday is called the Lords day.

Concerning servile works Bryce listed Q. 359 and Q. 360 as unique: “359. Q. What are servile works? A. Servile works are those which require labor rather of body than of mind. 360. Q. Are servile works on Sunday ever lawful? A. Servile works are lawful on Sunday when the honor of God, the good of our neighbor, or necessity requires them.”

The immigrant’s sense of obligation to feed their family by going to their place of employment on Sunday can be heard in the early rendition of the question. “q. in what case is it lawful to ~~make~~^{do} servile works on Sunday of holy days? a. only when a great

necessity requires it, and that ought to be without giving scandal, and after having heard ~~the~~ divine service.”

Another general observation on the catechism journal is useful; relative to the galley draft or published catechism, it is huge. As you can see from the response above, the answers offered frequently run three to five lines in length. The lessons in the published version are short, containing similar number of questions. In the journal there is disparity among the length of lessons, some lessons have only a question or two with blank space remaining for questions to be added, and other lessons such as chapter 31 on prayer spans five pages (with a sixth blank page, open for more!) consisting of twenty seven separate questions.

Furthermore this early draft is chock full of direct scriptural quotations. Just in his chapter on prayer for example, De Concilio quotes Mathew 7:7, 21:22, and 26:41, Luke 12:31, 2 Corinthians 3:5, and James 4:3. Clearly, in the process of the catechism’s creation, to get to the galley draft De Concilio had to trim this draft down. The Council fathers encouraged reduction of prayers and scripture since the council also “appointed a committee of bishops to prepare a manual of prayer based on the Missal, the Breviary and the Ritual . . .this manual provided the lay people with clear directions on prayers, rituals and devotions which had been recognized by the Church.”⁵³⁴

This leads me to hypothesize that there were drafts of the catechism in between this personal journal and the galley draft. When I compared the galley draft to the standard published version, I noted that there were five lessons added to the galley draft during phase two. They were: “On Creation,” “On the Attributes and Marks of the

⁵³⁴ Regan, *Element of Catechesis*, 102.

Church,” “On the Gifts and Fruits of the Holy Ghost,” “On the Manner of Making a Good Confession,” and “On Indulgences.”

I argued that phase two occurred under the auspices of John Lancaster Spalding, and that his editing consisted mainly of adding questions in response to comments from the bishops attending the council, which were mailed to him. Here I suggest that Spalding had access to either De Concilio’s personal journal or a later, in between draft. Of the five sections not found in the galley draft, three bear striking similarity to entries in De Concilio’s personal journal. I’ll illustrate the similarity with the first three questions from the lesson, “On the Manner of Making a Good Confession.”

224. Q. What should we do on entering the confessional?

A. On entering the confessional we should kneel, make the sign of the Cross, and say to the priest, Bless me, Father; then add, I confess to Almighty God and to you, Father, that I have sinned.

225. Q. Which are the first things we should tell the priest in Confession?

A. The first things we should tell the priest in Confession are the time of our last Confession, and whether we said the penance and went to Holy Communion.

226. Q. After telling the time of our last Confession and Communion what should we do?

A. After telling the time of our last Confession and Communion we should confess all the mortal sins we have since committed, and all the venial sins we may wish to mention.

Compare those questions to the written narrative found in Part Seven of the journal.

“The penitent kneeling down at the side of his ghostly father, makes the sign of the cross, and asks his blessing, saying, pray father, give me your blessing for I have sinned. then he says the confiteor in latin, ~~or~~ or in his own language as far as through my fault. after this he declares the time of his last confession if he performed the penance or not, and if he forgot any thing; then he begins to accuse himself of his sins either according to the order of gods commandments, or such other order, as he finds most helpful to his memory . . .”

In a like manner the published lesson “On the Gifts and Fruits of the Holy Ghost” resembles De Concilio’s journal entry. The published standard catechism reads, “177. Q. Which are the gifts of the Holy Ghost? A. The gifts of the Holy Ghost are Wisdom, Understanding, Counsel, Fortitude, Knowledge, Piety and Fear of the Lord.” whereas the

journal asks,” q. how many and what are the gifts of the holy ghost?” responding with the same list. In the journal the following question asks, “q. to what end are these gifts given to us?” which is then followed by additional questions particularizing each gift of the spirit to our use. In the standard version the question, “q. to what end are these gifts given to us?” is absent, but the subsequent questions concerning each gift are now worded, “Why do we receive the gift of ____?” What Bryce found in the *Baltimore Catechism* and not in any of the other catechisms, were questions which individually discussed each gift of the Spirit in relation to the believer. Those same questions, although containing slight word variations, are found in the early journal draft. Likewise the topic of indulgences receives comparable treatment in the journal and published catechism.

If Spalding indeed had access to De Concilio’s earlier drafts, it would have been easy to lift this material in response to a bishop’s comment that something on the gifts of the Spirit should be included. With minor tinkering the narrative style of De Concilio’s instruction can be transcribed into the question and answer format. If such were the case, it would reduce Spalding’s contribution to two remaining lessons: “On Creation,” and “On the Attributes and Marks of the Church.” The first consists of seven questions most of which deal with angels.

- 32. Q. Who created heaven and earth, and all things?
- 33. Q. How did God create heaven and earth?
- 34. Q. Which are the chief creatures of God?
- 33. Q. What are angels?
- 36. Q. Were the angels created for any other purpose?
- 37. Q. Were the angels, as God created them, good and happy?
- 38. Q. Did all the angels remain good and happy?

Reading through De Concilio’s journal I found no references to angels or their creation. The galley draft which De Concilio submitted to Bishop Spalding contained

only one lesson on the subject entitled, “On the Church” (see appendix 4). All of these questions are found in the standard *Baltimore Catechism*, although they are dispersed between two chapters, the first four questions being found in lesson 11 “On the Church,” while the last three questions are placed into “On the Attributes and Marks of the Church” lesson 12. Lesson eleven of the standard catechism contains eight questions, while there are fourteen questions in the twelfth lesson. In total twenty-two questions are added to the topic of the Church.

Examining the journal provides some interesting information. De Concilio speaks about the Church for the most part throughout Part Two of his journal. A trinity of chapters carries the discussion of the Church from, “Of the Church of Jesus Christ,” to a chapter on “The Unity of the Church” then to “Of the Infallibility of the Church.” While the emphasis of Part Two then shifts to the theological virtues, the teachings on the Church continue throughout the next three chapters on faith, hope and love. The draft found in the personal journal relies heavily on scripture and a promise motif. For example in his lesson on the infallibility of the Church in the journal he asks,

q. what other authority have you to prove, that the definitions of a general council on matters of faith are infallible? a. when jesus Christ sent his apostles to preach his gospel, and to teach all nations, he promised to be with them all the days, through out all time even to the consummation of the world. math 28.20. he promised also to send to them the holy ghost to teach them all truth john 16.17. and to abide with them for ever john 14.16.

Another characteristic of De Concilio attested to by the journal is his mindfulness of the laity. In the lesson entitled, “Of the Church of Jesus Christ” De Concilio sets down six general questions about Jesus’ institution of the Church before he moves into the particular roles within the Church.⁵³⁵ If one compares the galley draft which De Concilio

⁵³⁵ Asking one question on the pope, three questions on the bishops and concluding the chapter with five questions concerning the members of the Church.

wrote and was submitted to the bishops on the last session of the council with the published version of the catechism, one finds De Concilio is unquestionably responsible for originating 32 of the 37 chapters.

With the remaining five chapters it appears that all five chapters can be found in De Concilio's handwritten journal version of the catechism. In his role as editor Spalding did supplement the chapter "On Creation" with seven additional questions on angels, and in another chapter Spalding doubled the questions on the marks and attributes of the Church.

Using the previous research of Bryce in her dissertation, we narrowed the focus of our content analysis of the *Baltimore Catechism* to those 55 questions she described as unique to the *Baltimore Catechism* among its contemporaries. This content was found to have an American orientation yielding a mindful concern for the plight of the immigrant Catholic. Instead of elementary collecting of good questions from previous catechism, our study indicates strategic redeployment of prior material in new arrangements with fresh material added.

This hypothesis of De Concilio as more of an original⁵³⁶ editor was further supported by a review of the creation process which led to the publication of the *Baltimore Catechism*. Contrary to the position of most historians on the subject, who hold that Spalding and De Concilio collaborated, or De Concilio gathered the materials and Spalding edited the text to its final form, I have argued that the largest percentage of distinctiveness or originality in both arrangement and content is largely due to De

⁵³⁶ The use of the term 'original' does not signify being theologically original or inventive, rather the elements of originality or distinctiveness refer to word choice, word order, order of questions, arrangement, style, and adaptation to the United States context.

Concilio's input and that the minor editorial changes Spalding made were in response to comments from the council bishops and their inclusion was a necessity to justify an approval by the apostolic delegate before publication. Therefore Spalding's authorship should primarily be seen as his political savvy to enable the work to be published, while De Concilio's contribution rests in the wording, form, arrangement, and adaptation to the United States of the little blue book which would become a front line flag in the internal battles of the post Vatican II Church as well as an icon in the struggle for Catholic identity in an increasing secular United States.

CONCLUSION

Father Januarius De Concilio arrived in the United States in April of 1860. Shortly thereafter the country broke into open Civil War (1861-1865). The U.S. bishops called together the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore to address the needs of the American Catholics in the aftermath of the bloody fight. As the bishops provided leadership for the American Church, both Catholics and non-Catholics understood the plenary council to be a significant event for the nation. The council drew numerous dignitaries as observers including the President of the United States, Andrew Jackson. When it was announced that a third plenary council would be forthcoming, De Concilio eagerly desired to be present and began to solicit his superiors for his inclusion.

On April 4, 1884 De Concilio wrote to Archbishop James Gibbons politely arguing for a seat at the council. “Monsignor [Vincent] Braco, the present Patriarch of Jerusalem sent me in the name of the Holy Father a diploma and insignia of a Knight of the Holy Sepulcher . . . I would like to know whether I am not entitled also in courtesy of course to be invited to the Plenary Council.”⁵³⁷ Later in the same letter De Concilio expresses his excitement and hopefulness at the possibility of inclusion in the council. “To say that I would be indifferent to the honor of being invited by your Grace would not

⁵³⁷ Januarius De Concilio to James Gibbons, April 4, 1884. Archived letter 77-T-1, Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore.

be the truth as I think everyone ought to be proud to take part in a Council calculated to do so much good.”⁵³⁸

Only four days later De Concilio wrote again asking if the Archbishop might suggest a bishop for which De Concilio could serve as a personal theologian.⁵³⁹ De Concilio began to contact bishops in the west offering his services as a theologian for the council. Having reached an agreement with Bishop James O’Connor of Omaha, De Concilio requests O’Connor to solicit permission from his ordinary. Bishop O’Connor writes Bishop Winand Wigger of Newark explaining, “I am obliged to look for a theologian in the east as there is nobody here who could be of much assistance to us in Baltimore.” O’Connor requests De Concilio’s services recognizing his reputation, “that he is considered a man of scholarly attainments.”⁵⁴⁰

The day before the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore was to officially begin, the Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop James Gibbons of Baltimore, gathered the priestly theologians together and explained that while their individual contributions would be anonymous, the work of the council would be significant. John Tracy Ellis writes, “On Saturday, November 8, Gibbons greeted the theologians in a brief speech in which he stressed their unity with the bishops, reminding them that their chief contribution would be made through the various committees of the council, but assuring the theologians at the same time that ‘we are all one though our functions vary.’”⁵⁴¹

⁵³⁸ Ibid.

⁵³⁹ Idem to James Gibbons, April 8, 1884. Archived letter 77-T-13, Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore.

⁵⁴⁰ James O’Connor to Winand Wigger, May 7, 1884. Archived letter RG #3 Wigger Papers, Seton Hall University Archives.

