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A NOVITIATE IN A PERIOD OF CHANGE:
AN EXPERIMENTAL AND CASE STUDY
OF SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

A Thesis

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Cornell University for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

by

Samuel Franklin Sampson

September, 1968

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

The author was born in Malden, Massachusetts, September 22, 1934, and completed his secondary education there. After study at Boston University and service in the Air Force, he matriculated at the University of Oklahoma, concentrating in sociology, economics, and psychology. There, he was graduated with a Bachelor of Arts in June, 1960, and a Master of Arts degree in August, 1961.

At Cornell, he majored in sociology and minored in social psychology and anthropology, and received several fellowships, teaching and research assistantships. During 1965-1967, he was a Lecturer at SUNY at Binghamton and a Research Associate at Cornell.

The author is currently a Lecturer on Sociology and Chairman of the Board of Tutors and Advisors in the Department of Social Relations at Harvard. He is a former Woodrow Wilson and National Science Foundation Fellow, a member of Phi Beta Kappa, Phi Kappa Phi, and the American Sociological Association.

To My Parents

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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My greatest intellectual and personal debt is to Robin M. Williams, Jr., chairman of my committee, whose teaching, encouragement and constructive criticism were indispensable to my graduate education and to the study at all stages in its development. For assistance in the formulation and execution of the study I would also like to thank the two other members of my committee, William W. Lambert and John M. Roberts. A student could not have wished for more cooperative and stimulating direction than that provided me by these three scholars of very different perspectives. I would also like to thank C. Frederick Mosteller and Richard Longabaugh for statistical advice.

Because the dissertation marks the student's departure from formal training, it is an appropriate time to

reflect upon those teachers who were of special significance in guiding his intellectual development. The author considers himself extremely fortunate in having encountered a number of such teachers during his training. To each of them he owes more than the student's normal debt of gratitude. To Jack E. Dodson of the University of Houston, who first turned the author's interest to the central theoretical issues of sociology, I will always be grateful for both his good counsel and personal encouragement. To Muzafer Sherif, now of Pennsylvania State University, I also have a very special debt. Through his research example, teaching, and continued personal interest, he has been a constant source of inspiration and guidance to me for nearly a decade. Martin U. Martel of Brown University, a profoundly knowledgeable teacher and close friend, has likewise served a role model of considerable influence. I have also had the good fortune to be exposed in a special way to the scholarship and teaching of Max Black, Ward H. Goodenough, Norman R. Jackman, Robert M. Marsh, Robert B. McCleod, Robert McGinnis, Leo Meltzer, Morris E. Opler, Gordon F. Streib, and William Foote Whyte. To each of these teachers goes a thankful acknowledgment of his unique contribution to my education.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH	ii
DEDICATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iv
LIST OF TABLES	xi
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	xiii
 Chapter	
I. THE SOCIAL RELATIONSHIP APPROACH	1
II. ST. ANTHONY'S IN ECOLOGICAL, COMPARATIVE AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES	6
Location and Setting	6
The "Religious" and Their Associations	8
The Order of Mystical Union in Comparative Perspective	10
The Order of Mystical Union in Historical Perspective	16
The Origins and Evolution of Catholic Associations of Religious	21
III. THE CODIFIED EXPLICIT CULTURE OF THE ORDER OF MYSTICAL UNION	58
Themes: Their Religious and Normative Elements	59
The Contemplative Theme	64
The Prayer Theme	69
The Eremitic Theme	70

Chapter	Page
The Ascetic Theme	73
The Ceremonial Theme	81
The Marian Theme	89
Concluding Note on Themes	91
The Formal Organization of the Order of Mystical Union and St. Anthony's	94
The Mechanisms of Social Control and the Codified System of Sanctions	108
Summary	116
IV. THE ENVIRONMENTAL SOURCES OF CHANGE	119
American Catholicism and Catholics in Transition	120
A. The Traditional Roman Catholic and American Cultures: A Note on Contrasting Value Orientation Systems	121
B. The Church of the Immigrant: The Situational Reinforcement of Catholic Separatism, Hegemony and Defensiveness	140
C. The Emergence from the Ghetto and Integration of the American Catholic	146
D. Reflections of Catholic Assimila- tion and Recent Gross Religious Statistical Trends	156
A Mandate for Change	183
The Challenge to the Codified Culture	187
Varieties of American Response to Vatican II	202

Chapter	Page
V. THE CHANGING SOCIO-CULTURAL STRUCTURE OF ST. ANTHONY'S	244
Research Methods and Problems	245
Phase I. Initial Interviews: Access and Cultural Familiarization (first to third months)	247
Phase II. Unobtrusive Observation: The Identification and Validation of Social Relationships (fourth to eighth months) .	249
Phase III. The Experimental Phase (fifth and sixth months)	257
Phase IV. Intensive Interviews and Informants (sixth to twelfth months) . . .	258
Phase V. The Quasi-Participant Observa- tion (seventh to tenth months)	262
Phase VI. Questionnaire Phase (eleventh and twelfth months)	263
The Population and Background Character- istics of St. Anthony's	265
Personality Profiles	287
The Changing Culture of St. Anthony's . .	291
The Changing Social Relationships of St. Anthony's	306
A. The Staff	306
B. The Changing Structure of Inmate Social Relationships at St. Anthony's	314
Note on Method	314
The Cloisterville Group	320
The Remaining Members of the Cloisterville Group	330

Chapter	Page
The New Wave	340
The Acquaintance	342
Subgroup Differentiation and Polarization	349
The Exodus	373
The Aftermath	376
 VI. THE ROLE OF SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS IN DISSENSUS MAINTENANCE AND RESOLUTION	 384
The Problem	384
Selection and Validation of Dyadic Relationship Groups	390
1. Subjects	390
2. Dyadic Relationship Groups	390
Experimental Method and Situation	399
1. Apparatus	400
2. Procedure	403
Results	406
1. Group I	409
2. Group II	413
3. Group III	416
Discussion	419
APPENDIX	423
BIBLIOGRAPHY	553

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
CHAPTER II		
I.	Membership in Male Associations of Religious of Pontifical Jurisdiction . . .	15
II.	Catholic Associations of Religious by Century of Founding	19
CHAPTER IV		
I.	Church Membership as a Percentage of Population	157
II.	Church Attendance as a Percentage of Adult Population	158
III.	Roman Catholics as a Percentage of Total Population	163
IV.	Church Member-Clergyman Ratios (1910-1950) .	165
V.	Catholic Layman-Priest Ratios (1915-1965) .	166
VI.	Religious Priests as a Percentage of All Priests	167
VII.	Percentage of Ordained Priests in Province by Five Year Period of First Entry into Novitiate	173
CHAPTER V		
I.	Research Methods Phase Sequence	264
II.	Population of St. Anthony's by Status and Month of Study	266

Table	Page
III. Changes in Population of St. Anthony's by Type of Status Change and Month of Study	267
IV. Mean Dogmatism Scores (E Form Only) of Selected Groups	289
V. Mean Dogmatism, Machiavellianism, and Self-Esteem Scores for Members of St. Anthony's	290

CHAPTER VI

I. The Observed Symmetric No-Relationship, Social-Equal Dyads at T ₂ , Time of Ob- servation, and Questionnaire Choices . . .	392
II. The Observed Asymmetric Esteem, Social- Equal Relationship Dyads at T ₁ , Time of Observation and Questionnaire Choices . .	394
III. The Observed Asymmetric Power-Alienation Relationship, Social-Unequal Dyads at T ₃ , Time of Observation and Validational Checks	398
IV. Two-Way Analysis of Variance by Trials and Groups	407
V. Two-Way Analyses of Variance of Dyadic Convergence in Each Experimental Group . .	412

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Page

CHAPTER III

Figure

I.	The Daily Schedule (Horarium) of the Novitiate of the Order of Mystical Union	71
II.	The Formal Organization of the Order of Mystical Union and St. Anthony's Novitiate	95

CHAPTER V

Picture

I.	A Cell at St. Anthony's	300b
II.	A Fallen Ascetic Symbol	300b

Figure

I.	Affective Matrix, T_1	323
II.	Esteem Matrix, T_1	324
III.	Influence Matrix, T_1	325
IV.	Sanction Matrix, T_1	326
IA.	Affective Matrix, $T_{/1}$	332
IIA.	Esteem Matrix, $T_{/1}$	333
IIIA.	Influence Matrix, $T_{/1}$	334
IVA.	Sanction Matrix, $T_{/1}$	335
V.	Affective Matrix, T_2	345
VI.	Esteem Matrix, T_2	346

Figure	Page
VII. Influence Matrix, T_2	347
VIII. Sanction Matrix, T_2	348
IX. Affective Matrix, T_3	358
X. Affective Matrix, T_4	359
XI. Esteem Matrix, T_3	362
XII. Esteem Matrix, T_4	363
XIII. Influence Matrix, T_3	365
XIV. Influence Matrix, T_4	366
XV. Sanction Matrix, T_3	368
XVI. Sanction Matrix, T_4	369
XVII. Cumulative Matrix and First and Second Choice Influence, T_4	370
XVIII. Affective Matrix, T_5	377
XIX. Esteem Matrix, T_5	378
XX. Influence Matrix, T_5	379
XXI. Sanction Matrix, T_5	380

CHAPTER VI

Picture

I. Front View of Autokinetic Device from the Subject's Position	401
II. Side View of Autokinetic Device from the Experimenter's position	401
III. Subject's Panel	402

Figure

I. Average Convergence Patterns in All Experimental Groups	408
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Figure	Page
II. Autokinetic Judgment Patterns for Experimental Group I	411
III. Autokinetic Judgment Patterns for Experimental Group II	414
IV. Autokinetic Judgment Patterns for Experimental Group III	417

CHAPTER I

THE SOCIAL RELATIONSHIP APPROACH

To say that the contemporary social sciences and social psychology are in their "adolescence" is a frequent, if imprecise, way of acknowledging that these scientific disciplines are far less developed theoretically and/or methodologically than the critic would like them to be. Among the numerous indices of this relative "underdevelopment" is the diversity of approaches which prevail in each of these only vaguely bounded areas of inquiry. Indeed, careful scrutiny of the frames of reference which underlie and inform contemporary research yields such a panorama of units of analysis, properties, languages and problem foci that the student is hard put to identify among them a basis for their mutual articulation, not to speak of systematic comparison. Although there is much to be said for healthy pluralism and although the perils of premature closure are not inconsiderable, this project began, following the suggestion of Gross (1960), with a search for "resemblances" among prevalent schemes for looking at social organization in an attempt to arrive at a provisional frame of reference having some potential for bringing a small measure of order

to an otherwise chaotic situation.

As a point of departure, the age-old question of the nature of the social was dusted off and rendered problematic. For much too long, pronouncements as to the "ultimate reality" of the social and/or cultural have occupied the attention of many theoretically-inclined writers. But this is not the place to attempt to disentangle the ontological, epistemological and axiological assumptions underlying the recurrent forms of the realist-nominalist polemic in the social and psychological disciplines. What is crucial, however, is that arguments expressed in these polemical forms were bracketed and research initiated to identify some of the recurrent properties of what has been called social organization--without assuming anything about the "ultimate" reductive status of these properties. Secondly the objective was to arrive at a provisional classification of interrelations which in turn would provide a point of departure for the analysis of social structures and processes sufficiently articulated with psychologically formulated properties so as to provide a common frame of reference for the empirical examination of their relative significance in social interaction.

If one begins by assuming that there is substantial scientific promise, or at least, some heuristic potential in studying the behavior and experience of organisms from

the standpoint of their mutual relationships, one is immediately confronted with a wide range of rival approaches, each of which appears to have some legitimate claim to a measure of attention.

Without rejecting any approach, however, some provisional elementary units of analysis had to be selected over others to serve as guides to inquiry. It was decided to begin by focusing upon the specification of the ways in which at least two organisms may be viewed as related to each other in a given temporal unit. That is to say, whatever else social organization is, it consists at least in part of networks of associative and disassociative relationships amenable at some point to dyadic characterization. This is not to say that such relations cannot usefully be further analyzed into "social actions" or some other analytic unit, but merely that here the concept "social" means that at least two individuals or action systems serve as realized or potential mutually stimulating and responding referents. Furthermore, although it was recognized from the beginning that the study of plural systems or networks of relationships themselves is of major sociological and social psychological significance, the analysis of such synthetic systems was viewed as resting ultimately upon the detailed specification of the more elementary dyadic properties of which they are composed.

Therefore, the approach adopted herein is termed a social relationship approach in order to suggest an emphasis that is neither individual-situation nor social system-focused, but interstitial to them. Most research concerned with interpersonal relations, intergroup relations, social relations and the like, fall mainly within two classes. Studies in the first class are primarily concerned with the identification of uniformities between properties of the organismic or psychological systems and the socio-cultural nexi in which they operate: this is the traditional domain of social physiology and social psychology. Studies in the second class are primarily concerned with the identification of uniformities in properties between and among social and cultural systems: this is the tradition in which most non-social psychological sociologists and anthropologists work. Since the concern here is the description and explanation of modes of social interaction, neither of these traditional approaches was found adequate to the task. As a result, it was felt necessary to develop an elementary frame of reference which explicitly focuses attention upon social interaction and structure viewed as matrices or networks of analytically formulated relationships.¹

¹The point of departure employed in this research derives from the diverse and sometimes ambiguous, but always central, theoretical emphasis placed upon social relationships

In an attempt to arrive at a systematic approach to social organization, an extensive review of the theoretical and research literature was undertaken. Among the numerous and diverse ways in which the relations between individuals and action systems have been conceived in existing theoretical and research literature, two broad classes of relationships were analytically distinguished: those which focus upon some arrangement between the orientations of actors and those which can be seen as involving arrangements of sanctions between actors. These two elements--orientations and sanctions--have the dual advantage of providing not only a point of departure for the generation of a classificatory schema of social relationships, but also a point of departure for the analysis of social psychological processes as well, such as learning, perception, and similar processes associated with transformations of these social relationships.

Having distinguished between relationships based upon orientations and those based upon sanctions, it was

by such social scientists as Park and Burgess (1921, esp. pp. 280-774), Parsons (1951, esp. pp. 3-23 and 24-67), Radcliffe-Brown (1952, esp. pp. 188-204 and 205-211), Simmel (1950, esp. pp. 118-144), Weber (1947, esp. pp. 87-158), and von Wiese (1932, esp. pp. 19-48). For a review of the key origins of the social relations approach in German sociology, see Abel (1929). See also Eubank (1932) for an early attempt to gain clarity with regard to the concept of relationship in sociology.

seen as useful to further differentiate relationships of orientation into cognitive, evaluative and cathectic classes, and relationships of sanction into positive, negative, and mixed classes. A paradigm of a subset of 33 forms of social relationships generated by the logical permutations of these distinctions treated as both asymmetric and symmetric is appended as Figure I.

While it is not necessary herein to give a detailed presentation of this extremely provisional expression of the approach, nor to elaborate upon the potential utility seen for the application of this framework in analyzing empirical social relations and social organizations, in preliminary stages of research it proved to be reasonably adequate as a first approximation to the task of classifying social relationships in the theoretical and research literature examined and in the study reported below.² It also

²It should be noted here that despite the fact that the significance of viewing human interaction and social organization in terms of social relationships has been seen by most of the leading theoreticians in sociology and many in social psychology, the social relationship approach has not enjoyed a uniform development or systematic presentation heretofore. Various aspects of social relationships have received the attention of researchers with widely different foci of research and theoretical backgrounds. The work of Bales (1953), Heider (1958), Lewin (1947), Menger (1938), Miller (1963), Moreno (1947, 1953, and 1960), Sears (1951), Secord and Backman (1961), Sullivan (1953), and Vinacke (1964) are but a few significant selected examples of empirical and theoretical trends toward a social relationship approach to social interaction in social psychology.

possesses the limited advantage of exposing a number of social relationship types which have heretofore eluded systematic identification and analysis. Of more general significance, however, is the hope that this framework or something like it may prove useful in the reinterpretation of otherwise apparently conflicting research findings, in providing a bridge between psychological and sociological frames of reference, and in the integration of heretofore irreconcilable theories of social systems.³

The primary substantive objective of the research described below was to experimentally examine the effects of selected forms of social relationships on the resolution or maintenance of cognitive dissensus. The experiment itself is reported in Chapter VI. The social relationships

³A few noteworthy examples of sociological and social psychological traditions and approaches which emphasize specific forms of relationships and are often viewed by their proponents either as unrelated or competitive schemas are the following: (a) the sociometric tradition stemming from Moreno's work emphasizing affective networks of relationships, see esp. Moreno (1960); (b) cognitive and evaluative opinion and/or attitude networks or relationships, emphasized in the work of numerous social psychologists, see, for example, Hovland, Janis and Kelley (1953), Newcomb (1953, 1959) and Newcomb, Turner and Converse (1965); (c) the primary focus upon symmetric positive sanctioning relationships of the reinforcement tradition, represented by Homans and by Thibaut and Kelley, see Homans (1958 and 1961) and Thibaut and Kelley (1959); and (d) the almost exclusive attention given to asymmetric negative sanctioning relationships by such researchers as Cartwright (1959) and Coser (1956).

The increasing concern of late with networks among sociologists is another significant manifestation of renewed

were drawn from the socio-cultural structure of a novitiate monastery in which the experiment was conducted. It was the author's strategy that one would maximize the chances of obtaining relatively stable and clearly formulated and articulated social relationship types in those organizations which Goffman has termed "total institutions." The monastery was seen as ideally exhibiting the characteristics sought.⁴

A secondary and contingent objective of the research was to identify in detail the main features of the changing socio-cultural structure of the monastery. The results of this portion of the investigation are reported in Chapter V.

interest in a relationship approach to social structure. This work includes the significant contributions of Bott (1957), Cartwright and Harary (1956), Coleman (1964), Davis (1963), Harary and Norman (1953), and White (1963).

⁴Goffman (1961, p. xv) has defined a total institution as a "place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life." In such a setting, it was assumed that status-role relations tend to be more clearly identified and more applicable across the total range of interaction, consensus about role norms and expectations greater, and social sanctions more consistently and firmly applied than in the more permeable social structures of most everyday life situations in contemporary society. This is, of course, not to say that actual interaction patterns in total institutions are merely reflections of these formalized status-role relations. Nevertheless, there was significant reason to believe that a closer approximation to this condition would obtain in total institutions than in other organizational settings.

And, finally, in order to understand the changing socio-cultural structure of the monastery, an investigation of its context and the major factors influencing it were examined. Chapters II, III, and IV present various aspects of this investigation.

CHAPTER II

ST. ANTHONY'S IN ECOLOGICAL, COMPARATIVE AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

Location and Setting

St. Anthony's Monastery serves as a novitiate for one of the North American provinces of the Order of Mystical Union, a Roman Catholic association of male religious under Papal jurisdiction.¹ The monastery is located in a relatively isolated portion of a northeastern state, distant from the metropolitan centers in which the overwhelming majority of American Catholics reside, and from which all but a few of the Order's members are drawn.

St. Anthony's stands remote and solitary against the sky on the pinnacle of a sylvan hill far above a fertile, farm-dotted valley. A narrow asphalt road is the only visible connection between the outside world and the monastery. This road leads up from a heavily congested truck route that runs along the margin of a precipice. Its steep

¹To insure the anonymity of those who authorized and participated in this study, the author has assigned fictitious names to the individuals, to the monastery, and to the order involved.

serpentine ascent courses through long fallow fields in which birds and small game abound. The natural setting is interrupted at only one point by a white, traditional Marian icon. Then the road abruptly plunges into a thick stand of wood before finally achieving the summit. The building complex itself is of a modern nondescript design, unfinished and unadorned, except for a rude wooden cross precariously affixed to its roof. Despite the subtle contrasts symbolized by the icon and the building, no true hint of the inner life of the monastery is suggested by the placid rusticity of its setting. No one is in evidence. After the visitor has paused to scan the spectacular panorama below, he is re-introduced to the monastery by a small hand-printed sign, painstakingly, but crudely executed, which indicates that he should press a button. As the button is released, from within can be heard the muffled tones of electronic summoning chimes. From five to twenty minutes later the first sign of human habitation presents itself in the form of a young man, robed in the ancient habit of his Order and bearing himself with a severely pious demeanor.

Preparatory to entering into a description of the life within the walls of the monastery, some attention must be given to the selectivity involved in our concentration on this special case. Despite the fact that the study sharply focuses upon the relationships among a subset of

the forty-four people who resided at the monastery during twelve months of research, these relationships and their transformations are not isolated from a much wider context nor did they occur completely spontaneously or without constraint from limiting conditions. Indeed, the factors which contributed to defining the socio-cultural degrees of freedom within which they occurred extend far beyond St. Anthony's both in space and time. To begin with, therefore, it is advisable to locate the Order in some comparative and historical perspective.

The "Religious" and Their Associations

The Order of Mystical Union is an association of male religious. Although its professed members are "religious" in the technical, canonical sense, we prefer to use the term here to designate a more inclusive social status.² For our

²Canon 487 defines the religious state as being: "a stable mode of life led by those persons who, in addition to keeping the commandments, strive after evangelical perfection by the observance of the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience" (Ramstein, 1948, p. 284). See a similar translation in Creusen (1953, p. 9). When referring to the Codex Juris Canonici Pii X Pontificis Maximi jussu digestus, Benedicti XV, auctoritate promulgatus, the five volume collection of 2,414 disciplinary laws of the Latin Church, the author has drawn extensively upon both Ramstein's and Creusen's works.

Today, within the Church there is considerable theological discussion about the definition of the religious state, e.g., Baum (1966), Hughie, et al. (1965) and Wheeler, et al., (1962). Central to this definitional issue are

purposes, the term religious will designate all clerics and laymen who are recognized by ecclesiastical authority as having made a full-time commitment of their lives or some substantial part of their lives to the services of objectives approved by the Church, but exclusive of secular clerics who by law and tradition are under special obligation to the diocesan structure. The status, religious, includes some ascetics and virgins of the first two centuries of the Church, a number of anchorites and hermits of the third century and later, as well as all monks, regular canons and clerics, brothers, nuns and sisters in a great number of organizations under papal or diocesan jurisdiction independent of the number and kind of vows taken.

Today, a "religious" in the Latin Church is required to have membership in an approved "religion", an organization we will call an association of religious.³ Our phrase, association of religious, therefore, corresponds to that most general class of organizations sometimes referred to in Church documents as "institutes." Associations of religious

recent basic changes in the thinking of some theologians and religious authorities on the nature of Christian life in general. We shall have occasion to return to this point in another context when considering traditional claims to greater holiness of the religious state.

³Although there is no explicit provision for religious without organizational affiliation in Latin law, solitaries are, on the other hand, provided for in the Code of Canon Law of the Eastern Churches in communion with Rome.

include: orders of monks, orders of canons regular, mendicant orders, congregations of clerks regular, clerical religious congregations, societies of common life without vows, secular institutes and the range of organizations of nuns and sisters. Surviving manifestations of a great variety of religious social movements which the Church in its long history has managed to contain and institutionalize, these associations are so numerous and variable as to have eluded heuristic sociological classification.⁴

The Order of Mystical Union in
Comparative Perspective

No one appears to know with any warrantable degree of certainty just how many associations of religious there are, not to speak of the memberships they have. No complete listing of even their names is made public by any agency of the Church. The Annuario Pontificio, official year-book of the Church, presents data only on associations of papal jurisdiction under the administration of the Sacred Congregation

⁴The only attempt to do so in sociology is that of Francis (1950), who employed the Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft typology to characterize an evolution of forms of associations of religious. Although his effort is not without merit, the ideal-typical character of the formulation used renders his application unconvincing except in his extreme idealized cases of a form of monasticism and a manifestation of the Jesuit order.

of Religious, one of the eleven departments of the Roman Curia. Associations of diocesan jurisdiction are nowhere enumerated. For some dioceses they are listed in regional or national directories, but all dioceses are not included in such sources. Furthermore, in no published source is the membership of some associations reported; and in all sources where data on memberships is presented, it is for different time periods, with discrepancies sometimes as great as thirty years. The research problems here are further complicated by the multitude and non-comparability of membership criteria used in different associations.⁵ In addition to this, available sources often use different criteria in classifying associations.⁶

Perhaps the least inaccurate general figures available are those produced by a study conducted for and reported in Bilan du Monde (1964, Tome I, pp. 240-255), the most current, comprehensive Catholic statistical encyclopedia. While the study is not fully reported anywhere, its

⁵For example, in the 1965 Official Catholic Directory, male religious memberships are listed under more than ninety different titles, many of which designate redundant or overlapping statuses.

⁶For example, because of the local autonomy that some monastic communities have, sometimes each community or monastery is counted as an association, sometimes the parent "congregations" into which they fall are reported individually and sometimes only the entire "family" of congregations is noted as a single association.

methods unstated and its findings subject to the deficiencies noted above, it estimates that in 1960 there were more than 1,300,000 religious in 2,071 associations throughout the world. Seventy-seven per cent of the religious and ninety per cent of the associations were female. The female religious are estimated to have been in excess of 1,000,000 living in 77,970 houses of 1,862 associations. The less numerous male religious--about 300,000--were resident in 19,872 locations and affiliated with 209 associations.

The magnitude of these figures is sufficient to give caution to those wishing to generalize about the religious state in the Church. Interestingly, however, according to some authors the number of religious in the Church is apparently relatively stable, and has been since the Middle Ages (e.g., Frossard, 1954, p. 3). Also, although the number of associations is currently quite large, this is a relatively recent phenomenon. Nevertheless, most religious--nearly 700,000 (Bilan du Monde, Tome I, 1964, p. 240, n. 1)--are in associations that may be grouped together under seven larger categories or "families", each having its own fairly uniform culture.⁷

⁷These "families" include all associations, both male and female, of Benedict, Augustine, Carmel, Francis of Assisi, Ignatius Loyola, Francis of Sales and Vincent of Paul.

Switching briefly from world statistics to the American scene, we find a similarly complicated picture. The Catholic Church in the United States, until as recently as 1908 a "mission church" under jurisdiction of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, is today the third largest national body of Catholics in the world and certainly the most affluent. In 1960 the Catholic Church in America claimed a baptized membership of more than 40,000,000--7.3 per cent of the estimated world Catholic population (Bilan du Monde, Tome I, 1964, p. 31). Its assets are a well-kept secret and we need not speculate about their great magnitude here. What is significant to us is that no other country, including Italy and France, has more religious priests or female religious. According to figures published in Bilan du Monde (Tome I, 1964, p. 31), the United States in 1960 had more than 21,000 religious priests and 168,000 female religious, 15.4 and 16.9 per cent of the world totals, respectively. While the growth rates of the religious have not apparently kept pace with the Catholic population in America, they have substantially exceeded world growth rates. And, therefore, if the world figures have managed to remain stable over the first half of this century, it is the increases in America which have largely offset declines elsewhere.

Data for 1965 show 22,707 religious priests and 12,271 brothers in 122 different associations established in the United States (Official Catholic Directory, 1965, pp. 908-925). Women accounted for 84 per cent of the total religious, slightly higher than the world proportion, and numbered 179,954 nuns and sisters in 439 associations (Official Catholic Directory, 1965, pp. 929-963).

To say that the Order of Mystical Union is but one of many is therefore a weak understatement of its place in the vast demographic universe from which it is drawn.

In order to characterize the Order, without identifying it, let us briefly examine its size in relation to other associations of male religious of papal jurisdiction. Like most other organizational distributions, the overwhelming majority of religious have membership in a small proportion of the associations and most associations have very few members. Table I presents data for 1965 on the world membership in male religious associations of papal jurisdiction by size of associational membership. It shows that only 7.7 per cent of the associations, the 62 with over 1,000 members, claimed nearly 90 per cent of all the male religious. The range among associations reporting membership is extreme, from the Jesuits--nearly 36,000 strong--to the 10 Fathers of Mercy (Annuario Pontificio, 1965, pp. 839, 869).

TABLE I. MEMBERSHIP IN MALE ASSOCIATIONS OF RELIGIOUS OF PONTIFICAL JURISDICTION^a

Membership of Association	Number of Associations	Per Cent of All Associations	Cumulative Per Cent of All Associations	Total Membership	Per Cent of Total Membership	Cumulative Per Cent of All Membership
> -30,000	1	.5	.5	35,968	10.9	10.9
25,000-29,999	1	.5	1.0	27,140	8.2	19.1
20,000-24,999	1	.5	1.5	22,042	6.7	25.8
15,000-19,999	2	1.1	2.6	33,732	10.2	36.0
10,000-14,999	3	1.7	4.3	32,821	9.9	45.9
5,000- 9,999	5	2.8	7.1	33,985	10.3	56.2
4,000- 4,999	6	3.3	10.4	25,449	7.7	63.9
3,000- 3,999	8	4.4	14.8	27,321	8.3	72.2
2,000- 2,999	8	4.4	19.2	17,896	5.4	77.6
1,500- 1,999	13	7.2	26.4	22,595	6.8	84.4
1,000- 1,499	14	7.7	34.1	16,955	5.1	89.5
<1,000	119	65.7	99.8 ^c	35,009	10.6	100.1 ^e
TOTALS	181 ^b	99.8 ^c	--	330,913 ^d	100.1 ^e	--

^aSource: Annuario Pontificio (1965, pp. 819-884).

^bIncludes: 4 Orders of Canons Regular; 19 Orders of Monks (congregations are not counted separately except for the Mechitarists [2]; Antonines [3]; and Basilians [5]); 16 Mendicant Orders; 8 congregations of Clerks Regular; 76 Clerical Religious Congregations; 26 Societies of Common Life without Vows; 27 Lay Religious congregations and 5 Secular Institutes.

^cLess than 100 per cent due to rounding.

^dApproximate since membership figures for several associations were not reported.

^eGreater than 100 per cent due to rounding.

In this skewed distribution the Order of Mystical Union is one of the Church's larger associations of male religious.

The Order of Mystical Union in
Historical Perspective

If contemporary data on associations of religious is poor, comprehensive historical data is utterly wanting. Even when concerned with the very modest task of compiling the names and the dates of foundation for associations of religious, the researcher is confronted with such an historical scope that the problems of plural titles and of discrepancies in founding dates advanced by authorities are quite sufficient to frustrate the most patient researcher. In English alone, titles are difficult to disentangle. For example, the Barnabites, the Clerks Regular of the Congregation of St. Paul, and the Paulenes are all titles of the same association. On the other hand, the Marianists, the Marian Fathers, the Marist Brothers, the Brothers of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, the Missionary Sons of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, the Immaculate Heart of Mary Mission Society, the Congregation of the Holy Ghost and the Immaculate Heart of Mary, the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, the Oblates of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and the Immaculate Heart of Mary, the Sons of Mary-Health of the Sick, the

Clerks of the Mother of God, the Company of Mary, and the Society of Mary are titles for different associations of male religious with American foundations. Each is known by other titles as well, of course. As if this were not enough, accurate dates of founding are similarly difficult to obtain. Some associations have voluminous historical tracts, chronologies and compendia of various kinds. Only rarely approaching contemporary scholarly standards of historiography, they are a mixed blessing to the modern researcher. However, many associations have no written history at all and some have nothing available in print but a brochure or two. On occasion, the competition for prestige among associations of male religious has led to claims of ancient origins, despite the absence of supporting evidence, as if the holiness of a religious could be measured by the proximity of his association's founding to the Biblical Genesis.⁸ While inter-associational rivalries over priorities have not been inconsequential in the history of the Church, the problems of dating are overwhelmingly more pedestrian in nature and concern ambiguities as to the date of extinction of

⁸A well-known, long-debated example of this was the Carmelite claim to lineal descent from the prophet Elias. An analysis similar to Merton's on priority in science (1957b) could be fruitfully applied to religious associations, beliefs and practises despite the manifest differences in the values of these situations.

associations which have ceased to exist due to a lack of members as opposed to those formally suppressed by the Church, and discrepancies between dates of successful foundation, dates of approbation and the like.

Lacking the herculean historical research required to resolve all these problems, we have drawn upon the most comprehensive world survey of associations of religious (both male and female) which also gives dates of foundation of reasonable accuracy for most of the associations listed, the work of Kapsner (1957). Surprisingly, it is not the work of an historian, but of a bibliographer concerned with the cataloging of contemporarily available library materials on associations of religious. Recognizing the difficulties that librarians face simply in the accurate identification of material owing to the problems already mentioned, he set out to remedy the situation by providing a needed reference work. Because Kapsner drew on such an extensive body of secondary sources (see pp. xxvii-xxxvii) and because the breadth of his survey is more inclusive than that of any other available sources (see pp. iv.-v), we have chosen it to illustrate some gross historical trends.

Table II is a presentation of data on all associations of religious tabulated by the century of foundation which are contained in Kapsner's survey.⁹ It indicates the

⁹It is all too apparent from Kapsner's totals of extant associations that his listings for about 1955 are not

TABLE II. CATHOLIC ASSOCIATIONS OF RELIGIOUS BY CENTURY OF FOUNDING^a

Century of Founding of Associations for Which a Founding Date is Given

	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th	10th	11th	12th	13th	14th	15th	16th	17th	18th	19th	First Half of 20th	No Founding Date Given in Source	Total Founded	Total Extant	Total Extinct or Merged
Male Associations																								
Extant ^b	0	0	0	3	1	1	0	0	1	0	8	9	16	4	3	22	23	12	130	62	57	352	352	
Extinct	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	12	9	8	4	7	11	5	2	2	0	64		64
Merged ^c	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	6	0	2	4	2	3	3	0	1	27		27
Total/ %	0/ --	0/ --	0/ --	3/ .8	1/ .3	1/ .5	0/ --	0/ .3	1/ .3	0/ .3	8/ 2.9	9/ 6.5	16/ 8.0	4/ 3.1	3/ 2.3	22/ 8.6	23/ 9.4	12/ 5.2	130/ 35.1	62/ 16.6	57/ 58	352/ 443		
Cumulative Total/ %	0/ .0	0/ .0	0/ .0	3/ .8	4/ 1.1	6/ 1.6	6/ 1.6	7/ 1.9	8/ 2.2	9/ 2.5	20/ 5.4	45/ 11.9	76/ 19.9	88/ 23.0	97/ 25.3	130/ 33.9	166/ 43.3	186/ 48.5	321/ 83.6	385/ 100.2 ^d	443			
Female Associations																								
Extant ^b	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	1	0	2	10	22	8	12	21	76	45	785	225	74	1285	1285	
Extinct	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	9	4	2	2	23	7	3	0	0	55		55
Merged ^c	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	9		9
Total/ %	0/ --	0/ --	0/ --	2/ .2	0/ --	2/ .2	0/ --	0/ --	1/ .1	0/ --	2/ .2	15/ 1.2	34/ 2.7	13/ 1.0	15/ 1.2	24/ 1.9	100/ 7.8	53/ 4.2	789/ 61.9	225/ 17.6	74/ 74	1349		
Cumulative Total/ %	0/ .0	0/ .0	0/ .0	2/ .2	2/ .2	4/ .4	4/ .4	4/ .4	5/ .5	5/ .5	7/ .7	22/ 1.9	56/ 4.6	69/ 5.6	84/ 6.8	108/ 8.7	208/ 16.5	261/ 20.7	1050/ 82.6	1275/ 100.2 ^d	1349			
Both Male and Female																								
Total/ %	0/ --	0/ --	0/ --	5/ .3	1/ .1	4/ .2	0/ --	1/ .1	2/ .1	1/ .1	13/ .8	40/ 2.4	65/ 3.9	25/ 1.5	24/ 1.4	57/ 3.4	136/ 8.2	73/ 4.4	924/ 55.7	289/ 17.4	132	1792 ^e	1637	155
Cumulative Total/ %	0/ .0	0/ .0	0/ .0	5/ .3	6/ .4	10/ .6	10/ .6	11/ .7	13/ .8	14/ .9	27/ 1.7	67/ 4.1	132/ 8.0	157/ 9.5	181/ 10.9	238/ 14.3	374/ 22.5	447/ 26.9	1371/ 82.6	1660/ 100.0	1792 ^e			

^aTable was constructed from data presented in Kapsner's survey (1957). It does not include changes since approximately 1955.

^bAn association is tabulated as extant if no note of its extinction is made by Kapsner. Total includes associations without any dates of foundation as well.

^cWhen an association is tabulated as merged it is always the smaller of the two and/or the one relinquishing its formal name.

^dGreater than 100 per cent due to rounding.

^eThis figure exceeds the total of 1,777 associations listed by Kapsner because we tabulated 15 revivals of formerly extinct associations as new foundations.

same numerical bias in favor of associations of female religious noted above. But, of more importance here, is the data it provides documenting the span and distribution by century of founding of these associations. Although the first recognized associations were established as early as the fourth century, e.g., the Order of St. Basil the Great, 73 per cent of all associations for which a founding date is given were established in about the last 150 years-- 52 per cent of the male associations and 80 per cent of the female associations. The overwhelming majority of these recently founded associations bear little socio-cultural similarity to the Order of Mystical Union and the other more venerable associations of the Church. Most are special purpose organizations, intensively, if not nearly exclusively, involved in educational, parochial, missionary,

comparable to the figures cited above presented in Bilan du Monde for about 1960, Kapsner lists considerably more male associations and fewer female associations. These discrepancies are far too great to be accounted for by the five year differences in the base years of the surveys. They can be attributed to: (1) the different techniques employed, (2) the different criteria used to list associations (e.g., Kapsner lists monastic associations by congregations and Eastern monastic associations by communities, but tends to list female associations by family titles), and (3) some now extinct or merged male associations are not listed as such owing to Kapsner's reluctance to do so without unmistakable evidence in his secondary sources.

There is every reason to believe that Kapsner's survey is historically incomplete, and perhaps distorted, but lacking a more definitive and authoritative source, it will be sufficient for our purposes.

health, social welfare and even scientific and communications activities. For some perspective on this and the forms of associations of religious, let us examine briefly in bold outline the history of the male religious state in the Church up to the seventeenth century.

