“My Friends, Welcome to Wittenberg!”

Nineteen years ago, I delivered a paper at the annual meeting of the Canadian Society of Church History entitled “It Can’t Be True, and If It Is, It’s Not Our Fault! An Examination of Roman Catholic Institutional Response to Priestly Pedophilia in the Ottawa Valley.” In that paper, I made a number of observations and suggestions for possible areas for further research. Over the last nineteen years, an analysis of institutional and non-institutional Roman Catholic documents led me to the conclusion that the title I gave my paper in 1993 should be slightly modified: the new title could be “Well, we guess it’s true, but it’s still not our fault!” With few, if any, exceptions, the church tries to divest itself of any major responsibility for what has happened. “With hindsight” is a standard expression to be found in official documents, as is the excuse, “we didn’t know how harmful the sexual abuse of children was.” As limited as the historical evidence may be, the Catholic Church attempts to confine the “crisis” to a small period of time, essentially between 1950 and the present.

There are a number of reasons put forward for the “problem.” The major scapegoat seems to be the secularization of the Church in the sixties and the seventies. This includes the acceptance, or at least a toleration of homosexuality in Catholic institutions, poor seminary training and/or the
changes in seminary training. Other causes include the cultivation of anti-authoritarianism within the Church, a lack of clerical discipline, the isolated life of the priest now that there are fewer of them in a parish, media hype, anti-Catholicism and last, but certainly not least, the rise of feminism. It is not the intention of this paper to comment on these issues except in passing. This essay will focus, first, on three recent documents from the United States Council of Catholic Bishops (USCCB); second, it will examine the church’s attitude towards victims/survivors; and, third, it will comment on the factors contributing to the lack of historical discussion of the issue.

Institutional Documents

The following section constitutes a brief look at some key elements from the USCCB’s approach to the crisis. The first document, “A Report on the Crisis in the Catholic Church in the United States,” sets out parameters for studies, which have not really changed since they were stated in 2002. The second is the 2010 Audit Report on USCCB’s “Charter for the Protection of Children and Young People” that shows that the problem is ongoing. The final documents to be discussed are the recent studies produced by the John Jay College of Criminal Justice. These reports are becoming the basis for structuring discussion of the child sexual abuse scandal in the North American Roman Catholic Church.

A Report on the Crisis in the Catholic Church in the United States

As part of the USCCB’s attempt finally to address the crisis in the church, a National Review Board for the Protection of Children and Young People was established. In 2004, the Board issued a report entitled “A Report on the Crisis in the Catholic Church in the United States.” In what may have been a defensive move, the report began by explaining what it was not:

First, this Report is not intended to address Church doctrine or to serve as a sounding board for those within the Church and outside the Church who wish to use this scandal to accomplish objectives unrelated to or tangential to the goal set forth above. The problem facing the Church was not caused by Church doctrine, and the solution does not lie in questioning doctrine. Second, this Report does not address specific instances of clerical sexual abuse or inadequate
episcopal response . . . it is not the purpose of the Report to determine whether an individual priest or bishop was responsible for a specific act or omission. Finally, this Report is not, and does not purport to be, a scientific exercise. With the exception of the analysis of the John Jay College study . . . the Report does not rely upon the scientific method. Thus, for example, the Board has not attempted to conduct a comprehensive analysis of factors that may have made sexual abuse of minors more or less likely in a particular environment, or to develop an empirically-based profile of a typical sexual abuse offender. However, the Board is confident that it has accurately placed in context the reasons for the current crisis.  

These were the parameters of the report. Robert S. Bennett, the Research Committee Chair, resigned from the committee because nothing of significance could be accomplished. It is hard to understand how the bishops could believe that they could “accurately place in context the reasons for the current crisis” with those parameters. Eight years later, any close reading of the John Jay Reports, the USCCB 2010 audit report on the implementation of the “Charter for the Protection of Children and Young People,” the institutional reports from England and Wales, Ireland, the Netherlands, Germany, Africa, the Philippines, many of the academic studies that have come out in the last ten years, and, lastly, all of the media reports, lead to the conclusion that this was wishful thinking.