⁵⁴¹ John Tracy Ellis, *The Life of James Cardinal Gibbons Archbishop of Baltimore 1834-1921* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing, 1952), 243-244.

The picture of De Concilio that arises from his personal letters is one of a man eager to participate in an event he believes to have historical and beneficial impact on the condition of everyday Catholics in America. He is cordial and deferential to his superiors, but honest in his desire to be included in the council. While he is known for his scholarly attainments, he accepts with his brother theologians, the anonymity of his contributions under the imposition of council's policy of secrecy.

The new catechists believe that catechisms are no longer an appropriate method for teaching the Catholic faith. They do not approve of the institutional model which associates the living Catholic faith with a school classroom. They contend children are too young to understand doctrine and that the lessons should be experience based. The celebrated *Baltimore Catechism* becomes a logical target for their criticisms. Educators from the Catholic University of America, Sloyan, Bryce and Marthaler draw into question the quality, popularity and effectiveness of the *Baltimore Catechism*. In her 1970 dissertation Bryce characterizes the catechisms' creation by De Concilio as a careless, hurried effort.

De Concilio had accepted the task of writing the catechism while the Council was still in session, probably during or immediately following the November 29 meeting. One writer, Mark Moesslein, observed that, 'thinking the matter over, Monsignor de Concilio came to the conclusion that it was not worth while taking much pains about the matter of drawing up a catechism, because the Bishops would dump it in the waste basket anyhow.' Accordingly, the result was that de Concilio hastily assembled the work in about a week. This hurriedly assembled text was submitted to the Council Fathers on December 6. This was the basic text which he and Spalding worked on during the latter's stay in New York. At a later time, when the catechism had come under a barrage of criticism, de Concilio minimized his part in the work.⁵⁴²

This dissertation has argued that the *Baltimore Catechism* was a serious catechetical work, produced by De Concilio with the end in mind of becoming the new

⁵⁴² Mary Charles Bryce, O.S.B., "The Influence of the Catechism of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in Widely Used Elementary Religion Textbooks: From Its Composition in 1885 to Its 1941 Revision," (Ph.D. Diss, Catholic University of America, 1970), 104.

national catechism. The brief biography of De Concilio focused on some of his numerous books and articles which address various issues from the treatment of immigrants, to the School Question, to Fr. Zahm's articulation of Darwinian Evolution. As a pastor, he frequently wrote to defend and explain the Catholic teaching to an audience of his laity. Over the years he gained a reputation as a scholar, but his writings sought to meet a pastoral need. He wrote a number of personal letters in an attempt to be included in the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, arguing for the potential good the Council would prompt. Once there he was assigned to the Committee on the Catechism and ultimately he was asked by Bishop Spalding to produce a draft of a new national catechism.

The first chapter of the dissertation sketched out the broad horizon of catechesis within the Church and the development of the use of catechisms as teaching manuals to assist in religious instruction. The second chapter examined how different people told the story of the creation of the *Baltimore Catechism*. Initially the stories were brief, and buried in biographies of great men, where involvement with the *Baltimore Catechism* was seen as an achievement because of its unquestioned success. This pattern holds for almost a century until Bryce's dissertation reframes the creation of the catechism as a feckless frenzied errand. Accounts after Bryce give the *Baltimore Catechism* an increasingly negative characterization.

The third chapter introduced Fr. Gerard Sloyan, who created a new Department of Religious Education at Catholic University of America, with the power to grant degrees at the M.A. and Ph.D. level. Sloyan mentors a student, Sister Mary Charles Bryce, who eventually graduates and takes on a teaching position within the department. Sloyan recruited Fr. Berard Marthaler to chair the Department. Together these three leaders of

what would later be identified as the catechetical renewal movement oversaw the formation of numerous instructors of catechesis. These new catechists were instrumental in requiring greater professionalism and certification in religious education, which in turn gave the new catechists greater control over who was qualified to teach catechetics.

The fourth chapter of the dissertation then looked at Fr. Januarius De Concilio and his roles and pastor, theologian and author. While the topics he writes on are diverse, they share a common characteristic of being written to explain the Catholic faith as it relates to contemporary issues; he writes for his parishioners as his imagined audience, anticipating their questions. He frequently wrote in popular newspapers and journals. His training, writings and overall approach to the Catholic faith makes unlikely the characterization offered by Bryce of him having a sloppy and careless approach to compiling the catechism, especially one which was intended to be the next national catechism for the United States.

The fifth and sixth chapters focused on the *Baltimore Catechism*. First examining the questions Bryce identified as original. Then looking at the text of the catechism, reassessing areas I found to be distinctive which may have been previously overlooked, such as word choice, arrangement and adaptation to the American context. I concluded the *Baltimore Catechism* offers a solid presentation of the Catholic faith and includes topics not found in earlier texts.

If the new catechists are correct in their evaluation of the *Baltimore Catechism*, then modern catechesis should discourage the use of catechisms, the question and answer approach should be avoided, doctrine should not be taught to children, and education experts -- not theologians should produce religious education literature. There should not

be one catechism for a nation or for a diocese because such geographical regions are too large and are comprised of many different groups and cultures of people. After the Second Vatican Council the new catechists and their methods came to dominate in the field of religious instruction.

By 1983 Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger was giving lectures at Notre Dame in Paris and at Fourviere in Lyons about the “crisis in catechesis.”⁵⁴³ For the 20th anniversary of the close of the Second Vatican Council Pope John Paul II convened an extraordinary assembly of the synod of bishops, among whose tasks it was to consider a remedy to the crisis in catechesis. The synod decided a new universal catechism should be written and a committee of twelve cardinals and bishops were assigned to the task. The compilation of the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* calls for catechists, new and old, to reassess the catechetical renewal of the 1960s and 1970s, selecting the best principles, methods and perspectives to continually improve the Church’s efforts at handing on the Catholic faith to the next generation.

⁵⁴³ Pope Benedict XVI, *Handing on the Faith in an Age of Disbelief* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2006), 7, 13.

WORKS CITED

Primary Sources

- Acta et Decreta Concilii Plenarii Baltimorensis II.* Baltimore: Joannes Murphy, 1866.
- Acta et Decreta Concilii Plenarii Baltimorensis Tertii.* Baltimore: Joannis Murphy et Sociorum, 1886.
- Acta et Decreta Synodorum Provincialium Baltimori.* Romae: Typis S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1841.
- Anonymous. "Hell and Science." *Catholic World* 27 (June 1878): 321-336.
- Ballman, Sister Eunice. Interview with author, Feb. 28, 2011.
- Catechism of the Catholic Church.* 2nd ed. Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1997.
- Catechism of St. Pius X* (1908).
- Catholics United for the Faith. "CUF Background." <http://www.cufmilwaukee.org/>. Accessed June 18, 2010.
- Compendium of the Catechism of the Catholic Church.* Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2005.
- Confraternity of Christian Doctrine. *The New Saint Joseph Baltimore Catechism No 2.* Official Revised Edition. New York: Catholic Book Publishing, 1941.
- Confraternity Publications. *Confraternity Comes of Age.* Paterson, N.J.: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1956.
- Corrigan, Michael. "Pastoral Letter on the Occasion of the Fifth Diocesan Synod." *New York Freeman's Journal* (Nov. 27, 1886).
- De Concilio, Januarius. *The Apology for State Omnipotence in the Matter of Education: Proclaimed by Dr. Bouquillon in his Pamphlet, "To Whom Does Education Belong?"* New York: S.N. , 1892.

- _____. *A Catechism of Christian Doctrine Prepared and Enjoined by Order of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore*. New York: The Catholic Publishing Company, 1885.
- _____. *Catechismo della Dottrina Cristiana di Monsignor G. De Concilio*. New York: Societa delle Pubblicazioni Cattoliche, 1886.
- _____. *Catechismo della Dottrina Cristiana Preparato e Prescritto per Ordine del Terzo Concilio Plenario de Baltimore*. New York: Schwartz, Kirwin & Fauss, 1886.
- _____. *Catholicity and Pantheism: All Truth or No Truth: An Essay*. New York: D. & J. Sadlier & Co., 1874.
- _____. "Catholicity and Pantheism: Number One." *Catholic World* 8 (1868-1869): 181-187.
- _____. "Catholicity and Pantheism: Number Two." *Catholic World* 8 (1868-1869): 360-369.
- _____. "Catholicity and Pantheism: Number Three." *Catholic World* 8 (1868-1869): 560-564.
- _____. "Catholicity and Pantheism: Number Four." *Catholic World* 8 (1868-1869): 657-662.
- _____. "Catholicity and Pantheism: Number Five." *Catholic World* 8 (1868-1869): 811-823.
- _____. "Catholicity and Pantheism: Number Six: The Finite." *Catholic World* 9 (1869): 255-263.
- _____. "Catholicity and Pantheism: Number Seven: The Finite—Continued." *Catholic World* 9 (1869): 554-563.
- _____. "Catholicity and Pantheism: Number Eight: Union Between the Infinite and the Finite, or First Moment of God's External Action." *Catholic World* 10 (1869-1870): 118-130.
- _____. "Catholicity and Pantheism: Number Nine." *Catholic World* 11 (1870).
- _____. "Catholicity and Pantheism: Number Ten: The Supernatural or Sublimative Moment of God's Action." *Catholic World* 12 (1870-1871): 509-525.
- _____. "Catholicity and Pantheism: No. XI: Relations Between the Sublimative Moment and Substantial Creation." *Catholic World* 13 (1871): 554-565.

- _____. "Catholicity and Pantheism: No. XII: The Cosmos in Time and Space." *Catholic World* 14 (1871-1872): 376-391.
- _____. "Catholicity and Pantheism: No. XIII: The Cosmos in Time and Space—Continued." *Catholic World* 14 (1871-1872): 830-844.
- _____. "Catholicity and Pantheism: On Evil." *Catholic World* 29 (1879): 54-63.
- _____. "A Counter Reply on Brother Azarias' Philosophy of Literature." *New York Freeman's Journal*, Aug. 9, 1890.
- _____. "A Counter Reply By Mgr. J. De Concilio, D. D. to Prof Seton." *New York Freeman's Journal*, Oct 26, 1889, 1.
- _____. *The Doctrine of St. Thomas on the Right of Property and of its Use*. New York: Fr. Pustet & Company, 1887.
- _____. *Elements of Intellectual Philosophy*. New York: D. & J. Sadlier, 1878.
- _____. "Evolution." *New York Freeman's Journal*, March 21, 1896.
- _____. "Evolution, Number Two." *New York Freeman's Journal*, March 28, 1896.
- _____. "Evolution and Dogma, Criticism by Rt. Rev. Mgr. De Concilio on Rev. Dr. Zahm's Recent Work." *New York Freeman's Journal*, March 21, 1896, 5.
- _____. "Evolution and Dogma, Criticism by Rt. Rev. Mgr. De Concilio on Rev. Dr. Zahm's Recent Work: Part Two." *New York Freeman's Journal*, March 28, 1896, 5.
- _____. "The Fall and Its Transmission." *Catholic World* 30 (1879-1880): 838-846.
- _____. *Harmony Between Science and Religion*. New York: Fr. Pustet and Company: 1889.
- _____. "It Is Not So: Right Rev. J. De Concilio Answers Prof Seton" *New York Freeman's Journal*, Oct. 12, 1889, 1.
- _____. *The Knowledge of Mary*. New York: Catholic Publishing Society, 1878.
- _____. "Last Reply of Right Rev. J. De Concilio, D. D. to Prof Seton" The Professor Acknowledges Himself Beaten." *New York Freeman's Journal*, Nov. 9, 1889, 5.
- _____. Letter to James Gibbons, April 4, 1884. Archived letter 77-T-1, Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore.