The Origins and Evolution of Catholic
Associations of Religious¹⁰

With very few possible exceptions, the earlier associations of religious were not initiated by the official acts of popes or deliberative councils. They were the emergent products of the experience and behavior of particular collectivities of Christians in response to particular social, political, economic and religious conditions at various periods. Their origins, therefore, may be traced to social movements among certain religious publics who found no acceptable outlet for their enthusiasm in the secular

¹⁰The following is a mere sketch of the historical development of associations of religious in the Church. For a recent overview, see the articles under "Monasticism" in the New Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. 9, pp. 1032-1049 by J. Gribomont, V. Gellhaus, and J. Ryan which contain excellent bibliographies. For general historical analysis Workman (1962, esp. pp. 3-135) is particularly insightful as are Harnack (1901), and Decarreux (1964). Wolter's compilation (1962), Colombás' treatment of ancient monasticism (1964), Bouyer's theological tracts (1963a and b), and Anson's sentimental treatment of solitaries (1964) and Malone's documentation of the relationship of monasticism to martyrdom (1950) were helpful also.

society, or the Church of their time.¹¹ By and large, the activities and beliefs in which they engaged were deviant in terms of prevailing religious and secular norms, but not in the usual sense. They were deviant because they took certain of these religious norms and values of the Church quite literally and without equivocation. Their "over-conformity" was often understandably viewed by authorities as a challenge to the established religious status quo, and frequently resulted in attempts at suppression. Failing this, however, they were gradually contained and institutionalized in the Church. The associations of religious now extant, especially those of more remote foundations, are primarily the residual products of these movements, which the Church has managed to absorb and often remarkably transform into

¹¹Turner and Killian (1957, p. 308) have defined a social movement as "a collectivity acting with some continuity to promote a change in the society or group of which it is a part." In this general sense, the social genesis of associations of religious in the Church are cases of social movements. Most were cult-like in that their primary concern was with the behavior of their members only, but some took on the features of more general social movements akin to "revitalization" movements (Wallace, 1956). All successful cases, more or less, exhibited the characteristic stages which Blumer (1959), Hopper (1950), Lang and Lang (1961), Smelser (1963) and others have described. Similar movements in the Reformation and later resulted in the rise of secessionist sects and denominationalism (Niebuhr, 1957), but our task here is not so much to analyze the processes by which associations of religious came into being, but to sketch some of their more bold outlines for gross comparative purposes.

agencies in service of its professed ends.

In seeking the roots of the first associations of religious, the monastic orders, it is necessary to understand not only the immediate social conditions which gave rise to the earliest of them in the fourth and fifth centuries, but also something of the historical precursors upon which they drew for direction and rationalization.

The Near and Far East in pre-Christian times had already produced innumerable examples of eremitic, cenobitic and monastic religious life.¹² Some centuries before Christ, Buddha is reputed to have spent six years as a solitary and subsequently founded religious communities of men who pursued a cenobitic life. The Brahmin of religious piety was expected to spend one stage of his life, the vanavásin, as a hermit, and Hindu eremitic ascetics were numerous. In Egypt, the Mesopotamian Region and Greece, similar practises are also known to have existed. Yet, there is no documented connection between these manifestations of religious experience. However, the general phenomenon of

¹²The adjective eremitic (from the Greek eremos, a desert) is used to refer to true religious solitaries, sometimes called hermits or anchorites. Cenobitic (from the Greek koinos, common and bios, life) refers to the practise of solitaries living together in a loose community. Monastic (from the Greek monos, alone) refers to a community, the members of which are bound by obligations to a superior and live in common under a prescribed code.

withdrawal from society for religious ascetic purification appears to have been first associated with the development of the pre-industrial state with its uncertain economics and religious pessimism. Some examples from the Old Testament of the "call of the desert" did exist, and the recent evidence of the Qumran community of ascetic Essenes, at least, links the early Jewish cult of Christ to a cultural tradition in which retreatism and asceticism were by no means alien (Danielou, 1962). But the first Christian solitaries, the forerunners of the monk, apparently did not appear until the very end of the third century.

The intensive chiliastic and proselytizing character of the so-called "Apostolic Age" with its attendant rejection of Mosaic Law and traditions was, within religious boundaries, the very opposite of retreatism. In the first two centuries, some ascetics and virgins are reputed to have worn distinctive garb and to have been granted some legitimate status in certain cities, but they apparently were never numerous. The periodic persecutions of Christians, which reached their greatest intensity with the Decian edict of 250, provided a martyrdom that left little room for self-imposed ascetic practises. Apparently, however, these political persecutions combined with the related economic pressures on peasants, accelerating with each crisis encountered by the foundering Roman Empire, to force

Christians not only underground, but also to remote regions of the Empire. Many fled to Egypt where several non-Christian eremitic and cenobitic forms of religious expression were known to have existed. It is believed that in Egypt the first Christian ascetic hermits appeared only a few years before the Constantinean Peace granted religious freedom to Christians. Although the ascetic, Pául of Thebes, and perhaps others, may have antedated Anthony of Egypt, it was Anthony who is credited with having been the leading catalyst of an eremitic movement that quickly spread throughout the Near East and from there to the West. Very little is known of the details of this movement. However, like its Buddhistic counterpart in Asia, it passed rapidly from eremitic to cenobitic to monastic form, despite the co-existence of all three, especially in the Near East. All the evidence points to the fact that it had been primarily a lay movement, and as much a reaction to the institutionalization of the Church and its secular accommodations as to the prevailing social, economic and political conditions of the declining Empire (see esp. Workman, 1962, pp. 77-135). There were many figures and events in this movement of historical importance in the diffusion and gradual codifications of the socio-cultural phenomena known as Christian monasticism, but we cannot dwell upon them here. For our purposes it is sufficient to note that in this formative

period, three rules: the Basilian, Augustinian and Benedictine, were promulgated, which are still used by many contemporary associations of religious. These, together with the numerous so-called "spiritual writings" of the first six centuries, have served as inspirational sources for numerous others in associations which share to some degree in the austerity of the early monastic tradition. We dwell upon this only because the formalized rules governing the life of the Order of Mystical Union and the bulk of its own writings are unmistakable derivations of the primitive monastic ideal forged in this period.

Let us, therefore, pause to characterize the essential elements of this ideal. When we speak of the primitive monastic ideal, we refer to that distinctive ascetic subculture within Catholicism primarily concerned with the personal sanctification of the individual through his social, physical and psychological withdrawal from the world. It is, first and foremost, exclusively otherworldly in its manifest orientation. Its superordinate goal is the attainment of a mystical union with God. In terms of this overarching goal, all other elements within the ideal subculture are held to be ordered. Originally, this quest for holiness and perfection was founded upon an extreme dualism. Of necessity, orthodoxy has always retained in some form a distinction between the things of God--the spiritual world,

the sacred, the good, and the things of the anti-God--the material world, the secular and the evil. The Church has only actively opposed and declared as heretical those forms of the dualistic argument which resulted in practises which conflicted with other of its doctrines or threatened its authority. This dualistic conception was defended by certain interpretations of citations found in the New Testament, especially the writings of Paul, and set in bold relief by the early Apologists. Links with Platonic philosophy (Hatch, 1957) were also strong, not only in the heretical Gnostic views of the malignity of matter, but also in the moderate Augustinian synthesis expressed in The City of God. Notwithstanding the great similarities between the dualistic doctrines held by the early leaders of the eremitical movement and those of their declared heretical contemporaries, the Manicheans, as well as the Albigensians of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, these doctrines are essential to the internal logic of the primitive monastic ideal. In this view, the supernatural world was sharply distinguished from, and indeed placed in opposition to, the secular world. The secular world was perceived as without redeeming grace, corrupted with Original Sin and filled with entrapments of satanic design. Mortal life itself was the very antithesis of spiritual life, and considered to be a constant threat to it. Therefore, to insure his salvation, an individual

was obliged to orient himself totally to the achievement of union with God, the source of all grace. Such a life was often couched in terms of martyrdom and called "a living death."

This connection between the first monks and the martyrs is not a coincidental parallel, but an historical continuity, as Malone (1950) and countless other authorities have documented. The prevalent ideal of religious perfection for many Christians during the first two centuries of the Church had been martyrdom. After the Peace of Constantine, however, this avenue to union with God was temporarily closed. Actually, several suicidal cults did emerge, but in general, less literal substitutes for martyrdom prevailed.

The hermit, cenobite and monk substituted a self-imposed ascetic martyrdom. Both "spiritual martyrdom," as it was and is now called, and the physical martyrdom for which it had become a surrogate, were believed by some to assure instant sainthood. Both were legitimized as imitations of Christ. More specifically, they were imitations of Christ's persecution and crucifixion, the very cornerstone of Christian claims to prophetic fulfillment. Other aspects of the life of Christ as portrayed in Scripture were of relatively token importance. Christ's death was, as it is today, believed to be the most profound manifestation of God's redemptive love for man. Apparently, such a

selfless show of sacrificial love by a personalized God called for reciprocation, at least by any Christian zealously seeking the "highest perfection."¹³

However, while basically eschatological in focus, the primitive monastic ideal also had a strong mystical component which held that union with God may not have to wait until the last judgment. The encounter could be attained in contemplation by the prayerful and otherwise "purified soul." In order for one to have achieved this state of purification, it was considered necessary that he give evidence of his total self-conquest by renouncing commitment to all "created things," i.e., all cultural, social and physical objects of this world. As a result, the movement produced an ideology of "de-humanization" that has few peers in recorded history. By "de-humanization" we mean the ideal and mystical process by which an individual is believed to be purged of his social, psychological and physiological natures and to be manifest in "pure soul" alone.

Every major institutional social status that an

¹³This is an explicit and enduring example of the extension of the "norm of reciprocity" to relationships between a person and a non-empirical agent that presents problems of "equivalence" in terms of which the religious ideals of perfection may be fruitfully explored. For a recent treatment of the norm, see Gouldner (1960).

individual might have had, or might develop within society, had to be renounced. All three renunciations were dramatically symbolized by physical retreat, but each received additional specific sanction in the system of manifest culture that the movement produced. First and most important culturally was that the individual's status in the kinship structure was revoked by his severing all ties with his family of orientation. Invocations directed to this end are plentiful in the literature of this period. Furthermore, a commitment to celibacy with origins in the adventist phase of early Christianity insured that the communicant would be denied future kinship connection through a family of procreation. This proscription was later codified in the vow of chastity, which from all evidence was the earliest public vow. Second, the individual's status in the economic structure was revoked by his dispossession of all culturally valued goods and services. It was further reinforced by the individual's rejection of all future rights, duties, privileges, immunities and obligations of an economic nature. This renunciation of economic status gained in significance as Christianity spread to the wealthier classes and received codification in the vow of poverty. For some of the early hermits and cenobites, poverty was a literal dogma founded on the belief that their faith would insure divine provision. They, for the most part, subsisted only

by virtue of gifts made by those who held them in esteem. Of those not prudent enough to retreat within easy proximity to supporting settlements, of course, we know nothing. Collectivized property, the inevitable and often troublesome consequence of monastic organization in agrarian society, was unanticipated. Third, a communicant was also required to give up all secular titles of political authority. His severance from the political institution was further exemplified by a revocation of any obligation to the State and buttressed by a commitment to refuse public office, if offered. Fourth, the individual was required to give up any religious status in the Church's hierarchy that he may have had, and to disavow all future ambitions of this nature. In some associations of religious, these renunciations took the form of a vow of humility, the least common of vows. Fifth and finally, a strong anti-intellectual bias was fostered by claims to direct knowledge of God and a reliance upon mystical rather than rational-empirical methods of inquiry. This fostered a skepticism, if not a disdain for learning, which also cut off the early communicant from the embryonic educational institutions of the time. More implicit than explicit, this dimension of secular renunciation never received the formal sanction of a vow.

However, the primitive monastic ideal was even more sharply focused upon the less obviously social aspects of

the individual, and his renunciation was couched primarily in the language of ascetic self-renunciation. Both his physiological and psychological systems were its targets. The human sense mechanisms were viewed as "portals of evil" and the biological needs of the organism were viewed as impediments to the "soul's" purification. Manifest sexual gratification of any kind was prohibited. Physiological needs for food and drink were countered with long and severe fasts and abstinences. Requirements for sleep were flaunted by marathon contests of wakefulness. Elementary creature comforts were replaced with austerities of body positioning, confinement, and a variety of physical punishments including flagellation. It is a rare form of physical torture indeed, that escaped the early Christian hermits, cenobites and monks in their zealous rivalries for religious perfection as they conceived it.

But the desocialization of the individual and penitential practises directed against his attachments to himself as an organism did not exhaust his de-humanization. Another remnant of self-identity, his "will," had to be purged. Later on, this element of renunciation of "will" was seized upon by those seeking to control monastic enthusiasm to legitimate the imposition of the vow of obedience. But the ideal in this context was that a person must "die to himself" in order that he become a completely

passive instrument for his God's will. In religious literature this form of self-rejection has often been termed "self-annihilation," the psychologically impossible state of denial by the individual of the self itself, as an object of orientation or commitment, by its destruction. Thus purged of all worldly encumbrances, purified, and having made of himself "the perfect sacrifice," the penitent could hope through prayer to achieve the desired mystical state of union with God. Failing this, however, it was believed that his holy life would certainly guarantee him eternal salvation when the formality of "blessed death" intervened.¹⁴

While this core of ideas was an extension of an ascetic strain in the early Church, as Troeltsch (1960, vol. 1, pp. 236-245) has argued, asceticism was never the exclusive ideal of the Church, or, indeed, of monasticism itself. As the early Church developed and expanded, it embraced a less austere sacramental system of salvation, achieved an accommodation with secular institutions, and developed a clergy and rudimentary hierarchy. Initially, the eremitical movement was a latent reaction against these very tendencies, as well as against its pagan environment. As the eremitical

¹⁴The true penitent, of course, must have derived substantial gratification by appearing to deny it, not only in expectation of the divine reward that would be his upon death, but in the adulation in which his "spiritual holocaust" was held by the multitudes.

movement spread, it frequently incurred the opposition of bishops. But emerging orthodoxy at the time was locked in a struggle with an array of "heretical" competing doctrines that required more immediate attention. Gradually, amidst the external havoc of the "barbarian" invasions and internal doctrinal disputes, the disparate forms of the eremitical movement became stabilized.

The development of monasticism in the Near East, especially in Egypt, Syria and Palestine, was highly variable, unstable and frequently punctuated by outbursts of extreme austerity. Despite the fact that the organizational efforts of Pachomius of Egypt, founder of cenobitism, Basil, a Cappadocian priest and drafter of the first set of monastic principles, and numerous other Eastern figures, were precursors to the more stabilized forms of monasticism that later emerged in the West, diversity prevailed in the East. For example, Basil urged a Church and a charitable service orientation upon his monks. As a consequence, because bishops had to be celibate and the majority of the secular clergy were married, monasteries became the principal training centers for the Eastern hierarchy. Nevertheless, solitaries and small cenobitic communities rejecting such accommodations continued their highly idiosyncratic practices and do so even today.

As we have noted, while in both the East and West the hermit was all but replaced by the cenobite and he in turn by the monk, the organizational transition was more rapid and complete in the West. As early as the Council of Chalcedon in 451, monasteries were placed under episcopal regulation. In a process Durkheim was first to describe, with collectivization came the emergence and further codification of internal rules. For example, the physical isolation of the hermit was sometimes supplanted by rules of silence which minimized social interaction in communities. But with these trends came an entirely new and crucial element of monastic culture that was to provide the fulcrum of internal and eventually Church control, the vow of obedience. There is no trace of an emphasis upon obedience to authority in either the Church or the eremitic movement in their earlier phases, except of course, as the doctrine of total obedience to the "will of God" applied. Nevertheless, this rudimentary doctrine was successively extended to embrace Church authorities first, and then secular authorities as well. These unfolding consequences of the Church's institutionalization in a culture in which the supremacy of the State was unquestioned were promptly theologically defined and rationalized as extensions of Divine Right.¹⁵

¹⁵It appears that it was during this period of institutionalization that the rudiments of the Catholic doctrine of immanence emerged supporting Swanson's emphasis upon the role of political experience in the determination of religious belief (See Swanson 1960 and esp. 1967).

In the process, the highly individualistic, if not anarchistic, subculture of early monasticism became a largely subordinated element within the Church. Internally, the monk was subject to the will of his superior, and externally, jurisdictional disputes over the control of monasteries among popes, bishops and secular rulers persisted for centuries. Frequently, associations of religious have been the tools of popes and other authorities, and sometimes they proved to be orthodoxy's most powerful and militant weapon of reform and enforcement. But associations of religious, especially those closer to the primitive monastic ideal, have periodically resisted the imposition of all outside authority, including papal and episcopal, resulting in cycles of conflict which testify to the basic instability of their accommodation.

The transplantation to the West of Eastern eremitic, cenobitic and monastic practises was rapid, but in their new environment, they underwent profound evolution. The Romanized culture of the West was more legalistic, pragmatic and less tolerant of individualism and extreme asceticism than the East. Augustine, who had already asserted the doctrine of the Church as the servant of the City of God, argued, as Basil had before him, against unregulated eremitic practises, and following the example of Eusebius of Vercellae, monasticized his episcopal residence (see esp. Van Der Meer,

1965, pp. 199-234). However, it was not until after Benedict of Nursia's synthesis of monastic practises in his Rule of 529 (see esp. Delatte, 1921) that European monasticism began to take on a distinctive uniformity.

Only in the Celtic culture, outside of Roman influence, did Western monasticism rival the austerity of the Syrian and Egyptian varieties. From the fifth to the seventh century, Celtic monasticism thrived.¹⁶ Its penitential system of enforcement, which left its indelible mark on the Middle Ages, was the most severe the Church has produced. But as a form of monasticism, its most unique sociological features were its total integration in the Celtic clan system and its unrivaled domination over both Church and society (Workman, 1962, pp. 183-216 and Décarreaux, 1964, pp. 174-213). As such, it is perhaps the best example in all Christianity of the integrative function of religion which Durkheim (1957), drawing primarily upon tribal societal examples, has emphasized.

In the late sixth and early seventh centuries, the Celtic monks and those of the Benedictine code were locked in a struggle for dominance in Europe. With the patronage of Pope Gregory I and other historical circumstances,

¹⁶For the most scholarly account see Ryan (n.d.).

Benedictine monasticism not only prevailed, but its history, with few exceptions, was the history of European monasticism outside of Ireland, until the twelfth century. And until about the eleventh century, with the emergence of the Canons Regular, the history of the religious status in the Church was the history of monks.

While Benedict's Rule added little new to the forms of monasticism which antedated it, it preserved the essential elements of the primitive monastic ideal in a normative synthesis that encouraged moderation and provided a detailed framework of monastic life that had a greater adaptive potential than previous forms.¹⁷ Chastity was by this time such an integral part of religious life in the West that it was not even mentioned. While the vow of poverty was emphasized, it was related to a clarified statement on the nature of collective property. Obedience to the superior's will was nearly absolute, and he was given broad discretionary powers which provided a certain flexibility. At the same time the provision for chapter meetings also left room for the development of more democratic mechanisms for intra-community regulation. Moral reform and compliance with the provisions of the Rule gave impetus to internal movements

¹⁷The literature on Benedictine monasticism is voluminous as Kapsner's bibliography (1950) attests, but Butler (1961), Chapman (n.d.), Knowles (1930), Morin (1950), Schroll (1941) and Wolter (1962) were particularly valuable.

of self-regeneration, but within an established framework. A new vow of "stability" was added, requiring the monk to remain for life in his first monastery, which curbed the itineracy that had proved difficult to control and provided for a greater community continuity than before.

The daily routine of the monastery was divided into periods of prayer, manual labor and scriptural reading. Prayer was integrated into the routine of the monastery according to the canonical hours of the Divine Office. To the three nocturnes of Vespers, Matins and Lauds and the three daytime hours, Terce, Sext and None, which had become traditional in the Church, early monasticism had added Prime and Compline, respectively an extra morning and evening prayer. Benedict included all eight in his Rule, and their recitation occupied about five hours in the monk's day. As Baldwin (1953, p. 26) has noted, "prayer, worship and sanctification of the soul" were "fundamental" and "everything else . . . secondary." But "extra-curricular" as they may have been, of more historical significance were the six hours of manual labor and four hours of spiritual reading provided for in the routine. In the medieval society, these rather mundane features of monastic life were to combine with the pragmatic tone of Benedictine spirituality to produce economic and literary consequences which Benedict did not, and could not, have anticipated.

By moderating asceticism, Benedict's Rule tended to re-orient the monk from an otherworldly preoccupation to an inner-worldly one. As Workman (1962, p. 150) appreciated, Benedict urged upon his monks a "self-surrender" rather than a "self-conquest." The thrust of this subtle difference is that one capitulate rather than engage in an unending self-purge. Physical austerities, while not altogether absent, were by and large replaced by more mystical, psychological mechanisms. And, as Weber (1963, p. 218) has said, "By a unique paradox, asceticism actually resulted in a contradictory situation . . . , namely that it was precisely its rationally ascetic character that led to the accumulation of wealth." In a similar vein, he (1963, p. 177) wrote,

. . . to the extent that an innerworldly religion of salvation is determined by distinctively ascetical tendencies, the usual result is practical rationalism, in the sense of the maximization of rational action of such, the maximization of a methodical systematization of the external conduct of life, and the maximization of the rational organization and institutionalization of mundane social systems, whether monastic communities or theocracies.

The corporate and highly regulated asceticism of Benedictine monasticism in the Middle Ages, was a most convincing example of Weber's thesis. The value of work supported by an ascetic doctrine, highly rationalized conduct, and the cheap labor of the monk free of kinship dependents and the slaves and serfs the monk controlled combined to catapult monasteries into agricultural pre-eminence and to make them major

economic forces in the Middle Ages. By a similar paradox, notwithstanding the avowed devotional nature of scriptural reading, it encouraged education, at least for some of its monks, by its presupposition of literacy in an overwhelmingly illiterate environment. Thus, primarily intra-mural schools were established and modest intellectual skills fostered, especially the transcription of manuscripts. Quickly Benedictine monasteries became the unrivalled repositories, if not the disseminators, of secular as well as religious knowledge in the first centuries of the Middle Ages. However, despite the fact that Cassiodorus, as early as 540, had established the first monastery with scholarly objectives, true equivalents of schools did not appear until the cathedral schools of a later period.

The years from the sixth to the tenth century witnessed the spread of Benedictine monasticism with its complex of incidental adjuncts. Always relatively autonomous units, monasteries sometimes rose to considerable political, as well as economic and literary local influence. As time passed they became integral parts of the emerging feudal social structure everywhere in Western Europe and their very affluence made them attractive to invaders. Feudal abbots were bound by oaths of fealty, or themselves became feudal lords, and monastic tithes and the services of monks were

almost completely secularized.¹⁸ In the ninth and tenth centuries, the invasions of the Moslems, Magyars, and most importantly the Norsemen, left many monasteries plundered of their wealth and depopulated. In this atmosphere of insecurity, the political and religious institutions, such as they were, fragmentized and the power of their organizations declined. Correspondingly, monastic and ecclesiastical life rarely conformed to their own explicit standards of conduct.

This tendency of monasticism toward wealth was periodically counterposed with "reforms," creating a cyclical pattern which Workman (1962) has summarized in the following words:

The history of Monasticism in the Western world is, in fact, the constant repetition of the same tale, the same ideal, with what would seem the same inevitable corruption of success. First we have the burning enthusiast, seeking salvation in a more perfect renunciation, plunging into the wilderness that he may find a solitude where he may pray alone. There his reputation for renunciation draws to himself others of like mind, who place themselves under his direction. Or if he is already a monk, by profession a renunciant, in reality an inmate of some lordly abbey rich in its vineyards and granaries, we see him, pricked to the heart by the memory of the poverty of Christ, setting off to found some new convent where he may carry out in stricter fashion the primitive Rule, with the good seed no longer choked by the multitude of riches. In a few years his humble abode becomes too strait for the multitude who have sought out this Jacob's ladder with its visions of the angels. Wealth pours in; the rude huts of wattle and mud give place to the stately abbey; the humble

¹⁸For an excellent account of the history of monastic economics to the twelfth century see Constable (1964).

church becomes the soaring minster. By their care and toil the desert blossoms as the rose, the fairs overflow, while serfs and hinds, attracted by the security and greater freedom which the Church affords, build up outside its walls the town which perpetuates its name. The first dreams of poverty are once more forgotten; all things are ripe for some new saint to make a new effort towards that primitive renunciation, the dream and despair of Monasticism during the long centuries of its existence.

For eight hundred years the ebb and flow of the monastic tide centred round this rock of offence. For eight hundred years after Benedict men tried to achieve the impossible, to attain simplicity and poverty by renunciation, through means of an organization that must inevitably produce wealth. To this conflict of ideal and actuality we owe the various congregations, orders, and reforms the mere names of which would demand a volume in themselves . . . (pp. 223-24).

Thus, in the wake of this chaotic period, several of these monastic "reform" movements made their appearance, but that at Cluny was to prove to be the most significant historically (see Canu 1960, pp. 30-36; Harnack, 1901, pp. 82-88; Workman, 1962, pp. 228-238 and Baldwin, 1953, pp. 33-41). Begun in the tenth century in an effort to restore monastic discipline and minimize lay control, the Cluny movement organized monasteries into the first highly centralized association of religious in the Church. All monasteries of the system, some three hundred by the twelfth century, were governed by the abbot of Cluny. Increasingly clerical in character, the movement resulted in the elaboration of liturgy and the virtual abandonment of the Benedictine practises of work and study which had already deteriorated. The Cluniacs extended their "reform" far beyond the cloister, however,

and under Pope Gregory VII, popularly known as Hildebrand, to society and the Church itself. Never before or since has monasticism made more universal claims or been so influential, but this, too, was not to last for long. The main significance of this movement, as far as contemporary associations of religious are concerned, is that it produced the first experiment in the international organization of communities which claimed papal exemption from the control of local bishops. Henceforth, beginning with the Dominicans of the thirteenth century, all major new associations were to develop, in time, a symbiotic relationship with Rome, wherein in return for support against the imposition of episcopal and secular authorities, they provided the Papacy with its most effective instruments of Church control and expansion. Monasticism was successively integrated into the Church, subordinated and rationalized according to the prevailing organismic Catholic view of the period. Troeltsch (1960) has summarized this process in the following way:

In order to form this cosmos the first necessity was to incorporate asceticism and monasticism into the life of the Church, in a subordinate position. However hard monasticism might struggle for a certain measure of independence, and however undefined had been its relationship with the Early Church, in the Mediaeval Church it was organized first of all under the bishops, and then, when the Religious Orders came into existence, under the Papacy; every other kind of asceticism either was, or then became, heretical. Friction between the secular and regular clergy no longer took the form of struggles about questions of principle; they were

concerned simply with questions of certain rights within the ecclesiastical sphere of jurisdiction. In this change, however, the very idea of monasticism had been altered. Explicitly it is not an end in itself, but one method used by the Church for the common purpose of the Church. The Church was attracted by monasticism because it discerned in it an incomparable method of renewal and power. The monachism of the clergy also meant, above all, that the clergy were being provided with the strongest incentive for an effective life and for independence of the world. At the same time it is made quite clear that salvation is not attained by monasticism and asceticism, but solely and only through the Church and the sacraments. On the other hand, however, monasticism also is drawn to the Church. For the work of revival and reform can only be effected in connection with the international power of the Church, and the domination of the monasteries by the civil authorities could only be broken with the help of the Church; and, indeed, both the monk's energy in virtue and religious content of the ascetic achievement are dependent on the impartation of grace through the sacraments; this, again, is only possible through the Church.

Further, in studying the question of the combination of the monastic life and the monastic ideal with the ordinary "life in the world," we must take into account the Catholic idea of the organism with its vicarious offerings and integrations, the whole mediaeval sociological atmosphere of a graded system of class and rank with its services, which, though they vary in value, are all necessary for the whole (p. 241).

But we are anticipating developments that the Cluny period merely foreshadowed. The first thousand years of the Church had produced only a handful of types of associations of male religious. Despite the frequent manifest worldliness of most of their foundations, all of these were cut from the same monastic mold and their ideologies were overwhelmingly concerned with personal sanctification by means of ascetic withdrawal. But only a few of them survived to the eleventh century. However, the last decades of the

eleventh century and the twelfth century witnessed a proliferation of new associational foundations, as Table II suggests. This was the period of the restoration of a modicum of political stability to Europe, for which Cluny and the Papacy had labored arduously. With political stability, commerce began to flourish again, and with commerce came the gradual processes of urbanization and acculturation associated with the re-introduction of Eastern culture. Cities began to re-assert themselves as centers of economic, political and intellectual activity. Correspondingly, major religious influences in European society began an irreversible shift from the rural monastery to the urban church and school.

Amid these and other related socio-economic trends of the period, new religious movements exhibited an amazing range of diversity. The associations of male religious founded in the eleventh and twelfth centuries fall mainly into three classes--those of "reform" monks, those of canons regular, and those of religious related to the Crusades. The first were essentially the products of a reactionary movement within monasticism itself, the declared objective of which was a return to the more austere practises of the early Benedictine monasteries, if not to even more remote Eastern eremitical and cenobitic forms. In the West, the Cistercians and the Carthusians were the most exemplary and influential manifestations of this movement. The Cistercians were a

reaction against the Cluny interpolations of Benedictine practises and the "new scholasticism" of the intellectual movements in the 12th century (see esp. Bouyer, 1959). Liturgical simplicity and agricultural specialization characterized Cistercian monasteries which were located in remote areas. Midway between the extreme centralization of Cluny and the autonomy of Benedictine monasticism, the Cistercian monasteries were self-governing, but subject to a general chapter of abbots which met periodically and preserved a certain broad uniformity. The Carthusians, on the other hand, modeled their "reform" not on Benedictinism at all, but like the Camaldoli and Vallombrosa hermits, previously founded about 1015 in Italy, on the more primitive monastic ideal of the founders of the eremitical movement. And they are today the most traditionally ascetic order in the Church. At this time in the East on Mount Carmel, Palestine, the Carmelites followed a similar regimen of semi-eremitic, semi-cenobitic life, but in their subsequent transplantation to the West they were to undergo changes parallel to those of early monasticism.

The second class of associations to emerge in this period were the result of an extension of the Cluny movement directed at "reforming" the secular clergy by organizing them into semi-monastic congregations. The canons, that is the priests attached to large churches and cathedrals, were

monasticized under one of several rules (Dickinson, 1950). As already noted, Eusebius and Augustine had set such precedents quite early and, while some canons did adopt the Benedictine Rule and became full-fledged monks, many adopted a more flexible rule derived from Augustine's writings, combining parishional and contemplative activities with a semi-monastic community organization. The clerical dominance and apostolic objectives in all but a few of the leading contemporary associations of male religious have their antecedents in the Cluny movement and this notable evolution of it. The Canons Regular of St. Augustine were prototypic here, but the Victorine scholastic canons and Premonstratensian missionary canons were important variants and precursors of further specializations to come. The canons regular were only the first wave of quasi-monastic associations in a position to relate to the new intellectual and apostolic challenges of the commercial city of the later Middle Ages.

The third class of associations founded in this period represent the most radical adaptation of monasticism in the history of the Church, the military order. In feudal Europe it was not uncommon for monks to take up arms, but with the Crusades and the Moorish and Prussian wars, the monk was organized into associations expressly for the purpose of military action against the "infidel." As far as contemporary associations of religious are concerned, the

only significant imprint left by military monasticism was the rigid obedience structure it fostered, and which many later associations were to manifest, especially the Jesuits. In this period, military monasticism's uncommon variety can be only suggested by two examples. The Templars, a military order founded to defend the Holy Sepulchre, rapidly became the chief banking and financial agent for all Europe until the Order's suppression in 1312. The Hospitallers, founded in the eleventh century to provide shelter and medical care for pilgrims to Jerusalem, became one of the most powerful and aggressive military orders in the Church. The Order still exists and to this day claims Malta as its sovereign state.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, often termed the "high Middle Ages" because they represented the culmination of a medieval cultural synthesis, the Church reached the apogee of its control over European affairs, secular as well as religious. Through the gradual elaboration of canon law administered by a large and highly centralized bureaucracy, the papal monarchy was, for a time, secured. Increasingly, canonists rather than monks succeeded to the Papacy, and with the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 monastic orders were required to hold triennial general chapters and new religious orders were forbidden. Ironically, however, the promulgation of these legal

measures directed towards the containment and regulation of monasticism coincided with the rise of an extremely new and precedent-setting enthusiasm known as the mendicant movement. Again, originally in protest against the increasing wealth and power of the Church, state and monastery of the thirteenth century, the movement took a radical course in its initial exclusive dependence upon alms as its mode of subsistence, and selection of preaching as its primary vehicle of religious expression. Until this time, as we have seen, the primary ideal of monasticism had been personal sanctification by withdrawal from the world. Extra-mural "secular" involvements, including preaching, were incidental to this end. But, beginning with such leaders as Peter Waldo in the late twelfth century, a whole series of enthusiasts advocated a total poverty, both collective and individual, and an ideal of personal salvation through service to God by religious service to man in the world. One of the results of this movement was the establishment of associations of male religious which differed appreciably from the older orders.

The four "original" mendicant orders of the thirteenth century also differed from each other in a number of significant ways, but each enjoyed a spectacular popularity and rapid growth. The two leading mendicant orders, the Franciscans and Dominicans, were original foundations of

the first two decades of the century; the other two, the Carmelites and the Augustinians, were older monastic orders which subsequently adopted some practises akin to the mendicants and were re-organized accordingly.¹⁹ The Franciscans, or the Order of Friars Minor, owe their origin to the charismatic example of Francis of Assisi. With a populist missionary zeal, he emphasized poverty and a love of his God fused with humanitarian work for the poor, sick and oppressed. The Dominicans, or the Order of Friars Preacher, more accommodated to the authority structure of the Church, were founded by Dominic of Guzman in 1215 originally to combat the Albigensians. From the beginning the Dominicans emphasized preaching and scholarship, and developed a strong centralized organization with papal support. While Francis and Dominic were both mystics and Marianists, both protested the worldliness of institutions and the Church and both apparently sought a martyrdom that eluded them, they and the associations they founded were at first quite different in many respects. Francis discouraged scholarship, Dominic

¹⁹For the Franciscans see esp. Felder (1925), James (1930), Joergensen (1921), and Masseron (1932); for the Dominicans see esp. Clerissac (1939), O'Connor (1925), Reepes (1929) and Galbraith (1925); for the Carmelites see esp. Sheppard (1943) and Rohrbach (1966); and for the Augustinians see De Romanis (n.d.).

emphasized it. The Franciscans suffered from internal schism, especially over the issue of poverty, but the Dominican organizational structure prevailed and compromises on the issue of collective property were assimilated without a schism. The Franciscans originally were mostly laymen and the Dominicans predominantly priests, but despite these and other differences, the Dominicans and Franciscans quickly gained papal approbation and gradually became more and more similar.

The semi-eremitic Carmelites, or the Order of Brothers of the Most Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel, forced from Palestine by the Saracen reconquest, were reconstituted to the canonical status of mendicants by Innocent IV, receiving final approbation only in 1298. The Hermits of St. Augustine, as its title suggests, was an amalgam of several eremitical groups which adopted Franciscan practises under a Dominican structure.

All four orders emphasized prayer and preaching. Like the canons before them who were by this time in decline, the mendicants engaged in a broad range of pastoral, missionary, social and educational activities. But the friars, as they were called, were far more successful in these endeavors than their predecessors had been.

One of the most significant aspects of the mendicant movement was the highly centralized, yet representative, structure which the Dominicans pioneered, and many of the

associations of religious subsequently adopted in one form or another. All members made profession of obedience to the Master General who was given broad powers checked by the provisions of the Order's Constitutions and General Chapter which elected him. The General Chapter was made up of the Provincial Prior and two representatives elected by each of the Provincial Chapters, which in turn were made up of the conventual prior and two elected representatives from the conventual chapter of each priory, the smallest unit of the Order. Thus, a parliamentary system linked each member to a three-stage hierarchy of executives elected for three to twelve years, to which each member was bound by the vow of obedience.

While the mendicants retained the choir office and the three traditional solemn vows along with other elements of monasticism, their pyramidal representative organization, their preaching activities and their emphasis upon poverty, then, were in sharp contrast to Benedictine monasticism with its monarchic abbots, autonomous structure, vow of stability and considerable wealth. The mendicants quickly spread throughout the Christian world and beyond, and numbered in excess of 80,000 by the end of the thirteenth century (Canu, 1960, p. 77). Nearly everywhere the mendicants went, however, their popularity among the people was matched by the hostility and open opposition of the

older orders and the secular clergy. In recognition of the influence of the movement and the power which would accrue to the papacy, if controlled, a succession of popes granted the mendicants special exemptions from secular authority and they, in turn, became the first orders of true papal jurisdiction.

To say that the mendicants dominated the pre-Renaissance Church, and through it much of European culture, is not to exaggerate their role. They were in the retinue of popes, cardinals and bishops, and many of their number came to hold these very offices. They were placed in charge of diplomatic missions, and it was chiefly the Dominicans, aided later by the Franciscans, who were the executors of the Inquisition. They were confessors and advisors to kings. Their preachers were to be found in neglected churches, rural byways and crowded city streets throughout Europe, and their missionaries attempted to extend and sometimes impose their faith in Africa and Asia. Their more scholarly members were numbered among the faculties of every European university of the period. The Dominicans excelled in theology and philosophy. Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas are the most notable examples.²⁰ The less abstract Franciscans,

²⁰It is principally to Thomistic philosophy which advocated the "higher" sanctification of the religious and rationalized monasticism's role in an organic Church

Alexander of Hales, Duns Scotus, William of Ockham and Roger Bacon, were among the early pioneers of the empirical sciences.

Although the ascendancy of the mendicant orders was mercurial and conflict-ridden, their decline was no less spectacular. In the next two and one-half centuries, the pre-eminent power and influence of the Church and its associations of religious in Europe, wedded as they were to the culture of the Middle Ages, was broken by a complex of events produced by the economic, political and intellectual processes of a transforming culture. Increasingly alienated by some of the very forces it had, to some extent, set in motion, the Church adopted a defensive posture from which it has, even today, not recovered. We cannot dwell upon the complex events of the period culminating in the Protestant schisms, except to say that as far as associations of religious are concerned, no new movement emerged, and the few orders founded in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were mainly extensions or schisms of the mendicant movement of the prior era. Existing orders, despite a few limited "reforms" and some missionary enterprises, were largely depopulated by plagues and decreasing interest, secularized,

conception that we had reference above. Despite its many inadequacies, logical and otherwise, it gradually became the official philosophy of Catholicism and is so, even today.

locked in a series of internecine conflicts, and in great disarray.

With the Reformation, however, a two-pronged religious movement was fostered in Catholic Europe. Both were clearly reactions to the Reformation. The first was the "reform" of the older orders. The second was the creation of a wholly new kind of association of male religious, the clerics regular.

The attempt to restore the older orders to their former practises was effectuated more quickly and to a greater degree among the mendicants than among the monks and canons regular, but everywhere there was resistance. Nevertheless, no order was unaffected by the movements, and the Carmelite and Franciscan reforms produced two new orders in the process, the Order of Discalced Carmelites (see Peers, 1954 and Rohrbach, 1966), and the Order of Friars Minor Capuchin (see Cuthbert, 1929), whose practises were more severely reactionary than a majority in their parent orders were willing to accept.

