

**THE “HERESY AFFAIR” AT THE UNIVERSITY OF DAYTON, 1960-67:**

**THE ORIGINS OF THE “AFFAIR” AND ITS CONTEXT**

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**by**

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## ABSTRACT

### THE “HERESY AFFAIR” AT THE UNIVERSITY OF DAYTON, 1960-67: THE ORIGINS OF THE “AFFAIR” AND ITS CONTEXT

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This project examines the historical context and the origins of the “Heresy Affair” at the University of Dayton. The “Affair”—a series of events predominantly in the philosophy department—occurred when tensions between the neo-Thomists and proponents of new philosophies reached crisis stage in fall 1966, culminating in a letter written by assistant professor Dennis Bonnette to Cincinnati Archbishop Karl J. Alter. In the letter, Bonnette cited a number of instances where “erroneous teachings” were “endorsed” or “openly advocated” by four faculty members. Concerned about the pastoral impact on the University of Dayton community, Bonnette asked the archbishop to conduct an investigation. This study—using archival-historical and oral-historical analyses—provides an historical narrative of the prelude to the crisis, and investigates the theological and philosophical assumptions which underlie and are expressed in the positions espoused in the “Heresy Affair.” The concluding analysis of the origins of the “Affair” focuses on the shifting relationship of philosophy to theology and the resultant shift in the position of philosophy in the university and the Church.

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“I can do all things through Christ who strengthens me” (Philippians 4:13). This thought keeps going through my mind. Surely, this thesis has been completed because Jesus Christ has strengthened me, not only during the research and writing but throughout my life. I have been blessed in so many ways and those blessings have all contributed to this project.

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As I reflect on all the people who have touched my life and helped me with this thesis, I am in awe and I thank God for the blessings He has showered upon me. I have been able to do many things through Christ who has strengthened me by putting all of you in my life. I pray that He strengthens and blesses you, too.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER	
I. THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT: THE TURBULENT SIXTIES	6
The American Scene	
American Higher Education	
<i>Aggiornamento</i> : Roman Catholicism in the 1960s	
American Catholic Higher Education	
A Review of Prominent Themes in the Historical Context	
II. AMERICAN, CATHOLIC, AND MARIANIST: THE UNIVERSITY OF DAYTON	34
The Origins of the Society of Mary and the University	
The Administration and Governance of the University	
The Students	
The Faculty	
The University's Academic Structure	
The College of Arts and Sciences	
The Department of Theological Studies	
The Department of Philosophy	
The Issues: A Summary	
III. THE "HERESY AFFAIR" UNFOLDS: THE EARLY YEARS 1960-65	75
The Faculty Involved in the "Heresy Affair"	
Escalating Tensions	
The "Heresy Affair": The Beginning of the Crisis	
IV. THE CRISIS STAGE: A LETTER TO THE ARCHBISHOP	163
V. AN ANALYSIS OF THE AFFAIR	183



University of Dayton Organizational Chart, September 1966  
Dennis Bonnette, Letter to Karl J. Alter, 15 October 1966  
John Courtney Murray, Letter to D. Bonnette, 30 August 1966

## INTRODUCTION

In spring 1997, while taking her first graduate religious studies course, the author stumbled upon a lengthy footnote in the class text<sup>1</sup> that referred to a University of Dayton faculty committee calling for the secularization of the institution. The footnote piqued her curiosity. She wanted to know what had happened to trigger such a response.

Her research led her to the “Heresy Affair,” a series of events that reached crisis stage at the University of Dayton in academic year 1966-67. The creation of the faculty committee mentioned above was an institutional response to the “Affair.” The crisis occurred when tensions between Thomists and proponents of new philosophies in the university’s philosophy department came to a head in the fall of 1966. Assistant professor of philosophy Dennis Bonnette wrote a letter to Cincinnati Archbishop Karl J. Alter reminding the archbishop of his canonical duty of vigilance over schools in his territory. Bonnette cited a number of instances where “erroneous teachings” were “endorsed” or “openly advocated” by four faculty members at the University of Dayton, and stated that university authorities were aware of these teachings and had taken “no official action.”<sup>2</sup> Concerned about the pastoral impact on students and the “entire university community,” Bonnette asked the archbishop to conduct an investigation. Since Bonnette carbon-copied the apostolic delegate in Washington, DC, the letter was one the archbishop could not ignore.

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<sup>1</sup> The text was Philip Gleason’s *Keeping the Faith: American Catholicism Past and Present* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1987). The footnote is number 39 on page 244.

<sup>2</sup> Dennis Bonnette, letter to Archbishop Karl J. Alter, 15 October 1966, 1. A copy of the letter was given to the author by Bonnette.

Although Bonnette accused others of “erroneous teachings,” it must be noted from the outset that Bonnette did not accuse anyone of heresy.<sup>3</sup> This author always places the term “Heresy Affair” in quotation marks to indicate she recognizes that the controversy was not about “heresy.”<sup>4</sup> Part of the objective of the research was to determine how the controversy came to be labeled “heresy.”

Although some questions dealing with the specifics of the “Affair” were answered by her research in spring 1997, the author continued to wonder: what was actually happening in this series of events? To explore this aspect of the “Affair,” a number of questions had to be answered. For example, what was the historical context in 1966-67? What conditions precipitated the “Affair”? What were the underlying issues? How could the conflict have been avoided or curtailed? What positive effects for the University of Dayton resulted from the “Heresy Affair”? What negative effects? Did the effects, positive and/or negative, extend beyond the University of Dayton?

The purpose of this thesis is to reconstruct the immediate context of the “Affair,” thus providing a framework for the writing of an historical narrative of the prelude to the crisis that erupted in 1966. As one of several controversies that occurred in American Catholic universities in the mid-to-late 1960s, it is a significant piece in the history of the University of Dayton and of American Catholic higher education overall. While its history has been told by Erving E.

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<sup>3</sup> According to “Canon Law and moral theology, heresy is the sin of one who, having been baptized and retaining the name of Christian, pertinaciously denies or doubts any of the truths that one is under obligation of divine and Catholic faith to believe.” *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (1967), s.v. “Heresy” by G. A. Buckley. There are three critical elements involved: 1) only a baptized person can be a heretic; 2) the truth denied is a truth “contained in sacred Scripture and in tradition, and which [has] been proposed to the belief of the faithful by the Church, as revealed truth, either by the ordinary magisterium or by a solemn definition”; and 3) there must be a “free and deliberate will to reject a truth,” i.e., the doubt must be expressed externally. *Sacramentum Mundi: An Encyclopedia of Theology* (1969), s.v. “Heresy” by Heribert Heinemann.

<sup>4</sup> An unnamed author first used the term “Heresy Affair” in an article in the *University of Dayton Alumnus*, March 1967. The article was entitled “The ‘Heresy’ Affair.” AUD, Series 7DP.

Beauregard<sup>5</sup> from the perspective of a faculty member concerned with academic freedom, and Catholic scholars such as Philip Gleason,<sup>6</sup> David J. O'Brien,<sup>7</sup> and Christopher J. Kauffman<sup>8</sup> have referred to the "Heresy Affair" in a few pages in their discussions of Catholic higher education in the 1960s, a comprehensive narrative has yet to be written. The perspectives of American Catholic higher education—particularly the perspectives of philosophers and theologians—and other interested constituencies within the Roman Catholic Church have yet to be explored in depth.

The events known as the "Heresy Affair" are also important because they occurred during and shortly after the Second Vatican Council, one of the most significant events of modern Catholic history. Past interpretations have generally recognized the "Affair" as a response to the changes that were occurring in the Catholic Church. The study contributes, therefore, to the growing body of research into reactions of individuals and institutions to the changes that precipitated and followed the Second Vatican Council.

The study is also significant because it touches on a number of topics that have contemporary relevance including Catholic identity, the relationship of philosophy to theology, the relationship of the Catholic hierarchy to Catholic institutions of higher education, and the nature of academic freedom in a Catholic institution. The thesis will contribute to an understanding of historical developments on these topics.

The thesis is the second stage of a multi-part research project. In the first stage, the author's graduate course research focused on the "Affair" itself and related topics. These topics included

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<sup>5</sup> Erving E. Beauregard, "An Archbishop, A University, and Academic Freedom," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* (March-December 1982), 25-39.

<sup>6</sup> Philip Gleason, *Keeping the Faith*, 244 and *Contending with Modernity: Catholic Higher Education in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 310-312.

<sup>7</sup> David J. O'Brien, *From the Heart of the American Church: Catholic Higher Education and American Culture* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1994), 54.

<sup>8</sup> Christopher J. Kauffman, *Education and Transformation: Marianist Ministries in America Since 1849* (New York: The Crossroad Publishing Co., 1999), 253-257.

the background and impact of *Humani Generis*, the teaching authority of the Church viewed through interpretations of *Lumen Gentium* 25, and the teachings of the Church regarding situation ethics. The remainder of the research project, at the doctoral level, will address the conclusion of the historical narrative, the public discourse on the “Affair,” the broader questions raised by previous research, and a discussion of issues of contemporary relevance as described above. Therefore, an important objective of the research project is to provide the basis for further research on the doctoral level.

The research, conducted as a master’s thesis under the advisement of Dr. Sandra Yocum Mize, utilized methods of archival-historical analysis, oral-historical analysis, cultural-contextual analysis, and historical-theological investigation. The archival-historical analysis included analysis of archival holdings directly related to the University of Dayton and principals involved in the “Heresy Affair.” These sources included but are not limited to letters and records of speeches from the principals involved, news clippings, periodical articles, and pertinent committee minutes. The oral-historical analysis used interviews of the principals involved in the “Heresy Affair.” These interviews were conducted in person, by telephone, and/or by electronic mail. The cultural-contextual analysis used primary and secondary sources contemporaneous to the “Heresy Affair” and later historical interpretations to investigate the context and cultures which are operative in the “Affair.” Historical-theological analysis was used to investigate the theological and philosophical assumptions which underlie and are expressed in the positions espoused in the “Heresy Affair.” Theological categories (e.g., heresy, the magisterium, development of dogma, Thomism) are used. The historical-theological analysis provides the basis for further research on the doctoral level.

Chapter I provides the relevant background of the 1960s in the United States, in American higher education, in the Roman Catholic Church, and specifically in American Catholic higher education. This background is important for understanding the historical context of the “Heresy

Affair.” To be accurate in referencing, the language of the 1960s is used in quotations in this thesis, i.e., no attempt has been made to change the quotations to inclusive language. In Chapter II, the specifics of the University of Dayton in the 1960s are examined. As an American, Catholic, and Marianist institution of higher education, the University of Dayton was influenced by and located within the historical contexts explored in Chapter I. Of particular importance is the historical development of the departments of theological studies and philosophy. The historical narrative of the origins of the “Heresy Affair” is told in Chapter III. The story is told by following the trail of conflicts that developed over a number of years. In several cases, written copies of speeches and inter-faculty communications are analyzed to show the theological and philosophical content of the debate. Of particular interest are the accusations made by Dennis Bonnette and the responses of the four accused faculty members. The letter to Archbishop Alter is reviewed in Chapter IV as are the concluding responses of the four faculty members. The thesis concludes in Chapter V with an analysis of the origins of the “Affair.” The analysis focuses on the primary issue that emerged from the thesis study—the relationship of philosophy to theology.

In the following, the author will argue that the “Heresy Affair” is a network of events—culminating in Dennis Bonnette’s letter—that reflects broader issues in American Catholic higher education in the 1960s. These issues include the relationship of neo-Thomism to modern philosophical pluralism, the relationship of philosophy to theology, and the shifting position of philosophy and theology in the Catholic university. In the historical context of the 1960s, these issues reflect the polarization and transition occurring in the wider Catholic Church.

## CHAPTER I

### THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT: THE TURBULENT SIXTIES

If a person were asked to describe the 1960s in a single word, that person would be hard pressed to find a better word than “change.” And if the same person were given the opportunity to add descriptors, that person would not go wrong by choosing words such as “monumental,” “seismic,” “revolutionary,” and “tumultuous.” And if asked, “What did this monumental change impact?” “everything” is not too strong an answer. To be sure, change affected different elements of society in different degrees but, generally, the world that emerged in the mid-to-late 1960s was perceived to be radically different than the world that one knew at the beginning of the decade.

This chapter deals with the immediate historical context of the “Heresy Affair”—the turbulent 1960s. As an American Catholic university, the University of Dayton was influenced by conditions in the following arenas: American society, American higher education, the Roman Catholic Church, and American Catholic higher education. This chapter reviews the major historical events occurring in each of the above arenas along with the resultant influences and changes. The specific context of the University of Dayton is reviewed in the following chapter.

#### *The American Scene*

To understand the 1960s, one must understand the political world of the 1950s—a world dominated by two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. The attitude that permeated the political world was a sense of “us” vs. “them.” Although such an attitude is,

unfortunately, not unique in the history of humanity, it was particularly intense during this period. The two sides, defined by ideological beliefs, were enemies with no apparent room for compromise. A similar polarization is visible in the “Heresy Affair”: two sides representing different philosophies—“us” vs. “them”—with no apparent room for compromise.

Throughout the fifties and sixties, the United States and the Soviet Union invested billions of dollars in the development of military armaments to defend themselves and their allies. However, these armaments were not the conventional arms to which the world had grown accustomed. These weapons were nuclear with the ultimate capacity to destroy humanity and its world.

From the perspective of the United States, fear of communism and distrust of the Soviet leadership fueled the race to build a defense network. This fear and distrust intensified when the Soviet Union began developing a relationship with Fidel Castro who, in January 1959, overthrew the government of General Fulgencio Batista in Cuba. Conditions continued to deteriorate and ultimately came to a head in late October 1962 when President John F. Kennedy confronted Premier Khrushchev over the installation of Soviet missiles and bomber bases in Cuba, a situation known as the Cuban Missile Crisis. This crisis touched the lives of ordinary Americans by bringing the fear and distrust to the level of personal threat.

The United States and the Soviet Union, intent on carving up the globe into spheres of influence, expanded the competition into space. The Soviets took the early lead in the space race when *Sputnik I* orbited the earth in October 1957. Later cosmonaut Yuri A. Gagarin became the first man successfully launched into space on 12 April 1961. The U.S. quickly followed with the launch of Alan B. Shepard on 5 May 1961. In late May 1961, in a special address to a joint session of Congress, President Kennedy announced the goal of sending men to the moon and back by the end of the decade. He framed this goal in the context of “freedom’s cause,” the battle



for “world power and influence.”<sup>1</sup> It was necessary “if we are to win the battle for men’s minds” over which “road to take—tyranny or freedom.”<sup>2</sup> America reached its goal when Neil Armstrong stepped foot on the moon on 21 July 1969. One can plainly see the polarization of “us” vs. “them” framed as an ideological issue in “the battle for men’s minds.” Expanding the horizons is also imbedded in Kennedy’s goal and, throughout the “Heresy Affair,” the views of contemporary philosophers, particularly Teilhard de Chardin, expand the horizons for some faculty and students.

In American society, the national arena was dominated by mounting racial tensions that led to polarization and change. Again, a proper understanding of the 1960s requires an understanding of the previous decade. The 1950s can be characterized as years of challenging segregation and winning, beginning in 1954 with the Supreme Court case of *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* which banned segregation in public schools. In 1955, African American Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat to a white person on a Montgomery, Alabama city bus. Her arrest led to a bus boycott of more than a year and a legal fight concluding in 1956 with the courts ruling for desegregation on buses. Throughout the South, other challenges to the status quo occurred including James Meredith enrolling at the University of Mississippi in 1962.

The year 1963, the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation, witnessed nearly 250,000 Americans marching on Washington, DC to show their support for civil rights legislation requested by President John F. Kennedy. The marchers were addressed by the prominent spokesperson for African Americans, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., a young pastor thrust into the limelight during the Montgomery bus boycott. Dr. King spoke of his dream for America: a dream that America “will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: ‘. . . that

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<sup>1</sup> John F. Kennedy, “Americans Should Send a Man to the Moon,” *The 1960s: Opposing Viewpoints*, foreword by William Dudley (San Diego: Greenhaven Press, Inc., 1997), 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.

all men are created equal.”<sup>3</sup> President Kennedy did not live to sign the Civil Rights Bill into law. His untimely assassination on 22 November 1963 shook the nation, a violent change etched in the minds and hearts of all Americans.

Progress in ending racial discrimination, however, was slow in coming, too slow for many. Some African Americans such as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference disagreed with the NAACP’s tactic of using the courts to obtain rights. The SCLC employed non-violent tactics such as the Montgomery bus strike and acts of civil disobedience. Some such as the Black Panther Party and Malcolm X’s Organization of Afro-American Unity were militant and confrontational.

Urban violence erupted in 1964 and continued through 1968 when Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated in Memphis. By 1966, violence had also spread to smaller cities such as Dayton, Ohio. On 1 September 1966, shots were fired at Lester Mitchell, a 40 year old African American, by three white men in a passing car. Mitchell’s death set off several days of violence on the city’s West Side. National Guard troops were called in to contain the disorder. Nearly 100 people were arrested and thirty were injured but order was restored in time for President Lyndon Johnson’s scheduled visit to the Montgomery County Fair on Labor Day, the 5<sup>th</sup> of September.<sup>4</sup> As noted in *The 1960s: Opposing Viewpoints*, “between 1964 and 1968, the riots resulted in almost \$200 million in destroyed property, forty thousand arrests, seven thousand injured, and around two hundred deaths.”<sup>5</sup>

Another source of division within the nation was the war in Vietnam. In late 1961, the United States began a military buildup to support the South Vietnamese government. In response to a North Vietnamese attack on a U.S. destroyer in the Gulf of Tonkin in August 1964, Congress approved a resolution allowing President Johnson to take necessary measures to repel further

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<sup>3</sup> Martin Luther King Jr., “I Have a Dream,” *The 1960s: Opposing Viewpoints*, 166.

<sup>4</sup> *Facts on File Yearbook 1966*, Lester A. Sobel, ed. (New York: Facts on File, Inc., 1967), 341.

<sup>5</sup> *The 1960s: Opposing Viewpoints*, 182.

attacks and to provide military assistance to any member of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO). By March 1965, the first United States combat troops arrived in South Vietnam. Protests against the war began almost immediately and became more widespread as the war continued. The anti-war movement included teach-ins, the burning of draft cards, and resistance on the part of young men being drafted. Such challenges to authority on such a large scale were previously unheard of in the United States. Those who protested were considered to be traitors by the federal government and many citizens. When U.S. efforts in the war were failing, dissenters were sometimes blamed by the government for hurting the country's efforts to win.<sup>6</sup> The Vietnam War, then, is an example of an issue that polarized Americans, while dissenters from the government position are an example of challenge to authority.

The decade of the 1960s is a period associated with a "youth revolt" and "counterculture." College-age young people were actively involved in the anti-war movement. Groups such as the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) were also critical of the Cold War, American capitalism, and materialism evidenced in American society. Some student protests, such as the "Free Speech Movement" at the University of California in Berkeley in 1964, focused on campus issues. Again, the realities of polarization, challenge to authority, and change are evident.

In summary, many tensions were operating in the 1960s. On the political and ideological levels, there was polarization between the United States and the Soviet Union. As the decade wore on, tensions erupted within the United States in response to the Vietnam conflict, an involvement which originated as an effort to contain the Communist threat.

Tensions erupted between whites and African Americans over racial injustices, and among diverse groups of African Americans over how to respond to injustices—evidence that even if a group is united in the desire to achieve a common goal, i.e., an end to racial discrimination, that does not mean there will be unity in the means to achieving that end.

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 83.

The racial consciousness of African Americans inspired other groups in the 1960s to seek better conditions for themselves. For example, Cesar Chavez founded the National Farm Workers Association in 1962 in an effort to improve conditions for migrant farm workers. Native Americans became more conscious of their identity, forming the American Indian Movement in 1968. Women formed organizations—including NOW in 1966—to lobby for their rights. Although the focus was group identity, within the groups, the issue was very much one of individual human and civil rights.

The conflicts of the 1960s were visible because television was more accessible. The African American civil rights movement effectively used the media to make the country aware of the injustices that were occurring. Adapting this model to their own cause, groups involved in the anti-war and women's rights movements engaged in similar tactics to get their messages across to the public. Though on a much smaller scale, those involved in the "Heresy Affair" used the media, though sometimes ineffectually, to communicate particular positions.

In most instances, the tensions of the 1960s were expressed against those in authority. For example, the civil rights movement was a protest against the authority of whites to uphold unjust laws. College students protested against the administration's authority to determine their academic choices; anti-war protestors rejected the policies of the U.S. government; and almost all young people reacted against the authority of their parents. This questioning of authority helped foster the changes of the 1960s as the emphasis shifted from institutional authority to increased individual rights.

### *American Higher Education*

The changes in the world also affected American higher education. The post World War II years (1945-50) saw massive numbers of veterans return home and take advantage of the G.I. Bill to extend their education. When World War II ended in 1945, there were fewer than 1 million

students in U.S. colleges and universities. By 1947, enrollment reached 2.3 million. The President's Commission on Higher Education, established by Harry S. Truman, also reflected a desire to encourage education when it declared in 1947 that colleges and universities "must become the means by which every citizen, youth, and adult is enabled and encouraged to carry his education, formal and informal, as far as his native capacities permit."<sup>7</sup> For the first time in U.S. history, higher education was a goal encouraged for all.

As the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union intensified, the importance of education to national political objectives was recognized. This recognition led to further development of the educational system.<sup>8</sup> For example, to develop nuclear weapons systems and the space program, science, engineering, and technology were increasingly emphasized in higher education. The federal government provided aid to many universities, including the University of Dayton, for contract research related to science and engineering. Overall, research increased in most academic fields so that the 1960s were characterized as an "explosion of knowledge."<sup>9</sup>

Not surprisingly, institutions of higher education did not have the financial resources needed to keep pace with the surge in enrollment and increased curricular needs of the 1950s. Facilities such as classroom buildings, laboratories, and residences needed to be built. Institutions turned to the federal government for funding that was ultimately provided through the College Housing Act of 1950 and the National Defense Education Act of 1958.<sup>10</sup>

The federal government continued its involvement in higher education in the 1960s by directly supporting students, funding faculty research, and investing in facilities. Clark Kerr, former President of the University of California and chair of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, reported that

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<sup>7</sup> William P. Leahy, S.J., *Adapting to America: Catholics, Jesuits, and Higher Education in the Twentieth Century* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1991), 125.

<sup>8</sup> Clark Kerr, *The Great Transformation in Higher Education: 1960-1980* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), 24.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 118.

<sup>10</sup> Leahy, 126.

Higher education in 1960 received about \$1.5 billion from the federal government . . . . About one-third of this \$1.5 billion was for university-affiliated research centers; about one-third for project research within universities; and about one-third for other things, such as residence hall loans, scholarships, and teaching programs . . . . The \$1 billion for research . . . accounted for 75 percent of all university expenditures on research and 15 percent of total university budgets.<sup>11</sup>

In addition to the above funding, the Higher Education Act of 1965 further increased federal assistance to education by providing billions of dollars for student grants, loans, and work-study programs. As a result of this financial assistance, higher education became more accessible to a greater proportion of the American population.

The trends toward growth, change in academic emphases, and involvement with the Federal government continued through the 1960s. Student enrollment increased as the “baby boomers”—the children of the post-war generation—reached college-age. To meet the needs of students, institutions continued to increase the size of their physical plants.

Existing four-year colleges and universities were not the only institutions to benefit from population growth and the increased emphasis on education. The community college system developed nationwide, helped along by diversification of function within the educational enterprise. In the city of Dayton, Ohio, the Ohio Board of Regents approved the official plan for Sinclair Community College in 1966, while the Dayton campus of Miami University and Ohio State University held its first classes in 1964, and achieved its independent status in 1967 as Wright State University. These two developments, in particular, changed the immediate environment of the University of Dayton.

In order to deliver programs to an increasing number of students, many universities, including the University of Dayton, used a variety of tactics to handle the students with the available faculty. These tactics included changing the academic calendar to allow for year-round

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<sup>11</sup> Kerr, 123.

instruction, and using technology such as television to deliver instruction.<sup>12</sup> Colleges and universities also hired additional faculty but in the early to mid 1960s, there was a shortage of faculty in most disciplines. The shortage in philosophy proved to be significant to the “Heresy Affair.”

The changes in higher education did not occur without consequences. For example, rising enrollments combined with increased emphasis on research and graduate education affected undergraduate education so that Clark Kerr listed the quality of undergraduate instruction as a “problem of consequence” in the mid 1960s.<sup>13</sup> Administrative issues emerged as faculty and students expressed their needs and expectations for higher education. The dissent mentioned previously was one way in which student dissatisfaction was expressed.

Although cause and effect are difficult to trace, specialization and fragmentation of disciplines became increasingly apparent during the knowledge explosion of the 1960s. Kerr remarked that “Even philosophy, which once was the hub of the intellectual universe, is now itself fragmented . . . .”<sup>14</sup> This philosophical fragmentation found its particular Catholic expression in the “Heresy Affair.”

The rapid advancement of knowledge also led to rethinking and reconstructing the curriculum. The place of the humanities and the sciences needed to be examined.<sup>15</sup> During the timeframe of the “Heresy Affair,” the philosophy department at the University of Dayton

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<sup>12</sup> Kerr, 114-5.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 128. Kerr’s comments were adapted from his Godkin Lectures delivered at Harvard University in 1963. They were also published in a Dædalus publication, *The Contemporary University: U.S.A.* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1966).

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> C. P. Snow argued that two cultures existed, the scientific and the humanistic. His 1959 Rede Lecture at Cambridge University was widely addressed in the educational literature of the 1960s. See C. P. Snow, *The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1961). “The Rede Lecture is the University of Cambridge’s oldest and most prestigious special appointment and was founded by the Chief Justice to Henry VII and Henry VIII, Sir Robert Rede.” “President of Ireland Lectures at Cambridge,” University of Cambridge, available from <http://www.admin.cam.ac.uk/univ/newsletter/1997/feb-mar/news.html>; Internet; accessed 20 June 1999.

reexamined its curriculum and changed the content and teaching methodology of its first year course. The faculty also discussed their departmental convictions.

In summary, the 1960s proved to be a time of change in American higher education. The changes encompassed many areas from curriculum to facilities to faculty to students. In part these changes were responses to changes in the wider American culture which was also evolving at a rapid pace. Of particular importance to the thesis are the changing attitudes toward authority and individual rights.

### *Aggiornamento: Roman Catholicism in the 1960s*

If the word “change” is an apt descriptor for the 1960s, the Italian word signifying updating, *aggiornamento*, is especially appropriate for the Roman Catholic Church. Used by Pope John XXIII, on 25 January 1959, in announcing his intent to call a church council, it is a word with several connotations with both immediate and long-range implications. On the one hand, *aggiornamento* indicated “a new openness on the part of the Church toward the world, and toward other Christian churches and non-Christian religions.”<sup>16</sup> At the same time, *aggiornamento* signified the call for the “internal reform and renewal of the Church.” As the Council closed, Paul VI offered still another definition: “From now on *aggiornamento* will signify for us a widely undertaken quest for a deeper understanding of the spirit of the council and the faithful application of the norms it has happily and prayerfully provided.”<sup>17</sup> These connotations, fraught with inherent tensions, indicate the types of changes facing the church in the 1960s.

Before exploring the internal and external changes involved in the Church’s *aggiornamento* in the 1960s, a look at the Church documents most relevant to the “Heresy Affair”—those pertaining to church authority and “false teachings”—is helpful. These documents basically reinforce the church’s authority, in large part by condemning the “false teachings” of the day, and

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<sup>16</sup> *The HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism* (1995), s.v. “Aggiornamento.”

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*



indicate the defensiveness of the church against the “modern world.” The documents include Pius IX’s encyclical, *Quanta cura* with its attached *Syllabus Errorum* (1864); the two dogmatic constitutions approved by the First Vatican Council, *Dei Filius*, on the relationship of faith and reason, and *Pastor Aeternus*, which defined papal infallibility (1870); the Holy Office’s decree *Lamentabili* and the encyclical *Pascendi* issued by Pius X during the modernist crisis (1907); and Pius XII’s *Humani generis* (1950).

*Humani generis* is particularly relevant to this thesis because, at the time of the “Heresy Affair,” it was the most recent papal encyclical dealing with modern philosophical errors and the teaching authority of the Church. As such, *Humani generis* was often quoted in the philosophical arguments that ensued at the University of Dayton. This encyclical, therefore, deserves closer examination.

Pius XII issued *Humani generis* on 12 August 1950 and addressed it directly to the bishops of the world. The encyclical appears to be written, however, for trained theologians since the language is concise and technical, assertions are presented without proof, and concepts underlying the assertions are not amplified or justified. The assumption is made that readers of the encyclical are familiar with the subject matter.<sup>18</sup> After acknowledging that “disagreement and error among men on moral and religious matters” (n.1)<sup>19</sup> have always been a cause of sorrow for all good men, Pius discusses errors “outside the Christian fold” (n.5.) including existentialism (n.6) and historicism which “overthrows the foundation of all truth and absolute law” (n.7). Pius XII then turns to new ideas being promulgated by Catholic theologians and philosophers after which he upholds Thomism and the magisterium of the Church. The remainder of the text is devoted to a listing of errors in the fields of scripture, theology, philosophy, science, and

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<sup>18</sup> A. C. Cotter, S.J., *The Encyclical “Humani Generis” with a Commentary* (Weston, Mass.: Weston College Press, 1951), x.

<sup>19</sup> Quotations and paragraph numbers for the *Humani Generis* text were taken from the on-line version available from <http://listserv.american.edu/catho...urch/papal/pius.xii/humani.generis>; Internet; accessed 3 November 1997.

history.<sup>20</sup> The philosophical rebuttal includes the upholding of Thomism because of its ability to help human reason “to express properly the law which the Creator has imprinted in the hearts of men” (n.29). Pius again condemns existentialism (n.32) and then innovative philosophies for “indiscriminately mingling cognition and act of will” when these philosophies say that “man, since he cannot by using his reason decide with certainty what is true and is to be accepted, turns to his will, by which he freely chooses among opposite opinions” (n.33). Since the “Heresy Affair” deals with issues associated with existentialism (including situation ethics<sup>21</sup>), historicism, Thomism, and the teaching authority of the magisterium, the relevance of *Humani generis* is easy to see. The encyclical was not, however, the only papal communication on the errors of modern philosophies.

In the 1950s, Pius XII continued to speak out against situation ethics. The pontiff used a variety of venues, including a radio message on 23 March 1952, an allocution to the International Congress of the World Federation of Catholic Young Women on 18 April 1952, and the 1954 allocution *Magnificate dominum*. Eventually, the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office issued a formal decree on 2 February 1956. It condemned “situation ethics, by whatever name it may be called, and interdicted its being taught in Catholic schools, or its being propagated or defended in books, writing of any kind or in conferences.”<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Only those matters in philosophy pertaining to situational concepts are acknowledged since they are within the realm of the thesis.

<sup>21</sup> Situation ethics gained popular acclaim with the publication of Joseph Fletcher’s *Situation Ethics: The New Morality* in 1966. The term, with unknown origins, had been used since the late 1930s. German theologian Karl Rahner defines situation ethics by stating:

It denies the universal obligation (and one which remains valid in every case) of material universal norms in the concrete individual case, it being quite immaterial whether these norms be conceived as a natural law or as a positive divine law. Norms are universal, but man as an existent is the individual and unique in each case, and hence he cannot be regulated in his actions by material norms of a universal kind . . . There remains then as ‘norm’ of action only the call of each particular unique situation . . .

Karl Rahner, “On the Question of a Formal Existential Ethics,” *Theological Investigations, Volume II: Man in the Church*, trans. by Karl-H. Kruger (Baltimore, Md.: Helicon Press, 1963), 218.

<sup>22</sup> Aidan M. Carr, O.F.M. Conv., “The Morality of Situation Ethics,” *Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Convention of the Catholic Theological Society of America* (Catholic Theological Society of America, 1958), 82.

Throughout the hundred years prior to the Second Vatican Council, papal condemnation of teachings and errors resulted in a number of possible actions against the offenders. These ranged from the silencing of theologians, the withdrawal of their scholarly works, the placing of their works on the Index of forbidden books, and the deprivation of their teaching office to formal excommunication. In the 1950s, those sanctioned through the Vatican included theologians linked with *La Nouvelle Theologie*—Henri de Lubac, Jean Daniélou, Marie-Dominique Chenu, Yves Congar, and Pierre Teilhard de Chardin. Teilhard developed his theology from a scientific background using an evolutionary perspective. His theological works remained unpublished until after his death in 1955.<sup>23</sup> Teilhard’s teachings, under the cloud of condemnation in the 1960s and still controversial in the 1990s, are at the heart of the controversy known as the “Heresy Affair.”

The attitude and actions of the hierarchy towards those who tried to reconcile the Church with the modern world was, at times, harsh. In an April 1966 interview with *Gente*, an Italian weekly, Alfredo Cardinal Ottaviani, then head of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, stated that the predecessor organization, the Holy Office of which he was also the head, had “in the course of centuries . . . departed from the [concept of the Holy Office established in the 18<sup>th</sup> century], substituting for it a dictatorial one.” He continued, “if we have erred, often we did it through excess of zeal and through a passionate preoccupation with the unity of the church and the firmness of doctrine.” In December 1965, Pope Paul VI changed the name of the Congregation and made reforms including “providing for the hearing and defense of accused persons and abolishing the post of censor of books.”<sup>24</sup>

This short review shows the defensive reaction of the church to modern teachings that appeared to threaten it. The church, however, also took prescriptive action as evidenced in Leo XIII’s *Aeterni Patris*. The 1879 encyclical designated the study of St. Thomas Aquinas as the

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<sup>23</sup> *The HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism* (1995), s.v. “Teilhard de Chardin.”

<sup>24</sup> Robert C. Doty, “Cardinal Conceded Holy Office Acted Dictatorially,” *The New York Times*, 17 April 1966, 17.

official philosophy of the Catholic Church “for the education of future priests in seminary and Catholic faculties.”<sup>25</sup> Gleason explains that

. . . what Leo prescribed was not a new philosophical-theological approach, but the revival of an old one that had been allowed to fall into disuse in recent centuries. . . . [Thomism] was designated the *official* philosophy . . . and the immense authority of the papacy was mobilized to establish it as the only system orthodox believers could employ in elaborating the cognitive dimensions of the faith.<sup>26</sup>

This action spawned research into medieval philosophy and theology and as a consequence generated varieties of Neo-Thomism. For example, the Higher Institute of Philosophy was established in 1887 at the University of Louvain in Belgium with Désiré Mercier as director.<sup>27</sup> The Dominicans of Le Saulchoir became the center for French Neo-Thomism from which two approaches developed—the historical orientation of Marie-Dominique Chenu and the systematic orientation of Réginald Garrigou-Lagrange.<sup>28</sup> Jacques Maritain, whose career lasted from prior to the First World War through the Second Vatican Council, was “the [Neo-Thomist] movement’s best known representative” and, in both Europe and America, was “a major force in Catholic thought.”<sup>29</sup> Maritain used Thomas to defend representative democracy and his works inspired the Christian Democratic movements that flourished after the Second World War.<sup>30</sup>

Varying interpretations of Thomism continued to develop as philosophers attempted to deal with the modern world. For example, transcendental Thomism developed from the work of two Jesuits, Pierre Rousselot, a theologian, and Joseph Maréchal, a philosopher. Transcendental Thomism later influenced the work of theologian Karl Rahner. Étienne Gilson originated existential Thomism. In 1929, Gilson founded the Institute of Mediæval Studies at the University

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<sup>25</sup> Gerald A. McCool, *Nineteenth-Century Scholasticism: The Search for a Unitary Method* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1989), 1, quoted in John C. Cahalan, “On the Training of Thomists,” *The Future of Thomism*, eds. Deal W. Hudson and Dennis Wm. Moran (American Maritain Association, 1992), 141.

<sup>26</sup> Gleason, *Keeping the Faith*, 167.

<sup>27</sup> Gerald A. McCool, *The Neo-Thomists* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1994), 36.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 137.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 75.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 88-89.

of Toronto.<sup>31</sup> Gilson's reputation and that of the Institute influenced John Chrisman—one faculty member involved in the “Heresy Affair”—to enroll at the University of Toronto. Chrisman's decision to attend the University of Toronto significantly affected the development of the “Heresy Affair” by bringing the wider philosophical controversy to the University of Dayton.

American Neo-Thomism originated from the thought of the scholars listed above. Patrick Carey divides its development into two periods: 1920-1935 and 1935-1955. During the first period, Neo-Thomism was used against modernism as a way to “redeem the modern secularized society by integrating religion and all forms of life.” In the second phase, American Neo-Thomists began to see “their Catholic faith, not just reason, as a cultural force capable of transforming Western civilization.”<sup>32</sup> One attempt to integrate religion and life expressed itself in John Courtney Murray's work on religious liberty which was affirmed at the Second Vatican Council.<sup>33</sup>

This brief review of Thomistic scholars demonstrates the wide range of interpretations that developed. By mid twentieth century, “it became more difficult for Neo-Thomists themselves to look on their philosophical theology as the changeless unified system which the nineteenth century Scholastics had taken it to be.”<sup>34</sup> Not only did the Neo-Thomists differ among themselves but they differed with the early (16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries) commentators on Thomas. They were

held together by a common goal, a common opposition to what they perceived to be the intellectual disillusionment, individualism, materialism and secularism of society, and by a common and well-organized ecclesiastical structure, all of which masked the differences that later became apparent once the goal was no longer commonly shared and modern society was viewed more positively.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 138.

<sup>32</sup> Patrick M. Carey, “Catholic Religious Thought in the U.S.A.,” *Perspectives on the American Catholic Church: 1789-1989*, eds. Stephen J. Vicchio and Virginia Geiger, S.S.N.D. (Westminster, Md.: Christian Classics, Inc., 1989), 159.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 161.

<sup>34</sup> McCool, *The Neo-Thomists*, 157.

<sup>35</sup> Carey, 163.

It took until the Second Vatican Council, however, for that to happen. In October 1965, in the Council's *Decree on Priestly Formation*, the church stated that "basing themselves on a philosophic heritage which is perennially valid [Thomism], students should also be conversant with contemporary philosophical investigations, especially those exercising special influence in their own country, and with recent scientific progress."<sup>36</sup> With this statement, Thomistic philosophy officially became the privileged philosophy among many philosophies.

The Church's intellectual life, of course, was more than Thomism. In the years prior to the Council, it was ever so slowly embracing new ideas. One such example is the origination and development of Catholic social teachings beginning with the issuance of *Rerum Novarum* in 1891. A second example is the issuance in 1943 of Pius XII's encyclical *Divino afflante Spiritu*, often called the Magna Carta for biblical scholarship, allowing biblical scholars to use the historical-critical method in their research.<sup>37</sup> These efforts marked the beginning of the Church's intellectual *aggiornamento*.

In addition to intellectual developments, American Catholics in the 1960s were ready for *aggiornamento* on the social and cultural levels. Following the Second World War, American Catholics moved to the suburbs, and entered the cultural mainstream. The 1960 election of a Catholic, John F. Kennedy, as president of the United States is commonly cited as evidence of this shift in status.

And so, when the call for *aggiornamento* came, the American bishops joined those from the rest of the world in responding to Pope John XXIII. They assembled for a council in the Vatican on 11 October 1962 after three years and eight months of preparation on the part of twelve preparatory commissions.<sup>38</sup> Assembled with the twenty-seven hundred bishops were ninety

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<sup>36</sup> "Decree on Priestly Formation (*Optatum Totius*)," *The Documents of Vatican II*, ed. Walter M. Abbott, S.J. (New York: Herder and Herder, 1966), 450, quoted in Gerald A. McCool, *From Unity to Pluralism: The Internal Evolution of Thomism* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1989), 229.

<sup>37</sup> Timothy G. McCarthy, *The Catholic Tradition: Before and After Vatican II, 1878-1993* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1994), 55.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 64.

superiors of religious communities, fifteen women, four hundred *periti* (experts), thirty-nine observers from other Christian communities, and eighty-five ambassadors from different countries.<sup>39</sup>

The first working session began on 13 October and it was obvious in the early discussions that change was in the air. The bishops fell into two main views: the conservative, traditional view based on classical consciousness,<sup>40</sup> and the progressive view based on historical consciousness.<sup>41</sup> These two perspectives are important to the “Heresy Affair” because the principals involved in the Dayton controversy fell into the same two perspectives. The Dayton faculty members used Council documents as supporting evidence for both views. In some respects, the “Heresy Affair” involved an attempt to determine which perspective was the mind and spirit of the Council.

The sixteen documents produced by the Council touched on almost every aspect of life in the church: from the liturgy to education; from the bishops to priestly formation and religious life to the laity; from ecumenism to the Eastern churches and non-Christian religions; from revelation to missionary activity to religious freedom. Since the Council dealt with so many issues, it led to many changes. Change is very seldom easy for those involved and the implementation of the Second Vatican Council was no exception. Even such seemingly simple changes as switching from Latin to English in churches in the Archdiocese of Cincinnati on 29 November 1964,

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<sup>39</sup> Peter Hebblethwaite, “The Council Opens,” *National Catholic Reporter*, 8 October 1982, 34, quoted in McCarthy, 65.

<sup>40</sup> Joseph A. Komonchak, “What They Said Before the Council,” *Commonweal*, 7 December 1990, quoted in McCarthy, 67. The conservative view “believed the troubles in the church stemmed primarily from a growing secularization in the world, a decrease in faith, and a lessening of respect for authority. The Council’s task, they maintained, was to repeat and clarify the traditional teaching. Its first priority was the internal organization of the church.”

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.* The progressive view “maintained that the institutional church needed restructuring and reform because it was too hierarchical, too impersonal, and too detached from modernity.” Tasks of the Council therefore included: “to reclothe the church’s teachings and disciplines to meet the modern world and its needs; to reform the liturgy; and . . . to reunite the Christian churches.”

required weekly ten minute rehearsals before Sunday mass starting in September 1964. These practice sessions were accompanied by six Sunday sermons on the liturgy.<sup>42</sup>

Difficulties adjusting to changes within the church were not limited to the United States. In Germany, “there [was] a danger that the implementation of Vatican II would proceed as a contest between ‘extremists,’ with the bishops in the middle and the overwhelming majority of Catholics uninvolved and uninterested.”<sup>43</sup> The Dutch were very much interested when *The New Catechism*, commissioned by the Dutch bishops, was published in the Netherlands on 9 October 1966. Many laymen felt that “the book [presented] many ideas that either blatantly contradict the faith or explain various truths of faith so ambiguously that every reader [could] decide for himself whether they [were] orthodox or not.”<sup>44</sup> A petition, addressed to Pope Paul VI, listed seven areas of concern including Mary’s virginity, original sin, the Eucharist, birth control, the immortality of the soul, and angels. The most controversial teaching was the Catechism’s claim that “the Catholic Church teaches practically everything that Protestantism upholds, although the reverse is not true.”<sup>45</sup>

Unfortunately, implementation difficulties were not limited to immediately after the Council adjourned on 8 December 1965. A passage from a 1971 history of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati indicates that, six years after the Council ended:

A problem of particular urgency confronts the Church in the Archdiocese of Cincinnati, as in practically every other part of the world that is in any way Catholic. It involves the reconciliation of extremely conservative and extremely progressive groups in their approach to and involvement in all matters of change which have followed Vatican II.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> *Dayton Daily News*, (9 August 1964). Clipping in AUD, Series IDC(17), Box 12, Folder 2.

<sup>43</sup> Lewis Mumford, “Bringing the Council Home to Germany,” *Herder Correspondence* (February 1967), 42.

<sup>44</sup> “The Dutch Catechism Defended,” *Herder Correspondence* (March 1967), 94.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> Fr. Alfred G. Stritch, “Chapter One: Historical Background,” *The Church of Cincinnati: 1821-1971*. Reprints from *The Catholic Telegraph*, (undated).



The purpose of describing some of the difficulties that occurred in implementing Council changes is to emphasize that the issues in the “Heresy Affair” were issues for the Church at large. The particulars vary in each instance, of course, but generally, debates over changes and/or controversial issues resulted in polarization of conservatives and progressives. Throughout 1966-67, Paul VI spoke out “almost weekly,” reminding “the faithful of his role as teacher and cautioning strongly against ‘irresponsible initiatives.’”<sup>47</sup>

### *American Catholic Higher Education*

The review of the historical context of American higher education showed a period of tremendous growth from the late 1940s through the 1960s. This growth had its benefits as well as its consequences. American Catholic higher education experienced the same period of growth in students, faculty, and physical facilities. In addition to experiencing the benefits and dealing with the resulting consequences, Catholic institutions had to face problems peculiarly their own—problems that set the stage for controversy and conflict in the 1960s.

The first difficulty arises in defining what is included in the term “institutions of Catholic higher education.” One typically thinks of colleges and universities but other possibilities are seminaries and junior colleges or sister formation colleges.<sup>48</sup> Many times the distinctions between religious formation institutions and colleges/universities were blurred, and statistics, therefore, are suspect. Nevertheless, using statistics from *The 1967 Official Guide to Catholic Educational Institutions and Religious Communities in the United States*, Andrew Greeley reported that 350 institutions, including 46 religious junior colleges, were in existence in 1967.

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<sup>47</sup> “Aggiornamento,” *The Catholic World* (August 1967), 254.

<sup>48</sup> This is truer of the 1950s and 1960s than it is in the 1990s.