- _____. Letter to James Gibbons, April 8, 1884. Archived letter 77-T-13, Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore.
- _____. Letter to James Gibbons, June 16, 1884. Gibbon Collection, Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore.
- _____. Letter to Orestes Brownson, November 27, 1874. Orestes Brownson Papers, Notre Dame Archives.
- _____. "On Evil." *Catholic World* 29 (1879): 510-518.
- _____. "On Man's Destiny." *Catholic World* 30 (1879-1880): 519-529.
- _____. "The Plurality of Worlds." *American Catholic Quarterly Review* 9 (1884): 193-216.
- _____. Review of *Philosophy of Literature*, by Brother Azarias. *New York Freeman's Journal*, June 28, 1890, 1-2.
- _____. Review of *Elements of Ecclesiastical Law Vol. II*, by Rev. S. B. Smith, D.D. *Pastor* 1, no. 6 (April 1883): 189-191.
- _____. "The Right of Individual Ownership—Does It Spring from the Natural or the Human Law?" *American Catholic Quarterly Review* 13 (1888): 270-303.
- _____. "'Robert Elsmere' as a Controversial Novel." *American Catholic Quarterly Review* 14 (1889): 268-282.
- _____. "The School Question. To Whom Does Education Belong?: Part One." *New York Freeman's Journal*, Feb. 13, 1892.
- _____. "The School Question. To Whom Does Education Belong?: Part Two." *New York Freeman's Journal*, Feb. 20, 1892.
- _____. "The School Question. To Whom Does Education Belong?: Part Three." *New York Freeman's Journal*, Feb. 27, 1892.
- _____. "The School Question. To Whom Does Education Belong?: Part Four." *New York Freeman's Journal*, Feb. March 5, 1892.
- _____. "The School Question. To Whom Does Education Belong?: Part Five." *New York Freeman's Journal*, March 12, 1892.
- _____. "Scientific and Metaphysical Cosmology." *American Ecclesiastical Review* 6 (1892): 14-28.
- _____. "Scientific and Metaphysical Cosmology: Second Article." *American Ecclesiastical Review* 6 (1892): 131-144.

- _____. "Scientific and Metaphysical Cosmology: Third Article Proof of the Scholastic Theory." *American Ecclesiastical Review* 6 (1892): 205-221.
- _____. *Sullo Stato Religioso degli Italiani negli Stati Uniti d'America*. New York: Tipografia J.H. Carbone, 1888.
- _____. "Thought is Free." *Catholic World* 37 (1883): 741-745.
- _____. "Tit for Tat: Article First." *New York Freeman's Journal*, Oct. 12, 1889, 7.
- _____. "Tit for Tat: Article Second." *New York Freeman's Journal*, Oct. 19, 1889, 7.
- _____. "Tit for Tat: Article Third." *New York Freeman's Journal*, Oct. 26, 1889, 7.
- _____. "Tit for Tat: Article Fourth." *New York Freeman's Journal*, Nov. 2, 1889, 7.
- _____. "Tit for Tat: Article Fifth." *New York Freeman's Journal*, Nov. 9, 1889, 6.
- _____. "Tit for Tat: Article Sixth." *New York Freeman's Journal*, Nov. 16, 1889, 6.
- _____. "Tit for Tat: Article Seventh: Immortality of the Soul." *New York Freeman's Journal*, Nov. 23, 1889, 6.
- _____. "Tit for Tat: Article Eighth: The Mystery" *New York Freeman's Journal*, Nov. 30, 1889 : 6.
- _____. "Tit for Tat: Article Ninth: Man's Final Destiny, Not in Any Created Object but in God." *New York Freeman's Journal*, Dec. 7, 1889, 6.
- _____. "Tit for Tat: Article Tenth: Natural Religion Not at all Sufficient." *New York Freeman's Journal*, Dec. 14, 1889, 6.
- _____. "Tit for Tat: Article Eleventh: The Supernatural a Fact and a Reality." *New York Freeman's Journal*, Dec. 21, 1889, 6.
- _____. "Tit for Tat: Article Twelfth: The Miracle---Continued." *New York Freeman's Journal*, Dec. 28, 1889, 6.
- _____. "Tit for Tat: Article Fifteenth: The Resurrection—The Apostles Could Have No Reasonable Motive to Invent an Imposture." *New York Freeman's Journal*, March 15, 1890, 6.
- _____. "Tit for Tat: Article Sixteenth: Prophecy, the Next Mark of God's Approval of Christianity." *New York Freeman's Journal*, March 22, 1890, 6.
- _____. "Tit for Tat: Article Seventeenth: His Resurrection and His Ascension Into Heaven." *New York Freeman's Journal*, March 29, 1890, 6.
- _____. "Tit for Tat: Article Eighteenth: The Propagation of Christianity –The Obstacles Encountered by the Apostles in the Way of its Spreading." *New York Freeman's Journal*, April 5, 1890, 6.
- _____. "Tit for Tat: Article Nineteenth: The Martyrs of Christianity." *New York Freeman's Journal*, April 12, 1890, 6.
- _____. "What was the Primitive State of Man?" *Catholic World* 29 (1879): 602-611.

“Delle Condizioni Religiose Degli Emigrati Itlini Negli Stati Uniti D’America.” *La Civiltà Cattolica* XI (September 15, 1888): 641-643.

Doyle, Dennis. Interview with author, Feb. 21, 2002.

Editor. “Book Notices.” *American Catholic Quarterly Review* 4 (1879).

_____. “Book Notices.” *American Catholic Quarterly Review* 12 (1887).

Editor. “New Publications.” *Catholic World* 18, no. 105 (December 1873).

Fellowship of Catholic Scholars. “About Us: History.”

<http://www2.catholicscholars.org/Default.aspx?pageId=367408>. Accessed June 18, 2010.

Gibbons, James. Circular to members of catechism committee, August 25, 1884. Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, 78-L-12.

_____. Letter to Bishop James O’Conner, August 25, 1884. Archives of the Archdiocese of Omaha.

Mahoney, Joseph, ed. *The Diocesan Journal of Michael Augustine Corrigan, Bishop of Newark 1872-1880*. Newark: New Jersey Catholic Historical Records Commission, 1987.

Mansi, Giovanni Domenico, ed. *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima*. Arnheim & Leipzig: H. Welter, 1925.

McCarty, Margaret Wilson. Interview with author, May 20, 2013.

The Memorial Volume A History of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore November 9 – December 7, 1884. Baltimore: The Baltimore Publishing Company, 1885.

“Minutes of the Annual Meeting of Most Rev. Archbishops,” Oct. 2, 1895. Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, 94-B-1.

“Minutes of the Annual Meeting of Most Rev. Archbishops,” Oct. 21-22, 1896. Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, 94-S-3.

“Noble Priest of God.” (Jersey City) *The Evening Journal*, March 25, 1898.

O’Connor, James. Letter to Winand Wigger, May 7, 1884. Archived letter RG #3 Wigger Papers, Seton Hall University Archives.

Paul VI, Pope. *Apostolicam Actuositatem* (The Decree on the Apostolate of Laity Solemnly Promulgated by His Holiness, Pope Paul VI), November 18, 1965. http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decree_19651118_apostolicam-actuositatem_en.html.

Pius X, Pope. *Il Fermo Proposito* (On Catholic Action In Italy to the Bishops of Italy) June 11, 1905. http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/pius_x/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-x_enc_11061905_il-fermo-proposito_en.html.

Seton Hall College Catalogue for Academic Years 1861-1867.

Spalding, Martin. *Sketches of the Early Catholic Missions of Kentucky*. Baltimore: J. Murphy, 1844.

United States Catechism for Adults. Washington, D.C.: USCCB, 2006.

Wigger, Bishop. Letter to De Concilio Feb 24, 1886. Wigger Papers, Notre Dame Archives.

Wiseman, W. J. "Notice of Books." *The Pastor* 5, no. 7 (May 1887).

YouCat deutsch: Jugendkatechismus der Katholischen Kirche. Munich: Pattloch Verlag, 2010.

YouCat English: Youth Catechism of the Catholic Church. San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2011.

Secondary Sources

Achtemeier, Paul J. *Romans*. Louisville: John Knox Press, 1985.

Ahlstrom, Sydney E. *A Religious History of the American People*. 2nd ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004 (1972).

Aletti, Jean-Noël. "Romans." In *The International Bible Commentary: A Catholic and Ecumenical Commentary for the Twenty-First Century*, ed. William R. Farmer, 1553-1600. Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1998.

Alger, William Rounseville. *The Destiny of the Soul: A Critical History of the Doctrine of Future Life*. New York: W.J. Widdleton, 1878.

Ancilla, S.M., F.S.S.J. "Catholic Polish Literature in U.S. to 1900." *Polish American Studies* 16, no. 3/4 (1959): 65-73.

- Appleby, R. Scott. "Between Americanism and Modernism: John Zahm and Theistic Evolution." *Church History* 56, no. 4 (1987): 474-490.
- Armstrong, Megan. "Transatlantic Catholicism: Rethinking the Nature of the Catholic Tradition in the Early Modern Period." *History Compass* 5, no. 6 (2007): 1942-1966.
- Artigas, Mariano. *Negotiating Darwin: Vatican Confronts Evolution 1877—1902*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2006.
- Aubert, Roger. *Vatican I: Histoire des Conciles OEcumeniques*. Paris: Éditions de L'Orante, 1964.
- Avella, Steven M. and Elizabeth McKeown. *Public Voices: Catholics in the American Context*. (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1999.
- Baldwin, John. *The Scholastic Culture of the Middle Ages 1000-1300*. Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, 1997.
- Barker, Kenneth. *Religious Education, Catechesis and Freedom*. Birmingham: Religious Education Press, 1981.
- Bast, Robert James. *Honor Your Fathers: Catechisms and the Emergence of a Patriarchal Ideology in Germany, 1400-1600*. Leiden: Brill, 1997.
- Bauckham, Richard J. "The Worship of Jesus in Philippians 2:9-11." In *Where Christology Began: Essays on Philippians 2*, ed. Ralph P. Martin and Brian J. Dodd, 128-139. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1998.
- Begheyn, Paul. "The Catechism (1555) of Peter Canisius, the Most Published Book by a Dutch Author in History." *Quaerendo* 36 (2006): 51-84.
- Benedict XVI, Pope. *Handing on the Faith in an Age of Disbelief*. San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2006.
- Benigni, U. "Gaetano Sanseverino." In *Catholic Encyclopedia*. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912.
- Bode, Gerhard. "Instruction of the Christian Faith by Lutherans after Luther." In *Lutheran Ecclesiastical Culture: 1550-1675*, ed. Robert Kolb, 159-204. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- Bonner, Jeremy. *The Road to Renewal: Victor Joseph Reed and Oklahoma Catholicism, 1905-1971*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2008.

- Bouquillon, Thomas, D.D. *Education: To Whom Does It Belong?* Baltimore: John Murphy and Company, 1891.
- Boyer, Paul S. *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America: 1820-1920*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978.
- Boys, Mary C. *Educating in Faith: Maps and Visions*. San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1989.
- Brown, Christopher Boyd. "Devotional Life in Hymns, Liturgy, Music, and Prayer." In *Lutheran Ecclesiastical Culture: 1550-1675*, ed. Robert Kolb. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- Browne, Henry. "The 'Italian Problem' in the Catholic Church of the United States, 1880—1900." In *Historical Records and Studies* Vol. 35. New York: United States Catholic Historical Society, 1946.
- Bryce, Mary Charles, O.S.B. *Come Let Us Eat*. New York: Herder and Herder, 1964.
- _____. "Concerns of the Catechetical Renewal." *The Catholic Educator* 39, no. 1 (1968).
- _____. "The Confraternity of Christian Doctrine in the United States." In *Renewing the Sunday School and the CCD*, ed. D. Campbell Wyckoff. Birmingham, Alabama: Religious Education Press, 1986.
- _____. "The Influence of the Catechism of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in Widely Used Elementary Religion Textbooks: From Its Composition in 1885 to Its 1941 Revision." Ph.D. diss, Catholic University of America, 1970.
- _____. *A Parent-Teacher Manual for Come Let Us Eat*. New York: Herder and Herder, 1964.
- _____. *Pride of Place: The Role of the Bishops in the Development of Catechesis in the United States*. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1984.
- _____. "Religious Education in the Pastoral Letters and National Meetings of the U.S. Hierarchy." *The Living Light* 10, no. 2 (1973).
- _____. "The Uniform Catechism Before and After Baltimore III." *The Living Light* 21, no. 1 (1984).
- Burns, J. Patout. "Baptism as Dying and Rising with Christ in the Teaching of Augustine." *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 20, no. 3 (2012): 407-438.
- Butler, Dom Cuthbert. *The Vatican Council: The Story Told From Inside In Bishop Ullathorne's Letters*. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1930.