More important, however, were the precedent-setting associations of priests called clerics regular, which emerged in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to fill the depleted ranks of the clergy and engage in a more active ministry than either the canons or the mendicants had advocated. The Theatines, Somaschi, Barnabites and numerous

other specialized orders of clerics regular were founded in the early sixteenth century, but the Oratorians and Jesuits were by far the largest and most historically significant.²¹ Except in their houses of formation, they abandoned nearly all but the last remnants of monastic practise, the vows; and although their associations were still legally called "orders," they were priests primarily and religious secondarily. They dressed in a manner indistinguishable from the secular clergy and, ever since, the main waves of religious enthusiasm in the Church, resulting in male associational foundations, have successively abandoned first the solemn vows, and then the vows altogether.

Here, however, our brief historical sketch of the development of associations of religious must abruptly end, for by the immediate Post-Reformation Period the character of the Order of Mystical Union had been cast. A product of the Church prior to the seventeenth century, its explicit semi-monastic culture is one forged in the Middle Ages, and thus the Order has little in common with the increasingly non-monastic, specialized, and professionalized associations founded in the last three and one-half centuries. Let us now turn to a consideration of the explicit culture bequeathed to St. Anthony's by its remote forebears.

²¹For the Oratorians see esp. Ponnelee and Bordet (1932); for the Jesuits see Broderick (1940).

CHAPTER III

THE CODIFIED EXPLICIT CULTURE OF THE ORDER OF MYSTICAL UNION

The logical initial step toward understanding the socio-cultural structure of St. Anthony's was to examine the template of beliefs, values and norms which is contained in a representative sample of the official literature of the Order. In the first week of the study, the researcher requested of St. Anthony's Superior a list of written materials which he considered most accurately expressed the "spirit," traditions and character of the Order. Subsequently, three other professed members of the Order (i.e., senior members who had made final vows) were independently interviewed and similarly asked to recommend representative materials. Only those seventeen works receiving two or more nominations by this group, thus serving as an expert panel of consultants, were retained for detailed study. Included in the final sample were: the Order's Rule, Constitutions, Instructions, Ordinarium, Ceremonial and Manual, as well as three "major" spiritual works, a classic handbook on novitiate training, a popular description of the life, a history of the Order,

biographies of two of the Order's leading saints and three contemporary expositions on aspects of the Order's objectives.¹ Thereupon, these works were read and content analyzed. Citation of these materials would violate anonymity and replication under these circumstances is precluded. Therefore, rather than present a detailed description of the content analysis, its methods and results, we will merely attempt to appraise and illustrate the major themes contained in this literature.

Themes: Their Religious and
Normative Elements

Generally, it was found useful to distinguish between two analytical classes or orientations contained in the literature examined. The first class of orientations includes the principal non-empirical beliefs, values and mystical and ascetic doctrines of the Order. We shall call

¹At first, the Superior was a bit reluctant to provide copies of the Order's Constitutions and other codes of rules due to the fact that he considered them "dated." Indeed, at that time, these documents were subject to re-evaluation by professed members at St. Anthony's in accordance with Vatican II's Decree on the Adaptation and Renewal of Religious Life (Abbott, 1966, pp. 466-482 and Baum, 1966, pp. 59-80) which had been proclaimed only six months prior to the beginning of the study. Nevertheless, he did confide that life in the monasteries of the Order, especially in houses of formation like St. Anthony's, was largely regulated according to the provisions of these documents.

this body of orientations--variously termed the Order's "ideal," "spirit" or "spirituality"--its religious system. The second class of orientations consists of a system of law-norms for the regulation not only of the member's behavior in nearly all aspects of his "external" interaction, but also of the member's experiential or "interior" life as well. We shall refer to this as the Order's normative system. Each of the major themes of the Order has both religious and normative elements. As we shall see, even though some of the operative religious orientations of many at St. Anthony's are not completely consistent with the traditional religious system of the Order, they are more likely to suggest changes in the Order's law-norms than to confront critically the religious system upon which these norms are based.

The religious system of each of the associations of religious in the Church, especially those of more remote foundation, is quite distinctive. While each is allegedly devolved from and/or considered to be consistent with the sources of Catholic dogmatic and moral theology, each is an extension and elaboration of them, concerned primarily with spiritual and ascetic matters and designed to cultivate and inspire a higher degree of holiness than that required of the laity or the secular clergy.² Primarily, they

²Each system manifestly presupposes a consensus on all basic elements of Roman Catholic faith and morals. Each

function as frames of reference in terms of which the different activities of these associations are legitimized and understood by their members. As Gautier's volume (1959) aptly demonstrates, the religious systems of the several associations are distinctive "schools of spirituality." For an association, its "spirituality" is its raison d'etre, a source of pride and an object of considerable ego-involvement for its members. Indeed, the religious system of an association is one of the means by which its group superiority is asserted and a standard in terms of which other associations of religious are invidiously compared.³

For quite some time certain theologians have emphasized a "theology of Christian perfection" which all presumably have in common (e.g., Royo and Auman, 1962); the highly respected theologian, Bouyer (1963), considers the rivalry between "schools of spirituality" as "sectarian

association is required to embrace the Church's sacramental system, yield to the authority of the Holy See and operate in general conformity to canon law. While on a number of occasions there have been disputes between members of associations of religious and episcopal authorities on certain of these elements, sometimes with profound consequences for both what is held to be Catholic consensus and the fate of the associations that have been party to the controversy, these have been the rare exceptions rather than the rule.

³Other ways in which group superiority is expressed are numerous, and include such things as priority of foundation, saints, history, habit, liturgy and the like.

deformations" of what he views as a universal "Catholic spirituality." However, despite the fact that the religious systems of all but the most recently founded associations share in the three "councils of perfection"--poverty, chastity and obedience--and to a lesser extent, a common mystical and ascetic heritage, the distinctiveness of each is an ethnographic fact. Indeed, because of the great differences in both the religious and normative systems of the associations of religious, and their historical rivalries, it is not unreasonable to suggest that obtaining a religious consensus between the Jesuits and Carthusians, for example, would be a more formidable task than the ecumenical effort to conjoin the Eastern Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church.

The law-norms of each association of religious may be considered collectively as an instrumental system designed to serve the ends of the association's religious system. As such, the normative system comprises an array of technological subsystems. For example, there is usually a technology for prayer as well as a technology for ceremonies, for associational government, for associational economics, for social life in the community, etc. In the Order of Mystical Union, since all aspects of a member's life are defined as transcendently oriented to the "love and worship of God," all are subject to normative regulation

and religious interpretation. From the manner of dress and address, to eye movement and bodily posture, to propriety in thought and feeling, the entire round of life is normatively prescribed and proscribed.

By and large, both of the Order's systems, the religious and normative, are routinizations of the primitive monastic ideal as modified by the European monastic experiences up to the seventeenth century (described in Chapter II). Only in the last few years, and partly as a consequence of Vatican II, have an appreciable number of the Order's professed members in America begun to think of this codified culture as something less than immutable, and indeed, in need of extensive revision in the light of "new" theological and moral perspectives, as well as the perceived realities of modern industrial society and culture. But before considering this codified culture's relationship to the actual behavior and experience of those at St. Anthony's, let us describe some of its more salient elements. It is important to emphasize at the onset, however, that our objective here is not to present the Order of Mystical Union's religious and normative systems as they conform to a general Catholic consensus or in an integrated way acceptable to its theologians, but merely to outline, in order of their prominence, some of the major themes of these systems as revealed in the documents analyzed.

The Contemplative Theme

As the fictitious title given to the association is meant to suggest, the primacy of contemplation in the Order of Mystical Union's religious system is unrivaled. The foremost declared objective of each member's life is the attainment of a mystical union with his God. All else, we are told, is but a means to this individualized and omnipresent objective. Nearly all of the spiritual writing is concerned with extolling the virtues of the contemplative experience, or outlining methodologies for its attainment. Filled with quotations from sacred literature, instructions on "interior life" and prayer, and excerpts from the idealized biographies of saints who are credited with having attained "perfection," this literature is ambiguous in many ways, but there is no mistaking its otherworldly and contemplative foci. The primitive monastic ideal is retained and, indeed, central to a highly organized, occult system of thought. A unique mysticism embellishes the contemplative value,⁴ a complex and graded

⁴For obvious reasons, a description of the features of the mysticism characteristic of the Order of Mystical Union is not possible here, but some references will suggest its general properties. Sociological research in the area of religious experience is nearly non-existent and the typology recently advanced by Glock and Stark (1965, pp. 39-66) stands alone in the field. As they correctly maintain (pp. 39-40), few scholars with any semblance of a

system of prayer relates the believer to the contemplative encounter, and all is embedded in a Thomistic philosophical synthesis. Nevertheless, the "way of perfection" of the primitive monastic ideal is still ascendent. Other "ways" are sometimes acknowledged, but the writers betray no doubts about the superiority of the Order of Mystical Union's religious orientations which they extol.

While the documents of the Order are concerned primarily with the promulgation of rules for the contemplative life, its spiritual writings are less mundane and pertain to the religious system. To convey the manner in which these ideas are communicated, let us examine briefly the way in which the "Divine encounter" is described in this literature.

Union with God, by definition mystical and incommunicable, is expressed as a love relationship and indeed, as in many of the writings of Western mystics, the sexual

rational-empirical approach have studied mystical, religious experience, with the notable exception of James (1958, originally 1902) and, perhaps, Starbuck (1899) and Leuba (1925). However, a number of recent students with some modicum of detachment have turned to a re-examination of mysticism. The analysis and anthology by Happold (1964) is one of the best of these sources. For the reader interested in the verities of Christian mysticism, the original writings of mystics are recommended, but the sympathetic treatments of Butler (1966) and Underhill (1964, 1965) are useful as an introduction. Jewish mysticism with its Gnostic parallels to early Christian mysticism is most authoritatively described by Scholem in his historical analysis (1965).

analogy is the foremost poetic imagery used to communicate it in the literature examined. The believer is cast in the role of the female, commonly referred to as a "bride," "bride-soul," "vessel of love," and "passive receptable," who has entered into a "spiritual marriage" with God. God is cast in the role of "fragrant Spouse," "Beloved," "Heavenly Bridegroom," or "naked Godhead." The "bride," characteristic of Western sexual norms, does not initiate "union," but prepares and awaits "His coming" with "thirst," "intense desire," "longing," and "anticipation." The "bride's offering" is "virginal" and "pure." "The union of the betrothal" in which the "Beloved enters the bride-soul" is experienced with "delight," "joy," and "ecstasy"; and this literature often links the bride analogy with the words of Paul: "I live, now not I, but Christ lives in me." As vivid as these images are, they convey the basic mode in which the mystics of the Order have described the "highest" state of the foremost goal of the Order. But the "Bridegroom's favors" are reserved for a very few; and, since "His will" is inscrutable to man, most must humbly and with fortitude await death without profound religious experience.

Returning to the less poetic aspects of the culture, it is only in relationship to the contemplative life of the Order that its active or apostolic objectives can be understood. Essentially, the personal sanctification of a

member is seen in terms of his conformity to contemplative and ascetic norms of the monastic ideal and not in terms of his apostolic or charitable works.⁵ Indeed, insofar as apostolic goals are emphasized, they are first seen in terms of contemplation: namely, the prayer life of the Order itself is seen as affecting the salvation of souls. Secondly, the prayer life has the extrinsic apostolic function of serving as an exemplar for Catholics who witness it. Only thirdly is the more active apostolate considered, and this in terms of revealing to others that which is the fruit of contemplation. While the virtue of charity is mentioned in general, nowhere in the documents analyzed is there specific invocation of goals directed toward good works as such, except insofar as charity is emphasized within the cloister and in relationship to the hospitality shown guests in the monastery. Consistent with the primitive monastic ideal, if the life advocated in the documents of the Order is an "imitation of Christ's life" portrayed in Scripture, as the authors maintain, it is more an imitation of the Christ of Gethsemane and Calvary, than the

⁵Consistent with general usage, the term "apostolic" is used here to refer to the active ministry, including preaching, administration of sacraments, and religious counseling. Correspondingly, works of "charity" refer to activities directed at the alleviation of disease, poverty, ignorance and the like.

Christ of the Temple, the Christ of the Cana wedding feast or the Christ of the parable of the Good Samaritan.⁶

Historically, members of the Order of Mystical Union have engaged in a number of apostolic and charitable activities and the life of the Order is typically characterized as "mixed." As we shall see, the apostolic activities of the priests of St. Anthony's are not only basic to their view of the spirit of their Order, but also an economic necessity. However, the alternatives posed by these activities have always presented dilemmas to some members of the Order, producing conflicts within the Order as well as between some of its superiors and episcopal authorities. Indeed, such conflicts are not absent today. The resolution of these dilemmas, especially in the name of "renewal," has usually led to a restoration of the primacy of the contemplative. The age-old problems posed by activities pursued "in the world without being of the world" is at the heart of many of the contemporary arguments within the Order and took several interesting forms at St. Anthony's, which we shall presently examine.

⁶An analysis of the sources cited in these documents reveals a much greater reliance upon the writings of the "Church fathers," saints of the Order and official Church documents than upon Old or New Testament Scripture. Indeed, most authoritative citations are intramural in the sense that they are drawn overwhelmingly from works produced by other members of the Order itself.

Each of the other major themes of the religious system of the Order is subordinated to the contemplative theme. In the following, an attempt will be made to describe the ways in which each of the other elements of the primitive monastic ideal discussed above is preserved in an institutionalized form and buttressed by an instrumental system of rules and regulations.

The Prayer Theme⁷

Since "union with God" is its primary goal, "continuous prayer" is seen as essential. Much attention is therefore given to "interior" preparation for receiving the "grace of God's presence" through a regimen of prayer. In this respect, detailed rules for praying are advanced. In the daily life of the monastery, recitation in Latin of the Divine Office in choir is required of priests and cleric novices, and two hours of "mental prayer" is required of all. Lay brothers, because they are not expected to have facility in Latin, are obliged to substitute for the Office the repetitious recitation of Pater Nosters (Our Fathers).

⁷The prayer theme might well have been included under the contemplative theme and is a composite of related forms of religious expression, including acts of "adoration," "thanksgiving," "recollection," "meditation," "reflection," "oblation," "petition," "spiritual reading," "liturgical prayer" and the like.

In addition to these requirements, a daily Mass, a period of examination of conscience, plus the recitation of prayers at meals, during work, etc., are also either required or advocated for all. The degree to which prayer is regimental in the daily life of the monastery can be seen by an examination of the Order's horarium, or daily schedule (Figure 1). Indeed, the single activity in which most of the member's time is required to be spent is prayer.

The Eremitic Theme⁸

The ideal of the total withdrawal of the early hermits is extolled because union with God is considered something which occurs individually, by a "soul alone with God." Since the monastic character of the life and Latin Church law preclude de facto hermits, substitutes are found in the "interior" eremitic surrogates of solitude and silence. Solitude is physically provided for not only by the monastic enclosure, but also within the monastery by individual cells to which the member is commanded to retire if not otherwise occupied by community obligations. This

⁸Like the prayer theme, the eremitic theme is a composite of others which may be viewed as subthemes. These include "detachment" (which has both a prayer and ascetic component), "solitude," "silence," "retirement," "withdrawal," "isolation" and the like.

Figure 1. The Daily Schedule (Horarium) of the Novitiate of the Order of Mystical Union

A.M.

12:45 Rise
1:00 Matins, Silent Prayer, Retire
5:35 Rise
6:00 Lauds, Prime, Terce, Conventual Mass, and Hour of Mental Prayer
7:50 Breakfast
8:10 Instructions of the Rule, the Order and the Spiritual Life
9:30 Work Period
11:40 Sext and None
11.53 Examination of Conscience
12:00 Dinner

P.M.

12:30 Recreation
1:30 Visit to Blessed Sacrament and then Rest
2:45 Vespers, Litany of the Blessed Virgin, Prayers to Saints of the Order
3:15 Work Period
4:45 Preparation in Common for Mental Prayer
5:00 Mental Prayer
6:00 Supper
6:25 Compline, or from Easter to the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, recreation followed by Compline at 7:30.
9:30 Retire

isolation from relatively uninhibited interaction is further reinforced by the diurnal ceremonial life of the community. The practise of wearing a hood during meals, the admonition to raise one's eyes only "when really necessary," and similar minor aspects of the life, serve also to minimize eye contact and provide for an even greater measure of social isolation. Moreover, a strict rule of silence is imposed from Compline until after Prime the following day, during which only under "urgent necessity" are members permitted to communicate, and then only by written note. Furthermore, speaking at all other times without sufficient reason is viewed as a "distraction, dissipation and defilement of the soul." It is presumed that contemplation, meditation and prayer require an inner peace; and speaking during meals (except on feast days), while working, in community rites, or in procession to and from these rites is also either prohibited or restricted. Related to this eremitical theme is the isolated location of monasteries, especially novitiates, which explains the site selection of St. Anthony's over the objections of some in the Province. Similarly, the distance and frequency of trips outside of the monastery are sharply circumscribed by rules. The travel restrictions are especially severe for lay brothers and even more so for the non-professed.

The Ascetic Theme⁹

All of the elements of the asceticism of the primitive monastic ideal are represented in the religious and instrumental systems of the Order of Mystical Union. In order to present himself as a "perfect sacrifice" to his God, the member is exhorted to purge himself of all other attachments. Only when he has renounced everything of this world and time and achieved his own voluntary "self-annihilation" can the believer present himself in his "nothingness," and thereby hope to achieve "spiritual union with God." Renunciation is still the keynote, but unlike the primitive ideal, little is left to individual expression and an entire system of law-norms and lesser rules prescribe and proscribe the ascetic ethic of the Order. Both forms of deviance--that of falling short and that of exceeding the normative behavior--are checked by sanctions.

Of first prominence are the vows to which each solemnly professed member is bound under pain of "mortal sin." Indeed, Canon Law 579 renders acts contrary to the solemn vows not only illicit, but invalid (see Ramstein, 1948, p. 353). Let us examine how the vows are presented

⁹There are many subthemes which are included here that otherwise might have been considered independently. However, because they are all part of a disciplinary course of conduct oriented toward contemplation or the contemplative life and all are most often stated in the language of self-denial in the literature examined, they are treated as aspects of the ascetic theme.

in the writings analyzed.¹⁰

Obedience is stressed as the "most important" of the vows. In the ascetic sense it is seen as a mark of the renunciation of one's "will." In fact, most writers see "spiritual freedom" as maximized only when individual volition and initiative are minimized. And we are told even today that obedience is the most effective way of combating "freedom of mind and will," which is one of the "principal obstacles to Christian holiness." In the internal community obedience is seen as essential to the preservation of monastic discipline. While a professed member is legally bound to obey his superior under pain of "mortal sin" only when commanded to do so formally and in writing, he is exhorted to obey his superior's every command "as if" his superior were Christ himself, and "as if" disobedience, or even reluctance to obey, were a "mortal sin." Since in the Catholic belief system Christ is God incarnate, and a "mortal sin," if unrepented before death, implies eternal damnation, this is no idle invocation. But even more to the point, the relationship between the superior and those under his authority is one of monarchic paternalism in which the subject's

¹⁰The literature examined is quite traditional in the way the vows are understood. The reader will find in Colin (1955) a representative and detailed presentation.

obedience is analogized to that of a child toward his parent, and his anticipation of his superior's wishes is exhorted as a virtue. The community is likened to a "family" and gemeinschaft type relationships are stressed. Despite the fact that the superior is expected to be "a servant to his subjects," his powers within the legal provisions of the Order are absolute. Violations of community rules, from the accidental breaking of a cup to more serious infractions, are aired in a public accusative and self-confessional ritual called the chapter on faults and are subject to an elaborate graded system of sanctions which the superior himself may impose as community executive and judge.¹¹ Since "all things are done according to the will of the superior," his authority is unmistakably insured by numerous specific powers in every area of community life. For example, members of the monastery are commanded to take nothing--clothes, books, food or even a drink of water--without the superior's permission. All daily community assignments are duties done under exhortations of obedience. Further, all letters to and from members prior to delivery or mailing are required to be read by the superior and censored by him, if he considers it in the interest of the

¹¹We will have more to say about the chapter on faults when discussing the mechanisms for social control in the Order.

member, the monastery or the Order.¹²

Regarding chastity, the spiritual writings emphasize it as a virtuous sacrifice for God and linked with the theme of detachment as the ascetic renunciation of the "flesh" and "sensual pleasure." The documents underscore the dire consequences to the "good name" of the Order that abridgment might entail. Avoidance of interaction with all women, "even the most chaste," is strongly advocated. The vow extends beyond the obligation of celibacy to include, as under the sixth and ninth commandments, all acts, thoughts and desires of a carnal nature. In accordance with canon law, papal cloister is maintained to safeguard the chastity of the religious, and no woman, except the wife of a supreme head of state, is allowed to enter the enclosure, under penalty of excommunication. Specific rules for receiving visitors and conduct outside the monastery are also imposed so as to minimize the opportunity for violation, as well as the chance of scandal. Each member is admonished to carefully regulate his feelings and senses, especially his eyes, when in the presence of members of the opposite sex.

¹²Exceptions are made under certain conditions when the letters are to and from a few specified superordinate hierarchical officials in the Order and Church and during elections. But not going through "proper channels" is action subject to the most severe penalty--dismissal.

Ownership of property is viewed as a fundamental tendency of human life and a major obstacle to holiness that must be combated. The provisions of canon law concerning the vow of poverty preclude, upon solemn profession, a member's independent proprietorship of material possessions and require his revocation of all property rights and duties. In addition, the writings of the Order emphasize communal economic austerity and advance rules designed to foster a "spirit of poverty." It is required that the communistic monasteries of the Order be "simple" and that they possess no precious metals or jewels. The individual is provided with a solitary cell in which he is allowed only a bed of boards with thin mattress and bed linens, a table, a chair, a bookcase, a cross and a few pictures for devotional purposes. He is not permitted to possess any money whatsoever--not even pocket money. The maintenance and disposition of resources and property are the exclusive responsibility of the superior, assisted by a procurator. The spiritual writings extol the virtues of placing oneself entirely in the hands of "God's provision" and not concerning oneself with economic matters.

The ascetic theme, as represented in the spiritual writings, is entirely otherworldly and, far from being confined to the vows, pervades and informs the whole of the religious and instrumental systems. Like the prayer and

eremitic themes, the asceticism of the Order is seen as an integral part of the contemplative life and as a necessary means to its goals. To prepare oneself as a "loving sacrifice" for the reception of the "most sublime gift of grace," in addition to practising the "counsels of perfection," obedience, poverty and chastity, and the "theological virtues" of faith, hope and charity characteristic of Catholic doctrine, one must purify oneself by the practise of a more "heroic sanctity." Life in the Order demands a "totality of asceticism," we are told. Even the most contemporary of writers, echoing the primitive monastic ideal, call for a "spiritual martyrdom" and warn that "the holocaust exacted is terrible, inexorable, merciless and cruel, but the victim is ever aware that love is the minister of the sacrifice." The language of ascetic spiritual writing is full of allusions to aggression, war and death. The individual must make "war, without truce," on the "enemies of union--the world, the flesh and the devil." Like the monk of old, he must not only detach himself from all societal institutions and empirical objects of orientation, but he must "annihilate self," "renounce his very human nature," "sacrifice himself," "immolate himself" and "die a mystical death" to be born again as a "new man."

In addition to the ascetic dimensions of the themes already mentioned, the asceticism of the Order embraces

every other element of the primitive monastic ideal, but in a routinized and moderated form. A few examples will serve to illustrate this. Regarding the basic biological need for food, a complete abstinence from eating meat and an annual long fast are required.¹³ Fasts on other special occasions are also invoked, especially on the vigils of feast days in the calendar of the Order. Furthermore, the food taken should be "common" and "frugal," and a diet of bread and water is prescribed for Good Friday and as one of the punishments which may be imposed for violation of certain rules and traditions. The consumption of food or drink at times other than meals is forbidden. Alcoholic beverages are disallowed to novices and postulants, but are served on feast days to professed members. Regarding the need for sleep, six hours is considered adequate for all by most spiritual writers. Basic creature comforts are also met with a number of moderated ascetic practices. For instance, the bed of boards mentioned above; the habit which is required to be austere and made of a "coarse" material; the long periods of kneeling, standing and prostrating required in ceremonies; and the ritual of

¹³The long fast consists of taking only the equivalent of one meal a day from the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (September 14th) until Easter (the first Sunday after the full moon which occurs on or next after March 21st).

corporal punishment, called "discipline,"¹⁴ are all calculated to be consistent with the Order's ascetic theme.

Even "self-annihilation" is not left to the individual alone. To exorcise self-esteem and promote the "proper spirit of humility," a number of solo playlets, called "mortifications," are required to be enacted at meals when strangers are not present. These are similar to hazing rituals in other total institutions and are divided into two categories: "extraordinary" and "ordinary." Extraordinary mortifications (with two exceptions) are performed at the noon meal and with parts of the habit removed and ropes tied around the neck and waist. They include: kneeling near the door of the refectory with a cross in hand begging the prayers of the religious, accusing oneself publicly of one's faults and negligences, carrying a large cross on one's shoulders while wearing a crown of thorns, carrying a skull in one's hands, kneeling near the

¹⁴After Compline three times a week, on Monday, Wednesday and Friday, all members are required to retire to a dark, secluded room and, while reciting the Miserere, the Church's penitential Psalm 50, and during prayers offered by the superior, flagellate themselves with five-tailed, waxed fiber whips. The ceremony usually lasts about seven minutes, but is trebled on the Wednesday, Thursday and Friday of Holy Week. Similar ancient practises are retained in most monastic associations of religious in the Church, but they are a far cry from the rivalrous physical austerities of the early eremitic period, or even those practised up until recent times in the Order, which included the wearing of hair shirts, chains, and similar penitential practises.

refectory door and striking one's breast with a stone, taking one's dinner kneeling in the middle of the refectory, and lying on one's back at the threshold of the refectory to be walked on by those who enter. Ordinary mortifications are performed at the evening meals and include: kissing on bended knees the feet of the religious, receiving a slap on the cheek from each of the religious, standing in the middle of the refectory with one's arms extended in the form of a cross, and lying on the ground, face downward, with arms extended in the form of a cross. All mortifications are performed with special ceremony, bows, floor-kissing, etc., and must be done when given as penalties for violations or may be done voluntarily with permission from the superior.

The Ceremonial Theme

Each year, month, week and day in the monastery has a ceremonial cycle and everything done collectively has an explicit ceremonial component. The annual calendar of the Church is augmented with the special feasts and fasts of the Order. Most feasts are celebrated with ritual processions and there are rituals for the election of a new general and provincial, for first visits to the monastery of superiors, and elaborate rites of passage when individuals become clothed and take or renovate vows. The

diurnal life of the monastery is begun with a ritual rising for Matins when the bell-ringer appointed for the week rattles a clapper and announces, "Praised be Jesus Christ and His Virgin Mother. Arise Brothers, to pray and praise the Lord." He thereupon knocks on the door of each cell until he hears the response, "Ave Maria." Each subsequent communal event in the schedule is announced by bells and each has its own ceremonial--the Divine Office, Mass, the chapter of faults, discipline, meals and so on. Members of the community are required to file in a double line according to rank when going to certain community acts. The community acts themselves are required to be carried out with great solemnity and in accordance with the written provisions of the Order's manuals. Numerous special gestures are made in various ceremonies and they include two types of genuflection, three of prostration, three of inclination, two signs of the cross, and a striking of the breast. Not only are there detailed symbolic role norms for the ceremonial statuses of priest, acolyte, thurifer and bell-ringer, but also for the non-ceremonial statuses of sacristan, porter, guest master, infirmarian, cook, refectorian, tailor, shoemaker, barber and gardener. All tasks have a religious connotation, even the most menial.

Because the mere description of these ceremonies would require a volume in itself, in order to communicate

this theme it will suffice to describe the ceremonial rules set down for meals. This description at the same time will serve to convey the degree to which life in the monastery is regulated, how status differentiation and ranking operates and how even the most mundane activities are rendered sacred or justified in the religious ideology. The following is a paraphrased translation of some of the rules governing meals contained in the official Latin documents of the Order:

The religious are to go to the refectory when they hear the bell. Before entering the refectory, if they are in procession, the junior leads, the religious wash their hands at the appointed place and dry them on the towel. After meals, they again wash their hands, the senior leading. (The ranking of statuses within each monastery is as follows: 1. superior, 2. subsuperior, 3. priests, according to seniority of profession, 4. cleric novices, 5. professed lay brothers according to seniority of profession, 6. novice lay brothers, 7. postulant lay brothers.)¹⁵ This ceremony is to be omitted on evenings when the fast is observed.

The refectory tables are to be bare and there is to be a folded napkin at the place of each religious, which is to be changed each week. This napkin is to contain a knife, fork, spoon and a little linen cloth to be used for cleaning the silverware. Each religious is to receive a piece of bread and a glass at his place. A water pitcher, pepper and salt are shared between every two religious. Oil and vinegar cruets may be on the table if that is the custom of the Province. On the head table, before the place of the superior, there is to be a human skull. In the center of the wall behind the superior there is to be a wooden cross to which all are to bow and there are also to be

¹⁵The remarks in parenthesis are supplied by the author.

some statues or holy pictures in the refectory. (Note the use of a skull and cross as symbolic of the Order's ascetic theme.)

Entering the refectory two by two, the religious make a profound inclination to the cross in the center, and divide into choir sides so that each stands before his own table facing the other. The superior stands near the head table and the most junior religious in the lowest place. (The hierarchy of rank is justified in the following way: "Although Christ counsels us not to love the first place--and this should be desired interiorly by all--nevertheless, to maintain the beauty of the House of God, . . . distinctions are to be exteriorly observed . . .") The grace is begun by the hebdomader (a religious appointed for the week to sing the daily conventual mass, to begin all the hours of the Divine Office, to sing collects and give necessary blessings, etc.) when he receives the signal from the superior. The proper bows and inclinations are made together and all are to be profoundly bowed when he gives the blessing. All then go to their places. The hoods are put up and put down again at the name of Jesus. They are immediately put up again and, after a few sentences, lowered when the superior signals the reader to pause. (Each week a religious is assigned the task of reading aloud during meals from an "inspirational" work selected by the superior. He is provided with a lectern and stool and reads until interrupted or relieved.) The bread is kissed, the hoods are raised, the napkins are unfolded and the meal begins.

The ceremony is the same for the evening meal. It differs on nights when the fast is observed. Entering the refectory at a sign from the superior, they go to their places, sit down and put up the hoods. When the hebdomader says the first short prayer, the hoods are lowered. The reader says "In nomine Domine, etc." ("In the name of the Lord, etc.") and all cover their heads. They all uncover their heads when the priest gives the blessing. All then raise the hoods again, unfold the napkins and begin the meal. On Wednesday, Thursday and Friday of Holy Week, the blessing at the table is given in silence by the superior.

In the refectory, silence and modesty are to be carefully observed and, mindful of temperance, all are to listen to the reading so that body and mind might be nourished at the same time. No one should pick and choose but take the food or bread first offered to

him. The drinking cup is to be taken with both hands. No one is to give anything to others or to leave the refectory without obtaining the superior's permission. When a religious has finished his meal, he is to shake the crumbs from his napkin and fold it, putting his knife, fork and spoon inside as before and putting the fragments of bread near the outer edge of the table.

Two strokes of the superior's knife are given on the table to begin the reading, to collect the crumbs, to rise from the table at the end of meals. Three or four strokes are given on the glass as a signal for the religious to rise when a superior enters or leaves and also for the end of any mortification which is being performed. Those who come late for meals are to kiss the floor when the superior gives one stroke of the knife on the table. No other signs are to be given in the refectory unless a religious needs something. Then, unless water is required, not he, but his neighbor, makes a sign to the server, pointing out what is wanted. All should attend to the needs of their neighbor in a charitable manner and call the attention of the server or the superior to what is lacking, quietly and without words.

The bread basket and crumb tray are to be kept in a suitable place near the door of the refectory. There should also be a towel so that the servers may clean their hands frequently. When the community is seated, the two servers at table stand in the center, facing the cross, and when the reader says "In nomine Domini, etc.," they bow profoundly to the cross and begin to serve. They may wear an apron to protect the habit. When the religious have spread out their napkins, the servers bring the soup and then the food, beginning to serve with the superior. The bread is to be taken around right after the soup. The server is to see that no one has to do without something and if he sees one that needs something, he is to provide it. The servers are to avoid any noise which would prevent the others from hearing what is being read. If they need to ask something of the cook, they are to speak only when the customary signs are insufficient, and then in a low tone.

No one is to receive food which is different or cooked differently than the rest, unless the superior gives his permission. One server is to remain standing so as to be ready to serve anyone who comes late, such as the cook. When the religious receive anything from the server, they are to bow the head as a sign of gratitude. When passing before the cross from one

side of the refectory to the other, the servers do not pause, but slightly incline the head. Great cleanliness is to be observed by the servers and they should avoid spilling anything. Should this happen, they are to clean up immediately.

In a spirit of charity and humility, any of the religious who has finished his meal before the others should get up to replace the servers or the reader. Folding his napkin at his place, he rises, and inclining his head to the cross, kneels down before the superior. On rising, he makes a profound inclination in the center to the cross and goes to carry out the office assigned to him. The servers, when finished, incline profoundly to the cross and sit down in their proper places.

At the end of the meal, at a sign from the superior, the servers or the other religious who are up to take the bread basket and crumb tray and, making a profound inclination in the center, go to the superior, making a profound inclination before and after if he is a priest--otherwise, a medium inclination--they gather the bread and collect the crumbs on his side of the refectory. With a profound bow in the center, they pass to the other side of the refectory and when finished there, they make another profound inclination in the center and put back the bread basket and crumb tray. If the community is large, four religious may be assigned to these offices instead of just two.

When the religious have replied "Deo Gratias" ("Thanks be to God"), they rise from the table and, in the same order as before meals, make the prescribed thanksgiving. Facing each other across the refectory, all bow when the hebdomader says "Benedictus Deus" ("Blessed be God"). If "Laudate" ("Praise") is said, the hebdomader intones it. All bow for the Pater Noster (Our Father). From Pater Noster to Oration, all face towards the cross. At Oration, all bow profoundly, rise and make another profound bow for the Pater Noster said in silence. If the Miserere (Psalm 1) is said, the juniors from both sides come to the center, and bowing two by two, the community leaves the refectory chanting the Miserere. All go to choir or designated place and finish grace there in the same manner as above. The "De Profundis" ("Out of the Depths," Psalm 129) is also added.

On nights of the fast, they reply to "Sit nomen Domini benedictum" ("Blessed be the name of the Lord"). If there is recreation on these fast nights, the seniors leave the refectory in the first place. If

they are to go to choir or the oratory, the juniors leave first while the community says the Miserere. Usually at the evening meals the community does not rise immediately when they have answered, "Deo Gratias." The porter or some other religious called on by the superior will mention the alms received during the day and all say the Pater Noster and Ave Maria (Hail Mary) for the benefactors. In some provinces, the custom is to say these prayers for all the benefactors in general. Then, as prescribed by the Constitutions, the daily correction of faults is made.

A religious who has broken something takes off his cloak and hood and wears suspended by a cord from his neck a piece of the broken object and accuses himself during the correction of faults. Inclining his head to the floor, he accuses himself and when he has received the penance, at a sign from the superior, he kisses the floor and then the hem of the superior's habit. He who breaks anything in the refectory itself, immediately accuses himself as above and need not do it later at the correction of faults. In the meantime, the servers provide anything necessary in a quiet way, so as not to interfere. All who are still in the refectory should rise when the community leaves the refectory. The grace at supper is much the same as at noon on nights when there is no fast. On nights when the fast is observed, after all rise, the hebdomader says "Sit Nomen Domini benedictum," and all answer "Ex hoc nunc et usque in saeculum" ("From now and forever"), bowing the head slightly. Chanting the Miserere, the community goes to choir or oratory for examen (an examination of conscience), asperges (a ceremony of sprinkling with holy water) and night prayers.

Our religious ought to be zealous in maintaining the holy customs of practicing the ordinary and extraordinary mortifications in the refectory. The mortifications are to be performed with composure and modesty and without singularity so as to profit those who perform them and to edify those who witness them. These mortifications are omitted on Sundays, feasts of the first and second class and when strangers are present, and not more than three or four should be performed at one meal.

(Here each of the extraordinary mortifications are described in detail. One will serve as an example.)

He who wishes to beg his meal like the poor enters the refectory after the soup has been served,

carrying a bowl and a spoon in his hand. Making a profound bow, he remains in the center. When the superior asks him what he wants, he replies, "I beg an alms for the love of God!" Then he kneels before the superior and presents the bowl and spoon to him and does likewise to the other religious, beginning with the superior's side of the refectory. If something is given him, he says, "Blessed be God in His gifts." If nothing is given, he should say, "Deo Gratias." When he has received sufficient, he goes and sits on the floor at the end of the refectory and takes what has been given him. The servers bring knife and fork and a glass and water, but a napkin is not to be brought unless the superior wishes it. He inclines his head to the servers as a sign of gratitude when he receives anything. When he has finished his meal, he kneels down and waits a sign from the superior to kiss the floor and then says, "Praised be Jesus Christ!" in the middle and leaves the refectory.

He who wishes to perform some ordinary mortification rises from the table when he has finished his meal and folds his napkin. Making a profound inclination in the center to the cross, he kneels before the superior and he immediately does the mortification assigned to him. (The superior gives him his assigned mortification by signs, e.g., if the superior makes a slight slapping gesture with his hand, this indicates that he is to perform the ordinary mortification of receiving a stroke on the cheek from each of the religious.) When he is finished, he kneels in the middle of the refectory and kisses the ground when he receives the sign. He next kisses the hem of the superior's habit, bowing before and after, and having made a profound inclination to the cross, returns to his place.

He who kisses the feet or receives a stroke on the cheek always begins with the religious who sits at the head table, goes along that side and then goes over to the other side of the refectory. He makes only a medium inclination to priests and to the superior after the action. The stroke is not to be too light nor too heavy and all should slightly rise and make an inclination of the head to him who performs this mortification. The head is uncovered for a priest only when he presents himself before each religious.

He who has his arms extended, whether it be standing or prostrate on the floor, covers his head and when the superior gives the sign, he uncovers his head as he

lowers his arms. When a priest, for whom all should stand, performs a mortification, all rise when he rises from his place and when he sits down again.

Two dishwashers or more for a large community are to clean the bowls, plates and dishes during the afternoon recreation for one complete week at a time. At supper, the pots and pans, plates and dishes are to be washed by others than the regular dishwashers of the week. The priests and brothers who are dishwashers for the week fold their napkins just as soon as they are finished at the noonday meal, make a profound inclination in the middle of the refectory to the cross and go directly to the place for washing dishes. One cleans the plates, putting aside anything that could be used or given to the poor. The washers, wearing aprons, thoroughly wash the dishes in hot water. It would be well to put the dishes in cold water next and finally to dry with a clean towel or place in such a manner that they can drain easily. While doing dishes, they are to keep silence or else recite psalms, rosary or thanksgiving after meals. When they are finished, they clean the place, and wash and dry their hands thoroughly. They then join the community at recreation, saying when they arrive, "Praised be Jesus Christ."