Of these 350, approximately 231 institutions would typically be categorized “colleges” and “universities.”<sup>49</sup>

The hierarchy of the Catholic Church directly controlled sixteen of the 231 institutions, most notably Catholic University of America.<sup>50</sup> Religious communities controlled the remainder with the largest group, 28 institutions, run by the Society of Jesus.<sup>51</sup> From their founding, American Catholic educational institutions were dominated by the sponsoring religious communities that provided governance, administration, and instructional staff. Originally the religious order and the educational institution were one and the same legal entity. In time, the two separated but typically the religious community maintained legal control of both. Only in the 1960s did governance of many Catholic institutions begin to be turned over to independent, predominantly lay, boards—a process known as laicization.<sup>52</sup>

A number of factors contributed to this change in ownership and governance of Catholic higher education institutions. Sr. Alice Gallin points out in *Independence and a New Partnership in Catholic Higher Education* that, in the 1960s, there was unusually strong leadership among the presidents of the Catholic universities. Not only were they strong individually but they worked together well on an informal basis, forming a network of support for each other. Evidence indicates that they shared information on the topic of governance.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Andrew M. Greeley, *From Backwater to Mainstream: A Profile of Catholic Higher Education* (Berkeley, Ca.: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1969), 6-7.

<sup>50</sup> Typically, diocesan boards controlled these institutions. The Catholic University of America, however, was controlled by a board of trustees of U.S. bishops. The diocesan institutions include Seton Hall University, Catholic University of Puerto Rico, Gannon College, Villa Madonna College, University of Dallas, Bellarmine College, St. Ambrose College, Loras College, College of St. Thomas, St. John College of Cleveland, Sacred Heart University, St. Mary’s College (MI), Carroll College, Mt. St. Mary’s College, and University of San Diego—College for Men. *Ibid.*, 40.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 40-1.

<sup>52</sup> Webster College in Missouri and Manhattanville College in New York took a much different approach and totally secularized their institutions.

<sup>53</sup> Alice Gallin, O.S.U., *Independence and a New Partnership in Catholic Higher Education* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1996), 15.

A second factor was the example of American secular universities who reorganized their boards of trustees in the 1960s in order to give “more prominence to their role and responsibilities.”<sup>54</sup> It was a natural progression for the Catholic presidents to emulate the American secular universities.

A third factor that influenced laicization was the issuance of reports that focused attention on perceived weaknesses in higher education. For American church-related institutions, the 1965 Danforth Foundation report “called attention to the special problems in Roman Catholic colleges due to the composition and authority of their boards,”<sup>55</sup> i.e., the weakness of boards due to membership overlapping with the religious congregation’s leadership and the university’s administrative staff.<sup>56</sup>

Gallin believes there was also a “growing consciousness” in Catholic institutions that they were “perceived as a subgroup in higher education bearing the burden of proof [of academic excellence] in the face of their secular counterparts.”<sup>57</sup> This factor is particularly relevant to the “Heresy Affair,” since the author believes that the need to prove the University of Dayton was a “real” university partially motivated the administration’s response to the “Heresy Affair.”

Change could not have happened, however, without a willingness to change on the part of the religious superiors who were concerned about financial issues and the increasing complexity of running an educational institution. A change in the governance structure could address both concerns. Lay people, for example, brought different perspectives to the boards, and provided business expertise and an enhanced level of professionalism. By laicizing the board, Catholic

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 16.

<sup>55</sup> Manning M. Pattillo, Jr. and Donald M. Mackenzie, *Eight Hundred Colleges Face the Future: A Preliminary Report of the Danforth Commission on Church Colleges and Universities* (St. Louis, Mo.: The Danforth Foundation, 1965), 17. The author finds it interesting that the copy of the Pattillo/Mackenzie text located in the Roesch Library of the University of Dayton was, at one time, the personal copy of Rev. James M. Darby, S.M., Marianist provincial and chair of the university’s board of trustees at the time of the “Heresy Affair.”

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 16.

<sup>57</sup> Gallin, 24.

universities positioned themselves to benefit from federal funds.<sup>58</sup> Vatican II's emphasis on the role of the laity was used by the presidents to provide justification to the laicization process that was already underway.

The final element fostering laicization is the "ecclesial revolution in the way some canonists thought about lay persons and about the binding force of canon law with regard to property entrusted to civil corporations."<sup>59</sup> One of those canonists was Fr. John McGrath from Catholic University of America. His interpretation, known as the "McGrath thesis," was used by some institutions creating new independent governance structures. In general, McGrath argued that the property of educational institutions that has been incorporated under American civil law is the property of the corporate entity and not the religious order. Canon law governs property that belongs to an ecclesiastical moral person. Since the institution is not a juridic person, the property is not church property.<sup>60</sup> Although McGrath's thesis was "disowned" by the Vatican Congregations of Religious and of Catholic Education in 1974,<sup>61</sup> it was nevertheless an important component of American Catholic higher education in the 1960s as it provided an apparently legal basis for laicization of boards of trustees.<sup>62</sup>

In addition to changes in governance structures, Catholic institutions of higher education experienced changes due to tremendous growth in the post World War II period. Philip Gleason, using statistics from the *National Catholic Almanac*, reports that enrollment in Catholic colleges

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<sup>58</sup> The 1966 *Horace Mann* decision declared two Catholic colleges in Maryland ineligible for federal grants, in part because of their religious affiliation. *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 109-110.

<sup>61</sup> Philip R. Moots and Edward McGlynn Gaffney, Jr., *Church and Campus: Legal Issues in Religiously Affiliated Higher Education* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1979), 146. It should be noted that although the Vatican Congregation disavowed the thesis, many institutions had already taken action based on McGrath's interpretation. These actions were not undone. The recent controversy between St. Louis University, the local archbishop, and the Vatican indicates that this issue is very much alive. As a topic of contemporary relevance, it is the intent of the author to explore the topic in her doctoral research. For more information on the St. Louis University case, see Ann Carey, "From 'Land O'Lakes' to the 'heart of the Church'?", *Our Sunday Visitor*, 15 March 1998, 3.

<sup>62</sup> For more information on McGrath's thesis and his then-contemporary critics, see Gallin's *Independence*, 102-117.

and universities totaled about 162,000 in 1940. By 1965, enrollment more than doubled, reaching nearly 385,000.<sup>63</sup> Despite this growth, only about one of three Catholic college students was enrolled in a Catholic institution.<sup>64</sup>

Earlier in this chapter, the overall shortage of faculty for American higher education was noted. This shortage also affected Catholic institutions. Previously, many Catholic colleges relied on members of religious communities for staffing, especially in key departments like theology and philosophy. With student enrollments increasing, the number of religious available could not possibly meet the staffing demand. As the 1960s wore on, the exodus of priests, brothers, and sisters also affected the number of religious available to teach in or administer Catholic institutions. The number of religious relative to the number of students made it necessary, therefore, to hire large numbers of lay people.

In philosophy, the shortage was particularly acute. The practice of hiring faculty at the master's level was an accepted practice. The keenness of the shortage, however, is evidenced by a report in the 1966-67 *Proceedings and Addresses of the American Philosophical Association*. The report stated that "graduate students [were] being asked to commit themselves to accepting teaching positions early in or even before their last year of [master's level] study."<sup>65</sup> The University of Dayton was particularly affected by the difficulty in hiring faculty in philosophy.

The hiring of faculty is critical to any institution. In the 1965 preliminary report of the Danforth Commission on church colleges and universities, Pattillo and Mackenzie emphasized that "if a college intends to be a Christian community and to conduct its work within a Christian context, the appointment of faculty who are sympathetic with this purpose and who can make a

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<sup>63</sup> Philip Gleason, "A Historical Perspective," *The Shape of Catholic Higher Education*, ed. Robert Hassenger (Chicago: The University of Press, 1967), 19. Gleason does not provide data on the number of institutions included in the enrollment statistics.

<sup>64</sup> John Whitney Evans, "Catholic Higher Education on the Secular Campus," *The Shape of Catholic Higher Education*, 275.

<sup>65</sup> *Proceedings and Addresses of the American Philosophical Association 1966-1967* (Yellow Springs, Oh.: The Antioch Press, 1967), 60.

contribution to such a community is an important factor in selection.”<sup>66</sup> With enrollment booming and faculty in short supply, it necessarily follows that the hiring process was less selective than if an abundant supply of faculty was available. Covering classes in the short term was more important than a faculty member’s long-term contribution to the purposes of the university. At the University of Dayton, the lack of an institutional plan for faculty selection contributed to the “Heresy Affair.”

In addition to the possibility of hiring faculty not committed to the purposes of the university, the increase in lay faculty had a number of other side effects. One of the most critical was financial. For those Catholic institutions already experiencing financial difficulties, the burden of increased salaries was an added blow. Another result was tension between the lay faculty and the religious administrators. Prior to the 1960s, the universities had been run in conjunction with or similar to conducting the business of the religious order. The university was the apostolic mission of the order, and there was a strong feeling of responsibility for the faith and morals of the students.<sup>67</sup> Frequently, the religious superior assigned the religious to faculty and administrative positions in the university (including that of president).<sup>68</sup> The religious, in turn, obeyed the superior. While the obedient response of religious to superior is appropriate for life in a religious community, governing an educational institution in the same manner led to criticisms from lay faculty in the 1960s of “authoritarianism” and “paternalism/maternalism.” Lay faculty complained about being treated as if they were employees or, worse yet, “children.” In many

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<sup>66</sup> Pattillo, and Mackenzie, 26.

<sup>67</sup> Robert Hassenger, “Conflict in the Catholic Colleges,” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 382 (March 1969), 99.

<sup>68</sup> This fact should not lead one to assume that unqualified persons were appointed to positions of responsibility although that most likely did occur from time to time. The author has viewed evidence that at least one religious order planned for future needs for faculty and administrators.

institutions, lay faculty had no say in matters that directly concerned them such as choice of textbooks, implementation of new programs, academic freedom,<sup>69</sup> and faculty governance.<sup>70</sup>

In addition to faculty issues, Catholic institutions dealt with curricular changes similar to those in American higher education. A specifically Catholic issue was the criticism delivered by John Tracy Ellis at the 1955 annual meeting of the Catholic Commission on Intellectual and Cultural Affairs.<sup>71</sup> Ellis pointed out the lack of intellectual leaders among American Catholics. Since Catholic institutions should be at the heart of the intellectual life, Ellis' words were a challenge to colleges and universities to tighten standards and emphasize quality if they were going to achieve excellence.

Ellis was not the only one critical of Catholic higher education. Wakin and Scheuer lodged criticisms against the theology and philosophy departments for their "low standards" and "academic neglect," pointing out that many times the faculty members of these departments, particularly theology, were members of the "ruling" religious order who were "academic marginals." Wakin and Scheuer added, "There seems little doubt that if theology and philosophy courses were made into electives, their enrollments would dwindle."<sup>72</sup>

Although Wakin and Scheuer's statements were not new—many earlier critics had made the same statements—there was still truth in them. Members of the sponsoring religious order were located in these departments. Typically, order members comprised a greater percentage of theology and philosophy faculty than the faculty of other departments. This follows from the fact

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<sup>69</sup> The AAUP formed a special committee in 1965 "to study and make more explicit the meaning of the 1940 *Statement of Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure vis-à-vis church-related institutions.*" A draft statement on academic freedom in church-related colleges and universities was published in the Winter 1967 *AAUP Bulletin*. "Report of the Special Committee on Academic Freedom in Church-Related Colleges and Universities," *AAUP Bulletin*, Winter Issue, (December 1967), 369-371.

<sup>70</sup> The St. John's University crisis in 1965-66 erupted over faculty issues. For further information see "Academic Freedom and Tenure: St. John's University," *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors*, 52 (Spring 1966), 12-19.

<sup>71</sup> Edward J. Power, *Catholic Higher Education in America: A History* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1972), 382.

<sup>72</sup> Edward Wakin and Father Joseph F. Scheuer, *The De-Romanization of the American Catholic Church* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1966), 88.

that theology and philosophy were important in terms of the order's apostolic mission and that the members' interests and training would lie in these areas.

Pamela C. Young, CSJ, has studied the development of theological education in American Catholic higher education from 1939 to 1973. She found that in 1940, Fr. Gerald B. Phelan, president of the Pontifical Institute of Mediæval Studies in Toronto, encouraged the "distinction between theology as an academic subject and religious instruction coupled with training in religious conduct."<sup>73</sup> Young's study illustrates that theological education at Catholic University, Marquette University, and St. Mary's College was developing throughout the 1960s so that it took on "on a whole new appearance by 1973."<sup>74</sup> Some of the changes were the addition and/or strengthening of graduate theology programs, and the professionalizing of the campus ministry function.<sup>75</sup>

Philosophy in American Catholic colleges in the late 1950s and early 1960s was closely tied to the church's official endorsement of the philosophy of Thomism. Previously in this chapter it was noted how Neo-Thomism splintered into many different streams of thought. Philosophy as taught in most Catholic colleges, however, was the conservative Thomism of the Roman manualists, based on the very early commentators on Thomas Aquinas. It was essentially seminary training "dumbed down" for the laity who were taking required courses, and "modern thinkers were studied to be refuted rather than understood."<sup>76</sup>

By the early to mid 1960s, the winds of change hit Catholic philosophy departments. At DePaul University, faculty member Gerald F. Kreyche proposed changing the curriculum and teaching methodology for undergraduate philosophy. The notion "violently divided" the seventeen member department, but Kreyche ultimately convinced the five laymen and some

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<sup>73</sup> Pamela C. Young, CSJ., "Theological Education in American Catholic Higher Education, 1939-1973" (Ph.D. diss., Marquette University, May 1995), 14.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 198.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 45.

<sup>76</sup> "Departure at DePaul," *Time*, 23 October 1964, 68.



priests to back an experimental curriculum.<sup>77</sup> In 1964-65, DePaul offered two options to students: the traditional courses in Thomism and the Philosophical Horizons Program. The Horizons program included four new courses to explore “man’s encounter” with man, the world, God, and morality.<sup>78</sup> Students also took a fifth course from any area of the history of philosophy. The experiment was a success because “it captured the interest of the students and . . . revitalized for them the nature of philosophy.”<sup>79</sup> It became a model program studied by other Catholic universities including the University of Dayton.

Duquesne University experienced turmoil in the philosophy department in spring 1966. Faculty and students demonstrated and later five philosophy faculty members resigned in a dispute with the acting chair of the department, John J. Pauson. Duquesne, known as a leader in the contemporary field of existential phenomenology, appeared to be “downgrading” contemporary philosophy to return to Thomism.<sup>80</sup> Although the university denied planning a return to Thomism, and a special committee involving the local AAUP chapter could find no basis for the charge,<sup>81</sup> Pauson resigned as chair.<sup>82</sup>

The Duquesne dispute made national news and brought to the public’s attention the “very complex problem of the relationship of philosophy to contemporary Catholicism and the place of the Catholic philosopher in the United States.”<sup>83</sup> Within nine months, the University of Dayton was in the news for a similar problem: the role of philosophy in a Catholic institution of higher education.

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<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., 70.

<sup>79</sup> Gerald F. Kreyche, “The Philosophical Horizons Program at DePaul University,” *The New Scholasticism* 39 (1965): 524.

<sup>80</sup> M.A. Farber, “Faculty Dispute Haunts Duquesne,” *The New York Times*, 13 March 1966, 39.

<sup>81</sup> John J. Pauson, “Duquesne: Beyond the Official Philosophies,” *Continuum* 4 (Summer 1966), 253.

<sup>82</sup> “Figure in Duquesne Dispute Quits as Department Head,” *The New York Times*, 11 August 1966, 7.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

*A Review of Prominent Themes in the Historical Context of the 1960s*

The decade of the 1960s is appropriately described as a time of change. More importantly, it was also a time of polarization—the United States vs. the Soviet Union, African Americans vs. whites, students vs. administration, the U.S. government vs. anti-war demonstrators, and the conservatives vs. progressives in the Church.

In Catholic philosophy departments, the polarization occurred on the issue of exclusive neo-Thomism vs. modern philosophical pluralism. This particular issue affected the relationship of philosophy to theology, the position of philosophy and theology in the university, and the relationship of philosophy to the Church. These relationships were complex, in transition, and turbulent in the 1960s. At the University of Dayton, they shaped a series of events known as the “Heresy Affair.”

## CHAPTER II

### AMERICAN, CATHOLIC, AND MARIANIST: THE UNIVERSITY OF DAYTON

As an American and Catholic university, the University of Dayton was influenced by and located within the historical contexts of the United States, higher education, and the Church, which intersected in what is known as American Catholic higher education. These historical contexts were described in the previous chapter. As a Marianist university, the University of Dayton was also influenced and shaped by its founding religious order, the Society of Mary. To understand the “Heresy Affair,” therefore, the chapter begins with an exploration of the origins of the Society of Mary and of the university.

A short history of the university through the 1960s follows as background for the “Heresy Affair.” The history of the university is viewed from the perspectives of the administration and governance of the university, the students, and the faculty. Since the “Heresy Affair” unfolded within the College of Arts and Sciences, and specifically within the departments of theological studies and philosophy, the historical development of these units is examined in greater detail.

The chapter concludes with a summary of the key issues that the university faced in the 1960s. The issues include the impact of growth on the university community; the role of the sponsoring religious order, the Society of Mary; the relationship of the university with the church; and the changing role of the faculty.

#### *The Origins of the Society of Mary and the University*

The Society of Mary (Marianist brothers and priests) was founded at Bordeaux, France, in 1817 by Father William Joseph Chaminade. Father Chaminade was ordained a priest in 1785 and

spent the early years of his priesthood teaching. During the Reign of Terror after the French Revolution, Chaminade operated underground—many times in disguise—and ministered to the people of Bordeaux. When the Reign of Terror ended, he came out into the open. In 1797, when the persecution resumed, and his identity was known, Chaminade went into exile in Spain rather than lose his life.

During his three years of exile, Chaminade prayed regularly before the statue of Our Lady of the Pillar in Sargossa, Spain. Chaminade believed he was inspired by Mary to bring men and women together into communities to support one another in faith and daily living, and thus help rebuild the church of France. When he returned to Bordeaux, Chaminade formed the communities, called sodalities, and dedicated them to Mary. Meanwhile, Adèle de Batz de Trenquelléon was forming similar communities in a region about sixty miles away. The two founders were in touch with each other, and when some members of the communities wanted to become vowed religious, two religious congregations were formed: the Daughters of Mary Immaculate (1816) and the Society of Mary (1817).<sup>1</sup> The collaboration between the two congregations and the sodalities has come to be known in recent times as the Family of Mary.

As early as 1839, the services of members of the Society were requested for missionary work in Jefferson County, Arkansas in the New World. Father Chaminade responded that they were unable to answer the call because all the members were needed in France.<sup>2</sup> By 1849, however, the time was right and Fr. Leo Meyer and Bro. Charles Schultz journeyed from Alsace to Cincinnati, Ohio, for the purpose of running a school at Holy Trinity Parish. They arrived in the midst of a cholera epidemic, however, and Fr. Meyer was sent to Dayton, Ohio, to assist at Emmanuel Parish while Bro. Schultz remained in Cincinnati.

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<sup>1</sup> “The Marianist Story,” available from <http://www.stmarytx.edu/marianist/>; Internet; accessed 13 June 1999.

<sup>2</sup> John G. Graves, S.M., *Father Leo Meyer’s 13 Years at Nazareth*, ed. Joseph H. Lackner, S.M. (Dayton, Oh.: The Marianist Press, 1997), 8.

In Dayton, Fr. Meyer met John Stuart, a parishioner whose young daughter had died the year before. Stuart wanted to sell his property so he could return to France.<sup>3</sup> On 19 March 1850, the feast of St. Joseph, Fr. Meyer signed a contract for the purchase of the Stuart estate for \$12,000. Fr. Meyer had no money. Instead, he gave Stuart a medal of St. Joseph as a sign of his intention to pay.<sup>4</sup> Fr. Meyer wasted no time in putting the estate to its intended use opening St. Mary's School for Boys, a day school, on 1 July 1850.<sup>5</sup> A prospectus for a boarding school was drawn up about the same time and submitted to Cincinnati Bishop John B. Purcell<sup>6</sup> who approved it with one addition: "and none but Catholic boys are admitted."<sup>7</sup> Classes for the first boarders began in September 1850.

Over time, the school used the names St. Mary's Institute, St. Mary's College, and St. Mary College. In 1920, it incorporated as the University of Dayton,<sup>8</sup> Society of Mary, Province of Cincinnati. The articles of incorporation were amended in 1946 when the Society of Mary, Province of Cincinnati became the Marianists of Ohio, Incorporated. Finally, the university became an entity distinct from the Marianists of Ohio, Inc., when, in 1952, separate articles of incorporation were issued.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 18.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 40.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 50.

<sup>6</sup> Purcell was consecrated Archbishop of Cincinnati on 19 July 1850. Edward H. Knust, S.M., "Prologue," *Hallowed Memories: A Chronological History of the University of Dayton*, 1, AUD, Series 1H.

<sup>7</sup> Graves, 52.

<sup>8</sup> In 1917, the Dayton Bureau of Municipal Research developed a report on the feasibility of establishing a municipal university in Dayton. Copies of the report are located in the Ohio Historical Society Archives and in the collection of the Dayton and Montgomery County Public Library. Dayton Bureau of Research, "A report upon the feasibility of establishing a municipal university in Dayton, Ohio," The Ohio Historical Society On-Line Collection Catalog; available from <http://www.ohiohistory.org/>; Internet; accessed 18 July 1999. The following story has been handed down by the Marianists: When the Marianists heard about the above report, they were concerned about the impact on St. Mary College. They rushed to Columbus and formed a new corporation in the State of Ohio using the name, University of Dayton. The name, therefore, could not be used by anyone else. Kerrie Moore (University of Dayton archivist), personal conversation with the author, 24 June 1999. The author of the thesis did not locate any text references to substantiate this story.

<sup>9</sup> "Constitution of the University of Dayton," *Faculty Handbook of the University of Dayton*, March 1994, 14.

### *The Administration and Governance of the University*

Essential to understanding the role of the Society of Mary in the administration of the university in 1966-67 is a review of the governance structure of the university. The 1952 Articles of Incorporation called for the members of the corporation<sup>10</sup> to “consist solely of members of the Society of Mary” and to be “governed in its administration and operation by trustees and officers selected from and appointed by” the Society.<sup>11</sup> The board of trustees consisted of the provincial superior serving as chair of the board, the provincial supervisor, and the provincial treasurer who were members by right of office, the president of the university as the secretary of the board, and one other appointed Marianist.<sup>12</sup>

The duties of the board included the appointment of the president and review of the major decisions of the president and his council. As provincial administrators, the board also assigned the members of the Society of Mary to the faculty and staff. The provincial superior made “an annual visit in order to interview personally each Marianist stationed [at the University] and to review first hand the progress made by and the problems facing the University.”<sup>13</sup>

The major administrative officers of the university were Marianists throughout the “Heresy Affair.” For the 1966-67 academic year, these officers included Rev. Raymond A. Roesch in his seventh year as president;<sup>14</sup> Rev. George B. Barrett, vice president; Bro. Elmer C. Lackner, vice

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<sup>10</sup> The members of the corporation “retain exclusive control” over the nomination of candidates to be elected or reelected and removed from the board of trustees; approval of the Constitutions and Bylaws of the Corporation and amendments to the Articles of Incorporation, Constitution, and Bylaws. A two-thirds vote of the members is required for the merger or consolidation of the Corporation with another corporation; the sale, encumbrance, or alienation of all or a substantial portion of the assets of the Corporation; or partial or total dissolution of the Corporation. *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>11</sup> “Articles of Incorporation of University of Dayton,” *Faculty Handbook*, 1994, 9.

<sup>12</sup> “Governing Bodies of the University,” *University of Dayton Faculty Handbook 1966*, 16.

<sup>13</sup> *Monday Morning Memo: A Newsletter for the University of Dayton Faculty and Staff*, 11 December 1961, 2, AUD, Series 3N(3).

<sup>14</sup> As President of the university, Fr. Roesch was also director of the Alumni Hall Marianist community. This was a canonical appointment for six years. In 1964, Fr. Norbert C. Burns was appointed acting director of Alumni Hall to finish out Fr. Roesch’s term. Source: Norbert C. Burns, S.M., telephone interview with the author, 9 March 1999.

president for public relations and development; Rev. Charles J. Lees, provost; Bro. Joseph J. Mervar, business manager; and Rev. Charles L. Collins, assistant to the president. In addition to the above administrators, Bro. Stephen I. Sheehy was dean of students, and two of the four academic deans were members of the Society of Mary—Bro. Leonard A. Mann, College of Arts and Sciences, and Bro. Joseph J. Panzer, School of Education.<sup>15</sup> An organizational chart of the university's administrative structure is shown in Appendix A, Organizational Chart of the University of Dayton, September 1966.

Although the Marianists clearly ran the university, they did not do so without the assistance of the laity.<sup>16</sup> Throughout most of the 1960s, the deans of the Schools of Business Administration and of Engineering were laymen, William J. Hoben and Maurice R. Graney, respectively. Hoben was appointed acting dean in 1962 and dean in 1963<sup>17</sup> while Graney became the first lay dean of Engineering when he was appointed in 1956.<sup>18</sup>

When Fr. Raymond A. Roesch became president in 1959, he increased lay involvement by establishing five councils, answerable to the president's administrative council. They dealt with the issues of academic affairs, student welfare, finance and services, public relations and development, and research. Membership on each council included a Marianist administrative officer as chair in addition to faculty, lay administrators, and other Marianists.<sup>19</sup> These councils made recommendations to the president's administrative council which consisted solely of Marianists at the time of the "Heresy Affair." The administrative council in turn made recommendations to the president of the university. In 1966-67, the administrative council

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<sup>15</sup> Organizational Chart, University of Dayton, September 1966, AUD, Series 1A(1), 1966.

<sup>16</sup> Technically, all Marianist brothers are lay members of the Church, i.e. they are non-ordained. In the thesis, the term "laity" refers to all people who are not members of the clergy or of religious congregations.

<sup>17</sup> Knust, 153, 161.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 36.

<sup>19</sup> Students were not appointed to the university's governing councils and committees until fall 1967 when fifteen students were appointed to the various bodies. "News From the University of Dayton, Public Relations Department," 16 October 1967, 1, AUD, Series 7J(A2), News Releases, December-June 1967.

consisted of Marianists:<sup>20</sup> Fr. Raymond Roesch, Fr. George Barrett, Fr. Norbert Burns, Fr. Charles Collins, Bro. Elmer Lackner, Fr. Charles Lees, Bro. George Mervar, Bro. Stephen Sheehy, Fr. Thomas Stanley, and Fr. Paul Wagner.<sup>21</sup>

Another instrument of lay involvement in the administration of the university was the associate board of lay trustees established in 1924<sup>22</sup> to “assist the management of the university in an advisory capacity and to hold, invest and administer the endowment funds of the University.”<sup>23</sup> This board, advisory in nature, included the Marianist provincial, and the president and treasurer of the university as *ex officio* members. It was in existence until fall 1970 when a new constitution was approved allowing lay persons to serve as trustees. At that time, the associate board was dismantled and the new board formed.<sup>24</sup>

Under the 1970 constitution, currently in effect, the members of the University of Dayton Corporation consist of Marianists designated by the governing board of the Marianists of Ohio, Inc., and the chairperson, vice chairperson, and secretary of the board of trustees. The total number of members is “not less than seven nor more than nine.”<sup>25</sup> The members of the corporation “retain only that authority necessary to preserve the private character and the traditions of the University”<sup>26</sup> which includes nominating candidates for election to the board of

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<sup>20</sup> Bro. Elmer C. Lackner, S.M., “Power on the Campus,” *Focus on the University of Dayton*, January 1968, 8.

<sup>21</sup> Fr. Burns was appointed to the administrative council by the provincial superior because of Burn’s position as director of Alumni Hall. Fr. Stanley was director of institutional studies in 1966-67 and former university dean. Fr. Paul Wagner served as university chaplain.

<sup>22</sup> This was not unique at the time. For example, St. Louis University included lay businessmen on their board of advisors in 1909. Notre Dame (1921), Marquette (1924), and Loyola University in Chicago (1930) did also. Leahy, 105.

<sup>23</sup> *University of Dayton Bulletin, College Catalogue*, January 1926, 4, AUD, Series IAA.

<sup>24</sup> Membership on the final (1970-71) associate board of lay trustees consisted of 28 lay associates. Only 17 associates carried over to the newly formed board of trustees. With one exception (the treasurer), all of the officers of the associate board carried over to the new board. However, the chair, H. Talbott Mead, and vice chair, Walter A. Reiling, of the newly formed board of trustees were new to the officer positions. Only one person, Jesse Phillips, was appointed to the new board without prior membership on the associate board. Mr. Phillips later served as chair of the board from 1984-89, AUD, Series 2AA1, Box 1, Folder 8.

<sup>25</sup> “Bylaws of the Corporation,” *Faculty Handbook*, 1994, 11.

<sup>26</sup> “Constitution,” *Faculty Handbook*, 1994, 15.



trustees, removing members from the board, approving the merger or consolidation of the corporation, and approving the sale, encumbrance, or alienation of all or a substantial portion of the assets of the corporation.<sup>27</sup>

The members of the corporation have delegated all authority for governance of the university to the board of trustees. Under the 1970 constitution, trustees are classified for purposes of representation. Under this system, members of the Society of Mary hold at least 20% of the trustee positions. Trustees are also appointed to represent alumni and the Greater Dayton community, both at least 20% of the trustee positions. The remainder of the positions are at-large.<sup>28</sup>

Thus, in terms of administration and governance, the University of Dayton was typical of most American Catholic universities at this time. The sponsoring religious order maintained control of the board and, therefore, governance of the university through the late 1960s. This did not, however, impede the sponsoring religious order from seeking the counsel of the laity. The Marianists chose to do this through the associate lay board of trustees. In this they were not unusual. Other American Catholic institutions did the same.

### *The Students*

The end of the Second World War led to an increase in enrollment at the University of Dayton as it did at other American universities. At the beginning of the war, enrollment was 1,000; in 1950, 3,500 students were enrolled with 2,200 enrolled as day students. Fifteen percent

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 17.

<sup>28</sup> The Constitution states that trustees may not represent more than one class at a time. This does not mean, however, that a trustee cannot be in more than one class, e.g., an alum and a member of the Greater Dayton community. Trustees are assigned to a class at the time of appointment. Mathematically, it is possible for members of the Society of Mary to hold 60% of the trustee positions and thus retain numerical control of the board, if desired.

of the students resided on campus. The day student body was approximately 85% male with 83% from the State of Ohio. Sixty-five percent of the students were Catholic.<sup>29</sup>

Enrollment continued to increase and change in composition during the 1950s. By 1960, there were approximately 4,000 full-time students, of whom 81% were male. Only 62% were from Ohio versus 83% in 1950. The percentage of Catholic students increased from 65% in 1950 to 81% in 1960, while 21% of the students were housed in dormitories.

Enrollment continued to increase dramatically in the first half of the 1960s so that in the fall term of 1966, when the "Heresy Affair" reached crisis stage, there were 7,062 full-time undergraduate students with 2,100 freshmen. Total enrollment was approximately 10,000. The number of women tripled from 1960 to 1966 so that in 1966, only 69% of the students were male. The university also expanded its geographical base so that in 1966, 48% of the students were from outside the State of Ohio. An increase in the number of dormitories allowed 36% of full-time undergraduates to live on campus. At the same time, the percentage of Catholic students increased to 90.85% in 1966. The author has been unable to determine the reason for this dramatic increase in the percentage of Catholic students. She suspects that changes in student recruiting were a factor since the geographical base also shifted. The increase in Catholic students may also reflect the first generation of Catholic college students.

### *The Faculty*

The increase in the number of students necessitated an increase in the faculty. As the Second World War began, there were 99 full-time faculty members with 26.3% holding doctoral degrees and 28.3% holding master's degrees. Members of the Society of Mary comprised 40.4% of the full-time faculty. By 1950, the full-time faculty numbered 166 with 15.7% holding

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<sup>29</sup> These statistics were calculated by the author using data from the Office of the Registrar for the fall term, 1950, AUD, Series 4BR(4), Box 1, Folder 1.

doctoral degrees and 49.4% holding master's degrees. Of the full-time faculty, 29.5% were members of the Society.<sup>30</sup>

Increased reliance on lay faculty did not go unnoticed by Marianists who discussed the matter at their General Chapter in 1951. At the conclusion of the Chapter, the superior general published *Instruction on the Proceedings of the General Chapter of 1951 and Promulgation of the Statutes of Said Chapter, Circular No. 18*. Statute XXII, "The Formation of Assistant<sup>31</sup> Lay Teachers," begins by referring to Article 472 of the Constitutions<sup>32</sup> of the Society of Mary which states that ideally, from the point of view of personnel, "there are religious enough practically to dispense with outside help."<sup>33</sup> The Statute continues

However, . . . laymen and laywomen have been engaged to help conduct [Marianist] schools and colleges. . . .The most important thing . . . to do with such help is to choose the right auxiliaries. The next is, in faculty meetings and in private interviews, to form them to Marianist educational ideals and methods. Auxiliary teachers should know the letter and the spirit of the chapters on "Education" and "Instruction" of [the] Constitutions.<sup>34</sup>

In order to follow the Statute instructions on forming the faculty, Fr. George A. Renneker, president of the University of Dayton, distributed a memorandum dated 8 December 1952 to the

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<sup>30</sup> These statistics were calculated by the author using faculty listings from the *University of Dayton Undergraduate Bulletin*, 1941-42 and 1950-51, AUD, Series 1AA.

<sup>31</sup> The word "assistant" is used in the title of the Statute but "auxiliary" is used throughout the text. "Associate" is used elsewhere. None of these words has a specific connotation to the Marianists. The words are general terms for those who work with the Marianists but are not members of the Society of Mary.

<sup>32</sup> The "constitutions" are the law for a religious institute. The constitutions articulate the purposes of the institute and the means it uses to achieve its ends. *The HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, Ibid., s.v. "Constitutions, Religious." The Holy See approved the Constitutions of the Society of Mary in 1891.

<sup>33</sup> George J. Renneker, S.M., *Education and Instruction According to the Constitutions of the Society of Mary: A Memorandum for Lay Members of the Faculty of the University of Dayton* (8 December 1952), 2, AUD, Series 1B, HF.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

lay members of the faculty “for careful reading, consideration and practice.”<sup>35</sup> The memorandum included the above Statute and Chapters XXVI, “Education,” and XXVII, “Instruction” from Book I of the Society’s Constitutions. The chapter on education explained what “education” meant to the Marianists. It stated that

the term education comprises all the means which enable us to sow, cultivate, strengthen, and render fruitful the Christian spirit in souls, in order to lead them to a sincere and open profession of true Christianity.<sup>36</sup>

It continued with practical ways the Brothers were expected to conduct themselves.

The Constitutions state under “Instruction” that “The Society of Mary teaches only in order to educate; therefore the Brothers receive and instruct children in order to make them good and fervent Christians.” As if in anticipation of questions and/or objections, the next paragraph continues that this does not mean that the “greater part of the time” is to be devoted “to the teaching of religion or to its practices.” Rather, “a good Brother imparts a Christian lesson by every word, every gesture, and every look.”<sup>37</sup> After affirming the importance and practicality of religious instruction, the Constitutions continue that religious instruction is not detrimental to secular instruction. The importance of proper management and educational methods is stressed and every member of the Society is called upon to “attain the highest possible skill in the branches he has to teach” and to use his talents to the “best advantage.” Chapter XXVII concludes by stating that although the principles of education and teaching do not vary, their application “must necessarily be adapted to the needs and requirements of human society.”<sup>38</sup> It is clear that the Marianists valued religious and secular instruction, and that they expected to prepare their students for living in and contributing to society.

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<sup>35</sup> The “memorandum” takes the form of a six-page booklet entitled *Education and Instruction According to the Constitutions of the Society of Mary: A Memorandum for Lay Members of the Faculty of the University of Dayton*. It was promulgated by George J. Renneker, S.M., president, on 8 December 1952, AUD, Series 1B.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

By 1960, there were 230 full-time faculty with 23.6% holding doctoral degrees, 53.0% holding master's degrees, and approximately 25% belonging to the Society of Mary. In 1966, the faculty numbered more than 350: "The Brothers and priests [were] outnumbered by laymen three to one, [i.e. 25% of the faculty were members of the Society of Mary]. Several Sisters [were] on the faculty and about fifty laywomen." A third of the faculty held doctoral degrees while many more were working on them.<sup>39</sup> Approximately 52% of the faculty held master's degrees.

All full-time faculty members signed an annual contract and were bound by policy statements contained in the *University of Dayton Faculty Handbook*. Faculty for 1966-67, the year of the crisis in the "Heresy Affair," were no exception. They were bound by the policies in the *University of Dayton Faculty Handbook 1966*,<sup>40</sup> including a 1963-64 instituted policy on tenure. Prior to 1964, no guarantee of continuous employment for faculty was given.<sup>41</sup> The tenure policy in the 1966-67 *Handbook* points out that tenure is "not an inescapable legal obligation; it is a principle of administration." Although the policy does not explain exactly what this statement means, it appears that the university used the tenure policy to state its intentions towards and expectations of faculty. In other words, if a faculty member "continues to perform properly the work for which he is currently engaged and remains a morally acceptable member of a Catholic academic community," the university "proposes to protect its faculty from arbitrary dismissal, to increase staff confidence and stability, and to encourage a sense of responsibility and involvement."<sup>42</sup> Clearly, the university's intentions are administrative in nature (with the

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<sup>39</sup> Rev. Charles J. Lees, S.M., "U.D.—The Coziness Gone; An Explosion Here," *University of Dayton Alumnus*, Fall 1966, AUD, Series 7DP, Box 3.

<sup>40</sup> Only those policies in effect for the 1966-67 academic year and of relevance to the thesis topic will be reviewed. The complete handbook can be found in AUD, Series 3H.

<sup>41</sup> Permanent tenure at the University of Dayton was awarded under the following conditions: 1) appointment to the rank of professor or associate professor, and 2) completion of seven years academic experience as a full-time faculty member with a rank of instructor or higher in an institution of higher learning, and 3) service of at least four years as a full-time member of the University of Dayton faculty, and 4) attainment of age 37. *Faculty Handbook 1966*, 38-39.

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

exception of the protection from arbitrary dismissal). The policy does not define what is or is not “morally acceptable.”

The tenure policy also lists reasons for termination of employment under tenure. In addition to the usual reasons of moral turpitude or financial exigency, “teaching or publically [sic] advocating doctrines contrary to Catholic faith or morals” is listed as a reason for termination of a tenured faculty member. The author assumes that if a tenured faculty member can be terminated for professing teachings contrary to Catholic faith and morals, a non-tenured faculty member could be terminated for the same reason. In the “Heresy Affair,” four non-tenured faculty members were accused of teachings contrary to the Catholic faith.

The *Faculty Handbook* also stated that the university accepted the 1940 statement on academic freedom as formulated by the American Association of University Professors and the Association of American Colleges.<sup>43</sup> Of particular relevance to this thesis is the statement following the 1940 statement on academic freedom:

The University of Dayton and its faculty understand and accept the agreement that a professor, enjoying true academic freedom, may not advocate and disseminate doctrines that are subversive of American political freedom and government or the aims and purposes of this Catholic institution which is committed to the upholding of the deposit of faith and Christian morality. This statement appears on all academic contracts.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> The full statement on academic freedom follows: “a) The teacher is entitled to full freedom in research and in publication of the results, subject to the adequate performance of his other academic duties; but research for pecuniary return should be based upon an understanding with the authorities of the institution. b) The teacher is entitled to freedom in the classroom in discussing his subject, but he should be careful not to introduce into his teaching controversial matter which has no relation to his subject. Limitations of academic freedom because of religious or other aims of the institution should be clearly stated in writing at the time of appointment. c) The college or university teacher is a citizen, a member of a learned profession, and an officer of an educational institution. When he speaks or writes as a citizen, he should be free from institutional censorship or discipline, but his special position in the community imposes special obligations. As a man of learning and an educational officer, he should remember that the public may judge his profession and his institution by his utterances. Hence he should at all times be accurate, should exercise appropriate restraint, should show respect for the opinions of others, and should make every effort to indicate that he is not an institutional spokesman.” *Faculty Handbook 1966*, 30-31.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 31. Similar statements were in effect at Notre Dame (beginning in 1953) and Marquette (in the early 1950s). The author does not know if they were active statutes in the 1960s. Leahy, 98.

This statement says two things relevant to the “Heresy Affair”—faculty members have true academic freedom, and they may not advocate doctrines that are contrary to Catholic faith and morals. Obviously, there are tensions in this statement that are not easily resolved. However, the 1940 AAUP statement called for limitations on academic freedom to be stated in writing at the time of appointment. The author infers that this paragraph constitutes that notification.

The above paragraph was included in the *Faculty Handbook* since the first edition was published in 1961. For insight into how the university administration interpreted this statement, one can refer to the remarks Fr. Roesch made at the opening faculty meeting for academic year 1964-65. Fr. Roesch first welcomed the faculty in their “role as associates with the Society of Mary in carrying out the purposes of this Marianist institution.” He then explained the Marianist philosophy of education before continuing:

We rightly characterize the University of Dayton as “a Catholic institution of higher learning.” . . . All of you are aware that whether you be of our religious faith or not, you have accepted the principle that no doctrine contrary to the Catholic faith may be taught or advocated publicly while you are in our employ. But such a negative restriction is simply not sufficient to characterize us as a Catholic institution of higher learning. Bringing our students to know and love virtue requires positive action on our part. It is a very sad, but true, commentary on our culture today that Christian virtue is not very popular.<sup>45</sup>

This excerpt from Fr. Roesch’s remarks continues with an explanation that the university’s students are at a “very critical period” and that the “authority and example” of college professors are very powerful in their lives. Fr. Roesch asked the faculty to take this responsibility seriously. He continued: “Under no conditions should you ever condone any action on the part of students which is contrary to the ideals and objectives of the Christian<sup>46</sup> education which the university proposes to profess.”<sup>47</sup> As the “Heresy Affair” unfolds, the archbishop’s fact-finding commission independently states similar cautions.

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<sup>45</sup> Fr. Raymond A. Roesch, S.M., *Monday Morning Memo*, 14 September 1964, back cover, AUD, Series 3N(3).

<sup>46</sup> The use of “Christian” is interesting. One wonders why Fr. Roesch did not use “Catholic.”

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

The minutes from the opening faculty meeting for academic year 1965-66 indicate that the university was in the midst of transitions. Two of the three main agenda items relate directly to the Catholic and Marianist identity of the institution. Fr. Roesch first addressed the proper role of theology in the curriculum and on campus. The faculty then broke into discussion groups to critique the “Policy for Initiation and Development of Graduate Work at the University of Dayton.” Finally, the faculty reconvened as a group for a “pro and con discussion . . . on the three qualities of a Marianist education” including “whether they were too vague, whether they applied to individuals, [and] whether they downgraded competence in knowledge.”<sup>48</sup> Bro. Joseph J. Panzer’s recently published 200-page book, *Educational Traditions of the Society of Mary*, was distributed to all in attendance. Panzer investigated the educational work of the Marianists in the first fifty years of their existence and compiled a list of twenty educational traditions that the early Marianists “bequeathed to their successors.”<sup>49</sup>

The Faculty Forum, an elected and representative body of university faculty members, was a vehicle for faculty consultation in 1966-67. The forum constitution listed the body as “deliberative and consultative rather than administrative.” It functioned as the “voice of a responsible faculty regarding the university affairs which [were] within its competence.”<sup>50</sup> Recommendations from the forum were submitted to the appropriate councils. In order to ensure that communication and interaction occurred between the councils and the forum, appointments were made to the forum, if necessary, so that each of the five major councils was represented on the forum.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Minutes of the First Faculty Meeting, 1965-66, 30 August 1965, 4, AUD, Series 1DC(17), Box 61, Folder 2.

<sup>49</sup> Joseph J. Panzer, S.M., *Educational Traditions of the Society of Mary* (Dayton, Oh.: The University of Dayton Press, 1965), 183.

<sup>50</sup> “Constitution for the Faculty Forum,” *Faculty Handbook 1966*, 55.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 57. Note: there is no mention of *who* makes the appointments to the Faculty Forum to insure that the councils are represented. The most likely person would be the president of the university in consultation with the administrative council.



This limited level of faculty involvement in university governance was, again, fairly typical of American, and, especially, American Catholic institutions in the mid-1960s. Lay faculty, however, were starting to ask for a stronger voice in the running of the institutions. The faculty of the University of Dayton were no exception. During the 1966-67 academic year, the forum drew up a constitution for an academic senate. The senate constitution, approved by the faculty and the board of trustees, gave the faculty the “right to initiate and formulate the educational and academic policies of the university in areas of its competence.”<sup>52</sup> The senate was instituted in 1968.

### *The University’s Academic Structure*

As St. Mary’s School for Boys grew and developed, the institution reorganized. In 1882, the General Assembly of the State of Ohio empowered the institution, under the name St. Mary’s Institute, to grant collegiate degrees. By 1905, St. Mary’s was organized into five departments: classical, scientific, academic, commercial, and preparatory. The name St. Mary College was first used in the 1915-16 academic year, and the departments were organized as collegiate, high school, business, and elementary (grades five through eight). Members of the Society of Mary were trained as teachers at Mt. St. John, the Marianist motherhouse.<sup>53</sup>

Along with the name change to the University of Dayton, the Division of Education was added in 1920 followed by the College of Law in 1922.<sup>54</sup> The four engineering departments, added from 1909 to 1920, became the Engineering Division. In 1924, the business department became the Division of Business Organization. The North Central Association first accredited

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<sup>52</sup> *Faculty Handbook 1994*, 46.

<sup>53</sup> Mt. St. John is located five miles to the east of the University of Dayton campus on the border between Montgomery and Greene counties. It is named after John, the beloved disciple. On the cross, Jesus entrusted his Mother to John and asked her to “behold her son.” The motherhouse is named “Mount” because it is the highest point in Greene County. James L. Heft, S.M., electronic mail message to the author, 25 June 1999.

<sup>54</sup> “Brief History,” *The University of Dayton Undergraduate Bulletin* (Dayton, Oh.: August 1998), 13.

the university in 1928. Graduate programs were added in 1939, dropped in 1948 to make room for the increasing number of undergraduates, and resumed in 1960.