_____. *The Vatican Council 1869-1870*. Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1962.

Byron, Tammy K. “‘A Catechism for Their Special Use’: Slave Catechisms in the Antebellum South.” Ph.D. diss., University of Arkansas, 2008.

Cadegan, Una M. “Running the Ancient Ark by Steam: Catholic Publishing, 1880-1950.” In *A History of the Book in America Volume 4: Print in Motion: The Expansion of Publishing and Reading in the United States 1880-1940*, ed. Carl F. Kaestle and Janice A. Radway. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009.

Callahan, Leroy. “The Catechism Graded for Children.” In *Proceedings of the National Catechetical Congress of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, Rochester, New York, October 30, 31, 1935*. Paterson, NJ: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1936.

Campbell, Paul. “Religion for High School and College.” *Homiletic and Pastoral Review* 49, no. 12 (September 1949).

Carew, M. Jane, O.V. “Are Seminaries Meeting the Current Challenges of Catechetics?” *Seminary Journal* 11, no. 1 (2005).

Carey, Patrick. *American Catholic Religious Thought*. New York: Paulist Press, 1987.

_____. *Catholics in America: A History*. New York: Sheed & Ward, 2004.

_____. *Roman Catholics in America*. West Port, CN: Praeger, 1996.

Carlson, Eric Josef. “The Boring of the Ear: Shaping the Pastoral Vision of Preaching in England, 1540-1640.” In *Preachers and People in the Reformations and Early Modern Period*, ed. Larissa Taylor, 249-296. Leiden: Brill, 2001.

Carmody, Charles J. “The ‘Carroll Catechism’—A Primary Component of the American Catechetical Tradition.” *Notre Dame Journal of Education* 7 (1976): 76-95.

Carman, Glen. “On the Pope’s Original Intent: Las Casas Reads the Papal Bulls of 1493.” *Colonial Latin American Review* 7, no. 2 (1998): 193-204.

Carter, Michael S. “‘Under the Benign Sun of Toleration’: Matthew Carey, the Douai Bible, and Catholic Print Culture, 1789-1791.” *Journal of the Early Republic* 27, no. 3 (2007): 437-469.

Catholicus. *DOA: The Ambush of the Universal Catechism*. Notre Dame, IN: Crisis Books, 1993.

Cavadini, John C. “Ignorant Catholics: The Alarming Void in Religious Education.” *Commonweal* (April 9, 2004).

- _____. "Scripture, Doctrine, and Proclamation: *The Catechism of the Catholic Church* and the Renewal of Homiletics." *Letter & Spirit* 4 (2008): 245-253.
- _____. "The Use of Scripture in the Catechism of the Catholic Church." *Letter & Spirit* 2 (2006): 43-54.
- Chilton, Bruce D. "Romans 9-11 as Scriptural Interpretation and Dialogue with Judaism." *Ex Auditu* 4 (1988): 27-37.
- Clement, Carol Dorr. "Catholic Foremothers in American Catechesis." *Living Light* 37, no. 2 (2000): 55-68.
- Cohn-Sherbok, Rabbi Dan. "Paul and Rabbinic Exegesis." *Scottish Journal of Theology* 35, no. 2 (1982): 117-132.
- Collins, Joseph B. "The Beginning of the CCD in Europe." *American Ecclesiastical Review* 168 (1974): 695-706.
- Corecco, Eugenio. *Il Diritto della Chiesa*. Milan: Jaca Books, 1995.
- Cunningham, John. *Newark*. Newark: New Jersey Historical Society, 1966.
- Curran, R. Emmett. "The McGlynn Affair and the Shaping of the New Conservatism in American Catholicism, 1886-1894." *Catholic Historical Review* 66, no. 2 (1980): 184-204.
- D'Agostino, Peter. *Rome in America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.
- Dalberg-Acton, John Emerich Edward. "The Vatican Council." In *Essays on Freedom and Power*, 299-351. Boston: Beacon Press, 1948.
- Daniels, Roger. *Coming To America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life*. 2nd ed. New York: HarperPerennial, 2002 (1990).
- Davidson, James, ed. *The Search for Common Ground: What Unites and Divides Catholic Americans*. Huntington, IN: Our Sunday Visitor, 1997.
- Davies, W.D. *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism: Some Rabbinic Elements in Pauline Theology*. Philadelphia: Augsburg Fortress, 1980.
- Day, Juliette. *The Baptismal Liturgy of Jerusalem: Fourth- and Fifth-Century Evidence from Palestine, Syria and Egypt*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007.

- De Wulf, Maurice. *An Introduction to Scholastic Philosophy: Medieval and Modern*. Trans. Coffey. New York: Dover Publications, 1956.
- DeConde, Alexander. *Half Bitter, Half Sweet: An Excursion into Italian-American History*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971.
- Deferrari, Roy. *Some Problems of Catholic Higher Education in the United States*. Boston, MA: Daughters of St. Paul, 1963.
- DiGiovanni, Stephen. *Archbishop Corrigan and the Italian Immigrants*. Huntington, IN: Our Sunday Visitor, 1994.
- Dolan, Jay P. *The American Catholic Experience: A History from Colonial Times to the Present*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1985.
- _____. *Catholic Revivalism: The American Experience 1830-1900*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1978.
- _____. *In Search of an American Catholicism: A History of Religion and Culture in Tension*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Donovan, Daniel. "The Hot and Cool of Religious Communications and Catechesis." *Catholica Blog*, Feb. 7, 2011.
- Dooley, Catherine. "The Religious Education Curriculum in Catholic Schools." In *The Catholic Character of Catholic Schools*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2000.
- Doyle, Dennis. *The Church Emerging from Vatican II*. Mystic, CT: Twenty-Third Publications, 2002.
- _____. "F.H. Drinkwater on the Use and Abuse of Catechisms." *The Living Light* 18, no. 4 (1981).
- Dulles, Avery Cardinal. "True and False Reform." *First Things* (August/September 2003).
- Dunn, James D.G. *Word Biblical Commentary 38A: Romans 1-8*. Waco: Word, 1988.
- Elias, John L. "Edward Pace: Pioneer Catholic Philosopher, Psychologist and Religious Educator." Paper presented at the 2005 annual meeting of (REACH) Religious Education Association Clearing House, Nov. 4, 2005.
- Ellis, John Tracy. *American Catholicism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969.

- _____. *The Life of James Cardinal Gibbons Archbishop of Baltimore 1834-1921*. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing, 1952.
- Farrell, Melvin Lloyd. "A Theological Analysis of Kerygma in the Baltimore Catechism." S.T.D. diss., The Catholic University of America, 1970.
- _____. "Why the Baltimore Catechism is Obsolete." *American Ecclesiastical Review* 163 (1970): 11-19.
- Ferguson, Everett. *Baptism in the Early Church: History, Theology, and Liturgy in the First Five Centuries*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009.
- Finan, Thomas. "Catechesis Now and Then." *Furrow* 29, no. 1 (1978): 28-37.
- Finley, Mitch. *Everybody Has a Guardian Angel, and other Lasting Lessons I learned in Catholic Schools*. New York: Crossroad, 1993.
- Fisher, James T. *Communion of Immigrants: A History of Catholics in America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008 (2000).
- Fitzmyer, Joseph A. *Romans*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.
- Fogarty, Gerald. *The Vatican and the American Hierarchy From 1870 to 1965*. Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1985.
- Franza, Gerardo. *Il Catechismo a Roma e L'Arciconfraternita della Dottrina Cristiana*. Alba: Edizioni Paoline, 1958.
- Gadenz, Pablo T. *Called from the Jews and from the Gentiles: Pauline Ecclesiology in Romans 9-11*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009.
- Gaillardetz, Richard R. "John A. Ryan: An Early Revisionist?" *The Journal of Religious Ethics* 18 (1990): 107-122.
- Glazier, Michael, ed. *The Encyclopedia of American Catholic History*. Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1997.
- Glazier, Michael and Monika K. Hellwig, ed. *The Modern Catholic Encyclopedia*. Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1994.
- Gleason, Philip. "Baltimore III and Education." *U.S. Catholic Historian* 4, no. 3/4 (1985): 273-306.
- _____. *Contending With Modernity: Catholic Higher Education in the Twentieth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

- Gmeiner, Rev. John. *Mediaeval and Modern Cosmology*. Milwaukee WI: Hoffmann Brothers, 1891.
- Golitzin, Alexander. *Et Introibo ad Altare Dei: The Mystagogy of Dionysius Areopagita with Special Reference to Its Predecessors in the Eastern Christian Tradition*. Thessalonika: George Dedousis, 1994.
- Gomez, Archbishop José H. "Ways to Live the Year of Faith with Young People." *Pastoral Bíblica Juvenil* (2012): 1-14.
- Gordon, Edmund. "Adult Faith Formation: A Catholic Vision." *Lifelong Faith* 2, no. 3 (2008): 31-44.
- Green, James N. *Matthew Carey: Publisher and Patriot*. Philadelphia: Library Company of Philadelphia, 1985.
- Groome, Thomas H. *Christian Religious Education: Sharing Our Story and Vision*. San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1980.
- Guilday, Peter. *A History of the Councils of Baltimore, 1791-1884*. New York: MacMillan, 1932.
- _____. *The Life and Times of John Carroll: Archbishop of Baltimore (1735-1815): Volume I*. New York: Encyclopedia Press, 1922.
- Gutjahr, Paul C. *An American Bible: A History of the Good Book in the United States, 1777-1880*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999.
- Haeming, Mary Jane. "The Living Voice of the Catechism: German Lutheran Catechetical Preaching 1530-1580." Th.D. diss., Harvard University, 1996.
- Happé, Peter. *Cyclic Form and the English Mystery Plays: A Comparative Study of English Biblical Cycles and their Continental and Iconographic Counterparts*. Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi B.V., 2004.
- Harbrecht, John. "What is Catholic Action?" *Commonweal* 10 (April 24, 1929): 708-710.
- Hardon, John and Michael Mohr. "Why Are the Catholic Laity Mainly Responsible for Re-evangelization?" *Laywitness* (October 2010).
- Heath, Mark. "Review Essay Pride of Place: The U.S. Bishops and Catechesis." *The Living Light* 22, no. 2 (1986).
- Heekin, Ann. "Mary Charles Bryce OSB: The Americanization of Catholic Religious Education." *Christian Educators of the 20th Century* (2010). Found at: <http://www.talbot.edu/ce20/educators>.