The Marian Theme

The traditional popularity of the cult of Mary, the mother of Christ, among associations of religious is quite pronounced, and the Order of Mystical Union is no exception. In both the spiritual writings and prescribed ceremonial of the Order, Mary holds an exalted position. The spiritual writings analogize the relationship of the member to "the Glorious Queen of Heaven" as one of an idealized son-mother relationship in which Mary serves as a powerful intercessional agent. For example, it is written that:

The Only Begotten Son of God pours out more liberally than can be related His heavenly riches according to the desires of His mother. If Christ, who is liberality itself, bestows abundantly to sinners through His mother, how much shall He not grant to the sons of His mother whom, in a certain manner, He takes to Himself as brothers. Since we are her sons and heirs, we must believe that Christ will be most prompt in answering the pleas of His mother.

In addition, Mary's life is characterized so as to serve as a role-model for the ancient values of the Order and in such a manner that the son-mother relationship is brought to bear as a mechanism of social control:

We have, in the Blessed Virgin, one who is purity itself. When we entered the Order, we became sons of Mary. Let us acknowledge this and examine what kinds of sons we are, whether we are noble sons or ignoble ones. It is fitting that sons be like their mother and we should be like Mary. If we are not, we disgrace her. If, therefore, a likeness is to be established between mother and sons, we should cultivate a most profound humility, a most sincere obedience, a most invincible patience, a most sweet gentleness, and a burning charity. One cannot be truly religious unless he acquires these virtues. The humble virgin will not place among her sons a proud monk; the obedient virgin, an impudent monk; the gentle virgin, a monk inclined to anger. How can a talkative monk be considered the son of a silent mother? How can one looking after his own ease be considered the son of a poor mother? How can one who allows a bold freedom to his eyes be considered the son of a modest mother? How can one who desires to deal with seculars be considered the son of the hidden virgin? Why is it some of our religious dedicate themselves to the mother of God and yet make little progress in acquiring virtue? Is this most tender mother not injured and hurt by her sons who turn from her and stray off?

The display of representations of Mary is required, and special ceremonials and prayers in veneration of Mary are integrated into the life of the monasteries of the

Order. There are special daily prayers, a weekly devotional, a monthly procession, annual feasts and a novena celebrated in her honor. Ejaculations and prayers are invoked on countless occasions in the rituals of the Order.

Concluding Note on Themes

While there are many categories into which the content of the literature of the Order of Mystical Union could have been analyzed, the general themes described above are so manifestly prominent and inclusive that they come very close to exhausting the dimensions of the codified culture examined. Because of the overwhelmingly otherworldly focus of the literature and its corresponding lack of clarity, most value dimensions ordinarily used in the systematic analysis of culture are either explicitly or implicitly rejected, or impossible to identify. Collective societal values, such as biotic and social survival, are simply nonexistent. Peace is a psychologically desirable state after ascetic war and monastic harmony is emphasized, but intergroup relations outside the cloister are of little consequence. Equality, justice, progress and opportunity, as societal values, are simply ignored. Sometimes equality and justice are mentioned in reference to intra-monastery life, and progress and opportunity are terms applied to

individual spirituality; but outside of these purely religious contexts, they are never used. On the individual level of analysis, there is a practical concern for a certain level of health and happiness for members of the Order, but pain, illness and misery are also positively valued as "penance." In accord with the martyr element of the Order's asceticism, death is equated with victory and the preservation of life has no intrinsic value. Love is a major value, but it is an ineffable, transcendental love of God; and when love for "one's neighbor" or humanity is urged, it is a diffuse, derivative and passive love. Secular success is either explicitly rejected in all of its forms, or subordinated to success in spiritual life. Political, economic, intellectual, social and religious freedom are rarely mentioned; and when they are, they are seen as impediments to spiritual freedom. Selflessness has a specific ascetic religious connotation, but a wide identity with mankind characteristic of secular, humanitarian ideologies is absent. Hopefulness is exclusively a theological virtue oriented toward salvation and "God's prophecy," and not a faith in temporal man or in his worldly future. Poverty is not something to be alleviated, but something to be aspired to. Within the monastery, the individual must conform and adjust to the belief system, rules and the emotional tone of the Order. Individual expression, creativity,

skepticism and deviance of all kinds are negatively characterized and discouraged by an emphasis upon faith and obedience. Work is extrinsically valued because idleness is viewed as a danger to the soul, but work is neither viewed as intrinsically valuable nor even as a means of subsistence. All is subordinated to the basic contemplative standard of the religious system. This may be seen most dramatically by the following short summary of the spirit of the Order given by one of its recent writers:

In brief, . . . anyone who wishes to live in the spirit of (the Order of Mystical Union) disengages himself from created things and renounces himself resolutely and completely. Then, when the powers of the soul are quiet, he tries in an habitual movement of meditative prayer to know and to contemplate God in the light of faith; to unite himself to God by love; to tend towards the eternal possession of Him by hope. Round about himself, he has created a void; within himself, all is forgetfulness; he no longer knows anything, no longer desires to know anything save God alone, for He is all, and the rest is nothing.

And in a more legalistic language, members of the Order are told:

A good religious is one who, with his whole heart, has renounced the world, parents, relations, friends and all things; who for the love of God surrenders himself wholly and without reserve, both intellect and will, body and soul, into the hands of his superior; who leads the regular and common life without singularity and perseveres in this holy way; who faithfully observes his vows, the commands of superiors and his Rule and Constitutions without relaxation; who lives a spiritual life ever walking before God and united to Him by the practice of the Presence of God; one who is silent and modest, humble and meek, who avoids whatever might scandalize his fellow religious and who edifies all by his good example. Such religious are much loved by God

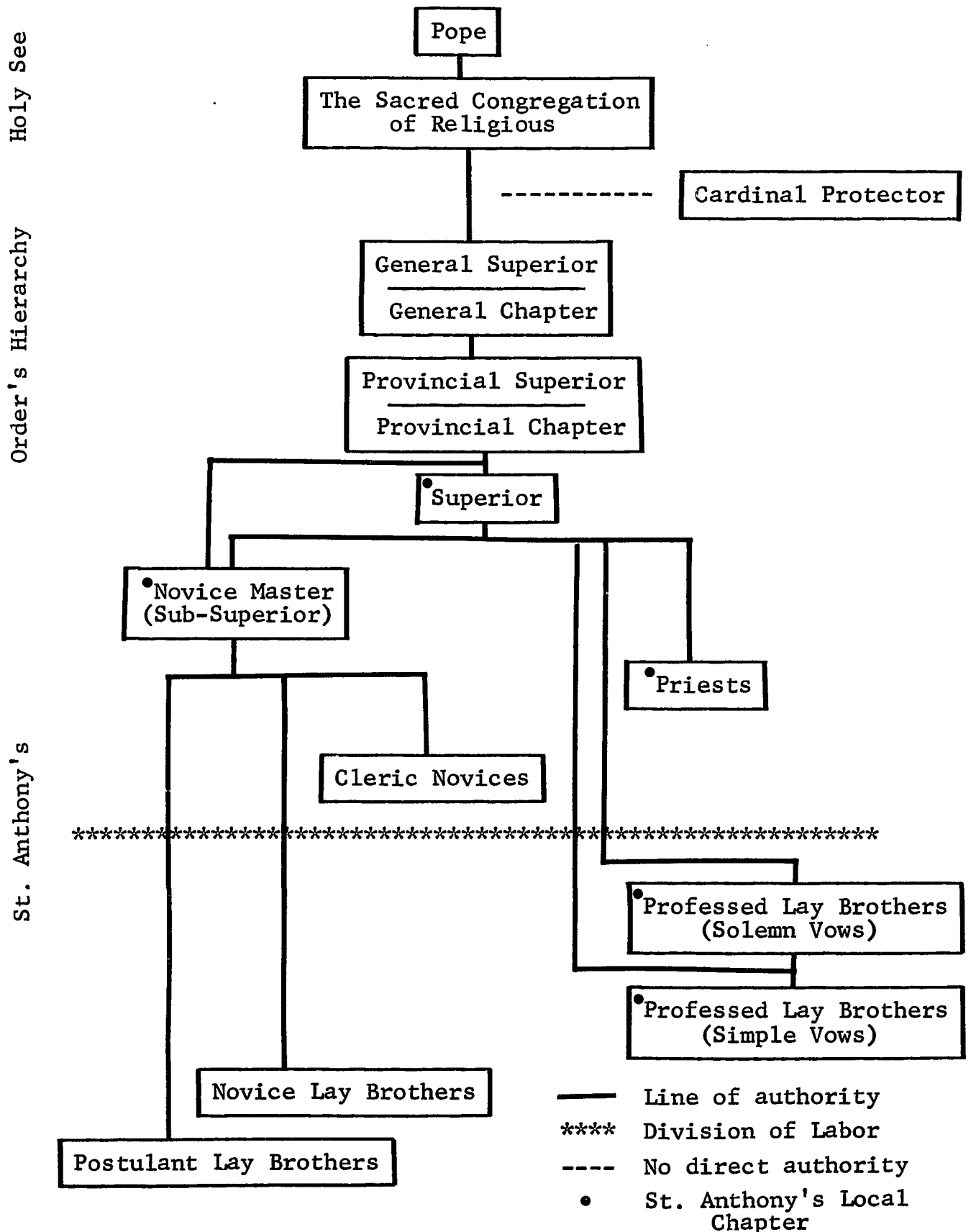
and are truly great. A good religious is stronger than he who conquers cities, wiser than he who has learned all worldly knowledge, more powerful than he who rules all worldly kingdoms.

The Formal Organization of the Order
of Mystical Union and St. Anthony's

In addition to the major cultural themes of the Order, the documents analyzed (together with canon law) define the formal organization of the Order. The single-line hierarchy of statuses and their role law-norms which constitute the formal structure of the Order are basically patterned after that devised by Dominic in the thirteenth century and subsequently adopted by the majority of male associations of religious (see Figure 2). Like most associations of papal jurisdiction, the Order's general superior is responsible to the Holy See, namely the pope and the Sacred Congregation of Religious. The highest official of the Order, he resides with a staff in Rome. Interposed between the general superior and the Holy See is a cardinal protector, who is chosen by the Order and approved by the Holy See to oversee the interests of the Order. However, he has no authority, and the title is virtually honorary. The position of general superior is filled by a member elected in a general chapter for a fixed number of years.¹⁶

¹⁶While the key officials of the Order are elected, the election system used is very close to the appointment

Figure 2. The Formal Organization of the Order of Mystical Union and St. Anthony's Novitiate



The general chapter is periodically convened for elections and is the legislative body empowered to change the normative system of the Order, i.e., amend its Constitutions and other codes of rules. However, final approval for these changes must be secured from the Sacred Congregation of Religious. The general chapters of the Order comprise the current and immediate past provincial superiors and delegates elected in provincial chapters.

The next in descending authority are the provincial superiors, each with jurisdiction over all the houses and members in a given territory, called a province, wherein he and his staff reside. Elected for a term of years by the votes of a provincial chapter, each is responsible to the general superior for the administration of the affairs of his province. The provincial chapter is convened periodically by the provincial superior and is composed of the local superior and an elected delegate from each of the monasteries of the province. The provincial chapter also elects the local superiors of these monasteries who are, in turn, responsible to the provincial superior for the administration of their monasteries.

At each successively higher level of the Order's

pattern because of the very small electing body at both provincial and general levels.

government, the powers, as well as the span of authority of superiors, increase. At each level, superiors exercise not only all the executive functions allotted to that level by canon law and the Constitutions of the Order, but the judicial, economic and spiritual functions as well.¹⁷

Since our primary research objective was to identify the social relationships operative in one monastery of the Order--a novitiate with rather special structural properties --attention must be given to the formal statuses and role law-norms in novitiates of the Order of Mystical Union as set forth in canon law and the documents examined. Two major cross-cutting status differentiations obtain in a novitiate. The first is between the two major career lines of the Order--the priesthood and the brotherhood. The second is that between the professed and the non-professed.

The career line of the priesthood formally begins when the candidate enters the novitiate as a cleric novice. It is required that he be a Catholic in good standing, be of "legitimate" birth, have the equivalent of one year of college and proficiency in Latin, in addition to being free of the impediments to valid and licit admission to religion

¹⁷For a good general description of the government of religious as set forth in Canons 499-537, see Creusen (1953, pp. 34-121) and Ramstein (1948, pp. 304-327).

specified in canon law.¹⁸ Prospective candidates for both career lines are interviewed by the provincial vocational director and given a test battery which is scored and evaluated by a clinical psychologist.¹⁹ While the criteria for selection are nowhere clearly set forth, the current Provincial Vocational Director reported that he looked for

¹⁸The general impediments to valid admission are: having voluntarily joined a non-Catholic or atheistic sect; not having completed the fifteenth year; having entered religion under the influence of violence, fear or fraud; being a married person as long as the marriage is in effect; being bound by the obligations of religious profession in another association; being subject to punishment for the commission of a crime of which he has been or may be accused; being a bishop; and being clerics bound by service to a diocese. The general impediments to legal admission are: being a cleric in sacred orders without the knowledge or permission of the local ordinary; being in debt and insolvent; being responsible for the administration of temporal affairs which might cause the association to be involved in lawsuits or other difficulties; being a child necessary for the support of his parents or grandparents in great need; having formerly incurred a canonical impediment; and belonging to an Eastern rite. Under special circumstances, some of these impediments may be waived by the Holy See, but they apply equally to lay as well as clerical career lines. For details, see Creusen (1953, pp. 129-134).

¹⁹It should be noted here that this testing program is very new in the Province of the Order studied and is not required or mentioned in any of the documents analyzed. As in associations of religious today, the instruments used usually include an intelligence test, most frequently the College Qualification Tests; School and College Ability Tests, or the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale; a personality test, most frequently the Minnesota Multiphasic; the Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey; the Rorschach, or the Thematic Apperception Test; an interest test, most often the Kuder Preference Record; as well as personal documents of various kinds. (See Lee [1965] for a review of selection procedures for seminarians.)

maturity and sincere vocational interest as well as the absence of evidence of personality problems which would be inconsistent with the life of the Order. His report and these documents, together with testimonial letters and church records, are reviewed by the provincial superior, who has the authority for final selection. While a six-month's postulancy is required of all entering an association of religious, the year of college prior to entry into the novitiate is considered as the equivalent of postulancy for those entering the clerical career line, and they assume the status of cleric novices upon admission to the novitiate. Typically, this year of college has been given in the minor seminary of the province. Minor seminaries are essentially boarding high schools conducted by the Order for the general education of boys from twelve to eighteen who wish to "test their vocation" for the priesthood or brotherhood.²⁰ After a year, the cleric novice professes simple perpetual vows, becomes a cleric student, and departs from

²⁰Up until the class which entered St. Anthony's in the fifth month of the study, the majority of native candidates for the Order were supplied by the minor seminary of the Province. This was to prove to be a very important factor in the social processes which occurred at St. Anthony's during the study. Aspirants for the priesthood and brotherhood whose first real contact with the Order was the novitiate presented very different socialization problems from those who had begun anticipatory socialization as early as their twelfth year in the Province's minor seminary.

the novitiate for three years of training in Catholic philosophy and four years of Catholic theology. Upon ordination, he receives an additional year of practical training in pastoral work.

The brotherhood career line does not officially begin until the year of postulancy is completed in a novitiate. Lay brother postulants are, in some American provinces, expected to be high school graduates, but exceptions are made, and those with less education are frequently admitted to postulancy. He must also meet the canon law requirements noted above, but the rules of the Order merely require that he be between the ages of sixteen and thirty-five. Six months after admission to the novitiate, the candidate becomes a lay brother novice and is clothed. After two years usually spent in the novitiate (only the second of the two years must be in a novitiate), he takes simple perpetual vows. Then after five years of spiritual and practical manual training in a monastery of the Order, the simply professed lay brother may take solemn vows. The statuses of postulant lay brother, novice lay brother, professed lay brother (simple vows) and professed lay brother (solemn vows) are, therefore, a ranked series in the lay brother career line.

As indicated in Figure 2, there is a sharp division of labor between the statuses in the two career lines.

Indeed, this division of labor is more caste-like than the officer-enlisted man distinction in the American armed forces, for lay brothers can never enter the clerical career line. Indeed, upon clothing, they are required to promise "never to desire to ascend to a higher grade." Characteristic of most associations of male religious, clerical statuses are of a class apart, despite the fact that priests and brothers share a common monastic regimen, and the Order's official documents require equality in matters of food, living quarters, dress, etc. The rise of the clerical status was associated with the increasing centrality of the sacramental system of salvation in the Church which priests mediate and administer. As we have seen, clericism in associations of religious was minimal prior to the thirteenth century, but today the vast majority are clerical. In only a very few contemporary associations of religious with both clerics and lay brothers is there anything approximating equality between them. While priests of the Order, like brothers, are bound by the themes discussed above which emphasize a life centered in the monastery, they exclusively are permitted to engage in a number of apostolic endeavors outside the monastery. These activities include, but are not confined to, conducting days of recollection for nuns and sisters, retreats and novenas, substituting for local parish priests during their absence,

and the like. Since the monasteries of the Order do not engage in self-sustaining agriculture, income from direct gifts is modest, and the begging of alms is no longer considered fitting, the fees received by priests for the outside services they render are the major source of the monastery's income--more than 60% of St. Anthony's annual income. If the priests are the breadwinners of the monastery, the brothers are its domestics. They perform maintenance and janitorial work, cook, make and wash clothing, serve at the table, clean and repair the automobiles, bind books, and the like. The priests are "professionals" with sacred duties; the brothers are manual laborers. Priests work with people and sacred symbols; brothers, who are expected to be "devout, simple, faithful and capable of doing labor, since this is their vocation," work with non-sacred things.

Corresponding to this sharp economic and spiritual division of labor is a political division wherein only priests may hold responsible office in the Order. This division is also reinforced by the traditionally lower socioeconomic and educational background of the brother and a strong deference for the priests which the brother has already internalized in the Catholic subculture of society before entry into the Order. In the daily life of the monastery, brothers are expected to lead a completely "hidden life." In their formation, they are socialized

into believing that their lack of rights is a boon and an incomparable way to holiness. In the order of precedence required by the documents of the Order already noted, the most senior solemnly professed lay brother--who may have forty years of service or more in the Order--must yield position to a cleric novice on his very first day in the novitiate. The ranking system is also reinforced by numerous invocations for the junior in rank to show great respect and humility when in the presence of a senior. This is not only true in the ceremonial life of the community, as illustrated above in the ceremonies for meals, but also in informal interaction. For example, when passing a senior in a narrow corridor, the junior "should humbly step aside so as to allow his senior to pass first." When outside the monastery, "the junior is not to lead the way and should not address anyone without the senior's permission."²¹

If the status differentiation between career lines is great, that between the professed and the non-professed is even greater.²² The non-professed, both cleric novices

²¹These examples of required deference behavior apply not only between career lines, but also between rank gradations within them.

²²While the monasteries of the Order are clearly total institutions as Goffman (1961) has defined them,

and lay brothers in their postulancy and novitiate, are in a probationary period during which they are under the closest scrutiny of the professed of the novitiate, who periodically vote in a local chapter on whether or not to retain or eliminate candidates. However, the responsibility for the "formation" of the non-professed rests exclusively in the hands of the novice master, who has rather

many features of the "staff-inmate" distinction upon which the bulk of his analysis rests is appropriate only to aspects of the professed-non-professed relation in novitiates, and not to the priest-brother relation in the monasteries of the Order. But, even in the novitiate, being "in" does not imply "getting out" for the aspirant, unless "getting out" is taken to mean life after death. As Goffman has fully recognized, the mortification of self in religious institutions does not necessarily have the same painful experiential effects as similar practises in other total institutions. However, as we shall see, this is largely contingent upon the effectiveness of the religious legitimation and the experience and motivation of the aspirant. For the individual who does not value his "civil" identities and possessions, who views public recognition of his inferiority, weakness and guilt as holiness, who does not have a highly developed sense of self-determination, autonomy and freedom of action, these processes are clearly not experienced as degrading, but edifying. Nevertheless, the ideology of annihilation of self and will and the practises it supports do not result in an absence of self-identity, as most of the religious writers imply. Quite the contrary, when effective, the process produces a self which is intimately and exclusively identified with the reference group of highest value to the individual--the God and the saints of his belief system. The gratification and self-esteem that such a non-empirical identification provides is quite substantial and is reinforced daily by life in the monastery and reflection upon the "evils" of the secular world.

broad prerogatives. Special care is taken in the selection of novice masters, who are considered key provincial appointments; and, as Figure 2 indicates, the novice master is responsible to the provincial chapter for the conduct of his program. According to canon law, the novice master must be prudent, charitable, pious and "faithful to regular observance." As in all other offices of responsibility in the Order, he must be a priest, and canon law requires that he be at least thirty-five years old and professed five years or more. No other member of the community, including the local superior, may interfere, but the novice master and his students are subject to the general discipline of the monastery, and thereby to the authority of the local superior.

According to Canon 565, the object of the novitiate is "the forming of the mind of the novice by means of the study of the rule and constitutions, by pious meditations and assiduous prayer, by instruction on those matters which pertain to the vows and the virtues, by suitable exercises in rooting out the germs of vice, in regulating the motives of the soul, in acquiring virtues" (Creusen, 1953, p. 151).²³ Each student is expected to present

²³For further details on the novitiate in canon law, see Creusen (1953, pp. 129-163).

himself as a "blank page" upon which the novice master "writes" the Rule, spirit and Constitutions of his Order. By the imitation of his role model, the novice master, and by the passive internalization of the codified culture communicated to him, the aspirant, purged of his former identities, is to be "formed" into "a new man." However, only one hour a day is given to formal instruction (see Figure 1), and the experience is not designed to be intellectual, but, rather, "spiritual."

Further, the novitiate is required to be separated, as much as possible, from the part of the monastery inhabited by the professed religious; no communication is allowed between novices and the professed except for special reason, subject to the permission of the superior or novice master. The aspirants are to take recreation (the only period of relatively free interaction in the horarium) separately from the professed. Furthermore, lay brother novices are required to be separated from cleric novices. During the novitiate year, the novices are also forbidden to be employed in external activities of the association, in the ministry or in studies. As can be seen, consistent with the eremitic theme, the student is to be formed in isolation, not only from the secular world outside the monastery, but also in a large measure from the monastic

community itself.²⁴

To summarize our brief discussion of the codified cultural definitions of statuses and role norms of the novitiate, there are six major statuses in two career lines. In descending rank they are: priests and cleric novices in the priesthood career line and professed lay brothers (solemn vows); professed lay brothers (simple vows); novice lay brothers and postulant lay brothers in the brotherhood career line. The superior and novice master are priests with special authority and responsibility. The superior exercises jurisdiction over all in the monastery, but the novice master has exclusive control over the non-professed in matters pertaining to their formation. Priests have relatively few explicit intra-monastery responsibilities except as they are required to participate in community activities, serve in the local chapter and perform such other duties as the superior directs. These include the responsibilities of house procurator, hebdomader, zelator, choir instructor and the like. Lay brothers who

²⁴In addition to their relative isolation, the non-professed are not allowed to smoke or to consume alcoholic beverages. As all members of the Order, they are commanded to do nothing without the permission of the superior. However, only they are required each month to request, in writing, the permission of the superior for the "necessities of life" (permission to urinate, defecate and wash), to drink water between meals, to get a haircut, to use a typewriter, etc.

are professed are charged with all the domestic duties of the monastery and some, under the novice master, may instruct postulant and novice lay brothers in the skills required in the performance of these duties.

The Mechanisms of Social Control and the
Codified System of Sanctions

The primary objective of the novitiate, as we have seen, is the initial socialization of young male adults in the religious and normative systems of the Order. Since entry is voluntary and the carefully screened candidates have already manifested a substantial commitment to the beliefs and values of the Church, the novitiate of an association of religious has distinct advantages over other total institutions in effecting the compliance and conformity of its inmates. But because its venerable otherworldly culture is at such variance with that of the external secular society from which its candidates come, the high degree of system closure required and the great number and variety of mechanisms of social control employed are rarely approximated in other total institutions.

The documents maintain that only those who are "called by God" and fervently persevere can attain the high level of holiness which life in the Order is alleged to offer or facilitate. The aspirant, highly motivated

to seek holiness, is, therefore, made to feel that he is one of an exclusive religious elite. At the same time, however, he is told he is not worthy of the supreme value--the gift of grace--and that as a novice, or beginner, he must obediently conform to the life in every detail so that he may someday be truly worthy.²⁵

The most basic and effective mechanisms of social control are the Order's religious and normative systems themselves. The internalization of the values exhibited in the themal analyses just described, manifestly fosters a consensus of submission that is reinforced by its sacred character. Disagreement with any tenet of the belief system is not simply a difference of opinion, but heretical. Deviance from certain norms is not simply a mistake, but sinful. The values of humility, obedience, otherworldliness, faith and selflessness all conspire to produce a highly stable system of behavior and experience. The isolated, intensive, long and one-way socialization process required for full membership, during which these beliefs, values and norms are internalized, serve to insulate the Order from the internal genesis of change. "Being of one mind" is repeatedly stressed as essential to life in the Order. Indeed, if socialization proceeds according

²⁵The similarity of these features of self-manipulation to practises in military academies is striking (see Dornbusch, 1955).

to form, the only internal source of change left open is that of direct revelation. But, within the bounds of doctrine and morals, innovation would be automatically rejected, for revelation which contradicts basic tenets is held to be in error by definition. However, even if there were no contradiction, should any member have the temerity to claim to have received new directions for the Order from a Divine source, in all likelihood, his claim would be greeted with great skepticism and rejected as pious delusion. Like super-patriotism in the professional military associations, super-religiosity in associations of religious is generally viewed as gilding the lily and is disdained. Regular observance is rewarded, singular observance is confronted with an array of negative sanctions.

Buttressing this cultural stability are the themes of isolation and ascetic renunciation which combine to insulate the Order from all but one possible external system source of change. The only avenue of legitimate innovation possible is that which might come from the Church to which the Order's culture links its members in obedience. However, for approximately the last three hundred years the officialdom of the Church has been essentially frozen in the maintenance of the status quo and during this period (until Vatican II), no significant efforts to innovate had been made. Correspondingly, the codified culture of the

Order of Mystical Union has operated without major, legitimate challenge and has remained relatively unchanged since the Reformation.

As the discussion of the ceremonial theme demonstrated, another mechanism of control is the system of law-norms which routinize life in the monastery. Since very few occasions for the free exchange of ideas and dialogue are allowed in a life conducted on a strict schedule of ceremonial interaction, and since inter-monastery communication by letter is subject to censorship, the opportunity for a new consensus developing on matters concerning the life of the Order is exceedingly limited.

Because the objectives of the Order are concerned with religious, experiential, as well as behavioral regulation, the system of sanctions includes a mixture of transcendental and temporal elements. We have already had occasion to mention the supreme sanction of the threat of loss of salvation implied by the violation of vows, but the supernatural sanctions do not end here. Excommunication from the Church which is viewed as the indispensable source of sacramental grace can be imposed for certain acts, but only by the Holy See. However, there are also positive sanctions of transcendental reference. Consistent with traditional Catholic practises, almost all the ceremonial and sacramental acts of the Order are rewarded by an

elaborate system of indulgences which are believed to reduce purgatorial suffering for sins committed. The positive sanction of union with God is held to be the supreme reward for religious regularity, but its attainment is spoken of as contingent upon leading a life in conformity to faith and the most mundane law-norm of the Order.

The sacrament of penance, which involves a confidential confessional rite performed before a priest, has the practical effect of serving as a mechanism for the maintenance of conformity, but to this is added a daily correction of faults and a weekly chapter of faults, both of which are public. Each week in the monastery a priest is appointed zelator by the superior. The zelator's duties involve observing the conduct of members of the community and accusing violators of norms in required community ceremonies after the evening meal each day, and in a chapter of faults held each Sunday.

The daily correction of faults is described in the following way:

Except on Sundays and first and second class feasts and their vigils, likewise on the four last days of Holy Week, and the days preceding the local chapter, the superior, or in his absence the sub-superior or someone else expressly designated by the superior, after the evening meal, calls upon the zelator in the refectory. The zelator, rising in his place, states the various slight faults and the superior makes with charity the correction of the religious. Those religious named by the zelator, as

also any other religious who desire to accuse themselves of their own accord, prostrate, saying, "Mea culpa" ("My guilt"),²⁶ humbly listen to the correction, and fulfill the penance imposed.

On Sunday the more formal chapter on faults is held and is described thus:

The religious kneel for the Veni Sancte Spiritus ("Come Holy Spirit")²⁷ and prayer and then sit down. A chair is to be placed on the Gospel side for the superior and the choir sides are changed and reversed so that the senior priest sits nearest the altar. If the Gospel is read, they remain standing, otherwise they sit down and, at the end, reply Deo Gratias. When the superior says, "Benedicte" they rise and reply, "Dominus," and again sit down for the sermon.

For the correction of faults, all the novices and postulants rise, form two choir sides before the superior, and prostrate to the ground. They rise at a sign from the superior, and remain profoundly inclined while the senior says: "Reverend Father, for all the faults we have committed in choir, cloister, refectory, dormitory and other places, we ask pardon of God, admonition from the fathers and from Your Reverence, correction with charity." When this is said, they kneel down for the corrections given by the zelator and the other priests and the admonitions of the superiors.

Whoever has been corrected prostrates to the ground and strikes his breast, saying "Mea culpa." He remains prostrate until the superior gives him the sign to kneel erect. When the correction of faults is over, at a sign from the superior, they kiss the floor and rise, and two by two, kneeling, kiss his habit and leave the chapter room. The professed brothers then proceed to the center of the chapter room for the correction of faults. When the sign is given, all return to the chapter room and go to their places.²⁸ Profoundly inclined, they recite

²⁶Remarks in parenthesis are supplied by the author.

²⁷Remarks in parenthesis are supplied by the author.

²⁸Consistent with the preservation of monastic stratification, note that priests are never corrected in

the Confiteor and then the other prayers.

The rationale for these public accusatory rituals and admonitions concerning them are as follows:

Prudently to help souls not merely to avoid grave faults but to advance still further in sanctity is to be reckoned among the principal works of charity. To this end, after the example of the saints, correction of faults is observed as part of the discipline of the monastery.

The zelator should state in all sincerity and without exaggeration the faults of each, and the other priests, as called on, should make their correction of faults.

If a priest corrects a religious, he should state all the latter's faults together, and he who is corrected is to accept the corrections saying humbly, "Mea culpa," and prostrating until given the sign to rise. On receiving the sign, he kneels erect and listens in silence to the correction. He should not think of defending himself, mindful of Christ, Who when accused opened not His mouth. However, should a religious be asked by the superior to give an explanation, let him do so briefly and, as it were, reluctantly. He who otherwise seeks to excuse himself without permission is to undergo a grave penalty.²⁹ If a religious

front of lay brothers, nor lay brothers in front of the non-professed.

²⁹The automatic acceptance of correction from superiors without excuse is a common required feature in most total institutions. It serves to instill a rigid public compliance to both authority and norms. The subordinate is quickly made to realize that his superior's definition of the situation is always the definition and an observed violation of a norm is always followed by punishment, universally applied, i.e., there are never any acceptable extenuating or mitigating conditions to which the violator may have recourse to rationalize his behavior or avoid punishment. In military training settings, especially in academies and officer training programs, the only appropriate response to criticism is, "No excuse, sir." In both institutions unsolicited "reasons" offered by an accused for his deviant behavior are countered with punishments far exceeding those which would have applied to the original violation itself.

has received no correction and wishes to accuse himself, he should prostrate until he gets the sign to rise. Then he kneels erect, accuses himself of his faults, and willingly receives correction.

The penalties which may be imposed for violations are graded in five classes of gravity according to the believed seriousness of the offence. They range from the lightest of penalties, e.g., being required to recite some assigned prayer or perform an ordinary mortification, to the most severe of penalties, dismissal from the Order. The lightest penalties are imposed for such offences as the breaking of a piece of tableware, making a mistake during recitation of the Office, speaking without permission and the like. Dismissal from the Order may be imposed for incorrigible obstinacy, sins against the vows which cause scandal, and certain other crimes against canon law.

The three least severe classes of penalties may be imposed by the local superior and they extend to requiring "fasting on bread and water for a whole day, or practising for several days acts of humility repugnant to the senses."

The imposition of the second most severe class of penalties is reserved to the provincial and general superior. Some of the penalties in this class include:

. . . the making of a retreat for some days, or taking only bread and water seated on the floor of the refectory and returning to one's cell when the sign is given without speaking to the religious and, moreover, remaining deprived of voice (voting rights)³⁰

³⁰Remarks in parenthesis are supplied by the author.

and office during the time of such penalty. It also may consist in being deprived of voice and place (rank in community) for more than fifteen days, but not beyond a year, and during that time performing some extraordinary mortification once a week, and of taking only bread and water on Fridays.

This penalty may also consist in wearing the distinctive dress of novices for more than fifteen days but not beyond a year, and taking the last place in choir and refectory, and of accusing oneself in chapter with the novices, and if there are no novices in the monastery, of accusing oneself with the brothers.

Dismissal of a professed member, the most severe penalty, may be imposed only after trial³¹ by the general superior with the approval of the Sacred Congregation of Religious.

Summary

In this chapter, exclusive attention has been given to the codified, explicit culture of the Order of Mystical Union as presented in a representative sample of its literature. It was indicated how the religious and normative systems of the culture are related and how they may be

³¹It should be noted that trials in associations of religious, as those in most total institutions, rarely conform to the judicial standards of modern Western political systems. Generally, the guilt of the accused is assumed and he must show cause why the most severe penalty should not be applied. The accused has few rights and is deprived of all privileges until the disposition of his case is made, often by a judge or judges whom he may never confront.

analyzed into six prominent themes. In order of emphasis, the contemplative, prayer, eremitic, ascetic, ceremonial and Marian themes were identified and illustrated. In connection with each of the first five of these themes, an attempt was made to show articulation with corresponding elements of the primitive monastic ideal as modified by institutionalization into the Church in the period treated in Chapter II. Thereupon, the major characteristics of the formal organization and the mechanisms of social control of the Order were described and discussed. Because the reporting of identifying details of the Order of Mystical Union's culture was avoided, the description may be seen as characteristic of a number of associations of male religious. Nevertheless, an effort was made to render an outline of the culture in as much detail as will be required for an understanding of the life at St. Anthony's during the period of study.

As we have already had several occasions to note, the codified culture and the operative culture of St. Anthony's were not identical despite the fact that much of the codified culture was internalized by most of the professed members of St. Anthony's. While it clearly was the single most important factor in the determination of life in the monastery, it was not the only factor by any means. Substantial influences may be traced to recent changes in

the Church, the Order's relationship to contemporary American society, and the functioning of the infrastructure of the monastery itself. Therefore, let us turn to a detailed analysis of the changing socio-cultural structure of St. Anthony's during the year of study from which our experimental dyads were drawn.

CHAPTER IV

THE ENVIRONMENTAL SOURCES OF CHANGE

Only one month prior to the beginning of field work, all of the basic elements of the normative system of the codified culture just described were in effect at St. Anthony's. Novices and postulants were required to study the provisions of the Constitutions and other formal documents of the Order, and exhorted to behave in compliance with them. However, decisions at Provincial level had already been made to experimentally suspend several of the ancient practises of the Order and to introduce new ones. Although it will not be known, perhaps for some years, whether these changes and others made during the period of research will become institutionalized by revisions to the Constitutions, it is clear that the redoubtable barriers which heretofore had preserved the Order's conventualism had been penetrated. To understand this relatively new, though cautious, current of change within the monasteries of the Province, brief consideration must be devoted to the environmental sources of some of the factors which precipitated it. The three most significant were the following: First were the recent major socio-cultural transformations of the American

Catholic subpopulation in a rapidly changing American society. This in several ways provided a climate more favorable to religious change in the American Church and the Order than formerly had been the case. Second, and the catalyst of change, was the Second Vatican Council. Especially pertinent here were the dialogue it fostered and the decrees it promulgated (1963-1965). As far as the Order of Mystical Union was concerned, most important were the decrees on the Church and religious life. And third were the post-conciliar reactions to Vatican II, especially those of an emergent, articulate and critical group of American Catholics, but also the counter-reactions of American hierarchy.

American Catholicism and Catholics
in Transition

In the last ten years, American Catholicism has been exhibiting many signs of profound change; and the tensions and conflicts that normally accompany socio-cultural transitions have been everywhere apparent. These perturbations, however, are not exclusively the result of Vatican II. They have their origins, as most careful observers have noted, in more basic socio-cultural processes in American society and--more especially--in those relating to its

Catholic subpopulation. The American Church, molded by both the traditional Roman Catholic value system and its immigrant experience in a society whose value system was substantially different, has begun to be profoundly influenced by the effects of the large-scale mobility and assimilation of its membership in that society. Let us therefore consider briefly some of the prominent features of each of these complex issues.

A. The Traditional Roman Catholic and American Cultures:
A Note on Contrasting Value Orientation Systems

Before considering the changing American Catholic situation itself, brief attention must be given to the contrast between what we have chosen to designate the traditional Roman Catholic value system and the value system of American society. As the Second Vatican Council dramatically showed, Catholicism's value system has been changing, but we shall concentrate our attention for the moment on its more traditional core of values, which were forged in Europe in the pre-modern period and uniformly defended by the spokesmen of the official Church well into the twentieth century. As it shall be shown, the significance of the relationship of this system of values for the American Catholic Church and its members is of considerable importance in understanding the American Catholic experience. In order to expedite the task, we

shall adopt a comparative strategy. The basic point of reference will be Williams' exposition of the American system (1965, pp. 397-470). It is important, therefore, to note the limitations that such a strategy and analysis impose. First, all of the reservations noted by Williams regarding value orientational inference in general apply here (see esp. 1965, pp. 397-417). Second, we are concerned with outlining the primary value emphases of the official Church and do not presume to analyze the religious orientations and related behaviors of specific Catholic aggregates, for they have been highly variable in various situational and historical circumstances. Third, by adopting a comparative point of reference, no definitive presentation of even the official Church values is attempted or claimed. But, despite these limitations and the fact that the traditional value system of the Church has not been either static or monolithic, it has tended to be more systemic, stable and less variable than those of modern, differentiated societal systems such as the American case, and, therefore, somewhat less difficult to characterize.