The university's proximity to the Wright Air Development Center at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base led to its involvement in government-sponsored research. In 1949, the Wright Air Development Center contracted with the University of Dayton to "reduce" raw aircraft flight loads data. Three mathematics faculty members and ten students were involved. By 1952, the university hired four engineers and a mathematician as its first full-time researchers. They worked with the Air Force on Operation Tumbler-Snapper, a nuclear weapons effects testing project conducted at the Nevada Proving Grounds. The success of this effort led to other contracts and the establishment of the UD Research Center in 1956. The Center was renamed the Research Institute in 1958. With its involvement in sponsored research for the U.S. government, the university was one of many American universities that benefited from the close collaboration of higher education with the federal government.

The configuration of the academic units that was in place in academic year 1966-67 emerged in 1960 when the College of Arts and Sciences and the professional schools of Business Administration, Education and Engineering<sup>55</sup> all became distinct units. This configuration reflected the specialization that was occurring in American higher education in the 1960s. The diversity of the academic units also indicated that the University of Dayton was a modern university. The university's view of itself as a modern university is critical to understanding the administration's reaction to the "Heresy Affair."

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<sup>55</sup> The School of Engineering included the Technical Institute, a two year college program of technical training in chemical, electrical, industrial, and mechanical technology. *Bulletin*, 1960-61, 153.

Prior to 1960, the academic configuration included the Divisions of Arts, Business, Education, and Science within the College of Arts and Sciences. The College of Engineering was already a separate entity as was the Technical Institute which offered degrees in engineering technology. When the professional schools became distinct entities in 1960, the Division of Arts merged with the Division of Science to form a newly constituted College of Arts and Sciences. Each academic unit was administered by a dean who reported to the provost. As mentioned previously, Marianists held the positions of dean in Arts and Sciences and Education in 1966, while laymen administered Business Administration, Engineering, and the Technical Institute.

### *The College of Arts and Sciences*

The College of Arts and Sciences was the largest academic unit of the university and “traditionally the basic unit.”<sup>56</sup> In 1966-67, it was composed of eighteen academic departments: biology, chemistry, communication arts, computer science, English, fine arts, geology, history, home economics, languages, mathematics, music, philosophy, physics, political science, psychology, sociology, and theological studies.<sup>57</sup> In addition to degrees in the departments listed above, the College offered pre-professional programs in medical and dental fields, law, foreign service, social service, and broadcasting. The College also cooperated with local hospitals to offer a degree in medical technology. Degrees were offered on the associate, baccalaureate, and master levels. Graduate programs were offered in biology, chemistry, English, history, mathematics, philosophy, physics, political science, psychology, and theological studies.

The purpose of the College was two-fold:

- 1) to provide the means for a broad, liberal education directed toward the cultivation of the mind of the student and the optimum development of his

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<sup>56</sup> “College of Arts and Sciences,” *University of Dayton Bulletin, Undergraduate Catalog Issue, 1966-67* (Dayton, Oh.: August 1966), 12.

<sup>57</sup> Military Science was also a department in the College of Arts and Sciences but no majors were offered.

intellectual capacities, and 2) to prepare the student for the practical task of making a living.<sup>58</sup>

The College aimed to meet these objectives “within the framework of the Christian principles which stem from philosophy and theology . . . the integrating forces of the University.”<sup>59</sup> The extent to which philosophy and theology were intended to be integrating forces is evidenced by the university-wide requirements listed below:

#### UNIVERSITY-WIDE REQUIRED CURRICULUM<sup>60</sup>

	Freshman	Sophomore	Junior	Senior
Communication Arts	SPE 101: Fundamentals of Effective Speaking			
English	ENG 101-2: English Composition I and II			
Military Science (ROTC) <sup>61</sup>	MIL 101-2: First Year Basic Course	MIL 201-2: Second Year Basic Course		
Philosophy	PHL 105: Introduction to Philosophy and Logic	PHL 207: Philosophical Psychology	PHL 306: Epistemology	PHL 402: General Metaphysics
Theological Studies <sup>62</sup>	THL 152: Introduction to Sacred Scripture	THL 220: Theology of Christ	Electives: 6 credits	

In 1966-67, undergraduate students were required to have a minimum of 124 semester credit hours in order to earn a baccalaureate degree from the University of Dayton. Of these hours, 24 were required philosophy and theological studies courses, 19.4% of a student’s curriculum. Only the major required more credit hours within a student’s course of study.

<sup>58</sup> “College of Arts and Sciences,” *Bulletin 1966-67*, 57.

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

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 50.

<sup>61</sup> Women or men excused from Military Science (ROTC) were required to take physical education courses. *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> Non-Catholic students took PHL 403, Natural Theology; PHL 404, Ethics; and two electives in philosophy. *Ibid.*

As mentioned above, the dean of the College was a Marianist, Brother Leonard A. Mann. Bro. Mann had a Ph.D. in physics from Carnegie Institute of Technology. He came to the university in 1945 as a faculty member in physics. Bro. Mann served as chair of the department before being appointed associate dean. He served as dean from 1961 to 1980.<sup>63</sup>

As dean, Bro. Mann was responsible for the “conduct and development” of the academic program; “recruitment, maintenance and development” of the faculty; the administration of the unit; and the “promotion” of the College and the university as a whole.<sup>64</sup> In 1966, he was assisted in this task by two assistant deans, Father Ralph J. Gorg, S.M. and Richard E. Peterson, faculty members in theological studies and mathematics, respectively, and by assistant to the dean, Ann Franklin, former chair of nursing.

One of the most surprising aspects of the “Heresy Affair” is the non-involvement of the dean. Throughout the build-up and into the crisis stage, there is no evidence that the dean was involved.<sup>65</sup> One possible explanation is that the dean was a scientist who was not comfortable with oversight of the humanities.<sup>66</sup> This situation was addressed in October 1969, when Rocco M. Donatelli, a layperson, was appointed associate dean and assumed full responsibility for the humanities.

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<sup>63</sup> *Campus Report*, 25 August 1995, 2, AUD, Series 3N(1), Box 4. Bro. Mann died on 23 June 1995.

<sup>64</sup> *Faculty Handbook 1966*, 22.

<sup>65</sup> Evidence exists that the dean was aware of the situation in the philosophy department—the provost, Fr. Lees, wrote to Bro. Mann on 6 September 1966, and listed the accusations against some of the faculty in philosophy. Charles J. Lees, S.M., letter to Leonard A. Mann, S.M., 6 September 1966, AUD, Series 91-35, Box 6.

<sup>66</sup> Bro. Mann admits that he did not know the humanities disciplines very well. He asked the university administration for permission to hire an associate dean to take “complete jurisdiction and responsibility” for the humanities. Leonard Mann, S.M., oral history transcript, 1974, AUD, Series 1H, Box 2, Folder 14.

### *The Department of Theological Studies*

As an academic department, theological studies had its origins in 1934. At that time, it was called the Department of Religion and offered three courses. The faculty consisted of six Marianists (four priests and two brothers) and all taught other subjects in addition to religion. No major was offered in religion until the 1950-51 academic year when fifteen courses were listed in the *University of Dayton Bulletin*. In 1950, the department was still called the Department of Religion, and comprised five full-time faculty members, all Marianists (four priests and one brother).

The 1960s were a time of change for the department. The decade began with the department still named Religion. All Catholic students were required to take twelve semester hours: REL 106: Dogmatic Theology, REL 210: Moral Theology, REL 314: Ascetical Theology, and REL 420: Christology and the Sacraments. This sequence of required courses was fairly typical at the time.

In 1960, Rev. John G. Dickson, S.M. was chair of the department and also university chaplain. In addition to Fr. Dickson, there were ten faculty members, all Marianist priests appointed to the department by the province. Three faculty had Ph.D.s—Fr. John Dickson in sociology from St. John's University, Fr. Thomas Stanley in classical languages from Ohio State University, and Fr. John Kelley in philosophy from the University of Fribourg, Switzerland—and Fr. Matthew Kohmescher, an S.T.D. from the University of Fribourg. Besides teaching, the faculty performed other assigned duties. These included pastoral duties on campus such as celebrating Mass, hearing confessions, and counseling students.<sup>67</sup> Non-pastoral duties ranged from “dorm duty” which required living in the dorms, to teaching at the Marianist Scholasticate at

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<sup>67</sup> The student requirement to attend one weekly mass from Monday through Saturday was made voluntary in 1961.

Mt. St. John's, to work in the Marian Library, to Sunday Mass assignments in Dayton area parishes.<sup>68</sup>

The department requested a name change to Theology in October 1960. In the documents requesting the change, members of the department stated that the purpose was to “better express the goal and function of the department in the university” as “‘Theology’ indicates the ‘Science’ which is an intellectual and academic pursuit while the term ‘Religion’ expresses the moral virtue and more affective approach of a high school or grade school course.”<sup>69</sup> The name change was approved by the academic council in spring 1961, and the department began using the new name immediately.

Within a few months, however, the name change became problematic when Marianist provincial superior and former president of the university, Rev. William J. Ferree, objected. The departmental minutes for 19 May 1961 indicate that the Congregation of Seminaries and Universities was “attempting to control all schools and universities which teach theology.”<sup>70</sup> The Congregation, known to be “unprogressive,” had requested, through the Marianists, a copy of the university’s constitution. Fr. Ferree reported that he had put the Congregation off for two years, and he did not know if the name change would precipitate new action on the part of the Congregation. The faculty asked Ferree if he wanted them to change the name to something else other than theology to which he replied “That is not my decision.”<sup>71</sup>

The department discussed several options including a suggestion by Ferree to change the department name to Sacred Doctrine. The department, however, decided to keep the name Theology until it became necessary to change it. In the meantime, the faculty decided to check

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<sup>68</sup> Fr. Matthew F. Kohmescher, telephone interview with the author, 10 March 1999.

<sup>69</sup> Department of Religion minutes, 13 October 1960, 2, AUD, Series IDC(17), Box 38, Folder 5.

<sup>70</sup> Department of Theology minutes, 19 May 1961, 1, AUD, Series IDC(17), Box 38, Folder 5. For further information on the Congregation’s efforts to supervise all universities operated by clergy or religious orders, see James Tunstead Burtchaell, C.S.C., *The Dying of the Light: The Disengagement of Colleges and Universities from their Christian Churches*, Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1998, 587-589.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

with other universities to see how they were responding to the Congregation. The faculty also planned to bring the question up at theological conventions.<sup>72</sup>

Changes occurred in the theology department in 1961 when the role of university chaplain expanded, and Fr. Dickson began devoting his full effort to that endeavor. Rev. William J. Cole, S.M., became chairman as the 1961-62 academic year began and the religion courses were renumbered in the *Undergraduate Bulletin*. The content of the required courses essentially remained the same, although the title "Ascetical Theology" was changed to "Theology and Moral Virtues" and "Christology and the Sacraments" became "Christ and the Sacraments."

Early in the 1961-62 year, the department discussed the purposes of the university and the department, and drafted a statement for the *Undergraduate Bulletin*. At the departmental meeting on 23 October 1961, it was agreed that the department ought to

offer the student that broad knowledge and to foster those basic intellectual habits in Theology which are relative to, and fundamental for, his religious life.<sup>73</sup>

This departmental purpose drew on the university's purpose of "preparing worthy members for both the Church and the State."<sup>74</sup> The approach emphasizing the student's spiritual life was not uncommon at the time. It does, however, indicate that the department had not moved significantly toward the purpose espoused in the name change proposal described above.

Rev. Matthew F. Kohmescher, S.M.,<sup>75</sup> then associate dean in the College and faculty member in theology, became acting chair in January 1962 when Fr. Cole assumed a position in the Marianist Provincialate.<sup>76</sup> Increased enrollment made conditions within the theology department "intolerable" due to the faculty workload of classes (15 semester hours per term) and

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<sup>72</sup> The author has not located any record of the results of these inquiries.

<sup>73</sup> Department of Theology minutes, 23 October 1961, 1, AUD, Series IDC(17), Box 38, Folder 5.

<sup>74</sup> "Statement of Purposes," *University of Dayton Bulletin 1961-62*, (February 1961), 3.

<sup>75</sup> Fr. Kohmescher has an S.T.D. degree (1950) from the University of Fribourg, Switzerland. His thesis topic was "Additional Vows of Religion and in Particular the Vow of Stability in the Society of Mary."

<sup>76</sup> Fr. Kohmescher served as both associate dean and acting chair for the spring term. He was named department chair in fall 1962 and Bro. Ralph Gorg replaced him as associate dean. Bro. Gorg died shortly thereafter and was replaced by Bro. George J. Ruppel.



other duties. The minutes for the 12 February 1962 department meeting show that the faculty, Marianist priests and one brother, were concerned about the possible adverse effects on the caliber of instruction, on guidance of students, and on recruitment of incoming students. The faculty discussed possible remedies including hiring laymen or nuns to teach in the department. The minutes indicate that some members of the department were willing to consider such a solution if no other remedy could be found, but others did not favor such a solution at all. Ideally, all felt that Marianist priests should staff the department. Ultimately, the department decided to appeal to the Marianist provincial for additional personnel.<sup>77</sup>

The decision to ask the provincial for additional priests to teach theology indicates two important factors. In the first place, it shows that the department thought it was ideal that priests teach theology. This view was typical for the time, in part because of priests' training in theology.<sup>78</sup> Second, this decision shows the direct involvement of the Marianist Province within the university. The Marianist faculty went directly to the provincial when additional personnel were needed. As indicated previously, the provincial administration assigned members of the Society to positions within the university. Staffing of the theology department was a Society concern rather than an administrative concern within the university.

The department name changed again in spring 1963 to Theological Studies. The departmental meeting minutes are incomplete so there is no record of discussion on the name change. Father Kohmescher, the chair at the time, recalls that the name was changed because the

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<sup>77</sup> Department of Theology minutes, 12 February 1962, 1, AUD, Series 1DC(17), Box 38, Folder 5.

<sup>78</sup> In 1964, the membership in the Society of Catholic College Teachers of Sacred Doctrine was composed of priests (60%), nuns (30%), brothers (7%), and laypersons (3%). Sister M. Rose Eileen, C.S.C., "Academic Preparation of College Teachers of Sacred Doctrine," *Proceedings of the Society of Catholic College Teachers of Sacred Doctrine: Tenth Annual Convention, Washington, D.C., March 30-31, 1964*, Weston, Mass: Society of Catholic College Teachers of Sacred Doctrine, 1964, 85. Seven out of twelve UD faculty members were members of the SCCTSD but only Fr. Kohmescher attended the 1964 conference. "Membership of the Society," *Proceedings*, 146-177.

Congregation of Seminaries and Universities persisted in writing to the Marianists.<sup>79</sup> Changing the department name was a way of dealing with this Church-university tension.

The first lay faculty were added in fall 1964 with the addition of Ralph M. Cardillo; husband and wife, Thomas and Dorothy Thompson who taught only one year; and Jean Johenning. Fr. Kohmescher recalls that he was given permission by the province and possibly the dean to hire lay people when it became apparent that there were not enough Marianists to cover the classes. He wrote to Catholic graduate schools, reviewed applications and interviewed prospective faculty on his own.<sup>80</sup> Fr. Thomas Stanley, provost, stated at the time that the appointment of laymen “is in line with the current trends within the Church.”<sup>81</sup>

A revised curriculum went into effect during the first term of 1965-66. Although the required semester hours remained the same, the courses changed to THL 152, Introduction to Sacred Scripture; THL 220, Theology of Christ; and six hours of electives. With the changing course requirements and an increased enrollment, additional faculty were needed. Marianist Don W. Wigal was added to the faculty along with a number of laymen. They included Joseph B. Brown, Randolph F. Lumpp, Thomas M. Martin, Jeffrey F. Meyer, Richard G. Otto, and Robert P. Riley. All were in their 20s with recently completed master’s level coursework. All were given the rank of instructor. By 1966-67, there were twenty theological studies faculty listed in the *Bulletin*, seven of whom were laymen. None of the faculty was a woman.

In 1965, the Department of Theological Studies embarked on an innovative Judaic studies program in cooperation with Cincinnati’s Hebrew Union College. Archbishop Karl J. Alter approved the program on an experimental basis for a three-year period. The courses, all taught by Jewish scholars, were first offered in January 1965. Commenting on the program, Fr. Raymond

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<sup>79</sup> Kohmescher, telephone interview with the author, 25 June 1999.

<sup>80</sup> Kohmescher, *Ibid.*, 10 March 1999.

<sup>81</sup> “Four Laymen Appointed to Faculty,” *Catholic Telegraph Register*, 4 September 1964. Clipping is in AUD, Series IDC(17), Box 38.

Roesch, president, acknowledged that this was a “departure from traditional attitude but that the university finds it consistent with its own progressive policies in this area to increase mutual understanding and cooperation.”<sup>82</sup>

The department also sponsored the Religion in Life Series during the mid-1960s. For this lecture series, four or five one-night lectures typically were scheduled each semester. The speakers were men and women in the field of religion, some from the University of Dayton faculty and others from off-campus. For example, in June 1966, Rev. John Kelley, S.M., spoke on “Postmortem: When Did God Die?”<sup>83</sup> He was followed by Rev. William G. Most of Loras College in Iowa who spoke on “Mary in Our Life.”<sup>84</sup> In July 1966 there were two lectures. Rev. Eugene Maly from Mt. St. Mary Seminary in Cincinnati lectured on the “Emergence of Israel”<sup>85</sup> and Rev. Rene Laurentin, a leading French Mariologist, spoke on the topic “The Question of Mary.”<sup>86</sup> Knowledge of this lecture series is important to the thesis because it indicates that the university sponsored discussions, through the theological studies department, on issues of contemporary relevance. During the fall semester 1966, speakers included Pastor Max Lackmann, a German Lutheran minister who was an observer at the Second Vatican Council,<sup>87</sup> Dr. Harvey Cox, author of *Secular City*; UD instructor Thomas Martin who spoke on “A Modern Theology of Sin”; and Rev. Philip Berrigan, S.S.J., who lectured on “The Modern Church and Peace.”<sup>88</sup>

From the above sampling, it is apparent that the Religion in Life Series provided the university and Dayton communities with opportunities to hear noted speakers on topics of contemporary interest in the Church. At the time, Cox and Berrigan were somewhat

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<sup>82</sup> *Catholic Telegraph Register*, 30 October 1964. Clipping is in AUD, Series 1DC(17), Box 38.

<sup>83</sup> “News from the University of Dayton, Public Relations Department,” June 1966, AUD, Series 7J(A2), News Releases, 1966. The author has not determined the relationship, if any, between the Judaic Studies program and the Dayton Jewish-Christian Dialogue.

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

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 12 July 1966.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, July 1966.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 14 September 1966.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 19 October 1966.

controversial. Since the “Heresy Affair” involved similar discussions on contemporary and/or controversial topics, it is helpful to realize that the discussions sponsored by the philosophy department, which will be discussed below, were not isolated events.

The Religion in Life Series, however, did not generate the conflict and public debate that the philosophy discussions generated. One possible explanation for the difference is the structure of the meetings. The Religion in Life Series sponsored outside speakers in addition to local faculty, thus raising the level of professionalism for the entire lecture series. The format and audience of the series also differed. The series presentations were lectures followed by question and answer sessions while the philosophy discussions were presentations and debates sponsored by the philosophy club. The series audience included members of the local community in addition to faculty, staff and students while the philosophy discussions typically did not involve the local community. In general, the series was conducted on a formal basis while the philosophy discussions were informal.

This review of the history of the Department of Theological Studies shows that the department was in transition in the mid-1960s as the department attempted to shift from a pastoral to an academic focus. This shift is evidenced in curricular changes and the separation of the chaplaincy function from instruction. The faculty grew in numbers and changed in composition as more lay people joined the faculty ranks. These changes in turn impacted the culture of the department and its relationship to the university, Church, and community-at-large. These relationships became increasingly important as the “Heresy Affair” unfolded.

### ***The Department of Philosophy***

Since the “Heresy Affair” involved primarily the philosophy department at the University of Dayton, it is important to study thoroughly the department as it existed in the 1960s. In addition, since one purpose of the overall study of the “Heresy Affair” is to determine why the controversy occurred at the University of Dayton, it is helpful to compare the University of Dayton’s

philosophy department to the departments of other American Catholic colleges and universities. Fortunately, a survey of the chairs of American Catholic departments of philosophy was conducted in April 1966 by Fr. Ernan McMullin. The survey results were initially reported at a conference, "Philosophy in an Age of Christian Renewal," held at the University of Notre Dame in September 1966.<sup>89</sup> A comparison of Dayton's statistics to those of other universities is interwoven into the following review of the philosophy department.

Philosophy has been a major component of the University of Dayton's curriculum since the origins of the collegiate program in the early 1880s. Indeed, courses in philosophy have been required for nearly every student throughout the university's history. Not surprisingly then, philosophy was one of the original departments and majors<sup>90</sup> when the University of Dayton incorporated in 1920. The philosophy graduate program was also one of the original graduate programs instituted in the late 1930s. And, as expected at a Catholic university, the philosophy taught at the University of Dayton was "the philosophy of the Church," Thomism. (See Chapter I beginning on page 18 for a review of the Church's commitment to Thomistic philosophy.)

Since Thomism was mandated as the official philosophy of the Church, it stands to reason that the philosophy taught in most Catholic institutions was Thomistic. In McMullin's April 1966 survey, 84.6% of the co-educational institutions described the "general orientation of the teaching in [their] department as Thomistic."<sup>91</sup> The majority of these institutions did not require readings in St. Thomas; rather, they used "Thomistic" textbooks.<sup>92</sup> The University of Dayton was no exception.

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<sup>89</sup> Ralph M. McInerney, "Introduction," *New Themes in Christian Philosophy* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968), ix.

<sup>90</sup> A major was defined as "a subject pursued for four years." *University of Dayton Bulletin, Yearbook College*, October 1921, 38.

<sup>91</sup> Ernan McMullin, "Philosophy in the United States Catholic College," *New Themes in Christian Philosophy* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968), 399.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 401.

In *Keeping the Faith: American Catholicism Past and Present*, Philip Gleason describes “Neocholasticism” as a “worldview or intellectual outlook” rather than a “technical philosophical system.”<sup>93</sup> According to Gleason, neoscholasticism

functioned primarily as an ensemble of agreed-upon answers to various kinds of speculative questions, the validity of which one accepted on authority, which provided a rational grounding for Catholic beliefs and attitudes and served as the source of organizing principles for practical action.<sup>94</sup>

Gleason’s description is supported by the survey responses to questions about the expectations of undergraduate courses: the majority expected the courses to “bring *significant* support to the student’s acceptance of such Catholic positions as the existence of God” (57.2%), the immorality of the soul (59%), and the existence of moral principles that are in some sense unchanging (70.5%).<sup>95</sup> The primary purpose of undergraduate teaching for 48.8% of the respondents was to “train students in analytic skills and reflective modes of thought.”<sup>96</sup> Presumably, analysis led to Catholic positions.

As the decade of the 1960s opened, University of Dayton undergraduate students were required to take four philosophy courses in sequence: PHL 103: Logic, PHL 207: Philosophical Psychology (commonly known as the Philosophy of Man), PHL 306: Epistemology, and PHL 402: General Metaphysics. These courses were required as part of a university curriculum inaugurated in 1959. Non-Catholic students were required to also take PHL 324: Ethics and PHL 403: Natural Theology. These additional philosophy courses replaced the religion courses required of Catholic students. Beginning with the 1961-62 academic year, PHL 324: Ethics was renumbered PHL 404 to reflect that it was the last philosophy course to be taken by non-Catholic

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<sup>93</sup> Gleason, *Keeping the Faith*, 169.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

<sup>95</sup> McMullin, 400.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid.

undergraduates.<sup>97</sup> In addition to all undergraduates taking the above courses, the philosophy department delivered courses to approximately 75 majors each year.<sup>98</sup>

The required curriculum remained in effect until 1966-67 when Logic was replaced by PHL 105: Introduction to Philosophy and Logic. The new introductory course was “an exposition of the distinctive nature of philosophy by a discussion of its persistent problems with reference to their first appearance among the Greek Philosophers. A review of the essentials of conventional logic” was also covered.<sup>99</sup>

A comparison of the university’s required courses with those of other Catholic institutions, indicates that three of Dayton’s required courses are found in the “standard four” courses required by “about 60% of the responding colleges.” Each course had a definite place in the curricular sequence in 80% of the institutions, including the University of Dayton.<sup>100</sup> The fourth course at the University of Dayton—taken third in the sequence—was epistemology. This course was required by only 12.7% of the survey respondents in April 1966. Most institutions (60.2%) required general ethics in its place.<sup>101</sup> No clear answer can be given regarding why epistemology was in Dayton’s curriculum, and ethics was not.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> Department of Philosophy Faculty Meeting minutes, 16 October 1959, 1, AUD, Series 20QI(3), Box 1, Folder 1.

<sup>98</sup> Between 1961-70, 216 undergraduate philosophy degrees (209 men and 7 women) and 33 master’s degrees (22 men and 11 women) were awarded. There is no way of knowing how many of these students were members of religious communities. Patricia A. Johnson, electronic mail message to the author, 16 June 1999.

<sup>99</sup> *University of Dayton Bulletin*, 1966-67, 234.

<sup>100</sup> McMullin, 391.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 392.

<sup>102</sup> Trying to sort out an answer to this question generates additional questions. The first logical question is whether ethics was located elsewhere in the university curriculum. The response is no—ethics was a philosophy course and it was a required course for all UD non-Catholic students. Perhaps the theological studies requirements for Catholic students covered similar material. However, only two theological studies courses were required courses. One dealt with scripture and the other was the study of Christ. Christian morality, the course that most resembles ethics, was an elective. Since the survey pertained to all Catholic colleges and universities, one would think the theological studies requirements in other institutions were similar to those at the University of Dayton. The questions remains: why was ethics required by other Catholic colleges and universities and not by the University of Dayton? To answer this question satisfactorily requires additional research that is beyond the scope of the thesis. However, a study of the ethics course requirements in Catholic colleges and universities and how they changed throughout the 1960s would be a very interesting study.

A possible explanation for the difference between the University of Dayton and the majority of other respondents is found by studying the query results for recent curricular changes. The survey asked if any change in required courses had occurred over the past five years. Of those responding, 55.4% reported some change. Among those reporting change, logic dropped as a requirement—previously 80% of the institutions required it and now only 41.6% required the course. The university was in the process of changing the first year course (Logic) while some institutions had already done so. In part, Dayton’s lagging behind may have resulted because it took several years of faculty deliberation before agreement was reached.<sup>103</sup> Epistemology also dropped—previously 24% of the institutions required it while at the time of the survey only 12.7% required the course. If one presumes that dropping epistemology was a desirable curricular change and that the University of Dayton was moving towards making that change, the survey results indicate that Dayton was somewhat behind the leaders of curricular change.<sup>104</sup>

In hindsight the university’s lack of a required ethics course appears to be more troublesome since ethical issues were a main topic of conversation in the 1960s, particularly in the “Heresy Affair” discussions. Having a structured approach for discussion of ethical decision making and ethical issues may have had an effect on the controversy.<sup>105</sup>

In 1966-67, as the new first year course was implemented, the pedagogical approach for all philosophy courses was changed. Previously, most philosophy courses consisted of a “highly structured Thomistic presentation.” The new approach resulted from departmental deliberations and a visit several UD faculty members made to DePaul University to observe the Philosophical Horizons Program described in Chapter I.<sup>106</sup> The new UD method required all instructors of a

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<sup>103</sup> The process of changing the curriculum is detailed in Chapter III as part of the unfolding of the “Heresy Affair.”

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., 391-395.

<sup>105</sup> If faculty teaching ethics took approaches that were unacceptable to the Thomists in the department, the controversy could be exacerbated. One presumes, however, that the chair controlled class assignments and that the concern over approaches could be reduced by judicious assignments.

<sup>106</sup> Memo from Dr. Edward Harkenrider to the Faculty of the UD Philosophy Department, 9 March 1966, AUD, Series 20QI(3), Box 1, Folder 2.



particular course to decide on the basic topics to be covered. After that, individual instructors were permitted to develop the course as they pleased including choosing the texts to be used in their class sections. Although instructors could choose their texts, the new approach required all instructors of undergraduate courses to “expose” students “in their reading” to the “Thomistic position on the problems discussed.”<sup>107</sup> This requirement met with the approval of both the Thomists and the proponents of contemporary philosophies. By requiring “reading,” the Thomists ensured that one text was Thomist; for the contemporary philosophers, there were many interpretations of the word “expose.” In effect, this pedagogical approach opened the door to philosophical pluralism in the classroom.

Philosophy clearly was an important component of the undergraduate curriculum in the 1960s, and the university administration intended that it be a component of the graduate program. Since the reactivation of the graduate program was problematic for the philosophy department and negatively impacted one of the principals of the “Heresy Affair,” Edward Harkenrider, it is important to review the reactivation process in detail.

The graduate programs began to be reactivated as a result of a self-survey begun in 1956-57. With the clearance of the North Central Association and the State of Ohio Department of Education, the University-wide Interim Committee on Graduate Programs oversaw this effort. The committee was formed in 1959 and was chaired by Fr. John A. Elbert, the former president of the university and a professor of philosophy.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> “Phil. Dept. Revamps Courses,” *FN*, 15 April 1966, 1, AUD, Series 6PN.

<sup>108</sup> Fr. Elbert had a Ph.D. in philosophy (1932) from the University of Cincinnati. Elbert’s dissertation topic was “Newman’s Conception of Faith Prior to 1845, a Genetic Presentation and Synthesis.” The dissertation concerned Newman on the subject of faith during his Anglican period. The dissertation was supervised by Robert Pierce Casey and Eleanor Bisbee.

Fr. Elbert was president of the University of Dayton, 1938-44, and former provincial of the Cincinnati province of the Society of Mary, 1948-58. He authored six books and numerous articles. While president of the University, Fr. Elbert founded the Marian Library. He died as he prepared to distribute communion during his mass at the UD Health Center chapel. “News From the University of Dayton, Public Relations Department,” 11 September 1966, AUD, Series 7J(A2).

The first graduate programs to be reactivated were in the School of Education. Other departments, philosophy included, were expected to contribute service towards these programs. In fact, the education programs intended to use philosophy to integrate their program and included nine hours of courses with a philosophical orientation in their core curriculum.<sup>109</sup> The philosophy department was “informed” of this development on 15 February 1960. With classes expected to start in the summer of 1960, it is understandable that the reaction of the faculty was, “in general, unfavorable.”<sup>110</sup> Nevertheless, the minutes of the 7 March 1960 meeting record the philosophy department discussion on how to “fulfill the request” from the School of Education. Courses and instructors were selected for the summer session even though the minutes note that the courses “do not represent a consensus in the Department.”<sup>111</sup> This lack of consensus can be interpreted in a number of ways. Perhaps, the philosophy faculty reacted to being told by another academic unit what they were going to do, or perhaps, the philosophy faculty disagreed with the curriculum requested by Education. Still another possibility was a reaction to the shortness of time between the request and the delivery of classes. The reason for the lack of consensus is less important than the existence of mixed feelings over the delivery of graduate courses. Other events in the “Heresy Affair” will build on those mixed feelings and contribute to escalating tensions.

The university process moved forward with the formation of graduate committees in the various units, including the College of Arts and Sciences. Fr. Elbert was named chair of the

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<sup>109</sup> Department of Philosophy Faculty Meeting Minutes, 15 February 1960, 1, AUD, Series 20QI(3), Box 1, Folder 1. Other members of the committee included Dr. Richard R. Baker, professor of philosophy; Fr. Charles L. Collins, dean of students; Dr. Edward J. Freeh, associate director of the Research Institute; and Bro. Thomas J. Powers, associate dean of Education.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 7 March 1960, 1.

College committee<sup>112</sup> which was mandated to “design a framework for graduate work in the College, to encourage and guide the departments, and to evaluate the readiness of the departments for graduate work.” The first meeting of the committee was on 21 September 1960. The committee was expected to submit a completed framework by December, including copy for the graduate *Bulletin*, so that the first graduate courses could be offered in summer 1961. Obviously, the committee had a very short time frame to develop a graduate program.

In order to expedite the committee’s work, the members of the graduate committee were assigned to contact individual departments and invite them to “submit organizational plans for graduate work.” Not surprisingly, Fr. Elbert was assigned to theology and philosophy and graduate committees were formed in the two departments to explore possible programs.

Philosophy’s departmental committee was chaired by Dr. Harkenrider. He recalls that the faculty were unanimous, or nearly so, in recommending against developing a graduate program in philosophy.<sup>113</sup> The faculty reasoned that improvements first needed to be made to the undergraduate program, and that there was no need for a graduate program since other Catholic universities had very few students in their programs. Harkenrider also recalls his chair informing him that Fr. Roesch “dictated” that the philosophy department would have a program,<sup>114</sup> so Harkenrider and his graduate committee proceeded to develop a proposal.

The proposal was reviewed by the department and submitted to the College committee by the 31 October 1960 deadline. At this point, the College committee divided the proposals among the members and each one individually reviewed proposals and made revisions. The committee then met and reviewed all the proposals, made suggestions, and then individual committee members again made revisions. By the time the proposals were approved by the committee, they

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<sup>112</sup> Elbert was joined on the committee by Fr. George M. Barrett, dean of the College; Bro. Leonard Mann, associate dean of the College; Dr. Kenneth C. Schraut, chair of mathematics; Bro. John J. Lucier, associate professor of chemistry; and Dr. Wilfred J. Steiner, chair of history.

<sup>113</sup> Harkenrider, electronic mail message to the author, 30 March 1999.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*

had been through four revisions. In the case of philosophy, the revisions were made without consulting the department.<sup>115</sup> A look at the above process shows several things about the administration of the university. First, Fr. Roesch obviously had strong ideas about reactivating the graduate programs. He wanted them reactivated quickly, and he specifically wanted a program in philosophy. Although there is no information available to determine his reasons, one can assume that his vision of a major Catholic university included a graduate program in philosophy. Second, Roesch used his authority as president to gain compliance. The author believes that Roesch expected the department to adhere to his wishes and knew they would ultimately do so. Twice the department fulfilled expectations even though they did not like what they were being asked to do. The members of the department respected the authority of Fr. Roesch and complied with the requests. Third, this process may have generated action but, not surprisingly, it did not generate good will among the faculty members. A look at the philosophy department's response to the revised proposal indicates this fact.

The department met on 5 December 1960 for the purpose of reviewing and discussing the "approved and revised master's program in philosophy as prepared by Fr. John A. Elbert and his Committee."<sup>116</sup> Prior to the meeting, the department members reviewed copies of their proposal and Fr. Elbert's. There is no need to review the details of the differences between the proposals. What is important is that the differences related to the curricular emphases of the graduate program and that the faculty were aware of the differences.

The minutes begin with the "unanimous sentiment" of the department: "no concrete need exists currently or will come to exist in the reasonable future for a graduate program." The faculty expressed concern for the undergraduate program and listed reasons why a graduate

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<sup>115</sup> The author does not know if other departments were consulted regarding the revisions.

<sup>116</sup> Department of Philosophy Faculty Meeting Minutes, 5 December 1960, 1.

program was not feasible: inadequacy of the library holdings, need for additional faculty, and lack of preparation time for the proposed implementation in summer 1961. Perhaps the most pressing reason for the department's objections can be found in their interpretation of the College committee's "statement of purpose" for the program:

It is the impression of this Department that the meaning of [the statement of purpose] permits a student to concentrate in fields of philosophy other than Thomistic, such as Kantian or Cartesian. While such systems are taught with the philosophy of St. Thomas as a comparative back-drop, they are never offered in their own right as separated from a comparative analysis in the light of Thomistic principles. To propose such systems on a level equal with that of Thomism would violate the spirit of the Vatican Council [the first Vatican Council] which promulgated St. Thomas as the most discernible support of Catholic teaching.<sup>117</sup>

Clearly, the department was staunchly committed to Thomism. The structure of the revised program allowed a student to concentrate in a philosophy other than Thomism. The department could go along with a graduate program even if they thought it was a bad idea but to offer a graduate degree in "other" philosophies was simply unacceptable.

What follows next is both interesting, because of the human interaction, and informative, because it is indicative of how the sponsoring religious community handled situations outside the formal university processes.<sup>118</sup> The College Graduate Committee met on 14 December 1960. By that time, the minutes of the philosophy department had circulated to Brother Mann in the College dean's office. Brother Mann questioned Fr. Elbert at the meeting about the "alleged discrepancy" between the minutes opposing the graduate program and the proposal showing a desire to pursue graduate work that Fr. Elbert submitted to the committee. Fr. Elbert had no

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<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

<sup>118</sup> Fr. George Barrett once stated that while Fr. Roesch was the director of Alumni Hall, the "house council of the Marianists [was] the body that really controlled the University to a great extent." Once Fr. Roesch was no longer the director, the administrative council replaced the house council as advisory to the president. George Barrett, S.M., oral history transcript, 2 August 1974, AUD, Series 1H, Box 1, Folder 2.

immediate answer,<sup>119</sup> but he reported at the 4 January 1961 meeting that he met with Fr. Rhodes, the philosophy chair, and that Fr. Rhodes “repudiated the minutes which [stated] that Philosophy is not interested” in a graduate program. Further, Fr. Rhodes approved “the general program for the master’s as presented to the Committee.”<sup>120</sup> The College committee then ruled philosophy, in addition to other College programs, was competent to institute a graduate program and that no increase in faculty was needed if the program was instituted as a “summer only” program.

Before the philosophy graduate program could be instituted, however, the university’s academic council needed to approve the proposal submitted by the Graduate Committee of the College of Arts and Sciences. Although the minutes of the College committee do not reflect any changes to the proposal, the submitted proposal varied from the proposal submitted to the philosophy department in early December. The changes included the removal of the “concentration” in other philosophies so that the graduate program reflected the Thomistic interests of the majority of the faculty. Courses in other philosophies were offered but not as a “concentration” in the graduate program. After initially being denied (for unknown reasons), the program was approved by the academic council and instituted in summer 1962. Theology, on the other hand, was approved immediately, and the first courses were offered in summer 1961.

In summary, the graduate program implementation process provides insights into the influence of the Marianists, the role of authority and the expectations for response, the Thomistic inclinations of the department, and the willingness on the part of some Marianists (Fr. Elbert and those on the graduate committee) to open the door to philosophies other than Thomism. Although the philosophy faculty ultimately complied, they did so out of respect for authority and

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<sup>119</sup> College Graduate Committee Minutes, 4 January 1961, 1, AUD, Series 4EC(1), Box 1, Folder 2. One wonders if Fr. Elbert had seen the departmental minutes although as a member of the philosophy department, he should have received a copy.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

perhaps grudgingly. In particular, the impact of this process on faculty member Edward Harkenrider will be discussed in Chapter III.

In the review of the historical context of the philosophy department, the undergraduate curriculum and the implementation of the graduate program have been discussed. To get a clear picture of the department, however, one also needs to look at the faculty and the hiring pattern of the department. This review of faculty will deal primarily with statistical information rather than names and specifics of particular faculty members. The latter will be included in Chapter III.

At the outset, it must be noted that, unlike theology which remained primarily the domain of the religious in seminaries through most of the 1950s, philosophy was widely available and acceptable for lay people to study. Therefore, lay people were trained academically and hired as faculty nearly twenty years earlier than lay faculty in the university's theological studies department. The first lay faculty member to be hired in philosophy was Richard R. Baker who came to the University of Dayton in 1947 with bachelor's (1931), master's (1934) and Ph.D. (1941) degrees from the University of Notre Dame.<sup>121</sup> Edward W. Harkenrider was hired in 1952 with bachelor's (1944), master's (1945) and Ph.D. (1952) degrees from Catholic University of America.<sup>122</sup> Both Baker and Harkenrider were trained in Thomism. The faculty totaled five in 1952, two laymen and three priests, and the department was chaired by Marianist Fr. Edmund L. Rhodes who had an S.T.L. degree from Catholic University.

By 1960-61, Fr. Rhodes still chaired the department but the faculty had grown to nine full-time faculty members, six of whom were laymen. Three of the laymen had been hired within the last year. Again, all three additions were Thomists.

As the university's enrollment increased, full-time faculty continued to be hired: one in 1961 and two in 1962. These three faculty members were the first non-Thomists hired. All three recall

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<sup>121</sup> Baker's dissertation is entitled "The Thomistic Theory of the Passions and Their Influence Upon the Will."

<sup>122</sup> Harkenrider's dissertation is entitled "The Relation of the Virtue of Justice to Personality."

that no one asked them about their philosophical leanings at the time of their interviews. They, of course, knew that they would be expected to teach Thomistic philosophy.<sup>123</sup> In addition to the new faculty hired, one faculty member died in 1961-62.

For the spring semester of 1963 and the 1963-64 academic year, three faculty were hired. For 1964-65, two full time faculty left the university, another faculty member assumed an administrative role within the university, and two others took a leave of absence to continue doctoral studies. Five new full-time faculty members were hired and one part-time faculty member moved to full-time status. The number of faculty continued to grow in 1965-66 with the addition of five new full-time faculty members. Two remained on leave of absence. For 1966-67, two on leave returned, an additional faculty member went on leave, and three new faculty were hired. This brought the total number of full-time faculty in philosophy to twenty-two.

This review of the situation in the Department of Philosophy shows that the department was experiencing incredible growth in its faculty. The comings and goings must have been disruptive to the chair, the faculty, and the general atmosphere in the department. Within six short years, the department grew from nine faculty to twenty-two, an increase of 144%. This phenomenal growth is explained only partially by the approximately 77% increase in full-time undergraduate enrollment. Other possible explanations for the increase in faculty are the implementation of the graduate program which was year-round in 1966-67, quirks in the reporting system (for example, Fr. Elbert was counted as full-time because he had professorial rank in the department but, in actuality, he taught on a part-time basis), a decrease in the number of part-time faculty, and/or reduction in class size and/or faculty workloads, although the latter two explanations do not appear to be the case.

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<sup>123</sup> Telephone interviews with John Chrisman, 25 January 1999; Eulalio Baltazar, 24 January 1999; and Theodore Kiesel, 21 June 1999.



Regarding academic credentials for the university's philosophy faculty, 31.8% held doctorates, 13.6% were working on doctoral degrees, and 9% held licentiate degrees. The remainder (45.5%) had master's degrees. Approximately 41% of the faculty were under the age of thirty, and 22.7% of the faculty were priests.

Comparing these particular statistics with the McMullin survey leads to inconclusive results because the survey lumps statistics for these categories rather than breaking them out by types of colleges. Therefore, although it can be said that 45.3% of the faculty of responding schools have Ph.D. degrees, comparing that number to Dayton's 31.8% does not lead to any significant conclusion. The overall statistic for religious teaching philosophy is 52.6% compared to Dayton's 22.7%. Again, no significant conclusion can be drawn because there are too many unknown variables. The survey also reports that in 41.1% of the reporting colleges, lay people form half or more of the philosophy staff. This leads to the conclusion that UD is not unusual in this category.

The survey results in other categories confirm that a majority of departments and department members were Thomist, and that rapid changes were taking place in the type of personnel, in the plurality of philosophical orientations represented, in the curriculum, and in teaching methods.<sup>124</sup> These results support the situation at the University of Dayton where the majority of faculty were Thomist, but other philosophies were making in-roads in the department. The curriculum was beginning to change as were teaching methods. The result is a department still expected to be an integrating force within the university community, yet showing signs of stress under the impact of the changes that were occurring within and around it. Clearly, this was a time of transition.

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<sup>124</sup> McMullin, 401.

### *The Issues: A Summary*

The 1960s were a period of tremendous growth for the University of Dayton. This growth touched students, faculty, academic programs, and the physical facilities. In a special way this growth affected the philosophy department because the philosophic orientations of the faculty members also started to change.

The growth that occurred in the university's philosophy department was not one time growth in a single year; it was continual growth year after year for at least six years—an unsettling constant growth with no end in sight. How does a department develop any sense of community when the department is constantly adding not one or two but four or five faculty members per year? In this particular situation, the issue of change was compounded by deep-seated philosophical convictions tied to religious beliefs. This growth proved to be difficult for many in the department to assimilate. In a period of constant change, there are those who wish to embrace the change and move the process along, and there are those who want to maintain the status quo. For both sides and those in the middle, there is tension.

The role of the sponsoring religious order, so crucial to the institution, was also in flux. With increased numbers of faculty, the percentage of religious necessarily declined. The Marianists became less visible than they were in the past when nearly every chair and dean was a Marianist. Although the Marianists still held the top administrative positions, lay people were gradually being incorporated into more and more positions in academic administration and on committees. In time, this change would lead to changes in the way things were done, but the "old" ways of doing things, exemplified in the implementation of the philosophy graduate program, still prevailed. Forcing the faculty to implement a program against their best judgments resulted in underlying tension between the administration and the philosophy faculty.

There is evidence, too, of tensions between the university and the local and universal church. On the local level, although there is little evidence of involvement on the part of the archbishop,

his approval was required for the implementation of the Judaic Studies program. The fact that the program was approved on a trial basis indicates that he was taking a watch-and-see attitude. In this case, the university acquiesced to the archbishop. On the universal level, the department of theology at first resisted a name change even though they risked the possibility of a Vatican Congregation overseeing their program. Ultimately, they changed the department name rather than relinquish any control to the Congregation.

Within the university, the faculty pushed for more involvement and influence in the administration of the university. Faculty members did not just want to be “consulted.” They wanted to be able to control issues that affected their academic lives.

The above changes and tensions indicate that the University of Dayton was in a transition period in the 1960s. Transitions occurred on a multitude of levels within the university and within society as a whole. The result was the creation of a climate that fostered the development of the “Heresy Affair.”

## CHAPTER III

### THE “HERESY AFFAIR” UNFOLDS: THE EARLY YEARS 1960-1965

The 1966-67 controversy did not just erupt without warning. As with most major disputes, the telltale signs of a developing conflict are traceable over a number of years. Although no single incident can be termed the origin of the conflict, the hiring of key faculty who adopted opposing stances can be considered a starting point. This approach places the origin of the controversy in the years 1960 and 1961 when Joseph Dieska, a Thomist, and John M. Chrisman, the first non-Thomist,<sup>1</sup> were hired into the philosophy department.

