It Can’t Be True, and If It Is, It’s Not Our Fault: An Examination of Roman Catholic Institutional Response to Priestly Paedophilia in the Ottawa Valley

SHEILA A. REDMOND

Between 1983 and 1987, more than two hundred priests or religious brothers were reported to the Vatican Embassy for sexually abusing youngsters, in most cases teenage boys – an average of nearly one accusation a week in those four years alone. In the decade of 1982 to 1992, approximately 400 priests were reported to church and civil authorities for molesting youths. The vast majority of these men had multiple victims. By 1992, the church’s financial losses – in victims’ settlements, legal expenses, and medical treatment of clergy – had reached an estimated $400 million.¹

I want to open with two short stories from my own work as both caregiver and counsellor with men who are living with HIV and AIDS. In many ways, HIV disease can create a window to the soul. The men I counsel are predominantly Roman Catholic, some are gay, some are straight, but none of them has a positive relationship with their faith. The first story is about a man in his early forties who had been sexually abused as a child by a Roman Catholic priest. From the time he was four years old, Father Raymond used to give him toys after touching him and masturbating in front of him. This man was in the terminal phases of HIV disease and what was eating him apart was the priest’s abuse of him and his mother’s reaction when he told her. She told him to forget it – after all, priests had

Historical Papers 1993: Canadian Society of Church History Papers
needs too. He agonized over his sexuality, he agonized over his responsibility for the assault and he agonized over his inability to forgive this man. He believed that his AIDS was a punishment for having tempted the priest. And he agonized over his inability to make peace with God and the church, no matter how hard he tried. His descent into AIDS dementia before his death was perhaps his saving grace.

The second story took place on Sunday, 2 May 1993. One of my men is going through recovery from substance abuse. As we have been walking this road together, one of his concerns is about spirituality and the importance of his Roman Catholicism and his belief in God as his higher power. Sexually assaulted as a child himself, one of the problems we have discussed is the sexual abuse of children by priests and brothers and the church’s poor response. Nevertheless, he had begun attending mass again and finding that it was spiritually uplifting and a help in his recovery process. 2 May 1993 was apparently designated in Ottawa as the day for discussion from the pulpit about sexual assault by clergy. Parishioners were told, as my client related it to me, that they should not blame the church for the actions of a few sinful priests. Furthermore, they were told that there was not enough money to train priests properly and that they should think of putting the church in their wills to support the education of new priests. Both he and his partner found this inexcusable and have not returned to mass. Furthermore, this issue can be related to problems he is experiencing with his God.

Despite the fact that priests and other clergy have been convicted of the sexual abuse of children, despite the other cases which involve Christian families, despite evidence that this social problem occurs in all socio-economic and cultural strata, people want to believe one prevailing myth: that child sexual assault does not happen within a religious context, and if it happens within Christian structures, it is a recent phenomenon and is caused by the intrusion of the “secular” world. The following paragraph in the middle of the summary to Chapter Six of the CCCB publication, From Pain to Hope: Report from the ad hoc committee on child sexual abuse, supports this assumption:

Child sexual abuse flourishes in a society that is based on competition and power and which is undermined by sexual exploitation and violence against women. Contemporary society has shown itself quick to reject traditional values, to be unable to offer new ones, and to be
unfair to women and children. The challenge to transform society
becomes enormous when we begin to realize the terrible social cost
when child abuse is tolerated.²

This assumes that the sexual violation of children, violence against
women, sexual exploitation, competitive social structures and the abuse of
power are recent phenomena unrelated to the Christian basis of western
society. It also implies a causal connection between the deterioration of
“moral values” and a rise in the sexual abuse of children. However, it is
not known whether there is a real increase in sexual assault of children or
whether since child sexual assault is now recognized as having a long-term
negative developmental effect on those who have been abused that more
cases are being reported and more people are speaking up.

This paper is a reflection on an issue that arose from my doctoral
research as well as from my work providing support services and coun-
selling for people living with HIV disease. Child sexual assault by Chris-
tian clergy is a serious and destructive fact of life in North America. The
sexual abuse of children by Roman Catholic priests and religious and the
institution’s response effects not only those who are abused and their
families but also the Catholic community as a whole. The following dis-
cussion of some of the issues arising from the institutional response to
priestly paedophilia highlights the need for historical research in areas of
Roman Catholic history that have not been forthcoming.