In the broad terms of Bellah's five ideal typical stages of religious evolution, the traditional Catholic Church is in most crucial respects an "historical religion" (see Bellah, 1964, pp. 366-368), despite the recent growing presence of transitional elements of "early modern religion"

(pp. 368-370). Briefly, following Bellah's analysis, the Roman Catholic system is characterized by (1) a transcendental dualistic symbol system, (2) the primacy of a salvational goal and a salvational definition of religious action, (3) a universalistic appeal, (4) a structured self-system linked to salvation, (5) a separation from the world, and (6) an organizational differentiation from the political structure with an autonomous religious elite. All of these elements persist today, despite (and perhaps in part because of) the Reformation and subsequent historical events which served more to preserve these elements than to transform them. Let us now turn to the more detailed comparative analysis of some of the main elements in the Catholic and American value systems.

Of first significance is an otherworldliness or transcendentalism which pervades the entire range of value configurations in the Catholic system, just as a this-worldly emphasis pervades the ("secular") American system. In fact, Catholic ecclesiology itself is founded upon the belief in the exclusive mystical organic unity of God with the Church, a manifestation of the notion of immanence which Swanson (1967) has analyzed. Upon this belief in the divine nature of the "visible" Church rests an articulated set of other beliefs and emphases which inform the major value complexes of its culture. The alleged

unchanging nature of "objective truth," which the Church alone, because "it is the only true church," can judge, is related to a general absolutism and, in the face of Protestant schisms and secularism, to a defensiveness and authoritarianism. This "otherworldliness" theme has, in turn, been associated with a dualistic conception which fosters a view of the world as, if not sinful, devoid of intrinsic spiritual significance and, therefore, of positive relevance.¹ Life in such a Weltanschauung is considered to be a transitory and undesirable condition in which the soul must contend for its salvation in an alien environment. This theme is a crucial element in the Church's separatism, closure and formalism.

Since the Church is considered divine, "it is grace," and, thus, the sacramental mediator of redemption. This is the Church's raison d'etre and the keystone of its authority. Salvation and holiness are, therefore, Catholicism's

¹We have already seen how prominent this dualism has been in the elitistic monastic culture of the Church and in the Order of Mystical Union. It is not our contention, however, that the Church has not attempted to check extreme manifestations of this system of doctrine or has lacked spokesmen advocating secular accommodation. As Neal (1965a) has argued, the issue which she calls the "transcendence-immanence dilemma" in the Church has a very long and complex history. Nevertheless, this does not invalidate our position here, for even when secular goals have been advocated by the Church they have always assumed the role of means in relationship to "higher" spiritual values.

equivalents of the "success" and "achievement" evaluations in the environing American culture. The superordinate official Church concern has been with the supernatural, not the natural, and its main orientation is to afterlife, not this life. It follows, therefore, that the "success" and "achievement" themes, especially in occupational and other purely worldly activities so central to American culture (Williams, 1965, pp. 417-421), are of little or of negative significance in the official value system of the Church. This is exemplified time and time again in the lives of the cultural heroes and exemplars of Catholicism--its canonized saints. The vast majority spurned the worldly "success" which they had already achieved or of which they were relatively assured by their high class membership to take up lives "totally" oriented to spiritual goals.² We have already discussed in Chapters II and III many aspects of this value orientation and need not repeat them here, but it should be noted in passing that the traditional dualism upon which this and many other

²In their interesting study of the class backgrounds of Roman Catholic saints, George and George (1966) reported that 78 per cent came from aristocratic or ruling class families, 17 per cent from the middle class, and only 5 per cent from the lower class (p. 395). They also noted an increasing percentage since the thirteenth century coming from middle class backgrounds, and this trend parallels the gradual displacement of the European aristocracy by the emerging ascendancy of the bourgeoisie, and a shifting emphasis in Catholicism toward secular social services (p. 400).

orientations of the Church have rested has been increasingly eroded since the late Middle Ages, and other alternative values have been given theological expression. Primarily, a religiously legitimated humanitarian orientation has risen to challenge it. Although one tends to orient the believer to withdrawal from the secular world, and the other requires an involvement in it, nevertheless both are communicated with reference to a total life commitment to trans-mundane goals.

Clearly, however, most laymen have never been expected to follow literally the examples of the saints in their otherworldly or humanitarian zeal. Therefore, a minimal piety for salvation through faith and the sacraments has been prescribed in a formal system of rules and requirements for all Church members. Theologically considered, however, this piety has nothing whatsoever to do with the believer's profane, ascribed or achieved statuses.

This salvation complex is linked through the sacraments to yet another value complex in Catholicism--ritualism. Foremost here are the rites associated with the absolution of sin and the reception of the "mystical body of Christ"--the sacraments of baptism, penance and holy communion. Also, there are the rites of passage--at birth (again, baptism), at puberty (confirmation), at marriage (matrimony) and at death or the danger of death (extreme unction). All

are formally prescribed, infused with supernatural symbolism and mystical significance and tend to have the effect of rendering the believer dependent upon the Church and its clergy. The remaining sacrament, holy orders, grants sacramental powers to the priest, whose considerable prestige rests primarily upon his crucial ritual role. Added to these are the weekly required Mass, a liturgical year with its holy days of unique ritual significance, and the special religious ceremonies called devotions, including benedictions, Bible vigils, stations of the cross, devotions to the "Sacred Heart" (an annual feast, dedications of homes, and first Friday rites), devotions to Mary (three annual feasts, the rosary, and Marian novenas), and devotions to the saints of the Church (each with his own particular feast day and special novenas, candle burnings, processions, etc.). Indeed, the Catholic system of ritual is much richer and more extensive than we could possibly do justice to in such a short space.³ In contrast, although ritualism is far from absent in American society, it is usually perfunctory and rare.

Associated with ritualism are, however, several other closely interrelated value complexes of great

³See also our discussion above of the ceremonial theme in the Order of Mystical Union.

disparity with American culture: passivism, traditionalism and formalism.

First, ritual passivity is encouraged by the priest's nearly monopolistic role in religious ceremonies and by their formal character. Also, the Catholic is expected to accept without question the authority of his Church on all matters of faith and morals and to refrain from speculation and individual interpretation, fostering a religious and moral passivity. Furthermore, the otherworldliness theme of the value system and the general emphasis placed upon obedience to all authority--religious, familial and political alike, tend to support a generally passive acceptance of man's place in nature and society. Indeed, spiritual "success" itself has most often been presented less as something given as a reward to those who actively seek it than as a "gift of God's grace," of which no mortal can ever be truly worthy. Prayer and contemplation are considered to require internal peace, selflessness, retirement from activity and leisure from work. And, as many scholars have noted, work itself has no intrinsic value. Since God's will and love are considered the omnipotent factors in history, the believer's role is generally to submit to them; moreover, he is enjoined to have faith in and to await "God's provision." The predominantly negative character of the formal codes of the moral system is also more consistent

with inaction than action. Again, all of these elements, while not unchallenged, are so prominent as to require little elaboration here. Overall, the otherworldly, contemplative passivity emphasis of the Church is the very antithesis of the worldly, instrumental activism which Williams (1965, pp. 421-424) has treated under the "activity" and "work" themes of American society, and which Parsons (1951, pp. 180-200) has seen as dominant in American culture.

Although there is an element of "hope" and futurity in Catholic culture, it has been nearly exclusively confined to an individual's "progress" in his spiritual life or to the apocalyptic vision of afterlife. In the Church itself, traditionalism and stability have been ascendant. This is consistent with the dominant assumption of the unchanging and immutable character of divine truth in an omniscient Church claiming historical continuity with the original Christ-ordained Church. Repeated references to the past glories of the Church, to its venerable and, "therefore," worthy practises, to historical precedents in authoritative literature, etc., all illustrate this theme. When change has been advocated, it has always been the call to a return to former spirituality. While the effect of this has often been to produce innovation in the Church, this has not been its manifest objective. Clearly, however, the non-spiritual emphasis has been upon the status

quo. Historical pessimism has been the rule and orientations toward change or "progress" in earthly life or in man's perfectibility are not characteristic. The latter concepts, as the works of Bury (1955) and Becker (1959) document, have comparatively recent origins in Western secularly philosophy.⁴ And, as Williams has shown (1965, pp. 431-433), the American culture is predominantly change-oriented and the future and "progress" come very close to being articles of American secular faith. We shall return in another context to this issue when considering Herberg's religion of "The American Way of Life" and Bellah's identification of a "civil religion" in America.

The third and related value complex concerns the formalism characteristic of the Church's theological and philosophical thought, its legal system, its bureaucratic organization and its ceremonial life, in contrast to the dominant pragmatic, informal character of American culture (Williams, 1965, pp. 428-431). As Williams points out, "practicality" and "efficiency" in America are tied to technical mastery of the environment and science. They also have philosophic correlates in American pragmatism and relativism. The tendency in Catholic thought to reason

⁴Although concerned primarily with Asia, Bellah (1965, pp. 168-225) has presented an especially balanced view of the role of historical religions, including Christianity, in "progress" and "modernization."

from fixed and immutable first principles is an inversion of the tendency in American culture to reason from direct experience. Absolutism and revelation are the contraries of relativism and empiricism in outlook. Complementing each of these polar views, one system tends to emphasize fixed legal codes and a finished morality; the other developmental laws and moral search. Problem-solving in the first is based upon a dualistic and fixed conceptual scheme and an aprioristic logic. In the second, problem-solving tends to be based upon a pluralistic and graduated conceptual scheme and a situational inferential calculus of probable outcomes. On the interpersonal relationship level, formal deference is characteristic of inter-status relationships in the Church, and in American culture a studied informality is dominant.

In the areas of "moral orientation" and "humanitarian mores," which Williams has seen as typical American characteristics (1965, pp. 424-428), the Church's value system is mainly reinforcing and complementing. Nevertheless, there are several subtle dimensions of contention. As we have seen, in the Church perspective the world has not been a legitimate reference for truth or morality and, therefore, the tendency has been to condemn secularly-based ethical and knowledge systems even when they did not necessarily conflict with any Church position. Thus, for example, Church apologists have often attacked "secular humanism" and upheld

"Christian humanism," basically because of the disparity in origins and legitimacy, not content. This is but one aspect of the Church's defensiveness, of which we shall speak shortly. Furthermore, the reverential attitude a divine Church expects from its members has served to check the direction of "moralistic" criticism against itself and the primacy of ritual and otherworldliness in the Church have tended to check humanitarian involvement in the secular world.⁵ But, as Williams has pointed out, values are not only "reinforced and complemented," but often are "checked and limited" by other values (1965, p. 427), and these are simply examples of the operation of the latter in the Catholic value system.

Another source of value incompatibility between the American and Church systems is in the emphasis given material comfort in America (Williams, 1965, pp. 433-436) and the traditional asceticism in the Catholic orientation. Human gratification of desire and "happiness" in this worldly context are not of religious value. Quite the contrary, as we have seen above, despite historical cycles of contrary practise, the emphasis upon renunciation, self-denial, poverty and the like are prominent features of Catholic spirituality, as well as that of its monastic traditions.

⁵The evidence is that religiosity itself tends to inhibit radical social involvement (see esp. Stark, 1964, and Marx, 1967).

Also, external conformity (Williams, 1965, pp. 450-454) is opposed by the religious emphasis upon religious action, which is motivated by commitment to transcendent values, norms and beliefs, but we find internally that non-conformity to these values, norms and beliefs themselves is severely sanctioned by the Church, and this, together with its required ritual life often have the effect of promoting an external conformity emphasis in the Church as well.

Of greater significance in the American experience, however, is the great disparity between the value complexes of equality, freedom, individualism and democracy in the American value system (Williams, 1965, pp. 436-450 and 460-466) and the traditional hierarchical, restraint, collective and authoritarian emphases in the traditional Church. First, despite a basic "equality before God" belief, the Church has erected a rigid hierarchical structure of privilege in which all members are bound by obedience to the will of those at the next level of the authority line. Generally, a monarchic model of paternalism obtains. Basic here is the absolutism of the belief system and the intolerance of dissent that such a position naturally entails. Thus, the elaborate system of controls and censorship has been erected to protect the Church from "error." Reinforcing this view is the organic conception of the Church and its divine nature. All members, according to their status, are seen as

functioning in terms of prescribed differentiated roles in the Church, and none is autonomous from it. Infallibility in matters of basic doctrine is held to reside in the office of the Pope, the highest in the Church, not in the individual consciences of its members nor in the consensus of its bishops, priests, and/or believers. Furthermore, because in such an absolutistic system "error has no rights," the Church has traditionally opposed religious freedom as well (Hoult, 1958, pp. 212-213). This group-superiority theme has been a dominant attribute of most religions in general, and the Roman Catholic Church has been no exception.⁶ Furthermore, the Church has traditionally opposed liberal democracy (Hoult, 1958, pp. 230-233). Within the Church itself: (1) members tend to be evaluated in terms of the positions they occupy, (2) authorities are appointed or, if elected, elected by a very small select group, (3) policy is usually made by individuals in positions of authority without recourse to general discussion or consensus, and (4) the rights of laymen are very few and non-political in nature, as are the rights of priests relative to their bishops. Each of these is the very opposite of Williams' range definition of democracy (1965, p. 410).

⁶See Williams (1965, pp. 466-468) on the deviant role of racial group-superiority themes in American society.

Another major attribute of the traditional Church has been its defensiveness, which we have already had occasion to note. Frustrated by a succession of such major defeats as the Protestant schisms, the political revolutions of Europe which identified and attacked it as part of the ruling establishment, and the spread of Communism, the Church leadership, after attempting but failing to recoup its losses, adopted a defensive posture vis-a-vis Northern Europe and turned to the intensive proselytization of Asia, Africa and Latin America.⁷ Added to these changes in Europe were the rise of new political and economic ideologies, science and other socio-cultural concomitants of modernization, especially again in alienated Northern Europe. To all these the Church initially adopted a position of either separatism or active rejection. For example, the most consistent attitude communicated in official papal encyclicals has been to identify in these movements certain elements considered to be threats to the received truths of the Church and to anathematize them. A listing of the

⁷This is a good historical example of the process observed by Festinger, Riecken and Schachter in their study, When Prophecy Fails (1956). Proselytization's antithesis-- withdrawal--was also a mode of adaptation of these crises, but a less popular one, and monasticism's partial recovery in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries may be seen as an example. The order of Mystical Union manifested both tendencies and has had a substantial missionary effort.

titles and themes chosen for the objects of denunciation reads like the history of major events and movements in Western society: "Enlightenment," "modernism," "liberalism," "Americanism," "socialism," "capitalism," "Communism," "nationalism," "revolution," "evolution," "psychoanalysis," "artificial birth control," "divorce," "secularism," and the like. The aggregate effect of this defensive negativism was the isolation of the Church from the modern world and the major culture-shaping processes in it. Needless to say, most of these movements were very prominent features of the American experience. For example, Williams singles out as major American value-complexes specifically "science and secular rationality" (Williams, 1965, pp. 454-456) and "nationalism-patriotism" (pp. 456-460), and Catholicism, like most organized historical religions, has, by and large, opposed the development of the scientific approach and its results (see esp. Glock and Stark, 1965, pp. 262-306, and Hout, 1958, pp. 350-380) and the development of nationalism. Nevertheless, despite conflicts on other value dimensions, the Church's universalistic intellectual perspective and concept of "natural law" are, for example, entirely consistent with the norms of scientific inquiry; and the loyalty and commitment demanded of members by the Church appears to have been quite transferable to national and other group identities.

In endeavoring to briefly compare some of the major evaluations of the traditional Roman Catholic Church with those prevalent in American society, we have drawn heavily upon Williams' presentation (1965) as a point of reference. It is fitting, therefore, that we end our discussion with an attempt to cautiously summarize in propositional form our highly provisional inferences regarding Catholic Church values in relation to those similarly advanced by Williams concerning American values. He has reported:

1. American culture is organized around the attempt at active mastery rather than passive acceptance. Into this dimension falls the low tolerance for frustration; the refusal to accept ascetic renunciation; the positive encouragement of desire; the stress on power; the approval of ego-assertion, and so on.
2. It tends to be interested in the external world of things and events, of the palpable and immediate, rather than in the inner experience of meaning and affect. Its genius is manipulative rather than contemplative.
3. Its world-view tends to be open rather than closed: it emphasizes change, flux, movement; its central personality types are adaptive, accessible, outgoing and assimilative.
4. In wide historical and comparative perspective, the culture places its primary faith in rationalism as opposed to traditionalism; it de-emphasizes the past, orients strongly to the future, does not accept things just because they have been done before.
5. Closely related to the above, is the dimension of orderliness rather than unsystematic ad hoc acceptance of transitory experience.

6. With conspicuous deviations, a main theme is a universalistic rather than a particularistic ethic.
7. In interpersonal relations, the weight of the value system is on the side of "horizontal" rather than "vertical" emphases: peer-relations, not superordinate-subordinate relations; equality rather than hierarchy.
8. Subject to increased strains and modifications, the received culture emphasizes individual personality rather than group identity and responsibility (pp. 469-470).

If one were to analyze Catholic values with reference to the eight propositions of Williams, we believe one could, with caution, assert the following:

1. Official Catholic culture is organized around the attempt to secure salvation by the passive acceptance of doctrine--faith, rather than active mastery. Into this dimension falls a high tolerance for frustration; the importance of ascetic renunciation; the negative discouragement of desire; the stress on submission; the approval of ego-denial; and so on.
2. It tends to be interested in the transmundane realm of supernatural beings and processes, of the impalpable and distant, and of the inner experience of meaning and affect. Its genius is contemplative, rather than manipulative.
3. Its world-view tends to be closed, rather than open; it emphasizes stability, permanence, passivity; its central personality types are inflexible, inaccessible, defensive and religiously uncompromising.
4. In wide historical and comparative perspective, the culture places its primary faith in traditionalism (despite the important role of rational approaches in elite theological circles); it de-emphasizes the future, orients strongly to the past, accepts things just because they have been done before by holy exemplars.

5. It, too, has a dimension of orderliness rather than unsystematic ad hoc acceptance of transitory experience (except, with major qualifications, the "religious experience" itself). But the basis of this order is faith and authority, rather than reason and experimentation.
6. Also, with conspicuous deviations, a main theme is a universalistic rather than a particularistic ethic.
7. In interpersonal relations, however, the weight of the value system is on the side of "vertical," rather than "horizontal" emphasis: superordinate-subordinate relations, not peer relations; hierarchy, rather than equality.
8. Subject to increased strains and modifications, the received culture emphasizes group identity and responsibility, rather than individual responsibility.

While the above presentation is little more than an inverted paraphrase of Williams' exposition, we feel it is essentially correct in broad outline. With only two notable exceptions, the above propositions on the Catholic Church's value system are nearly mirror images of those presented by Williams as descriptive of American culture. This will come as no surprise to students of religion, for the value systems of most historical religions would reveal contradictions or complementarities of this kind with the most prominent value-complexes of modern industrialized societies. Before considering the American Catholic experience, however, we would like to briefly repeat an important qualifier, already mentioned above. The twentieth century European experience has produced a growing contra-culture in

Catholicism which in nearly all respects is far more accommodated to modern secular culture than the Catholic culture just characterized. If one concept could describe the effects of this diverse contra-culture on Catholicism, it would be secularization. By secularization we mean here the infusion of symbol systems and orientations of non-religious origin into the religious system itself, resulting primarily in a subtle change from transcendental to secular emphasis, requiring extensive religious reinterpretation. By the Second Vatican Council, such a contra-culture was sufficiently developed in Catholicism to profoundly shift the center of gravity of official Catholic thinking in several crucial respects. This we shall have occasion to see below in connection with the challenge of change in the Church and the American response. But now let us return to a focus on trends in American Catholicism which, like every other national grouping in the Church, has exhibited unique characteristics that are primarily the result of its historical relationships in its host society.

B. The Church of the Immigrant: The Situational Reinforcement of Catholic Separatism, Hegemony and Defensiveness

In the Colonial and Federalist Periods, Roman Catholics in America were relatively few in number, geographically widely dispersed and mostly from English or French-

speaking countries.⁸ However, the lack of clergy, religious intolerance in most regions and other situational factors combined to effect substantial defections from the Church. Nevertheless, a small American Catholic Church was established and in these periods made substantial accommodations to the American situation, e.g., it adopted a parished trustee system, a general openness between Catholics and non-Catholics obtained, and a relatively high proportion of Catholics were numbered among the wealthy and powerful. But mass immigration changed the picture radically.

During the eighty years of large-scale Catholic European immigration, roughly from 1845 to 1925, the primary objective of the American Church was to preserve the faith of the immigrant and his offspring in what was typically viewed as an alien, seductive and sometimes hostile non-Catholic environment. The immigrants--first Irish and German in the mid-nineteenth century and then increasingly Southern and Eastern European, especially Italian, Polish and Austro-Hungarian in the five decades following the Civil War--were overwhelmingly the products of rural peasant backgrounds--unskilled, uneducated and of simple faith.

⁸For our discussion of American Catholic history, we have found McAvoy (1948, 1957), Ellis (1963), and Callahan (1963) particularly helpful. On the Church of the immigrant, see especially Thomas (1956), Ellis (1963, pp. 82-121), and Callahan (1963, pp. 28-100).

Wave upon wave, they successively displaced one another at the bottom of the stratification systems of the large Eastern cities.⁹ Initially, the immigrants were segregated from the indigenous non-Catholic population by their poverty, distinctive ethnic characteristics and, with the exception of the Irish, language also. Externally, nativistic hostility was sometimes severe, and prejudice and discrimination common. Internally, however, the preservation of ethnic identity was of no little significance to the uprooted immigrant in a totally unfamiliar urban world. Therefore, both external and centripetal forces served to segregate the Catholic immigrant. The Anglo-Catholics of the Federalist Church, having attained substantial social position and wealth, had not looked with favor upon this new invasion of "alien" co-religionists. Nevertheless, the Church hierarchy, despite considerable ethnic strife, embraced the immigrant, and in doing so erected additional barriers to his integration and transformed itself in the process. Not only national parishes were established (see esp. McDonald, 1951), but an elaborate and pervasive system of Church-sponsored organizations in nearly every area of American Catholic

⁹It should be noted that the analysis here is less applicable to Midwestern, especially non-urban Catholics who as a rule did not experience in the same degree the effects of the ghettoism and whose churches have also manifested more rapid recent change than those of the East.

life--schools, hospitals, orphanages, fraternities, ethnic clubs, devotional groups, newspapers, magazines, professional organizations, etc.¹⁰

One result of these factors was the creation of a Catholic quasi-ghetto condition in which ecological and social segregation produced and preserved an even higher degree of cultural isolation of Catholics and their Church from the non-Catholic environment than that in much of Europe. In this process, the already weakened trustee system of the former period was replaced by a paternalistic authoritarian system in which the laity was subordinated to the clergy, and they, in turn, to a hierarchy which enforced a rigid discipline. Correspondingly, the openness of the Federalist period was replaced by defensive, parochial and sectarian orientations of laity and clergy alike (Callahan, 1963, esp. pp. 28-33). All of these tendencies complemented and reinforced the official Church value orientations described above.

The basic character of American Catholicism was decisively molded, then, by the conjoining of traditional Church values with the pre-assimilation immigrant situation. The aloofness of the American Church from the major social

¹⁰See Spiro (1955) for an analysis of the "anti-acculturative" role of the Church. On the development of the Catholic school system in America, see especially Burns (1912) and Cross (1958, 1965).

movements of the nineteenth century (abolition, women's rights, civil liberties and even the early labor union movement) may be traced not only to the religious value orientations of the Church, but also to the traditional conservatism of the immigrant as a function of his peasant background and the immediacy of economic pressures created by a surfeit of labor (Callahan, 1963, pp. 33-38). Preoccupation with providing churches, schools and clergy for the swelling numbers of immigrants was a contributory factor in the general neglect of sophisticated intellectual seminary training, which effectively cut off the clergy and the laity from the main currents of social, philosophical and even Catholic theological thought (see Lee and Putz [1965], esp. Ellis, pp. 30-81, and Brooks, pp. 205-232). Although the Church managed to secure the faith of most of its charges, it apparently did little more than preserve the devotional religion of his former village church. Significantly, not only in secular intellectual life were Catholic Americans a rarity (Ellis, 1955),¹¹ but the American Church produced no native-born saint, and,

¹¹The non-intellectual character of American Catholicism has received much attention of late by such Catholic critics as Ellis, Brogan, O'Dea, Ong, Callahan and others, which we shall note below; but, as Hofstadter (1962) has documented, it should be emphasized that there has been a strong "anti-intellectual" strain in American culture which Catholicism had little or no role in producing.

with two or three contemporary exceptions, no internationally prominent native-born theologian. The earlier migration of the Irish, with their language advantage and their intensified clerical dominance structure, fostered in Ireland as a consequence of the penal laws, combined with the immigrant situation to produce a rigid Irish-dominated clergy and hierarchy.

Generally, with some notable exceptions, the American immigrant situation tended to accentuate and preserve, or at least leave unchallenged in the American Church, most of the traditional values of the official Church well into this century, while the European experience of the Church was rapidly changing them, especially in Northern Europe. To a certain extent, today all of these characteristics--minimal Church-supported social commitment, clerical intellectual and theological naivete, and an ascendant, religiously conservative Irish hierarchy--have been prominent features of the American Church, whose major accommodations to the American situation are found in certain features of the organizational complexity of its hierarchical bureaucracy, in its financial success, and in its defensive nationalism. But, if the Church did not change markedly, evidence is that much of its membership and younger clergy have.

C. The Emergence from the Ghetto and Integration of the American Catholic

In the 1880's and 1890's, an Americanist movement arose which sought to articulate the American values of democracy, pluralism and social concern within the Church; but a series of setbacks culminating in Pope Leo XIII's condemnation of "Americanism" in his apostolic letter, Testem benevolentiae, crushed the movement (McAvoy, 1957). Despite the fact that there was apparently little relationship between what the Pope had declared to be heretical and what the Americanists advocated, this episode, together with the condemnation of "modernism," merely reinforced the defensiveness and separatism of the American Church.

In the 1880's and 1890's there was no large, secure intellectual or middle-class Catholic base to support such changes in the Church as were advocated by the Americanists. Indeed, it was not until after World War I and after immigration had been cut off in the 1920's that significant numbers of Catholics began to emerge from the ghetto and participate more fully in the economic, political and social life of the larger American community (Callahan, 1963, pp. 79-100). However, the transformation of the Catholic American was most accelerated by World War II and post-war prosperity. It is this sudden and massive group mobility that we feel is the most significant factor in the instability of the Catholic religious situation in contemporary America.

Meanwhile, however, despite the manifest other-worldly character of the official values and beliefs of their religion, apparently American Catholics had been quite pragmatic and "success"-oriented when engaged in secular affairs. As more recent data have become available, it appears that the primary factors in the heretofore lower economic, educational and occupational attainment of American Catholics have been more ethnic and economic than religious.¹²

¹²Ever since the appearance of Weber's controversial essay, in which a decisive role in the rise of capitalism was ascribed to the Protestant Ethic, sociologists and economic historians have been engaged in a debate on two often confused issues related to Weber's thesis. The first concerns the validity of Weber's original historical argument. For the most recent critical appraisals, see Yinger (1957, esp. pp. 206-218), Samuelsson (1961) and Green (1959). Whatever the eventual verdict may be regarding the historical thesis, Weber himself had no illusions that a religious asceticism of the Calvinist variety was required to sustain capitalism (1958, pp. 181-182). This brings us to the second and more current sociological debate, which has centered about the question of the role of orientations, such as the value of work, deferred gratification, need achievement, etc., to the socio-economic and educational mobility of various religious groups in modern industrial societies. This debate, while it draws upon Weberian logic, is clearly not the Weberian question. Until recently, in the attempt to account for reported differentials in the worldly success of Protestants and Catholics in the United States, some researchers have posited and sought to demonstrate that Protestant Ethic-like orientations were involved. Overall, the results have been inconclusive and conflicting. (See, for example, Mack, Murphy and Yellin [1965], Rosen [1959], McClelland [1961], Mayer and Sharp [1962], Veroff, Feld and Gurin [1962], Lenski [1963], Bressler and Westoff [1963], Greeley [1963, 1964c], Lane [1965], and Warkov and Greeley [1966].) Now that these gross group differentials on a national level appear to have all but vanished, the debate--if it is to continue--must be much more refined and

Glenn and Hyland (1967), in the most current and comprehensive analysis of national survey data bearing upon the question of the relative socio-economic success of Catholics and white Protestants, conclude that:

At the end of World War II, Protestants in the United States ranked well above Catholics in income, occupation and education; since then Catholics have gained dramatically and have surpassed Protestants in most aspects of status. A lingering crucial difference is in the percentages who have been to college. However, this may be only a residue of lower parental status, and even this difference seems to have disappeared among the youngest adults.

An important reason for the more rapid advancement of Catholics is their heavy concentration in the larger non-Southern metropolitan areas, where earnings, occupational distributions, educational opportunities and rates of upward mobility are more favorable than in the typical home communities of Protestants. Protestants still rank above Catholics in the large non-Southern metropolitan areas, but among young adults the gap in most aspects of status is not great. If the recent trend continues, Catholics in the nation as a whole will surge well ahead of Protestants in all major status variables

deal simultaneously with such questions as the social relationship matrices of religious samples in which religious orientations are carefully measured and stricter controls established for economic, regional, educational, ethnic and related properties. Quite crucial is the untenability of lumping all Protestants together (Means [1966], and Glock and Stark [1965, pp. 86-122]); but equally suspect is the nearly universal neglect of what we know to be substantial religious differences among Catholics by region, ethnicity and many other socio-cultural factors (see esp. the recent studies of Greeley and Rossi [1966], Glock and Stark [1965] and Schroeder and Obenhaus [1964]). Lenski's research (1963) on the role of "the religious factor"--perhaps the best available empirical study to date--is unconvincing, especially because of its methodological weaknesses in these respects.

in the next few years. However, Catholics may continue to lag slightly behind Protestants in their home communities (pp. 84-85).

This recent and dramatic change in the relative income, occupational and educational standing of Catholics and Protestants has been accompanied by a massive residence and identity transition of the Catholic from the defensive, hyphenated American of the urban ghetto to the integrated commuter of the more ethnically heterogenous suburb (Greeley, 1959).¹³ Although as late as the early 1960's approximately half of the Catholic population was comprised of first- and second-generation immigrants, mostly resident in central cities, a substantial and growing proportion of Catholics were suburbanites without discernible ethnic social identity. With the major exceptions of the small number of Negro and American Indian Catholics, and the Southwestern and Puerto Rican Spanish-speaking Catholic subpopulations, the

¹³Greeley was one of the first sociologists to have emphasized the importance of recent suburbanization (1959) and socio-economic group mobility (1963) in American Catholic life. The immediate post-war shifts in the Catholic population from the urban ghetto to the suburb suggest changes in Catholic kinship, economic, political, educational and religious institutional behavior, and imply others that are only now beginning to be appreciated. However, almost no systematic research has been conducted to assess the extent and significance of these changes. The community studies of the 1940's and early 1950's, upon which much of our current knowledge of the religious factor in society still rests, were unrepresentative when executed and are certainly inadequate to the task of assessing the transformation which many contemporary students of religious life have noted. Much national research of greater methodological sophistication is required to answer these questions.

recession of Catholic ethnicity appears to have followed the general assimilation processes described by Gordon (1964, esp. pp. 60-83).¹⁴ It is also noteworthy that the intra-Catholic ethnic conflicts so prominent heretofore, no longer prevail.¹⁵ Throughout the country, about ten per cent of the existing Catholic parishes are still technically national, but many of these serve parishioners of different ethnic identities from those of their official status. Generally, the trends toward territorial and special service parishes are clear.

It appears from all available evidence that while

¹⁴For general support, see especially the studies of Child (1943), Fichter (1951, 1958), Gans (1962), Glazer and Moynihan (1963), Herberg (1960), Kane (1955), Kennedy (1944, 1952), Schuyler (1960), Thomas (1951) and Underwood (1961). While we find Gordon's general analysis of assimilation in America to be essentially sound, insofar as one can identify a "core American society and culture" to which to refer subgroups, this core has been a more dynamic referent than Gordon's model suggests. For example, the core of the pre-Revolutionary, Civil War, Depression and post-World War II periods in America were considerably different referents for assimilation. Gordon tends to minimize more than we would inherent socio-economically-generated change, as well as reciprocal cultural influences of assimilating minorities in the ever-changing core of American society and culture. These reservations aside, we subscribe to the general proposition advanced by Gordon that: "Once structural assimilation has occurred, either simultaneously with or subsequent to acculturation, all of the other types of assimilation (marital, identificational, attitude receptional, behavior receptional and civic) will naturally follow" (p. 81). Therefore, when we employ the term assimilation, we refer to all of these associated processes.

¹⁵Recent leading intergroup relations surveys do not even mention them, e.g., Simpson and Yinger (1965).

the American Catholic population has been undergoing extensive assimilation, the religious value system maintained by the Church has remained relatively unchanged and unchallenged. Because of the high degree of institutional differentiation obtaining in American society and the psychological compartmentalization that this implies, it now appears that the Church was more insulated by the ghetto situation than its membership. But even this has been only partly true. We have already discussed in Chapter II the repeated tendency of monasticism and the hierarchy of the Church to drift toward more mundane patterns of practice than their value-system's otherworldly emphasis would suggest. And it is also clear from the mobility patterns noted that American Catholic conformity to American "success" and achievement themes has been appreciable. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the American situation the Church itself should also have accommodated to the American "success" orientation. Indeed, it is the contention of Catholic editor and philosopher Daniel Callahan (1967) that the American Church's accommodation to the secular business bureaucratic career pattern, for example, has produced bishops of "middle-of-the-road piety and policy," and "most American Catholics are American enough to have an excessive admiration for [their] managerial accomplishments" (p. 69). He maintains;

The composite picture which emerges here is actually a familiar one. It is a portrait of the managerial class in American business, with ecclesiastical overtones. Those who reach the top do so because they have proved their loyalty, their ability to stay securely within the bounds of the prevailing institutional wisdom, and their adeptness at surmounting one after another hurdle in the competitive apprentice system. Just as it is rare for an American company president to have an academic history, the same is equally true in the hierarchy. And it is just as unimaginable that an American bishop would have a background in radical politics or social reform as it is for a president of General Motors. With few exceptions, the present bishops were trained exclusively in Catholic schools, spent most of their working life exclusively in Catholic bureaucracies, and find their close friends in predominantly ecclesiastical circles. They are consummate models of the successful American organization man, bred by and for the hierarchical apparatus (p. 69).

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When a former president of Fordham University wrote a biography of Cardinal Spellman a few years ago, he made unmistakably clear that the Cardinal had made it "to the top" because he had been shrewd in cultivating the patronage of popes, skilled in making the right connections in Rome, and adept in the cultivation of influential friends. It was a portrait of unadorned ecclesiastical ambition, a classical American Catholic "success story." Did Catholics consider this kind of biographical treatment unflattering? Not at all. The book was a best seller and the Cardinal more praised than ever. How did the Cardinal himself feel about the book? Fine. It was, after all, an authorized, official biography written by a close friend.

That an uninspiring group of bishops should elicit mild affection is not really odd. They are very little different from other Catholics. The charge frequently heard among Catholic intellectuals these days, that the bishops are out of touch with their own people, is only partially true. They are indeed badly out of touch with intellectuals, with young priests and laymen, and with most of the theologians. But they are consummately attuned to the great middle range of American Catholics, those whose main interest is in "getting ahead," enjoying the fruits of affluence, and living conventionally Catholic religious lives (p. 70).

And:

If the American bishops have any genius, then, it lies in their ability to keep the overwhelming majority of Catholics happy. They don't push their people beyond their most minimal moral, civic, and religious capacities, and the people thank them with money--and affectionate indifference (p. 70).

The religious indifference to which Callahan refers is also not an unfamiliar American pattern. Clearly religious indifference is much more common in America than religious or anti-religious commitment (Williams, 1965, p. 345). Further evidence of this among Catholics is found in the unobtrusive, but substantial "leakage" from active participation of Catholics noted by Fichter (1954, especially Chapters 5 and 6). It is also plausible, however, that the primacy of ritual over belief and value in religious life,¹⁶ especially in Catholic religious life, further reduces the chances of the development of strong religiously motivated social action for an appreciable number of the more "observant" Catholics, which Callahan notes. Support of this may be found in the fact that lay Catholic support and opposition to liturgy changes and the lifting of the Friday abstinence were widespread and quite impassioned, while changes or clarifications of the Church's position on Jews, Church-state relations, and the new Gospel emphasis in catechisms elicited little reaction from most

¹⁶For the best general statement of this thesis, see Wallace (1966).

lay Catholics, pro or con.¹⁷

In yet another domain, evidence of Catholic Church assimilation may be noted. American Catholics and their Church hierarchy were from the beginning anxious to disprove the contentions prevalent among anti-Catholics that the authoritarian structure of their Church was an encumbrance to their participation in American democratic political life, and that their Papal allegiance was an impediment to national loyalty. While we must disagree with Tocqueville's impression of the Catholic Church as being egalitarian in structure, he could observe as early as the 1830's that American Catholics readily adopted democratic principles (1954, pp. 300-301). That until quite recently much Catholic political participation has been restricted to the authoritarian "machine-run" urban ghetto is certainly more a function of immigrant conditions than anti-democratic values. Catholics and their hierarchy have often manifested a kind of "super-patriotism" as proof of their loyalty, and this defensive nationalism, combined with official Church opposition to Communism, had no small bearing upon the strong Catholic support of McCarthyism during the 1950's, not to speak of the earlier

¹⁷ See Smith, Waters, McLoughlin, and Woodward (1967, p. 70) for a report on importance of ritual among Catholics as reported in a recent survey.

Coughlin crusade.

However, the recently accelerated withering away of ethnicity and the spatial and socio-cultural group mobility of Catholics appear to have had a number of more important effects on the Church in the contemporary situation that are not as apparent as these established patterns. If certain structural and value orientational features of the religion of the Catholic had formerly served as barriers to assimilation, now that pervasive assimilation is occurring despite those that may remain and on a wide scale, one would expect to find evidence of the effects of this in changes in religiously related behavior.¹⁸ Although all of the above-mentioned patterns reflect the acceptance by both Catholics and their hierarchy of certain major American value orientations, few Catholics heretofore have attempted to bring to bear upon their Church itself the value orientations with which they have operated in secular life. It is our contention that this is no longer the case. But before examining the direct evidence of this secularization process, let us examine some of the recent gross trends in American Catholic religious data that suggest

¹⁸Greeley and Rossi's recent survey (1966) of correlates of parochial school attendance appears to show that religious schooling alone is not today "divisive" (see esp. Chapter 5).

effects of the socio-economic and educational transition which the Catholic subpopulation has been experiencing of late.