It took a number of years for the differences in opinion to become a conflict. There is evidence, however, that by spring 1963, the two sides were publicly “squaring off” against each other over philosophical issues. Tensions rapidly escalated in fall 1963 following Eulalio Baltazar’s lecture to the Philosophy Club indicting Thomism for being “irreconcilably out of step with the times.”<sup>2</sup> A number of the involved parties now point to Baltazar’s lecture as the origin of the “Heresy Affair.”<sup>3</sup>

Shortly after Baltazar’s lecture, the topics of debate expanded to include controversial issues such as contraception, abortion, and situation ethics. The level of intensity rose, the department polarized, and the character of the debate deteriorated. Polarization reached such a level that new faculty members hired into the department in 1964 and 1965 indicated they were immediately

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<sup>1</sup> Chrisman, after studying under Leslie Dewart, adopted an historical worldview. John Chrisman, telephone interview with the author, 25 January 1999.

<sup>2</sup> Steve Bickham, “Ideas in our University: Is Thomism Enough for Us?,” *FN*, 27 September 1963, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Eulalio Baltazar, John Chrisman, and Fr. Thomas Stanley, S.M., telephone interviews with the author, 24 January 1999, 25 January 1999, 10 April 1999, respectively.

asked by other philosophy faculty, “Which side are you on?”<sup>4</sup> By fall 1966, members of the department were barely civil to each other. In hindsight, the controversy in the philosophy department had reached crisis stage.

This chapter examines the backgrounds of the faculty directly involved in the “Heresy Affair” and explores incidents that contributed to the escalation of tensions within the department. The historical narrative is divided into two parts: the early years (1960-65) and crisis stage (fall 1965-fall 1966). In the first section entitled “The Early Years,” the narrative details specific incidents of conflict. Fortunately, materials written during the period in question are available from both sides in the controversy. These items are analyzed to show the differing philosophical viewpoints and the increasing intensity of the conflict. In most cases, the author’s analysis follows the narration of the specific incident, allowing the reader to develop a feel for the conflict as it occurred between the faculty.

The narrative in the section entitled “The Crisis Stage” also reviews incidents of conflict. The incidents, in this case, are those reported to the archbishop as specific instances of erroneous teachings. In addition to materials available that are related directly to the incidents, Dennis Bonnette’s accusation letter to the Fr. Raymond A. Roesch, the university president, is analyzed as are the responses of the faculty in question. Again, the author’s analysis follows the narration of each incident.

Throughout both sections of narrative, it will be shown that the Thomists took steps to alert those in authority that questionable teachings were occurring. When one method did not work, they tried another. They kept appealing from one level of authority to another until they finally wrote to the archbishop. Although the letter writer was Dennis Bonnette acting on his own in that particular instance, this chapter shows that in a very real sense the letter was the result of a group

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<sup>4</sup> Dennis Bonnette, telephone interview by the author, 10 April 1997; Xavier Monasterio and Lawrence Ulrich, interviews with the author, Dayton, Ohio, 16 April 1997 and 14 April 1997, respectively.

effort over the period 1962-66 with different faculty members taking the lead on different occasions. This chapter, therefore, details how the Thomists in the philosophy department arrived at the point of approaching the archbishop.

### *The Faculty Involved in the “Heresy Affair”*

Any study of the “Heresy Affair” requires an examination of the educational backgrounds and formative life experiences of the people involved because, in a very real sense, the study is their story, individually and collectively. This section, therefore, looks at the principal faculty in the “Heresy Affair” in the order of their hiring at the University of Dayton beginning in 1960.

Joseph Dieska was a native of Czechoslovakia where he earned his bachelor’s (1931), master’s (1939), and doctoral (1940) degrees. As a former seminarian, Dieska’s philosophical training was Thomistic. He taught at Slovak State University in Bratislava from 1944-48, chaired the Slovak Philosophical Association (1945-48), edited the *Slovak Philosophical Revue* (1945-48), and directed the Philosophical Institute, Slovak Matica (1945-48).<sup>5</sup> In addition to his academic career, Dieska was a politician. He served as a member of the Slovak National Parliament,<sup>6</sup> and was president of the Slovak Christian Democratic Party of Freedom.<sup>7</sup> In 1948, when the communists took control of the government, he was forced to flee for his life, leaving his wife and two small children.<sup>8</sup> Upon making his way to the United States, he taught languages

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<sup>5</sup> “L. Joseph Dieska,” in *Gale Literary Databases, Contemporary Authors* [database-on-line]; available from <http://www.galenet.com/servlet/LRC...CA&t=RK&s=2&r=d&n=10&l=d&NA=dieska>; Internet; accessed 30 March 1999.

<sup>6</sup> Slovakia declared its independence in March 1939 after the combined Czecho-Slovak government collapsed under pressure from Adolf Hitler. Josef Tiso, a Roman Catholic priest, became president of the Slovak Republic and placed the country under German protection. Slovak democrats and communists revolted against Tiso’s government starting in August 1944, and by April 1945, Soviet troops occupied the country. Tiso was hanged as a collaborator in April 1947. In February 1948, the communists took control of the restored Czecho-Slovak state and began ruling it as a dictatorship. Susan Mikula, *The 1996 Grolier Multimedia Encyclopedia*, available from <http://www.slovensko.com/web/slovakia.html>; Internet; accessed 1 April 1999.

<sup>7</sup> “Meet the New Faculty,” *Monday Morning Memo*, 26 September 1960, 3, AUD, Series 3N(3).

<sup>8</sup> Bonnette reports that the communist government sentenced Dieska to death *in absentia*. When the Czechoslovakian government granted a universal amnesty in the early 1960s, Dieska was one of 13 not granted amnesty. Bonnette, electronic mail message to the author, 4 June 1999.

at Georgetown Institute of Languages and Linguistics from 1951-53. He taught languages and sociology from 1956-60 at St. Joseph's High School in Cleveland where he came into contact with the Marianists. During 1959-60, Dieska also taught philosophy at Borromeo College in Cleveland. He was appointed assistant professor of philosophy at the University of Dayton in 1960. Dieska retired from the University in 1978 and died in Dayton on 15 March 1995. Although in later years he was able to visit his family in Slovakia, they never joined him in Dayton.

Dieska's background and life experiences contributed to his passionate feelings of love and respect for the Church and against communism. He was a man with deep beliefs, willing to challenge those with whom he disagreed, and willing to support the leadership of the Church in their conflicts with the evils of the modern world. Undoubtedly, his European education and political experiences shaped his conservatism.

Raised in the Pacific Northwest, John Chrisman earned an undergraduate degree in philosophy in 1956 at the University of Portland (Oregon), a Catholic institution run by the Congregation of the Holy Cross.<sup>9</sup> The philosophy taught at Portland was Thomist. When Chrisman decided on graduate school, he chose the University of Toronto because a Portland professor said it was the "best place" and because Étienne Gilson and Jacques Maritain, two well-known Thomists, had connections to the university.<sup>10</sup> The university was also the home of the Pontifical Institute of Mediæval Studies.

Upon arrival at Toronto, Chrisman was required to take qualifying courses because of the difference in educational systems. He quickly realized that the emphasis in Toronto was not

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<sup>9</sup> The Congregation of the Holy Cross also runs the University of Notre Dame.

<sup>10</sup> Gilson retired from the University of Toronto in 1960. He continued to deliver four lectures during the fall term for the next decade. Maritain never taught much in the philosophy department at Toronto. He offered lecture courses in the early 1930s, and short, intensive classes in the spring for a few years after the Second World War. Maritain's visits to the department ended before 1950. John Slater, Professor Emeritus, University of Toronto, electronic mail message to author, 8 April 1999.

exclusively Thomist. The professors, particularly Leslie Dewart,<sup>11</sup> “ripped minds like [his] wide open.”<sup>12</sup> Upon completing his master’s degree in 1960, Chrisman remained in Toronto and immediately began work on his doctorate.<sup>13</sup>

In spring 1961, Chrisman, married with three children, decided to take a year off from his studies. He heard of an opening to teach philosophy at the University of Dayton from a fellow graduate student. Chrisman applied at UD and several other Catholic universities. Fr. Edmund Rhodes, the chair of UD’s philosophy department, interviewed Chrisman and hired him. Chrisman does not recall being asked about his philosophical orientation which, by this time, was no longer Thomistic.<sup>14</sup>

The classes Chrisman taught at Dayton resembled those he took as a student at Portland. The textbooks, including the text for logic, were predetermined by the department and stamped with the official Catholic imprimatur. For someone in the process of rejecting Thomism as being “out of phase with modern times,”<sup>15</sup> this situation could have been difficult but Chrisman quickly settled into teaching the first year Aristotelian logic course and the required junior-level epistemology course. Both courses allowed him flexibility to introduce students to an historical

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<sup>11</sup> Leslie Dewart was born in Spain and raised in Cuba. He emigrated to Canada in 1942. After serving in the Royal Canadian Air Force, he earned a bachelor’s degree in psychology in 1951, and a master’s in philosophy in 1952. Both degrees were from the University of Toronto. From 1952-54, he was a teaching fellow at St. Michael’s College, University of Toronto. Dewart earned his Ph.D. in philosophy from Toronto in 1954. After teaching at the University of Detroit for two years, he returned to the University of Toronto. Dewart is primarily known for his book, *The Future of Belief: Theism in a World Come of Age*, published in 1966. In 1969 he was investigated by the Vatican Congregation for the Doctrine of Faith for the “theological implications of [his] writings.” No condemnation was issued. “Leslie Dewart,” *Gale Literary Databases, Contemporary Authors* [database-on-line]; available from <http://www.galenet.com/servlet/LRC...CA&t=RK&s=2&r=d&n=10&l=d&NA=dewart>; Internet; accessed 21 May 1999.

<sup>12</sup> John Chrisman, telephone interview by author, 25 January 1999.

<sup>13</sup> Chrisman’s doctoral dissertation is entitled “A Study of Two Major Thomistic Attempts to Reconcile Stable Intelligibility with Evolutionary Change.” It deals with the works of Maritain, Gilson, and Henri Bergson. His dissertation director was Leslie Dewart. Chrisman’s Ph.D. was awarded in 1971 from the University of Toronto, St. Michael’s College.

<sup>14</sup> Chrisman, *ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 22 February 1999.



worldview. Within a few years, he began to see his teaching role as one of “opening up” young minds as his had been opened in Toronto.

As Chrisman began his first year at UD in 1961, Eulalio R. Baltazar was at Georgetown University finishing his doctoral dissertation on Teilhard de Chardin, “A Critical Examination of the Methodology of *The Phenomenon of Man*,” under dissertation director Wilfrid Desan. A native of the Philippines, Baltazar arrived in the United States in July 1955 as a Jesuit seminarian with two undergraduate degrees, one in agriculture (1945) and another in philosophy (1949), and a master of arts in philosophy (1952).

Upon his arrival in the United States, Baltazar began studies in theology at Woodstock College in Maryland where he came into contact with Jesuits John Courtney Murray and Gustave Weigel, considered by Baltazar to be “two of the greatest Catholic theologians” at that time.<sup>16</sup> He also read the banned works of Teilhard de Chardin that were circulating among the Jesuits. Teilhard’s writings resonated with Baltazar’s background in science and philosophy. In time, Baltazar became convinced that Thomas Aquinas’ “religious explanations were inadequate for a modern world of social progress, ferment, science, and change.”<sup>17</sup>

Baltazar left the Jesuits just prior to ordination and went to Georgetown University where he began doctoral work in philosophy. While at Georgetown, Baltazar developed a friendship with two Marianist brothers, Joseph Walsh and Gerald Bettus, who were working on their doctoral degrees. The Marianists knew the University of Dayton needed philosophy instructors, and they encouraged Baltazar to apply. He was offered a position at the rank of instructor and accepted it even though the salary was low. He began teaching in fall 1962.

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<sup>16</sup> Gabrielle Smith, “Religious Controversy Today,” *Dayton Daily News*, 3 January 1967, 20.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

Theodore Kisiel also began teaching in the philosophy department in fall 1962 after earning his doctorate at Duquesne University. Duquesne was known for its program in continental philosophies, particularly phenomenology. Kisiel's dissertation on Heidegger, "Toward an Ontology of Crisis," indicates that his primary interests and training were along existential rather than Thomistic lines.<sup>18</sup> Kisiel's dissertation director was Bernard J. Boelen who resigned from Duquesne and moved to DePaul University following the Duquesne philosophy crisis in 1966 (see Chapter I).

Kisiel recalls applying by mail for the teaching position at Dayton. When the position was offered to him, he took it knowing he would be teaching Thomism. He soon realized, however, that most members of the department were opposed to existentialism. Kisiel, therefore, stayed at Dayton only one year but during that time he contributed to discussions that escalated the tensions within the department.<sup>19</sup>

Lawrence Ulrich was hired in the middle of academic year 1963-64. Philosophy instructor Jack Hickey became ill and was unable to teach during the second semester. The university was looking for an instructor at the same time that Ulrich was on Christmas break from St. Gregory's Seminary in Cincinnati. After much soul-searching, he decided to abandon his studies for the priesthood. While on break, he attended a funeral at Holy Family Catholic Church for parish son, Fr. Philip Scharf. University president Fr. Roesch also attended the funeral, and Ulrich approached him about a teaching position. After hearing about Ulrich's situation and educational

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<sup>18</sup> Prior to entering the Duquesne program, Kisiel was a nuclear reactor engineer. Kisiel took courses in Thomistic philosophy as background for the Duquesne program. Kisiel, electronic mail message to the author, 11 June 1999, and telephone interview with the author, 21 June 1999.

<sup>19</sup> Kisiel, telephone interview with the author, 21 June 1999.

background,<sup>20</sup> Roesch suggested Ulrich call Fr. Stanley regarding the opening in the philosophy department. Ulrich made the call that same day, and Stanley hired Ulrich over the telephone.

Five new faculty were hired for fall 1964. Two played roles in the “Heresy Affair”—Hugo A. Barbic and Thomas J. Casaletto. Barbic had a bachelor’s degree from the University of San Francisco (1961) and a master’s from the University of Toronto (1963).<sup>21</sup> His background was Thomistic. Casaletto arrived at Dayton with degrees from two Catholic universities: a bachelor’s degree from Aquinas College in Grand Rapids, Michigan (1960) and a master’s from Notre Dame (1963). Casaletto was also a Thomist. Joseph C. Kunkel was also hired in 1964. Kunkel had a bachelor’s degree from Loyola University in Chicago (1958) and a master’s degree in philosophy from St. Bonaventure University (1962). Since St. Bonaventure was operated by Franciscans, Kunkel was exposed to more than one philosophical approach.<sup>22</sup>

The theological studies department hired a number of new faculty for academic year 1965-66, as well. Among them was Randolph F. Lumpp who earned his bachelor’s degree in philosophy from Seattle University in 1963. Lumpp then entered Marquette University’s new Ph.D. program in religious studies, the “only program in [the U.S.] situated in a Catholic university and directed towards the scholarly training of men and women in the field of religious studies.”<sup>23</sup> Bernard J. Cooke, then still a Jesuit, headed the program.

By 1965, Lumpp completed the master’s level coursework and one year of doctoral coursework. He was also president of Marquette’s Graduate Students Association. Lumpp’s roommate, Richard G. Otto, was offered a job at the University of Dayton. When Lumpp heard

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<sup>20</sup> Ulrich entered St. Gregory’s Seminary in Cincinnati at the age of 14 as a freshman in high school. He earned bachelor’s (1961) and master’s (1962) degrees from Catholic University of America. In December 1963, he was working on a master’s degree in education from Xavier University. He completed the degree in 1964.

<sup>21</sup> Chrisman and Barbic did not know each other in Toronto.

<sup>22</sup> Kunkel earned a Ph.D. from St. Bonaventure University in 1968. His dissertation is entitled “Aristotle’s ‘Categories’: A Developmental Study of the Logical-Real Relationship.”

<sup>23</sup> William F. Kelley, S.J., President, to Members of the [Marquette] University Council, 18 March 1963, quoted in Pamela C. Young, C.S.J., “Theological Education in American Catholic Higher Education, 1939-1973” (Ph.D. diss., Marquette University, 1995), 47-8.

that UD was hiring additional faculty, he decided to apply and subsequently was interviewed and hired by chair Fr. Matthew Kohmescher, S.M.

Two of the five new faculty members hired in the philosophy department for fall 1965 also played a role in the “Heresy Affair”—Paul I. Seman and Dennis Bonnette. Seman, hired at the rank of instructor, earned a Ph.B. from Borromeo Seminary<sup>24</sup> in Cleveland (1957) and a master’s degree in philosophy from Catholic University of America (1962) before completing his doctoral coursework at CUA. His fields of interest were cosmology and the philosophy of science. His philosophical orientation was Thomistic. Seman spent eight years in the seminary and taught at St. Leo’s College in Florida prior to being hired at Dayton. Seman knew the Marianists from his Cleveland high school, Cathedral Latin.

Bonnette came to the University of Dayton as an assistant professor. His degrees included a bachelor’s degree from the University of Detroit (1960) and a master’s from Notre Dame (1962). By 1963, he completed his doctoral coursework in philosophy at Notre Dame.<sup>25</sup> Bonnette, a Thomist, came to Dayton with two years of teaching experience: one at the San Diego College for Women (1963-64) and one at Loyola University in New Orleans (1964-65).<sup>26</sup> He heard about Dayton from a New Orleans friend, Dr. Joseph J. Cooney, a biologist, who was hired by the University of Dayton.<sup>27</sup> Bonnette and his family did not like living in the South so he wrote to the University of Dayton and was hired “sight unseen.”<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Although Seman’s degree is from Borromeo Seminary in Cleveland, he attended classes for two years at St. Charles College, operated by the Fathers of St. Sulpice, in Catonsville, Maryland.

<sup>25</sup> Bonnette’s doctoral dissertation is entitled “St. Thomas Aquinas on: “The *Per Accidens* Necessarily Implies the *Per Se*.” His dissertation director was Joseph Bobik. Bonnette’s Ph.D. was awarded in 1970 from the University of Notre Dame. Bonnette’s dissertation was later published by Martinus Nijhoff in The Hague in 1972 under the title *Aquinas’ Proofs for God’s Existence: St. Thomas Aquinas on: “The Per Accidens Necessarily Implies the Per Se.”*

<sup>26</sup> Ironically, Bonnette was hired at Loyola University to replace Joseph Kunkel who left Loyola to come to the University of Dayton. Joseph Kunkel, personal interview with the author, 3 June 1999.

<sup>27</sup> Dennis Bonnette, electronic mail message to the author, 10 April 1999.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 9 April 1999.

Since Bonnette is the faculty member at the center of the “Heresy Affair,” it is important to try to understand his thinking and convictions. One of the things Bonnette did not like about the South was racism. It bothered Bonnette so much that he wrote an article, “Race: The Failure of the Church,” the cover story for the 23 October 1965 issue of the national weekly magazine, *Ave Maria*.<sup>29</sup> The basic message of the article was the “fact that there are today many, many Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Spanish-speaking Americans who are scandalized by the apparent indifference of the Catholic Church to the many concrete manifestations of social injustice, degradation and destitution.”<sup>30</sup> Because Bonnette’s location was New Orleans and he interviewed people from that area, the examples cited are critical of the way Archbishop Cody publicly handled a number of situations within his diocese.

The publication of this article reveals a number of things about Bonnette’s convictions and his willingness to act based on his convictions. The same convictions and willingness to act are replayed in the “Heresy Affair.” In the case of racism, Bonnette obviously felt strongly about the injustices he witnessed, and he felt the need to do something about it. In the “Heresy Affair,” he felt strongly about the teachings he perceived to be contrary to the Church, and he felt the need to do something. Bonnette’s article called into question some of the policies and practices of Church leadership regarding racism, while in the “Heresy Affair,” he called into question the leadership of the University of Dayton regarding “false teachings.” Bonnette’s article is quite detailed, listing dates of events and quoting from letters and chancery directives. His accusation letter to Fr. Roesch is similarly detailed with dates, names, and references to pertinent Church documents. At one point in the article, Bonnette tells of a black woman writing to the Holy

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<sup>29</sup> Bonnette entitled the article “Church-Race Relations in New Orleans and the Deep South.” To Bonnette’s chagrin, *Ave Maria*’s editor changed the title. The new title implies that the Church failed. Bonnette would say that the members of the Church fail but not Christ and his Mystical Body. Dennis Bonnette, electronic mail message to the author, 10 April 1999.

<sup>30</sup> John Reedy, C.S.C., “The Editor’s Desk,” *Ave Maria*, 23 October 1965, 2.

Father so that the Pontiff was aware of the hypocrisy between “the Christian preaching of love and actual clerical indifference to the race question.”<sup>31</sup> In response to the conflict in the philosophy department, Bonnette himself wrote a letter to a Church authority so that the authority was aware of the deviations from doctrine that were occurring. Perhaps most important, in both cases, Bonnette was concerned that something be done “to alleviate the real spiritual harm which ensues to those involved.”<sup>32</sup> He notes that “the grave and lasting evil here is the unseen damage to souls.”<sup>33</sup> Finally, this example shows that Bonnette is not a “conservative” on every issue. He does, however, expect the Church to stand by its convictions.

In addition to the faculty members mentioned above, the two faculty mentioned in the previous description of the philosophy department were also involved: Dr. Richard R. Baker, the chair of the department in 1966-67, and Dr. Edward W. Harkenrider. Finally, a key figure in the “Affair” is long-time philosophy faculty member, Fr. Richard J. Dombro, S.M. Fr. Dombro came to the department in 1952 with a bachelor’s degree from the University of Dayton (1929), and a master’s degree (1952) and Ph.D. (1958) from Fordham University. His background was Thomistic.<sup>34</sup>

These faculty and their interactions with each other provide the basis for the “Heresy Affair.” What follows is the story of their escalating tensions and conflicts that led to a letter to the archbishop.

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<sup>31</sup> Dennis Bonnette, Reprint of “Race: The Failure of the Church,” *Ave Maria*, 23 October 1965, 4.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>34</sup> Dombro’s dissertation was entitled “The Two Supreme Newmanic Realities.” His dissertation director was Dietrich von Hildebrand. The dissertation is “an exposition of Cardinal Newman’s philosophy of religion through a concrete analysis of his two supreme realities, God and myself.” Dombro, “The Two Supreme Newmanic Realities” (Ph.D. diss., Fordham University, 1958). ASM(CIN).

### *Escalating Tensions*

A university, by common modern definition, is committed to the discovery of the truth. Usually this discovery requires the production and refining of ideas and concepts. Therefore, universities provide forums for the exchange of ideas. The University of Dayton provided such a forum in the Intellectual Frontiers Series, which was created by renaming the university's Cultural Lecture Series in 1962. Speakers for the series included volunteers from the faculty and invited guests from off-campus. The purpose of the series was "to provide for the professor who [had] found something, who [was] excited about it, and who [wanted] to talk about it, a new and wider audience."<sup>35</sup> The topics were frequently of a philosophical or theological nature. The name change of the series implied that "the farthest limits of knowledge"<sup>36</sup> were being explored. This implied quite a different concept than a cultural lecture series. The timing of the name change, as graduate programs were being revitalized, confirms that a shift was occurring and supported by the university administration.

In his first year at UD, John Chrisman delivered a lecture for the Intellectual Frontiers Series on 8 April 1962. The topic was timely but controversial—Pierre Teilhard de Chardin's *The Phenomenon of Man*.<sup>37</sup> The topic was timely because Teilhard's works were widely read and discussed. The topic was also controversial because the Vatican had forbade Teilhard to publish his theological works which drew upon his scientific research and, therefore, had an evolutionary perspective. Upon Teilhard's death in 1955, his friends published his works, which became very popular. Although time had passed, Teilhard's works still did not meet with Church approval as

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<sup>35</sup> Brochure of 1963 Intellectual Frontiers Series, AUD, Series 7JD, Box 26, Folder 5, "Intellectual Frontiers."

<sup>36</sup> "Frontier," *Webster's 7<sup>th</sup> New Collegiate Dictionary*, (Springfield, MA: G & C Merriam Co., 1963).

<sup>37</sup> *Monday Morning Memo*, 5 April 1962, 1, AUD, Series 3N(3).

evidenced by the 30 June 1962 *a monitum* issued by the Supreme Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office:<sup>38</sup>

Several works of Father Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, some of which were posthumously published, are being edited and are gaining a good deal of success.

Prescinding from a judgment about those points that concern the positive sciences, it is sufficiently clear that the above mentioned works abound in such ambiguities, and indeed even serious errors, as to offend Catholic doctrine.

For this reason, the most eminent and most reverend Fathers of the Supreme Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office exhort all Ordinaries, as well as the superiors of religious institutes, rectors of seminaries and **presidents of universities**, [emphasis added] effectively to protect the minds, particularly of the youth, against the dangers presented by the works of Father Teilhard de Chardin and of his followers.

Chrisman does not recall any negative reaction to his lecture on Teilhard de Chardin. In fact, he recalls that this presentation brought him to the attention of Fr. Thomas Stanley, the dean of the university, who was interested in the topic.<sup>39</sup>

Early in the fall of 1962, philosophy chair Fr. Rhodes announced at a departmental faculty meeting that the Philosophy Club was being reactivated with John Chrisman assigned as moderator.<sup>40</sup> The club was open to students and faculty “for purposes of promoting and stimulating informal discussion of philosophical topics.”<sup>41</sup> One of the first panel discussions sponsored by the Club explored the topic, “Creating Life in the Lab.” The five participants in the interdisciplinary dialogue on 5 March 1963 included faculty from the sciences, English, and philosophy. While the discussion did not generate any controversy, it shows that the faculty were discussing some interesting and controversial topics.

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<sup>38</sup> Enclosure with 16 November 1962 letter to Rectors from Msgr. Paul F. Tanner, General Secretary of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. ACUA, NCWC Series, Education Files, Box 29, “Educational Institutions.”

<sup>39</sup> John Chrisman, telephone interview by author, 4 May 1999.

<sup>40</sup> No information is available on the club’s period of inactivity, the reason for that inactivity, or what prompted the reactivation. The reactivation was simply announced at the faculty meeting. Fr. Rhodes, the chair at the time, is ill and was unable to be interviewed. An interview was attempted on 25 June 1999.

<sup>41</sup> Department of Philosophy Faculty Meeting Minutes, 11 October 1962, 1, AUD, Series 20QI(3), Box 1, Folder 1.



In spring 1963, for example, the University's Intellectual Frontiers Series again sponsored a number of lectures on philosophical and theological topics. On 28 February, Fr. John Elbert spoke on existentialism. Fr. Elbert explained the concepts of reality, essence and existence before he reviewed the philosophy of Kierkegaard.<sup>42</sup> He then looked at "current" existentialism without naming any particular philosophers. Fr. Elbert pointed out the connection of existentialism with humanism, and noted the portrayal of the existentialist outlook in life through literature, plays, and movies. He concluded the lecture by emphasizing that "existentialism is the philosophy of those who have lost contact with God and man." The existentialist is "a helpless victim of dread."<sup>43</sup> Fr. Elbert states that the "way out of the existentialist impasse" is Christ and the cross. Although Fr. Elbert notes that there are "claimants to the name of Christian existentialism," he concludes without explaining their views.<sup>44</sup>

Fr. Elbert's lecture led to a response by Kisiel in the form of a lecture on 18 April on the topic of "The Atheism of Heidegger, Sartre, and St. Thomas." Kisiel published his talk in the second issue of the *University of Dayton Review* in summer 1964. It is available for analysis along with a twenty-two page reply to Kisiel which was written by Joseph Dieska, edited by Fr. Richard Dombro, reproduced on bright pink paper, and distributed on campus.<sup>45</sup> In addition to detailing the philosophical disagreements between Dieska and Kisiel, the reply includes wording that reveals an underlying tension between the two philosophers. For the purposes of this thesis, the indications of tension are more important than the merits of either scholar's philosophical arguments.

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<sup>42</sup> John A. Elbert, S.M., "EXISTENTIALISM: Horizon or Dead End?," *The University of Dayton Review*, Summer 1964, 11-14.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

<sup>45</sup> Throughout the early years of the "Heresy Affair," Dieska and others used "open letters" to those on campus as a way of challenging and debating each other. The author does not know where this concept originated but it appears to have been started by Dieska which leads the author to believe that it may reflect an Eastern European educational tradition. The faculty involved in the "Heresy Affair" do not recall how the concept originated.

Dieska began by stating that his reply was “exclusively polemical” and not a “personal affront.” He simply wanted to get to the truth. If some suspected Dieska of “malicious motivation,” he assured them that he held in “high respect” many of Kisiel’s statements. Dieska’s “point of departure” rested entirely with those views of Kisiel that Dieska found “absolutely false, highly exaggerated and tinged with cunning sophistry.”<sup>46</sup>

Dieska opposed Kisiel’s “general attitude of contrasting the existential philosophy of a Martin Heidegger and of a Jean Paul Sartre with the profoundly traditional Christian thinking of Thomism.”<sup>47</sup> In his lecture, Kisiel defined atheism as “a litigation against false notions of God” and then identified Heidegger, Sartre, and Thomas Aquinas as atheists.<sup>48</sup>

At the core of this discussion for both Dieska and Kisiel was whether or not Heidegger was a “religious man.” After recalling that Kisiel made an “ironical invective slanted towards the Thomistic concept of First Cause [‘First Pusher’],”<sup>49</sup> Dieska quoted extensively from a number of sources before admitting that Heidegger did not deny the “numinous.” Heidegger did, however, deny that God could be known by reason and, therefore, he was “diametrically opposed to any true Thomistic, Catholic, and Christian position on the problem of God.”<sup>50</sup>

Regarding a parallel between Heidegger and Sartre, Dieska stated that “it is quite obvious to anyone who has done but superficial reading on existentialism, that Sartre’s motives and reasons for atheism have very little ontological content.” Dieska explained why it is not proper to relate Sartre’s atheism to Thomistic philosophy or to Heidegger’s opposition to Aristotle and Aquinas.<sup>51</sup>

Dieska concluded this section by pointing out that Kisiel “made not infrequent references to Gabriel Marcel’s philosophy of God.” These, in Dieska’s opinion, were “out of place” as “one

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<sup>46</sup> Joseph Dieska, “A Reply: Some Observations on Dr. T. Kisiel’s “Atheism of Heidegger, Sartre and St. Thomas,” undated, 1, AUD, Series 91-35, Box 5 of 6.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 10.

will see plainly from a few cursory remarks” about Marcel, whom Dieska met personally in 1946. Dieska then said that Marcel, a “devout practicing Catholic,”<sup>52</sup> had drawn closer to the traditional point of view since the publication of Pius XII’s encyclical *Humani generis* in 1950. Therefore, Kisiel’s use of Marcel to “help Martin Heidegger find his philosophy of God . . .” seemed to be stretching the point. Dieska concluded with the statement “All journeying towards God, psychologically and religiously, must begin with good will and prayer in the one who seeks Him.”<sup>53</sup> One wonders at this point whether Dieska was referring to Kisiel or to Heidegger.

After a group of endnotes, Dieska began the second section of his reply. Here he quoted extensively from authors who disagree with Heidegger’s philosophical position. Dieska’s purpose was to refute “Kisiel’s hope that Heidegger, or for that matter any of the existentialists, could contribute significantly to the growth and improvement of Thomism, . . . the *philosophia perennis*.”<sup>54</sup>

Dieska concluded by quoting from *Humani generis* “a paternal exhortation to all teachers entrusted with the formation of the minds eager for knowledge and wisdom.” The paragraphs in question, addressed to teachers in ecclesiastical institutions, remind teachers that “due reverence and submission” must be professed towards the teaching authority of the Church.<sup>55</sup>

The reply to Kisiel clearly shows Dieska’s strong support for Thomism and the teaching authority of the Church. *Humani generis* is invoked as a statement of the Church’s condemnation of contemporary philosophies and as a call to submission and obedience towards the teaching authority of the Church. Throughout the conflict, the Thomists invoked *Humani generis*. When the opponents sidestepped the encyclical in one way or another, tensions between the two groups

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Dieska, 12.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 18.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 20.

escalated. The wording in the reply also shows that both sides made personal attacks on the other by way of innuendo and sarcastic remarks.

Kisiel replied to Dieska in a six-page paper dated 27 May 1963, reproduced on yellow paper, and presumably distributed on campus. The term was about to end and Kisiel wanted to make “a few hasty remarks” before they dispersed for the summer, “perhaps never to see each other again.”<sup>56</sup> The pattern of philosophical arguments intermingled with subtle (and not so subtle) jabs continued. For example, Kisiel stated that “we must try to control our pious indignation and apologetic fervor in order to carefully scrutinize the ‘atheist’ whom the inquisitors have in captivity at the moment.” He continued that this “approach will no doubt tax the univocal minds of decadent scholastics, but it certainly should be no problem for those versed in the analogical thinking of authentic Thomism.”<sup>57</sup> This comment was a critique of the philosophy being taught at Catholic colleges, including the University of Dayton, which was based on Thomas’ commentators, not Thomas’ actual works.

Kisiel noted that it is easy to compile a list of authorities opposed to Heidegger but the “selective nature” of quoting from “secondary sources is reminiscent of a 1950 Senate investigation.”<sup>58</sup> He also pointed out that Dieska used sources from 1929 and noted (as Dieska pointed out with Kisiel’s use of Marcel) that Heidegger’s thought had evolved since that time. As might be expected, Kisiel also asserted that Heidegger’s existentialism was not the type referred to in the encyclical. This argument is a familiar one invoked through the years, i.e., during the Jansenist controversy in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Americanist and Modernist crises at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and in the early 1950s when *Humani generis* was issued. This exchange between Kisiel and Dieska indicates generational, cultural and educational differences.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Theodore J. Kisiel, “The Sphinx of Atheism,” 27 May 1963, 1, AUD, Series 91-35, Box 5 of 6. Kisiel knew at the time that he was not planning on returning to the University of Dayton in fall 1963.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 52.

<sup>59</sup> There was approximately thirty years age difference between Kisiel and Dieska.

Dieska did not let Kisiel have the last word. He replied in the form of a 31 May 1963 open letter on the Heidegger issue, again reproduced on bright pink paper. Dieska reminded Kisiel that his first reply was “exclusively polemical” and was not meant to be scholarly. He took issue with Kisiel’s comment on “secondary sources” and continued that Kisiel’s lecture, “as I remember it, was based on very little source material, if any at all.”<sup>60</sup>

Dieska pointed out that his first reply was meant for the campus and the audience in attendance at the lecture. He was concerned that they were misled by Kisiel and felt they needed to know “the other side of the coin.” He continued,

Nowhere in your lecture did you mention a single word about the papal encyclical’s alarming concern in respect to existentialism. I could then conclude from this that you were not aware that such a solemn utterance had been made. Consequently it became my concern to let this campus know that, as Catholic teachers, such an important document deserves our meditative consideration. That much at least I feel I have achieved, for your reply says nothing to gainsay it.<sup>61</sup>

The concerns expressed here are particularly important as they will be raised again and again as tensions escalate. In summary they are: 1) concern that the audience—particularly University of Dayton students—was misled; 2) concern that the Church’s position (*Humani generis*) was not presented when an opposing viewpoint was expressed; 3) a felt obligation on the part of Dieska to alert Kisiel and the audience to the Church’s teachings; 4) a felt obligation on the part of Dieska to alert Kisiel and others to the errors in Kisiel’s teachings; and 5) a sense of satisfaction in standing up for the Church and making its teachings known.

Dieska continued his open letter by addressing philosophic issues raised in Kisiel’s paper. Dieska wished there were more time “to bring our disagreement to some kind of reasonable end.” He was concerned that “since both of us are Catholic” differences between us “need not necessarily be.” If Dieska understood Kisiel’s reasoning, he was “afraid that serious and

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<sup>60</sup> Joseph Dieska, “An Open Letter on the Heidegger Issue,” 31 May 1963, 1. AUD, Series 91-35, Box 5 of 6.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

substantial discrepancies do exist.” Dieska was concerned because “a Christian teacher, of necessity, must have much clearer concepts on what is correct and what is wrong, what is truthful and what is erroneous.” There was no doubt in Dieska’s mind that he knew the truth and that Kisiel was in error. This fundamental belief is central to the thesis and reoccurs as the conflict develops.

In his final paragraph, Dieska expressed the “cherished hope” that Kisiel reread Heidegger keeping Dieska’s comments in mind. Dieska then listed five of Kisiel’s “slanted remarks” such as “inquisitors” and “decadent scholastics” and noted that “they tell their own story.” He does not comment on Kisiel’s remarks,<sup>62</sup> but he obviously wanted Kisiel to know that he didn’t miss them.

Kisiel recalls that his lecture was a reaction to Fr. Elbert’s lecture. Since he was in his first year of teaching, he was inexperienced at giving public lectures. Kisiel recalls practicing the speech in order to get it right. When Dieska responded, Kisiel “did not want to continue the battle”<sup>63</sup> since he knew he was leaving Dayton to accept a position at Canisus College. Others, however, prompted him to respond. Kisiel does not recall who prompted him but presumably it was Baltazar, Chrisman, or both since they were the only other non-Thomists in the department. This pattern of polarization and reinforcement continued on both sides of the dispute throughout the “Heresy Affair.”

At the 24 September 1963 department meeting, the philosophy faculty began reviewing the undergraduate curriculum and teaching methodologies. The impetus for this discussion came from Fr. Stanley, the dean of the university, in October 1962.<sup>64</sup> He told the department “not to overlook” Harkenrider’s proposal that had been submitted in response to Fr. Roesch’s 1960

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>63</sup> Theodore Kisiel, telephone conversation with the author, 21 June 1999.

<sup>64</sup> Stanley’s request was contained in a response he wrote to departmental minutes that were sent to him for information and review purposes. The university had a form for the purpose of review of minutes.

\$20,000 challenge to the faculty.<sup>65</sup> In response to Stanley's request, Dr. Harkenrider reworked his proposal and submitted it to the department for consideration.

Harkenrider noticed that too often students failed to grasp the unity and the integrity of philosophy and as a result, philosophy was "largely meaningless" to them. His proposal attempted to address this concern by centering all philosophy courses on a common theme for the purpose of giving students a "unified and meaningful grasp of philosophy." He proposed using the dignity of man, "his worthwhileness," as the common theme.<sup>66</sup> Students would be placed in a group and remain with that group and the same instructor for the required five semesters of courses.<sup>67</sup> The discussion on Harkenrider's proposal opened the door to wider discussions on the undergraduate curriculum. It took four years of discussion, however, to implement changes to the curriculum.

On the very same day that the department began discussing Harkenrider's proposal, Eulalio Baltazar addressed the Philosophy Club. His lecture was "a serious indictment of Thomism, charging [Thomism] with being irreconcilably out of step with the times."<sup>68</sup> Since a number of "Heresy Affair" participants cite this lecture as the origin of the "Affair," it is important to examine Baltazar's remarks in some detail. Fortunately, Baltazar was asked by Fr. Stanley to write an article on this topic shortly after the lecture. "Re-examination of the Philosophy

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<sup>65</sup> At the first faculty meeting of the 1960-61 academic year, Fr. Roesch stated that he would give \$20,000 to the academic department that "would devise some program to 'guarantee a sound breakthrough in its academic area.'" The purpose of the challenge was to encourage excellence and "significant" contributions to the educational world. "Father Roesch Offers Challenge," *FN*, 20 September 1960, 1.

Harkenrider's proposal came in second when the proposals were judged in May 1961. Edward Harkenrider, personal history written for his granddaughter, 104. Copy given to the author by Harkenrider.

The \$20,000 was awarded to the physics department. Physics faculty member, Bro. Thomas Dwyer, S.M., developed a plan "to introduce a program of education and research in computer science at UD." "Physics Dep't Gives Reply to Fr. Roesch's Challenge," *FN*, 19 May 1961, 1.

<sup>66</sup> It is interesting to note that the University of Dayton currently has a Humanities Base program that "challenges students to develop and formulate their own conception of what it means to be human." *The University of Dayton Bulletin*, August 1998, 51.

<sup>67</sup> "A proposal to the \$20,000 Challenge: A New Procedure in the Teaching of Philosophy," provided to the author by Edward Harkenrider on 2 March 1999.

<sup>68</sup> Steve Bickham, "Ideas in our University: Is Thomism Enough for Us?" *FN*, 27 September 1963, 4.

Curriculum in Catholic Higher Education” appeared in the inaugural issue of *The University of Dayton Review* in spring 1964. Kisiel’s article appeared in the following issue. It appears that the *Review* was also a vehicle for debate and conversation among the faculty.

Baltazar begins his article by deploring the current state of philosophy and theology in Catholic colleges, noting that students only take these courses because they have to do so. He pointed out that students are aware of the “obvious purpose” which is to “indoctrinate, to save souls by keeping Catholics in the Faith and perhaps win others to it.” Although education is meant to open the mind, the philosophy taught in Catholic colleges produced a “ghetto mentality.” Baltazar then calls on his fellow philosophy professors to “re-examine courageously the philosophic premises by which we have traditionally justified the content of our curriculum and method by which we teach it.”<sup>69</sup>

The philosophic premises Baltazar proposed for re-examination were the nature of education and philosophy. Before he began, however, he noted that this was a “radical departure.” Typically, Thomistic philosophy and theology were “taken for granted, unquestioned and treated as sacred cows” so that any changes were made within the context of Thomism. Baltazar proposed starting “without any sacred cows.”<sup>70</sup> Baltazar’s statement—that Thomism was taken for granted and unquestioned—does not seem accurate. At the University of Dayton, Thomism was challenged when the graduate program in philosophy was reactivated<sup>71</sup> and, as early as 1957, Fr. Gustave Weigel challenged Thomism as taught in Catholic universities.<sup>72</sup> In 1958, in an article in *America*, James Collins of St. Louis University noted “it is scarcely a secret that among Thomists themselves there is sharp disagreement at present, rather than unanimity, concerning the role of

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<sup>69</sup> Eulalio R. Baltazar, “Re-examination of the Philosophy Curriculum in Catholic Higher Education,” *The University of Dayton Review* (Spring 1964), 27.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 27-8. One suspects that Baltazar did not question his own philosophy; in other words, it was a “sacred cow.”

<sup>71</sup> See Chapter II.

<sup>72</sup> Fr. Weigel addressed the Catholic Commission on Intellectual and Cultural Affairs on 27 April 1957. His address was entitled “American Catholic Intellectualism.” James Collins, “Thomism in the Colleges,” *America*, 12 April 1958, 50.



Thomistic philosophy in the college program.”<sup>73</sup> The existence of Duquesne University’s graduate program in continental philosophies also indicates that Thomism was not unchallenged.

Baltazar began his re-examination of the nature of education by quoting Maritain that “the question, ‘What is man?’ is the unavoidable preamble to any philosophy of education.”<sup>74</sup> Obviously, this allowed Baltazar to re-examine the philosophy of man. Any Thomist who disagreed with this approach would be disagreeing with Maritain, another Thomist.

The Thomistic notion of man, “the universal unchanging human nature,” and its implications for education were then described. Baltazar noted two implications as developed by Maritain: “1) human nature in its essential being is outside history and temporality, and 2) human nature in its phenomenal being which is observable by our modern science of observation and measurement is in time.”<sup>75</sup> From these implications, Thomistic philosophy and theology proceed with “eternal and unchanging truths” to form “the essential being” while the other sciences develop man secondarily for life in time and in the world.<sup>76</sup>

Since Baltazar started with the assumption that there were no “sacred cows,” he is free to explore other conceptions of man. He presented what he believed to be “a more adequate and more genuinely traditional view of man,” i.e., a scriptural view developed by Paul and John, expressed by Augustine, and confirmed by modern thought, especially as formulated by Teilhard de Chardin. Man, in this view, is seen as historical and temporal. Again, Baltazar presented two implications for the nature of education: 1) education is incarnational, historical, and 2) education is unitive, catholic. The first implication arises from the view that to know man in his essential being is to know his history. This first implication (along with the reference to the scriptural view mentioned above) suggests an evolutionary approach. Although it seems contradictory to

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> Jacques Maritain, *The Education of Man*, (New York: Doubleday, 1962), 51, quoted in Baltazar, *Ibid.*, 28.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> Baltazar, 28.

understand how the universal could be in time, Baltazar pointed out that the Incarnation is this truth. It follows that education which is “the attainment of the full man is an involvement in time, involvement in the affairs of this world, involvement in present society.”<sup>77</sup>

The implication that education is unitive is based on the “formation of a man who in the words of St. Paul, is all things to all men.” If education is to form a man to understand others, “we must have the mind and heart of Christ whose concern was the unification of splintered humanity into one single human family.” Baltazar continues that the “true idea of a University is that it is one of the agencies for the unification of humanity” by being “not merely a place where we learn truth, but more essentially a place for the discovery and search of truth.” All three levels of knowledge are involved: scientific-cultural, the philosophic, and the theological.<sup>78</sup>

These three levels of knowledge have been instruments of disunity and hate. Baltazar reviewed a number of these and then arrived at the conclusion that since we still have differing theories on all three levels, “a University cannot be partial to one without being untrue to its purpose.” Choosing one philosophy or theology “puts an obstacle to open-mindedness, to mutual understanding of peoples” which is a policy “Christ could never sanction.”<sup>79</sup>

Anticipating the objection that Thomism is the “one and only true philosophy” led Baltazar to a re-examination of the nature of philosophy which he temporarily postponed in favor of drawing a “conclusion from the second characteristic of education, namely that it is essentially historical.” This point is important in his proof that Thomism cannot be the only true philosophy. If man attains fullness historically, education, which is a means to that end, must be historical. Since the disciplines are part of education, they too must be historical. Truth is not something to be contemplated; it is to be used as a guide for the future—the Light of the World.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> Ibid., 29.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., 30.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 31.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., 32.