The Impact of Sexual Assault

The impact of the sexual abuse of children by priests and religious
does not include only the negative factors normally associated with child
sexual assault. Some of these children will themselves become abusers,
others will turn to substance abuse and other destructive behaviours, others
will commit suicide, others will remain depressed, unhappy and insecure
about their lives and their sexuality. The irreversible effect on the child’s,
and her or his parents’, religious beliefs and the further negative impact on
the community of believers is just as important.³ Outrage and loss of faith
are two immediate consequences of the discovery that a priest has been
sexually molesting children under his care and instruction. This betrayal
of trust causes the same kind of grief and destruction of relationships for
children and their families as intrafamilial child sexual assault.⁴ In fact,
there seems to be a close relationship between the reactions of families to disclosures of father-daughter incest and subsequent denial from family members and the reactions of people in cases involving priests where denial is the common reaction and the fault is often placed on the victims.⁵

What becomes clear from the "priest" cases is that the priest is considered "holy" and to small children – God. Like the father, the paedophilic priest has characteristically been in a virtually unassailable position, which has made it extremely easy for these men to abuse children. Part of this religious "halo" is the important fact that the priest is called "father" by his parishioners, both adults and children. Furthermore, the sacramental nature of Roman Catholic priesthood means that the priest becomes an incarnation of Christ during the sacrament of the eucharist.⁶ It is useless to talk about metaphors and symbols as they are supposed to be understood by adults. For children, these relationships, symbols and metaphors are a concrete reality. Because the abuse often occurs during the concrete phase of development when abstraction abilities are limited, there can often be an arrest in the development of God image and the belief structure. As a result, the ideas about God, the church and priests are carried into adulthood with limited change.

The Abusers

In his book, *Sexual Abuse in the Church: A Quest for Understanding*,⁷ John Loftus argues not only that there is more to learn – which is true – but also that we don’t know very much – which is not true. We certainly know more about the abuser’s profile, social history, temperament, personality structure, behaviour and beliefs than we’ll ever know for certain about Martin Luther, St. Augustine and of course, Jesus of Nazareth. It is a generally accepted that most, if not all, paedophiles were themselves sexually assaulted when they were children. This would suggest that there is already a long history of child sexual assault within the Roman Catholic milieu just as there is in the rest of society. Until there is more data available as well as historical studies focusing on this aspect of church history, it will be a long time before we get the information we need.

In addition, Loftus’ book attempts to lay the blame for this problem on a priest’s isolation, alcoholism, the pressure of the job, the immaturity of the priest and lack of training in matters of sexuality and intimacy.
These may be factors, but there are many priests who suffer from these problems and do not sexually abuse children.\(^8\)

*The Winter Commission* calls the priests “regressed offenders” (actually “pseudo-affective regressed homosexuals”) without having access to the psychological files of these offenders. Regressed offenders are considered to be those who only sexually assault children situationally and fixated offenders have children as their primary sexual interest.\(^7\) These priests certainly have not behaved like regressed offenders but given the multiple numbers of victims would appear to be fixated offenders. Paedophiles (and ephebophiles – those who are attracted to young teenagers) re-offend consistently and they are one of the most difficult offender populations to “rehabilitate.” Abusers can easily sexually assault multiple dozens of children in a lifetime.\(^10\) One of the things that we can expect is that there will be more accusations against priests and religious. Just as no one talks about the places to which the brothers at Mount Cashel were removed – no one talks about the priests who are moved from parish to parish.\(^11\)

The authors of *From Pain to Hope* appear to depend on *The Winter Commission* and John Loftus for their information. They either dismiss, or are unaware of, the findings of people who specialize in the abuser population – some of them from the Christian milieu such as Dr. James Poling. He quite frankly admits that his counselling with males who have sexually abused children has tested and radically changed his Christian faith. Instead of talking in technical terms about the abusers, he speaks of fragmented, destroyed men who have little control over their emotions and their lives.\(^12\) Perhaps there is a tendency within the institution to feel that priests are somehow different from other offenders. Unlike Poling, the men of the institution are unwilling to say, there but for chance, fortune, luck or the grace of God, go I.