D. Reflections of Catholic Assimilation and Recent Gross Religious Statistical Trends

As one would expect, data on the Catholic Church and its membership in contemporary America present the typical confusing array of contradictions that usually mark socio-cultural transitions. Nevertheless, if appreciable assimilation has occurred, one would expect to begin to find some evidence of convergent or parallel trends in Catholic and non-Catholic religiously related behavior. Indeed, even in the most gross data on religious membership, attendance and relative growth rates, there are recent indications that this is happening.¹⁹

National data on church membership for all religious groups showed a marked increase in the early 1950's, but leveled off in about 1958 (see Table I on the following page).

¹⁹It is not necessary to repeat here the many justified methodological criticisms of religious membership and attendance data, for they are well known. For a relatively balanced review of the status of inferences made from such data concerning religiosity in America, see Glock and Stark (1965, pp. 68-85).

TABLE I
CHURCH MEMBERSHIP AS A PERCENTAGE
OF POPULATION^a

<u>Year</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
1930	47
1940	49
1950	57
1955	61
1956	62
1957	61
1958	63
1959	64
1960	64
1961	63
1962	63
1963	64
1964	64
1965	64

^aSource: Jacquet (1967, p. 218) and Landis (1965, p. 280, and 1966, p. 218).

Similarly, church attendance for all religious groups in America, as reported in the Institute of Public Opinion polls since 1940, appears to have peaked in 1955 and 1958 at 49%, but since 1958 has declined (see Table II on the following page).

Although in the postwar period the Catholic Church in America did not experience a growth in reported membership or attendance of the same magnitude as those of certain fundamentalist denominations and sects, its increases were substantial and greater than those experienced by all Protestant bodies combined (see Landis, 1960, p. 5).

TABLE II
CHURCH ATTENDANCE AS A PERCENTAGE
OF ADULT POPULATION^a

<u>Year</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
1940	37
1950	39
1955	49
1956	46
1957	47
1958	49
1959	47
1960	47
1961	47
1962	46
1963	46
1964	45
1965	44
1966	44

^aSource: Whitman (1968, p. 228).

However, there are indications that the Catholic Church is beginning to incur a leveling-off in membership corresponding to the national trends, but occurring a few years later. While the reported Catholic population in America increased from 32,575,707 to 40,871,302 between 1955 and 1960, an increase of more than 25 per cent, in 1965, there were 45,640,619 Catholics, an increase over 1960 of less than 12 per cent (Official Catholic Directory, 1955, 1960 and 1965, General Summaries). For the first time in the twentieth century, baptisms declined 3.6 per cent,

conversions, 13.6 per cent.²⁰ While Catholic Church attendance has always been about twice that of Protestant

²⁰The absolute decline in reported Catholic baptisms between 1960 and 1965, in sharp contrast to an increase in baptisms of some 14.7 per cent between 1955 and 1960, does not yield to ready explanation, because at this time data bearing directly upon the question were not available. Nevertheless, only two likely classes of factors could account for this phenomenon--a decline in births and/or a decrease in Catholic parental insistence upon the baptism of their children. Since it is the practise of the Church to baptize infants as soon as possible after birth, a decline in births quickly would be reflected in baptismal statistics. Two gross factors could affect a decline in births--a relatively smaller breeding population or a lower birth rate. Indications are that there was a drop in the number of married Catholics in their fecund years. Despite the fact that the cohort born in the 1930's has had a higher marriage rate, lower mortality rate and a lower age at first marriage than the cohort born in the 1920's, its numbers were smaller as a result of the lower birth rate and immigration rate during the depression. In the 1960-1965 period, this smaller depression cohort was between 20 and 35 years old and, therefore, in the age range of highest expected fertility. Although there is no published evidence of religious specific cohort size differences in these years, Catholics certainly shared in this national condition; and, to some extent, the lower baptismal figures are a reflection of this. The second factor, a decline in birth rates, could also have contributed to the baptismal decline, but the evidence is less clear here. While the national birth rate has declined since 1957, national data for Catholics has not yet been published; and highly problematic indirect evidence is scanty and conflicting. Whelpton, Campbell and Patterson (1966), discussing the findings of their national survey conducted in 1960, reported: "Until recent years, it was often assumed that the differences between the fertility of Catholics and non-Catholics would gradually disappear as the Catholics became more similar to the remainder of the population in social and economic status. These differences have persisted, however, and they now appear to be widening. Moreover, there is no indication that they are reduced by the upward socio-economic mobility of Catholics. In fact, the largest Catholic-Protestant differentials in family-size expectations are usually found in the higher social and economic groups . . ." (pp. 75-77). But this survey was conducted prior to the sharp public

churches--between two-thirds and three-quarters of reported adult membership--some recent public remarks by a few

criticism by Catholics of the Church's birth control policy, the general speculation aroused when it was leaked that the majority report of the Pope's commission appointed to study the matter had recommended change, and, perhaps most important, the widespread availability of oral contraceptives. Since the American Catholic is increasingly to be found in the suburbs and the suburban Catholic has a higher median income and education than his city coreligionist, Zimmer and Goldscheider's recent findings (1966) appear to contradict those of Whelpton, et al., on the issue of prospects after 1960 of increasing differentials in Catholic-Protestant fertility. They reported: "Examining fertility differences between Catholics and Protestants in central city and suburban segments of large and small metropolitan areas, we found that data indicated that marked Catholic-Protestant differences are still found in central cities. However, fertility differences between the two religious groups tended largely to disappear among suburban residents. The convergence in the fertility patterns of suburbanites is due to combined effects of higher fertility among Protestant suburban residents when compared to central city Protestants and a tendency of suburban Catholics to have fewer children than those who live in the city. The net result is convergence in suburban fertility" (p. 462). Despite the fact that both Catholic and non-Catholic women indicate an increase in ideal family size from 1943 to 1961, lay Catholic ideals were widely discrepant from the official reproductive ideology of the Church (Blake, 1966, pp. 27-43); and it is possible that other considerations may have operated to reduce fertility in the period. In any event, never before were Catholic women in America more capable of regulating fertility than in the 1960's. Even in 1960, Whelpton et al. (1966) found that 70 per cent of Catholic wives in their sample had used some form of fertility control and only 20 per cent never had used or planned to use any form. And of those Catholic women who attempted to regulate fertility in the 1960's, Westoff and Ryder (1967, pp. 1-5) found an increasing trend begun in the 1950's to employ methods disapproved by the Church. They also reported a decline in the per cent of Catholic women using rhythm only and a sharp increase in the use of oral contraceptives. A survey (Smith, Waters, McLoughlin, and Woodward, 1967, pp. 71, 72) of married Catholics found

Catholic officials suggest Catholic churchgoing may be falling off, but this assessment appears to be contradicted by

73 per cent engaged in some form of fertility control and 38 per cent used Church-disapproved methods. Again age and education were highly correlated: 60 per cent of the married Catholics under 35 and 45 per cent of the college-educated reported use of disapproved methods, whereas only 12 per cent of those 50 or older and 18 per cent with 8th grade or less schooling had. Moreover, 72 per cent of the college group and 80 per cent of those under 35 favored use of oral contraceptives. Another consideration is the growing number of Catholics who appear to advocate a change in Church policy. Berelson (1967, p. 7), in a 1965 survey, reported 56 per cent of Catholics interviewed favored a change in policy and it was significantly higher for younger Catholics. In the Smith *et al.* survey (1967, pp. 71-73) it was found that 73 per cent of all those interviewed wanted a change in birth control policy and 84 per cent of college-graduated Catholics. Although none of these trends document or even directly imply a decline in Catholic fertility during the 1960's, they do tend at least to suggest that the Catholic structural assimilation may be beginning to be reflected in fertility related attitudes and behavior even in this traditionally religiously defined area. And the decline in baptisms could possibly have been a partial reflection of consequent fertility trends, but more research is needed here.

The least likely factor which could help to account for the baptismal statistics is a decrease in parental insistence upon having their infants baptized. If this were true, however, it would reflect a substantial disaffection of Catholics, for in Catholicism, baptism is considered necessary to salvation and even the most nominal Catholics are known to have their children baptized. Again, however, the lack of research on the question makes sociological analysis impossible.

The large absolute decline in converts between 1960 and 1965 was also a major shift from the experience of the preceding five-year period during which converts had increased 6.4 per cent. Again, however, no satisfactory explanation is available. We might speculate, however, that since the main source of American converts to Catholicism has been associated with mixed marriages and it is very unlikely that the increasing trends in mixed marriages abated during the period, this decline in converts is probably a reflection of less Church pressure on and/or a greater reluctance of non-Catholics marrying Catholics to adopt the faith of their mates.

by polls which indicate no change between 1958 and 1964 (Wakin and Scheuer, 1966, p. 277). However, Lazerwitz (1961), Greeley (1963) and others have shown that socio-economic rank, especially educational, is directly correlated with Catholic church attendance. Why, therefore, during a period of relatively accelerating Catholic socio-economic and educational mobility there should not have been a corresponding increase in Catholic church attendance is a question which requires extensive study. Certainly the large discrepancy between Catholic and non-Catholic attendance is mainly attributable to the compliance of Catholics to the religious precept of their Church which requires them to attend Mass on Sundays and holy days of obligation, but the entire matter of attendance is complicated by a variety of other factors, not the least of which are general extra-religious social pressures (Herberg, 1960, pp. 254-272, and Tavard, 1965, pp. 11-21).

Still another short-run tendency may be noted in recent religious statistics. No longer do Roman Catholics appear to be increasing as a percentage of the population (see Table III on page 163).

To claim that these crude statistical trends clearly imply underlying socio-cultural processes or are indices of trends in religiosity is extremely hazardous, if not patently unwarranted. This is doubly true since the data

TABLE III
ROMAN CATHOLICS AS A PERCENTAGE
OF TOTAL POPULATION^a

<u>Year</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
1926	16.0
1940	16.1
1950	18.9
1960	20.3
1961	23.4
1962	23.6
1963	23.8
1964	23.9
1965	23.8

^aSource: Jacquet (1967, p. 219). According to Official Catholic Directory data, the figures for 1966 and 1967 show no significant change.

upon which they are based are notoriously unreliable, and especially in the case of attendance polls, of questionable validity. Nevertheless, there is no serious reason to believe they have been more unreliable or invalid in the 1960's than they were in the 1950's. Despite the above problems, therefore, it is not unreasonable to suggest that whatever the so-called "religious revival" of the immediate postwar period was, there are no signs in the very statistics which were most frequently used to support its existence that it has abated. Moreover, although woefully inconclusive, available data tend to indicate that the American Catholic Church has been no exception. But the

apparent covariation of non-Catholic and Catholic membership, growth and, possibly, attendance figures is not the only or most convincing statistical evidence that leads us to speculate about the role of secular assimilation in contemporary Catholic religious behavior.

Many observers have maintained that trends in the recruitment of clergymen are much more valid indices of the religiosity of a particular religious group than either membership or attendance. The assumption here is that, other things being equal, the more the religious commitment in a religious population, the greater the proportion of its members electing religious careers. But one of the many problems involved is that, despite the greater reliability of data on the clergy for most religions, more questionable membership data must be used to render them interpretable. Furthermore, all things are not equal and different religions place very different emphases and interpretations upon and have very different criteria for ministerial status, rendering cross-religious comparisons of dubious meaning. Again, however, we must make do with what data is available. Independent of these considerations, however, it should be noted that recent Catholic trends in religious occupations is of direct significance to our case study. So there are two reasons to address this question. First, to see if Catholic trends have been becoming more

similar to non-Catholic trends--for all its methodological weaknesses, the issue of assimilation. Second, to indicate what the Catholic trends appear to have been and what impact they have had on St. Anthony's--a less speculative issue.

As Lambert has noted (1960), the church membership-clergyman ratios in the United States have increased in every decade between 1910 and 1950 (see Table IV). This national trend was not experienced by the Catholic Church

TABLE IV

CHURCH MEMBER-CLERGYMAN RATIOS (1910-1950)^a

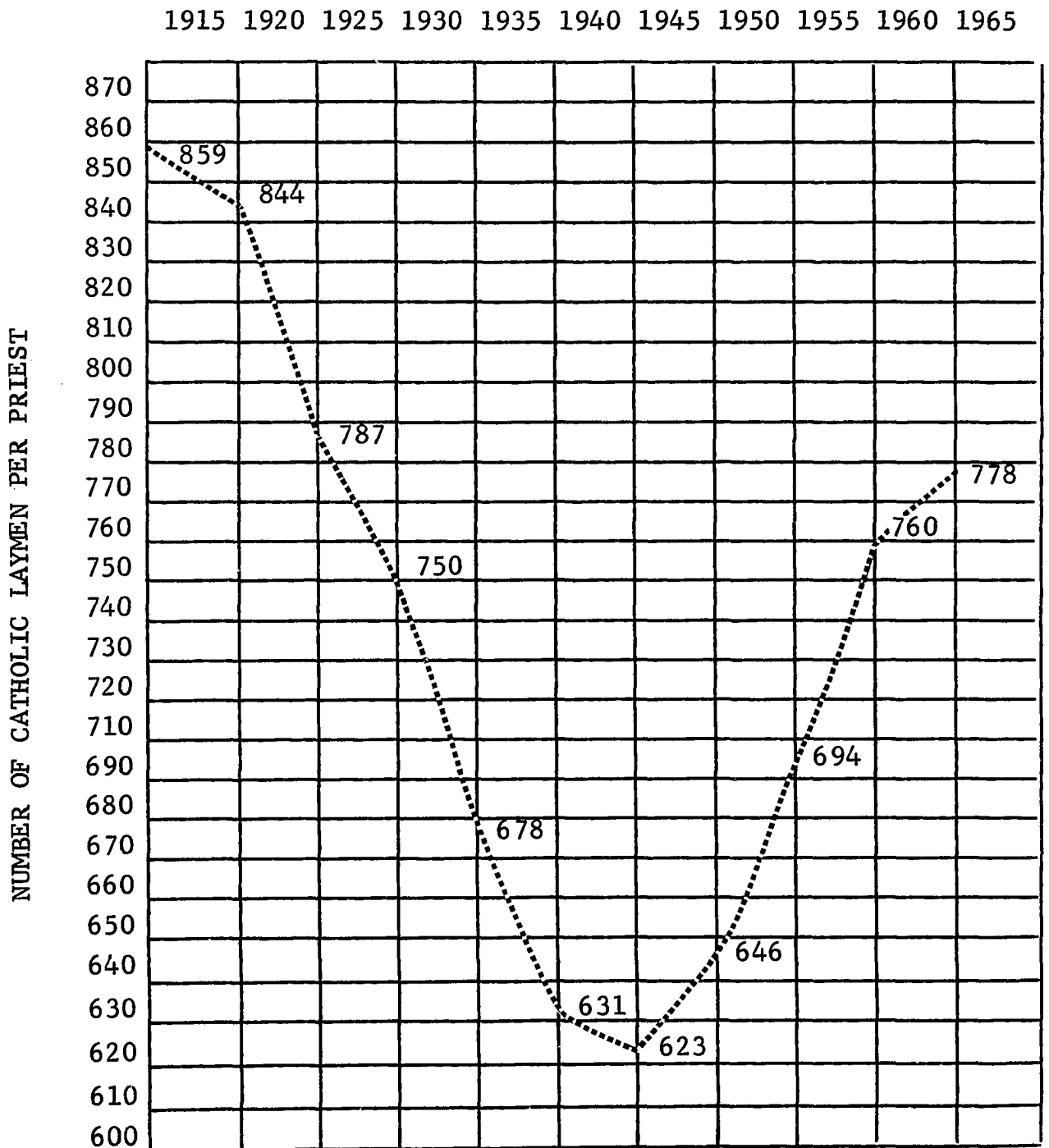
<u>Census Year</u>	<u>Church Members per Clergyman</u>
1910	326
1920	380
1930	394
1940	457
1950	507

^aSource: Lambert (1960, p. 5).

in America until after World War II. The Catholic layman-priest ratios decreased in every five-year period from 1915 until 1945, but thereafter they also began to increase (see Table V on page 166). By 1965 the ratio was approaching the pre-depression 1925 level. In the Catholic Church in America, there was a rate of growth of nearly 13 per cent in diocesan or secular priests from 1955 to 1960, but by

TABLE V

CATHOLIC LAYMAN-PRIEST RATIOS (1915-1965)^a



^aSource: The Official Catholic Directory, P. J. Kenedy & Sons, New York, 1915-1965.

1965 it was about 10 per cent (Official Catholic Directory, 1955, 1960, 1965, General Summaries). In the same source, the decline in the growth rate for religious priests for the same periods was even more marked, from 17.2 per cent to 6.9 per cent. For the first time in the twentieth century, the increasing proportion of religious to secular priests stopped and slightly reversed itself (see Table VI).

TABLE VI
RELIGIOUS PRIESTS AS A PERCENTAGE
OF ALL PRIESTS^a

<u>Year</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
1915	26
1935	34
1955	39
1960	39
1965	38

^aSource: Official Catholic Directory
(1915-1965).

This recent relative decline in the Catholic clergy cannot be dismissed as a fluctuation due to Vatican II, for it began before Council plans were first announced. Similarly, the decline cannot be accounted for simply by the sharp post-war reported membership increases and the lag in ordinations caused by the eight years normally required to train priests. If this had been the case, there would have been some leveling off between 1955 and 1960,

which did not occur. Available, but incomplete, Catholic seminary data indicate the declines are due to relative declines in recruitment for the clergy--a long-term experience of the Church in Europe and most Protestant denominations in this country. For example, between 1955 and 1960 the rate of growth in seminarians was 17.2 per cent, but between 1960 and 1965 the rate of growth had dropped to 13.3 per cent (Official Catholic Directory, 1955, 1960, 1965, General Summaries).²¹ Furthermore, published data indicate a long-term increasing trend in the proportion of seminarians who leave training before ordination. For example, Cuyler (1965) has shown in a geographically stratified national sample of both religious and diocesan seminaries that of those aspirants who entered high school (or minor) seminaries between 1935 and 1939, 21.2 per cent were ordained; but between 1940 and 1944 only 17.3 per cent

²¹It should be noted that published Catholic seminarian data, like most religious data, are poor by contemporary methodological standards. However, in American Catholic circles recent concern for improving seminary training (see Lee and Putz, 1965) and research efforts to gain a more accurate picture of religious career development (see Fichter, 1961 and 1965) are now widespread. As a reflection of the conjoining of concerns with educational excellence and with recent relative declines in religious vocations and an increased recognition of the relevance of psychological and social sciences to such problems, in 1966 the Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate (CARA) launched a national project which may soon provide more reliable data on vocational trends and the factors involved than are today available.

became priests; between 1945 and 1949, 14.9 per cent; and between 1950 and 1952, only 13.5 per cent (p. 9). Moreover, religious seminaries had higher dropout rates than diocesan seminaries and more recent partial data indicate a continuation of higher dropout rates for both (Cuyler, 1965, pp. 24-29).

These trends are augmented by an as yet small, but unusual number of ordained priests who have left the priesthood in recent years. Unlike the Protestant ministry in the United States, which has been reported to have experienced as high as a 20 per cent loss to other vocations (Douglass and Brunner, 1935, and Webber, 1953), the American Catholic priesthood has had only a nominal number of such losses. Although no national figures are released, the Church did admit recently that the Holy See was reviewing in the 1964-1966 period petitions from 4,000 priests requesting release from their vows; and it is clear from the increasing concern registered by Church spokesmen that many of them were Americans.²²

²²The Vatican admits to a current total of 60,000 losses to the priesthood around the world. For a general discussion of the unfrocked Catholic religious professional, see Fichter (1961, pp. 185-209). A number of priests also have been lost to the active ministry due to physical and mental illness, alcoholism, etc., but most are cared for in Catholic institutions and no figures on such losses are made public either.

If these trends in the Catholic clergy are reflections of assimilation and secularization processes involving a substantial proportion of American Catholics, then recruitment and retention of priests in the more otherworldly associations of religious should be more adversely affected than in diocesan structures. As was noted, consistent with this hypothesis, the recent decline in the rate of growth of the religious clergy has, in fact, been more pronounced than that in the diocesan clergy. Furthermore, other things being equal, we would also expect that among associations of religious, the more otherworldly its religious system, the more pronounced the decline. While a systematic test of this hypothesis was not possible, a cursory review of Official Catholic Directory data indicates that this, too, has been the case. Nearly all associations of male religious experienced a sharp growth in the 1940's and 1950's and a relative or absolute decline in the first five years of the 1960's, but the declines were less pronounced in associations with more mundane functions-- education, health, etc. One of the many paradoxical aspects of the "religious revival" in highly secular American society was the rapid growth of the most ancient, contemplative orders; but recent evidence is that they have incurred sharp reversals in the 1960's, more pronounced than those experienced by any other types of Catholic associations of the

religious. One of the most notable cases is that of the Order of Cistercians of Strict Observance, commonly known as the Trappists, and one of the most contemplative and penitential orders in the Church. For example, although its members do communicate with one another by a sign language, they are bound by a rule of complete silence. Aided considerably by the writings of Thomas Merton, a member whose books on monastic life became best sellers in the post-war years,²³ the Order in America grew rapidly from 154 members in 1930 to 216 in 1940, to 620 in 1950, to 1,049 in 1960 (Official Catholic Directory, 1930, p. 748; 1940, p. 724; 1950, p. 667; 1960, p. 833).²⁴ But as suddenly as the Order had grown, it began to lose members, not relatively, but absolutely. Between 1960 and 1965 alone, the American monasteries of the Order went from 1,049 members to 853, a net loss of nearly one-fifth (Official Catholic Directory, 1965, p. 911).

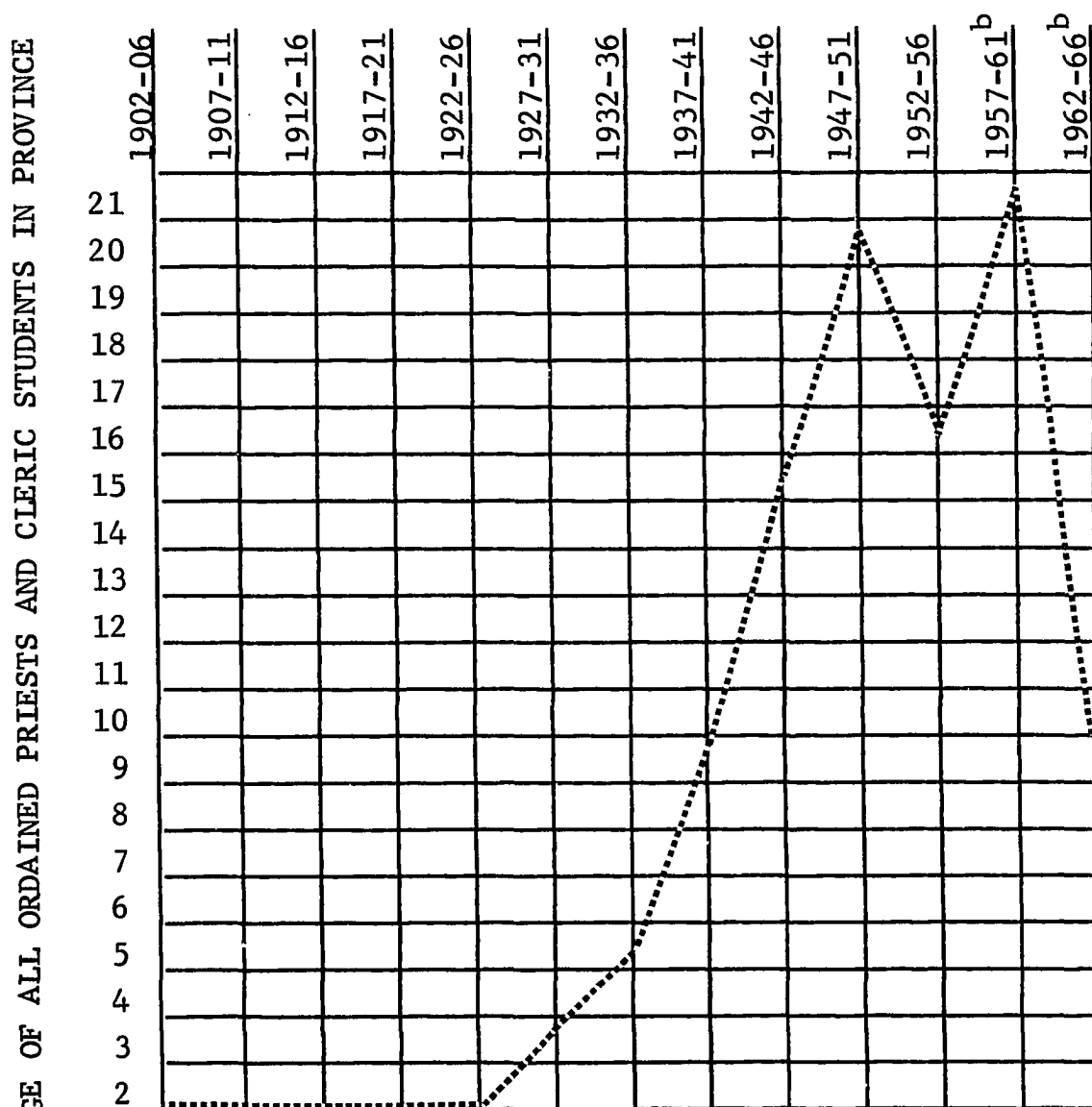
The same trends, but less pronounced, were being

²³Interestingly, Merton (1967) has more recently added his endorsement to the contemplative branch of the ecumenical movement by underscoring the common features of all mysticism, especially those of Catholicism and Zen Buddhism. Other Catholic writers have also shown considerable interest in Zen, e.g., the Jesuit Heinrich Dumoulin's A History of Zen Buddhism, and the Benedictine Aelred Graham's Zen Catholicism: A Suggestion, both published in 1963.

²⁴Figures for the Order of Cistercians of Strict Observance are for the total in communities and include those in training for all dates.

experienced by nearly all contemplative and mixed associations of religious in the 1960's. Our case, the Order of Mystical Union, generally followed this pattern with important consequences for change in its monasteries. As Table VII shows (see page 173), the Province in which St. Anthony's is located experienced a sharp increase in ordained priests beginning their training between 1937 and 1951; but since 1961 the picture has reversed itself. In the 1950's, the minor seminary of the Province, which we shall call the Cloisterville seminary, was a recruiting asset; and most of the Province's members were graduates of it. But recently it has experienced great difficulty attracting students, and fewer of its graduates elected to go on to the novitiate. When our study began, the decision had been made to close its doors for good. Similarly, in the 1950's, increasing vocations prompted the establishment of St. Anthony's itself, and extensive plans for its enlargement were made; but a relative decline in vocations and financial factors had put a halt to the building program. Many members, especially those who favor a central city location anyway, have abandoned interest in its further expansion entirely. As we shall see, the shift in the recruitment pattern associated with the closing of the Cloisterville seminary had a profound effect upon the social structure of the cleric novices and lay-brother aspirants at St. Anthony's during

TABLE VII
 PERCENTAGE OF ORDAINED PRIESTS IN PROVINCE
 BY FIVE YEAR PERIOD OF FIRST ENTRY
 INTO NOVITIATE^a



^aSource: An official document of the Province.

^bFigures for those entering training after 1960 are the most optimistic projections possible, i.e., they assume that all cleric students in training in April of 1967 will remain and be ordained.

the study. Involved here was the entry of a class comprised of cleric novices and lay-brother aspirants without the reinforcing influence of Cloisterville and of generally higher education and socio-economic background than had heretofore been the case.

However, the recent trends in American Catholic mobility and the changes in religious behavior suggested above did not begin to exhaust the external influences at St. Anthony's. Despite the isolation suggested by the novitiate's geographic location and the prominence of the Order's eremitic theme, the members at the monastery were all in varying degrees exposed to the message of Vatican II and the diverse and often conflicting changes that American Catholicism was undergoing outside St. Anthony's.

However, to return to the general American Catholic religious picture for a moment, we shall attempt to speculate on what these recent statistical trends may mean and why we tend to view them in conjunction with patterns of declining ethnicity, increasing suburbanization and socio-economic mobility of Catholics as generally more supportive of a climate of receptivity to religious change than was heretofore the case.

It now appears that the Church has served very different functions in the lives of American Catholics at three ideal typically characterized stages in their

accommodation to the changing American environment. Although these stages can only be crudely identified, they generally appear to be historically continuous, related to residence and generational sequence in America, and modified by contextual circumstances. We shall call these stages: the ghetto, the newly mobile and the integrated. In rough historical sequence and despite considerable overlap, Catholics of the ghetto stage were dominant numerically until the post-World War II period; those in the transitional newly mobile stage began to emerge as a significant subgroup in the late 1920's, and Catholics in the integrated stage began to appear in large numbers only in the mid-1950's. Let's briefly sketch some of the main characteristics of these stages and some of their implications for American Catholicism.

In the ghetto stage, for the unassimilated immigrant whose primary identity was ethnic and whose religiosity was simple and devotional, a defensive, authoritarian, separatist and traditionalistic church served well as a buffer and support against a forbidding, non-Catholic, Anglo-Saxon environment. But his faith was rigid and unsophisticated, his beliefs concrete and closed; these conditions were certainly not supportive of change, for there was the possibility that the immigrant might break with the Church entirely. This, of course, was the fear of the American

hierarchy up until the 1920's.

Some of the more important relationships of this stage to the American Church have been summarized by Callahan (1963) in the following way:

First, the immigrant started out at the bottom of the social ladder; he began his life as an American in a very unfavorable position. There was little to commend him to the established elements of society--other than the cheapness of his labor. There was little he could do to shape the life around him in its broader aspects. The most he could do was to make the little world he inhabited tolerable. And the only way he could do this was to stick closely to his fellows, to band together with them to ward off the threats and attacks directed at him. He became, in short, defensive, parochial, insular and sectarian. Second, since it was the clergy which most directly took charge of his fortunes, he became in very short order dependent upon them to direct his spiritual and cultural progress. Lay initiative was not only rare in fact, it was even in theory all but impossible; the immigrant had neither the education nor the self-confidence to direct himself. Perforce, he left the task to his betters.

Yet it would be a mistake to see the development of parochialism among the immigrants and the hegemony of the hierarchy and clergy as two distinct movements. In many ways, it was precisely the fact that the clergy held such sway that confirmed and strengthened the separatism of the immigrant. For in order to strengthen the immigrant's Catholicism and to build up the Church in America, the hierarchy and clergy had to induce a sense of group solidarity. In order to develop and maintain loyalty to the faith, they had to develop loyalty to the Catholic community, loyalty to one's fellow Catholics. To be sure, the Church served the immigrant's material as well as his spiritual needs. But one direct result of its ministrations was to keep the immigrant isolated from his non-Catholic neighbor. In part, this result was intentional, stemming from a desire to keep the immigrant close to the Church. But in greater part perhaps it was unintentional, for the hierarchy and clergy shared with the immigrant many of the same

problems and fears. As natural as it was for the immigrants themselves to band together with those they knew, as natural was it for the hierarchy and clergy to do the same. Together, they had to withstand the forces of disintegration within the Catholic community and the hostile forces outside (pp. 30-31).

As we noted in Chapter II, the numerical, financial and clerical growth of American Catholicism was unparalleled during the period of the ghetto stage. Meanwhile, however, the immigrant was internalizing the beliefs, values and norms of a rapidly industrializing, modernizing American society and casting off those of his traditional peasant past. Mainly, this was accomplished through his occupational and political involvements which tended to be highly differentiated from his religious, familial and friendship involvements, which remained segregated preserves of his ethnic heritage. Interstitial was the educational institution. Apparently, this social segregation was also accompanied by a psychological segregation of beliefs, values and norms.

Then, beginning in the 1920's and accelerating through the 1950's, in ever increasing numbers, Catholics broke with their ghetto backgrounds by moving to second and third settlement areas: mostly still in central cities, but increasingly in new suburbs also. Catholics in this transitional stage we believe have been very different from the more recent, established, integrated Catholics now in

substantial relative numerical strength for the first time. Rapidly losing his ethnicity, the Catholic nouvel arrivé no longer required a Church to preserve communal ethnic loyalty and solidarity, but apparently he was drawn more to his traditionalistic Church than ever before. His newly won socio-economic gains were very insecure and new contacts with non-Catholics only exacerbated his marginality. Furthermore, this was also a period dominated by a series of major national crises. In quick succession the depression of the 1930's was followed by World War II, and World War II by the insecurities of the "Cold War." For many Catholics the primary reactions to this new situation were a more intensive religious involvement and/or an aggressive defensiveness. All of these factors apparently played a role in the Catholic version of the "religious revival" of the post-war period. The newly mobile Catholic tended to be even more devout and more religiously knowledgeable than his ghetto coreligionist, but he also had a greater need of being recognized socially as a full fledged member of society. It is this roughly characterized group for which as Herberg has maintained (1960), religion replaced ethnicity as a reference group for self-identity. It has been primarily such newly mobile, lower middle-class families from which the large numbers of priests since the 1920's have come (Fichter, 1959). It is among this transitional group of Catholics that number those

most prone to seek public recognition of Catholic "rights," i.e., to agitate for the legal institutionalization of the traditional Catholic position on such issues as birth control, divorce, therapeutic abortion, pornography and church-state relationships, especially parochial school support.²⁵

Such a group is even more entrenched in the traditional value system of the official Church and even less likely to accept religious change than the ghetto Catholic of simpler faith. But such a group is rapidly diminishing as a proportion of the Catholic population as post-war prosperity continues and successive generations of suburban Catholics reflect a new found self-identity, an identity that is primarily based neither on ethnic nor religious referents, but upon occupation and education.

Among those Catholics who have become fully socially and culturally assimilated appears to be a growing number of practising Catholics for whom a defensive, authoritarian and separatist Church is an embarrassment and manifestly incompatible with their experience and values. For the educated Catholic whose primary identity is occupational, such a Church is an anachronism in a world that is largely undifferentiated by ethnicity, and into which he is securely

²⁵See especially Underwood's (1961) description of Catholic-Protestant relations in Paper City, 1947-1948, for a good description of Catholics at this transitional stage of accommodation.

integrated. However, the problems he faces in relating his Church to his society are many and complex, and for some the experience is highly productive of value conflict implicit in our discussion of values above.²⁶ Nevertheless, although the Church may have played a part in the communal loyalty and solidarity of the ghetto and in the mitigation of the identity-insecurity of the transitional Catholic, it no longer appears to be in a position to do either for the integrated Catholic of the religiously desegregated suburb. We suggest that the establishment of this secure and most religiously sophisticated group of Catholics has created a climate in which religious change is highly compatible, especially change which tends to reduce the distinctiveness of Roman Catholic practise and which conforms to the American value orientations which they have completely internalized. As we shall see below, it is in this Catholic subpopulation that an entirely new phenomenon appeared following Vatican II--a public American Catholic self-criticism and social activism led by a young cadre of priests and laymen.²⁷ But this is only one side of the coin.

Apparently, among this new aggregate of secure,

²⁶For the most sensitive presentation of these problems, see Callahan (1963, pp. 103-192).

²⁷We shall discuss some of these criticisms in the context of the contemporary Catholic situation after noting the catalytic role of Vatican II.

mobile Catholics is a growing religious indifference as well.²⁸ In contemporary suburbia, we are told by Greeley (1959), that most practising Catholics tend to be more independent, affluent, better educated, more likely to view the authority of their clergy as sharply circumscribed, etc. Generally, the image, however, is one which corresponds to the American pattern described by Williams as "very low temperature" religion (1965, p. 346).²⁹ It appears from the recent data that this situation of growing religious indifference may have been an important factor in the recent relative reduction of the clergy and some of the other gross trends in Catholic religious behavior noted above.

In summary, therefore, despite the fact that the data are scarce and certainly not of a kind that warrants confidence in generalization or long-term projection, the recent statistical trends tend to support the inference that American Catholics as an aggregate appear to be changing in the religious sectors of their behavior. Furthermore, they also suggest patterns which have been common for Catholics in most European industrial nations and in

²⁸See also pp. 24-26 above.

²⁹See also Seeley, Sim and Loosly's ethnographic account (1956, esp. pp. 212-215 and 239-242) of suburban religion and the recent general discussion of suburban religion by Whitley (1964, pp. 83-107).

established Protestant denominations in America for some time. These changes may be cautiously interpreted as consequences primarily of the recent accelerated American Catholic assimilation in a modern industrial society in which secular values and orientations are ascendent and pervasive. In this connection we have suggested a sequence of stages in which this assimilation occurred with differential implications for religious life. Our conclusion is that these complex processes have led to a greater receptivity to change among a growing number of Catholics. But American Catholics have never been the homogeneous collectivity that many have assumed, and the processes of assimilation, while generally reducing ethnic sources of variability, have produced others of perhaps even greater consequence. Never before have the social, economic and educational disparities of large numbers of American Catholics been so marked. It is not so surprising, then, that the contemporary post-conciliar religious situation should manifest as many contradictions as it does. Let us now turn briefly to a consideration of the catalyst of this change, both in the American Church and the Order of Mystical Union--the second Vatican Council and its aftermath.

A Mandate for Change

As was maintained in Chapter III, the initiation of major change in the Order of Mystical Union was restricted essentially to one possible source, the Church itself. History had proven its codified culture to be nearly invulnerable to all of the profound religious, intellectual, social, economic and political revolutions of the previous four hundred years. Periodically, the Order's membership had fallen off sharply. Sometimes many of its monasteries were forcibly suppressed during the European political perturbations of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Not infrequently some monasteries of the Order had neglected many aspects of regular observance and there were national variations in practise. But never had any of these events or conditions seriously challenged the legitimacy of the ancient religious and normative systems of the Order. However, ever since Pope John XXIII's election in 1956, a small but growing number of the priests in the Province had begun, as one reported, "to re-examine the nature of the Order's witness in the modern world." With John's assertions that as pope he was "not bound by tradition," that what the Church required was "opening the window," and that his concern was with the "brotherhood of all men,"

.

a clarion of change was sounded.³⁰

As the occupant of the Church's most authoritative office, John, in his encyclicals Mater et Magistra and Pacem in Terris, called for a humanitarian social consciousness. For the first time, a pope had asserted that man's welfare, personal dignity and freedom in society were of religious concern to the Church.³¹ But his most

³⁰It is important to make clear that we do not wish to imply here or in what is to follow that the positions taken by John were new or unique in Catholicism. Nothing could be further from the truth. The views to which he gave expression had been well established in a substantial and growing subculture within the Church for several centuries. Furthermore, we also do not subscribe to the view that John's role was determinant in any simple sense of historical causation. The progressive subculture in which John shared, the collective but unintegrated product of countless socio-cultural adaptations of Catholics to the empirical events of Western society, was, however, in sharp contrast to the prevailing culture of the Curia and the majority of hierarchical Church officials. It is only within the context of the structural and normative intractability of the official Church that John's actions appeared to be singular. Indeed, it is precisely because of the traditional unique charisma and authority vested in the papacy that John's official acts served to catalyze not only the progressive sector of Catholic thought, but the conservative and reactionary sectors as well. As far as long-range macro-socio-cultural change is concerned, however, the predominantly conservative character of the actions of the post-conciliar Church of Rome only attests to the stability of religious institutions and the slight influence individual acts of even the powerful have on the established institutions in which they operate.