Baltazar notes that thinking of Truth as historical is a switch from the Aristotelian-Thomistic view to the “scriptural-modern view.” This switch in views allowed him to critique the Aristotelian-Thomistic theology and philosophy texts which he described as “arid, impractical, out of touch with reality and which abound in antiquated and medieval terminology.” Philosophy and theology, therefore, become sources of isolation from the present world rather than “living and meaningful.” This is unacceptable to Baltazar as a philosopher and leads him to re-examine the nature of philosophy.<sup>81</sup>

Beginning with Thomism which has “acquired the force of dogma,” Baltazar pointed out that Thomism “believes that the intellect can arrive at the essence of things . . . and it arrives at the essential meaning of reality.” This premise depended, however, on the “scientific postulate that reality is substantially finished.” Since we know that “reality is in process,” “the intellect cannot arrive at the essential meaning of reality.” All philosophies must therefore be evolving and none can claim to be the true one. Thomism can be said to be “valid and true for a stage of philosophic thought” but “the study of philosophical systems is a must.”<sup>82</sup>

Up to this point, Baltazar had given intrinsic reasons why teaching one philosophy was not acceptable. He also explored the extrinsic reasons for teaching only Thomism and shows that they are “untenable.” Since Thomism became the official philosophy of the church with Leo XIII’s 1879 encyclical, *Aeterni patris*, Baltazar begins by quoting “prudent and wise” theologians, Jean Daniélou and Joseph Ratzinger, who call for the encyclical to be understood in “its time context.”<sup>83</sup>

To those who say Thomism is justified for apologetic reasons, Baltazar responded that this way of thinking is based on two false premises. In the first place, it treats the laity as children to be protected. Baltazar believed this paternalistic policy is the “real culprit” for the lack of

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<sup>81</sup> Ibid., 33.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., 34-5.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., 36.

Catholic intellectuals. The second premise is “based on a pharisaical and self-righteous attitude that we are possessed of a better formulation of theology and of philosophy than others.” Baltazar listed examples of recent advances in theology and philosophy that were developed by non-Catholics and stated that “we have been imprisoned in our own formulations . . . and consequently have been unable to see the truth.”<sup>84</sup>

In the article’s conclusion, Baltazar stated that more than philosophy and theology need to be revitalized since all of Catholic higher education is ill, as is the Church. This is a shift from the usual view that the world is ill and the Church must help cure it. Baltazar positions the Church in the world. Baltazar believes the reason for the illness is absolutizing the Middle Ages, and he agrees with Leslie Dewart who attributes the source of this absolutizing to a Hellenic complex acquired by Christianity when it adopted Greek and Roman cultural forms.<sup>85</sup> Baltazar saw the cure for the illness in a return to the historical perspective of the scriptures, which appeared to be the message of Pope John XXIII and the Second Vatican Council. Baltazar concluded, therefore, with hope but also with the realization that “change will not be in the near future.” Little did he know that, within a matter of two years, he would be involved in a controversy that would bring these issues to the forefront. Change in philosophical and theological education was about to occur sooner than he anticipated.

It is apparent that the Thomists found much to disagree with in Baltazar’s article. For example, Baltazar “clearly defends a relativistic approach to truth, denies the possibility of one true philosophy, [and] defends philosophical pluralism.”<sup>86</sup> Baltazar also called into question the Catholic Church’s decision to maintain Thomism as its philosophy. In Baltazar’s view, Thomism was “valid and true for a stage of philosophic thought.” The claim that it is “the philosophy for

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<sup>84</sup> Ibid., 37.

<sup>85</sup> Leslie Dewart, *Christianity and Revolution*, (New York: Herder, 1963), 286, quoted in Baltazar, *Ibid.*, 38.

<sup>86</sup> Bonnette, letter to Fr. Raymond A. Roesch, 28 October 1966, 1.

all times cannot be justified."<sup>87</sup> The Thomists certainly could come up with prominent theologians with different interpretations to counter Baltazar's theologians, and with the Council barely underway it would have been difficult to anticipate what changes would occur. In short, the Thomists in the University of Dayton's philosophy department felt attacked by Baltazar's article. Even more alarming to them were the facts that *The University of Dayton Review* was published by the university; edited by a Marianist priest, Fr. Thomas Stanley, who was the dean of the university; overseen by a seven person editorial board which included four additional Marianists; and approved by the university's *ensor deputatus*,<sup>88</sup> Fr. Matthew F. Kohmescher. The world of Catholic philosophy at the University of Dayton appeared to be turning upside down.

In addition to the philosophical and religious disagreements that the Thomists had with Baltazar's approach, it is important to recognize that Thomistic philosophy was the life's work for a number of the faculty. Thomism was their area of expertise. If Thomism disappeared, they were not trained to teach any other philosophy. Teaching Thomism was how they earned their living and they had families to support. Baltazar's attack on Thomism, therefore, attacked the Thomistic philosophers on a personal level. In 1963, Baltazar did not realize the personal implications of his attack on Thomism. He says now that he wishes he had been more conciliatory and sensitive to the Thomists.<sup>89</sup>

In the fall, the Thomists defended the philosophy of Thomas at a Philosophy Club meeting held on 7 October 1963. Approximately 100 persons attended as Fr. Richard Dombro lectured on the modernity of St. Thomas Aquinas and the relationship of Thomism to contemporary

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<sup>87</sup> Baltazar, *Ibid.*, 35.

<sup>88</sup> The *ensor deputatus* is responsible for evaluating works prior to publication to insure that the work conforms to the Church's teachings on faith and morals. T. Lincoln Bouscaren, S.J., Adam C. Ellis, S.J., and Francis N. Korth, S.J., "Rules Regarding Diocesan Censors," *Canon Law: A Text and Commentary*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1963), 777-780.

<sup>89</sup> Baltazar, telephone interview with the author, 14 June 1999.

problems. In particular, Dombro “sought to integrate the thought of St. Thomas and the involvements of modern existentialists.”<sup>90</sup>

An unnamed *Flyer News* reporter interviewed a number of people who attended the lecture. Dr. Francis R. Kendzierski, assistant professor of physics, was quoted as saying: “I thought it was a great sermon. I wonder what would happen to Thomistic philosophy if its theology were removed?”<sup>91</sup> Fr. Dombro responded in the form of an open letter to Kendzierski that was reproduced and distributed on campus, and also reprinted in the 15 November 1963 issue of *Flyer News*. Dombro said there he would have welcomed Kendzierski’s question the night of the lecture if it had been asked then. Dombro’s answer that evening would have been that of Dieska’s which Dombro appends to his own remarks.<sup>92</sup> Dombro continued that he would have added—“*all philosophy, all philosophies and all philosophers* encounter the problem of God; one needs of course to make the distinction between sacred and natural theology. There is one exception, the **purely** atheistic approach.”<sup>93</sup> [The emphasis is Fr. Dombro’s.]

Dombro’s response does not end there. Based on the *Flyer News* report, he observed three points:

- 1) When argument fails, sarcasm takes over. Yet sarcasm is no argument, and more especially, if what is expressed through it, is not **true**.
- 2) Sarcasm does not foster open-minded dialogue nor interdisciplinary communication.
- 3) And finally, a man who patters out a question with no concern for the answer is far from **wisdom** and **knowledge**.<sup>94</sup> [The emphasis is Fr. Dombro’s.]

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<sup>90</sup> “Philosophy Club Lecture: Modernity of Aquinas Known,” *FN*, 18 October 1963, 8.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>92</sup> Dieska’s response is that “absolutely nothing would happen because there is no theology revealed, or sacred science included. If natural theology or philosophy of God were removed the same thing would happen to Thomism as to any other philosophical system past or present. We just would not have any philosophical knowledge about God.” Dieska continues that “the question is whether any philosophy other than the philosophy of St. Thomas is more able to support certain theological doctrines.” Further, just because philosophy supports certain theological truths does not mean it deprives itself of its philosophical character. “Lecture Sparks Letters,” *FN*, 15 November 1963, 4.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*

Dombro concluded with a quote from Thomas: “As nobody can judge a case unless he hears the reasons on both sides, so he who has to listen to philosophy will be in a better position to pass judgment if he listens to all the arguments on both sides.”<sup>95</sup> Kendzierski replied to Dombro in an open letter which was also reprinted in the *Flyer News*. He began by repeating the above Aquinas quote and then reporting that the *Flyer News* had abbreviated his remarks. He was sarcastic for the sake of making a critical argument. Kendzierski’s point is that philosophy is taught as “the thinking man’s theology” at Catholic universities. If Thomism is “consistent and comprehensive,” and if it is not dead, it will continue to develop. “What is there to fear by allowing it to face other philosophies on their own terms?” Kendzierski then called for a public debate by “qualified philosophers.”<sup>96</sup>

Obviously, the sarcastic jabs went back and forth in the above dialogue. More importantly, however, is the age-old discussion of the relationship of philosophy to theology. It is a conversation which is still going on today and for which there are no easy answers.

In the next issue of *Flyer News*, a student columnist, Robert Baumgartner, joined in the discussion. Baumgartner’s entry into the discussion is important because it indicates that at least one student was following the philosophical discussions. Presumably other students were, too. Baumgartner pointed out that three correlations must be kept in mind: “the attitude toward truth, the question of academic freedom, and the fact that UD is a Catholic university.” Clearly, Baumgartner saw the issues and tensions in this dialogue (perhaps more clearly than the faculty!).

The majority of Baumgartner’s column discussed how truth is manifested before he turned to the topic of academic freedom. He warned that academic freedom is a “catch-all term” and “not the basic point at issue.” UD’s existence as a Catholic institution is central to the discussion.

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<sup>95</sup> Thomas Aquinas, *Com. In Metaphys., Book III*, quoted in *Ibid.*

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*

Baumgartner concluded by returning to the nature of truth and warning against philosophical relativism.<sup>97</sup>

The 6 December 1963 issue of *Flyer News* carried two more items on the matter: Frank Brown's letter to the editor and Ed Esch's column. Both take issue with Baumgartner who replied in the 10 January 1964 issue. Baumgartner's column is worthy of review because he unwittingly predicts future occurrences. He pointed out the dangers inherent in a public dialogue without guidelines and noted that "if there has been no prior general agreement about guidelines, highly personalized presentations, although not wrong, will tend to predominate, opening the door for an extended clash of personalities rather than ideas." Possible results include loss of respect for professors and a "mockery of perennial acknowledged thought."<sup>98</sup> Apparently Baumgartner thought there were strong personalities on both sides of this issue. It was equally apparent the discussion was getting out of hand and guidelines were needed. Unfortunately, Baumgartner's warnings were not heeded and an "extended clash" ensued. His suggested committee to develop guidelines ultimately became a reality in 1967—part of the resolution rather than a prevention of the "Affair."

Student involvement escalated as *Flyer News* columnist Steve Bickham continued the discussion of Thomism in the 7 February 1964 issue. He stated that communism is a philosophy and suggested that Thomism be used to fight communism. Since Thomism is true, it will win.<sup>99</sup> Bickham followed on 14 February with a second column devoted to Thomism. He told the legend of the "four-headed monster on the second floor of St. Mary's Hall" that eats "little boys who are not signed with the sign of Thomas." He concluded that since he was not eaten after writing a "nasty, bitter, underhanded and satirical attack" on Thomism, the monster does not

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Baumgartner, "Be It Resolved: An Approach to Truth," *FN*, 10 January 1964, 3.

<sup>99</sup> Steve Bickham, "You and I: Export Thomism," *FN*, 7 February 1964, 3.



exist. He then discussed freedom and ultimately stated that “We have been crying for freedom and all the while we have had it.”<sup>100</sup>

At least one person wondered in a letter to the editor, “who is Bickham?”<sup>101</sup> Another *Flyer News* columnist, Jim Cain, replied that Bickham is a student who does not agree with Thomas. Cain challenged Bickham for not saying why he disagrees with Thomas. After pointing out that with freedom comes responsibility, Cain stated that in order to disagree with someone, you must have views of your own. Cain realized he did not know enough philosophy to refute Thomas and he knew that there are other students who are more proficient in philosophy than he is. His point, however, is that other philosophers know enough to challenge Thomas and yet exposure to them is limited.<sup>102</sup>

Cain’s column evidently elicited responses because the next issue’s column was entitled “The Rocket’s Red Glare.” He noted that “polemics have become pyrotechnics” and that his argument for teaching other philosophers has become for others a “let’s cut Thomas” campaign.<sup>103</sup>

Opposite Cain’s column in the 28 February 1964 issue of *Flyer News* was a news report of a Philosophy Club student discussion held the previous week. More than 100 people attended to hear four students, including Bickham and Baumgartner,<sup>104</sup> discuss Thomistic philosophy and its place in the curriculum. Each speaker was given ten minutes to express his opinions. Questions from the audience followed. Two students were against Thomism, one supported it, and Baumgartner, a philosophy major, called for stronger faculty guidance on basic philosophical issues.

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<sup>100</sup> Bickham. “You and I: Myth of the Administration,” *FN*, 14 February 1964, 4.

<sup>101</sup> Kathie Pfefferle, “Letters to the Editor: Box 8: A Thinker,” *FN*, 14 February 1964, 2.

<sup>102</sup> Jim Cain, “Right Here: Cato,” *FN*, 20 February 1964, 2.

<sup>103</sup> Cain, “Right Here: The Rocket’s Red Glare,” *FN*, 28 February 1964, 3.

<sup>104</sup> The other two students were Roland Wagner and Thomas Mappes.

The *Flyer News* article lists Baltazar and Chrisman as faculty attendees. Baltazar, pleased that students were getting involved, is quoted as saying that the first step toward philosophical growth at the university is for professors to realize that “a student is not obliged to passively accept a professor’s lecture without question.” Chrisman, too, encouraged students to question but “expressed some misgivings about the campus discussion; that the negativity of the approach may convey to some a feeling of antagonism.” A “static type of Thomism,” not Thomas, is what needs to be attacked.<sup>105</sup> Baltazar and Chrisman were attacking the type of Thomism taught at the University of Dayton. Indirectly, they were personally attacking the Thomists at Dayton. No doubt tensions were mounting with Baltazar and Chrisman on one side and the Thomists on the other.

In addition to his comments about the discussion, John Chrisman entered the debate with a letter to the editor in the 28 February 1964 issue of *Flyer News*. Chrisman’s letter is important because he indicates how he feels about the use of rhetoric. Chrisman begins by acknowledging complaints that Bickham’s attack on Thomism “undercuts Catholic education” and “oversteps his position as a student.” Chrisman indicates that he personally is “a little uneasy” about some of Bickham’s expressions because they appear to attack St. Thomas himself, “a great saint and a great thinker.” Nevertheless, Chrisman suggests that Bickham “seems aware that if one is to be heard, one must speak strongly. In order to go far enough, one must sometimes go too far.” Further, Bickham has the right to be wrong and he does not need a “diploma in hand to begin to think for himself and to express his own opinions.”<sup>106</sup> Chrisman indicates two things important to the thesis. In the first case, Chrisman believes one must speak strongly to be heard and sometimes go too far. In other words, the ends justify the means. As time passes, Chrisman employs these tactics of speaking strongly and going too far. Secondly, as a professor, Chrisman

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<sup>105</sup> “After Student Discussion: ‘Thomistic’ Question Unresolved,” *FN*, 28 February 1964, 3.

<sup>106</sup> Chrisman, “Letters to the Editor: Box 8: Right of Expression,” *FN*, 28 February 1964, 2.

feels strongly that his calling is to open the minds of students in order to get them to think for themselves.<sup>107</sup> These two link together—by speaking strongly and sometimes going too far, Chrisman pushes students to think for themselves.

Obviously, philosophy dominated that particular issue of *Flyer News*, a fact not lost on John A. Houck who wrote to the editor complaining about the lack of coverage of Engineer's Week.<sup>108</sup> Bickham replied in his 13 March 1964 column. After a few sarcastic remarks, Bickham called for a "serious philosophical dialogue" in an "intellectual atmosphere." He stated that he "takes the [following] points to be proven: There is academic freedom at UD; Thomism is not the official philosophy of either the Catholic Church or UD; as students, we have the right to investigate any system of philosophy." He concludes: "So let us go then, you and I. Let us proceed."<sup>109</sup>

It took almost a month before a response to Bickham was printed in a letter to the editor. The respondent, J. R. Miller,<sup>110</sup> notes Bickham's "incredible error" that Thomism is not the official philosophy of the Church, and questions Bickham's "alleged competence concerning philosophy." Miller then quotes three popes—Paul VI, John XXIII, and Pius XII—on the preeminence of Thomas Aquinas. Miller concludes by expressing his concern that the *Flyer News* represented "divergent private opinions and views as Catholic."<sup>111</sup> Miller's points will be echoed as the controversy unfolds: Thomism is the Church's official philosophy; competence concerning philosophy is challenged; and the Church's teachings are being misrepresented. In particular, the Thomists fear that students are misled when a faculty member presents something

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<sup>107</sup> Chrisman, telephone interview by author, 25 January 1999.

<sup>108</sup> John A. Houck, "More Box 8: Engineer's What?" *FN*, 6 March 1964, 3.

<sup>109</sup> Steve Bickham, "You and I: In All Seriousness," *FN*, 13 March, 1964, 2.

<sup>110</sup> The *Flyer News* letter to the editor does not indicate whether J. R. Miller was a student. Miller does not show up on graduation lists for the years 1963-1968, or faculty (full and part-time) or staff lists for 1963-4 and 1966-7. Miller's relationship to the university is undetermined at this time.

<sup>111</sup> J. R. Miller, "Box 8: Attack on Bickham," *FN*, 10 April 1964, 2-3.

as fact without presenting the Church's stance on the matter in question. Concern about students being misled is at the very heart of the controversy.

Bickham, of course, disagreed with Miller in his next column. Bickham stated that he is sure there are many "learned and holy philosophers and theologians" who agree with "our undergraduate letter-writing friend" that Thomism is the official philosophy of the Church. There are also many who disagree. The difficulty with Miller's position is that one must label "an ever increasing number of Catholic theologians, philosophers, professors, and students" as "at most heretics or at least 'rebellious children.'"<sup>112</sup> In hindsight, the students anticipated how the conflict would evolve.

While the students were having their discussions in the *Flyer News*, the faculty continued their conversation with public lectures. Both Harkenrider and Baker lectured as part of the Intellectual Frontiers Series. Harkenrider spoke on the significance of philosophy<sup>113</sup> while Baker reviewed the controversy surrounding C.P. Snow's views on science and humanism.<sup>114</sup> Other than the announcements of upcoming lectures, there was no news coverage of either lecture.

On 18 March 1964, Baltazar lectured at a Philosophy Club meeting on the topic "A Philosophy for the Age of Anxiety." Although no news report of the event has been located, some general ideas of the substance of Baltazar's lecture are able to be filtered through Dieska's five-page public response entitled "Six Questions to Dr. Eulalio Baltazar." According to Dieska, Baltazar suggested we

do away with Thomism because it is neither adequate nor timely to our needs and demands . . . and accept the views of Fr. Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, whose evolutionism offers more acceptable solutions to certain philosophical and theological problems.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> Bickham, "You and I: Looking Backward and Forward," *FN*, 17 April 1964, 3.

<sup>113</sup> "Faculty Lecture Series to Feature Dr. Harkenrider," *FN*, 28 February 1964, 1.

<sup>114</sup> "Intellectual Frontiers features Dr. Baker," *FN*, 13 March 1964, 8.

<sup>115</sup> Dieska, "Six Questions to Dr. Eulalio Baltazar," undated letter, 1, ASM(CIN), "Heresy File."

Because of these statements, Dieska began by asking whether Baltazar's "personal views on Thomism and [Teilhard] de Chardin's cosmic evolution were compatible with Catholic teaching on Thomism as expressed in papal documents (notably since 1879), and particularly as voiced in the Canon Law of the Church." Dieska then quotes Canon 1366, §2 which states that rational philosophy and theology must be "conducted entirely according to the method, doctrines, and principles of the Angelic Doctor."<sup>116</sup>

Question two asks whether the University of Dayton "in its teaching and educational activities" is to "acknowledge and give consent to the exposition of the ordinary teaching authority of the Church as expressed in papal decisions and decrees." Dieska refers to a 1959 declaration that a university falls under the jurisdiction of the Sacred Congregation of Seminaries and Universities "as long as such a university is under the control in any way of the secular clergy or a religious society."<sup>117</sup>

In question three, Dieska asks Baltazar whether he is familiar with the 1962 *a monitum* on Teilhard de Chardin.<sup>118</sup> Question four includes quotations from Aristotle and Thomas and asks Baltazar how to explain these passages "if the Aristotelico-Thomistic mind is as static and anti-evolutionistic" as Baltazar says it is. Dieska notes that Teilhard de Chardin used the same Thomistic quote to support his evolutionistic theory.

Dieska, in question five, asks for an explanation of how the Church, "consistently promoting and defending the primacy of St. Thomas," is able to "admit" certain theories of evolution. Dieska clarifies that he is not opposing evolution as a "valid scientific theory." He is opposing anyone who says that Thomistic philosophy is "contrary to the phenomena of evolution."<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., 2. For further information on the Sacred Congregation of Seminaries and Universities, see James Tunstead Burtchaell, C.S.C., *The Dying of the Light: The Disengagement of College and Universities from their Christian Churches*, (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1998), 587-589.

<sup>118</sup> The *a monitum* is quoted in its entirety in Chapter II.

<sup>119</sup> Dieska, "Six Questions," 4.

Question six refers to a point made in Baltazar's lecture that the "article of faith formulated by Vatican Council I (1869-1870) concerning the possibility of proving God's existence" by human reason "has no reference [to] and does not involve" Thomistic proofs. If Baltazar's point is correct, how is one to understand Pius X's (1910) statement quoted by Pius XI (1923) that "the certain knowledge of God as the first principle of creation . . . can be inferred, like the knowledge of a cause from its effect, by the light of the natural reason. . . ." <sup>120</sup> Dieska footnotes the above quote with a Pius XII statement supporting the two previous pontiffs. <sup>121</sup>

In summary, Dieska's written response to Baltazar's lecture is a series of six questions with appropriate supporting evidence primarily from papal sources. Dieska asks the questions in an academic manner with no sarcastic remarks and no obvious put-downs, both of which occurred in Dieska's response to Kisiel. It is obvious, however, that Dieska and Baltazar are in opposition philosophically. Dieska believes he is supporting the Church's position and that Baltazar's views are in opposition to those of the Church. There is no record of a public response by Baltazar nor does Baltazar recall ever seeing Dieska's document. <sup>122</sup>

During the 1964 spring term, fall teaching assignments were given to the philosophy faculty by the chair, Fr. Rhodes. Dr. Edward Harkenrider was assigned to teach a graduate level course in existentialism along with his undergraduate courses. Recall that Harkenrider had originally opposed adding the graduate program to the department. Now the course in existentialism was being offered for the first time, and Harkenrider was assigned to teach it. Harkenrider had never even taken a course in existentialism so much preparation was required. He began preparing almost immediately, certain that he did not look forward to teaching the course.

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<sup>120</sup> Pius X, *Motu Proprio* "Sacrorum Antistitum," 1 September 1910, quoted in Pius XI, *Studiorum Ducem*, 29 June 1923, quoted by Dieska, *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>122</sup> Baltazar, telephone interview by author, 23 May 1999.

The stress from the tensions in the department and the extra work of the new preparation affected Harkenrider's health.<sup>123</sup> He saw an opportunity to get a "respite from the philosophy department" when Bro. George Nagel became ill and was unable to perform his duties as director of student aid and scholarships.<sup>124</sup> Harkenrider asked to replace Bro. Nagel during academic year 1964-65. Eventually, Fr. Roesch agreed but he cut Harkenrider's salary for the year and required him to teach the course in existentialism. Harkenrider accepted Fr. Roesch's terms although he felt betrayed and angry over the reduction in pay and the requirement to teach existentialism. These festering emotions and the valuable experience he gained as director of the university's student aid office later prove to be critical to Harkenrider's actions as the controversy unfolds.

Lawrence Ulrich and John Chrisman were also away from the department during academic year 1964-65. Shortly after Ulrich began teaching at UD in January 1964, he started considering doctoral programs. After hearing about the University of Toronto from Chrisman, he decided to apply. He was accepted and entered the program in fall 1964.<sup>125</sup> Chrisman, needing to complete his second year of residency at Toronto, decided to take a leave of absence from Dayton during 1964-65 to return to Toronto.<sup>126</sup> To save expenses, the two roomed together while Chrisman's family remained in Dayton.

Meanwhile, the philosophy department continued to discuss possible changes to the undergraduate curriculum. At the 14 October 1964 departmental meeting, the faculty began by reviewing the goal of the university as stated in the undergraduate catalog, i.e., "preparing worthy members for both the Church and the State." As the discussion broadened to include possible changes in the curriculum, Baltazar brought up the need to include "more than a cursory

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<sup>123</sup> At the time, he suffered from a severe nervous condition resulting in sleeplessness and constant tenseness in his legs. Edward Harkenrider, personal history written for his granddaughter, 119. Copy given to the author by Harkenrider.

<sup>124</sup> Bro. Nagel died on 2 September 1964. He had been ill three months. *FN*, 11 September 1964, 1.

<sup>125</sup> Ulrich's dissertation is entitled "The Concept of Man in Teilhard de Chardin." His dissertation advisor was Thomas A. Goudge. His Ph.D. was awarded in 1972 from the University of Toronto.

<sup>126</sup> The University of Dayton continued paying Chrisman his salary while he was on leave in Toronto. Chrisman, telephone interview by the author, 4 May 1999.

acquaintance” of Marxism and existentialism. Harkenrider responded that if Thomism is taught as it should be, “it seems inconceivable that the student will not know about these other philosophies.” The minutes record that the faculty were “confronted with teaching philosophy in one of two ways”—an historical approach where the thoughts of many philosophers were reviewed or the Thomistic approach which reached a greater depth and profundity of one philosopher. This dialogue indicates the presence of two views on how to provide the most comprehensive philosophical account of reality—historical and universal.

In an effort to avoid an impasse over the historical/universal polarization, Baltazar and Casaletto suggested changing the introductory course so as to arouse the students’ interest in philosophy. The faculty agreed on the goal of arousing the students’ interest in philosophy. The pertinent issues then became an appropriate text and the handling of logic. Baker suggested that logic be integrated into the introductory course. Although details remained to be worked out, this suggestion was accepted **by all**.<sup>127</sup> [Emphasis added.] By February 1965, a course proposal was prepared for “Introduction to Philosophy and Logic.” It consisted of a topical survey of Greek philosophers and four weeks of logic at the beginning or end of the course.<sup>128</sup>

In reading the above minutes, it appears that a compromise had been reached in an amicable manner. Another picture emerges, however, in a set of minutes dated a year and a half later. At a departmental meeting on 5 April 1966, the faculty were hopelessly polarized. No matter what issue came up, the vote was 11 to 4 with the Thomists in control. Baltazar ultimately noted that there was no point in having a discussion. Faculty member Joseph Kunkel then cited logic being inserted into the introductory course “in spite of the fact that all those teaching [the] course were against it” as an example of the “minority” in the department feeling “discriminated against.”<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> Department of Philosophy Faculty Meeting Minutes, 14 October 1964, AUD, Series 20QU(3), Box 1, Folder 1.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, 10 February 1965, 1.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, 5 April 1966, 3.



The two sets of minutes, which lead to very different impressions about the same meeting, show the level of polarization in the department. The minutes also show that the Thomists were the majority and thus able to overrule the minority.<sup>130</sup> The fact that the issue surfaced a year and a half later indicates that the minority had deep-seated feelings about the handling of the logic issue. Humanity being what it is, it is not surprising that the minority struck back at the majority using the means at their disposal—the public arena.

Baltazar again gave the Thomists in the department something to consider when, in October 1964, *Contraception and Holiness: The Catholic Predicament* was published with a chapter, “Contraception and the Philosophy of Process,” written by Baltazar.<sup>131</sup> Other contributors included Gregory Baum, O.S.A.; Leslie Dewart; Justus George Lawler; former Archbishop Thomas D. Roberts, S.J.; and Rosemary Ruether. In the introduction, Roberts called on the bishops at the Second Vatican Council to re-examine the relationship of natural law to contraception. The book was offered as a “forthright but reverent examination of the entire question [of contraception] from the vantage of theology, philosophy, law, sociology, and biology.”<sup>132</sup> The book was published after Pope Paul VI issued his 23 June 1964 statement that was sometimes interpreted as a termination of the discussion on contraception.<sup>133</sup> The very fact that the book was published when the Pope asked that discussion be discontinued was disconcerting to those in the philosophy department who interpreted papal statements strictly.

Baltazar’s chapter begins by stating that the Catholic position on contraception is based on scholastic philosophic arguments: natural law and the role of unaided reason in establishing

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<sup>130</sup> Due to the comings and goings of faculty detailed earlier in the thesis, the faculty who attended the first meeting were not the same faculty who attended the second meeting.

<sup>131</sup> *Contraception and Holiness: The Catholic Predicament*, (New York: Herder and Herder, 1964). Thomas D. Roberts, S.J. wrote the introduction to the book. The book did not have an editor.

<sup>132</sup> Thomas D. Roberts, S.J., “Introduction,” *Ibid.*, 22.

<sup>133</sup> Evidence exists that Paul VI’s statement was interpreted as an end to the public discussion. One example is the cancellation of a half-hour radio program on birth control scheduled for nationwide broadcast on the *Catholic Hour* on 23 October 1966. The Pope’s statement was cited in the decision to cancel the broadcast. “Catholic Hour Discussion on Birth Control Canceled,” *National Catholic Reporter*, 2 November 1966, 1.

norms of conduct.<sup>134</sup> He continues that “given the scholastic premises, the conclusions follow logically.” His approach, therefore, is to “question the very adequacy and pertinence of the scholastic framework for the understanding of the nature of the sexual act.”<sup>135</sup>

Baltazar first explains that Thomists know reality as *being* while many contemporary thinkers take an evolutionary approach and view reality as *becoming*. He then defines marriage as an evolutionary reality, noting two stages: procreation and the preservation of the family.<sup>136</sup> At this point he examines the meaning and essence of the sexual act using an epistemology of process. “By an analysis of anything which evolves, we find that the meaning of a thing is based on the final stage of a process, not on the early stage, for it is the final stage that fully unfolds and reveals a thing for what it is.”<sup>137</sup> The final stage of marriage is “the fully grown family,” which is “preservative in character and purpose.” Therefore, “the sexual act in its ultimate finality and purpose is preservative.”<sup>138</sup>

Baltazar uses the relationship of husband and wife as the image of union of Christ and the church in the Mass. This is an interesting comparison. After beginning with a scriptural source, Ephesians 5:21-33, Baltazar points out that at first the Mass was used for “building” the Mystical Body but in time it is used for “continued preservation.”<sup>139</sup> From the Mass flows “spiritual nourishment” just as “life-giving love that binds the family together” flows from the sexual act.<sup>140</sup>

In the final section of his chapter, Baltazar examines the morality of contraception. He begins with the presupposition that there is an “ordinary” obligation to limit the size of the family “imposed on all married couples by the more basic end of marriage which demands that children be brought up in a Christian way relative to the social conditions of the times.”<sup>141</sup> If this is an

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<sup>134</sup> Baltazar, “Contraception and the Philosophy of Process,” 155.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., 159-160

<sup>137</sup> Ibid., 162.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., 163.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., 164.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., 165.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., 166.

obligation for all, then there must be an “ordinary means of limitation available to all.” Baltazar next examines the rhythm method, and concludes that rhythm is an “extraordinary” means because it does not work for the majority of couples,<sup>142</sup> and because it limits the family at the expense of peace and love between the couple. The couple’s well-being contributes to the well-being of the family as a unit.<sup>143</sup>

At this point, Baltazar returns to the two stages of marriage and reviews his earlier conclusion that the non-procreative stage of marriage—the “enhancement of the life of the family already produced”—is the final stage. “Therefore, to restructure the sexual act by the use of contraceptives in order that it attain the finality intended for it cannot be unnatural.”<sup>144</sup>

Since the Church, using scholastic philosophy, teaches that contraception is immoral, Baltazar pointed out difficulties he has with the scholastic viewpoint. He also reviews the papal encyclical *Casti Connubii* that forbids contraception. Baltazar suggested different ways the encyclical can be interpreted which then seem to support his thesis that contraception is not immoral. In using the encyclical to support—or at least not forbid—his position, Baltazar gives authority to *Casti Connubii*. Baltazar’s remarks also indicate the ongoing tension in the interpretation of church documents: how is their meaning interpreted, and what response do Catholics owe to Church teachings?

Baltazar concluded by addressing the argument that “based on the demands of interpersonal and intersubjective relations,” “love-giving is not complete” if contraception is used.<sup>145</sup> He used Scripture to show that conjugal love includes the child as the fullness of that love. Therefore,

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<sup>142</sup> Ibid., 167. Baltazar does not explain how rhythm does not “work” or what evidence he has that it does not work for the majority of couples. He simply makes his statement as if it were a known and accepted fact.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., 168-9.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., 172-3.

couples with children “possess the fullness of marital love” and are not denying love “if the parents are directing the act toward their children.”<sup>146</sup>

Reviews of the book point out its shortcomings, some of which could have been addressed if the book had an editor<sup>147</sup> and if the book had not been “rushed into print” in order to get it distributed among the bishops at the Council.<sup>148</sup> For example, there are erroneous statements in the book, e.g., Baltazar stating that moralists “hold fast to the premise that the essence of the sexual act is procreation alone.”<sup>149</sup> Reviewer Richard A. McCormick, S.J. noted there are also contradictory statements. Baltazar, for example, states that “the scholastic moralists . . . do not appreciate the adverse effects both on parents and on the family of forgoing regular sexual intercourse,” while Gregory Baum writes that “priests have always known how much misery is caused in some families when husband and wife are unable to limit the number of their children.”<sup>150</sup> These statements may or may not be contradictory since one cannot be sure that Baltazar’s “scholastic moralists” are the same persons as Baum’s “priests.” Presumably, McCormick assumed since priests were usually trained using scholastic manuals, they therefore thought like “scholastic moralists.”

Reviewer Charles E. Curran, in *The Commonweal*, noted that the “overstatement and lack of balance” found in the book is a “defect common to all controversial writing.”<sup>151</sup> Curran wrote that while Baltazar “rightly stresses the place of evolution and progress in moral judgments,” Baltazar’s “rejection of Thomism seems to be **too extreme and total.**”<sup>152</sup> [Emphasis added.] If

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<sup>146</sup> Ibid., 173-4.

<sup>147</sup> Archbishop Roberts wrote the introduction but he did not edit the book.

<sup>148</sup> Richard A. McCormick, S.J., review of *Contraception and Holiness*, introduced by Archbishop Thomas D. Roberts, S.J., *America* (14 November 1964), 626.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid., 628. Due to the nature and topic of this thesis, the author is focusing only on the comments pertaining to Baltazar’s chapter of *Contraception and Holiness*.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid., 626.

<sup>151</sup> Charles E. Curran, “Re-examining the Church’s Teaching on Contraception,” review of *Contraception and Holiness*, introduced by Archbishop Thomas D. Roberts, S.J., *The Commonweal* (4 December 1964), 360.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid.

Curran is correct, then Baltazar's rejection of Thomism suggests that dialogue with him—on topics pertaining to Thomism—would be difficult. Despite the book's drawbacks, Curran called the book "a courageous and cogent affirmation of the need for a change in the present teachings of the Church on contraception."<sup>153</sup>

To the Thomists in the Department of Philosophy at the University of Dayton, Baltazar was again rejecting Thomism as a philosophy. He was also ignoring Pope Paul VI's statements that discussion on contraception should be discontinued.

The discussion of philosophical issues was not limited to faculty and students as evidenced by the university's administrative council "summit meeting" held over the 1964 Thanksgiving holidays. During the three-day meeting, the council reviewed the purposes of the university, the Marianist philosophy of education, and current issues within the university. Planning for the future followed these discussions. After noting that universities exist to "discover and propagate the truth," they turned to Catholic universities and concluded that the "active pursuit of truth" was a "positive role" [emphasis added by the author]. Further, "the Catholic university should strive to impart to its students the ability to see all reality from a Catholic point of view."<sup>154</sup> If there was discussion on what exactly a Catholic point of view is, it was not recorded. Nevertheless, the university's administration considered the pursuit of truth to be a reason for existence as a Catholic university. The inherent tension is that the "truth" is to be seen from the Catholic viewpoint.

The discussion of the Marianist philosophy of education at the summit meeting emphasized devotion to Mary, Chaminade's spirit of faith where everything is seen through the eyes of faith, an apostolic spirit that meets the needs of the times, involvement in the world, and the family

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<sup>153</sup> Ibid., 362.

<sup>154</sup> Minutes of the Summit Meeting of the Administrative Council, 27-29 November 1964, AUD, Series 87-3, Box 3, 3.

spirit. Although all of these qualities are applicable to education, the discussion, as recorded in the minutes, appears to be a review of Marianist philosophy in general.<sup>155</sup>

There were many issues discussed at the summit, but one is particularly important to the thesis, i.e., the increasing enrollment, particularly as it impacted the departments of theological studies and philosophy. With the prospect of 2,000 new freshmen in fall 1965, Fr. Stanley, the provost, reported that the two departments were having a difficult time handling the “present” enrollment and “the prospect of finding additional instructors in these areas [was] very dim.”<sup>156</sup> No response is recorded.

Further insight into how the Marianist administration viewed higher education in this time of transition is gained from the minutes of the administrative council meeting on 9 February 1965. Rev. Paul Joseph Hoffer, S.M., the Marianist superior general from Rome, was a guest at the meeting. He reported on the “status and role of Catholic universities in light of the discussions” at the Second Vatican Council.<sup>157</sup> At this point, the Council had not yet determined how to include Catholic universities in the documents. Hoffer noted two possibilities—a paragraph or two in a schema or a separate schema which “might restrict the freedom of the universities.” Hoffer

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<sup>155</sup> The author, herself a “minute taker” throughout her career, is very aware of the limitations of using minutes as sources. Minutes are influenced by their intended purposes, the audience, the participants, the discussion itself, and the skills of the minute taker. For example, in addition to recording the discussion and transactions of a meeting so that a committee has an historical record, the purpose of the minutes may be to inform the faculty of the issues and results of the discussions. The minutes, therefore, become public rather than internal documents. This may affect the way the minutes are written. One could argue that if the minutes are approved by the participants they are accepted as accurate records of the meeting in question. Again, depending on the participants at the meeting, the issue in question, the purpose of the minutes, and so forth, changes may not be recommended. Indeed, the author has wondered many times if the minutes were even read prior to their approval. In a test of this theory, conducted by the author on a committee which shall remain nameless, the author inserted remarks in the minutes which she believed were so outlandish that someone would object. When the minutes were “approved as written” and the author objected, it became apparent that only one person had read the minutes. The author prefers to believe this says something about the level of confidence the committee had in the minute taker rather than the committee’s lack of preparedness for the meeting.

<sup>156</sup> Minutes of the Summit Meeting of the Administrative Council, 27-29 November 1964, AUD, Series 87-3, Box 3, 9.

<sup>157</sup> As superior-general of the Society of Mary, Hoffer was an observer at the Council.

also indicated that the Council intended to “emphasize the Catholic character of education and the formation of Catholic leaders without minimizing academic excellence.”<sup>158</sup>

The comments by Hoffer indicate his view on a separate schema. While some may view a separate schema as positive, to Hoffer there was a risk that a detailed, separate schema would restrict the freedom of Catholic universities. Hoffer’s concern shows that freedom to function as a university is important to Hoffer and, presumably, to the administration of the University of Dayton. Hoffer’s statement on academic excellence implies a belief that being Catholic and being academically excellent are not necessarily mutually exclusive.<sup>159</sup>

One area of concern that impacted academic excellence at the University of Dayton was leadership in the department of philosophy. Fr. Rhodes stepped down as chair in early 1965 and Dr. Baker began serving as acting chair. A decision needed to be made on a new chair to lead the department and develop the graduate program. All previous chairs were Marianists and chosen by the university and provincial administrations. In the mid-1960s, choosing a chair for a department was the responsibility of the university administration with little or no faculty input.

Keeping this in mind, it is not surprising that Dr. Anthony A. Nemetz,<sup>160</sup> a Catholic philosopher at the University of Georgia and formerly at Ohio State University, was invited by the university administration to lecture on 26 January 1965 as part of the Intellectual Frontiers

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<sup>158</sup> Minutes of Administrative Council meeting, 9 February 1965, AUD, Series 87-3, Box 3, 1.

<sup>159</sup> It would be interesting to do research on Hoffer and his background to compare his views on Catholic higher education prior to the Council to those during and after the Council. Did the views change? Did his participation in the Council make him more or less tolerant of the changes occurring within Catholic higher education in the 1960s? These questions, however interesting, are beyond the scope of this thesis.

<sup>160</sup> Nemetz had a Ph.D. in Philosophy from the University of Chicago (1953). His dissertation topic is “Art in St. Thomas Aquinas.”

Series.<sup>161</sup> His lecture, “Memory of Things Future,” dealt with “time and change in a universal, objective way,” an aspect of contemporary philosophy touching on Thomism.<sup>162</sup> In addition to the lecture, the purpose of his visit was a mutual “look-see.” The administration wanted to see if Nemetz was a possible candidate for chair of the department of philosophy. Nemetz, for his part, needed to ascertain his own interest in the position. After meeting with the philosophy faculty, Nemetz made suggestions to the administration for the strengthening of the department. He also decided that he was not interested in the chair position. He preferred a department with a graduate program already developed rather a department, such as Dayton’s, that was in the process of building a program.<sup>163</sup>

About the same time as Nemetz was visiting Dayton, *Flyer News* columnist Bob Killian stirred up the student debate on philosophy. The exchange between students is important for several reasons. The exchange—recalled in the following paragraphs—indicates that students were involved in the dialogue. Their complaints and arguments many times mirror those of the minority philosophy faculty members. The mirroring of arguments indicates that communication occurred between the minority faculty members and the students; presumably, the faculty

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<sup>161</sup> Dr. Nemetz gave the opening lecture of the 1965 series. Each lecture was chaired by a faculty member. For Dr. Nemetz’ lecture, Fr. Charles Lees, assistant professor of English, served in that capacity. The series brochure included a quotation from John L. McKenzie, S.J. McKenzie states that Aquinas and others “did not achieve greatness by refusing to advance beyond traditional learning.” We “venerate” them for their growth in learning. McKenzie pointed out that we forget that the “canonized opinions of our day were the dangerous radical innovations of the time of their origin.” Furthermore, the results of scholarship have always been the fruits of adversity.” John L. McKenzie, S.J., “Intellectual Liberty Revisited,” *Homiletic and Pastoral Review*, January 1961, 350. It would be interesting to know who picked this quotation for the series brochure. It is appropriate for an annual lecture series but even more so because of the controversy brewing in the philosophy department. McKenzie’s use of Aquinas to support innovation in scholarship must have seemed ironic when it was apparent the UD Thomists were entrenched in traditional thought. AUD, Series 7JD, Box 26, Folder 5, “Intellectual Frontiers.”

<sup>162</sup> Sue Eifert, “Frontiers Lectures Begin: Dr. Nemetz Gives Challenge at Series” *FN*, 29 January 1965, 1. A copy of Nemetz’s lecture was recently located in the *University of Dayton Review*. The author has not had an opportunity to review it yet.

<sup>163</sup> Thomas Stanley, S.M., telephone interview by author, 10 April 1999. Nemetz remained at the University of Georgia throughout his career. He died on 17 February 1989. “Anthony Albert Nemetz,” in *LEXIS®-NEXIS® Academic Universe* [database-on-line] available from <http://web.lexis-nexis.com/universe/docum...5a3&md5=876c24b30b2d2187d762a76ec1187a2>; Internet; accessed 13 March 99.



influenced the students. Finally, the tone of the exchange is combative, indicating lack of respect for the authority of the Church, which places the Thomists on the defensive.

Killian began the debate by retelling the story of the previous year's debate and then reporting on the current discussion at DePaul University.<sup>164</sup> He lamented that UD graduates leave so "poorly equipped to engage in philosophic debate with the rest of the world."<sup>165</sup>

In the next issue, Killian reported that his column generated negative comments including his being called a communist. Some respondents, however, thought reviving the debate a good idea. Killian therefore proceeded to explain why he thought the philosophy curriculum at UD should be changed. In addition to arguments that Thomism was outmoded and inapplicable to the modern world, he stated that "it is preposterous to assume that nothing of value can be learned from the philosophies of the past six hundred years." He also pointed out that "four years of Thomistic philosophy is a colossal bore" and a failure if it does not "stimulate the student to think for himself."<sup>166</sup> Killian believed the purpose of philosophy to be getting the student to think for himself.

Killian's two columns generated a few letters to the editor, which encouraged him to continue his attack on Thomism and propose a new philosophy curriculum.<sup>167</sup> A new voice, that of *Flyer News* columnist Jim Spotila, responded to defend Thomism and challenge Killian. Spotila suggested that perhaps the "colossal bore" was not the result of Thomism but of faculty teaching methods or the "party time" mentality of students.<sup>168</sup> Although Spotila defended Thomism, his comment about teaching methods was not supportive of the Thomists in the department.

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<sup>164</sup> See the Philosophical Horizons Program in Chapter I.

<sup>165</sup> Bob Killian, "Down Here: Stirring the Ashes," *FN*, 15 January 1965, 8.

<sup>166</sup> Killian, "Down Here: Troublemaker," *FN*, 22 January 1965, 5.

<sup>167</sup> Killian, "Down Here: Return of the Native," *FN*, 5 February 1965, 3.

<sup>168</sup> Jim Spotila, "The Thinker: Apologia for Thomism," *FN*, 12 February 1965, 5.