**The Cases and the Institution**

Cases against priests often begin with a priest pleading guilty and later reversing his position. Sometimes there is a not-guilty plea leading to a trial which results in a guilty verdict for the defendant. In 1986, Ottawa saw its first major trial of a priest, Father Dale Cramden, accused of sexual assault of boys. He was sent away to an alcohol treatment facility for psychological assessment by the diocese. The parents had tried for a
number of years to get the diocese and the Papal Legate to deal seriously with Father Cramden. It took the criminal courts to find him guilty and sentence him; it took a civil suit by the parents to receive compensation for the suffering and care of the boys in the aftermath of the assaults.

Despite the "Report of the Pastoral Commission on Sexual Ethics in the Diocese of Gatineau-Hull" and its recommendations that the Church be more open and face up to its responsibilities in reference to sexual allegations against a priest, and the CCCB position on more openness, six years later, when Father Kenneth Keeler was first accused by three men of sexually assaulting them when they were in their teens, the diocesan investigation cleared him and offered to send him away to an alcohol treatment centre. When the men brought their charges to the secular justice system, Keeler was brought to court in criminal proceedings. In 1993, he finally pleaded guilty after initially arguing that the boys were old enough to know what they were doing, an issue which is irrelevant, since, as a celibate, he should not participate in sexual activity at all. The archbishop was unavailable for comment. He later preached a sermon at Keeler’s parish to express his dismay.

Victims and the Institution

In the ad hoc committee report, From Pain to Hope, the question of the impact of sexual assault on a victim’s faith is left to a couple of pages. But this is the most crucial aspect of the problem for most people, including all those non-offending priests, pastoral counsellors and secular counsellors who are trying to pick up the pieces of lost faith. The fact is that most victims do lose their faith and attempts at retrieval of the belief system seem to be ultimately doomed. In fact, as my dissertation points out, retention of the Christian belief system is counter-productive to the recovery process itself for adult survivors of incest. The problem is that, for many sexually abused men who were raised in a Catholic environment, they can find nothing to replace the faith they lost.

John Loftus, the head of Southdown, a treatment centre for troubled Roman Catholic religious, and a resource person for the CCCB ad hoc committee on child sexual abuse, in his book, Sexual Abuse in the Church, almost always places the word, victim(s), in brackets, sometimes adding the word “alleged” as a modifier. He says that he has had limited experience “with immediate ‘child’ or adolescent victims” but it is his
impression that “every effort has been made to respond with compassion and concrete assistance . . .” That was in 1989. The recent case of Kenneth Keeler showed neither on the part of the church as institution.

Priests and the Institution

The following two sentences are found in the section entitled, “Pastoral Care to Victims and Their Families” in From Pain to Hope:

The direct and personal responsibility of the abuser for the deed should not prevent the ecclesiastical community from showing kindness and compassion to innocent victims. Too often in the past, the uneasiness felt by Catholics in such circumstances prevented them from responding adequately to victims. They reflect the more colourful title of the thesis. The institution is not responsible for the individual actions of its priests. At best, this can be read to mean that the institution should not wash its hands of taking care of the victims – even if it is not the church’s fault – primarily because, as it is explained later in the document, it is the role of Christians to support those against whom injustice has been perpetrated. While it is incumbent upon the abuser to come to his own personal understanding of his complete responsibility for his actions, the institution is also responsible for what has happened to these children. This report does not share Archbishop Penney’s confession “We are a sinful church. We are naked. Our anger, our pain, our anguish, and our vulnerability are clear to the whole world.”

Instead, there is talk of “firing” priests who sexually assault children. This would certainly give satisfaction to some parishioners and other priests, but it conjures up an image of the church washing its hands of responsibility for its priests’ behaviour and for its role in the abusing priests’ formation. Outside of the difficulties this poses on a theological level, the church would then be abandoning its priests, just as in the past it resolved child sexual abuse problems by covering up for its priests and moving them from parish to parish. Besides, some of the parishioners of an offending priest in Gloucester, Father Michael Mullins, would take him back with open arms! This case is noteworthy in that one and a half years ago in Ottawa, this priest had been charged with sexually assaulting a minor. The victim had been sexually harassed. The priest was found not
guilty by a judge who refused to believe that a skateboarder was shy and embarrassed about being molested. A short while later in Ireland, the priest, Mullins was found guilty of sexually assaulting a minor and received a sentence of eight years. In Ottawa, the police and defense lawyers were “astounded at the severity of the Irish judge’s sentence.”