- Heimann, Mary. *Catholic Devotion in Victorian England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Hengel, Martin. *Between Jesus and Paul: Studies in the Earliest History of Christianity*. Trans. John Bowden. London: SCM Press, 1983.
- Hennessey, James, S.J. *American Catholics: A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981.
- _____. *The First Council of the Vatican: The American Experience*. New York: Herder & Herder, 1963.
- Hesselink, I. John. *Calvin's First Catechism: A Commentary*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1997.
- Hinrichsen, Carl D. *The History of the Diocese of Newark 1873-1901*. Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1963.
- Hudson, Anne. "A New Look at the *Lay-Folks' Catechism*." *Viator* 16 (1985): 243-258.
- Hurtado, Larry W. "The Binitarian Pattern of Earliest Christian Devotion and Early Doctrinal Development." In *The Place of Christ in Liturgical Prayer: Trinity, Christology and Liturgical Theology*, ed. Brian Spinks, 23-50. Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2008.
- Kamperidis, Lambros. "Catechesis in East and West." In *A History of Pastoral Care*, ed. G.R. Evans, 201-219. New York: Cassell, 2000.
- Kardis, Mária. "Early Christian Tradition in Theology of Apostle Paul." *E-Theologos* 2, no. 1 (2011): 56-66.
- Kayayan, E. "Calvin between *facilis brevitatis*, *confessio*, and *institutio*: Instruction of Faith in Geneva." *Koers* 74, no. 4 (2009): 619-642.
- Kelly, George. *The Battle for the American Church*. New York: Doubleday, 1979.
- Kelly, Liam. *Catechesis Revisited: Handing on Faith Today*. Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2000.
- Kerr, Fergus. *Twentieth-Century Catholic Theologians: From Neoscholasticism to Nuptial Mysticism*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2007.
- Kirk, John Foster. *A Supplement to Allibone's Critical Dictionary of English Literature*. Philadelphia, J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1891.

- Kolb, Robert. "The Layman's Bible: The Use of Luther's Catechism in the German Late Reformation." In *Luther's Catechisms—450 Years: Essays Commemorating the Small and Large Catechisms of Dr. Martin Luther*, ed. David P. Scaer and Robert D. Preus, 16-26. Fort Wayne, IN: Concordia Theological Seminary, 1979.
- _____. *Martin Luther as Prophet, Teacher, and Hero: Images of the Reformer, 1520-1620*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 1999.
- Kreeft, Peter. *Between Heaven and Hell*. Downers Grove: Inter Varsity Press, 1982.
- Levada, Archbishop William J. "The New Catechism: An Overview." Available online at: <http://www.usccb.org/catechism/resource/lev94art.htm>, accessed on April 25, 2003.
- _____. *A Lexicon Abridged from Liddell and Scott's Greek-English Lexicon*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982.
- LoGatto, Rev. Anthony F. *The Italians in America 1492-1972: A Chronology and Fact Book*. New York: Oceana Publications, 1972.
- Lord, Daniel A. "Schools of Catholic Action." *Studies* 22 (Sept. 1933): 454-467.
- _____. "Sodalities in America and Catholic Action." *Studies* 22 (June 1933): 257-270.
- Lumas, Eva Marie. "Overview of Guidelines for Doctrinally Sound Catechetical Materials." In *The Catechetical Documents: A Parish Resource*. Chicago: Liturgy Training Publications, 1996.
- Mangano, Antonio. *Sons of Italy: A Social and Religious Study of the Italians in America*. New York: Missionary Education Movement, 1917.
- Marthaler, Berard L. "The Catechism of the Catholic Church in U.S. Context." *Living Light* 30 (1993): 65-71.
- _____. "Catechisms Revisited: New Things and Old." *America* (Sept. 20, 1975).
- _____. "The Catechism Seen as a Whole." In *The Universal Catechism Reader*. New York: Harpercollins, 1990.
- _____. *Catechism Yesterday and Today: The Evolution of a Genre*. Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1995.
- _____. "In Memoriam: Mary Charles Bryce, OSB." *Living Light* 38, no. 4 (2002): 69.

- _____. "The Modern Catechetical Movement in Roman Catholicism: Issues and Personalities." In *Sourcebook For Modern Catechetics*, ed. Michael Warren. Winona, MN: St. Mary's Press, 1983.
- _____, ed. *New Catholic Encyclopedia*. 2nd edition. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2003.
- Mathias, Louis. *Catholic Action: Theory and Practice*. Madras: Huxley Press, 1952.
- Mazza, Enrico. *Mystagogy: A Theology of Liturgy in the Patristic Age*. New York: Pueblo, 1989.
- McAvoy, Thomas T. *The Great Crisis in American Catholic History, 1895-1900*. Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1957.
- McBrien, Richard P., ed. *The Harper Collins Encyclopedia of Catholicism*. New York: HarperCollins, 1995.
- McCaffrey, Lawrence J. *The Irish Catholic Diaspora in America*. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1997 (1976).
- McCluskey, Neil. *Catholic Education in America: A Documentary History*. New York: Columbia University, 1964.
- McDonald, James I.H. *Kerygma and Didache: The Articulation and Structure of the Earliest Christian Message*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004 (1980).
- McGreevy, John T. *Catholicism and American Freedom: A History*. New York: Norton and Company, 2003.
- Meyer, J.P. "History of Luther's Catechism." *Theologische Quartalschrift* 26, no. 2 (1929): 112-129.
- Mitchell, L.L. "The Development of Catechesis in the Third and Fourth Centuries: From Hippolytus to Augustine." In *A Faithful Church: Issues in the History of Catechesis*, ed. John H. Westerhoff and O.C. Edwards, 49-78. Wilton, CT: Morehouse-Barlow, 1981.
- Moesslein, Mark. "Origin of the Baltimore Catechism." *Ecclesiastical Review* 93 (1935).
- Moo, Douglas J. *The Epistle to the Romans*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996.
- Moran, Valentine G., S.J. "The Universal Catechism at Vatican I." *Pacifica* 1, no. 1 (1988): 44-67.

- Muldoon, James. "Papal Responsibility for the Infidel: Another Look at Alexander VI's *Inter Caetera*." *Catholic Historical Review* 64, no. 2 (1978): 168-184.
- Muldoon, Tim. "Introduction: Catholic Identity and the Laity." *College Theology Society Annual* 54 (2008).
- Noll, Mark and Carolyn Nystrom. *Is the Reformation Over?: An Evangelical Assessment of Contemporary Roman Catholicism*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2005.
- Novick, Peter. *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1988.
- "Obituaries." *San Angelo Standard Times*, April 12, 2002.
- O'Connell, Marvin. *Critics on Trial: An Introduction to the Catholic Modernist Crisis*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1994.
- O'Donnell, Catherine. "John Carroll and the Origins of an American Catholic Church, 1783-1815." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 68, no. 1 (2011): 101-126.
- O'Hara, Edwin. "The Rural Problem in its Bearing on Catholic Education." *National Catholic Educational Association Proceedings and Addresses* 17, no. 1 (1920): 232-245.
- O'Meara, Thomas F., O.P. *Thomas Aquinas Theologian*. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999.
- Pantin, William Abel. *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010 (1963).
- Parsons, Wilfrid. "A Papal Slogan: Catholic Action." *America* 40 (Feb. 2, 1929).
- Pelletier Annette and Patricia Panganiban. "Gerard S. Sloyan." *Christian Educators of the 20th Century* (2010). Found at: <http://www.talbot.edu/ce20/educators>.
- Perrier, Joseph. *The Revival of Scholastic Philosophy in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1909.
- Pizzorni, R. M. "Sanseverino, Gaetano." In *New Catholic Encyclopedia* Vol XII. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1967.
- Pope, Thomas Canon. *The Council of the Vatican and the Events of the Time*. Boston: Patrick Donahoe, 1872.
- Portier, William L. *Isaac Hecker and the First Vatican Council*. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1985.

- _____. "Isaac Hecker and the First Vatican Council." *Catholic Historical Review* 71, no. 2 (1985): 206-227.
- _____. "Providential Nation: An Historical-Theological Study of Isaac Hecker's Americanism." Ph.D. diss., University of St. Michael's College, 1980.
- Priest, Alice. "Richard Rohr's 'Everything Belongs' and Enhancing Catholic School Identity: Holding On and Letting Go." *Journal of Religious Education* 59, no. 2 (2011): 14-22.
- Ratzinger, Joseph Cardinal. *Gospel, Catechesis, Catechism: Sidelights on the Catechism of the Catholic Church*. San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1997.
- _____. *On the Way to Jesus Christ*. Trans. Michael J. Miller. San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2005.
- _____. "Sources and Transmission of the Faith." *Communio* 10 (1983): 17-34.
- Ratzinger, Joseph Cardinal and Christoph Schönborn. *Introduction to the Catechism of the Catholic Church*. San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1994.
- Reese, Thomas J. *The Universal Catechism Reader*. New York: Harper Collins, 1990.
- Regan, Jane. "A Study of the Examination of Conscience as an Element of Catechesis." Ph.D., diss., Catholic University of America, 1989.
- Reilly, Daniel. *The School Controversy, 1891-1893*. Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1943.
- Reuss, Francis X. *Biographical Cyclopaedia of the Catholic Hierarchy of the United States 1784-1898*. Milwaukee: M. H. Wiltzius & Co., 1898.
- Robert, Dana L. *Christian Mission: How Christianity Became a World Religion*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009.
- Rousselot, Pierre. *The Life of the Church*. New York: Sheed & Ward, 1933.
- Ryan, James Emmett. "Sentimental Catechism: Archbishop James Gibbons, Mass-Print Culture, and American Literary History." *Religion and American Culture* 7, no. 1 (1997): 81-119.
- Ryan, Mary Perkins. *Are Parochial Schools the Answer? Catholic Schools in Light of the Council*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1964.

- Sanders, E.P. "Patterns of Religion in Paul and Rabbinic Judaism: A Holistic Method of Comparison." *Harvard Theological Review* 66, no. 4 (1973): 455-478.
- _____. *Paul, the Law and the Jewish People*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983.
- _____. *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977.
- Sanders, Jack T. *The New Testament Christological Hymns: Their Historical Religious Background*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971.
- Scharper, Philip. "The Parrot and the Dove." *Commonweal* (March 8, 1957): 586-589.
- Schatz, Klaus. *Papal Primacy: From Its Origins to the Present*. Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1996 (1990).
- Schiavo, Giovanni. *Four Centuries of Italian-American History*. New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1992 (1952).
- _____. *Italian-American History: The Italian Contribution to the Catholic Church in America* Vol 2. New York: Vigo Press, 1949.
- _____. *The Italians in America Before the Civil War*. New York: Arno Press, 1975 (1934).
- Schuttloffel, Merylan J. "Education: To Whom Does It Belong?" In *Catholic Schools in the United States: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Thomas C. Hunt. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004.
- Sharp, John K. "Authorization of the Baltimore Catechism." *The Ecclesiastical Review* 94, no. 5 (1936): 516-517.
- _____. "How the Baltimore Catechism Originated." *The Ecclesiastical Review* 81, no. 6 (1929): 573-586.
- _____. "The Origin of the Baltimore Catechism." *The Ecclesiastical Review* 83, no. 6 (1930): 620-624.
- Shelley, Thomas J. "Biography and Autobiography: James Cardinal Gibbons and John Tracy Ellis." *U.S. Catholic Historian* 21, no. 2 (2003): 31-46.
- Sloyan, Gerard S. "Catechetical Renewal." *Worship* 37, no. 2 (1963).
- _____. "Interview." In *Religious Educators Oral History*. New York: Union Theological Seminary, 1997.