2004-2010 USCCB Audit Report

This audit report fulfills the requirement to monitor adherence in all Diocese, Eparchies and Religious Institutes to the USCCB’s “Charter for the Protection of Children and Young People.” There was almost universal compliance in filling out the necessary information. During the period covered by the report, the American churches paid a minimum of $4,847,444,866 in costs related to allegations of child sexual abuse. At the same time, 5,101 new credible allegations, 5,069 new victims and 3,496 new offenders were reported. There are four main points in the audit report that outlined the major issues that the auditors considered critical. They are, first, concerns about accurate record keeping that need to be attended to; second, serious concerns about “charter drift”; third, parish accountability is paramount because it is at this level the issues first arise; and, finally, there is concern about management letter accountability.
The John Jay Reports deal with many of the scapegoats that we noted above and have also become the backbone of the Roman Catholic response to the pedophilia crisis in North America. The general tone of the Causes and Context Report can be paraphrased in three phrases: “really, there weren’t that many priests”; “see the charts, it’s clearly getting better”; and, in the final analysis, “everybody else is doing it, so why pick on us!”

There are many criticisms that can be made of these reports. For example, although the Causes and Context Report purports to cover 1950 to 2010, all the graphs and statistics end by 2002 before the Boston scandal. One major criticism concerns the methodology of the report. As with “A Report on the Crisis in the Catholic Church in the United States” noted above, there were limitations on the data that the researchers were able to access. Further criticisms can be made about the way in which the data was reported. They moved away from the definition of pedophilia in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM) as the sexual abuse of minors thirteen years and younger, opting to define it as an act involving children ten years and younger. This lowers the number of “pedophilic priests” to 22 per cent from a staggering 73 per cent.

Father Thomas Doyle is one of the few people who have placed this issue within a broader historical context while also keeping victims front and centre. The following is part of his response to the 2010 John Jay Report Causes and Context Report:

The recent John Jay study on causes and contexts provided important data that placed the sexual abuse from one chronological period into a broader sociocultural context but this study didn’t come close to examining the true causes. These causes are in the sacrosanct domain the institutional Church goes to every length to protect but it is the domain where we will begin to find the answers: the clerical sub-culture and the narcissistic hierarchical elite that has allowed this nightmare to happen and has failed to comprehend the profound depth of the damage done, not to the Church as institution, but to the most important persons among God’s people, the victims.

The John Jay researchers respond by saying that this was not part of their mandate. Many Roman Catholic writers ask “why not?”
Where are the Victims in the Discussion?

Have some things changed since 1993? Outside of the fact that there are now a lot more victims, the first thing that one notices is that there is less tendency on the part of writers on the subject to call the victims/survivors “alleged.” After years of using the “bad apple” explanation to argue that the abuse incidents were isolated, or that the emphasis in the media was the result of a “moral panic” or a product of anti-Catholicism in the United States, the number of victims is now so great that there can be no doubt that there is a real institutional problem that needs to be addressed. In 2002 there was a turning point in the acceptance of the fact that the abuse of children by clergy had institutional ramifications in the United States. This was when the situation in the diocese of Boston under the leadership of Cardinal Law became front-page news around the world. No longer could the problem be relegated to isolated incidents.

In addition, there are now numerous organizations that support the victims/survivors, both on an individual and a systemic level. The Catholic Church has paid for counseling for victims/survivors, sometimes willingly, sometimes as part of a settlement. There are many support systems in place for victims/survivors. For example, one of the largest victim/survivor on-line networks, Survivors Network of those Abused by Priests (SNAP), began in 1988 and has grown steadily to 10,000 members in 2010. SNAP and CCR (Centre for Constitutional Rights) have instituted a lawsuit filed against the Vatican and Pope Benedict for human rights violations with the International Court in The Hague. BishopAccountability.org, established in June 2003, is a major primary resource for researchers and for victims/survivors in the United States. It contains archives, Bishops’ files from a number of dioceses, reports, lawsuit documents, newspaper reports, and a database of abusive priests in the United States along with other information. The third website containing primary documentation is Richard Sipe’s website, which also serves as a portal for the research and advocacy of Father Thomas Doyle.

However, the relationship between the Catholic Church and its victims is an ongoing struggle. The Kansas City diocese is in the process of suing SNAP for access to its membership list. Many dioceses fight victims’ claims with relentless defenses from their legal teams. One of the more interesting recent developments is the Vatican’s defense in response to an American lawsuit which alleges that the Vatican itself is negligent for failing to alert police or the public about Roman Catholic priests who
molested children. The Vatican lawyers assert, first, that the Pope has diplomatic immunity; second, that the American bishops who oversaw abusive priests weren’t employees of the Vatican; and, third, that the *Crimen solicitationis*, a 1962 document, does not provide proof of a cover-up.