**Institutional Response**

The Roman Catholic church has its own legal system with its laws and jurisdictions. For believers, the church is an entity in and of itself and greater than its individual human representatives. To the victims, therefore, betrayal is by the church as well as by the individual abuser. It is not that individual priests and bishops do not have compassion for the victims, it is that the institutional and hierarchical nature of the church creates a necessity to qualify the response. The number of pages devoted to legal discussions, both canon and civil, plus media relations in *From Pain to Hope*, for example, compared to the pastoral, moral and ethical issues indicates the institutional nature of the problem for Roman Catholicism. If, as the report states, there is an over-riding concern for the souls of the community of the faithful, this is balanced with a careful assurance that the rules will be followed, with new protocols being created where necessary.

There is the recommendation that new priests be mentored, but this ignores the fact that this was already done with sexually-abusive priests, and ignores the possibility that the mentor may not be the best influence. It is recommended that the authority of hierarchical officials be exercised as a form of service and not power. The hierarchical structure which is itself a breeding ground for abuse of power, is never questioned. They recommend that the church support Health and Welfare child sexual abuse programs and include “the presentation of up-to-date statistics on the present-day phenomenon of family violence” in seminaries without questioning the role that the church’s doctrine has had in supporting many of the inequities that lead to family violence.

Child sexual abuse by Roman Catholic priests can be considered to have an extreme impact on the victims because the church, by doctrine, and the laity, by faith, place priests on a pedestal. Therefore, the church, by any moral standard, bears a great responsibility for the abuse and its legacy – a responsibility it is loathe to assume. A *National Catholic Reporter* editorial in 1988 after the U.S. bishops issued a statement on
paedophilia among priests critically assessed the report as being overly concerned with legalities. This is a moral crisis, not a legal one, the editors said and listed four positions the Catholic church should take.

First, find out the facts and share them openly . . .

Second, take an unequivocal stand in identifying and removing from pastoral service any and all who have been convicted of paedophilia offense and who have otherwise compromised the trust that is the hallmark of their ministries . . .

Third, develop a national policy that responds to the pastoral needs of victims and their families . . .

Fourth, do not fall back on the advice of lawyers. In the final analysis, this is a moral issue that cries out for moral and pastoral answers . . .

In other words, Do the right thing and let the chips fall where they may.

**Areas For Research**

In his conclusion to Lead Us Not Into Temptation Jason Berry offers the following scenario that will help begin to stall the erosion that this issue is causing in the Roman Catholic church:

And so a consideration of reform prospects must begin with a qualifier: what should be done has little relation to what will be done until influential lay people prevail on reasonable churchmen to confront the decay in authority so pronounced in the paedophilia scandals. Denying the existence of this decay is one symptom of a spiritual cancer. Arresting the illness requires a structural change in the ecclesiastical concept of church, and history suggests the Vatican will resist that to the bitter end.

In her book on the fourteenth century, Barbara Tuchman suggests that "when the gap between reality and the ideal becomes too wide, the system breaks down.**25** Comparing the ideal and the reality of the church’s intransigence over this issue with the situation in Christendom prior to the reformation would put into perspective some of the broader structural
issues. If it is true that Rome considers itself to be in a schism with the North American church, how does it relate to previous schisms in history? There is the possibility that the North American church will separate and the church in Rome will respond by retreating into further conservatism. The ideal of a celibate, caring clergy is now seen to be a far cry from the reality of many priests and religious. Is it true that the paedophilia crisis is a peculiarly North American problem? It hardly seems possible that it is only the North American church that has this problem, particularly if the problem is related to the Christian understanding of sexuality. The issue of married clergy is one of the most popular solutions for restructuring Roman Catholicism and addressing the problem of paedophilia. To evaluate that solution, and other solutions, one of the historical questions that needs to be answered is how long has paedophilia existed within the church? Taking a lead from historian Rudolph Bell, it may be possible to do a historical analysis of the writings of, for example, medieval clergy and religious that might indicate reaction formations to child sexual assault. Other historical questions would need the co-operation of the institution, itself, to answer and co-operation has not been forthcoming to researchers in this area.