A month later, Killian continued “grinding [his] ax” against Thomism. In this column, he argued that Thomism is “disguised theology” and that he had learned no philosophy but instead had been indoctrinated and brainwashed. He complained that Thomas’ followers have turned Thomistic philosophy into dogma. The world was passing them by and the “very least [Thomas’ followers] could do is to stop holding us back with them.” He suggested changing to a “real philosophy curriculum.”<sup>169</sup>

At this point, Dr. Baker jumped into the fray with a letter to the editor. He suggested that a person does not buy a spade and try to use it to chop down a tree. Nor does a person take courses in “Christian”<sup>170</sup> philosophy for “forensic displays” with those who know other philosophies nor for “relieving boredom.” He argues that “Christian philosophy is studied primarily to acquire a genuine insight into those natural truths accessible by rational methods whereby a student can appreciate the meaning and significance of the truths of divine revelation.” Baker addressed some of Killian’s specific comments before concluding that the moral is to “find out the purpose of a tool before crying about its inefficiency.”<sup>171</sup>

Killian’s response to Baker in the same issue of *Flyer News* states that equating Thomism with “Christian philosophy” implies that other philosophies are non-Christian or anti-Christian. Killian takes issue with this implication. Killian’s second point is that Thomism is one philosophy among many and “to pretend that the questions of philosophy have all been answered is naïve insularity at best, and self deception at worst.” Since Thomism is taught as if all the answers have been arrived at, Thomism turns into an “indoctrination session.” He concluded by stating “Are we in an institution of higher learning only to be handed a set of correct answers,

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<sup>169</sup> Killian, “Down Here: Angry Week,” *FN*, 12 March 1965, 5.

<sup>170</sup> Since Baker used the phrase “Christian philosophy” five times in his letter, “Christian” is a deliberate word choice. Baker’s only use of “Catholic” was in an example of a student who attends a “Catholic university” and takes a course in “Christian philosophy.” Richard R. Baker, “Box 8: Letters to the Editor: A Spade is A Spade,” *FN*, 19 March 1965, 2.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*

pointed in the right direction, and turned loose? Is education that dangerous that it must be replaced by training?"<sup>172</sup>

The 26 March 1965 issue of *Flyer News* included a letter to the editor from theology instructors Thomas and Dorothy Thompson who noted that Baker, in his discussion on Christian philosophy, missed many giants of Protestant philosophy and, indeed, some Catholic philosophers, including Jesuit Teilhard de Chardin. They also pointed out that if Baker meant to limit himself to medieval philosophy, there were many other Christian philosophers to be included.<sup>173</sup> This was the second instance of faculty outside the department publicly pointed out perceived deficiencies in the philosophy department.<sup>174</sup>

In the very same issue, the *Flyer News* carried the announcement of the change in the freshman philosophy course. Dr. Baker made the announcement, noting that the new introductory course would emphasize readings on Plato and Aristotle. No mention was made of the length of time it took the department to develop this course<sup>175</sup> although Baker did note that changes to the rest of the curriculum are "contemplated in the future."<sup>176</sup> One wonders about the timing of the announcement. Perhaps, the philosophy department felt pressure to announce the changes to take effect in the next academic year.

The *Flyer News* coverage of philosophy ended the academic year on a humorous note. The upside down April Fools edition covered the story "Thomistic Philosophy Nixed, Philosophy Department Revamped" on its "front" page. The story reported that Thomism was thrown out as the official university philosophy in favor of "Miscellanism." Appointed co-chairmen of the philosophy department were the two *Flyer News* columnists. Other side effects included an

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<sup>172</sup> Killian, "Down Here: Reply, with Questions," *FN*, 19 March 1965, 4.

<sup>173</sup> Thomas and Dorothy Thompson, "Box 8: Letters to the Editor: Philosophy Giants," *FN*, 26 March 1965, 2.

<sup>174</sup> The first instance was Dr. Francis R. Kendzierski's comments following the 2 October 1963 Philosophy Club meeting. See page 96.

<sup>175</sup> The department began discussion on possible changes in fall 1963.

<sup>176</sup> "Announce Philosophy Change," *FN*, 26 March 1965, 2.

increase in the number of required credit hours in philosophy and havoc in the bookstore because most of the books were on the Index and therefore unavailable. The article ended by poking fun at several professors. Generally, it was well done and humorously portrayed the controversy.

As the period of the early years of the “Heresy Affair” drew to a close, the philosophy department was being criticized by students and non-departmental faculty. The Thomists within the department were also under attack by the vocal minority calling for change from within the department. The department was criticized for teaching Thomism which was viewed as outmoded, irrelevant, and boring. The Thomists were viewed as poor teachers, simplistic, and out-of-touch with the modern world. The Thomists also believed that the university administration supported discussion of new ideas in philosophy. This factor was unsettling and threatening. The combination of all these factors contributed to tension and polarization. When the controversies dragged on for several years, the tension and polarization magnified. The situation in the philosophy department at the University of Dayton was compounded, however, by one additional factor—philosophy was closely tied to the faith life of the faculty. For the Thomists, rejection of Thomism, the proclaimed official philosophy of the Catholic Church, was perceived as rejection of Church teaching. For Baltazar, the philosophy of Teilhard de Chardin was very much tied to his Catholic faith life. No wonder the department ended the academic year tense and polarized.

### *The “Heresy Affair”: The Beginning of the Crisis*

The 1965-66 academic year began quietly enough. Dr. Richard Baker was appointed chair of the philosophy department. Chrisman returned to the faculty from his studies while Ulrich continued his studies in Toronto. Five new faculty members began teaching in philosophy including Paul Seman and Dennis Bonnette, and Randolph Lumpp began teaching in theological studies. In October 1965, John Chrisman was elected to an at-large position on the Faculty

Forum. For a faculty member to be elected to an at-large position meant that faculty from outside one's academic unit must support the candidate. Chrisman's election, therefore, indicates that he was known among the faculty within the university.<sup>177</sup>

It did not take long for philosophy to become a topic in *Flyer News*. Columnist Bob Veries resurrected the debate by supporting Thomism in the 24 September 1965 issue. A news story on five new faculty in philosophy appeared in the 1 October 1965 paper. The reporter asked the faculty for their views on the teaching of Thomism in Catholic universities. As might be expected, some supported Thomism and others rejected it in favor of contemporary philosophies.

The main topic of discussion in fall 1965, however, was contraception. It began with the *Flyer News* reporting on the previous year's publication of Baltazar's chapter in *Contraception and Holiness*.<sup>178</sup> The news story was the prelude to a philosophy club meeting on 19 October 1965. The topic was billed as "Birth Control—A Time to Re-evaluate." The discussion was to begin with the statement: "The question of birth control is not a theological one since the reasoning is based on natural law." In other words, contraception was posed as a philosophical issue. Again, the ongoing tension between philosophy and theology is evident.

On the afternoon of the scheduled meeting, Fr. Richard Dombro reported to university president Fr. Roesch that the majority<sup>179</sup> of the philosophy department did not want the discussion to be held.<sup>180</sup> They were concerned about "the damage that could be done to the students." Although the exact details of the conversation are unknown, according to a memo Fr. Dombro

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<sup>177</sup> The academic units represented on the Faculty Forum were Arts and Sciences, Business Administration, Education, Engineering, and the Technical Institute. *Faculty Handbook 1966*, Ibid., 56.

<sup>178</sup> "Dr. Baltazar Gives Views in 'Contraception and Holiness,'" *FN*, 15 October 1965, 3.

<sup>179</sup> Dombro does not name the faculty members but one assumes he referred to the Thomists.

<sup>180</sup> Richard J. Dombro, S.M., Memo to Raymond A. Roesch, S.M., 19 October 1965, 1. Document given to the author by Dennis Bonnette.

wrote later to Fr. Roesch, Roesch referred to Sabin's solution<sup>181</sup> and Pope Paul's remarks at the UN<sup>182</sup> and stated that "birth control was not a theological question."<sup>183</sup> Roesch also justified the discussion at UD by appealing to discussions that had occurred on non-Catholic campuses.<sup>184</sup>

Dombro disagreed "in conscience" with both points made by Roesch but he did not reply during the conversation. Instead, he wrote the memo after the meeting to report on the Philosophy Club meeting and "re-visit" their conversation. Dombro's comments about happenings on Catholic vs. non-Catholic campuses provide insight into his views of the relationship of philosophy to theology and on Catholic higher education:

The position of true Christianity is not pluralistic. There are not many possible Christian philosophies for a Catholic. A Catholic does not have the liberty to chose or to evolve for himself a philosophy which is not subject to the jurisdiction of Catholic theology. Our Christian theology and Christian dogma contain a philosophical structure that is uniquely ONE. And it is the dutiful task of a Catholic institution to see to it that this philosophy is explained thoroughly and unswervingly to its students.<sup>185</sup>

Philosophy and theology are closely linked for Fr. Dombro, indeed for any Thomist. There is no room for variety in philosophical approaches. He believed a Catholic institution had the duty to impart the truth to the student. Fr. Roesch, on the other hand, was comfortable with campus dialogues even though the topics were controversial. He appeared to be saying, "this is what education is all about." Not surprisingly, he allowed the scheduled meeting to occur.

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<sup>181</sup> The author assumes that this reference is to Albert B. Sabin, the developer of the oral live virus polio vaccine who was associated with the University of Cincinnati. In the author's research, however, she could find no indication that Sabin was involved in issues of population growth or birth control. On the other hand, Jonas Salk, the developer of the first vaccine against polio (administered on a sugar cube), was involved in discussions on population problems. Perhaps, Roesch (or Dombro) mistakenly referred to Sabin.

<sup>182</sup> At the UN, Paul VI stated "you must strive to multiply bread so that it suffices for the tables of mankind, and not rather favor an artificial control of birth . . ." (Vatican translation). The UN translation reads: "Your task is to ensure that there is enough bread on the tables of mankind, and not to encourage an artificial birth control, which would be irrational, in order to diminish the number of guests at the banquet of life." [Emphasis added.] The remarks on birth control were criticized as "sectarian." A spokesman for the Vatican later stated that the pope's reference to birth control was not intended to be a "pronouncement." "What Did the Pope Say?," *National Catholic Reporter*, 20 October 1965, 7.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid., 5. Dombro does not indicate in any detail exactly what Roesch's comments were.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid.

Dombro and Roesch had two different views of Catholic education. The reasons for the difference are not easily explained. They were close in age and both had been at the university since the early 1950s. Both earned undergraduate degrees from the University of Dayton and doctoral degrees from Fordham University. Their master's degrees came from Catholic University of America (Roesch) and Fordham (Dombro). The primary difference lies in their academic disciplines. Dombro was a philosopher and an intellectual. Principles mattered to him. Roesch was a psychologist<sup>186</sup> and an administrator, which perhaps gave him a perspective different from Dombro's faculty perspective.

Fr. Dombro's memo provides a comprehensive report. In addition to facts about the meeting, Dombro gave a "cross section" of the discussion, and lists the false ideas presented. He began with the surprising statement that Baltazar did not attend the meeting. Dombro learned later that Baltazar "absented himself" at the request of Chrisman, the club's moderator.<sup>187</sup> In Baltazar's absence, students attempted to explain his viewpoint with discussion following. From this report, one assumes that at least some of the students had read Baltazar's article.

Dombro's "cross section" of the discussion is particularly valuable because it identifies the speakers, including four faculty: Barbic, Bonnette, Chrisman, and Dombro. Bonnette began by recalling Paul VI's statement that "no one should . . . pronounce himself in terms differing from the norm in force." Chrisman reportedly answered that he had authorized the discussion and stated that the group had the "full right to debate it regardless of the Pope's words." He suggested that Bonnette leave the meeting if his conscience did not permit him to enter into the discussion.<sup>188</sup>

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<sup>186</sup> Roesch earned his Ph.D. in 1954. His dissertation topic is "A Study of the Personal Experiences and Attitudes of High School Boys and Girls as Related to their Transfer from a Catholic to a Public Secondary School in the City of New York."

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*, 1. None of the involved parties (Chrisman, Baltazar, and Joseph Quinn, the club president) recalls the specific event nor its circumstances. Chrisman and Baltazar, telephone interviews with the author. Quinn, electronic mail message, 24 June 1999.

<sup>188</sup> Chrisman, "Box 8, Letters to the Editor: Some Corrections," *FN*, 18 November 1966. A newspaper clipping was given to the author by Chrisman.

Barbic then asked Chrisman if he had any theological training. After all, the debate was about whether birth control was a theological or philosophical topic. Baltazar had theological training. Chrisman responded that he had none but that Barbic had theological training. Barbic's response indicated that if Chrisman had theological training, he would understand Bonnette's question about the legitimacy of the discussion.

Dombro recalled that a student suggested that the conditions of poverty and crime in "highly populated slum areas" are a "legitimate reason for enforced birth control." Dombro replied that John XXIII's encyclical, *Mater et Magistra*, addressed "these very sociological and economic aspects of procreation" to which the student replied that encyclicals are "just one man's opinion" and "not infallible." Dombro countered that encyclicals are part of the "infallible magisterium" when they "treat of faith and morals." He referred to *Humani generis* as support that this was not just his interpretation.<sup>189</sup>

At this point, Chrisman ruled the discussion "irrelevant" because popes contradict one another and change the statements of their predecessors. Chrisman continued that "Father knows this too." Dombro reported that the "members of the department and students were shocked at this outburst." Dombro responded to Chrisman by stating that he was "ignorant of a single change or contradiction" in matters of faith and morals.

An unnamed person then asked whether birth control was a matter of personal conscience. Dombro reported that before anyone could answer, the student president abruptly adjourned the meeting, presumably because the meeting was getting out of hand.<sup>190</sup>

Dombro's report to Fr. Roesch lists the following as "frightening facts and flagrant failures in Catholic Marianist education" that occurred during the discussion: 1) the belittling of the

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<sup>189</sup> Dombro, *Ibid.*, 2-3.

<sup>190</sup> Joseph E. Quinn, president of the Philosophy Club in 1965-66, recalls a meeting that got out of hand. He could not offer any further details on the meeting. Joseph Quinn, electronic mail message to the author, 24 June 1999.



popes; 2) the end justifies the means; 3) a situation ethics approach that endorsed relativism; 4) expressions of “pure naturalism” that discarded man’s need for any supernatural order; and 5) “scornfully casting aside as unworthy of a hearing” the Church’s traditional positions in philosophy and theology.<sup>191</sup> Bonnette would later list these points, along with defense of birth control, as evidence of teachings contrary to the magisterium.

Fr. Dombro’s report to Fr. Roesch is valuable for a number of reasons. In the first place, it preserves one version of the discussion so that one is able to examine the arguments and, at the same time, the general tone of the debate. Bonnette, Barbic, and Dombro upheld without question the papal teachings, past and present. Bonnette, in particular, believed the discussion should not even occur. Chrisman, on the other hand, tried to claim space to debate the issue without the oversight of the magisterium. He therefore labeled birth control a philosophical rather than a theological issue.<sup>192</sup> Even beyond this stance, Chrisman did not accept everything the pope said as infallible. In this instance, Chrisman stated his disagreement with the papal teaching on contraception.

Both sides were equally passionate about their beliefs. Dombro showed that the public debate was intense, antagonistic, and, at times, sarcastic. In a letter to the editor of *Flyer News*, student James Wade corroborated Dombro’s view when Wade stated that he went to the meeting hoping to have the “subject aired congenially and objectively” but “this was not the case.”<sup>193</sup>

Dombro’s memo is also valuable because it shows that he tried to resolve the debate through authority. Dombro went to the highest level of the university administration when he was concerned about controversial topics being discussed and taught. Dombro was speaking for other Thomists in the department when he went to Fr. Roesch, and he presumably told them about the results of his conversation. As mentioned above, the memo indicates that Fr. Roesch appeared

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<sup>191</sup> Ibid., 3-4.

<sup>192</sup> Chrisman, telephone interview by the author, 23 May 1999.

<sup>193</sup> James Wade, “Box 8, Letters to the Editor: Debate Dissent,” *FN*, 29 October 1965, 2.

more at ease with controversial discussions occurring on campus. If Roesch was concerned, he gave no indications. Perhaps he hoped that the brewing controversy would work itself out.

In addition to reporting on the Philosophy Club meeting, Fr. Dombro gave Fr. Roesch some “points for [his] sincere meditation”—quotations from the encyclicals *Ecclesiam Suam*<sup>194</sup> and *Divini illius magistri*,<sup>195</sup> the book *Christian Metaphysics*,<sup>196</sup> and the constitutions of the Society of Mary. These quotations deal with being faithful to the Church and the Pope and the meaning of education from the Catholic and Marianist perspectives.

Dombro also recommended some “practical steps” to Fr. Roesch. These recommendations provide insight into the issues Dombro, and presumably others in the department, perceived to be problematic. Dombro first recommended that the Philosophy Club not debate issues the Church asks her members to refrain from discussing. Dombro pointed out his pastoral concern; these discussions were confusing to students. He suggested that the moderator of the club be nominated and elected by members of the department and that the discussion topics be presented to the department for approval “on the basis of the conformity or non-conformity of the topic with the policy of the department committed to a Catholic Marianist education.” Dombro specifically stated that a topic should be avoided if it “could cause a ‘split’ among the members of the department.”<sup>197</sup> He apparently observed that the topics discussed throughout the previous few years increasingly polarized the department. Given the current state in the department, if Dombro’s suggestions on the club moderator and discussion topics were implemented, the Thomists would control the club.

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<sup>194</sup> *Ecclesiam Suam*, Paul VI’s first encyclical issued on 6 August 1964. According to the *HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, the document proposes 1) that “the Church ‘should deepen its consciousness of itself’; 2) that it should be ready to correct its own defects through reform; and 3) that it should be marked by the spirit and practice of dialogue.” *HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, s.v. “*Ecclesiam Suam*.”

<sup>195</sup> Pius XI, *Divini illius magistri* (The Christian Education of Youth), 31 December 1929.

<sup>196</sup> Claude Tresmontant, *Christian Metaphysics* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1965).

<sup>197</sup> Dombro, *Ibid.*, 7.

Since the discussions of controversial topics continued and John Chrisman remained the moderator of the club, an assumption can be made that Fr. Roesch did not take direct action in response to Fr. Dombro's "practical steps." Nor was direct action needed on the part of the president. Dombro's suggestions were internal to the department of philosophy so, in theory, the department could implement them. As the "Heresy Affair" unfolded, members of the department took steps to do just that.

Finally, Fr. Dombro concluded his memo to Fr. Roesch by reminding the president of his address to the faculty less than two months prior to the memo. At that time, Roesch stated that the University of Dayton was a Catholic, Marianist university. Dombro again quoted several paragraphs from *Ecclesiam Suam* that refer to the dangers of reform, particularly in conforming to the secular world. Dombro noted that it takes courage to follow the Church "regardless of the 'public image'" but Roesch needed to do so if he wanted the University of Dayton to be "an outstanding Catholic Marianist university."

The tensions in the philosophy department may also mirror tensions between Dombro and Roesch. For Fr. Dombro and his supporters within the department, the central issue is concerned with obedience to ecclesial authority. They adopt the approach promulgated at Vatican I when the doctrinal authority of the Church was centralized in the papacy. Throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, this authority was exercised in a series of condemnations of errors. Fr. Roesch, on the other hand, did not publicly intervene in the controversy within the philosophy department nor did he interfere with discussions of controversial issues. It is impossible to determine precisely why Fr. Roesch took the hands-off approach. Perhaps he really was comfortable with controversial discussions occurring on campus. Perhaps he tried to handle the situation internally. Perhaps his view of authority within the educational process differed from Fr. Dombro's. Perhaps he hoped the situation would go away if he ignored it. Perhaps he personally disliked the Thomists. Whatever his reasons, Roesch provided little assistance in ending the conflicts.

Winter term 1966 began with Dr. Harkenrider appointed acting chair while Dr. Baker went on sabbatical to the University of Texas at Austin. In Texas, Dr. Baker worked with Dr. John Silber<sup>198</sup> for the purpose of gaining a perspective on modern philosophical trends.<sup>199</sup> Silber was known for giving a “place of honor to scholastic philosophy in a state university.”<sup>200</sup> Since Baker’s background was strictly Thomistic, the administration felt that experience in modern philosophies would enable him to provide leadership as the department underwent change.<sup>201</sup>

In early 1966, as mainstream America talked about Joseph Fletcher’s controversial book *Situation Ethics: The New Morality*, faculty and students at the University of Dayton also talked about situation ethics and related aspects of love and sexuality. For example, the Religion in Life Series presented a panel discussion on “Love Between Man and Woman: Contemporary Views” on 15 February 1966. John Chrisman served as moderator of the panel, which included Randolph Lumpp discussing the “historical development” of love “from ancient times until the present.”<sup>202</sup> The annual St. Thomas Aquinas Day Honors Convocation on 9 March 1966 included a speech entitled “Contemporary Thoughts and Situation Ethics” by Dr. Vernon J. Bourke, a philosophy professor from St. Louis University and noted authority on Thomas Aquinas.<sup>203</sup>

The Religious Activities Committee sponsored a lecture on situation ethics in March 1966 with Eulalio Baltazar and John Chrisman as presenters. Although no public record of this event has been located, some particulars can be extracted from letters to university president, Fr. Raymond A. Roesch, by Bonnette, Baltazar, and Chrisman. Bonnette’s letter, written on 28

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<sup>198</sup> At the time Silber was the chairperson of the department of philosophy. He later became the Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Texas at Austin. In 1971, Silber was appointed the seventh president of Boston University, and in 1996 he became chancellor. “John Silber,” in *Boston University, Philosophy Department, Faculty*; available from <http://www.bu.edu/philo/faculty/silber.html>; Internet; accessed 7 July 1999.

<sup>199</sup> Administrative Council minutes, 16 March 1965, 3. UDA, Series 87-3, Box 3.

<sup>200</sup> Thomas Stanley, S.M., telephone interview with the author, 10 April 1999.

<sup>201</sup> Administrative Council minutes, *ibid*.

<sup>202</sup> UD Press Release, 9 February 1966, 1, AUD, Series 7J(A2).

<sup>203</sup> “Dr. Bourke Speaks At Assembly,” *FN*, 11 March 1966, 4.

October 1966, listed himself and fellow philosophy faculty members Barbic, Cartagena, and Fr. Francis Langhirt, S.M. among other attendees. His letter stated that

Baltazar eloquently defended situation ethics in precisely that form which has been condemned by the Holy Father. Both [Baltazar and Chrisman] insisted that their form of situation ethics was not the target of the condemnation since their's [sic] was "Christian" in that it was "Theistic," rather than "Atheistic." . . . [Dr. Baltazar] also said, "If the Church does not take a positive attitude toward situation ethics, then she will fail to influence modern morality (or man?) [sic]."<sup>204</sup>

Baltazar, in his undated response to Fr. Roesch, stated that he could not answer this accusation because Bonnette did not define the "condemned" situation ethics nor did Bonnette show how Baltazar's ethics was the same as the condemned ethics. Baltazar clarified that

. . . I expressly stated in my talk that the situation ethics I accept is that based on the interpersonal encounter between Yahweh and Israel and between Christ and His Church. This view is not new. It is the view of Father Bernard Häring, Herbert McCabe, O.P., Schillebeeckx, [sic] etc. and more recently expressed by Father Charles Curran of Catholic University when he stated that the experience of the Christian people is the norm of morality. Thus, an objective norm of morality is not denied.<sup>205</sup>

Regarding Bonnette's objection to Baltazar's statement about the Church's influence on morality, Baltazar suggested that Bonnette read any current works on moral theology and Christian ethics and he will see that "the orientation of Christian renewal in moral theology is towards an emphasis of the situation and of the subjective dimension of morality."<sup>206</sup>

Bonnette's accusation against Chrisman claimed that Chrisman publicly endorsed all that Baltazar had said and then "proceed[ed] to insist that, 'Man must lovingly create. I don't mean that man discovers the moral law, he creates it. That is, based on my metaphysics.'" Bonnette said that Chrisman then defined and defended the following definition of situation ethics: "Man has no right to hide under *a priori* and abstract decisions handed down from extrinsic authorities, e.g., (and he points to the words 'self-mutilation' and 'abortion' written on the blackboard)."

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<sup>204</sup> Bonnette, letter to Fr. Raymond A. Roesch, 28 October 1966, 1-2.

<sup>205</sup> Baltazar, 6-7.

<sup>206</sup> Ibid., 7.

Chrisman then used the example of Sherri Finkbine (who went to Sweden for an abortion rather than give birth to a deformed baby) as a morally justified abortion.<sup>207</sup> Chrisman described Mrs. Finkbine's baby as "a jelly bean with eyes," a crude description which to this day he regrets using.<sup>208</sup>

Chrisman's response to Bonnette's charges stressed correctly that "situation ethics is a label attached to a broad range of ethical positions." He then listed Catholic scholars, mostly at Toronto, and their varying interpretations of "situation." Chrisman also quoted a *National Catholic Reporter* interview where Charles Curran called for the "Church to stop handing down *a priori* decrees and to start listening to the whole Church so that Christians will have to rely more on their own decisions while the magisterium will 'always be a little bit behind the times.'<sup>209</sup>

After listing these positions, Chrisman used a quotation from his lecture notes to explain his own situation ethics:

If situation ethics meant that there is no right and wrong, that in fact there is no morality, then I would be against it. But if it means that man must lovingly create the right action according to the requirements of the total situation, and that man has no right to evade self-responsibility by hiding under *a priori* and abstract decisions handed down from an extrinsic authority, then I see nothing unChristian about it.<sup>210</sup>

Chrisman stated that he did not advocate abortion because "to advocate an abstraction is as irrelevant as to condemn an abstraction." He used Mrs. Finkbine's "situation to exemplify the agony faced by a moral agent who must choose" and noted that "no person not in her position could condemn her."<sup>211</sup>

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<sup>207</sup> Bonnette, 2.

<sup>208</sup> Chrisman, telephone interview by the author, 25 January 1999. At least one woman student was upset because she interpreted the "jellybean" description to be Chrisman's view of all fetuses. Since the expression was misinterpreted, Chrisman says now that it was not a good expression. At the time, Chrisman was trying to make a "strong case" for abortion to be a woman's right. Chrisman, telephone interview by the author, 21 June 1999.

<sup>209</sup> *National Catholic Reporter*, 21 September 1966, quoted in John Chrisman, letter to Fr. Raymond A. Roesch, undated, 5.

<sup>210</sup> Chrisman, letter to Fr. Raymond A. Roesch, undated, 6.

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.*

Chrisman also stated that he “stressed the communal and cultural character of our developing morality” in his lecture “as opposed to an individualistic and subjective origin” of morality. He “emphasized the requirement of considering the total situation rather than merely picking out the aspects one wished to emphasize.” He also dwelt on the “difficulty encountered in finding an adequate criterion of morality.” Chrisman concluded his letter to Fr. Roesch by stating that Dr. Baltazar and he were “philosophizing about a crucial human problem.”<sup>212</sup>

This event was critical in the on-going development of the “Heresy Affair.” After the previous lectures questioning Thomism and the Church’s teachings on contraception, Baltazar and Chrisman now appeared to be directly attacking the Church’s foundational principles on moral issues. In the wake of the situation ethics lecture and knowing that the department was moving to “greater freedom [in] teaching techniques within the curriculum,” Bonnette drafted a “Statement of Departmental Conviction,”<sup>213</sup> which he distributed to the philosophy faculty on 21 March 1966. He stated his intention to move to adopt the proposal at the 25 March 1966 departmental meeting.

Bonnette’s statement begins by quoting Paul VI in his September 1965 address to the Sixth International Thomistic Congress. The pontiff noted the role of the philosopher in the modern world and warned against the two extremes, atheism and fideism. Paul VI also reiterated the importance of St. Thomas. The draft then states that since the Department of Philosophy is moving to “greater freedom in teaching techniques,” the Department “wishes to express the nature of its philosophical commitment . . . so that no one will misinterpret our convictions.”<sup>214</sup> Although the definition of the term “no one” was not clarified, the linkage with “teaching

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<sup>212</sup> Ibid.

<sup>213</sup> Bonnette does not recall how the idea of a statement materialized, but it was not unique to Dayton’s philosophy department. Leslie Dewart recalls that prior to Vatican II, the philosophy department at the University of Toronto tried to get its faculty to “sign a document ‘clarifying’ the position of Catholic philosophers in Catholic institutions towards Thomism.” Dewart and two others resisted and the eventual outcome was a draw. Leslie Dewart, electronic mail message to the author, 16 June 1999, 3.

<sup>214</sup> Bonnette, “A Statement of Departmental Conviction,” 21 March, 1966, 1. A copy of the statement was given to the author by Baltazar.

techniques” implied that students were the intended audience. The audience, however, could possibly include parents, the administration, other faculty, or the Church hierarchy. There could conceivably be other uses for a statement of conviction, i.e., bringing wayward faculty into line if they transgressed official policy.

Anticipating an objection that a statement of conviction hinders pursuit of truth, Bonnette quoted Paul VI and the Second Vatican Council’s “Declaration on Christian Education” on the value of Thomas. Bonnette was careful to point out Paul VI’s statement that the Church’s use of Thomistic philosophy did not preclude “interest in the positive contributions of the great minds of all ages.”<sup>215</sup> In the same statement, Paul VI quoted Pius XII saying the Church accorded “preference and not exclusivity” to Thomas.<sup>216</sup> While Bonnette included these references in the draft, his actions—as evidenced by the fact that five of the six individual convictions were Thomistic—indicate his unwillingness to include philosophies other than Thomism. The statement reads:

As a department of the faculty of a Catholic institution . . . and acting in virtue of a rational evaluation of the foregoing illuminating statements of the Church, the Department of Philosophy of the University of Dayton emphatically rejects the errors of atheism and fideism, and positively asserts its commitment to the following philosophical convictions:

1. We hold that the existence of God can be known through the proper exercise of unaided human reason.
2. We hold that far from being mutually contradictory, faith and reason are, in reality, complementary to one another.
3. We hold that the extramental world has an intelligible structure which, in its broadest outlines, can be grasped with objective certitude by the human mind.
4. We hold that the abiding formal elements of a dynamic reality can be validly described through the analogous application of the primary principles of a realistic metaphysics.
5. We hold that an outstanding example of a philosophy consonant with the “preambles of faith” is to be found in the writings of St. Thomas Aquinas.
6. We hold that any philosophy, to the extent that it is compatible with the above stated principles, and makes a positive contribution to man’s

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<sup>215</sup> Bonnette, *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>216</sup> *Ibid.*, 3. The Pius XII quotation is from “Allocution to the Gregorian University,” Discourse XV, 409-410.



understanding of himself in his relation to the world and to God, is to be welcomed and its development is to be encouraged.<sup>217</sup>

Bonnette's choice of wording no doubt irritated some of his fellow faculty. For example, the papal documents were most likely not "illuminating" to all. Even if one agreed with the papal statements, how does one do a "rational" evaluation? What was Bonnette's definition of fideism? In point 3, what is "objective" certitude? Points 4 and 5 were unacceptable to Baltazar, and, therefore point 6 must be rejected.<sup>218</sup> Clearly, Bonnette knew he would meet with opposition to these convictions.

Bonnette's final page of the statement called for a roll call vote, and included a caveat that passage of the resolution constituted "a formal request by the members that this document be promulgated in such manner that a copy of it shall, henceforth, be placed in the hands of every student enrolled in a philosophy course at the University of Dayton."<sup>219</sup> The wording concerning promulgation indicates that the intended audience of the statement was students, the document was intended to be public, and therefore, faculty would be held accountable.

The department met on 25 March 1966. The minutes of this meeting are an important part of the historical record for several reasons. In the first instance, they record the discussion of the statement of departmental convictions. Secondly, the minutes are evidence of tensions that existed within the department. Thirdly, through the minutes, an insight is gained into the personalities of several faculty members.

As expected, Bonnette made the motion to adopt the proposal, and it was seconded by Daniel Hoy. In the discussion that followed, Chrisman objected on the grounds that he had insufficient time to consider the proposal. He questioned Bonnette on the "purpose and intent" of

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<sup>217</sup> Ibid.

<sup>218</sup> My thanks to Dr. Baltazar for sharing his notes and written comments on Bonnette's "Statement of Departmental Convictions."

<sup>219</sup> Bonnette, Ibid., 4.

the proposal. Bonnette replied that the purpose and intent were “fully disclosed in the two page preamble.” Chrisman “countered” that the preamble was ambiguous and unsatisfactory.<sup>220</sup>

Baltazar suggested that any proposal on the “purposes and goals” of the department should have “emanated” from the departmental Purposes and Goals Committee. Bonnette countered that since the committee “had not been able to meet this year,”<sup>221</sup> it was proper to bring the proposal to the whole department, which was ultimately necessary “regardless of its place of origin.”<sup>222</sup> The objections of Chrisman and Baltazar appear to be delaying tactics. Assuming the minutes are descriptive and accurate, Bonnette’s curt responses indicate his exasperation with both Chrisman and Baltazar.

Since the addition of the caveat complicated the vote, Bonnette proposed an amendment to his original proposal. The amendment called for a roll call vote on the statement with the meaning of the vote being approval or disapproval of the principles involved. Abstention from voting was also an acceptable option. In other words, Bonnette eliminated from the vote the promulgation aspect of the statement. Bonnette’s amendment was seconded and passed.

At this point Chrisman inquired if the secretary (Seman) was “carefully” recording the discussion and an “exact count” of the votes. Seman retorted that “he was recording the present discussion with the same degree of thoroughness (or lack thereof) as he has used regarding all previous meetings and asked whether his previous efforts had met with Mr. Chrisman’s approval.”<sup>223</sup> No response by Chrisman was recorded. Again, this exchange is an indication of tension in the department.

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<sup>220</sup> Department of Philosophy Faculty Meeting Minutes, 25 March, 1966, 3. AUD, Series 20QI(3), Box 1, Folder 1.

<sup>221</sup> No reason is given for the Purposes and Goals Committee not meeting. The wording of the minutes, however, suggests some reason other than not having any items of business.

<sup>222</sup> Department of Philosophy Faculty Meeting Minutes, 25 March, 1966, 3. AUD, Series 20QI(3), Box 1, Folder 1.

<sup>223</sup> Ibid.

As the discussion returned to the issue at hand, Chrisman “conceded that the overall intent” was “definitely NOT to force Thomism on all the members of the department.” He objected, however, that students might think this was the case. Hoy disagreed and stated that he interpreted the document as a statement of minimal propositions that all agreed upon.<sup>224</sup>

Casaletto stated that “he [did] not recognize the authority of any encyclical governing or determining his philosophy.” Seman responded by questioning “whether, in the light of our Catholic faith, we could be entirely ‘free’ in our approach to philosophy.” To Seman, “certain truths of Christianity” such as the “existence of God, the divinity and historicity of Christ, and the infallibility of the Church,” must be accepted. Debates on these matters were “academic questions” and not “valid questions open to unrestricted philosophical scrutiny.”<sup>225</sup>

Dombro apparently anticipated that the discussion would involve adherence to Church teachings and that *Humani generis* would be needed. He entered the discussion by reading a passage from *Humani generis* which stated that the ordinary magisterium of the Church was exercised in encyclicals. The minutes record that Dombro concluded “in the light of this passage” that “teaching as a Catholic [sic] and in a CATHOLIC [sic] school necessarily demands a commitment to Catholicism.”<sup>226</sup> In other words, Casaletto as a Catholic teaching in a Catholic school must accept the authority of the encyclicals as issued.

At this point in the discussion, Hoy moved that the consideration of Bonnette’s six points be postponed until a later date. Bonnette objected by pointing out that the proposal called for a vote at this meeting. [Emphasis added.] Bonnette’s reaction shows the extent to which he was determined to push the statement of philosophical convictions through the department. Not surprisingly, the vote to postpone the discussion resulted in a split department—six yea and six

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<sup>224</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>225</sup> Ibid.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid.

nay.<sup>227</sup> Evidently the discussion was postponed because the minutes record the next action as a motion for adjournment which passed after unrecorded discussion.<sup>228</sup>

The next meeting called for the purpose of discussing the proposal<sup>229</sup> was scheduled for a week and a half later. One day prior to the meeting, Baltazar gave a letter entitled “Concerning the Statement of Departmental Conviction” to Harkenrider and distributed copies to the faculty. Baltazar began by indicating that the apparent purpose of the statement is to make sure students do not get the “wrong impression” that “one philosophy is just as good as another.”<sup>230</sup> Baltazar opposed the statement on the grounds that students will not “mistake ecumenism for relativism.” He pointed out that the real danger is in students rebelling against an imposed philosophy and against the department. Baltazar suggested that students be told that the department is “going to be ecumenical” and that the attitude is one of “dialogue and aggiornamento.” He noted the importance of showing that a

spirit of dialogue exists among members of the department, that plurality is not necessarily a split but the sign of health, that inspite [sic] of differences of opinion and philosophic views, we are able to respect one another without denouncing, villifying, and condemning one another in our respective classes—acts which are totally unprofessional and against the declaration of the Vatican Council on religious liberty and freedom of conscience.<sup>231</sup>

Baltazar’s stated opposition to the document is of an entirely different nature than previously when he objected to the process in which the document was presented. In this letter, Baltazar disagreed with the purpose of the document, and ultimately relayed his vision for the department: dialogue and respect for one another in the midst of philosophical pluralism. Baltazar called for faculty on both sides to refrain from “denouncing, villifying, and condemning one another.”

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<sup>227</sup> Ibid.

<sup>228</sup> Ibid.

<sup>229</sup> A faculty meeting was held on 31 March 1966 for the purpose of reviewing curriculum changes. Philosophy Faculty Meeting Minutes, Ibid., 31 March 1966, 2.

<sup>230</sup> Baltazar, “Concerning the Statement of Departmental Conviction,” undated, 1. A copy of this document was given to the author by Baltazar.

<sup>231</sup> Baltazar, Ibid.

Baltazar noted that this behavior is unprofessional.<sup>232</sup> In hindsight, the Thomists should have heeded Baltazar's warning. As the "Heresy Affair" unfolded, they publicly denounced Baltazar et al., for incompetence and, in return, were censured by the faculty forum for unprofessional conduct.

In his letter, Baltazar quoted Marianist Fr. Maurice Villain as a supporter of ecumenism. Baltazar also noted the recent positive experiences of DePaul's Philosophical Horizons Program.<sup>233</sup> He concluded that Bonnette's proposal was "sadly behind the times" and suggested a "more timely" statement of conviction:

1. The spirit of *aggiornamento* and ecumenism motivates the department.
2. In conformity with the declaration on religious liberty the department safeguards freedom of speech, intellectual and scientific research as long as these are done responsibly.
3. The department holds that religious liberty is founded on the very nature of the human person, therefore we affirm the right of the person to immunity from coercion, indoctrination in religious and philosophic matters.
4. The department assures the freedom of conscience of all students and difference in philosophic and religious matters be not the basis for grading or passing a student.

By stating that Bonnette's convictions were "behind the times" and his own were "more timely," Baltazar immediately cast Bonnette's statement in a negative light. Baltazar then focused on individual freedoms thus implying that Bonnette's convictions limited freedom. Baltazar obviously based his list on the Second Vatican Council's document on religious liberty. Baltazar, however, misreads the document. The Declaration on Religious Freedom deals with the rights of the Church and of individuals to be free from government interference and coercion in matters of faith. The document does not guarantee liberty within the Catholic context. Perhaps Baltazar also read *Pacem in Terris* ¶12<sup>234</sup> which may lead one to think that freedom of speech is

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<sup>232</sup> It is interesting that Baltazar did not use "unChristian."

<sup>233</sup> See Chapter I for an explanation of the Philosophical Horizons Program.

<sup>234</sup> Paragraph 12 reads in part: ". . . man has . . . a right to freedom in investigating the truth, and—within the limits of moral order and the common good—to freedom of speech and publication . . . ." *Pacem in Terris*, 11 April 1963, available from [http://www.vatican.va/holy\\_father/john\\_xxiii/encyc.../hf\\_j-xxiii\\_enc\\_11041963\\_pacem\\_en.htm](http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_xxiii/encyc.../hf_j-xxiii_enc_11041963_pacem_en.htm); Internet; accessed 22 July 1999.

guaranteed. Finally, Baltazar's statement of conviction provides no indication that the convictions are Catholic or even Christian. The list reads like a bill of rights rather than philosophical convictions in a Catholic university. Perhaps, the statement expresses Baltazar's feelings in the minority position within the department.

When the departmental meeting began,<sup>235</sup> Harkenrider, as acting department chair, read his own statement on Bonnette's proposal, noting that its context caused him "a great deal of anxiety." Harkenrider stated that he anticipated "strong opposition" to the proposal from within the department. After the previous meeting, faculty from other departments, administrators, and students questioned him about the need for this statement. Baltazar's letter described above also made Harkenrider consider the impact of such a statement on the relations between Catholics and others. Harkenrider pondered whether it was prudent to pass the proposal at that time. A rift already existed in the department; would passing the proposal make it wider? Would passage of the proposal give the impression that only Thomism is to be taught? Would passage of the document "undermine the spirit of charity"?<sup>236</sup>

Harkenrider continued that he did not solicit the proposal nor did he know of its formulation until ten faculty members submitted it with their signatures attached. He indicated that he had prayed over what to do and decided that since a large majority had requested consideration of the proposal, it should be brought before the department. Harkenrider then laid out the procedure for the remainder of the meeting: ten minutes of discussion on the introductory paragraph and ten minutes on each of the individual numbered points of the proposal. A vote would be taken on each item.

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<sup>235</sup> Chrisman did not attend this meeting. The minutes record that he was excused. No reason is given. Others not in attendance but considered eligible to vote: Elbert, Murray, and Rhodes. Department of Philosophy Faculty Meeting Minutes, April 5, 1966, 1, AUD, Series 20QI(3), Box 1, Folder 1.

<sup>236</sup> Ibid., Appendix I, 1.

Before reviewing the discussion, note that in the interval between meetings, Bonnette and his supporters slightly revised the original proposal. They removed the two-page preamble and dropped the objectionable wording, “foregoing illuminating,” from the paragraph preceding the numbered points. At first glance, these deletions seem to be an improvement. However, the revised opening paragraph now includes “rational evaluation” of all the statements of the Church rather than only those listed in the preamble. The revision also includes the addition of “relativism” to the rejected errors of atheism and fideism, and an additional numbered point:

We hold that, based upon the firm foundation of man’s common nature, a general science direction of moral conduct can be derived; we reject any ethical system which implies complete moral relativism, such as certain forms of “situation ethics.”<sup>237</sup>

The remainder of the points remained the same.

The minutes of the 5 April 1966 meeting record much discussion. Of particular concern was the meaning of fideism. Eventually, the faculty voted in favor of (11 to 4) changing the word “reject” to “does not accept” fideism. At this point, Baltazar interjected that it was pointless to continue the discussion. Even if he endorsed each point individually, he would vote against the entire proposal because he felt it was “contrary to the spirit of aggiornamento and renewal urged by Vatican II.” Dieska agreed with the concept of a vote on the entire proposal. Seman countered that perhaps by voting on individual items, a statement acceptable to all might be crafted.

Finally, Kunkel stated the obvious—any further discussion was pointless because there was an 11 to 4 split. The majority would always win. Kunkel reminded the faculty that the same thing happened the previous year when the “conservative majority” voted for logic to be included in the introductory course even though all those teaching the course objected. Kunkel noted that

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<sup>237</sup> Ibid., Appendix II, 1.

this was an example of why the “liberal minority” felt discriminated against. He wondered why the minority were not included in the original attempt to formulate the proposal. The discussion returned to Baltazar’s original point at the previous meeting—the origination process was flawed.

Since the development of the proposal appeared to be the issue, Bonnette acknowledged that he authored the document and then asked others for comments. Those he consulted<sup>238</sup> agreed with the contents of the proposal and with his intention of presenting it to the department. Harkenrider then suggested that a committee be formed to develop a statement acceptable to all. Dieska objected because a proposal was already being considered. Bonnette then moved “the previous question”; a vote was taken; and the issue passed 8-6. Since there were four faculty absent, their votes were solicited after the meeting with the final result of 11 yea, 7 nay. The minutes are not clear about what passed but it appears that the “previous question” Bonnette referred to was his proposal already under consideration.<sup>239</sup>

Cartagenova, one of the “aye” votes, tried to end the meeting on a positive note by proposing that each faculty member try to understand the views of the others. He also denounced unprofessional conduct such as “spreading rumors” that Thomism is being forced on the department.<sup>240</sup> His example proved to be a poor one. Casaletto immediately remarked that the proposal seemed to be forcing Thomism. After a few volleying shots, Dieska made the final recorded remarks when he affirmed “his adherence to Thomism stressing that it was precisely in this capacity that he was originally hired. Dieska continued that in a [recent] private conversation

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<sup>238</sup> If Bonnette named those he consulted, the minutes do not record their names.

<sup>239</sup> If the vote was to form a committee, there is no record of a committee being formed. There is also no record of a later vote on the full proposal. The fact that the votes of those not in attendance were solicited indicates that the item being voted on was important. It is logical, therefore, to assume that the issue was Bonnette’s proposal.

<sup>240</sup> Minutes, *Ibid.*, 4.



. . . Fr. Stanley, [the] former provost of the University, had stated his wish that the philosophy department would be committed to Thomism and would openly reaffirm this conviction.<sup>241</sup>

In looking back, Harkenrider's concerns became reality: the creation of a wider rift, the impression that Thomism is the only philosophy, and the undermining of charity. The exchange appears to have been very blunt. Both sides stated their beliefs. Baltazar and Cartagenova addressed unprofessional conduct. The non-Thomists expressed their frustrations with majority rule. In the end, however, neither side was willing to concede. Baltazar refused to discuss individual items which led to discussion of the concept of the proposal. Dieska later rejected the opportunity for compromise proposed by Harkenrider. Ultimately, the majority ruled and the Department of Philosophy had a Statement of Departmental Conviction. The statement, however, was simply paper. In essence, the department's conviction was "we agree to disagree." It was business as usual.

The discussions of controversial issues were not limited to departmental meetings or lectures during the academic year. On the evening of 7 June 1966, the Union Activities Organization experimented with a unique program on the topic "God is Dead."<sup>242</sup> If there ever was an event truly symbolic of the 1960s, this was it. Faculty members, including John Chrisman and Dennis Bonnette, participated in discussions that were interspersed with folk singing and poetry reading.