Furthermore, where the problem used to be “blaming the victim,” there is now a prevailing analysis coming from the institution that focusses on how “everyone is a victim”: the priests who don’t abuse are victims; the faithful in the pews are victims; the Holy Mother Church is a victim. One finds a version of this in Archbishop Mancini’s paper for the *Trauma and Transformation Conference* held in Montreal. I wonder if he actually understands what has happened to the victims/survivors. He speaks eloquently about what he has learned about priests during this crisis. He speaks of how difficult life is for priests, the burden of the financial costs on dioceses, and how seminary training is highly inadequate. It is a heartfelt reflection; however, when speaking about his talks with victims, he writes:

> One line I often heard, which really bothered me, was “The priest was God.” Perhaps this was an expression that the victims’ lawyers prepped them to use, but whether it is or not, it still reflects the mindset and culture of a time and place prior to the many cultural changes which have affected the Church, for better or for worse, in these last forty years.

In the final analysis, the focus tends still to be on the damage to the church and not on the victims.

**The Historical Context**

Whether speaking from inside or outside the institution, the last sixty years have been critical in shaping the historical context of this issue. One cannot help but feel for Roman Catholic laymen and women who are trying to deal with this subject, writing books, and analyzing the institution. It must be particularly difficult for Roman Catholics who are dealing first hand with victims/survivors on a consistent basis, whether in a legal or pastoral capacity. Liberal or conservative, most want to keep their belief system intact, while addressing the problems. This sometimes leads to rather peculiar statements. For example, Leon Podles’ *Sacrilege* notes: “When the Christian Brothers of Ireland first came to Newfoundland,
discipline was firm but loving, but by the 1950s the Christian Brothers brutalized the boys with 'excessive, if not savage, punishment'. Physical abuse glided over easily into sexual abuse. Inherent in this quote is the assumption that the sexual abuse of these boys at Mount Cashel only began in the 1950s. Furthermore, he suggests that physical abuse can turn into sexual abuse. Modern psychology makes both of these statements inadequate, to say the least. Without any historical data or historical studies to back him up, this is unjustified as well. There are historical hints that the problem existed prior to the fifties. However, at this point, I know of no historical study that has attempted to look at this issue. Ultimately, there are two critical things missing from the reports, official documents and pastoral letters, and the two are intimately related.

There is a need for a sustained examination of early primary documents, the Church Fathers, the early church councils, monastic documents, and legal codes focusing on the relationships of these documents to the sexual abuse of children – predominantly male children. Then the same must be done for the medieval period, the Reformation era, the early modern period (including what happened to indigenous peoples during colonization), and continuing until the latest scandal. Only in this way will it become clear how the issue developed or didn’t develop and the role that historical circumstances and the development of Christian theology played in the inability of the Church to understand the sexual behaviour of its clerics. Thomas Doyle thinks that it will probably be impossible to do. In Doyle, et al., Sex, Priests, and Secret Codes: The Catholic Church’s 2,000 Year Paper Trail of Sexual Abuse, there is one chapter devoted to the “paper trail” and a chronology in the appendix beginning with the Didache. That chapter and chronology illustrate that this has been an ongoing ecclesiastical problem since the second century. This emphasis on official documents appears to indicate that there has been a consistent concern over the sexual abuse of male children since the earliest days of Christianity. Charles Scicluna, in the 2004 papal document arising from the 2004 Vatican conference, adds still more primary documents to Doyle’s list. In their monograph on childhood and children in early Christianity, Cornelia Horn and John Martens devote seven pages to “The Christian Response to Sexual Exploitation.” From this short examination of the question, it is clear that the sexual use of children in Christianity is part of the historical record.
Beginning the Research

I do not believe that the situation is as hopeless as Thomas Doyle thinks that it is. The difficulties are there and we may not be able to make definitive conclusions based on available primary sources. However, we analyze documents and extrapolate from them all the time. Anyone who is working in the Classical era, ancient Egypt and the Ancient Near East, early Judaism or early Christianity, must work with limited material and yet must still develop historical hypotheses and conclusions.