- _____. *Modern Catechetics: Message and Method in Religious Formation*. New York: Macmillan, 1963.
- _____. "Religious Education as a Correlate of 'Religious Knowledge': Some Problem Areas." In *Speaking of Religious Education*. New York: Herder and Herder, 1968.
- _____. *Shaping the Christian Message: Essays in Religious Education*. New York: Macmillan, 1958.
- _____. "A Theological and Pastoral Critique of *Catechism of the Catholic Church*: Review Essay." *Horizons* 21 (1994): 159-171.
- The Sower* (January-March 2006): 14-31.
- Speranza, Gino. "How it Feels to be a Problem." In *A Documentary History of the Italian Americans*, ed. Wayne Moquin and Charles Van Doren. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974.
- Steinmetz, David. *Calvin in Context*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Stibili, Edward Claude. *The St. Raphael Society for the Protection of Italian Immigrants 1887-1923*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1977.
- Sweeney, David F. *The Life of John Lancaster Spalding: First Bishop of Peoria, 1840-1916*. New York: Herder & Herder, 1965.
- Tebbel, John. *A History of Book Publishing in the United States Volume I: The Creation of an Industry, 1630-1865*. New York: R.R. Bowker, 1972.
- _____. *History of Book Publishing in the United States Volume II: The Expansion of an Industry, 1865-1919*. New York: R.R. Bowker, 1975.
- Thorman, Donald. *The Emerging Layman: The Role of the Catholic Layman in America*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1962.
- Tobin, Eamon. "A Pastor's Experience Teaching the Catechism." *Priest* 67, no. 4 (2011): 57-58.
- Tomasi, Silvano M. *Piety and Power: The Role of the Italian Parishes in the New York Metropolitan Area 1880-1930*. Staten Island, NY: Center for Migration Studies, 1975.
- Trollinger, William Vance, Jr. "An Outpouring of 'Faithful' Words: Protestant Publishing in the United States, 1880-1945." In *A History of the Book in America Volume 4: Print in Motion: The Expansion of Publishing and Reading in the*

- United States 1880-1940*, ed. Carl F. Kaestle and Janice A. Radway, 359-375. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009.
- Unsworth, Tim. "The Church is Humorous." In *The Many Marks of the Church*, ed. William Madges and Michael J. Daley, 132-135. New London, CT: Twenty-Third Publications, 2006.
- van Asselt, Willem J. and Eef Dekker. Introduction to *Reformation and Scholasticism: An Ecumenical Enterprise*, ed. Willem J. van Asselt and Eef Dekker. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2001.
- van Dael, Peter. "Two Illustrated Catechisms from Antwerp by Petrus Canisius." In *Education and Learning in the Netherlands, 1400-1600: Essays in Honour of Hilde de Ridder-Symoens*, ed. Koen Goudriaan, Jaap van Moolenbroek, and Ad Tervoort, 277-296. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
- van den Brom, Luco J. "Scholasticism and Contemporary Systematic Theology." In *Reformation and Scholasticism: An Ecumenical Enterprise*, ed. Willem J. van Asselt and Eef Dekker, 277-294. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2001.
- Van Oort, Johannes. *Jerusalem and Babylon: A Study into Augustine's City of God and the Sources of His Doctrine of the Two Cities*. Leiden: Brill, 1991.
- Vos, Antonie. "Scholasticism and Reformation." In *Reformation and Scholasticism: An Ecumenical Enterprise*, ed. Willem J. van Asselt and Eef Dekker, 277-294. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2001.
- Wangler, Thomas. "The Carroll Catechism." *The Living Light* 30 (1994).
- Warren, Michael, ed. *Sourcebook For Modern Catechetics*. Winona, MN: St. Mary's Press, 1983.
- Weddell, Sherry. *Forming Intentional Disciples*. Huntington, IN: Our Sunday Visitor, 2012.
- Will, Allen S. *Life of Cardinal Gibbons*. Baltimore: John Murphy Company, 1911.
- Willey, Petroc, Pierre de Cointet, and Barbara Morgan. *The Catechism of the Catholic Church and the Craft of Catechesis*. With an introduction by Christoph Cardinal Schönborn. San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2008.
- Willhauck, Susan. "Berard L. Marthaler." *Christian Educators of the 20th Century*, (2010). Found at: <http://www.talbot.edu/ce20/educators>.
- Wilson, James Grant and John Fiske. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*. Detroit: Gale Research, 1968 (1887-1889).

- Witherington, Ben, III. *Paul's Letter to the Romans: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004.
- Wrenn, Msgr. Michael J. *Catechisms and Controversies: Religious Education in the Postconciliar Years*. San Francisco: Ignatius, 1991.
- . *Flawed Expectations: The Reception of the Catechism of the Catholic Church*. San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1996.
- Wright, N.T. "The Letter to the Romans: Introduction, Commentary, and Reflections." In *The New Interpreter's Bible: A Commentary in Twelve Volumes: Volume 10: Acts, Introduction to Epistolary Literature, Romans, 1 Corinthians*, ed. Leander E. Keck, 393-770. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2002.
- Yarbrough, Mark M. *Paul's Utilization of Preformed Traditions in 1 Timothy: An Evaluation of Paul's Literary, Rhetorical, and Theological Tactics*. London: T&T Clark, 2009.
- Yocum Mize, Sandra. *Joining the Revolution in Theology: The College Theology Society 1954-2004*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007.
- Youniss, James, John Convey, and Jeffrey McLellan, ed. *The Catholic Character of Catholic Schools*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2000.
- Zachman, Randall C. *John Calvin as Teacher, Pastor, and Theologian: The Shape of His Writings and Thought*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2006.
- Zoller, Michael. *Washington and Rome: Catholicism in American Culture*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999.
- Zwierlein, Frederick J. *Letters of Archbishop Corrigan to Bishop McQuaid, and Allied Documents*. Rochester, NY: The Art Print Shop, 1946.

APPENDIX A

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF DE CONCILIO'S WRITING

1868-69

"Catholicity and Pantheism: Number One." *Catholic World* 8 (1868-1869) : 181-187.

"Catholicity and Pantheism: Number Two." *Catholic World* 8 (1868-1869) : 360-369.

"Catholicity and Pantheism: Number Three." *Catholic World* 8 (1868-1869) : 560-564.

"Catholicity and Pantheism: Number Four." *Catholic World* 8 (1868-1869) : 657-662.

"Catholicity and Pantheism: Number Five." *Catholic World* 8 (1868-1869) : 811-823.

1869

"Catholicity and Pantheism: Number Six: The Finite." *Catholic World* 9 (1869) : 255-263.

"Catholicity and Pantheism: Number Seven: The Finite—Continued." *Catholic World* 9 (1869) : 554-563.

1869-70

"Catholicity and Pantheism: Number Eight: Union Between the Infinite and the Finite, or First Moment of God's External Action." *Catholic World* 10 (1869-1870) : 118-130.

1870

"Catholicity and Pantheism: Number Nine." *Catholic World* 11 (1870) :

1870-71

"Catholicity and Pantheism: Number Ten: The Supernatural or Sublimative Moment of God's Action." *Catholic World* 12 (1870-1871) : 509-525.

“Catholicity and Pantheism: No. XI: Relations Between the Sublimative Moment and Substantial Creation.” *Catholic World* 13 (1871) : 554-565.

1871-72

“Catholicity and Pantheism: No. XII: The Cosmos in Time and Space.” *Catholic World* 14 (1871-1872) : 376-391.

“Catholicity and Pantheism: No. XIII: The Cosmos in Time and Space—Continued.” *Catholic World* 14 (1871-1872) : 830-844.

1874 ***Catholicity and Pantheism: All Truth or No Truth: An Essay.* New York: D. & J. Sadlier & Co., 1874.**

1878 ***Elements of Intellectual Philosophy.* New York: D. & J. Sadlier, 1878.**

1878 ***The Knowledge of Mary.* New York: The Catholic Publication Society, 1878.**

1879

“Catholicity and Pantheism: On Evil.” *Catholic World* 29 (1879) : 54-63.

“On Evil.” *Catholic World* 29 (1879) : 510-518.

“What Was the Primitive State of Man?” *Catholic World* 29 (1879) : 602-611.

1879-80

“The Fall and Its Transmission.” *Catholic World* 30 (1879-1880) : 838-846.

“On Man’s Destiny.” *Catholic World* 30 (1879-1880) : 519-529.

1883

“Thought is Free.” *Catholic World* 37 (1883) : 741-745.

Book Review – “Elements of Ecclesiastical Law. By Rev. S. B. Smith, D.D. Vol. II” *Pastor* 1 no 6 (April 1883) : 189-191.

1884

“The Plurality of Worlds.” *American Catholic Quarterly Review* 9 (1884) : 193-216.

1885 ***A Catechism of Christian Doctrine Prepared and Enjoined by Order of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore.* New York: The Catholic Publishing Company, 1885.**

1886 ***Catechismo della Dottrina Christiana, di Monsignor G. De Concilio.* New York: Società delle Pubblicazioni Cattoliche, 1886.**

1887 *The Doctrine of St. Thomas on the Right of Property and of Its Use*. New York: Fr. Pustet & Co., 1887.

1888

“The Right of Individual Ownership—Does It Spring from the Natural or the Human Law?” *American Catholic Quarterly Review* 13 (1888) : 270-303.

1888 *Su Lo Stato Religioso degl’Italiani negli Stati Uniti d’America*. New York: Tipografia J.H. Carbone, 1888.

1889

“It Is Not So: Right Rev. J. De Concilio Answers Prof Seton” *New York Freeman’s Journal*, Oct. 12, 1889 : 1.

“Tit for Tat: Article First” *New York Freeman’s Journal*, Oct. 12, 1889 : 7.

“Tit for Tat: Article Second” *New York Freeman’s Journal*, Oct. 19, 1889 : 7.

“A Counter Reply By Mgr. J. De Concilio, D. D. to Prof Seton” *New York Freeman’s Journal*, Oct 26, 1889 : 1.

“Tit for Tat: Article Third” *New York Freeman’s Journal*, Oct. 26, 1889 : 7.

“Tit for Tat: Article Fourth” *New York Freeman’s Journal*, Nov. 2, 1889 : 7.

“Last Reply of Right Rev. J. De Concilio, D. D. to Prof Seton” The Professor Acknowledges Himself Beaten” *New York Freeman’s Journal*, Nov. 9, 1889 : 5.

“Tit for Tat: Article Fifth” *New York Freeman’s Journal*, Nov. 9, 1889 : 6.

“Tit for Tat: Article Sixth” *New York Freeman’s Journal*, Nov. 16, 1889 : 6.

“Tit for Tat: Article Seventh: Immortality of the Soul” *New York Freeman’s Journal*, Nov. 23, 1889 : 6.

“Tit for Tat: Article Eighth: The Mystery” *New York Freeman’s Journal*, Nov. 30, 1889 : 6.

“Tit for Tat: Article Ninth: Man’s Final Destiny, Not in Any Created Object but in God” *New York Freeman’s Journal*, Dec. 7, 1889 : 6.

“Tit for Tat: Article Tenth: Natural Religion Not at all Sufficient” *New York Freeman’s Journal*, Dec. 14, 1889 : 6.

“Tit for Tat: Article Eleventh: The Supernatural a Fact and a Reality” *New York Freeman’s Journal*, Dec. 21, 1889 : 6.

“Tit for Tat: Article Twelfth: The Miracle---Continued” *New York Freeman’s Journal*, Dec. 28, 1889 : 6.

Thirteenth -- missing

Fourteenth -- missing⁵⁴⁴

1889 *Harmony Between Science and Religion*. New York: Fr. Pustet, 1889.

1889

“‘Robert Elsmere’ as a Controversial Novel.” *American Catholic Quarterly Review* 14 (1889) : 268-282.

1890

“Tit for Tat: Article Fifteenth: The Resurrection—The Apostles Could Have No Reasonable Motive to Invent an Imposture” *New York Freeman’s Journal*, March 15, 1890 : 6.

“Tit for Tat: Article Sixteenth: Prophecy, the Next Mark of God’s Approval of Christianity” *New York Freeman’s Journal*, March 22, 1890 : 6.

“Tit for Tat: Article Seventeenth: His Resurrection and His Ascension Into Heaven” *New York Freeman’s Journal*, March 29, 1890 : 6.

“Tit for Tat: Article Eighteenth: The Propagation of Christianity –The Obstacles Encountered by the Apostles in the Way of its Spreading” *New York Freeman’s Journal*, April 5, 1890 : 6.