³¹Mater et Magistra, enunciated in 1961, and Pacem in Terris in 1963, are reprinted in a number of sources. See, for example, Fremantle (1963, pp. 223-276 and 277-311). In this source is also documentation of the growing and widening concern of the official Church with social problems

consequential message was that the Church itself, and its associations, must be radically adapted to the modern world. In the name of aggiornamento ("bringing up to date"), John convened the Second Vatican Council, only the twenty-first in Church history and the second since the Council of Trent in the seventeenth century. Many of the members of the Province, like most educated American Catholics, followed with intense interest the dialogue of the Council and studied with care the decrees it promulgated.³² While significantly not a single member of the Order of Mystical Union played any leadership role in the Council or in the debates it provoked, a few heard positions advocated by such progressive leaders as Cardinals Bea, Doepfner and Suenens that were consistent with heretofore unvoiced opinions they had held with regard to their Order. Objectively, the final contents of the decrees, especially those on religious life, were hardly revolutionary in specific content. Nevertheless, what was new was a formal Church endorsement of a posture away from unquestioned adherence to traditions and toward responsibility for change, not a

as expressed in papal encyclicals from Leo XIII (1878-1903) to John XXIII (1959-1963).

³²For a complete translation of all sixteen decrees, see Abbott (1966).

set of strategies or doctrines. Indeed, for the first time since the Counter-Reformation, the official Church had manifested an unmistakably positive and non-legalistic stance toward religious change. In some matters, such as liturgy reform and Catholic Action, John's positions were extensions of those of former popes, but he radically departed from papal precedents in the manner in which he related the Church of Rome to secular society and other religions.³³

John's response to the many post-war difficulties of the Church was to lend support to definitions of the Church in transcendental terms as an all-embracing "Mystical Body," thereby de-emphasizing its temporal boundaries, and axiomatically its temporal problems, by an inoffensive supernatural imperialism that opened the Church to ecumenical encounter, secular involvement and internal reform as well. The embodiment of these ideas of the transcendent Catholic Church in the Constitution on the Church, makes it the most significant decree of the Second Vatican Council (see Abbott, 1966, pp. 14-96). This differentiation of the transcendent Church from the empirical or temporal Church has been a standard device of reformers for centuries, but now the officialdom of the Church had

³³See our discussion of traditional Church value orientations above, especially pp. 12-13.

endorsed it. From this vantage point, the very structures and practises of the empirical Church were divested of inherent sacredness and rendered as means-objects, subject to change. By this device an extensive re-examination and adaptation to modern conditions and needs so as to make the Church "relevant" was called for.

It is unnecessary to elaborate on the fact that such an approach in most basic respects was far more consistent with prevailing American value orientations than with those of either the traditional official Church or the Order of Mystical Union. Before considering the differential responses to this call for change among American Catholics, which served as another source of environmental influence at St. Anthony's, we must consider how this manifesto was translated--by means of interpretations of the decree on religious life--into a direct challenge to the codified culture of the Order of Mystical Union.

The Challenge to the Codified Culture

While the decree on religious life itself was essentially a strange mixture of suggestions for change amid endorsements of tradition, many of its interpretations have been less ambivalent. In order to appreciate how the events of Vatican II have been applied by the progressive

religious, we need only examine excerpts from Gregory Baum's recent Commentary on the Decree on the Renewal of Religious Life (1966, pp. 9-55).³⁴ His theological arguments not only constitute a direct challenge to the codified culture of the Order of Mystical Union and those of similar associations of religious, but implicitly they embody change-oriented, egalitarian, activist, democratic, individual responsibility, this-worldly, pragmatic, non-defensive and openly-oriented emphases which, as we have noted, are more consistent with the value complexes of American society than with those of the traditional official Catholic Church.

Baum begins by discrediting the traditional interpretation of the uniqueness to the "call to perfection" of religious life by saying:

In the past we used to define religious life through the call to perfection, or the following of the evangelical counsels, or the total obedience to the will of God. We like to interpret the conversation of Jesus with the rich young man (Matt. 19, 16-22) as an invitation to leave the ordinary Christian life of following the commandments and enter upon the life of perfection. Biblical studies and the doctrinal renewal of our days

³⁴Baum's interpretations are chosen here because they represent the typical and most prominent progressive reaction to Vatican II bearing upon religious life in the Church. Baum, being a Canadian theologian, is, moreover, more representative of contemporary American reaction than those of many European churchmen. There are more conservative and more radical formulations, but Baum's are consistent with what appears to be a central tendency in the spectrum of commentary. See, for example, the Huyghe, et al., symposium (1965).

do not permit us to do this any more. The rich young man was not ready for the conversion necessary to be a follower of Christ. From the Scriptures we know that the state of perfection is the baptismal state. "It is evident to everyone that all the faithful of Christ, of whatever rank or status, are called to fullness of the Christian life and to the perfection of charity." Through baptism every Christian is called to be a perfect son of the Father. The counsels and beatitudes of Jesus are not addressed to a few Christians, a few chosen souls, but, according to the Scriptures, to the entire Church. (We are so used to speaking of the "three evangelical counsels" that we tend to forget that the counsels Jesus gave in his preaching were many and varied, and addressed to all Christians, even if they were not all to be followed in the same way.) The universality of Christ's call to holiness is established at length in Chapter V of the Constitution of the Church. Every single Christian, through baptism and the entire sacramental liturgy, shares in the life of Christ and his perfect obedience to the Father. To do the will of the Father, through Jesus, in the power of the Spirit, sums up the Christian life and, indeed, the very nature of the Church (pp. 9-10).³⁵

³⁵Although this ascription of "calling" to all Christians is traditionalistically expressed, it represents an extension of religious legitimacy to secular life uncommon in Catholic theology, especially that concerned with the legitimation of religious life in the Church. This is, of course, precisely the problem faced by Luther and the solution found is strikingly similar to his concept of "calling" (see Weber, 1958, pp. 79-87). Nevertheless, a few Catholic writers have advanced even more revolutionary positions on the nature of religious life, positions that embrace some atheists and exclude some who adhere to Church creed and observe its rites. For example, Festugiere, a Dominican, identifies the religious man as one "for whom religious problems exist" (meaning a concern with ultimate values) and religious faith and observance in an established religion are neither sufficient nor necessary for religious life (see Peyre [1960], p. 25). It should be noted, however, that few of the leading Catholic theologians on the contemporary scene are trained to bring to bear the knowledge of the social sciences on religious thought as are those in the

Needless to say, we have here an explicit declination to accept the strong elitistic emphasis in the monastic tradition and the advocacy of a more egalitarian perspective on religious perfection. He continues,

Openness to the world is one of the characteristics of contemporary Catholic teaching and spirituality. We note that the term "world" in this context is not taken from St. John's Gospel where the "world" usually stands for the sinful world opposing the grace of God. "World" in the doctrinal context of Vatican Council II refers to the whole of humanity, sinful indeed but also loved by God in Jesus Christ, constantly under the influence of his saving grace. It is to this human family, with which Christ identified himself, that the Christian, including the religious, must be open (p. 28).

Clear in the above are the this-worldly and non-defensive emphases.

Baum then turns his attention to the formalistic rule-oriented life in associations of religious. He argues that renewal of associations of religious refers to the Gospel and "inspiration" of founders and not to rules and traditions:

. . . the sources to which religious life must refer itself are the Gospel of Christ and the inspiration of the founder. The Gospel is the living charter of religious life and the source of all renewal. The inspiration of the founder is the perspective in which the Gospel was applied in a particular religious community. What is significant is that this first sentence

Bonhoeffer-Cox tradition in Protestant theology. This-worldly oriented, but not this-worldly trained, the Rahners, Kungs, Schillebeeckxs, and von Balthasars are reorienting the Church from supernatural speculation to problems of secular relevance, but they leave to future generations the larger task of the social reconstruction of Catholic theology.

speaks of the "inspiration" of the founder, not of his rules and institutions. The concrete forms of life created by the founder are just the application of his inspiration to the conditions of his own day. What counts for the renewal proper to our own age is only his original inspiration for the conditions of his own day. What counts for the renewal proper to our own age is only his original inspiration (pp. 22-23).

.....

... there can be no higher rule in religious orders and congregations than the Gospel itself. The Gospel overrules all man-made regulations. . . . Jesus wrestled with the scribes and pharisees about the role of law in the life of God's people. By itself the observance of the law has no salvational value. What counts in the message of Christ is the conversion of the heart to God and our confidence in his promises that he is at work in us making us into his sons and brothers of one another. The observance of law is an instrument of salvation only if it is an expression of this conversion of the heart to God and the love of the brethren (p. 23).

And:

But whenever the deeper exigencies of the Gospel make the observance of the law a hindrance to total obedience, then, according to Catholic doctrine, the Christian is freed from the obligation of positive law and called to stricter obedience to the Lord.

By insisting that the Gospel is the supreme rule of religious life, the Decree enables religious communities to reach out for the most radical kinds of reform, as radical as the Gospel itself. The Decree seems to encourage a more evangelical outlook on law and legislation in general: laws are made for man and not man for the laws. The demands made on the Christian by the following of Christ may require that he transcend positive law in particular situations (p. 24).

Although Baum's entire commentary is change-oriented, he calls for a new innovative responsibility of religious to the Church:

Religious orders are meant to be the avant-garde of the Church. Their freedom gives them the

opportunity to exercise a prophetic mission and discover more clearly and more radically what is God's will for the entire Church in our day (p. 27).

Rejecting the traditional dualism of the cloister and the world, he further reasons that the basic rationale for religious life rests in the features of community life which intensify religious commitment and the function such a community performs in the Church. Also, Baum's attribution of positive religious significance to "the world" in the following reflects the major shift in contemporary Catholic theology mentioned in footnote 35 (p. 189). He writes:

We tended to oppose life in the cloister and life of people outside. In our ceremonies of profession, for instance, we pretended that the choice of the religious was between obeying God in religious life and remaining in the world--and "in the world usually referred to an uncommitted Christian life. But this is no Christian choice at all. The choice of the religious in making his profession is between serving God in the religious community and serving God in the world.

In some religious orders the ceremony of reception for new candidates suggests that, being clothed in the new religious garb, the Christian puts off the "old man" and puts on the "new man" who is Jesus Christ.

At baptism we share in the death and resurrection of Jesus. It is dogmatically misleading to suggest that this happens at the entry into religious life. Religious profession is not the renunciation of one's whole past, but, on the contrary, it is an act of fidelity to one's baptism and to the grace and guidance God has granted since that moment (pp. 12-13).

Every enduring consecration to serve Christ and his kingdom leads Christians more deeply into the

mystery of the Church. But when the call to a more radical obedience to baptism is expressed in a consecration to Christ in a religious community, then the Christian shares in the mission of this community and, as such, lives in a special state in the Church. He can be said to live at the very heart of the Church, not because he is necessarily more conformed to Jesus Christ than are other Christians, but because through his religious consecration he belongs to a community and, as such, renders a greater service to the kingdom of God than he could render by following Christ in the world.

In this sense it is legitimate to speak of religious life as a "higher" vocation. It is not higher in the sense that it destines to a greater holiness. It is higher only in the sense that it performs a role and function in the Church which a Christian in the world, even when totally surrendered to God in Christ, could not exercise (p. 18).

Baum sees the Constitution of the Church as calling for an intensified apostolic commitment and an openness in associations of religious:

The older viewpoint that the primary purpose of religious life is the seeking of personal perfection and the secondary purpose is to serve the Church in the apostolate, can no longer be doctrinally defended. These two ends of religious life are so intimately connected that they cannot be classified as primary and secondary (pp. 16-17).

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Religious life must be transparent to men of our times: they must see in it not the testimony to a past age of the Church, but a witness to the Gospel in our present situation. Religious life must be a present sign of the paschal life that Christ communicates to his brothers (p. 21).

Then, in a profound way he reverses the sources of spirituality in arguing:

We must not think that a new spirituality is acquired in silence and isolation, and that only after we have made it our own, can we expose others to our work and

apostolate. After all, we learn by doing and acting. It is true that the spiritual holds an uncontested primacy in the Christian life, but often this spiritual element is acquired precisely by trying to live a Christian life in a new situation. For this reason, the external activity of the Christian is not only the fruit of spiritual life but also its source and stimulus. Religious orders may find that by changing their forms of life they generate a new spirituality which, apart from this change, they would not have acquired (pp. 29-30).

.....

The spirituality of the past has often presented the sacraments and prayer as the great source of grace which had to prepare us for the active life engaged with people. While serving others and cooperating with them we look forward to prayer and worship as the time when God would again come to us to feed us with his grace. Today we ask ourselves if this spirituality is adequate for the apostolic life. Certainly, liturgy and prayer always remain the privileged time when we worship God and are restored to the life received in baptism. But is this the only time during which Christ nourishes us? Does the life with others remove us from the source of grace? According to Catholic teaching, Jesus Christ is present in his body, in the believing community, in his brethren, and for this reason we believe that he comes to us and nourishes us in and through the brethren. We do not want to regard our contact with other men as occasions that weaken our spiritual strength, but, rather, as encounters in which Christ is ready to transform and comfort us. Other men are not leeches to us, sapping our spiritual reserves, but, rather, the breed with which the Lord feeds us. Listening to others, accepting them, helping them, and offering our friendship to them are the ways in which Jesus Christ leads us to die more to our self-love and rise to a new dimension of charity and communion. In this practical and down-to-earth way, we encounter Jesus Christ in the brethren (pp. 38-39).

The change-oriented, action based pragmatism of such an argument is reinforced by his call for experimentation:

The Decree encourages superiors to give permission for prudent and adequate experimentation. Instead of

rewriting the statutes, it is, in many cases, much more useful to try out various forms of life by way of experiment. Good law is never written in the abstract. In a healthy society, life precedes legislation (pp. 31-32).

He maintains that the vows do not define religious life, that renunciation is no longer the mark of religious life, and that the vows require new forms of expression. For example:

The three vows which characterize religious life in the Church are simply the canonical arrangement in which the commitment to the evangelical life in community is expressed. There is nothing sacrosanct about the three vows. The commitment to religious life could occur through a single sacred promise to join the community and to live according to its ideal (p. 41).

.....

It would be possible to have religious life where the unity of the religious family and its evangelical orientation are expressed in a different practice of obedience (e.g., in more democratic forms of government), and a different practice of poverty (e.g., by making religious look after their needs on a very limited budget, as do poor people in the world (pp. 41-42).

.....

Among the "new forms" in which poverty must be expressed in our day is the witness that religious take sides with the exploited and underprivileged of the world (p. 46).

Manifest in the above are suggestions away from authoritarian and otherworldly preoccupations, and toward democratic and humanitarian value orientations. But he is even more specific in setting in relief the most central problem of religious orders and the Church today, that of obedience. On obedience he reports:

In our age religious obedience offers special difficulties. In our day when the crucial moral decisions belong to the social and political order involving the well-being or ill-being of millions of people, it has become clearer than ever that obedience to God cannot be identified with obedience to superiors. No Christian can abdicate his social responsibility through a vow of obedience. He could not, for instance, abandon his freedom to vote according to his own conscience. Similarly, in our day of Vatican Council II and Church renewal it has become clearer than ever that obedience to the Church cannot be equated with religious obedience. For instance, Christians must strive for the implementation of the conciliar decrees, even if superiors are still opposed to the directives of the Council. It is within the wider obedience to God and to the Church that a religious must practice his specifically religious obedience (p. 49).

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Superiors are asked to foster "a spirit of voluntary subjection" in their subjects: this means that they should not simply insist on their orders but also, if possible, provide reasons why matters have been decided thus. In the past, spiritual counsels often suggested that the merit of obedience was higher if it was practiced without being initiated into the issue. The spiritual teaching of the Decree is different. It presents as ideal where the members of the community are concerned about the common good and hence should be introduced into the reasons behind the constitutions, the policy and the particular orders given by superiors (pp. 50-51).³⁶

Baum's reflections on community life are similarly revolutionary. He says:

The ideal for community life proposed in the Decree goes far beyond the spiritual tradition that was

³⁶Most religious who have accepted the value of absolute authority find it very difficult to adjust to this new democratized concept of obedience. Many reject its validity entirely. For example, Redlon, a Franciscan, has written: ". . . we hear much today of reasonable obedience. Superiors must give a reason when they command, and the result must be convincing and satisfying. This is nonsense! Having vowed to God your life, it is reasonable to accept

fostered in many religious congregations. Too often unity in religious life was presented in terms of conformity to a system of rules: it was regarded as a unity of common action, common regulations, common habit, almost of external uniformity, sometimes accompanied by a real fear of openness and friendship among the members of the congregation. The Decree presents an ideal of the common life that is really different. What counts first of all is the koinonia produced by Christ and his gifts: the sharing, openness, friendship and love that are the fruit of divine grace among men. The common rules that characterize religious life are intended to promote and strengthen vital communion among the members of the family.

Are we quite certain that religious constitutions regulating the details of life in common really promote koinonia? Most present-day religious orders, especially those of women, try to determine the details of daily life by common rules; they demand conformity to a uniform pattern, constant dependence on superiors for permissions and a radical separation from normal contact with outsiders. The institution taking over personal life should create community. Are we quite certain that this uniformity of life leads to friendship, unity and love--in other words, to communion? Until now it has been regarded as sacrosanct that the ideal of common life demands such total institutions. When religious live in the same house with greater freedom to arrange their day and plan their work according to the demands of all their responsibilities, including those of the community, this is often regarded as an imperfect ideal, almost as an abuse. Yet, may not such a house with only a few prescribed common eucharists, common meals and honest conversations per week be profoundly united in Christ as a single family? Does the scriptural ideal of having "one heart and one soul in God" really imply a regimented community life? By describing the common life simply in terms of the New Testament, the Decree gives greater liberty for the adaptation of this life to the needs of the present (pp. 53-54).

His authority unquestioningly, without compromise and without 'taking a vote.' This is the only meaning the term reasonable obedience can have." (1962, pp. 104-105.)

And finally, with reference to social inequality between priests and lay brothers, he writes:

The Decree determines that religious orders of men with clerical and lay members are able to change their constitutions so that profession admits a'l the members to the same rights and privileges in the community. Until now the majority of clerical orders admitting lay brothers as members did not allow them to belong to the chapters, to vote, or to influence the policy of the community. The Decree encourages religious orders to change this anomaly (p. 55).

It is quite unnecessary to comment on the impact such formulations as these, if taken seriously, may have on one who has internalized the codified culture of the Order of Mystical Union. We will shortly examine reactions to these and similar ideas of St. Anthony's.

Historically, identical criticisms of Catholic monastic and non-monastic religious life had been frequent and, at times, just as plausibly argued; but they had come, by and large, from sources outside the religious life-- political authorities, Protestant scholars and clergymen, lay Catholics, secular priests, bishops or defecting religious. As one might suspect, such criticisms fell on deaf ears. Normally they merely intensified, rather than moderated, the commitment of the religious to their traditional practises.³⁷ The twentieth century is the first in which

³⁷The increase in in-group cohesion and pattern maintenance produced by out-group conflict is a very

monasticism and other forms of Catholic religious life have not been either widely supported or harshly attacked, or both, by extra-religious sectors of society. Generally, they are ignored in modern, highly industrialized, secular societies; and most Americans, including Catholics, are hardly aware of their existence. Currently, however, nearly all the public critics of religious life in America are themselves members of associations of religious. While this by no means assures that other religious will heed the suggestions made, the probability of influence is greater, of course, if the communicator is identified as a member of the in-group.³⁸ Furthermore, when such suggestions are believed to have the positive sanction of the Church; when

familiar process. It has been described by countless social analysts, e.g., Marx, Sorel, Spencer, Gumpowicz, Ratzehofer, Oppenheimer and Simmel. For a recent reappraisal, see Coser (1956, esp. Chapter V). In the Robbers Cave study, Sherif, Harvey, White and Sherif (1961) have provided the most convincing experimental documentation of the processes of group differentiation and the consequent in-group solidifying effects of inter-group conflict.

³⁸It should be noted that because each association has its own identity, the criticism by members of other associations may produce the same or even a more intense defensive reaction than if the same positions were voiced by non-religious. The more proximate the conflicting elements, the more intense the conflict and, therefore, the greater the probability of intra-group cohesion and pattern maintenance (Coser, 1956, pp. 67-72). The boundaries of the actors' reference group of primary situational identity is an all-important factor here.

they come at a period in which sharp reversals in recruiting are experienced; and when the suggestions themselves are consonant with many values internalized in socialization, even though they had not formerly been related to organizational life, the probability of their influence sharply increases. All of these conditions prevailed in the Province and at St. Anthony's.

Baum's commentary is typical of most post-conciliar American religious self-criticism. It is, however, more theological in its appeal and more bland in tone than that, for example, of such contemporaries as activist-sociologist Neal, whose weapon is her secular knowledge, and who has equated the obedience pattern characteristic of religious life to such an emotionally-charged object as the Eichmann morality of Hitler's Germany (1965b, pp. 4-5; 1966a, p. 15). Neal draws heavily upon a variety of social psychological and sociological sources, and especially, like Cox in The Secular City (1965) and Greeley in his Presidential Address to the American Catholic Sociological Society (1966), upon the gemeinschaft-gesellschaft model to support her contentions of the "maladaptation" of the religious organizational structures she criticizes.³⁹ Although some questions could

³⁹In the third month of our study, the superior of St. Anthony's, whom we shall call Father Paul, attended a

be raised as to the logical and empirical soundness of the substantive positions advanced in some of these arguments, they are reflections in the area of life in religious associations of a much more comprehensive and relatively new current of articulate self-analysis and self-criticism in American Catholicism. Moreover, they are part of an emerging intellectual movement which is both a manifestation of, and a factor in, the socio-cultural transition that the American Church and the Catholic subpopulation of the United States is currently experiencing. It is therefore desirable to consider briefly a few examples of these contemporary American Catholic reactions to Vatican II.

conference at which one of Neal's papers was delivered. He reported in our second intensive interview that he was profoundly impressed with Sister Neal's arguments. Such a positive reception of not only self-criticism, but sociological analysis as well, while not equally shared by all the priests at St. Anthony's, was an important factor in the cooperation given us in this research. In this we are indeed fortunate, for although some contemporary Catholic officials are convinced of the relevance and usefulness of sociology, others are adamantly opposed, and most appear to share mixed feelings similar to those expressed recently by Doty (1962) in the following: "My own feeling [toward sociological studies of religion] is not one of antagonism but of great caution and reserve. First of all, I am afraid of what irresponsible people will do in the public press with the results of sociological surveys. Secondly, it has yet to be proved to me that large-scale projections in the matter of religious belief and conduct are reliable. This is an area in which free will and grace are more operative than in any other. This is also an area very closely tied to human emotions of both the deepest and the most volatile varieties. This is an area involving the supernatural, which, even though it perfects the natural, does not admit of measurement in predictable terms" (p. 216).

Varieties of American Response to
Vatican II

The members of St. Anthony's were all in varying degrees aware of the fact that American Catholics and elements of the hierarchy were responding in quite different ways to Vatican II, which itself exposed to public scrutiny for the first time many sharp differences of opinion on key Church issues. First was the progressive, frank self-criticism and activism of an emerging articulate group of Catholics who exhibited no trace of the apologetic and defensive stance of American Catholic spokesmen of the recent past. Second was the generally conservative, but mixed reactions of much of the American hierarchy and, by and large, of Pope Paul VI, as well. Third was the even more highly variable reactions of American Catholics themselves.

As we have noted, by cross-national demographic and material standards, American Catholicism of the ghetto and transitional stages manifested phenomenal strength and orthodoxy. Although a significant number of Catholics strayed from the Church, and many have been quite marginal in participation, all evidence is that the majority appear to have been at least minimally observant in devotion and loyal to and uncritical of their bishops and clergy. Apart from the ethnic conflicts of the last century, certainly no Catholic clergy and laity has exhibited less dissension in

any industrial society. But all evidence indicates that, having shed the ethnic identity of their forebears, moved from the ghetto to suburbia, attained economic, occupational and educational parity with their Protestant neighbors, an increasing proportion of active American Catholics are no longer able to confine the value orientations gained in assimilation to their secular lives alone. And a few are beginning to reflect these orientations back upon their Church with profound consequences in the current period. One result has been emergence of Catholic reinterpretation and self-criticism.

This trend began unobtrusively in theological circles a decade and a half before Vatican II. In the late 1940's, Murray reintroduced in theological terms the issue of Church and state relationships, defending a pluralistic conception (Callahan, 1963, pp. 94-95). Then in the 1950's, a small group of writers for Commonweal, America and Cross Currents had risen to attack the Catholic "anti-intellectualism" of the McCarthy era (Callahan, 1963, pp. 96-97). In the same period, however, the "sputnik" episode occurred, which triggered a general movement in America of educational reevaluation. The Catholic version of this was pioneered by the historian Ellis' criticism (1955) of American Catholic culture as being partially responsible

for the lack of Catholic scholarship.⁴⁰ Ellis wrote:

The chief blame, I firmly believe, lies with Catholics themselves. It lies in their frequently self-imposed ghetto mentality which prevents them from mingling as they should with their non-Catholic colleagues, and in their lack of industry. . . . It lies in their failure to have measured up to their responsibilities to the incomparable tradition of Catholic learning of which they are the direct heirs (as quoted in Callahan, 1963, p. 97).

The circle of critics then widened rapidly, but it was O'Dea (1958) who broadened the base of criticism itself by analyzing some of the sociological and historical factors involved in the traditional opposition of the Church to major intellectual developments, especially scientific, and singled out the "basic characteristics of the American Catholic milieu which inhibit the development of mature intellectual activity" (p. 155). These characteristics, he reported, were "formalism," "authoritarianism," "clericalism," "moralism," and "defensiveness." Of formalism, he wrote:

First there is intellectual formalism, whereby "demonstration" replaces search, abstractions replace experience, formulae replace content, and rationalistic elaboration replaces genuine ontological insight. Philosophy so taught restricts by its very rigidity the activity of the exploring mind by conducting it only into familiar and shallow channels (p. 155).

And:

A second category of formalism can be seen in the Catholic tendency to see the world as "finished," and

⁴⁰For a general review of this question, see O'Dea (1958, Chapter 1) and Callahan (1963, pp. 99-100).

all things in it as obvious in their essence and meaning. Those things which are of spiritual significance have been clearly labelled for what they are. Outside this sphere, the things which are not immoral are morally neutral. As a result, the life of man in the world, the human enterprise as a metaphysical reality, has no interior relation to the spiritual development of the human person, in so far as it does not involve breaking the rules of morality conceived as quasi-legal formulae. Human fulfillment and Christian fulfillment are not seen as interpenetrating processes. They are separated and even segregated from each other. Thus the secular is not seen as valuable to the spiritual quest of man (p. 156).

Regarding authoritarianism, he argued:

This factor is expressed in various ways. It derives from a misunderstanding of the role of ecclesiastical authority, and it seeks to impose solutions to problems by the pronouncement of formal statements.
.....

The same factor is seen also in the tendency to rely on the sanction of custom and convention to support majority opinions or the views of institutionalized authority. It combines with formalism to produce a world view in terms of which the statement of a problem bears the solution in it, thus closing the door to lively debate; each thing can be put in its proper category; there is no question which cannot be answered (not to mention the question which cannot be framed): the result is the illusion of a neat universe in which nothing eludes the conceptions of a searching mind.
. . . The creative tension between the Catholic scholar and the Catholic community is too often reduced to the relationship between a mischiefmaker and a policeman. Such distortions of the legitimate authority structure of the Church whereby persons in authority take upon themselves all the intellectual functions of the community--which, in the nature of the case, they are incapable of exercising--cannot but cripple genuine creativity (pp. 158-159).

On clericalism, O'Dea maintained:

This factor implies that those who make ecclesiastical decisions often tend to see the problems, tasks, risks, and achievements of the Christian life solely from the

professional perspective of the priest as an ecclesiastical official. It results in denying to God's creation its proper ontological value. This is what Père Congar has called the inability to see the values involved in the secular as secular. This tendency is increased by that false extension of the monastic outlook of which we have spoken, which sees the secular only as the object of ascetic exercises. The secular seems, in such a view, to have been created in order to be avoided. Such tendencies are analogous to what is found in all human organizations where officials and specialists see the over-all purposes of the organizations in terms of their own role. Clericalism, which is the peculiar form that this tendency takes in a Catholic setting, combines with formalism and authoritarianism to impose its own view upon the laity, who, trained under clerical influence, are passive, although often demurring, in face of such attitudes (p. 159).

The moralism dimension was summarized in the following manner:

This factor involves the tendency to see the world as devoid of ontological value and spiritual significance but instead to regard it almost exclusively as a place of moral danger to the Christian soul. Creation tends to be viewed as a possible occasion of sin. Instead of presenting a metaphysical challenge and a vocation for the lay Christian in terms of creatures and their significance, life is seen as a series of moral problems. Its dangers are to be shunned. Often such moralism tends toward a kind of ethical formalism or legalism. In such a view life has no real spiritual value, hence the knowledge which, according to Aristotle, all men naturally desire as a central part of that life has none either. From this neo-Jansenism grafted onto a lower-middle-class mentality little can be hoped for in terms of intellectual activity (p. 160).

And, finally, on the defensiveness dimension, O'Dea reported:

This factor derives from a long history of minority status, disability, prejudice and even persecution, and it tends to produce rigidity. All the foregoing

tendencies are reinforced by the strongly felt need to repulse attack, whether real or imagined. Moreover, defensiveness tends to keep us from examining our condition in a frank and calm manner. There is considerable reason to believe that such a tendency is giving way in our day to a more secure and more mature reaction to the situation. When we consider the present size of the Catholic community and the progress that we have shown in many spheres of life in America in the recent past, such defensiveness is fast becoming an unworthy sectarianism (pp. 160-161).

As Callahan has reported (pp. 103-123), this self-critical attitude spread rapidly, and such diverse Catholic periodicals as America, Commonweal, The Sign, Ave Maria, Cross Currents, Jubilee, Perspectives and many diocesan newspapers began to carry indictments of the "lack of hierarchical leadership" and "lay apathy" in such problem areas as liturgy reform, family planning, economic and social injustice, nuclear war, and the lack of lay rights in the Church and in Catholic schools and colleges. Significantly, this trend antedated the Second Vatican Council and can be seen primarily as a product of the American Catholic experience. Many were expressions of a growing American social consciousness in the late 1950's associated with the emergence of the civil rights movement. Then, the election of a Catholic to the Presidency and the Vatican Council itself combined to provide, on the one hand, a new-found self-assurance and, on the other, a challenge to change. We can here note only a few highlights of the multitude of

progressive reactions that have dominated the American Catholic scene during the last five years.

Nearly all of these reactions, as those already noted above, involve in one way or another the value orientational incompatibilities latent in the traditional Catholic and contemporary American cultures. Some churchmen attempt to reinterpret the Church or some facet of it in terms of modern value orientations, like Baum's presentation. Others, like O'Dea, set in bold relief the value orientational incompatibilities and, in doing so, leave no doubt in the reader's mind as to where they stand on the issue. Some present highly abstract philosophical and theological arguments, others sociologically documented analyses, and still others highly emotionally charged indictments. A few examples will serve to demonstrate the range of topics treated and the variety of rhetorics employed.⁴¹

⁴¹Although contemporary progressives tend to place more emphasis upon Gospel sources and some recent papal encyclicals, both conservative apologists and critics alike support their positions with highly selective references to authoritative religious writings. Therefore, because the issue of religious legitimation does not critically discriminate nor enlighten the issues involved, we shall have little occasion to note them, despite the fact that they are of central phenomenological importance to those involved in religious controversy. Sociologically, they are essentially constants.

One of the most thorny and complex issues in the Church today is that relating to religious freedom. At the risk of great over-simplification, three aspects of the question may be differentiated. One concerns the rights of the state to limit the expression of religious beliefs and practises. The second concerns the responsibility of the Church to defend the rights of non-Catholics to express their beliefs and practises. The third concerns the right of the Church to limit the expression of Catholics of religious beliefs and practises which are not supported by the Church. On all three of these aspects of the religious freedom issue the official Church has historically upheld the authoritarian position, explicitly or tacitly. Such a stand, however, runs counter to the American Catholic experience, not only in the sense that Catholics had internalized the American political notion of "free exercise of religion" (Herberg, 1960, pp. 150-151), but that American Catholicism itself had prospered in a pluralistic system.

It was largely due to the efforts of the American theologian, John Courtney Murray, that the Vatican Council adopted the Declaration of Religious Freedom (Abbott, 1966, pp. 675-696). Linked to a concept of "human dignity" the decree itself was restricted to the first aspect of the religious freedom issue and affirms only the Church's opposition to a state's use of coercion in matters

pertaining to religious expression where the "public order" is not threatened. Needless to say, such a position, while welcomed by Catholic progressives, did not begin to deal with even the Church-state relationship in a comprehensive way consistent with American Catholic and non-Catholic liberal, political and legal perspectives (see Canavan, 1966, pp. 65-80; Rosenblum, 1966, pp. 109-119; and Denenfeld, 1966, pp. 120-132). Many American Catholic churchmen themselves saw in it only a "beginning," as the title of the recent symposium in which the above articles appeared suggests: Religious Liberty: An End and a Beginning.

Murray was himself dissatisfied with the general development of the idea of "human dignity" in the scheme adopted (1966, p. 38). Murray's position went considerably beyond that explicitly adopted by the Council, as his following remarks suggest:

This human requirement for an environment of freedom is more stringent in what concerns man's relation with God. This relation is personal in that it is immediate, a relation of person to person. Therefore, it is to be freely entered, in response to the divine initiative. And in further consequence, the responsibility for the nature of the response, whether acceptance or rejection, is inexorably a personal responsibility, not to be shared with others or assumed by others, much less shifted onto others.

On all these counts it clearly appears that coercion brought to bear upon the human subject, especially in what concerns his relation with God, is not only a useless irrelevance but also a damaging intrusion. It does injury to man's personal autonomy. It stupidly seeks to replace what is irreplaceable. It does violence to the

very texture of the human condition, which is a condition of personal responsibility. The conclusion is that an exigence for immunity from coercion is resident in the human person as such. It is an exigence of his dignity as a moral subject. This exigence is the source of the fundamental rights of the person--those politico-civil rights concerning the search for truth, artistic creation, scientific discovery, and the development of man's political views, moral convictions, and religious beliefs. In all these areas of human life, in which the values of the human spirit are directly at stake, the human person has the right to immunity from coercion--the right to the establishment and maintenance about himself of a zone of freedom, into which others are not permitted forcibly to intrude. This right is asserted against all "the others" --other individuals, others organized in social groups, and especially the impersonal "other" that is the state, the institutionalized agencies of law and government (pp. 39-40).

Interwoven in Murray's statement are suggestions of other prominent American value orientations linked to a more general theme of freedom--namely a rejection of coercion in political and scientific areas, an emphasis on the individual, his rights and responsibilities, etc.

The Belgian commentator at the conference noted above, van Massenhove, broached the second aspect of the religious freedom issue, thus:

As a Catholic I hope that the whole of human society will some day be identical with the people of God, the Church. But I am afraid that it will only happen on the Day of Judgment, when there will no longer be any question of a Roman Catholic Church, but when God will have become all things to all men. To act as if on some portion of earth this day has already come is to keep up precisely the fiction of a Catholic state, of a state that, as a near contradiction in terms, has to resort to coercion in order to ensure something that has no sense if it is not

the fruit of a free adherence. So I rejoice at the internationalization of society that makes the intolerant confessional state more and more impossible. I rejoice at the principle of distinction, even separation of Church and state, and even at the secularization of society, by which the Church can really be the pilgrim people of God (1966, p. 154).

And,

As a Catholic I conclude: where we are a minority, we have the right to claim freedom and recognition because of our eminent contribution to culture, morality, and the sense of the ultimate, spiritual value of mankind. Where we are the majority, we are strictly bound to grant to others the largest amount of freedom to be themselves before God. We are thought to love others, and to love somebody is, in the first place, to respect and to some extent strengthen his being different (1966, p. 157).

And at the same symposium, the American Jesuit, McKenzie (1966b) made the case for the argument that extra-Church religious freedom was contingent upon intra-Church freedom, the third aspect of the religious freedom issue. He asserted,

The conciliar decree is a beginning and not an end. It should help Christians, and in particular Roman Catholic Christians for whom it speaks, to understand that religious freedom for all men is not a matter of tolerance or concession or compromise with a lesser evil. It is an act of virtue, an act of Christian love, and an act of apostolic zeal. It guarantees the Gospel against corruption (1966b, p. 104).

And then,

There is a final aspect of the decree that does not really fall within the scope of the decree. . . . This aspect is religious freedom within the Church as well as outside it . . . freedom is of one piece; either you believe in it or you do not. . . . Examination shows that it is Christian freedom within the Church that best guarantees, at least for Christians, freedom of other religions. The Church can be no more

convinced of the right of freedom of those who are her members. The history of the failure of the Church to speak clearly on religious freedom is accompanied by a history of her failure to accord her members that personal dignity and power of decision that is theirs as Christians. This history is so long and so complex that we now find ourselves in the position of reaching for something we are not sure we want and defending something we are not sure we like. Let no one be apprehensive about demands for excessive freedom. For what it is worth, my experience is that most Catholics are afraid of freedom and do not even want as much as they have. And because they are afraid of it for themselves, they are afraid of it for others. No doubt this attitude is changing in what is called "the new breed," and it would be interesting to be around long enough to see how "new" the new breed is in 1986. . . .

In evading freedom Catholics evade their responsibility. They permit the character of their Christian fulfillment to be determined by another. Where they ought to look for leadership they look for control, and it must be said that they have little trouble in finding it (1966b, pp. 104-105).

He ended his discussion with the following endorsement of major change in the Church, which he viewed as inevitable and desirable.