There are a number of historical points from which to start doing a history of the “pedophilia crisis” within Christianity as a whole. This is after all not just a problem in the Roman Catholic Church. First, the history of the Roman Catholic Church contains numerous examples of periods of “grave moral turpitude” that were addressed by the institution. Three of the most familiar examples are the Gregorian Reformation, the reformation of Innocent III and the Fourth Lateran Council, and the Catholic Reformation inaugurated by the Council of Trent. At an initial glance, the Church seems to be following a similar path of retrenchment, rather than asking why the solutions to moral questions in earlier periods have so obviously failed to address sexual issues.

Second, the Roman Catholic Church is a continuation of the Roman Empire. To this day, it still uses Latin as its official language. Thus to begin to understand this problem, one must look at Roman attitudes towards sexuality and those of the Greco-Roman world. Historians have tended to take an avoidance-oriented attitude towards the sexual use of children in the Greco-Roman world. It seems to be easier to look at child sacrifice than the rape of children. Historical “arms-length” attitudes and cultural relativism have made this avoidance possible.

Third, the development of Christian theology must be analyzed as it relates to this issue. The question is often asked: how could these priests be allowed to “get away with it”? The development of negative theological norms concerning sexuality in Christianity is often cited as a primary cause. I would argue, however, that it is more complicated than that. For example, the Donatist controversy led to the theological construct of the “efficacy of the sacraments.” This, of course, means that the sacraments administered by sexually abusing priests are still “efficacious.” This is small consolation to the laity in those churches, but it is part of what needs to be addressed. Another theological issue concerns the issue of priests and marriage. On 30 April 2001 there was a promulgation of a special law
motu proprio that “a sin against the Sixth Commandment of the Decalogue by a cleric with a minor under 18 years of age is to be considered a more grave delict or delictum gravius.” This is the commandment: Thou shalt not commit adultery. This idea, that priests cannot commit adultery with minors has been around for centuries. So when did this theological idea actually start? Is the problem that, in Roman Catholicism, there has been, in practice, no age differentiation with regard to sexuality? If all sex is wrong for the celibate (and outside of marriage), then is it immaterial with whom you have sex?48

There are problems concerning how to approach the subject from a methodological perspective. There is a problem with the accessibility of documentation – from access to actual case files at the local diocese to access to Vatican files. It is clear from the slim number of documents to which we have access that there has been a longstanding concern, particularly with men having sex with young males and male children. How do we separate concerns about homosexuality from concerns about sex with male children? Where did this Christian antipathy towards homosexuality begin? Does it relate to scriptural concerns solely, or does it derive from philosophical structures such as Stoicism? There are always issues of anachronistic thinking and cultural relativism. Psychohistory might be a useful tool for analyzing the preoccupation with sexuality in the early Church Fathers and other writers in the first few centuries of Christianity. However, psychohistory is still a suspect branch of the historical enterprise.

A Potential Hypothesis

The purpose of historical research, in the final analysis, should be to explain, as best as possible, how things got the way they are. There are astounding historical works on issues relevant to the sexual abuse of children. All such studies need to be examined once more, however, in order to understand the “priestly pedophilia crisis.” A potential hypothesis for a historical study of this subject would be that “the potential for the child sexual abuse scandal of the twentieth century became systemic and embedded in theology in the earliest writings of Christianity as well as in the church.” Furthermore, these institutional and theological impediments are creating difficulties in resolving the sexual abuse of children by priests to the satisfaction of the populace in the context of the twenty-first century.
Is Roman Catholicism and Christianity itself at a Crossroads?

A religion’s only real commodity is its moral rectitude. This is a moral issue that truly has the potential to split the church apart. The split may not be overt but it probably already exists. This is one topic that has the potential to undermine the entire moral theory and structure of the Roman Catholic Church. It is not just the authority issue. The response of the Vatican has been too slow and out of touch with the day-to-day reality of the laity. I have begun a series of blog posts, called “Just what is the colour of the sky in their world,” which look at statements coming from the church and highlight just how out of touch it is. Too many Roman Catholics, laity and clergy, are asking serious questions about the state of the institution and the presuppositions on which its theology has been created. There seems to be an understanding, inside and outside the institution, that ending this problem within Roman Catholicism will require a seismic shift – nothing short of a radical and structural institutional reform will suffice. That change needs to begin with an historical understanding of where the problems began: in the earliest days of Christianity when it was defining itself over and against the Greco-Hellenistic culture in which it arose.