What is the historical perspective on the institution’s responsibility towards priests who have broken their vows? Has the institution, as a general rule, disavowed responsibility for the behaviour of its priests and cut them loose? The moral position, by most standards, would argue that the church has a responsibility to ensure that its priests and religious accept their responsibility for the abuse and suffering they have perpetuated. The tendency has been to help them escape the consequences, legal and spiritual, of their actions by blaming alcohol, isolation and the stresses of the job for their behaviour as well as the secularization of western society. A historical study of the process and procedures of canon law and the role it has played in impeding the taking of a moral stance over and above the legal stance is an important issue that must be researched. To create change successfully, the past must be understood – things were never the way people think they were and the idealization of the past will only recreate the problems of the past.

The Rev. Thomas P. Doyle, an American canon lawyer, has called the sexual abuse of children by Roman Catholic clergy “the most serious problem that we in the church have faced in centuries.” I suggest in my dissertation that child sexual assault is an issue that will call for a re-
evaluation of some of the most basic of Christian principles if we are truly serious about eradicating the misappropriation of children for the sexual and affective needs of adults. The issues which arise from the sexual assault of children in our society create a microcosm for explaining what is very problematic in many of Christianity’s basic positions about the relationship between God and humans. By understanding the impact of abuse in childhood on the development of males and females, and by understanding the anger and the unresolved and ambivalent feelings of those who have not only been abused physically, sexually and emotionally but also spiritually betrayed, we can re-evaluate the past and build a more secure future.

In the same way, it is probable that the sexual assault of children by Roman Catholic religious may serve to act as the microcosm which calls into question some of the basic positions of Roman Catholicism. The institution seems to be focusing on the trees, when the real problem is the forest. The Winter Commission proposed radical, and what must only seem Utopian, solutions to the problem of clergy paedophilia. Its recommendations are virtually unachievable within the Catholic institution under present management. To meet The Winter Commission recommendations, the church would need a new theology as well as a new form of bureaucracy. Jason Berry’s call for a "structural change in the ecclesiastical concept of church" should be heeded by the men of the institution and this is unlikely at the present time.

Postscript

The one thing that astounds me is the depth of betrayal that all those I counsel feel towards “the church.” The church, itself, for these men is more than an institution – its hierarchy cannot be compared to the government or General Motors however structurally similar they may be. The suffering and the anger are almost insurmountable barriers for these men who are trying to make spiritual peace with their past, their present, their disease and a future that will end far too soon. When we face a terminal illness, we need our faith, spirituality and our religious community in order to live the rest of our lives with dignity and a sense of justice. The sexual abuse of children by priests, the horrors perpetrated at Alfred, have stripped these men of their spiritual roots and left them with a void that is almost impossible to fill.
It is an empathic understanding of the deep spiritual nature of the paedophilia crisis that is lacking in the institutional response. It is hard enough to do counselling over spiritual issues when the problem is between the adult who was sexually assaulted as a child and his or her Christian God. One can work with a client and help in the creation of a new understanding of what God and spirituality mean. This is further complicated when the problem is not just God or a priest or a parent but includes the institution that is the mystical body of Christ – the sense of betrayal is deep and painful. What I have come to understand is that their sense of betrayal by “the church” is something as deep as their sense of betrayal by the actual perpetrators of the abuse. It is not good enough to talk of flawed humans – the problem is deeper than celibacy, authority and the proper formation of priests. They might even be able to understand a priest’s abusive behaviour, if not forgive it, but their attitude towards “the church” is like their attitude towards God – both are supposed to be above suspicion.

Endnotes


2. Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, From Pain to Hope: Report from the Ad Hoc Committee on Child Sexual Abuse (Ottawa, June 1992), 41. Fifty-six cases have been brought forward to date in Canada.


4. “. . . when priests are the abusers, ‘the effects’ . . . are long lasting and go well into adulthood. This is well documented though it may well be difficult to predict the extent of the effects in particular cases. We are speaking not only of psychological effects but also the spiritual effects
since the perpetrators of the abuse are priests or clerics. This will no doubt have a profound effect on the faith life of the victims, their families and others in the community . . . Other questions arise when the abuser is a priest. How will the child be able to perceive the Church and clergy in the future as unselfish, loving representatives of the Gospel and Body of Christ? what happens to the child’s perception of the sacraments as administered by the clergy? As an adult, will the victim come to view the hierarchy of the Church as hypocritical and weak for not having prevented the abuse or putting a stop to it once it was discovered? Depending on how widely the situation is known among the child’s family and acquaintances, how many other ancillary victims will there be for each abused child?”