“Tit for Tat: Article Nineteenth: The Martyrs of Christianity” *New York Freeman’s Journal*, April 12, 1890 : 6.

Book Review, “Brother Azarias’ Philosophy of Literature” *New York Freeman’s Journal*, June 28, 1890 : 1-2.

Literary Notes, “A Counter Reply on Brother Azarias’ Philosophy of Literature” *New York Freeman’s Journal*, Aug. 9, 1890.

⁵⁴⁴ Note: The reels of microfilm went Aug 10, 1889—Dec 28, 1889 to next reel Feb 22, 1890—Aug 27, 1892. Jan and part of Feb 1890 are missing; Saturdays during that period to request from another library Jan 4, 11, 18, 25 1890 Feb 1, 8, 15, 1890.

1892

“The School Question. To Whom Does Education Belong?: Part One.” *New York Freeman’s Journal*, Feb. 13, 1892.

“The School Question. To Whom Does Education Belong?: Part Two” *New York Freeman’s Journal*, Feb. 20, 1892.

“The School Question. To Whom Does Education Belong?: Part Three” *New York Freeman’s Journal*, Feb. 27, 1892.

“The School Question. To Whom Does Education Belong?: Part Four” *New York Freeman’s Journal*, Feb. March 5, 1892.

“The School Question. To Whom Does Education Belong?: Part Five” *New York Freeman’s Journal*, March 12, 1892.

Translates “*La Questione Scholastica degli Stati Uniti & La Decisione della Propaganda*” (The School Question in the United States & The Decision of Propaganda) by Rev. Gerardo Ferranti from Italian into English.

1892 **De Concilio, Januarius (Gennaro). *Apology For State Omnipotence in the Matter of Education*. New York, 1892.**

1892

“Scientific and Metaphysical Cosmology.” *American Ecclesiastical Review* 6 (1892) : 14-28.

“Scientific and Metaphysical Cosmology: Second Article.” *American Ecclesiastical Review* 6 (1892) : 131-144.

“Scientific and Metaphysical Cosmology: Third Article: Proof of the Scholastic Theory.” *American Ecclesiastical Review* 6 (1892) : 205-221.

1896

“Evolution and Dogma, Criticism by Rt. Rev. Mgr. De Concilio on Rev. Dr. Zahm’s Recent Work.” *New York Freeman’s Journal*, March 21, 1896 : 5.

“Evolution and Dogma, Criticism by Rt. Rev. Mgr. De Concilio on Rev. Dr. Zahm’s Recent Work: Part Two.” *New York Freeman’s Journal*, March 28, 1896 : 5.

APPENDIX B

TABLE I
SUMMARY OF COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE
CONTENTS OF THE BALTIMORE CATECHISM
WITH FOUR CATECHISMS IN USE IN
1884-1885

	Baltimore 1885	Butler 1882	Verot 1869	McCaffrey 1866	David 1825
Total number of questions—answers	421	457	212	447	743
Number of questions— answers identical to those in Baltimore	287	235	180	230	239
Number of questions— answers in Baltimore found only in each respective catechism	95	42	9	18	26
Percentage of each source's contribution based on total number of question—answers in each contributing catechism	--	51%	85%	51%	32%
Number of questions— answers in Baltimore alone	49				
(Note: Ten per cent of the Baltimore Catechism's total contents were not found in any other manual.)					

See Appendix A for a detailed study of the comparison of the manuals.

APPENDIX C

QUESTIONS IDENTIFIED BY BRYCE AS UNIQUE TO THE *BALTIMORE* *CATECHISM*

- 1) 31. Q. What is a mystery?
- 2) 56. Q. How many things are necessary to make a sin mortal?
- 3) 122. Q. Which are the attributes of the Church?
- 4) 123. Q. What do you mean by the authority of the Church?
- 5) 125. Q. When does the Church teach infallibly?
- 6) 126. Q. What do you mean by the indefectibility of the Church?
- 7) 127. Q. In whom are these attributes found in their fullness?
- 8) 133. Q. In which Church are these attributes and marks found?
- 9) 134. Q. From whom does the Church derive its undying life and infallible authority?
- 10) 135. Q. By whom is the Church made and kept One, Holy, and Catholic?
- 11) 140. Q. Which are the Sacraments that give sanctifying grace?
- 12) 141. Q. Why are Baptism and Penance called Sacraments of the dead?
- 13) 142. Q. Which are the Sacraments that increase sanctifying grace in our soul?
- 14) 143. Q. Why are Confirmation, Holy Eucharist, Extreme Unction, Holy Orders, and Matrimony called Sacraments of the living?
- 15) 145. Q. Besides sanctifying grace do the Sacraments give any other grace?
- 16) 146. Q. What is sacramental grace?
- 17) 151. Q. Does this character remain in the soul even after death?
- 18) 157. Q. How many kinds of Baptism are there?
- 19) 159. Q. What is Baptism of desire?
- 20) 160. Q. What is Baptism of blood?
- 21) 161. Q. Is Baptism of desire or of blood sufficient to produce the effects of Baptism of water?
- 22) 164. Q. Why are godfathers and godmothers given in Baptism?
- 23) 165. Q. What is the obligation of a godfather and a godmother?
- 24) 178. Q. Why do we receive the gift of Fear of the Lord?
- 25) 179. Q. Why do we receive the gift of Piety?
- 26) 180. Q. Why do we receive the gift of Knowledge?
- 27) 181. Q. Why do we receive the gift of Fortitude?
- 28) 182. Q. Why do we receive the gift of Counsel?
- 29) 183. Q. Why do we receive the gift of Understanding?
- 30) 184. Q. Why do we receive the gift of Wisdom?
- 31) 247. Q. How was the substance of the bread and wine changed into the substance of the body and blood of Christ?
- 32) 275. Q. What do you mean by the remains of sin?
- 33) 283. Q. Can a Christian man and woman be united in lawful marriage in any other way than by the Sacrament of Matrimony?
- 34) 285. Q. Which are the effects of the Sacrament of Matrimony?

- 35) 288. Q. Does the Church forbid the marriage of Catholics with persons who have a different religion or no religion at all?
- 36) 289. Q. Why does the Church forbid the marriage of Catholics with persons who have a different religion or no religion at all?
- 37) 292. Q. What is a sacramental?
- 38) 293. Q. What is the difference between the Sacraments and the sacramentals?
- 39) 294. Q. Which is the chief sacramental used in the Church?
- 40) 300. Q. What other sacramental is in very frequent use?
- 41) 320. Q. Are sins against faith, hope and charity also sins against the first Commandment?
- 42) 321. Q. How does a person sin against faith?
- 43) 322. Q. How do we fail to try to know what God has taught?
- 44) 325. Q. Can they who fail to profess their faith in the true Church in which they believe expect to be saved while in that state?
- 45) 333. Q. What do we mean by praying to the saints?
- 46) 356. Q. Are the Sabbath day and the Sunday the same?
- 47) 357. Q. Why does the Church command us to keep the Sunday holy instead of the Sabbath?
- 48) 359. Q. What are servile works?
- 49) 360. Q. Are servile works on Sunday ever lawful?
- 50) 370. Q. What are we commanded by the sixth Commandment?
- 51) 383. Q. What are we commanded by the ninth Commandment?
- 52) 403. Q. What is the meaning of the commandment not to marry within the third degree of kindred?
- 53) 404. Q. What is the meaning of the command not to marry privately?
- 54) 406. Q. What is the nuptial Mass?
- 55) 407. Q. Should Catholics be married at a nuptial Mass?

APPENDIX D

COMPARISON OF COUNCIL CATECHISMS

Martin Spalding's catechism (figure 3.1)

Q. What is Matrimony?

A. Matrimony is a Sacrament which gives grace to the married couple to love one another and bring up their children in the fear of God.

Q. How should a husband behave towards his wife?

A. A husband should love, cherish, protect and comfort his wife, as Christ does His spouse the Church.

Q. How should a wife behave towards her husband?

A. A wife should show love, respect and submission to her husband, as the Church does to Christ.

Q. Can the bond of marriage be dissolved?

A. The bond of marriage can never be dissolved but by death, for Christ has said: "What God has joined together let not man put asunder."—Matt. xix.; Rom. vii.; 1 Cor. vii.

Q. Why do so many marriages prove unhappy?

A. Marriages often prove unhappy because persons enter into that holy state from unworthy motives and with guilty consciences.

Q. What should be done in order to receive worthily the Sacrament of Marriage?

A. Before marriage the parties should make a good confession, beg God to grant them a pure intention, and direct them in their choice.

De Concilio's catechism (figure 3.2)

282. Q. What is the Sacrament of Matrimony?

A. The Sacrament of Matrimony is the Sacrament which unites a Christian man and woman in lawful marriage.

283. Q. Can a Christian man and woman be united in lawful marriage in any other way than by the Sacrament of Matrimony?

A. A Christian man and woman cannot be united in lawful marriage in any other way than by the Sacrament of Matrimony, because Christ raised marriage to the dignity of a Sacrament.

284. Q. Can the bond of Christian marriage be dissolved by any human power?

A. The bond of Christian marriage cannot be dissolved by any human power.

285. Q. Which are the effects of the Sacrament of Matrimony?

A. The effects of the Sacrament of Matrimony are:

1. To sanctify the love of husband and wife;
2. To give them grace to bear with each other's weaknesses;
3. To enable them to bring up their children in the fear and love of God.

286. Q. To receive the Sacrament of matrimony worthily is it necessary to be in the state of grace?

A. To receive the Sacrament of Matrimony worthily it is necessary to be in the state of grace, and it is necessary also to comply with the laws of the Church.

287. Q. Who has the right to make laws concerning the Sacrament of marriage?

A. The Church alone has the right to make laws concerning the Sacrament of marriage, though the state also has the right to make laws concerning the civil effects of the marriage contract.

288. Q. Does the Church forbid the marriage of Catholics with persons who have a different religion or no religion at all?

A. The Church does forbid the marriage of Catholics with persons who have a different religion or no religion at all.

289. Q. Why does the Church forbid the marriage of Catholics with persons who have a different religion or no religion at all?

A. The Church forbids the marriage of Catholics with persons who have a different religion or no religion at all, because such marriages generally lead to indifference, loss of faith, and to the neglect of the religious education of the children.

290. Q. Why do many marriages prove unhappy?

A. Many marriages prove unhappy because they are entered into hastily and without worthy motives.

291. Q. How should Christians prepare for a holy and happy marriage?

A. Christians should prepare for a holy and happy marriage by receiving the Sacraments of Penance and Holy Eucharist; by begging God to grant them a pure intention and to direct their choice; and by seeking the advice of their parents and the blessing of their pastors.

De Concilio's catechism (figure 3.3)

366. Q. What is the fifth Commandment?

A. The fifth Commandment is: Thou shalt not kill.

367. Q. What are we commanded by the fifth Commandment?

A. We are commanded by the fifth Commandment to live in peace and union with our neighbor, to respect his rights, to seek his spiritual and bodily welfare, and to take proper care of our own life and health.

368. Q. What is forbidden by the fifth Commandment?

A. The fifth Commandment forbids all willful murder, fighting, anger, hatred, revenge, and bad example.

369. Q. What is the sixth Commandment?

A. The sixth Commandment is: Thou shalt not commit adultery.

370. Q. What are we commanded by the sixth Commandment?

A. We are commanded by the sixth Commandment to be pure in thought and modest in all our looks, words, and actions.

371. Q. What is forbidden by the sixth Commandment?

A. The sixth commandment forbids all unchaste freedom with another's wife or husband; also all immodesty with ourselves or others in looks, dress, words, or actions.