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<sup>241</sup> Ibid. Fr. Stanley does not recall this specific conversation with Dieska. Stanley states that he was trained in Thomism and has great regard for it. He also believes that Thomism can "hold its own in any dialogue" and that it has "lasting value." In the 1960s, Stanley believed that Thomism should be taught at a Catholic university but "not exclusively." Stanley, telephone conversation with the author, 7 July 1999.

<sup>242</sup> The theme listed in the press release was the "Missing Link" since answers to difficult questions were sought during the discussions. Press Release, University of Dayton Public Relations Department, 3 June 1966, AUD, Series 7J(A2). The *Dayton Daily News* reporter stated, however, that the programs were called "Missing Link" because they were "aimed at bridging the communication gap between instructors and students." Julie Leader, "Bury Tyrant Idea of God.," *Dayton Daily News*, 8 June 1966. A newspaper clipping was given to the author by Chrisman.

The event was held on the roof terrace of the student union with beverages and “peanuts in the shell” served as refreshments.<sup>243</sup> More than 200 students and faculty attended.

During the discussion, Chrisman denounced the “tyrant concept of God” even if God is a “benevolent tyrant.” Richard Otto, an instructor in theological studies, noted that the existence of evil causes some to conclude that God is dead. According to the *Dayton Daily News*, Bonnette suggested that it was “man—not God—who was dead.” Bonnette thought the discussion was helpful because it raised the question of proving God’s existence.<sup>244</sup>

The day after the discussion, Bonnette publicly challenged Chrisman to a timed debate<sup>245</sup> on the conception of God held by Chrisman “as opposed to the ‘traditional view’ which [Chrisman] opposed” and “ridiculed.” Bonnette “demanded” that Chrisman “assert the position” he held rather than give “negative remarks” on that which he opposed. The challenge was in the form of a letter distributed to faculty and students. Chrisman recalls that he toyed with the idea of debating Bonnette. However, since Chrisman’s ideas about God deviated from traditional Catholic teaching, he realized it could be a problem if he debated Bonnette. Upon the advice of faculty leader and friend, Rocco Donatelli—who suggested that this contest was not one Chrisman should get into—Chrisman simply ignored Bonnette’s challenge.<sup>246</sup>

Although it was apparent in the Missing Link discussion that Chrisman’s views about God were not traditional, he made an additional remark during the program that proved to be even more problematic. Bonnette reports that someone asked Chrisman about his position on heaven, hell, purgatory, and the immortality of the soul. Chrisman refrained from commenting on heaven, hell, and immortality but stated that he did not believe in purgatory.

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<sup>243</sup> UD Press Release, University of Dayton Public Relations Department, 3 June 1966, AUD, Series 7J(A2).

<sup>244</sup> Julie Leader, “Bury Tyrant Idea of God.,” *Dayton Daily News*, 8 June 1966. A newspaper clipping was given to the author by Chrisman.

<sup>245</sup> Bonnette allowed Chrisman to speak first and last and choose the referee. Bonnette, letter to Chrisman, 9 June 1966, 1. A copy of the letter is in the possession of the author.

<sup>246</sup> Chrisman, telephone interview by the author, 25 January 1999.

The issue of purgatory was problematical because Bonnette stated that purgatory was a dogma<sup>247</sup> of the Catholic Church. The issue of whether it was or was not a dogma then had to be sorted out.<sup>248</sup> Denouncing a dogma is a more serious matter than denouncing a less central issue of the faith. For a Catholic to denounce a dogma is a matter that could be heretical. Therefore, Chrisman elevated the conflict to another level when he stated that he did not believe in purgatory.

Word of Chrisman's denial of purgatory reached the provost's office the next day. The provost, Fr. Charles J. Lees, S.M., wrote to Chrisman and asked him to discuss the matter.<sup>249</sup> At that discussion, Chrisman defended himself by saying he meant to deny the "notion of fire" in purgatory. The provost evidently was satisfied with the explanation because no disciplinary action resulted from the discussion.

Chrisman held to the "notion of fire" defense throughout the investigations by the university and the archbishop. Only now, does he admit that the statement he gave was not the complete truth—in reality, he questioned whether purgatory existed at all.<sup>250</sup>

After the "God is Dead" program, Bonnette and his supporters discussed what to do about the situation. The statements against Church teachings and the lack of respect toward the leadership of the Church became more blatant with each presentation. Bonnette recalls that he met with the provost, Fr. Lees, about the false teachings and Lees suggested consulting several well-known theologians and eliciting their advice.<sup>251</sup> Bonnette wrote letters to Rev. John

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<sup>247</sup> "A doctrine is an official teaching of the Church. A doctrine that is taught definitively, that is, infallibly, is called a dogma. Every dogma is a doctrine but not every doctrine is a dogma." *The HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, s.v. "Doctrine" by Richard P. McBrien. Bonnette labeled purgatory a dogma in his letter to Roesch, 28 October 1966, 3.

<sup>248</sup> Purgatory was doctrinally defined in an official letter (*sub catholicae*) dated 6 March 1254 from Pope Innocent IV to his legate to the Greeks on Cyprus. Purgatory was later affirmed at the Second Council of Lyons (1274) and the councils of Florence (1439), Trent (1563), and Vatican II (1965). *The HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, s.v. "Purgatory" by Joseph A. Dinioia.

<sup>249</sup> Rev. Charles J. Lees, S.M., letter to John Chrisman, 23 June 1966. A copy of the letter was given to the author by Chrisman.

<sup>250</sup> Chrisman, telephone interview by the author, 25 January 1999.

<sup>251</sup> Bonnette, electronic mail message to the author, 13 May 1999.

Courtney Murray, S.J.<sup>252</sup> on 28 June 1966, and to Rev. Joseph Gallen, S.J.<sup>253</sup> on 14 July 1966. He personally consulted French Mariologist Rev. Rene Laurentin<sup>254</sup> when Laurentin was on the Dayton campus for a summer program. Paul Seman visited Rev. Francis J. Connell, C.Ss.R. in Washington, DC and then wrote a follow-up letter on 21 July 1966.

While the particulars of the letters vary, the substance remains essentially the same: a “hypothetical” moral case is explored. A specific example of the question follows

What is the moral responsibility of an American Catholic university administrator who has in his charge a Catholic teacher of philosophy who participates in public talks and discussions held on campus before students, faculty, and others and insists that his views, as given below, represent the positions that the Church either now holds or ought to hold in the future.

The views listed in the letters included defense of situation ethics, moral justification of abortion, disbelief in purgatory, belittlement of papal statements, and denial of the traditional concept of God. The letters closed with a request for general guidelines for administrative action regarding this type of problem.<sup>255</sup>

Although a copy of the letter sent to John Courtney Murray no longer exists, Murray’s response indicates that it was similar in content to the other letters. Written on the letterhead of the John LaFarge Institute in New York City on 30 August 1966, Murray responded

Do forgive my long delay in answering your letter of June 28<sup>th</sup>. Even at the moment I am afraid that I hardly know what to say about your “hypothetical” moral case. Your professor of philosophy does indeed seem to entertain some strange ideas. However, all the subjects mentioned in your letter are being

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<sup>252</sup> John Courtney Murray, S.J. was a professor of theology at Woodstock College in Woodstock, MD. He edited *Theological Studies* and contributed to *Thought*. He was one of the chief writers of the Second Vatican Council’s Declaration on Religious Freedom. Murray died on 16 August 1967. “John Courtney Murray,” *Gale Literary Databases, Contemporary Authors* [database-on-line]; available from <http://www.galenet.com/servlet/LRC...d&n=10&l=d&NA=murray+john+courtney>; Internet; accessed 28 May 1999.

<sup>253</sup> Joseph Gallen, S.J. was a professor of canon law at Woodstock College in Woodstock, MD. Gonzalo Cartagenova, an instructor in philosophy at the University of Dayton, was a former student of Gallen’s. Gallen also wrote the column “Questions and Answers” for the periodical *Review for Religious*.

<sup>254</sup> At the time, Fr. Laurentin was professor of Catholic University, Angers, France. He is a renowned Mariologist and was a *peritus* at the Second Vatican Council. He was instrumental in forming the final chapter of *Lumen gentium*. Brochure from Religion in Life 1966 Summer Lecture Series, AUD, Series 7JD, Box 23, Folder 6, “Religion in Life.”

<sup>255</sup> Copies of the letters from Dennis Bonnette to Joseph Gallen, S.J., 14 July 1966, and from Paul I. Seman to Francis J. Connell, C.Ss.R., 21 July 1966 were given to the author by Bonnette.

discussed actively today and might indeed be called controversial in some sense. I should hesitate to say anything about his position unless it were more adequately described. It is always perilous to judge a man on such a brief account.

I fear this will not be useful to you and I am sorry. But it is about the best that I can do.<sup>256</sup>

Murray's response is obviously cautious. This response is understandable in light of his own earlier difficulties with the Church hierarchy. Perhaps Murray was getting many requests for "expert" advice, following the adoption of his Declaration on Religious Liberty at the Second Vatican Council on 7 December 1965 and, therefore, graciously declined many of them. Nevertheless, since it was obvious that the example was not a hypothetical case, it is disappointing that Murray did not offer some advice.

There is no record of a response by Gallen nor does Bonnette recall how Laurentin responded. Laurentin does not recall being asked about the controversy.<sup>257</sup> Connell responded in writing and in a column in the *American Ecclesiastical Review*. In his letter, dated 25 July 1966, he states emphatically that any professor of philosophy in a Catholic university who proposes or defends such "doctrines" as described, should not be permitted to teach. Having such a person on the faculty is a "scandal." Connell is using "scandal" in its technical sense, i.e., the faculty member is a stumbling block to the faith of others.<sup>258</sup> Connell went on to state that he would discuss the problem in the *American Ecclesiastical Review* but would not mention any names. He concluded his letter with the statement: "Stick to your Catholic principles."<sup>259</sup>

Connell discussed the "hypothetical" case in his column "Answers to Questions" in the November 1966 issue of *American Ecclesiastical Review*. He titled the question "Academic

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<sup>256</sup> John Courtney Murray, S.J., letter to Dennis Bonnette, 30 August 1966. See copy of the letter in Appendix III. Original of the letter was given to the author by Bonnette.

<sup>257</sup> Rene Laurentin, letter to the author, 6 June 1999.

<sup>258</sup> Daniel Kroger, *The HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism*, s.v. "Scandal."

<sup>259</sup> Francis J. Connell, C.Ss.R., letter to Paul I. Seman, 25 July 1966. Copy of letter was given to the author by Bonnette.

Freedom in a Catholic College” and restated his views presented above. He also stated that “academic freedom does not permit” a Catholic professor to propose as “tenable” views which are contrary to the teaching of the Church. Connell continued, “the objective of every Catholic educational institution is to propose the truth as it is taught by the Catholic Church. If a college does not measure up to this standard, it should close its doors.”<sup>260</sup> By the time Connell’s column appeared, it was too late to be useful for Bonnette and his supporters. The controversy had erupted and the university’s investigation was underway.

As academic year 1966-67 began, Fr. John Elbert, S.M., was very upset over the situation in the philosophy department. He decided to bring the matter to the attention of the university’s board of trustees of which he was a member.<sup>261</sup> However, before he could do so, Elbert died.<sup>262</sup>

On the day of Fr. Elbert’s funeral, the philosophy department held its first meeting of the academic year. After the typical welcoming remarks and a few announcements, the chair, Dr. Richard Baker, began the meeting by pointing out that pluralism is a fact. He continued

[E]ach of us has, therefore, the perfect right to express his own views and convictions provided this is done in a responsible and professional manner. Snide remarks, cute comments, and sneering jests made at the expense of another member of the department are certainly unprofessional. . . . He stressed that we must resist the temptation of simply playing to a crowd of impressionable nineteen year old kids and suggested as final guidelines that we never attack the views of another derogatorily. He lamented the fact that some members of the department seem to have been guilty of such unprofessional conduct.<sup>263</sup>

Baker also stressed “two obligations incumbent on each faculty member”: 1) to identify their own philosophical position; and 2) “to present other philosophical positions fairly and refute them philosophically [sic].”<sup>264</sup>

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<sup>260</sup> “Answers to Questions: Academic Freedom in a Catholic College,” *The American Ecclesiastical Review*, November 1966, 349.

<sup>261</sup> Bonnette, telephone interview with the author, 10 April 1997.

<sup>262</sup> See Chapter II, footnote 108 for more information about Fr. Elbert.

<sup>263</sup> Department of Philosophy Faculty Meeting Minutes, September 14, 1966, 3, AUD, Series 20QI(3), Box 1, Folder 1.

<sup>264</sup> *Ibid.*

In the discussion that followed, Dieska asked

‘Is the range of philosophical inquiry to be limited by dogma?’ He noted that five years ago the signing of a contract at this University constituted a tacit agreement not to teach anything contradictory to dogma. He queried whether . . . philosophers can legitimately bring new approaches to dogma; and asked what the official position of the University [was] on this question.

Baker responded that he “had no knowledge of an official position.” He pointed out that theological statements are “private opinions,” and “not really our business as philosophers.”<sup>265</sup>

These minutes indicate that the faculty members of the department were not acting in a professional manner, i.e., they were attacking each other publicly and privately, and hurling verbal insults at one another. The controversy had entered a mean-spirited stage. A graduate student with an office in the department recalls that the two sides labeled each other “the idiots” and “the heretics.”<sup>266</sup> Baker also suggested that some of the faculty were playing to their audience, trying to get the students on “their” side by cutting down the views of the opposing faculty.

Dieska’s question about the university’s position on dogma indicates that he believed teachings contrary to dogma were occurring and that these were in violation of the faculty contract conditions. His question provides insight into his view of the relationship of philosophy to theology: the two are separate disciplines but related so when theology reaches a conclusion, philosophy cannot contradict theology. On the other hand, Baker’s statements that theological matters are “private opinions” and “not really our business” appear to indicate that he viewed philosophy as separate from theology and that there was no relationship between the two. This seems unlikely since Baker was a Thomist. Perhaps Baker meant that faith issues were private and not the realm of the department’s business, or that the department was in over its head in trying to sort out the theological/philosophical dilemma. Perhaps the statement reflects Baker’s

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<sup>265</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>266</sup> Robert Eramian, telephone interviews with the author, 22 January 1999 and 27 June 1999.

frustration and annoyance with the faculty. Whatever Baker meant by his statement, as it stands, it is confusing. Whether or not theological matters were the business of the philosophers, the faculty were already involved. Baker had an opportunity to educate them on how such opinions could legitimately be handled in the educational setting. The opportunity was missed. By the time the next meeting occurred in November, the conflict had escalated and included the archbishop.

On 11 October 1966, the Philosophy Club met for presentations by Randolph F. Lumpp and Lawrence Ulrich. John Chrisman moderated the discussion that followed. The *Flyer News* reported that nearly 150 people attended<sup>267</sup> including Bonnette and Barbic.<sup>268</sup> This meeting was the “last straw” for Bonnette—four days later he wrote to the archbishop. Fortunately, the texts of both lectures are available for review.<sup>269</sup>

Ulrich opened the meeting with his presentation entitled “Some Basic Concepts and Principles for a Situation Ethics.” He began by acknowledging some of the difficulties in using the phrase “situation ethics” including the fact that anyone defending situation ethics is thought to be “advocating moral irresponsibility.” His lecture, however, attempted to “set forth a few [basic] concepts [which lead a man<sup>270</sup> to such an ethical position] with the hope that [these concepts] will lead to understanding, and if not this, at least to questions which will clarify some of the issues involved.”<sup>271</sup>

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<sup>267</sup> *FN*, 28 October 1966.

<sup>268</sup> Bonnette, letter to Roesch, 28 October 1966, 5.

<sup>269</sup> Lawrence Ulrich, “Some Basic Concepts and Principles for a Situation Ethics,” Lecture given at UD Philosophy Club meeting on 11 October 1966. A copy of the lecture was given to the author by Ulrich. Randolph Lumpp, “A Theological Perspective on ‘Situation Ethics,’” ASM(CIN), “Heresy File.” Neither Ulrich nor Lumpp cited “situation ethicists” or other authorities in their presentations. Lumpp recalls, however, that he drew upon Bernard Cooke’s biblical theology of person. Lumpp, electronic mail message to the author, 20 April 1999.

<sup>270</sup> As mentioned previously, the language of the 1960s is used in direct quotes. The author also uses the language of the 1960s in this particular narrative. The use of inclusive language interspersed with the language of the actual text would make for confusing reading.

<sup>271</sup> Ulrich, *Ibid.*, 1.



Ulrich stated that the “basic point of view in this discussion” could be expressed by the word “experience.” He explained this concept as man understanding that he is a being in relationship with other conscious beings in a world in space and time, i.e., man is historical and evolutionary.<sup>272</sup> The human situation is such that man reflects on it and notices the situation “as it is” and “as it ought to be” and this realization leads man to be aware that “his actions are adequate or inadequate to his situation or possible situation.”<sup>273</sup> This awareness leads to an understanding that the “human situation is an ethical situation.” Ulrich stated that because man’s situation is temporal, his ethics must be temporal and since man is in relationship with others, his ethics must be on the “level of a conscious community.”<sup>274</sup> Going “outside of the spatio-temporal world” to solve ethical problems is “an attempt by man to escape from the experience of his situation . . . and is a shirking of his responsibility as a moral agent.”<sup>275</sup> Ulrich then concluded “an atemporal criterion for morality destroys the possibility of any radical and free development for man.” Development happens “not if man must conform to a preestablished criterion, but rather if man can create his own criterion.” Ulrich reviewed man’s evolution in thinking to show that “it was man who formed the system and man who judged the action. In other words, morality was created by man.”<sup>276</sup>

Ulrich explained man’s common moral awareness as the result of sharing a common history. This explanation led to a discussion of ethics as subjective-temporal-particular vs. objective-atemporal-universal. Ulrich then proposed a level of intersubjectivity between the above two poles that is temporal and maintains universality conditioned by time.<sup>277</sup> Two difficulties then

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<sup>272</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>273</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>274</sup> Ibid.

<sup>275</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>276</sup> Ibid., 4-5.

<sup>277</sup> Ibid., 6-7.

arise according to Ulrich: 1) when can an individual morally act contrary to society and 2) how to extend universality on an intersubjective level. Ulrich responded to the first by taking a consequentialist approach, i.e., an individual should analyze the circumstances, consider the consequences, and if the act is “productive of good, i.e., is helping in the development of the process,” then it is morally good. Obviously, this approach leads to difficulties regarding unforeseen circumstances and consequences. The best one can say about “a past action which seemed good at the time but which failed to produce good” is “if the past action were to be performed in the light of the present experience, it would be a morally bad act.”<sup>278</sup> In discussing the second difficulty, Ulrich noted that universality cannot be discussed in the sense of the totality of human experience because that experience is still evolving, i.e., “the future is [being] made by man.” Situation ethics, then, “presents no pat answers to ethical problems. Instead it presents man with the responsibility for creating his own answers and his own ethical criterion in the light of his consciousness of himself as an historical reality.”<sup>279</sup>

Any analysis of Ulrich’s lecture must keep in mind that his stated intent was to present relevant concepts to the topic of situation ethics. He did not intend to, nor did he present, a system of ethics.<sup>280</sup> In order to analyze Ulrich’s lecture in the context of Roman Catholicism in the 1960s, the concepts must be reviewed individually. The first concept Ulrich used was “man as a being in relationship with other conscious beings in a world in space and time.” The term “conscious beings” appears to be defined as a “material being . . . capable of reflecting upon himself.” Ulrich appeared to be saying that humans are in relationship with other humans. This statement is correct as far as it goes, but one wonders if he is saying that humans are in relationship only with other humans. If so, from a theological framework, this statement is problematical because it does not take into account the relationship of humans with God.

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<sup>278</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>279</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>280</sup> Situation ethics, by definition, is not a system of ethics; it is a method of making ethical decisions.

Introducing the concept of God challenges other elements of Ulrich's argument. For example, Ulrich stated that humans reflect on their situation—what is and what ought to be. This statement raises the issue of how humans know what ought to be. Introducing God as creator into this reflection yields another possibility, natural law—"the participation of the eternal law in the rational creature."<sup>281</sup> While Ulrich attributed a common moral awareness to sharing a common history, the Catholic Church begins from a starting point of natural law. "The first principles . . . are known intuitively by human reason: Good is to be done; evil is to be avoided; act according to right reason."<sup>282</sup>

Another area of disagreement between Ulrich and traditional Catholic teaching is in Ulrich's assessment of what makes an act moral. He relied on the consequences of an action. This approach is problematic, since Catholic teaching defines the morality of an act in terms of its object, end, and circumstances. The object is defined as the nature of the act itself, the end as the reason why an act is being done, i.e., the intention, and the circumstances as the conditions surrounding the act. For an act to be morally good it must be good with respect to its object, end and circumstances. If there is an evil aspect to any one of these three, then the act in its entirety is evil.<sup>283</sup>

Bonnette's critique of both Ulrich's presentation and Lumppp's—whose presentation follows below—is found in his 28 October 1966 letter to Fr. Roesch. Bonnette reported that

. . . [t]he impression given to many students and professors present was that universal immutable moral norms were either being denied or ignored. Despite the condemnation by the Magisterium, no attempt was made by either speaker to show how either the title of the talk or its contents could be made to harmonize with recent Church teaching. During the entire talk neither speaker presented in a positive manner the traditional teaching on the natural law.<sup>284</sup>

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<sup>281</sup> Charles E. Curran, *History and Contemporary Issues: Studies in Moral Theology*, (New York: Continuum, 1996), 35.

<sup>282</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>283</sup> Gallagher, 93-4.

<sup>284</sup> Bonnette, letter to Roesch, 28 October 1966, 4.

Ulrich responded to Bonnette in a letter to Fr. Roesch dated 22 November 1966. Ulrich began the section pertaining to situation ethics by acknowledging that “two officials of the Church who could share in the Magisterium” had spoken on the topic: Cardinal Ottaviani and Pius XII. After naming and dating these references, Ulrich stated that to his knowledge, these are not infallible teachings.<sup>285</sup> One can deduce that since the magisterial teachings were not infallible, they were open to debate. In regard to Bonnette’s complaint that the traditional teaching on natural law was not presented during the lecture, Ulrich stated that the topic of the lecture was situation ethics and that he was permitted only fifteen minutes for presentation.

This response indicates that, at the time it was written, Ulrich was aware of the Church communications on situation ethics. He correctly listed Ottaviani and the pope and the dates of their communications but he mistakenly attributed to the pope, the decree that was issued by the Holy Office in 1956.<sup>286</sup> Ulrich provided more detail on the Church communications than do the others accused by Bonnette. His response, however, called these communications “references” to situation ethics and stated that they were made in a letter, an instruction, and an allocution.<sup>287</sup> Ulrich did not acknowledge that the Church condemned situation ethics, which the decree, issued by the Holy Office, did in no uncertain terms. Also, by referring to them as a letter, an instruction, and an allocution, he is able to call them “documents” and is able to avoid calling them Church teachings.<sup>288</sup>

Lumpp’s presentation is entitled “A Theological Perspective on ‘Situation Ethics.’” His key idea is that “theologically based ethics has different sources from philosophical ethics” and therefore, “Christian behavior is motivated by factors that come from faith and may not be

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<sup>285</sup> Ulrich, Letter to Fr. Raymond A. Roesch, 22 November 1966, 1.

<sup>286</sup> *Ibid.*, 1. This error would have been easy to make. The Decree was issued by the Holy Office on 2 February 1956 but published in *AAS* on 24 March 1956, 144-5. Ulrich quotes the *AAS* source which is published in Latin.

<sup>287</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>288</sup> The author has not been able to determine if the documents had theological notes.

obvious to reason.”<sup>289</sup> He began by concurring with Ulrich that those supporting and opposing “situation ethics” generally misunderstand it. He explained that ethics or morality has to do with values concerning the relation of the individual human to other humans. After explaining the Aristotelian and Stoic approaches, Lumpp turned to his topic, the biblical approach. He intended to develop three points: 1) the history of God’s self revelation to man makes “situation ethics” possible; 2) the revealed notion of history makes classical ethics unfeasible and obsolete; and 3) the Incarnation makes man’s ethics and morality not more universal, but more particular and concrete.<sup>290</sup>

In order to arrive at a definition of “situation ethics,” Lumpp reviewed salvation history noting that it is “a history of a gradual development of man’s self understanding.” He began with the pre-Exodus period when humans thought of themselves and God in physical terms. The emphasis was on physical life and God was understood through creation. The next stage begins with the departure of the Hebrews from Egypt. Their understanding of themselves changes from the physical to the social level. They become God’s people. Their understanding of God also changes through the covenant expressed in terms of the law. The third stage of salvation history occurs in Jesus Christ. The development of humans continues from the physical and social levels to the personal level. God reveals himself through Jesus as a personal God offering humans everlasting life.<sup>291</sup>

Throughout salvation history as the relationship between humanity and God changes, the nature of ethics changes as well. At first, ethics were “primarily physical and concerned with the preservation of physical life.” As the Hebrews became God’s people, their ethics became concerned with the preservation of Israel as a society and the law became a way of life. Under Jesus, the law is fulfilled on a personal level. Lumpp used examples from Christian scripture to

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<sup>289</sup> Lumpp, electronic mail message to author, 14 January 1999.

<sup>290</sup> Lumpp, “A Theological Perspective on ‘Situation Ethics,’” 2, ASM(CIN), “Heresy File.”

<sup>291</sup> *Ibid.*, 2-3.

show the limitations of the law. He pointed out that Jesus did not give universal moral principles such as “love all mankind.” Rather, he stated “concretely and personally: Love one another as I have loved you.” In 1 Corinthians, chapter 10, Paul discusses the question of meat sacrificed to pagan idols. The proper response for Christians is to “respond to the situation of the person involved.” This approach, Lumppp believed, is the “ethics of the situation,” i.e., “situation ethics.”<sup>292</sup> It is the very basis of Christianity—confronting each person in each situation and asking whether an action is “an expression of true personal life” based on honesty and love.<sup>293</sup>

Lumppp’s second point is that the “revealed notion of history makes universal ethics unfeasible” because of differences in “psychological time.” On the practical level, Lumppp explains that “presenting a person of primitive understanding with universal moral principles will not lead necessarily to [that person’s] development.” What is needed is a “person-to-person encounter” where “one treats this individual personally” and confronts them in their situation.<sup>294</sup> In other words, Christian ethics is much more than universal law. Humans fully develop and experience salvation by contact with each other.<sup>295</sup>

The third point draws on the second—living a Christian life is not based on “abstract universality,” but on “concrete particularity.” The true Christian does not respond to others because of laws and principles. Lumppp notes that laws do not disappear but that the Christian’s attitude towards law is different. The true Christian responds “in honesty and love to each and every person” confronted in each and every moment of life.<sup>296</sup>

Lumppp concluded by restating that “situation ethics” exists as a possibility because Christians have stressed the “interpersonal encounter as the basis of moral behavior.” In dealing with each other, each person must be encountered where they are and led “through personal self-

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<sup>292</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>293</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>294</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>295</sup> Ibid.

<sup>296</sup> Ibid.

dedication to a realization of full humanity.” That full humanity is concretely realized in the person of Jesus Christ.<sup>297</sup>

Lumpp responded to Bonnette’s criticism by reporting that he believed, as stated in his lecture and in the discussion that followed, that

we obviously can formulate and teach [universal immutable moral] norms. . . . It is an historical fact. The question remains, however, as to how one proceeds from such norms to the immediate application in the concrete moral instance. . . . [I]mmeasurably more important for the Christian, are the formulation and application of universal moral norms (and norms they are) sufficient for the Christian?

Lumpp did not think so and he used remarks from Karl Rahner as supporting evidence.<sup>298</sup> Lumpp did not use the term “universal immutable moral norms” in his lecture, but instead referred to “laws and principles.”

Lumpp also discussed the term “situation ethics” in his response to Bonnette. He stated that he “dislikes the term intensely”<sup>299</sup> because it is “vague and represents a wide variety of opinions and speculations, some more acceptable and some more objectionable than others.” He acknowledged that there is a “truth contained in all these speculations,” and cites Karl Rahner for authoritative support. Lumpp speculated that if the Philosophy Club had used Rahner’s title, “formal existential ethics,” for the discussion, perhaps the misunderstanding might have been avoided. Lumpp is correct in his assessment of the term “situation ethics:” it means many different things, and there is a grain of truth in situation ethics. Even in traditional moral theology, circumstances mitigate culpability.

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<sup>297</sup> *Ibid.*, 6-7.

<sup>298</sup> Lumpp, Response to Bonnette’s letter to Fr. Roesch, 2. Unfortunately, Rahner’s remarks are not attached to the letter in the author’s possession.

<sup>299</sup> Throughout the written copy of the presentation, Lumpp placed quotation marks around the term “situation ethics.” In response to a question from the author, Lumpp stated that he did not remember whether he used gestures during the lecture to indicate quotes. He often does use gestures so it would not have been unusual for him to do so. Lumpp, electronic mail message to the author, 31 May 1999.

Concerning the Magisterium's "condemnation," Lumpp pointed out that the two papal statements on situation ethics "do not define their terms in detail, but rather point to certain dangers [sic]." Since Lumpp does not name which papal statements he is referring to, it is difficult to assess the accuracy of this response. The Ottaviani letter referred to above was the most recent statement issued and one of the "errors and abuses" described appears to be "situation ethics."<sup>300</sup>

Lumpp continued, "These [papal] statements are not the last word on the subject directed toward stifling discussion but rather are, as the ordinary Magisterium is always, instructive guidance. Consequently, the question is far from closed." Lumpp was correct in including papal statements in the ordinary teaching authority of the Church. It does not necessarily follow that they are therefore only "instructive guidance,"<sup>301</sup> a term that Lumpp recalls using as "descriptive" rather than "precisely technical."<sup>302</sup> Lumpp believes that the response Catholics owe to the ordinary magisterium is to 1) take it seriously, 2) study it carefully if one is going to teach about it, 3) be cautious in disagreeing with the magisterium, and 4) if one disagrees, do not represent one's disagreement as Church teaching.<sup>303</sup>

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<sup>300</sup> "In moral theology, some deny any objective basis at all to morality. They do not accept natural law and hold that wrongness and righteousness are established by moral situations in which people find themselves. Bad ideas about morality and responsibility in sexual and marital matters are also heard." John Cogley, "Ottaviani Lists Doctrine 'Abuses,'" *New York Times*, 20 September 1966, 20.

<sup>301</sup> In *Creative Fidelity: Weighing and Interpreting Documents of the Magisterium*, Francis A. Sullivan spends seven pages analyzing the 1995 encyclical *Evangelium vitae* to determine if John Paul II intended to invoke the "infallibility which Vatican II attributed to the teaching of the 'ordinary and universal magisterium.'" Sullivan states that while he believes "it is true that no dogma has ever been solemnly defined in a papal encyclical . . . the fact that something has not been done before does not mean that it cannot be done." Francis A. Sullivan, *Creative Fidelity: Weighing and Interpreting Documents of the Magisterium*, (Mahwah, N.J.: Paulist Press, 1996), 159. John C. Ford and Germain Grisez claimed in a 1978 article that "the official teaching on artificial contraception fulfilled the conditions laid down by Vatican II for the infallible exercise of the ordinary universal magisterium." Quoted in Sullivan, 105. Sullivan does not believe they proved their case but the point being made is that Lumpp needs to be careful in stating that something is only being taught by the "ordinary Magisterium" and therefore, it is only "instructive guidance."

<sup>302</sup> Randolph Lumpp, electronic mail message to the author, 19 June 1999.

<sup>303</sup> Lumpp, electronic mail message to the author, 18 June 1999.



“Relationship” as a moral category was clearly an important component in the lectures of both Lumpp and Ulrich. The intersubjectivity espoused by Lumpp, however, differed from Ulrich’s in that God and Jesus are at the center. Where Ulrich saw “man . . . creating his own answers and own ethical criterion in the light of his consciousness of himself,” Lumpp saw humans coming to self-understanding through God’s self-revelation in history. God’s revelation included creation, the law, and Jesus Christ. In Lumpp’s presentation, Jesus did not destroy the law but instead fulfilled it, i.e., the law still existed as a moral norm.

Bonnette criticized Lumpp’s presentation because he did not mention natural law. While Bonnette’s criticism is true, it is also true that Lumpp does not deny natural law. The basic point Lumpp wanted to make was that the natural law standard is a lesser standard than the Gospel. The way Lumpp made his point, however, was open to misinterpretation on the part of listeners.

Bonnette also criticized both Lumpp and Ulrich for not mentioning recent Church teaching. Again, this criticism is correct. In Lumpp’s mind, the purpose of his lecture was to present a theological perspective on “situation ethics.” The title of Lumpp’s lecture implies that Lumpp was offering an argument that would make situation ethics theologically plausible even though he did not advocate “situation ethics.” Lumpp also made the point that “universal ethics [was] unfeasible.” He went on to clarify, but his statement, as it stands, contradicts Church teachings. Finally, Lumpp—and the other three faculty accused in the “Heresy Affair”—made presentations on controversial topics to an impressionable audience after magisterial statements had been issued on the matter they discussed. Circumstances such as these call for clarification of the Church’s position, which is, of course, Bonnette’s point.

Immediately following the presentations by Ulrich and Lumpp, there was a discussion period. Lumpp recalls that Bonnette asked him “whether the Church would change its teaching on abortion.” Lumpp answered that he believed the Church already had changed its teaching

when the principle of double effect was applied to the case of an ectopic pregnancy.<sup>304</sup> Bonnette pressed further about how the Church might or might not change its position and Lumpp recalls declining to speak for the Church.<sup>305</sup> This exchange shows Bonnette's involvement in the discussion and his concern for the teachings of the Church being presented and taught as changeable.

Lumpp recalls a subsequent conversation with Bonnette where Lumpp quoted from paragraph 5, *Gaudium et Spes*, Vatican II's Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World: the human race is experiencing changes "and so mankind substitutes a dynamic and more evolutionary concept of nature for a static one . . . ."<sup>306</sup> Lumpp recalls Bonnette being "distressed" by this quotation.<sup>307</sup> His distress was understandable when the statement is viewed in the framework of universalism vs. historicalism.

In summary, the 11 October 1966 Philosophy Club meeting dealt with a controversial topic. The teachings of the Catholic Church were not explicitly stated and, in Bonnette's opinion, the entire tone of the talks was "subjective." On the surface, these criticisms do not seem to be enough to lead to an explosion in the conflict. One must keep in mind, however, that this event was one in a series of events that occurred over a number of years. This particular meeting occurred very early in the 1966-67 school year and was the first of a scheduled series on ethics. Bonnette apparently felt that the time was right to appeal to an authority outside of the university. Recall that appeals had already been made in one form or another to the department, the provost, the president, and outside theologians and that the opportunity of appealing to the university's

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<sup>304</sup> Lumpp cites Fr. T. Lincoln Bouscaren, S.J. At the time, Bouscaren was a consultant to the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, of the Council, and of Religious. Bouscaren was also an author of canon law books. Lumpp most likely refers to Bouscaren's work entitled *Ethics of Ectopic Operations* which was published by the Bruce Publishing Co., Milwaukee, Wisconsin in 1933 and 1944.

<sup>305</sup> Lumpp, electronic mail message to the author, 18 January 1999, 2.

<sup>306</sup> Austin Flannery, O.P., ed., "Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World," *Vatican Council II: The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents*, (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1979), 907.

<sup>307</sup> Lumpp, electronic mail message to the author, 18 January 1999, 2.

board of trustees was lost with Fr. Elbert's death. For Bonnette, the logical next step of appeal was to the archbishop, Karl J. Alter, in Cincinnati. This step was crucial for it led to a resolution of the controversy at the University of Dayton.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE CRISIS STAGE: A LETTER TO THE ARCHBISHOP

The event that elevated the controversy from a departmental conflict with limited campus interest to one that garnered coverage in national newspapers was a letter written on 15 October 1966 by Dennis Bonnette to Archbishop Karl J. Alter of Cincinnati. Bonnette began his letter by stating that he was writing in order that the archbishop could fulfill his duties as required by Canon 1381, §2.<sup>1</sup> In Bonnette's opinion, a "crisis of faith"<sup>2</sup> was developing at the University of Dayton, and so it became necessary to send a second appeal<sup>3</sup> for the archbishop's intercession.

Bonnette continued that a situation had been developing on the University of Dayton campus over the past few years and it had now reached a "point of doing grave harm to the faith and morals of the entire university complex." He pointed out that John Chrisman and Eulalio Baltazar gave a lecture in spring 1966 during which they endorsed situation ethics. Chrisman also endorsed abortion in some cases.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Under the 1917 Code of Canon Law, "the right and duty to be vigilant over all schools in his territory is assured to the local ordinary by Can. 1381, §2. He is to see to it that nothing contrary to faith and morals is taught in the schools or that no activity in the schools is likewise a source of danger to the Catholic students there." James Jerome Conn, S.J., *Catholic Universities in the United States and Ecclesiastical Authority*, Roma: Editrice Pontificia Universita Gregoriana, 1991, 34-35.

<sup>2</sup> Dennis Bonnette, letter to Karl J. Alter, 15 October 1966, 1. A copy of the letter is in the possession of the author.

<sup>3</sup> The "second appeal" refers to a letter written to the archbishop by Fr. Francis Langhirt, S.M. in spring 1966 which is explained later in Bonnette's letter. Bonnette's 15 October 1966 letter to the archbishop was not Bonnette's second appeal to the archbishop. Dennis Bonnette, electronic-mail message to the author, 1 April 1999.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

Bonnette noted that Fr. Francis Langhirt, S.M.<sup>5</sup> had written to the archbishop protesting that lecture. Reportedly, the archbishop forwarded Fr. Langhirt's letter to the university administration and asked for an explanation. "The Administration is understood to have replied that the faculty members in question [have] been under investigation for one year." Bonnette noted that no "official action" has been taken by the university.<sup>6</sup>

Bonnette's letter informed the archbishop that similar incidents were occurring. At a public discussion during the summer, Chrisman "explicitly denied belief in Purgatory." Within the past week, Lawrence Ulrich and Randolph Lumppp gave a "talk" on situation ethics. The talk was "subjective in tone" and did not address the traditional teaching on natural law. Faculty and students were left with the "impression that absolute and immutable moral norms were being ignored or denied."<sup>7</sup> Bonnette noted that many of the "theories condemned in Cardinal Ottaviani's famous letter"<sup>8</sup> of 24 July 1966 were being advocated by a "substantial number of the theology and philosophy faculty" at the University of Dayton. He continued that the "influence of the erroneous teachings virtually permeates" the university, "even in some of its highest quarters."<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Fr. Francis Langhirt, S.M. was an elderly Marianist priest who taught part-time in the philosophy department.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. Fr. Roesch noted in his *Statement Relative to the Controversy Touching Academic Freedom and the Church's Magisterium*, that an investigation was being conducted in fall 1966 "quietly and confidentially, which probably explains why the accuser was of the opinion that his concerns were being ignored by the University authorities." Roesch, *Statement Relative to the Controversy Touching Academic Freedom and the Church's Magisterium*, 10 April 1967, 8.

<sup>8</sup> Alfredo Cardinal Ottaviani, head of the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, "at the direction of the Holy Father" sent a letter dated 24 July 1966 to the "ordinaries of the world." It was to be distributed around 10 August 1966 so that the bishops could consider the content of the letter at their Conferences. The bishops were to submit their "observations" to the Holy See before 25 December. "The final paragraph of the letter further stresses the fact that this matter is not to be made public and the Bishops may discuss it only with those whom they deem it necessary to consult *sub secreto*." (Archbishop Patrick A. O'Boyle, letter to U.S. bishops, includes Ottaviani's letter as attachment, 5 August 1966. ACUA, Series NCWC, Box 7 Administration.) Although the contents of the letter were to remain confidential, they were the topic of a 20 September 1966 *New York Times* article by religion editor John Cogley. In general, Ottaviani lists ten widespread "abuses" in interpretation of Second Vatican Council teachings. The relevant "abuses" will be discussed later in this thesis.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 2.

Bonnette asked the archbishop to send a “competent representative” to Dayton “for the purpose of conducting a comprehensive investigation of the grave spiritual harm” which was occurring. The matter was urgent for two reasons. The first reason was a matter of principle: “harm to souls” occurred daily in the classroom. The second reason was pragmatic: University of Dayton regulations required notification of non-renewal of faculty contracts by 15 December. “The consciences of some professors have been compromised too long already.” If there is no action before the contractual deadline, Bonnette noted that some might resign in protest of the administration’s “failure to fulfill its moral duty.”<sup>10</sup>

Bonnette concluded by saying he was available if the archbishop needed “further evidence before taking action.” He then asked Alter to keep his name “in confidence” unless the archbishop was unwilling to act, in which case, Bonnette “freely [sacrificed] the security of [his] position to the service of the cause of Christ.”<sup>11</sup> In other words, Bonnette was prepared to resign publicly in protest of the university administration’s “failure to fulfill its moral duty.”<sup>12</sup>

An examination of Bonnette’s letter sheds light on the issues crucial to this controversy. By beginning his letter with a reference to canon law, Bonnette reminded the archbishop of his ecclesial responsibility to watch over matters of faith and morals in the Catholic schools in his archdiocese. Clearly, Bonnette felt the matter at hand was one involving faith and morals and that the university, as a Catholic institution, fell under the archbishop’s jurisdiction. Bonnette mentioned that the archbishop knew of this situation six months previously when Fr. Langhirt wrote. Bonnette wanted the archbishop to know that nothing had resulted from the previous complaint; the “false teachings” continued. The teachings in question were advocacy of situation

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Creating “what-if” scenarios is easy to do; speculating on the actions that might possibly result is just that—speculation. Even the participants in the original event have no real certainty of their probable actions. Despite that caution, one wonders what Bonnette would have done if the archbishop had chosen to do nothing. Presumably, he was prepared to resign publicly in protest of the university administration’s “failure to fulfill its moral duty.” One wonders, however, if he would have included the archbishop in his public protest if the archbishop did not respond to his letter. It is an interesting question with no answer.

ethics, denial of belief in purgatory, and endorsement of abortion.<sup>13</sup> Bonnette also pointed out that the faculty members mentioned showed a lack of respect for the Church.

In the letter, Bonnette stressed three separate times his concern for harm being done to souls. This concern was Bonnette's reason for writing the letter to the archbishop. A similarly worded concern is evident in his *Ave Maria* article on racism. The controversy escalated in part because the minority philosophy faculty members and the university administration misinterpreted Bonnette's concerns. Since the primary concern of Bonnette and his supporters was not addressed, the controversy continued.

The letter to the archbishop indicates that one enclosure was attached to the letter. The enclosure appears to be a two page document entitled "Some Principles Relating to Theology and Philosophy at the University of Dayton."<sup>14</sup> The document, dated 26 September 1966 and signed by Dennis Bonnette, was distributed to various members of the faculty and administration at the University of Dayton.<sup>15</sup> Its purpose was "to point out some of the demands which logical consistency places upon the University of Dayton in the conduct of its philosophy and theology curriculum."<sup>16</sup>

Bonnette began by recognizing the existence of philosophical pluralism in the departments of philosophy and theology at the University of Dayton. He immediately pointed out that this pluralism was not a matter of perspective, which is not problematic but, rather, a "pluralism in truth" which implies the "denial of absolute truth." The result of a "pluralism in truth" is the destruction of the "concept of essence (nature) without which the Mysteries of Faith cannot be

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<sup>13</sup> Note that in the letter to the archbishop, contraception was not mentioned.

<sup>14</sup> Bonnette does not recall what he enclosed with his letter. Bonnette, electronic mail message to the author, March 1999. Fr. Roesch's chronology of the "Heresy Affair," however, indicates that Bonnette's "Some Principles Relating to Theology and Philosophy at the University of Dayton" ditto was enclosed with the letter to the archbishop. AUD, Series 91-35, Box 5.

<sup>15</sup> Roesch, *Statement*, *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>16</sup> Dennis Bonnette, "Some Principles Relating to Theology and Philosophy at the University of Dayton," 26 September 1966, 1. Copy of the document was given to the author by Bonnette.

expressed.”<sup>17</sup> Bonnette was saying that assent to Catholic dogma logically demands assent to certain philosophical principles as true. If those principles are not upheld, the dogma and, therefore, the faith, are weakened.

The next logical step in Bonnette’s argument is that a Catholic university is obliged to “teach as truth only those philosophical and theological doctrines which are in harmony with Catholic faith.”<sup>18</sup> A Catholic university is required to teach philosophy and theology courses which “constitute the substance of those truths essential to Catholic Faith.” In other words, the courses a student needs to understand the Catholic faith must be offered. A Catholic university is obliged to require a student to take an “absolute minimum standard” so that they are not “vulnerable to doctrines which do not harmonize with Faith.”<sup>19</sup>

Bonnette’s approach in “Some Principles” differs from his previous criticisms of specific teachings and behaviors of his fellow faculty. In this statement, he went to the very basics: Catholics believe specific dogmas. Dogmas are based on specific philosophical positions that the Catholic Church holds to be the truth. A Catholic university should not teach as truth anything that undermines its own Catholic dogmas. Bonnette does not mean that a philosophical position that disagrees with Catholicism cannot be taught, but that position should not be taught as if it were just as good as the Catholic position. A Catholic university is also obliged to require its students to take courses so they understand the basis for their faith. In this way, the students’ faith is protected and they are less vulnerable to false teachings.