6. One of the facts of the Catholic priesthood is that the priests’ actions have no impact on the efficacy of the sacraments. As long as a priest does not commit heresy, and sexual behaviours such as paedophilia are not heresy, then his sacraments are valid and his position unassailable. One of the great contradictions in this whole issue is that priests who marry women are required to leave the priesthood.

7. Many of the priests who have been accused and found guilty of sexual assault entered the priesthood prior to Vatican II. Some of them have been resident in Roman Catholic facilities for sexually dysfunctional and substance-abusing priests and nuns a number of times. The pity is the great reluctance of these rehab centres to publish any data or talk to outsiders

8. This is the same story we have been hearing for years with father-daughter incest—only there it is the wife who was not doing her job vis-a-vis her husband rather than the job itself that caused a father to assault his child sexually. We also know the distinction between regressed and fixated offenders is not as clear as it used to be. For example, in the beginning of child sexual assault research, it was often assumed that the father or stepfather was a regressed offender, sexually abusing only children in the home. However, it is now becoming clear that this is not the case: without the available daughters, these men are likely to abuse other children.

9. The study on which this initial model was created is fifteen years old (a lifetime in this area of research) and was done with incarcerated offenders, a small specific proportion of abusers (see A. Nicholas Groth, “The Incest Offender [1982],” in *Handbook of Clinical Intervention of Child Sexual Abuse*, ed. Susanne Sgroi [Toronto: Lexington Books, 1987]; A. Nicholas Groth with H. Jean Birnbaum, *Men Who Rape* [New York: Plenum Press, 1979]). The discussion of sexual preference in *The Winter Commission* focuses on homosexuality and is rather perfunctory. For example, they note that “There is no evidence in the literature that male adult homosexuals are more likely to prefer children to adult partners.” There seems to be little understanding of the fact that paedophiles whose primary sexual interest is male children are not homosexuals. Paedophiles whose primary sexual interest is male children often have heterosexual adult sex lives—that does not make them heterosexuals. A common problem in much religious material on paedophilia is the lack of understanding of paraphilias (see *The Winter Commission*, I:46-50 for their discussion of sexual offender classification).

10. While only convicted of indecently assaulting seven altar boys, Dale Crampton of Nepean has been accused of abusing young boys as far back as 25 years ago (*Ottawa Citizen*, 23 May 1986).

11. Berry, *Lead Us Not*; and Sipe, *Secret World*. The abuse of females by Roman Catholic clergy and religious has yet to become a major issue. There are a few instances that could become more prominent in the future,
such as the class-action suit against the Grey Nuns in Quebec. *Ottawa Citizen*, 30 May 1992, A4. *Jennie’s Story*, a play set in Alberta in the 1920s contains a brilliant portrayal of the priest as abuser of a teenage girl and the long term ramifications for the woman she became. Betty Lambert, *Jennie’s Story and Under The Skin* (Toronto: Playwrights Canada, 1987). Traditionally, priests have had greater access to male children and this may, in part, account for the larger number of male survivors.


14. *Ottawa Citizen*, 14 January 1993, A1. In between, and afterwards, the Ottawa Valley has had cases in Hull, Cornwall and Alfred.


17. Loftus, 6-7.


19. This is one aspect of the Newfoundland case at Mont Cashel orphanage that is unique in North America. He is alone in all of North America from the Roman Catholic hierarchy to take ultimate responsibility for what happened and for the cover-up. He tendered his resignation and it was
been accepted by Rome. Penney saw his complicity in the cover-up detailed by *The Winter Commission* for all to see. The problem for many of the hierarchy of the church is that they have also participated in moving sexually abusing priests to other parishes — Penney’s complicity is their complicity. However, they have not been willing to accept their responsibility.


22. Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, *Breach of Trust, Breach of Faith: Child Sexual Abuse in the Church and Society* (Ottawa: CCCB, 1992). This workshop manual is part of the response of the CCCB to increase understanding of what has happened in the church and promote healing.


24. Berry, 366.