Epilogue

What I must say here is that this is an extremely painful issue for most Roman Catholics, no matter what their response is. In October 2009, the recent case of Bishop Lahey brought about a truly anguished statement in a pastoral letter from Archbishop Anthony Mancini of Nova Scotia:

Enough is enough! How much more can all of us take? Like you, my heart is broken, my mind is confused, my body hurts and I have moved in and out of a variety of feelings, especially shame and frustration, fear and disappointment, along with a sense of vulnerability, and a tremendous poverty of spirit. I have cried and I have silently screamed and perhaps that was my prayer to God: Why Lord? What does all this mean? What are you asking of me and of my priests? What do you want to see happen among your people? In this a time of purification or is it nothing more than devastation? Are people going to stop believing, will faithful people stop being people of faith? Lord, what are you asking of us and how can we make it
This cry echoes the still unique statement of Archbishop Penney of Newfoundland twenty years ago: “We are a sinful church. We are naked. Our anger, our pain, our anguish and our vulnerability are clear to the whole world.”

I will give the final words to Archbishop Mancini: “And the challenge that I believe is facing us, certainly in Nova Scotia, but I suspect that it is true right across the board, we are really faced with the founding, the re-founding of our church.”

Endnotes


3. This position is supported by the research in two seriously flawed reports from the John Jay School of Criminality and Justice, The Nature and Scope of Sexual Abuse of Minors by Catholic Priests and Deacons in the United States 1050-20002, (Washington DC: USCCB, 2006); and The Causes and Context of Sexual Abuse of Minors by Catholic Priests in the United States, 1050-2010, a Report Presented to the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops by the John Jay College Research Team (Washington DC: USCCB, 2011).

4. This is often code for the changes that occurred in the church because of Vatican II. It is almost as if Vatican II and “priestly pedophilia crisis” are woven from the same cloth.

5. Length constraints led me to focus only on the situation in the United States, in part because Roman Catholics in that country have been at the forefront in bringing this issue to the attention of the institution and the public. For a brief look at the Canadian situation, see the 2005 CCCB’s review of protocols set out in From Pain to Hope: “Report of the Special Taskforce for the Review


8. These reports have had a number of iterations. See note 3, above, for the full citations.

9. As an example, McGill’s Centre for Research on Religion (CREOR) hosted a conference on the sexual abuse crisis in the Catholic Church in October 2011. Key among the presenters was Karen Terry, the lead researcher for the John Jay reports. The Trauma and Transformation Conference papers and presentations, as well as videos from a variety of sources, are available online at http://traumaandtransformation.org


11. Almost all of the official reports from Roman Catholic Dioceses around the world are available on-line through Bishopaccountability.org or the other websites mentioned in this paper.


13. Report on the Implementation, 55. This is a minimum because there were incomplete data in the early years covered by the report. The cost to the American Roman Catholic church prior to 2004 is not included in the calculations.


19. See *Causes and Context Report*, “Figure 2.7: Distribution of Diocesan Priest Accused of Abuse, in Behavioral Groups,” 35. This is one example where changing the DSM definition of pedophiles has an impact on perception.


Pastoral Counselors and Educators” and “Anger, Anger and Rage,” blog posts available at http://www.sheilaredmond.com/search?q=pastoral


33. A list of newspaper articles concerning the lawsuit against SNAP can be found at http://www.snapnetwork.org/snaps_fight


40. Leon J. Podles, *Sacrilege: Sexual Abuse in the Catholic Church* (Baltimore, MD: Crossland Press, 2008). Leon Podles is a victims’ lawyer and was involved with the USCCB 2004 report discussed above. Along with Judge Robert S. Bennett, the Research Committee Chair, he disavowed any connection with the report’s findings. He sits on the Board of bishop accountability.org and his anger at the institution is palpable throughout the book.


45. Cornelia B. Horn and John Martens, “Let the Little Children Come to Me”: *Childhood and Children in Early Christianity* (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2009), 225-32. One initial finding is that the issue seems to be embedded more in a fear of homosexual behaviour than a primary concern for children.