372. Q. Does the sixth Commandment forbid the reading of bad and immodest books and newspapers?

A. The sixth Commandment does forbid the reading of bad and immodest books and newspapers.

(figure 3.4)

Martin Spalding's catechism

Q. What is the FIFTH Commandment?

A. The fifth Commandment is: "Thou shalt not kill."

Q. What does the fifth commandment forbid?

A. The fifth commandment forbids all willful murder, hatred and revenge.

Q. Does the fifth commandment forbid striking?

A. The fifth commandment also forbids striking, anger, quarrelling, and injurious words.

Q. What else is forbidden?

A. Giving scandal and bad example is also sinful.

Q. What is the SIXTH commandment?

A. The sixth commandment is: "Thou shalt not commit adultery."

Q. What is forbidden by the sixth commandment?

A. The sixth commandment forbids all kinds of sins of uncleanness with another's wife or husband.

Q. What else does the sixth commandment forbid?

A. The sixth commandment also forbids all kinds of immodesty.

Q. And what do you think of immodest plays and comedies?

A. Immodest plays and comedies are forbidden, and it is sinful to be present at them.

McCaffrey's catechism

Q. What is the FIFTH Commandment?

A. The fifth Commandment is: "Thou shalt not kill."

Q. What does the fifth commandment forbid?

A. The fifth commandment forbids all willful murder, and all injury to our neighbor's life, health, or person.

Q. What else does the fifth commandment forbid?

A. The fifth commandment forbids all anger, hatred and revenge; all quarrelling, insults, and injurious words.

Q. Does the fifth commandment forbid injuring our neighbor in his body only?

A. The fifth commandment also forbids all injury to our neighbor's soul, particularly by scandal and bad example.

Q. Does this commandment forbid self-murder?

A. The fifth commandment forbids self-murder and all unlawful practices, that weaken health and shorten life.

Q. What is the SIXTH commandment?

A. The sixth commandment is: "Thou shalt not commit adultery."

Q. What is forbidden by the sixth commandment?

A. The sixth commandment forbids all kinds of sins of immodesty and all exposing of oneself or others to occasions of lust by looks, words, or actions.

Q. Are not immodest dresses, dances, and familiarities, and immodest reading and amusements forbidden by the sixth commandment?

A. All immodest dresses, dances, familiarities, amusements, and reading are forbidden by the sixth commandment.

Q. Are immodest plays and comedies, also forbidden by this commandment?

A. Going to immodest plays, and comedies, or shows, and all other sins of impurity are forbidden by the sixth commandment.

APPENDIX E

DE CONCILIO'S HANDWRITTEN JOURNAL

Galley Draft Lesson 10 “On the Church”

Q. Which are the means instituted by our Lord to enable men at all times to share in the fruits of the Redemption?

A. The means instituted by our Lord to enable men at all times to share in the fruits of His Redemption are the Church and the Sacraments.

Q. What is the Church?

A. The Church is the congregation of all those who profess the faith of Christ, partake of the same Sacraments, and are governed by their lawful pastors under one visible head.

Q. Who is the invisible Head of the Church?

A. Jesus Christ is the invisible Head of the Church.

Q. Who is the visible Head of the Church?

A. Our Holy Father the Pope, the Bishop of Rome, is the Vicar of Christ on earth and the visible Head of the Church.

Q. Which are the attributes of the Church?

A. The attributes of the Church are three: authority infallibility, and indefectibility.

Q. Has the Church any marks by which it may be known?

A. The Church has four marks by which it may be known: it is One; it is Holy; it is Catholic; it is Apostolic.

Q. In which Church are these attributes and marks found?

A. These attributes and marks are found in the Holy Roman Catholic Church alone.

APPENDIX F

ADDRESSING POINTS OF CRITICISM IN *REVISED BALTIMORE CATECHISM*

The original 1885 catechism was revised and transformed into a number of serried texts varied according to grade level during the years of 1941 to 1949. Since I refer to these texts only here collectively and generally, they will be called the *Revised Baltimore Catechism*. This revised catechism provides a nice historical foil for the original in that all of the procedural shortcomings were overcorrected. The revised version attempted to set itself apart on the very points of criticism that the original catechism received. These criticisms appeared at the time of its publication in technical journals, but later were magnified by the new catechists who desired to move away from reliance upon catechisms for religious instruction. Where the original was chiefly the product of one or two men, the revised edition would be the product of numerous experts, authorities and theologians, resulting in several graded texts. While the original was written in a week, the revised catechism would be reviewed, written and rewritten for years. Instead of a questionable personal copyright, a new legal entity would be created to hold the copyright and receive the royalties.

The study of the catechism done by the Confraternity led to lengthy reports and sheets of commentary which were created by over 150 theologians and bishops who examined the *Baltimore Catechism*.⁵⁴⁵ Ten separate printings of successive versions of the revised text with emendations were sent to Bible scholars, theologians, seminary professors, bishops and priests as well as other experts who worked with the Confraternity as consultants.⁵⁴⁶ The task of producing a text for discussion at the Second NCC meeting in October of 1936 was given to Francis J. Connell. In 1941 Connell presented to the Episcopal Committee final texts of catechisms No.1 and No.2 as well as the *First Communion Catechism*. The texts were “fortified with the signature of 125 bishops and the approval of the Congregation of the Sacred Council.”⁵⁴⁷

It was clear, according to most historians that “Spalding hurried the preparation of the catechism.”⁵⁴⁸ The revised edition of the *Baltimore Catechism* would be done at a slow and methodical pace. In 1934 the Congregation for the Council in Rome (the same congregation which had the responsibility of implementing the decrees of Trent, including the oversight of the catechism) issued the decree “*Provide sane concilio*”

⁵⁴⁵ Confraternity Publications, *Confraternity Comes of Age*, Paterson, N.J. :St. Anthony Guild Press, (1956), 112-113.

⁵⁴⁶ Paul Campbell, “Religion for High School and College,” *Homiletic and Pastoral Review* 49 no. 12 (September 1949), 975.

⁵⁴⁷ Confraternity, *Confraternity Comes of Age*, 114.

⁵⁴⁸ Sloyan, *Modern Catechetics*, 88.

which provided the stimulus in America for a revision of the *Baltimore Catechism*. Bishop Edwin O'Hara chaired the bishop's committee for the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, which was given the responsibility of revision.⁵⁴⁹ The CCD "committee prepared four drafts between October 1936 and June 1941. The revised addition had 499 questions in 38 chapters. The new chapter consisted of a series of questions on each of the eight petitions in the Lord's Prayer. The revised edition added another 16 questions in an appendix titled 'Why I am a Catholic,' based on the classic tract '*De vera religione*' (The True Religion) found in the manuals of Neoscholastic theology used in seminaries."⁵⁵⁰ The revised version was reordered in the sequence of its parts from Creed, Sacraments and Commandments to the 1941 version with the order of Creed, Commandments and Sacraments, following the organization pattern of the vast majority of catechisms. Even Marthaler observes, "The change in order reflected a very different understanding of sacrament and sacraments from that of Trent if not from that of the compilers of the original [Baltimore] text. In the new arrangement, sacraments, like prayer, appear as means, 'channels' of grace. But in reality they are more than instruments of salvation: sacraments, like the Church itself, are symbols that embody the reality they signify."⁵⁵¹

Spalding's copyright was the source of many complaints and criticisms. For the revised manual an independent legal entity was created to hold copyright. In November of 1939 the Episcopal Committee authorized the formation of a corporation (Confraternity of Christian Doctrine) for the express purpose of holding the copyrights.⁵⁵² This organization also received the royalties from the sale of the catechism, which it then funneled back into the Confraternity's ministry of publishing religious literature.

Another critical issue was the way Spalding went about securing approval from Rome. Spalding did not send a galley draft or published copy to Rome for review with the notes from the Third Plenary Council. Instead he secured the copyright then sent the catechism to the publisher for mass production. Only once it was being sold to the American public did a copy eventually find its way to the Vatican for review. Given the contentious history of American bishops' recommendations concerning catechisms being overridden by Rome, Bishop Spalding presumably felt it most beneficial to apply the adage that it is easier to ask for forgiveness than for permission.

With the *Revised Baltimore Catechism* Father Mathew Brady, of the Episcopal Committee of the Confraternity notes with pride that there was a "scrupulous presentation of all activities" to all concerned, followed by official approval of all necessary authorities. Emphasizing the degree to which procedure and custom were followed Brady adds the scrupulous oversight "runs like a silver thread in the history of the CCD."⁵⁵³ Bryce remarks that during the revision process "the Baltimore Catechism was being continuously updated to conform to changes ensuing from Rome."⁵⁵⁴

The original catechism was intended to be used by children and adult immigrants. For whatever reason, Spalding desired to produce a smaller version. Material from the

⁵⁴⁹ Marthaler, *Catechism Yesterday and Today*, 118.

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁵¹ Ibid., 119.

⁵⁵² Confraternity, *Confraternity Comes of Age*, 117.

⁵⁵³ Ibid., 115.

⁵⁵⁴ Bryce, "Religious Education," 260.

original was deleted and some sections rearranged; Catholics took this to be a simpler edition for younger children. But the Confraternity intentionally planned for not one, but five revised editions: grades K-2nd use First Communion Catechism, grades 3-5 use No. 1, grades 6-8 use No. 2, and high school students use No.3.⁵⁵⁵ In addition to these editions that did get produced, the committee had also suggested an adult edition for converts from Protestantism, but because of the war this work was never begun.⁵⁵⁶

In 1941 the Episcopal committee for the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine engaged Father Francis J. Connell, professor of Moral Theology at The Catholic University of America, as editor and theological advisor to oversee the grading and production of the texts. The 1941 edition (No. 2) increased the number of questions to 499, including a section on the Lord's Prayer. It reordered the contents so that the Commandments were treated before the sacraments. And it added an appendix titled, "Why I am a Catholic." It was followed by a revision of No. 1 and in 1943 a First Communion edition was created. Baltimore No. 3 appeared in 1949 as a text intended for use by adults. It had the same questions as the No. 2 edition, but the answers were lengthier and included pertinent quotations from Scripture.⁵⁵⁷

The editors of the editions of the *Revised Baltimore Catechism* worked diligently to address each of the main criticisms leveled against the original. And yet, as Marthaler observes, "the 1941 text of the Baltimore Catechism was not greeted with any more enthusiasm than the 1885 edition."⁵⁵⁸ There were those progressive professionals who found the text, method and even the genre hopelessly out of date.⁵⁵⁹ Like the original, the support and popularity of the text came from the more traditional laity and parish clergy. Catholic laity spoke approvingly of the catechism, purchased the book for home and school and used it as a centerpiece of religious education. Meanwhile professional religious educators and new catechists spoke against both the revised text and the current methods of catechesis, suggesting that the genre itself was no longer useful.

⁵⁵⁵ Leroy Callahan, "The Catechism Graded for Children." In *Proceedings of the National Catechetical Congress of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, Rochester, New York, October 30, 31, 1935*. Paterson, New Jersey: St. Anthony Guild Press, (1936), 78.

⁵⁵⁶ Confraternity, *Confraternity Comes of Age*, 132.

⁵⁵⁷ Marthaler, "Baltimore Catechism," 123.

⁵⁵⁸ Marthaler, *Catechism Yesterday and Today*, 119.

⁵⁵⁹ In her chapter on the Confraternity, Bryce points to this sense that there "was an increasing ideological 'distance' that seemed to develop between some well-informed people 'in the field' and those in the [lay] office." Mary Charles Bryce, "The Confraternity of Christian Doctrine in the United States." In *Renewing the Sunday School and the CCD*, ed. D. Campbell Wyckoff. Birmingham, Alabama: Religious Education Press, 1986, 41. In a more recent book Mitch Finley recalls, "In the years just after the Second Vatican Council, particularly during the 1970s, there was a backlash among professional religious educators against the idea of having children memorize anything, prayers included. More than a few parents—products of the Baltimore Catechism themselves—balked at this." Mitch Finley, *Everybody Has a Guardian Angel, and other Lasting Lessons I learned in Catholic Schools*. New York: Crossroad (1993), 30.