If one understands the paragraph above, one understands Bonnette’s thinking and prime motivation throughout the “Heresy Affair.” As Bonnette understood the essentials to the faith, he

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. The use of the term “philosophical doctrines” is interesting. Robert O. Johann, S.J. quotes Roger Aubert using the same term in Louis J. Putz, C.S.C., “Religious Education and Seminary Studies: Some Recent Trends,” *Contemporary Catholicism in the United States*, ed. Philip Gleason (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1969), 256.



saw students' faith seriously threatened. Pointing out the erroneous teachings was "a matter of labeling theologically poisonous material properly so that it would not harm souls."<sup>20</sup>

For reasons no longer recalled, Bonnette sent the Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Egidio Vagnozzi, a carbon copy of his letter to the archbishop.<sup>21</sup> As Apostolic Delegate, Vagnozzi represented the papacy in the United States and once described his position as being "the eyes, the ears and the heart of the Holy Father."<sup>22</sup> Upon receiving Bonnette's carbon copy on 20 October 1966, Vagnozzi called Alter, an action termed "unusual" by then Auxiliary Bishop of Cincinnati, Edward A. McCarthy.<sup>23</sup>

Archbishop Alter took no action until he spoke with the Apostolic Delegate. He then immediately called Fr. Roesch, told him of the letter, and asked the university to investigate. Fr. Roesch took the call during an administrative council<sup>24</sup> meeting. After discussing the call with the council, a plan of action was developed:

1. Call the principals and find out what was happening.
2. Ask Bonnette to acquaint all with the charges.
3. Request Bonnette to substantiate the charges.
4. Direct each of the four accused to answer the charges.
5. Two possible outcomes could eventuate:
  - a. Bonnette could admit error and publicly retract;
  - b. Bonnette could persist in the charges.

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<sup>20</sup> Bonnette, electronic mail message to the author, 3 June 1999.

<sup>21</sup> Born in 1906, Vagnozzi was ordained at 22 after receiving a papal dispensation waiving the age requirement. He spent his entire career in the Church's diplomatic service, serving as Apostolic Delegate to the United States from 1959 to 1967. "Apostolic Delegate Served U.S. Twice," *The New World*, 2 June 1967, 2.

Perhaps Vagnozzi's most controversial action was his address to Marquette University's graduating class at the baccalaureate services on 3 June 1961. In that address, Vagnozzi discussed the dangers facing the Catholic intellectual and expressed concern for a "rather small but vocal group of Catholic intellectuals whose intentions may be good, but who do not sufficiently respect Catholic tradition and Catholic authority." Egidio Vagnozzi, "A Letter from Archbishop Vagnozzi," *The American Ecclesiastical Review*, October 1961, 218.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Archbishop Emeritus Edward A. McCarthy, telephone conversation with the author, 24 May 1999.

<sup>24</sup> Members of the 1966-67 Administrative Council included Fr. Raymond A. Roesch as chair; Fr. George B. Barrett, vice president; Fr. Norbert C. Burns, faculty member in Theology and superior of Alumni Hall Marianist Community; Fr. Charles L. Collins, assistant to the president; Bro. Elmer C. Lackner, vice president for public relations and development; Fr. Charles J. Lees, provost; Bro. Joseph J. Mervar, business manager; Bro. Stephen I. Sheehy, dean of students; Fr. Thomas A. Stanley, director of institutional studies; and Fr. Paul J. Wagner, university chaplain. All were Marianists.

6. If the latter, we could set up an ad hoc committee to investigate the details of the case.<sup>25</sup>

This action plan is interesting for several reasons. The members of the council were aware of the teachings that were occurring and yet there is no assumption that the accused faculty were guilty as indicated by #3–Bonnette must substantiate the charges. Another interesting point is #5a–Bonnette could admit error and publicly retract. Bonnette’s accusation had been made privately and yet, his retraction must be made publicly. The council evidently assumed that the matter would become public information.

Roesch scheduled a meeting for 24 October 1966. He invited Fr. George B. Barrett, vice president of the university; Dr. Richard R. Baker, chair of the philosophy department; Bonnette; and three of the four faculty listed in the letter (Baltazar, Chrisman, and Ulrich). At the time, Roesch believed the dispute to be within the philosophy department. He did not know that Lumpp was also named in the letter because Roesch was not given a copy of the letter by Bonnette. Therefore, Lumpp and his chair, Fr. Matthew F. Kohmescher, S.M., were not included.

During the meeting, Baltazar, Chrisman, and Ulrich learned that they had been accused of teaching against the magisterium. They were “shocked”<sup>26</sup> that Bonnette had involved the Apostolic Delegate.<sup>27</sup> Bonnette, when asked to read his letter to the archbishop, gave a verbal summary. (To this day, the accused have not seen the original letter to the archbishop.<sup>28</sup>) Roesch then asked Bonnette to prepare a statement detailing and substantiating his charges. The accused would then be given the opportunity to “submit copies of their prepared speeches, if they had them in written form, and to prepare a full explanation of their position in light of the charges made.”<sup>29</sup> The group agreed that the university public relations office would handle all publicity.

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<sup>25</sup> Roesch, “Chronology,” cited in Christopher J. Kauffman, *Education and Transformation: Marianist Ministries in America Since 1849*, (New York: Herder and Herder, 1999), 254.

<sup>26</sup> Roesch, “Chronology,” Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Chrisman, telephone interview with the author, 21 June 1999.

<sup>28</sup> Lawrence P. Ulrich, personal interview with the author, April 14, 1997.

<sup>29</sup> Raymond A. Roesch, S.M., *Statement Relative to the Controversy Touching Academic Freedom and the Church’s Magisterium*, 10 April 1967, 9.

Lumpp learned of his involvement after he received a note in his mailbox that the university president wanted to see him. Lumpp recalls that Roesch was sitting behind his desk as Lumpp went into Roesch's office. Roesch did not stand. "He just announced pointedly, 'Your name is in Washington.'" Lumpp recalls being dumbfounded and perplexed. Fr. Roesch repeated his statement. Gradually, Roesch told Lumpp that the Apostolic Delegate had his name because of Bonnette's letter.<sup>30</sup>

Archbishop Alter responded to Bonnette in a letter dated 22 October. The archbishop noted that because of the "serious implications" of Bonnette's letter, he referred the matter to the university president "personally" and that Roesch assured the archbishop that "due inquiry [would] be made concerning the allegations."<sup>31</sup> Archbishop Alter continued that "it is impossible to proceed any further" until there is "substantial evidence, duly certified." In his final sentence, the archbishop listed the process for dealing with allegations: "The problem is first that of the Administration, secondly, that of the Academic Senate,<sup>32</sup> and, finally it comes to the direct attention of the authorities who are responsible for Pontifically-established religious communities."<sup>33</sup>

The final sentence seems to indicate that the archbishop was not involved in the process at all. Rather, the authorities over religious communities had jurisdiction—presumably because of the university's Marianist affiliation—if it could not be handled internally. If the procedure described by the archbishop was followed, the case would go to the Vatican to the Sacred Congregation of the Affairs of Religious.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Randolph Lumpp, electronic mail message to the author, 8 March 1999. Lumpp does not recall what date he met with Roesch.

<sup>31</sup> Karl J. Alter, letter to Dennis Bonnette, 22 October 1966, 1. Copy given to the author by Bonnette.

<sup>32</sup> The University of Dayton did not have an academic senate at the time. Most likely, the archbishop was referring to the university's Faculty Forum.

<sup>33</sup> Alter, *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> Bonnette recalls that he found the archbishop's response "rather puzzling." He "did not know at the time what [the archbishop] meant and still [does] not." Bonnette, electronic mail message to the author, 5 June 1999.

Bonnette mentioned the archbishop's response at the bottom of his statement, substantiating the charges, addressed to Fr. Roesch on 28 October 1966. After listing the four faculty and specific instances where each publicly "deviated from Catholic doctrine,"<sup>35</sup> Bonnette stated that he did not feel it was his "duty" to provide any other materials to Roesch. Bonnette's actions were a change in the procedure decided at the above meeting of Roesch, Bonnette, and the accused where the "burden of proof" was placed on Bonnette. Bonnette changed the procedure based on the archbishop's statement that Roesch, not Bonnette, should conduct "due inquiry."<sup>36</sup> To assist Roesch in his "due inquiry," Bonnette included two pages of names of persons in attendance at various events when the alleged deviations occurred.

When Roesch received Bonnette's statement, he had not seen the archbishop's response to Bonnette nor did Bonnette share it with Roesch. Roesch did not understand what "due inquiry" meant. According to Roesch, he called the archbishop and arranged an appointment for the next day, 29 October 1966.<sup>37</sup> Barrett and Lees accompanied him to the meeting where Archbishop Alter expressed his concern over the doctrinal issues of purgatory and abortion. The university's representatives assured Alter that two provosts had spoken to Chrisman and Baltazar about their teachings and, "to their knowledge," no "heresy" was involved, presumably based on their responses. Alter then stated that, in his letter to Bonnette, he had not used "due inquiry" in a technical sense. The archbishop appeared "ready to close the case" based on the university's assurances. Roesch, however, suggested consulting a canon lawyer regarding "possible ecclesiastical implications" and to seek advice on procedure.<sup>38</sup> Alter agreed as long as the canonist was not connected to the Cincinnati archdiocese or to the Marianists.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Dennis Bonnette, letter to Raymond A. Roesch, S.M., 28 October 1966, 1. Copy given to the author by Ulrich.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>37</sup> Roesch, "Chronology," *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> The author has not located any evidence to indicate why Roesch made this request. Perhaps he wanted to assure himself that he was correct in his assessment of the situation.

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

Two important points of conflict resulted from this meeting that are easily overlooked: the meaning of “due inquiry” and the emphasis on doctrinal issues. In the case of due inquiry, the archbishop wrote to Bonnette and stated that the university would conduct “due inquiry.” Bonnette wrote his letter to Roesch on the assumption that the university was conducting due inquiry. Bonnette stated this assumption and recognized in his letter that he had changed the procedure—from that suggested by Roesch—based on the archbishop’s letter. Roesch was concerned about the meaning of “due inquiry” in the archbishop’s letter—so concerned that he immediately made a trip to Cincinnati to discuss the situation with the archbishop. As a result of that meeting, Roesch learned that the archbishop did not mean “due inquiry” in the technical sense. No one told Bonnette, however, that the university was not going to conduct a “due inquiry.” He expected the university to call witnesses and officially look into the charges. This expectation became problematic when the results of the university’s investigation were released and the faculty were cleared without any witnesses being called. At this point, Bonnette’s supporters publicly stepped forward to join him in the accusations.

The author also believes that the emphasis on “heresy” occurred as a result of the meeting between Roesch and the archbishop. Assuming Fr. Roesch’s interpretation is correct, the archbishop stressed his involvement with the doctrinal issues and his willingness to let the university handle the other issues. In responding to the archbishop’s concerns, the university representatives used the word “heresy.” Later, the canonist, at the direction of Fr. Roesch, examined the case for evidence of heresy. Bonnette’s charge of teachings contrary to the magisterium and his concern for students’ “souls” were peripheral, at best.

On Monday, 31 October 1966, Roesch met with the four accused faculty members, and Barrett, and Lees. (Bonnette was not present at this meeting.) Roesch described the visit with the archbishop and told the accused that the ecclesiastical portion of the investigation would be

handled before the academic side. Roesch asked them to respond to Bonnette's statement by Thanksgiving, 24 November 1966.

In his statement, Bonnette held Baltazar, Chrisman, Lumpp, and Ulrich "responsible for . . . deviations from Catholic doctrine" by which he meant "failing to be in full agreement with the mind of the Holy See and of its legitimate organs of expression, e.g., sacred congregations, papal pronouncements, speeches, allocutions, etc."<sup>40</sup> He continued

I do not mean merely direct heresies, by which I understand the refusal of the declared dogmas of the Church. Rather, I refer to all such theories and doctrines which the Holy See has publicly condemned as contrary to the mind of the Church, e.g., the approval of contraception, the denial of the right of the Church to teach and guide Her faithful in matters of faith and morals, the theory of polygenism, situation ethics, abortion, etc.<sup>41</sup>

Bonnette appears to interpret Catholic orthodoxy as being in "full agreement" with every statement issued by the Pope and the Vatican Congregations.

Greater insight into Bonnette's thinking can be ascertained from his article "The Doctrinal Crisis in Catholic Colleges and Universities and Its Effect Upon Education" which appeared in *Social Justice Review* in November 1967, one year after he wrote the letter to the archbishop. In the article, Bonnette quoted Pius IX that "the manner of educating youth [in a university] . . . would be completely in accordance with Catholic teaching" if it is to remain Catholic. Bonnette also quoted from the Second Vatican Council's *Lumen gentium*, Article 25 that "the faithful . . . (must show) . . . religious submission of will and of mind . . . to the authentic teaching authority of the Roman Pontiff, even when he is not speaking *ex cathedra*."<sup>42</sup> Bonnette continued that Catholics are "obliged to heed not only the dogmas of the Church, but also the pronouncements of the ordinary magisterium."<sup>43</sup> The ordinary magisterium is the area that was contested.

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<sup>40</sup> Dennis Bonnette, letter to Raymond A. Roesch, S.M., 28 October 1966, 1

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Dennis Bonnette, "The Doctrinal Crisis in Catholic Colleges and Universities and Its Effect Upon Education," *Social Justice Review*, November 1967, 224.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 225.

Bonnette again referred to Article 25 which “demands adherence,” and he stated that “a Catholic is not free to respectfully differ from the magisterium.”<sup>44</sup> In the article’s conclusion, Bonnette noted that a “central and very concrete point” is that “to be Catholic it is not enough merely to believe the dogma. One is also bound to accept *all* the teachings of the Church, *even those which are not solemnly defined.*”<sup>45</sup> Bonnette provided the emphasis himself by italicizing the above words.

These quotations in Bonnette’s article indicate that he interprets “religious submission of will and of mind” without taking into consideration traditional distinctions made concerning the levels of teaching authority.<sup>46</sup> Furthermore, it is not clear what Bonnette means by accept in his statement that to be Catholic, one must accept all teachings of the Church. Karl Rahner makes a distinction between “religious obedience” and “assent” in his article in the *Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II, Volume I.*<sup>47</sup> Rahner’s distinction indicates the existence of a hierarchy of truths. Bonnette seems to make no distinction between levels of truths and their acceptance, nor does he make any allowances for teaching and research within the context of the university.

If these were the only quotations used from Bonnette’s article, one would get an incomplete picture. Bonnette discussed “a scholar’s just contribution to the development of the ordinary teaching of the Church” and states that one can “question” in two ways: by “bringing forth new data for consideration; new arguments for the attention of the Holy See” and in the “domain [where] the Church has taken no definite stand (since her decrees always relate to faith and morals, they are, indeed, limited in scope), one is free to speculate and teach in any manner which

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 233.

<sup>46</sup> For further information on the levels of teaching authority, see J. Robert Dionne, *The Papacy and the Church: A Study of Praxis and Reception in Ecumenical Perspective* (New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1987), or the 1967 commentary on the documents of Vatican II (see note 47).

<sup>47</sup> Karl Rahner, “The Hierarchical Structure of the Church, with Special References to the Episcopate,” Herbert Vorgrimler, ed. *Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II, Volume I.* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1967), 208-210.

responsible scholarship allows.”<sup>48</sup> Bonnette also explained that he was not advocating that “*only* the Catholic position be presented. . . . Good teaching demands that *all* relevant positions be presented for the consideration of the student. . . . What is primarily forbidden . . . is simply the open advocacy of doctrines opposed to definite Catholic teaching.”<sup>49</sup> In other words, there is a difference between presenting and advocating/teaching.

In comparing these two sets of quotations, one notices conflicting statements. On the one hand, it seems that to be Catholic, Bonnette believes one must “accept” all of the “dogmas” of the Church and the “pronouncements” of the ordinary magisterium; on the other hand, he says the Church’s “decrees” are “limited to faith and morals.” This lack of clarity reflects the wider debate. The fact that a scholar can “question” by bringing up new “data” or “arguments” seems to imply nonacceptance of certain teachings on some level.<sup>50</sup>

Despite the conflicting statements, it is apparent that Bonnette interprets Catholic orthodoxy narrowly. He is not alone. In fact, Bonnette falls in line with the “minority” position at the Second Vatican Council under the leadership of Cardinal Ottaviani. As the “Heresy Affair” unfolded, Bonnette also had supporters at the University of Dayton and within the Dayton Catholic community.

In Bonnette’s statement to Fr. Roesch, after stating his meaning of “deviation from Catholic doctrine,” he proceeded to list the specific “deviations” of the four faculty members.<sup>51</sup> The most significant charge was that against Chrisman when he stated that he did not believe in Purgatory at the “God is Dead” presentation. Bonnette’s letter pointed out that such a denial “falls under the provisions of Canon 1325 §2” and although Chrisman’s defense (as reported by the provost, Fr.

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<sup>48</sup> Bonnette, *Social Justice Review*, Ibid., 226.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 225.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 228.

<sup>51</sup> The accusations against Baltazar, Chrisman, Lump, and Ulrich are detailed in the previous chapter. See the specific events beginning with the publication of Baltazar’s article in the *University of Dayton Review*, Spring 1964.



Charles J. Lees, to Bonnette) was that he meant to deny the “fire” notion of Purgatory, Bonnette continued that “[o]ne of the Church Councils actually used the term ‘igne’ in formulating the doctrine.”<sup>52</sup> This issue, the only accusation that dealt with dogma, is, therefore, the only potential basis for an accusation of heresy.

As mentioned previously, in addition to specific charges about the substance of teachings, Bonnette took issue with the way the accused conducted themselves. For example, Bonnette stated that at one public lecture, the “general tone was to poke fun at papal directives;”<sup>53</sup> at another, “great fun [was made] of the Cardinal;”<sup>54</sup> and, at still another, “neither speaker presented in a positive manner the traditional teaching . . . .”<sup>55</sup>

The accused responded in letters to Fr. Roesch and included texts of the lectures that were called into question. In some cases, they submitted quotations from articles that supported their remarks and their rights to “express their difficulties with the official non-infallible positions of the magisterium.”<sup>56</sup> Their responses to specific charges were detailed in Chapter IV. Still to be reviewed, however, are their responses pertaining to the magisterium.

Bonnette criticized Baltazar for being disrespectful of the pope by “poking fun at papal directives” and for stating that “some Jesuit or Cardinal” wrote the encyclicals thus implying that the pope “did not really know what he was signing.”<sup>57</sup> Baltazar responded to these charges by stating his view of encyclicals:

. . . [T]he encyclical is a vehicle of the ordinary Magisterium. To say that there is inadequacy of formulation in an encyclical, that there is vagueness in certain expressions is not to poke fun at them, but merely to attest to the fact that encyclicals are not final conclusions, but rather guidelines and directives for further thought and reflection. If theologians observe that even dogmatic

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<sup>52</sup> Bonnette, letter to Roesch, *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>56</sup> Gregory Baum, in *Search* (reprinted in *Commonweal*, November 25, 1966), typed and attached to undated John Chrisman letter to Fr. Roesch.

<sup>57</sup> Bonnette, letter to Roesch, *Ibid.*, 2.

formulations are not the end but merely the beginning for further theological reflection, then is this not more so of encyclicals?<sup>58</sup>

Baltazar, a Teilhardian, made the logical deduction that since dogma develops, other Church teachings develop also. He correctly stated that encyclicals are vehicles of the ordinary teaching authority of the Church. It does not necessarily follow that they are therefore only “guidelines and directives.” As discussed previously, *Lumen gentium*, Article 25 requires “the religious obedience of the mind . . . of the will and intellect.”<sup>59</sup> By starting from the position that encyclicals are only “guidelines and directives,” Baltazar potentially compromised his openness and willingness to accept Church teaching at the level of authority at which it is actually being taught.

Baltazar continued in this response that he understands why Bonnette disagrees with his point of view: “[Bonnette] takes a very strict interpretation of the force of the ordinary Magisterium of the Church. This fundamentalist outlook . . . is the source of his disquiet with regard to my utterances and writings.”<sup>60</sup> Baltazar stated that Bonnette was “shock[ed] on hearing me say that there is such a thing as the evolution of dogma.”<sup>61</sup> Baltazar suggested that Bonnette should read articles by two theologians, Jean Daniélou,<sup>62</sup> “Pluralism within Christian Thought,” and Joseph Ratzinger, “The Changeable and Unchangeable in Theology.” Daniélou calls for the Church to remain open to all valid philosophies and discoveries of the sciences, pointing out that there is a “danger of identifying the revealed truths with the terminology of a particular philosophy in which they have been expressed.”<sup>63</sup> Ratzinger’s article analyzes the nature of revealed truth and philosophy. He concludes by saying the task is “to waken the dogmas of faith out of their systematized paralysis without renouncing what is truly valid to bring them back to

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<sup>58</sup> Eulalio Baltazar, letter to Roesch, undated, 8. Copy of the letter was given to the author by Ulrich.

<sup>59</sup> Rahner, *Ibid.*, 208.

<sup>60</sup> Eulalio Baltazar, letter to Roesch, undated, 9. Copy of the letter was given to the author by Ulrich.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

their original vitality.”<sup>64</sup> Given Baltazar’s background in science and his acceptance of non-Thomist philosophers, it is understandable that Daniélou’s statement calling for openness is agreeable to Baltazar.

In summary, Bonnette and Baltazar are similar in that they both give Church teaching authority a priority of place. They differ on what is included as doctrines which require assent of will and mind. Bonnette and Baltazar also disagree on basic metaphysical issues. Bonnette views reality as *being* while Baltazar views reality as *becoming*.

Chrisman did not state his view of the magisterium in his response to Bonnette’s charges. He did, however, emphasize that the differences between Bonnette and the four accused faculty are epistemological issues. He characterized Bonnette’s view of knowledge as the “spectator theory” by which “Man abstracts eternal truth and then passively sees it in an intellectual intuition.”<sup>65</sup> Chrisman also noted that “the spirit of the Second Vatican Council makes [Bonnette’s] static triumphalism untenable theologically.”<sup>66</sup>

Chrisman attached to his response an excerpt from Gregory Baum’s article printed in *Search* and reprinted in *Commonweal*.<sup>67</sup> Baum spoke to past difficulties when one expressed differences of opinion with the official non-infallible positions of the magisterium. Baum noted that the teaching of the Second Vatican Council is the Church being led through the Spirit speaking in the entire people so that the magisterium is “not simply a teaching body, it is also and first of all a listening body.” Baum mentioned the “unhappy results of the authoritarian manner of ecclesiastical teaching” and called for the magisterium to find methods that will not “prevent examination and responsible discussion . . . of doctrinal positions which by their very nature are

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<sup>64</sup> Joseph Ratzinger, “The Changeable and Unchangeable in Theology,” *Theology Digest*, Winter 1962, 76.

<sup>65</sup> Chrisman, letter to Fr. Roesch, undated, 2.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>67</sup> Gregory Baum, *Commonweal*, 25 November 1966, 212. Typed version is attached to Chrisman’s undated letter to Fr. Raymond A. Roesch.

stages to further insight rather than definitive verdicts.” Baum concluded by calling on the Catholic theologian to “learn to speak with great responsibility to the brethren.”<sup>68</sup>

Chrisman labeled Bonnette’s views as “authoritarian” and “static triumphalist”—phrases that have a negative connotation, especially in the modern academy. The use of expressions such as “unhappy results” and “preventing examination and responsible discussion” imply that the Church is, at best, behind the times and, at worst, in error. A term that Baum used but Chrisman did not address is “responsible discussion.” Baum defined speaking responsibly as proposing personal insights in a tentative way, and not engaging in one’s own conviction unless they are confirmed by the community and ultimately by “the shepherds appointed by the Spirit.” The author believes that Chrisman’s lectures which bordered on sensationalism cannot be viewed as “responsible discussion.”

The author’s critique of Lumppp’s statement that the actions of the ordinary magisterium are always only “instructive guidance” is detailed in Chapter III. In general, the Second Vatican Council document *Lumen gentium*, Article 25 requires that Catholics approach the teachings of the magisterium with an openness and willingness to accept the teachings of the Church at the level of authority at which teachings are being taught. In his response to Bonnette’s charges, Lumppp assessed that the controversy should be understood as the tension between two approaches, traditional and modern. This interpretation is accurate. During the Second Vatican Council, the two positions were referred to as the minority and majority positions. The difficulty with labeling the two positions in these terms, however, lies in the tendency to believe that the majority position is the correct position just because more people line up on that side. Maximizing the majority viewpoint and neglecting the minority could lead to an overemphasis on contemporary teachings to the neglect of the traditions and teachings of the past. In reality, both

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

extremes, along with the positions in between, are the Church. Through the process of respectful dialogue, the Church moves but at the same time maintains continuity.

The tendency to maximize the majority viewpoint was evident in the 1960s as it is now. Lumpp, for example, attached a typed copy of an article by Gregory Baum from the *Canadian Register*<sup>69</sup> in which Baum reported on a meeting between Paul VI and members of a theological symposium in July 1966. The pope discussed original sin and made remarks that the unnamed theologians in attendance did not agree with concerning the origins of man. Their “complaints and fears” must have reached the pope because when the printed version of the speech was issued, “significant changes” were introduced. Baum praised the pontiff and the theologians and hailed this incident as an “effective entry of dialogue into the exercise of the magisterium.” Baum concluded his article by calling for collegiality not only in governing the Church but also in official teaching noting that the final judgment always belongs to the person in authority but that “this judgment would bear principally not on the truth of the matter but rather on the consensus . . . in the Church.”<sup>70</sup>

It is not clear that this article supports Lumpp’s approach. Dialogue is to be commended, as is the recognition that the person in authority is responsible for the final decision. However, the statement that the judgment rests on the consensus in the Church rather than on the truth of the matter is unsettling. It appears that people agreeing is a greater criterion than the truth. While this approach may be presuming the doctrine of the Church’s infallibility and the *sensus fidei*, the expectations for collegiality on the part of some members of the Church shortly after Vatican II may have led them to believe the Church was going to become a democratic entity.

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<sup>69</sup> The only additional information about the article is that it appeared in July 1966.

<sup>70</sup> This dichotomy between truth and consensus seems odd. The author has been unable to locate the source to review it in the original context.

Ulrich's response to Bonnette's charges, as discussed in Chapter III, rested on his belief that the papal statements concerning situation ethics were not infallible teaching. Therefore, the statements were open to debate. Ulrich also referred to an attached statement from a sermon Paul VI had given to faculty and students of Milan's Catholic University of the Sacred Heart on 5 April 1964. At that time, the pope addressed the "problem of the relations between the two magisteria, ecclesiastical and secular" by pointing out ways "not to solve" the problem. He emphasized that "dualism [two magisteria] will always be characteristic of Catholic higher education" and that there will be "uneasiness" and "discomfort" when the two confront each other. The "two different fonts of wisdom in man" should be "kept in mind." He concludes that "faith means . . . genuine happiness; . . . the happiness of supreme wisdom, . . . of knowing the truth."

Ulrich used the concept of development of doctrine as support for the Philosophy Club lecture on situation ethics. Issues need to be discussed in order to be clarified. Ulrich quoted John Courtney Murray in the introduction to the Council document on religious liberty. Murray stated that "the issue that lay continually below the surface of all the conciliar debates" was the issue of the development of doctrine. An example of development of doctrine is Murray's own work on religious freedom.

As a source on philosophical issues, Ulrich used Leslie Dewart whom Ulrich studied under for two years. Ulrich met with Dewart in Toronto shortly after the "Heresy Affair" accusation to review the Philosophy Club lecture.<sup>72</sup> Dewart's *The Future of Belief* "probably caused more commotion in Catholic circles than any book since the English translation of Teilhard de Chardin's *The Phenomenon of Man*."<sup>73</sup> A thorough review of Dewart's works is beyond the

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<sup>72</sup> Ulrich, letter to Raymond A. Roesch, 22 November 1966, 3.

<sup>73</sup> Edward MacKinnon, "The Truth of Belief," *America*, 15 April 1967, 553.

scope of the thesis, however, Dewart believed that all of life is evolutionary without a preset goal, that human beings create their essence as they go along, and that speech is one tool that is used.<sup>74</sup> Dewart called for a revision of the language in which Catholic doctrine was expressed because it no longer expressed contemporary Christian experience.<sup>75</sup> Since the language used is based on Thomism, Dewart came into direct conflict with the Church. Dewart's thoughts may have been widely discussed at the time of the "Heresy Affair," but his ideas were not ones that one would use to defend against an accusation of teachings contrary to the magisterium.

In summary, the crisis stage in the "Heresy Affair" occurred when Dennis Bonnette decided to appeal to the archbishop. The boundaries of the university were crossed and the controversy was no longer an internal squabble. The wider Church became involved in the persons of the apostolic delegate, the archbishop, local pastors, and a fact-finding commission. The media heard of the "Affair" and any opportunities for the university to quietly resolve the conflict were lost. It would take nearly nine more months for the resolution process to unfold. Along the way to resolution, the "Affair" took a number of interesting twists and turns. These twists and turns comprise their own story that will be told in a doctoral dissertation.

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<sup>74</sup> Ulrich, electronic mail message to the author, 4 June 1999.

<sup>75</sup> MacKinnon, *Ibid.*

## CHAPTER V

### AN ANALYSIS OF THE “AFFAIR”

Interest in how the “Heresy Affair” developed and how it might have been prevented led to the research presented in the thesis. The study has been a fascinating one involving complex individuals, institutional transitions, and a turbulent historical context. The emerging focus of the study is the relationship of philosophy to theology, an issue that itself is complex, in transition, and turbulent in the context of the “Heresy Affair.”

In this conclusion, four thesis statements pertaining to the relationship of philosophy to theology will be analyzed. Concepts and examples drawn from the previous chapters will support these statements. First, the “Heresy Affair” developed in part because new philosophical frameworks were employed in theological studies. Second, the historical context of the “Heresy Affair” contributed to a shift in the position of philosophy in the university that reflected a shift in the relationship of philosophy to the Church. Third, the “Heresy Affair” developed in part because issues in the department of philosophy, relating to new philosophical frameworks and a shifting relationship, evolved indiscriminately. Fourth, the “Heresy Affair” is rightly termed “an affair,” analogous to a love affair gone awry.

*The “Heresy Affair” developed in part because new philosophical frameworks were employed in theological studies.*

Thomistic philosophy became the official philosophy of the Church in 1879 with the issuance of the encyclical *Aeterni Patris*. Although other philosophies were developing



throughout the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Church continued to endorse Thomism and, periodically, condemned the others as erroneous.

The Second Vatican Council, however, while validating Thomism, allowed other philosophies to be used as starting points for Catholic theology. This change to philosophical pluralism resulted from the pastoral orientation of the council, a desire for a positive relationship with the modern world, ecumenical concerns, and a desire to relate to non-Western cultures.<sup>1</sup>

The historical context of the “Heresy Affair” was, therefore, one of transition as philosophers with backgrounds in the non-Thomistic philosophies were integrated into neo-Thomistic departments. Tension was bound to occur and that it did at the University of Dayton as evidenced by the Elbert-Kisiel-Dieska exchange over existentialism and Heidegger, the Dieska-Baltazar exchanges over Teilhard de Chardin’s work, and the Ulrich-Chrisman-Bonnette exchanges that were based on Dewart’s thinking.

*The historical context of the “Heresy Affair” contributed to a shift in the position of philosophy in the university that reflected a shift in the relationship of philosophy to the Church.*

As long as Thomism was the official philosophy of the Church, the approach to philosophy and theology was integrated. Since theology was traditionally relegated to the seminary, philosophy was at the core of a Catholic university. With the change in philosophical framework as shown in the first thesis statement, philosophy’s relationship with theology began to change. The division between the academic disciplines became more evident, and philosophy was on the road to losing its premier position within Catholicism. Theology, no longer relegated to seminaries, was in ascendancy as the way a Catholic comes to understand faith.

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<sup>1</sup> Avery Dulles, “Theology and Philosophy,” *The Craft of Theology: From Symbol to System*, (New York, Crossroad Publishing Co., 1992), 122-23.

The changing relationship of philosophy to theology is evidenced by the philosophical approaches of the faculty involved in the “Heresy Affair.” On the one end of the spectrum was Dennis Bonnette whose Thomistic philosophy was integrated with theology, i.e., Bonnette’s philosophy provided a rational basis for faith that was completed in theology with revelation. On the other end are John Chrisman and Lawrence Ulrich who took no account of theological categories or the authority of the magisterium. In the middle of the spectrum was Eulalio Baltazar whose Teilhardian philosophy embraced theology but is not as integrated with theology as is Thomism. In other words, the boundaries between theology and philosophy are less clear for Baltazar than for Bonnette. Lumpp, as a theologian, was closer to Baltazar’s position than to either end of the spectrum. Both Baltazar and Lumpp used theological categories as evidenced in their use of scripture.

On the practical level, the loss of philosophy’s premier position within the Church resulted in the discipline of philosophy losing its position within the Catholic university. It was no longer at “center stage.” After the Second Vatican Council, the laity became theologians in far greater numbers. Philosophy was no longer in the premier position. Thomism lost its appeal to students resulting in additional pressures on the philosophy faculty and the administration. In time, philosophy’s loss of its position would mean a loss of student credit hours, a loss of power within the institution, and a loss of livelihood for some philosophers. For all practical purposes, neo-Thomism ceased would cease to exist in Catholic higher education. This shift in power is apparent in hindsight. One wonders if the faculty involved in the “Heresy Affair” realized such a shift was the likely result of philosophical pluralism.

*The “Heresy Affair” developed in part because issues in the department of philosophy, relating to new philosophical frameworks, and a shifting relationship, evolved indiscriminately.*

A number of practical issues contributed to the development of the “Heresy Affair.” In the early to mid-1960s, the University of Dayton was in a tremendous period of growth in terms of students and educational programs. For the Department of Philosophy, a graduate program was added at the same time the undergraduate population was booming. The combination placed a strain on the faculty. This issue was exacerbated by the fact that there was no apparent faculty hiring plan for the Department of Philosophy. The evidence showed faculty were hired over the telephone (Ulrich and Bonnette) and without being asked what their philosophical orientations were (Chrisman, Baltazar, and Kisiel). With the constant comings and goings of so many faculty every year and with no hiring plan in place, the department was clearly not being shaped in any particular manner.

There is evidence that the university administration realized that leadership was needed in the department. The attempt to hire as chair Anthony Nemetz, who had secular university experience, indicates that the administration saw that philosophy as a discipline in a Catholic university was in a transition. When they were unable to hire Nemetz, they sent the internal appointment, Richard Baker, on sabbatical to a secular university for a “crash course” in relating Thomism to modern philosophies. Again, the evidence shows that the administration knew a change in leadership was needed to shape the department. Perhaps this effort was too little and occurred too late.

Finally, the evidence points overwhelmingly to the fact that the “Heresy Affair” evolved on its own in an indiscriminate manner. For whatever reasons—and there are any number of them that could exist—the university administration apparently did not get involved in the controversy until forced to do so. The chair, Dr. Baker, tried to maintain the peace by not taking sides in the controversy. Staying out of the controversy, however, did not resolve it.

The dean, Bro. Leonard Mann, is barely visible in the controversy. Not one of the faculty members recalls being interviewed by him in the hiring process although some recall being interviewed by the provost, Fr. Stanley. Perhaps, the Marianists distributed tasks among upper administrators based on skills and/or interests rather than administrative function. In this manner, skills and interests could be capitalized and tasks performed adequately. For example, Fr. Stanley's humanities background made it easier for him to interview the candidates.

In terms of the upper level administrators, two provosts, Fr. Stanley and Fr. Lees, spoke at various times to the individual faculty members involved. Since the erroneous teachings did not stop, their actions must be termed ineffectual. Fr. Lees, the provost at the time of the crisis, had only been provost for a year. He had recently (1961) earned a Ph.D. in English from Ohio State University and had just been appointed to the faculty in 1962. He had no prior administrative experience in higher education.

The only remaining upper level administrator was the president, Fr. Roesch. The evidence in this study indicates that he knew about the controversy and that he took no direct action to intervene. It is possible that he acted indirectly and that there is no evidence of his actions. Examples of possible indirect actions include supporting the chair to help him work within the department to resolve some of the tensions, discreetly encouraging faculty leaders to work with key faculty within the philosophy department in an effort to resolve the tensions, using the Marianists within the philosophy department to move the discussion to a philosophical level rather than appealing to Church authority, and working with key faculty to encourage the development of discussion guidelines.

The possibility also exists that Fr. Roesch took no indirect actions. Additional evidence—Roesch's conversation with Dombro—points to one possible explanation for his apparent lack of action: at this particular time, Roesch placed the emphasis on "university" in the term "Catholic

university.” Unfortunately, by not intervening, the “Heresy Affair” was allowed to evolve on its own.

*The “Heresy Affair” is rightly termed “an affair,” analogous to a love affair gone awry.*

The work on the thesis began with the view of telling the story of the “Heresy Affair,” a name given to the controversy by the unnamed author of an article in the *University of Dayton Alumnus*.<sup>2</sup> The thesis author thought that she would provide an historical context, specific background information, and then get to the nitty-gritty of what really happened when the letter was written to the archbishop. She thought that she would review newspaper clippings and journal articles, do comparisons and contrasts, and determine what were the various perspectives on the conflict. The author had a reasonably good concept of the perspectives. She knew what the issues were: Thomism vs. evolutionary thought, academic freedom, teaching authority of the Church, the relationship of the hierarchy to academe, individual personalities, and the culture of the 1960s.

What she hadn’t realized was that the “Heresy Affair” was analogous to a love affair. It was an extended relationship between individuals—one that lasted over a five-year period. The relationship soured, tensions escalated, a crisis occurred, parties outside the relationship got involved, and ultimately, the relationship dissolved. Years after the relationship ended, the individuals have various emotions. Some are hurt; others bitter and angry; and others in some peace with the memories.

The author expected that the crisis and the intervention of outside parties would be interesting and need to be sorted out. What she did not anticipate was that there was so much

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<sup>2</sup> “The ‘Heresy’ Affair,” *University of Dayton Alumnus*, March 1967, Inside Front Cover. Evidence in Fr. Roesch’s archival material and in the University’s public relations archival material shows that the article was authored by Fr. Thomas Stanley, S.M. Fr. Stanley does not recall authoring the article or coining the name “Heresy” Affair.

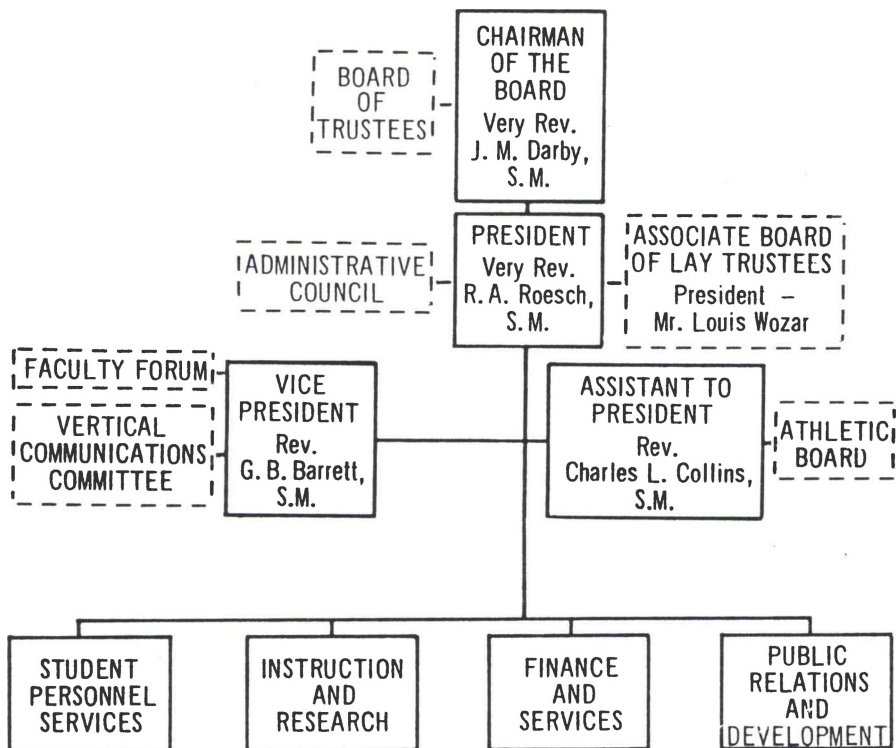
more to the affair. The real story was the relationship and its deterioration. The crisis could only be understood if the deteriorating relationship was understood. And so, the focus of the thesis changed.

The starting point thus became the relationship between the faculty members. They initially differed over philosophical approaches: universalism vs. historicalism. As the philosophical disagreements became entangled in issues of faith and pastoral concern, the relationship deteriorated. The context of the 1960s was a factor as it framed the topics of discussion—birth control, situation ethics, abortion—and allowed the faculty the freedom to challenge issues in society and the Church. The faculty were human beings and their humanity was a factor—their emotions, their assets, and their failings. As in any affair, the relationship took on its own dynamism. It did not have to develop the way it did. At any number of instances, the outcome could have changed “if only” someone had responded in a different way, or used a less belittling tone, or was more open to dialogue.

At the outset of the thesis, the author expected the tensions in the “Affair” to reflect the tensions in the Church of the 1960s. This expectation proved to be true. However, by focusing on the relationship aspect of the “Affair,” the changing relationship between philosophy and theology became the prominent issue. The remaining issues are left for future research and study.

## APPENDIX A

### Organizational Chart: University of Dayton, 1966-67



## APPENDIX B

UNIVERSITY OF DAYTON  
DAYTON, OHIO 45409

DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY

1116 Everett Drive  
Dayton, Ohio  
October 15, 1966

His Excellency  
The Most Reverend Earl Alter, D.D.  
Archbishop of Cincinnati

Your Excellency,

So that you may be enabled to fulfill your obligation under Canon 1331 #2, and in light of the speed with which a crisis of faith is developing at the University of Dayton, it has become necessary that a second appeal for your intercession be sent to you,

For several years now there has existed on this campus a rapidly developing situation which is now at the point of doing grave harm to the faith and morals of the entire university community. A salient point in this very complex development was the talk given publicly last Spring by Mr. John M. Chrisman and Dr. Eulalio R. Baltazar--both of whom are assistant professors of philosophy here. In that talk both speakers publicly endorsed situation ethics in precisely that form which has been condemned by the Holy See. Mr. Chrisman even went so far as to endorse abortion in some cases, e.g., the Sherril Finkling case.

Immediately thereafter, one of those in attendance, Fr. Langhirt, S.M., wrote to Your Excellency in protest of the incident. Your Excellency, in reply, forwarded Fr. Langhirt's letter to the Administration with a request for an explanation. The Administration is understood to have replied that the faculty members in question had been under investigation for one year. As of this writing, no official action has been taken.

During the summer, Mr. Chrisman took part in a public discussion in which, in response to a question, he explicitly denied belief in Purgatory.

Just this last week, on October 11, 1966, a second public talk entitled "Situation Ethics" was held on this campus. The speakers were Mr. Lawrence Ulrich, an instructor in our philosophy department, and Mr. Randolph F. Lump, an instructor in our theology department. The talk was subjective in tone and during its entirety no positive affirmation of the traditional teaching on the natural law was uttered. Many students and faculty present were left with the impression that absolute and immutable moral norms were being ignored or denied.



UNIVERSITY OF DAYTON  
DAYTON, OHIO 45409

DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY

Archbishop Alter (2)

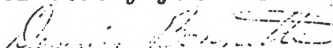
It has become increasingly evident that many of those theories condemned in Cardinal Ottaviani's famous letter of July 24, 1966, are being openly advocated by a substantial number of the members of the theology and philosophy faculty here. The influence of these erroneous teachings virtually permeates this University, even in some of its highest quarters.

Because of these developments, this letter is being sent to Your Excellency as an urgent request that you send a competent representative to the University of Dayton for the purpose of conducting a comprehensive investigation of the grave spiritual harm which is now occurring here. The urgency of this request lies not only in the continued harm to souls which is done daily in the classroom, but also in the practical fact that our contracts here stipulate that unless a professor is notified to the contrary by December 15, his contract is automatically renewed for the coming year.

A further reason for speed is the fact that the Catholic consciences of several professors have been compromised too long already. If no action is taken before the contractual deadline, it will be necessary for some to resign their posts in public protest of the Administration's inexcusable failure to fulfill its moral duty.

If Your Excellency feels the need for further evidence before taking action at this point, please feel free to contact me. I request that you hold my name in confidence for the time being unless you are unwilling to take effective measures otherwise. In the latter case I freely sacrifice the security of my position to the service of the cause of Christ.

Sincerely yours in Christ,

  
Dennis Bonnette  
Assistant Professor of Philosophy  
Member, Academic Council

One Enclosure  
cc: The Apostolic Delegate

APPENDIX C

The John LaFarge Institute

106 West 56th Street, New York, N.Y. 10019 (212) 581-4640

August 30, 1966

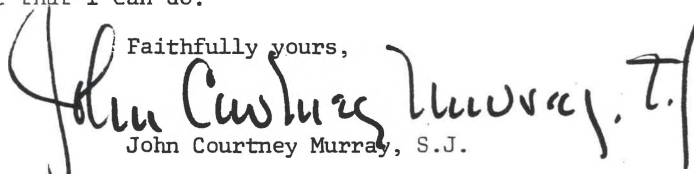
Professor Dennis Bonnette  
Department of Philosophy  
University of Dayton  
Dayton, Ohio 45409

Dear Professor Bonnette:

Do forgive my long delay in answering your letter of June 28th. Even at the moment I am afraid that I hardly know what to say about your "hypothetical" moral case. Your professor of philosophy does indeed seem to entertain some strange ideas. However, all the subjects mentioned in your letter are being discussed actively today and might indeed be called controversial in some sense. I should hesitate to say anything about his position unless it were more adequately described. It is always perilous to judge a man on such a brief account.

I fear that this will not be useful to you and I am sorry. But it is about the best that I can do.

Faithfully yours,

  
John Courtney Murray, S.J.

## ABBREVIATIONS

AAS	<i>Acta Apostolica Sedis</i>
ACUA	Archives of the Catholic University of America, Washington, DC
ASM(CIN)	Archives of the Society of Mary, Cincinnati Province, Dayton, Ohio
AUD	Archives of the University of Dayton, Dayton, Ohio
FN	University of Dayton <i>Flyer News</i>

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