We are, I think, on the eve of some important structural changes. These changes can put Christian fulfillment within a nearer reach of Catholics than is now possible. These changes can be conducted in an orderly fashion, for the Church has the resources to grow without the mess of revolution. But she will grow, and those who attempt to stop history will have the difficulties usually experienced by those who attempt it. . . . The Church can survive the disorder of development better than she can stand the living death of organized immobility. We have not yet seen that the Declaration of Religious Freedom has profound implications within the life of the Church as well as in her posture toward the world. With the declaration the Church has

disclosed her true identity, and it will be impossible to conceal it in the future (1966, p. 106).⁴²

Callahan, in his book on the American Catholic layman (1963), has related the freedom issue within the context of the contemporary clergy-laity relationship:

At first glance, it might appear irrelevant to stress the role of obedience in the priest's life. What possible bearing could it have on his relationship with the layman? Unfortunately, it does have considerable bearing, first, on the way it forms a priest's outlook toward the layman. If it leads him to see respect for authority as the greatest of virtues, then he is very unlikely to appreciate the layman's need for personal exercise of responsibility. If docility and passivity are seen as pre-eminent marks of the Christian, then self-initiated and self-directed acts are likely to be viewed only as signs of rebellion or sinful pride. If an orderly chain of command and an orderly bureaucracy are seen as models for all human organizations, then there will be very little room for small, flexible, self-sustaining lay groups or purely individual initiative. If paternalism is taken to be the surest way to maintain order and conformity of thought, then the whole idea of a lay apostolate becomes meaningless.

Second, the role of obedience bears on the degree of freedom which the priest may exercise in behalf of the laity. As the parish and the diocese are structured today, there is little opportunity for the individual priest to grant what he personally may recognize as a legitimate request. He cannot institute liturgical reforms without episcopal permission. He cannot delegate major responsibilities to laymen. He cannot restructure parish organizations as laymen might desire. He cannot institute building programs without permission. If he is a curate, he can do no more than the pastor will allow him to do. If he is a pastor he cannot act without the consent of his bishop. To be sure, the degree of discipline exercised varies considerably from

⁴²For a more detailed exposition of McKenzie's position, see his Authority in the Church (1966a). See also Oraison (1959).

parish to parish, and from diocese to diocese. But in few dioceses is a priest allowed to forget that his first loyalty is to the bishop. Rarely does a priest live in fear of his parishioners; yet he commonly lives in fear of his bishop. The great merit of this system is a well-disciplined body of priests. Order and authority are served. But it is a system which makes it exceedingly difficult for a priest to respond quickly, flexibly and imaginatively to the changing circumstances of the layman. If not by choice, then by necessity, the organization of the Church must be served first; after that comes the layman (pp. 135-136).

He also made explicit the operation of "conflicts of values" and "tensions" generated as a consequence of the layman's participation in both the Church and society (pp. 151 ff.), and underscored the issue of freedom in his conclusion in the following manner:

Regrettably, a lack of freedom in some non-theological and non-moral areas in the Church is recognized to be a major handicap to the development of the kind of layman the Church now needs in order to make its voice heard in the world. The layman is called upon to be vigorous, courageous and outspoken in secular society--but he is rarely encouraged (though he may be permitted) to be any of these things within the Church itself. He is told that the Church approves of the kind of give and take which prevails in American life--but he finds that it is hesitant to allow it within the Church. He is told that the Catholic school and college are as good a training ground for democracy as the public institution --yet he knows full well that the virtues often lauded within them are discipline, obedience and uniformity of opinion. He is asked, finally, to be a prophetic voice in society--but he may well be courting trouble if he tries to raise such a voice within the Church.

Now the great difficulty here is not the divinely ordained authority of the Church in matters of faith and morals. Rarely does this pose a genuine problem of conscience for the layman. The real difficulty is authoritarianism: that cluster of inclinations, concepts and attitudes which is fearful of individual freedom, reliant upon the force of law and coercion

to sustain belief, and convinced the only discipline of any value is that imposed by others. It would be false to imply that the authoritarian spirit reigns supreme in the Church, especially in America. The layman does, in fact, have open to him many options and can exercise considerable freedom. For all that, the impulse among Catholic churchmen toward freedom seems weaker than toward authoritarianism (p. 175).

In their recent book The De-Romanization of the American Catholic Church, Wakin and Scheuer (1966), after reviewing many aspects of contemporary American Catholic life, concluded with a discussion of the "ideological contrasts" between the American Church and the American environment, the dominant perspectives of which they labelled "Roman" and "Anglo-Saxon," respectively.⁴³ They maintained,

The United States is dominated by an Anglo-Saxon orientation--which incorporates much more than the higher status accorded white Anglo-Saxon Protestants. The Catholic Church in America has been dominated by Romanism--which involves a more profound control than that of Italian pope and Roman Curia.

The conflict, at bottom, is between two fundamental points of view, two wholesale orientations, even two historical contexts. It is not a religious conflict concerning faith and morals, but a social, cultural, and intellectual phenomenon. American Catholics are caught between seemingly immovable Roman traits and irresistible Anglo-Saxon tendencies (p. 281).

These "traits" and "tendencies" they reported in the following way:

⁴³ Although there are inadequacies in their analysis from a sociological perspective (see esp. Neal's review [1966b]), their candor in exposing value orientational conflicts is exemplary of recent trends noted above.

The Romanized community of Catholics reflected an emphasis on authority, a focus on privilege, a corporate context, and an otherworldly orientation. All four stood in ideological contrast with the familiar Anglo-Saxon qualities of freedom, egalitarianism, personal responsibility, and a this-worldly vision (p. 284).

Although they claimed to present an objective, empirical analysis (pp. 7-8), they unmistakably expressed their bias in favor of "de-Romanization" in writing:

In America, Catholics have the opportunity to overcome Roman trammels and absorb Anglo-Saxon tendencies in a conducive environment. The American experience is on their side, with its freedom from European shibboleths and its impatience with inhibiting traditions (p. 289).

And,

The future character of Catholicism in the United States depends on how much of the Roman is uprooted and how much of the Anglo-Saxon (or American) is added (p. 281).

Wakin and Scheuer (1966) quoted Callahan's egalitarian presentation of Church structure, which is as follows:

The whole Church is the People of God. That means the Church is a community, made up of people each with different gifts, vocations and functions, but each sharing a common humanity, equality and destiny in the eyes of God. Some will have the power of orders (priests); some will have the power of jurisdiction (bishops and popes); some will have neither of these powers (the laity). Nonetheless, these different functions do not disturb the Christian equality of each person; and that is a significant basis for personal freedom. Even amidst a hierarchical order, Christian equality implies a fraternal relationship of those teaching and those taught, of ruler and ruled. Those who rule can only do so by serving, and the

spirit of service will be demonstrated by humility and openness (p. 286).

Even in this discussion of the Church hierarchy, Callahan's implicit preference for "horizontal" inter-status relationships over the "vertical," which we have argued have been characteristic of the official Church, is clear. The operation of similar prevalent "American" value of orientations can be seen in most of Callahan's writings interpreting the present conditions in the American Church.

In his book on the Catholic layman cited above (1963), Callahan traced in a highly balanced fashion the history of the American Catholic layman, and examined many of the complexities involved in the role of the contemporary layman associated with his societal and Church participation. In summing up, he claimed there exists a "broad consensus" on the Catholic's role in society, which he reported in the following manner:

Christianity, far from being opposed to the material world, is a religion of incarnation, a religion which has the obligation to accept and redeem the world. While the Christian's ultimate destiny is union with God, he must work out his salvation in this world. One cannot call oneself a Christian if one does not seek justice in this world for the oppressed, if one is not sensitive to the cares and needs of the suffering and persecuted, if one does not attempt to make one's deepest values visible and effective in society. Racial discrimination, the underdeveloped nations, the impact of automation and technology, poverty and the maldistribution of wealth, the life of reason, the arts, political institutions--all these are the proper province and concern of the Christian. And above all, they are

the special concern of the layman. He lives in the world; it is up to him to redeem it (pp. 172-173).

The this-worldly emphasis is clear, as is its activist, humanitarian orientation. Similarly, he argued that another consensus exists on the layman's role in the Church; and then he added:

Along with this consensus still another one has emerged: the layman must have a more significant role to play in the Church itself. It is unnecessary to describe again here those lay aspirations and desires already spoken of in previous chapters: greater freedom of speech in the Church, fuller participation in the liturgy, less clerical paternalism, a more responsible role for the trained layman. It is sufficient only to say that those laymen and priests who dissent from this common opinion are fewer every year (p. 173).

In Callahan's Honesty in the Church (1965), he admonished Catholics to aspire to greater candor about their Church and their religion. Long familiar to sociologists and social psychologists are the patterns and mechanisms by which organizations and individuals strive to build "image" and "present self." Callahan merely exposed some of those frequently employed in the public life of his Church and in the lives of Catholics and attempted to show their dysfunctional consequences.⁴⁴ Callahan summarized

⁴⁴This has also been an important theme of Klüng (1965), Rahner (1963b) and other leading contemporary Catholic theologians who emphasize the fact that the Church is a "Sinful Church." Candor on matters of faith has also become a prominent theme in Protestant theology since Bultmann's call for a "demythologizing" of Christianity. See,

his aspirations thusly:

1. In the public life of the Church, honesty will consist of a persistent effort to remove false appearances. This means that those in a position to present, explain, and defend the Church to those outside the Church and within it will scrupulously avoid doing or saying anything which makes the Church appear to be something which it is not. They will disavow distorted representations of the Church's doctrines, especially in claiming for them a clarity and unanimity of acceptance when these do not obtain. They will avoid overinflated rhetoric whose sole aim is that of embellishing the image of the Church and making misleading appeals to unregulated emotions. They will disavow those pious conventions which tend to strengthen the false idea that the Church is an abstract entity which has no essential contact with the rough realities of human sin and finiteness. Public honesty will, moreover, entail the open recognition and admission of the existence of unresolved problems and dilemmas in the Church. They will not be concealed, nor will efforts be made to find ingenious ways of explaining them as "signs of growth," "healthy adjustments," "fruitful difficulties," unless there are solid reasons for doing so.

2. In the private life of the Catholic, honesty will consist of the total willingness of a person to admit to himself the reality of his human self and the actual state of his faith. This will mean, most importantly, that he will have the ability and the courage to confront and confess to himself any difficulties and doubts about his belief in God and in the Church. He will be sharply aware of any discrepancies between what he has been taught he must believe and what he does in fact believe. In addition, he will be able and willing to admit these discrepancies in public. Finally, private honesty will demand that the Catholic take all necessary steps to resolve any discrepancies he may discover--not by isolating his problems and ignoring them; not by grasping for easy solutions to them; not by willing them out of existence; not by leaning on others--but by daring to face them and to

for example, John A. T. Robinson's Honest to God (1963) and James A. Pike, A Time for Christian Candor (1964).

live with them regardless of the spiritual and mental stress they may cause.

In both public and private honesty, then, the ultimate aim will be to eliminate any trace of dualism. There must not be two Churches, one for public consumption and another for contemplation behind closed doors. There must not be two selves, one for bland, external conformity to law, custom, and authority, and one which is secret, known only to an individual himself. The Catholic must not be a performer, one who stages a public show in the name of the Church or a show within his private world for the sake of allaying his anxieties (pp. 101-103).

Taking seriously this plea for "personal honesty," a priest, James Kavanaugh, has recently exposed his alienation from his Church in an impassioned plea for change in his book, A Modern Priest Looks at His Out-Dated Church (1967). Concerned with a variety of issues--Church "legalism," problems of the priest in serving his Church with "Christian love," celibacy, the layman, the parish, "the loss of personalism," confession, guilt and sin, marriage, sex, divorce, birth control, Catholic schools, convent life, and Catholic--non-Catholic relations, Kavanaugh's presentation is neither theological nor sociological, but a prophetic sermon and public confession. Indicative of the general tone of his book, he wrote of his Church,

It is an arrogant Church that knows no way except the way of law. It is a smug Church that can keep a billion children waiting for its word [on birth control]. It is proud Church that can hold its ears and ignore a million voices raised in pain. It is an un-Christian Church that can lose ideals in a multitude of laws. It is a desperate Church that has lost its confidence in men, an angry Church that can bristle and condemn. Yet it is my Church, and I will not walk away in silence and a wounded heart.

If I did not love her, I would not pause to write.
. . . But I cannot be silent when I see her love im-
poverished into law (pp. 13-14).

of his seminary training,

It was an education without sympathy, a training without recourse. I heard what I was supposed to hear, and said what the administration expected me to say. Rebels were weeded out. Only the strong and legal-minded, or the naive and passive, could last. Creativity was discouraged unless it pursued the accepted patterns which cautious minds approved. "Heresy" was a word which ended every argument, and "the Church teaches" was the narrow outline of every debate. I was not educated, I was formed. I was not encouraged to think, but trained to defend. I was not asked to reflect, but to memorize (p. 21).

of the Catholic,

He has nothing to learn from Lutherans, no wisdom to be gained from Jews, Masons are a mob of greedy and vengeful men who love to persecute the Church. Atheists are proud and selfish, agnostics educated beyond their brains. Scientists are suspect unless they join the Church, doctors are proud and dangerous unless they listen to the Pope. Thus, the Catholic man cannot truly know the meaning of dialogue, but only give arguments to defend the position he has inherited from his youth. His back is up before his mind begins to work, and he has his defenses well laid before his brother has had a chance to speak (p. 35).

of his parish,

History offers no finer example of monarchy than the normal Catholic parish. It is a society without genuine channels of recourse, a structure fortified against effective complaint (p. 41).

of "legalism,"

God is not dead, Catholic theology is! And even the modern efforts are too feeble and too gentle to bring it back to life. The legalist rules! He is the man who solves every doubt by a new and narrow law (p. 73).

I hate the legalism of my Church. I hate what it has done to me. It tells me that I must pray my breviary an hour every day. It binds me under pain of sin, because it cannot believe that I will willingly give my time to prayer (p. 74).

I hate the legalism that obliges me to anoint corpses with the holy oil of the last rites in hopes that a soul yet lingers in a cold body. . . . It is superstitious magic. . . . In my heart I know I am wasting my time, that even if the body still nourishes life, the unconscious and dying man needs no oil of mine to lead him to his God. But I have forced myself to keep the law and to keep alive the simple ignorance that the Middle Ages handed modern Catholic men.

I condemn the legalist who can tell a Catholic that he must be married by a priest.

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I hate the legalism that tells a Catholic girl that her maid of honor must be a member of her Church (p. 75).

I hate the legalism that teaches Catholics about indulgences and measures the amount of help that they can provide for purgatory's suffering souls. . . .

I hate the legalism that tells Catholics they cannot participate in the rites of another Church (p. 76).

I despise the legalism that forbids a non-Catholic friend to receive communion in my Church. . . .

I hate the legalism that preserves the ceremonies that have lost their meaning and explains the ancient rites that time has robbed of power to inspire men. . . .

I reject the legalism that tells me I must support the Catholic schools to be loyal to my faith, the law that demands that Catholics support their Church while pastors erect expensive monuments to themselves. . . .

And our poor, timid theology stands back and permits the legalism to make madmen of us all. I hate the legalistic theology that can describe the angels

and divide them all in choirs, that can name the devils and tell frightened men that evil spirits lure them into sin. . . .

Legalism has drained our theology, enslaved our people, made hostile our non-Catholic friends. It permits bishops to stomp on priests, to ignore problems, to hoard money, to live in splendor, and to forget the poor. . . .

Legalism allows Catholics to feel holy when they are only docile, Christian when they are only the scrupulous observers of rules (pp. 77-78).

The legal mind is a restricted and impoverished mind which cannot move without a law to support each flicker of its brain. . . .

But we are Catholics, too, those of us who will not be bound by empty law. We will not abandon our Christ because a legalist says we must. . . . We want a Church that will serve us in our search for happiness and fulfillment, and not smother us before we discover who we are (p. 79).

We need not cite more of his many frank, if highly emotional, reactions to his everyday experiences as a priest in a Church which he claimed had "lost [its] vision of God" and compassion for human suffering. Notwithstanding what Baum has called Kavanaugh's "perfect doctrinal orthodoxy," it is clear that he rejects what he regards as absolutistic, defensive, separatist, formal, ritualistic, traditionalistic, ascetic, externally conforming, group superiority, hierarchically restrictive, collective and authoritarian emphases in the Church's culture. And in his humanitarian-based plea is reflected the operation of many internalized value orientations of American culture, which we have sketched above.

Basic to Kavanaugh's perspective and to the current period is a growing tendency in modern Catholic theology to adopt an "existential" approach, that is, to ground religious relevance, formulation and ethics in the phenomenological here and now. The immediate historical origin of this movement is European, but many American Catholic theologians and priests appear to have adopted it. Such an approach is as inconsistent with traditional Thomism as it is compatible with American pragmatic philosophy, which in so many ways informs secular American culture. We have seen examples of this trend in Baum's reinterpretation of the concept of calling, his rejection of traditional dualism, and in his emphasis upon the social sources of spirituality and law and in O'Dea's criticism of "formalism." This is also the foremost element in Kavanaugh's outspoken anti-"legalism" (see esp. Chapters 5 and 6).

Although Kavanaugh's book did not appear during the period of our field work at St. Anthony's, numerous self-critical or reinterpetive expositions on the Church already had been published. They expressed a wide range of opinion on numerous topics and in different rhetorics; notable among those not discussed above were: Hans Küng's The Council, Reform and Reunion (1965 [orig. 1961]); Gustave Weigel's Faith and Understanding in America (1962 [orig. 1959]) and his Catholic Theology in Dialogue (1965); Yves Congar's

Power and Poverty in the Church (1964); John Courtney Murray's The Problem of Religious Freedom (1965); John McKenzie's Authority and the Church (1966); Michael Novak's A New Generation (1964); George H. Tavard's The Church Tomorrow (1965); Joseph Fletcher's Situation Ethics (1966); John F. Noonan's Contraception (1965); and William DuBay's The Human Church (1966). Needless to say, articles were even more numerous and varied.⁴⁵

But Catholic reappraisals and self-criticism were not confined to the books and articles of a small circle of dissident priests and intellectuals. In the 1960's a new found self-assurance was expressed in the activism of a growing number of priests, members of associations of religious and laymen, and was given widespread attention in the public press. Many became active in the civil rights movement (prominent cases were J. Clement Burns, William DuBay, and Maurice Ouellet--all priests), in the peace movement (notably Jesuit Daniel Berrigan and his brother Philip --also a priest), in the folk liturgy movement (the priest John J. DeWitt's efforts in a Detroit Negro slum parish were nationally publicized), in new forms of ecumenical encounter, etc. And many rebuked the Church for lack of

⁴⁵For a representative sample of recent diverse modern Catholic thought expressed in articles, see Caponigri's two-volume collection (1965).

"sincere commitment" to these causes. Growing dissatisfaction with clerical celibacy among priests--especially younger priests--was not only debated in scholarly and non-scholarly articles, symposia and books, but was also reported in polls (Fichter's survey reported in the National Catholic Reporter [1966] indicated that 62% of the priests who replied favored a change) and expressed in the highly publicized marriages of some priests (the case of England's leading Catholic theologian, Charles Davis, occurred during our study, and the marriages of Anthony Girandola and of the Jesuit Lawrence Cross were given a national attention).

Many priests and members of religious communities began to express their protests against the Church's authority system, "legalism," and traditional interpretations of the vow of obedience. Some went so far as to attempt the establishment of a union to secure the rights of priests in the Church (esp. William DuBay's efforts here). Leading American canonists, traditionally quite conservative, surprisingly called for major revisions in canon law, e.g., the abolition of censorship of books by withholding the imprimatur; a public system of judicial review and appeal; a bill of rights for those accused of violations of Church law; greater allowance for local variation in applying the code; and a reappraisal of the role of women in the Church (suggesting female ordination might be considered at some future

time).

Protests by lay groups seeking a larger role in diocesan and parished planning emerged (e.g., Archbishop [now Cardinal] Cody of Chicago was given a "manifesto" in March of 1967 by a group of laymen calling for lay participation in the selection of major ecclesiastical officials, archdiocesan "financial accountability," lay membership on Catholic school boards, etc.). A growing number of universities and colleges established and controlled by religious orders augmented their boards of trustees with laymen (e.g., St. Louis, John Carroll, Loyola [of Chicago] and Fordham Universities [Jesuit] and the Universities of Notre Dame and Portland [Holy Cross Fathers]). And Webster College (formerly run by the Sisters of Loretto) was the first Catholic college to become a secular college. At many Catholic American schools, lay and clerical faculties were organizing and demonstrating for a greater faculty voice in university affairs and protesting the "unjustified" firings of teachers (e.g., St. John's University and Catholic University). As we have already noted, seminary training came under severe attack (see Lee and Putz, 1965). As a result new proposals were advanced: (Woodstock College [Jesuit] was considering affiliating with Yale Divinity School, an interdenominational Protestant seminary; and a Maryknoll Seminary priest, Eugene C. Kennedy, proposed a

coeducational seminary), a few seminaries hired non-Catholic teachers, and extensive curriculum revision was nearly universal. Monks and nuns were proposing to leave their monasteries and convents to live in central cities, to work in regular jobs and carry on an active apostolic life by "example."

American Catholics were told of an alleged lack of theological sophistication and leadership exhibited by most of their bishops participating at Vatican II, and a few began to become informed about the revolutionary proposals of some French, Dutch and German theologians on human sexuality and traditional Church dogma. For example, the French priest Marc Oraison's liberal views on sex and psychoanalysis, and the Dutch Dominican Schillebeeckx's rejection of the validity of such keystones of traditional Catholic faith as the virginity of Mary, the literal Resurrection, original sin, the existence of heaven and hell (not to speak of purgatory and limbo), were becoming known. For the first time, a few American Catholic priests and laymen were also beginning to publicly expose their own questionings of dogma. Indicating, however, the isolation of the Catholic American from the intellectual temper of the age, the Catholic philosopher Michael Novak has urged the following corrective:

Finally, I'd like to suggest that many Americans have yet to live through the crisis of unbelief which has been experienced by our civilization generally in the great wars of our time. We ought in our own lives to recapitulate this history of the last several generations, the history of those generations which for one reason or another severely criticized and usually rejected religious belief. We ought to live through it until we understand it, until we sympathize with it, until we feel it, until it has become part of us: this critique of religion, this purification, if you will. We ought to do that in part so that we can make our own free choice, so that when we renew our baptismal vows, it's a real renewal, it's our commitment (quoted in Wakin and Scheuer, 1966, p. 291).

That a small minority of American Catholics already have experienced or are likely to suffer through a "crisis of unbelief" is clear, but that one who has done so is willing to endorse it as a method of "renewal" is unprecedented.

On the ecumenical front, however, new experiments were being conducted on all levels. Non-Catholic speakers were invited to speak on religious topics in monasteries, Holy Name groups, etc.; local ministerial councils included Catholic priests in most communities throughout the United States; laymen were meeting in similar encounters. Rarer ecumenical efforts included the establishment of an interfaith monastery (since suppressed) and several churches (most notably St. Mark's in Kansas City, Missouri, staffed by a Catholic priest and three Protestant ministers); the recognition of mutual sacraments; acceptance of an interfaith Bible translation (Cardinal Cushing gave his

Imprimatur to the Oxford Edition of the Revised Standard Version of the Bible; and conjoint projects of the Masons and the Knights of Columbus: but they did occur and were widely publicized.

In most parishes throughout the country, altars were modified, English replaced Latin in most of the Mass, Protestant hymns were introduced, and other liturgical and musical innovations appeared.

These and many other trends and events, unthinkable a short decade or so ago, indicated an increasing receptivity to change, reflecting, we have maintained, a conjoint operation of the changing socio-economic and educational base of the American Catholic population and Vatican II's influence. But apart from Church instituted changes, only a small minority of American Catholics--as articulate and growing as that minority seems to have been--were beginning to reflect back onto their Church and religious lives the more exclusively religious values of their Church and the values of the larger American society. The vast majority of the hierarchy, the older clergy and laity still appear to have been products of the ghetto or transitional stages of the American Church, and in the 1960's were not only not involved in these trends, but were sometimes severely alienated by them.⁴⁶ Not infrequently, bishops and superiors have

⁴⁶The most extreme reactions to recent Church changes and programs were those of the opposition to

criticized or attempted to suppress them. Indeed, without exception, all of the activist leaders cited on pp. 226 and 227 above were disciplined by their superiors.

This brings us to another force in the environment of St. Anthony's which played a role in events which occurred during the study--the tendency of the American bishops and Pope Paul VI not to respond as quickly or in the directions desired of them consonant with the rising aspirations for "reform" among many Catholics, triggered by Vatican II.

For example, the current situation of the American Catholic bishops has been characterized by Callahan (1967) in the following way:

But if the bishops showed they could move [i.e., by voting at Vatican II with the "progressive majority"], they also showed that they move much like the rest of mankind, by first looking cautiously about to see where the rest of the herd is going. And that was their undoing. The price they paid for their moment of fame at the Council was the destruction of a deeply ingrained myth: that the Catholic bishop is a wise, omnipotent,

Catholic school desegregation in Plaquemines Parish, Louisiana, by now excommunicated Leander Perez; the stoning of Sister May Angelica by a Catholic mob in the Gage Park area of Chicago while she was participating in a march for integrated housing; and the case of Gommarr A. DePauw (a priest), who led the short-lived Catholic Traditionalist Movement and who was relieved from his post because of his opposition to recent changes in the Church. Most opposition was more subdued, however. For a more typical and balanced conservative position on the post-conciliar American Church, see William L. Doty's Trends and Counter-Trends Among American Catholics (1962).

resplendent figure, inevitably learned, courageous and visionary. Not quite. As a result of the intense public exposure they received, the bishops came out of the Council cut down to ordinary size. They would henceforth be judged by a relentless kind of human logic. Since they voted progressively at the Council, they would be expected to act progressively at the Council, they would be expected to act progressively once they got back home. To their great distress, they discovered they would be openly criticized when they failed. "Put up or shut up" is the suitably descriptive phrase here; and that is of course an American, not a Roman, phrase.

Since the Council, the bishops have neither shut up nor quite put up. . . .

. . . many bishops who might accept the idea of reform began to balk when they see some of its implications unfold under their noses. They would have trouble enough if they had a single-minded zeal to change policies and practices. But few show such zeal; more often they are ambivalent, hesitant, and quick to panic, especially when they feel their authority is being threatened. . . .

Yet in the aftermath of the Council one diocese after another has slowly set about establishing clerical senates to give priests a greater voice in diocesan affairs, laymen have been added to school boards, lay-clerical commissions have been established to foster better relationships with Protestants and Jews. If some bishops have silenced their priests for speaking out on social issues, others have defended the right of their priests to do so (pp. 64-65).

He concluded:

If the bishops are not yet fully alive, neither are they quite dead. They know the pressure is now on them, and that it is growing. No man in a position of authority easily gives up those habits of company loyalty, defensiveness, and isolation which got him the authority in the first place. But that is precisely what the bishops are being called upon to outgrow. No doubt many see this demand as posing a terrible dilemma. Yet it is hardly any more terrible than that felt by their critics. For how does one tell sincere, hardworking, well-motivated men that they may be wrong? That they must run risks? That gradual progress is not fast enough?

It still remains extraordinarily difficult to say these things charitably and productively in the American Catholic Church. But they are being said, sometimes in audible whispers, sometimes in outraged screams. How the bishops finally decide to respond in the months to come will, more than anything else, determine the future of the Church in America. At the moment, the issue is in doubt (p. 71).

But religious orders such as the Order of Mystical Union come directly under the authority of the Holy See and Pope Paul's public acts since Vatican II were even more directly relevant to St. Anthony's than those of the American hierarchy. On the one hand, the Pope took some steps toward reorganizing the Curia and supported in speeches and encyclicals world peace, ecumenicism and economic justice. However, although generally endorsing the implementation of the decrees of Vatican II, when confronting the experimentation, criticism, theological and legal revisionism and dissent within the contemporary Church, his reactions have been, by and large, hesitant or negative. We shall examine three specific instances of the latter and their effects on St. Anthony's shortly.

For progressives like Kavanaugh and the "new breed" who see the hierarchy as "Philistines," the post-conciliar Church has failed utterly. For example, Kavanaugh wrote:

Catholic theology, which died somewhere between Thomas and Tarzan, permits the Pope to be as untouchable as an emperor, the bishop to be an independent lord, and even the pastor to rule without regard for the person that is man. Until Catholic theology

ceases to be an archaic defense of absolute forms, there cannot be persons in the Church. There can be only quiet serfs who await the orders of a king. There can be no protests, no revolutions, no genuine reforms. The years of Vatican II will remain a superficial gesture by a frightened Church, until theology discovers it is dead.

What has Vatican II really done to make us persons?

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Nothing has really changed. We are still as helpless and frightened as before. We will still stand back and watch the humanist struggle with the problems of man. We will continue to preserve the system that has paralyzed us and only offer reforms that are dull and out of date. The authority that forbids us to be persons remains untouchable. The theology that protects this authority is afraid to face itself. . . . But Catholic theology is a barely stirring corpse, too weak and frightened to leave the universities, too superficial to strike at roots, too timid to move among simple and honest men (1967, pp. 64-66).

But criticism of the Church, the Pope and Vatican II-- especially public criticism--was rare indeed among American Catholics, and very few have expressed views such as those which Kavanaugh has.

The third reaction to Vatican II and the contemporary American situation has been that of American lay Catholics themselves, and about them we know precious little.⁴⁷ One thing that is clear, however, is that the American lay reaction has been highly mixed, indicative

⁴⁷ Here we cannot consider the subtleties of Catholic membership, but most surveys employ the standard of the self-identification of the respondent; parishional studies use church attendance, i.e., Fichter's "nuclear," "modal,"

of the diverse social and heterogeneous collectivity that is American Catholicism (Fichter, 1954, pp. 40 ff.).⁴⁸

Callahan (1963) has argued:

Now for many Americans it is taken for granted that a strong measure of aggressive Catholic unity already exists. This is hardly correct. Catholics have been for a number of years sharply divided on many major issues, ranging from domestic politics to the meaning of papal teachings. It is hard to think of a single major national issue within the past decade that did not see Catholics opposed to one another; and the same can be said of a great variety of theological issues. Moreover, since Catholics now occupy all steps on the social ladder, there are important class and educational distinctions among Catholics, differences which in practice lead to many conflicts. As far as Catholics are concerned there are good reasons to doubt the validity of Will Herberg's and Gerhard Lenski's thesis that "the successor of the ethnic sub-community is the socio-religious community." What these observers fail to recognize is that many Catholics resist strenuously any tendency to see their loyalty to the Church as equivalent to an identity with the Catholic "socio-religious community." More precisely, it would be said that Catholics are now faced with a choice between trying to erase any suggestion that such a cohesive social community exists (or should exist) and trying to form such a community and making it a strong social and political reality (pp. 168-169).

The most recent and detailed survey of American Catholic orientations toward their Church and its present circumstances was a Harris poll sponsored by and published in Newsweek (Smith, Waters, McLoughlin and Woodward, 1967). Some of the major findings were:

"marginal" and "dormant" classification; formally the Church's criterion is baptism. Generally, however, we have assumed the survey definition throughout.

⁴⁸For additional support for this, see Fichter (1965) and Greeley and Rossi (1966).

Birth control is easily the most pressing problem for U. S. Catholics, and seven out of ten want the church to lift its ban. In fact, the Newsweek survey found, one Catholic in three now uses the pill or a mechanical contraceptive.

Fifty-nine per cent of Catholics support the church in its stand against abortion. But an equal number said they would approve abortion for a mother of young children if her life were in danger from another pregnancy.

Half the U. S. Catholic population opposes the church's stringent laws against divorce. A majority--65 per cent--says they would like to see the Pope provide annulments allowing remarriages for the innocent party.

Though Catholics are accustomed to a celibate clergy, nearly half of them--48 per cent--feel that priests ought to be allowed to marry.

While three out of four Catholics applaud the general trend toward change, many find some reforms hard to swallow. For example, the U. S. hierarchy's decision to drop Friday abstinence is approved by only 41 per cent, and half of all Catholics still eat fish rather than meat on Friday.

U. S. Catholics draw sharp lines between what they will and will not accept from priests as moral directives. Only one Catholic in five would feel morally bound to follow a priest's instructions to integrate their neighborhood.

A slight majority--58 per cent--consider the Mass the most meaningful experience afforded by their religion and even more (67 per cent) applaud the changes created in the liturgy of the Mass. But more than three Catholics in ten fear that liturgical reforms are blurring the "distinctiveness" of Roman Catholicism.

Asked to rate their favorite among the three most recent Popes, Catholics overwhelmingly chose "Good Pope John" XXIII. Three out of four Catholics rank him as "one of the greatest" pontiffs of modern times. A majority--54 per cent--put Pope Paul VI in the same category but less than half of those surveyed included Pope Pius XII (1967, p. 69).

As reported in the article, the ritual life of the Church, especially Mass, is most central to the Catholic. And most Catholics (67 per cent) approved of recent liturgical changes (72 per cent of those under 35 approved). The centrality of rites is also seen in the majority's holding to the Friday abstinence rule, despite its recent change to optional status (p. 70). However, in other areas of Church law and morality apparently cultural and situational factors played a major role in the responses of a great number of Catholics; e.g., on birth control, abortion, clerical celibacy, race relations, peace and divorce (pp. 68-70 and 71-74). But 40 per cent of Catholics responding, contrary to Church doctrine, believed that "everything the Pope says is law" (p. 74).

Educational level and age were, however, found to be crucial discriminating factors in Catholic response; and generally the younger, more educated group was far more change-oriented and progressive in their responses. Many of the "avant-garde" are in this group which is pressing the hierarchy for "reforms." It is especially of this group which Fichter has noted,

In the shifting American structure, the lay Catholic population is always "ahead" of the Church professionals. . . . Until, if ever, the class structure becomes fairly stabilized, there will probably be both a time-lag and a class-lag between the ecclesiastical professionals and the laity they serve (1961, p. 87).

At the other extreme are many older and less-educated American Catholics, most of whom remain in the ethnic enclaves of central cities and whose religion is still simple and traditionalistic. Their reaction appears to have been one of some alienation to changes in liturgy (one of the few Church changes of which they had any detailed knowledge), but primarily an acceptance out of respect for authority prevailed. The active reactionary and conservative minority reaction to Vatican II appears to have come essentially from the newly mobile, of which we spoke above. Still insecure and marginal, they opposed (many openly) liturgy changes, Church involvement in civil rights--especially housing desegregation, etc. Among this group we suspect are also still the most active proponents of aid to parochial schools and the most adamant opponents of liberalization of birth control, divorce, abortion, school prayer, and other legislation.

But certainly the majority of Catholics in all sociological categories were neither active in opposing or supporting Church changes during the period nor significantly committed to particular issues to be moved to either protest or agitate. The Newsweek article, after citing some of the recent changes in the Church and growing public dissent, reported:

Some Catholics regard such critical dissection with alarm; they see it as evidence of the spiritual decay of Catholicism. But most U. S. Catholics, the Newsweek survey makes clear, tend to welcome the changes and assume that their church knows best.

Those polled, by most conventional standards, show themselves to be deeply faithful Catholics. At the same time, there is considerable divergence among them about birth control, abortion, divorce and clerical celibacy. They question to a surprising degree, but few seem willing to speak out vociferously against the church. They are, by and large, rather like club members who seriously wonder about some of the club bylaws, yet are reluctant to bring the matter up too often at the annual general meeting (Smith, Waters, McLoughlin, and Woodward, 1967, p. 68).

The degree to which the ecumenical movement has gained widespread American Catholic support is, perhaps, a sign that a small minority have overcome former prejudices; but for most it appears to be merely an indication that their commitments to traditional doctrines is weak and they shared in what Herberg has characterized as the "American Way of Life" in which doctrinal differences are rapidly eroding criteria for denominational differentiation (1960). Even transcending this, most American Catholics participated in a differentiated American "civil religion," in which there is no place for sectarian dogma (Bellah, 1967). It was a Catholic President in his inaugural address who said:

Finally, whether you are citizens of America or of the world, ask of us the same high standards of strength and sacrifice that we shall ask of you. With a good conscience our only sure reward, with history the final judge of our deeds, let us go forth to lead the land we love, asking His Blessing and His help,

but knowing that here on earth God's work must truly be our own (as quoted in Bellah, 1967, pp. 1-2).

Certainly this statement is a secular pronouncement and, as Bellah, with considerable justification claimed, his references to "God" are manifestations of civil religion. But, more importantly here, the statement at two crucial points clearly contradicts literal, traditional Catholic doctrine. In Catholicism, unity with God after death is "the only sure reward," not a "good conscience," for conscience can be "in error." In Catholicism, God in the Last Judgment is "the final judge of our deeds," not "history." But did any Catholic question, even for a moment, such an affirmation? We think not. Certainly, there was no evidence of it in the Catholic press. It appears that the majority of American Catholics, although ritually observant and conforming to minimal belief requirements, supported change in general, but were either ignorant of or indifferent to most of the theological, doctrinal and organizational implications of Vatican II. So assimilated to American values, they, like the late President Kennedy, could not concede that conflicts between national and religious interests were "remotely possible" (see Kennedy's speech on September 12, 1960, to a Houston assembly of Protestant ministers, as quoted in White [1961, pp. 471 ff.]). Increasingly, many Catholics appear today

to consciously or unconsciously deny or selectively ignore aspects of their Church's doctrines, and still consider themselves good church members. This is a new manifestation, for the traditional alternatives to doubt were to recant or defect.

In conclusion, our apparently remote monastery was immersed in a universe of change. As we shall attempt to show, the changing social structure and life at St. Anthony's itself was partly a consequence of these environmental influences. Themselves products of the changing American Catholic experience, everyone at St. Anthony's had some degree of awareness of profound and irreversible change--change in the secular world, in the Church, in the Order, and most of all in the life of the monastery itself. Brother Maurice, a cleric novice interviewed as he was preparing to voluntarily leave St. Anthony's in the second month of the study, expressed his understanding of the experiential climate metaphorically as one who:

. . . sitting content on a well-moored raft, suddenly finds himself cast adrift on a flood tide. The scenery passing swiftly by is all unfamiliar; the destination unknown. The raft is showing large cracks and appears like it might break up. Familiar possessions considered indispensable to life are washed overboard.

Carrying his analogy a bit further, he went on:

Most of 'em [the members of the monastery] really don't know they're in a crisis, but they're scared anyway. Some curse the stream and long to return to

the old familiar moorings. Some call the stream "God's Divine Providence" and they'll go along for the ride. They always do. A few always secretly longed to go someplace else anyway and they're excited. Still some of 'em are just trying to keep the raft from floundering. Me, I just don't know.

While ex-Brother Maurice's perception of the situation was quite unique and his analogy perhaps a trifle over-dramatic, his remarks capture some of the sense of change and reaction to change that permeated St. Anthony's during the year of study.

CHAPTER V

THE CHANGING SOCIO-CULTURAL STRUCTURE OF ST. ANTHONY'S

From the researcher's first introduction to St. Anthony's, it was unmistakably clear that the codified culture of the Order of Mystical Union was only one referent for behavior and decision-making in the monastery. Some cues of this were: (1) the presence of four late model automobiles in the monastery's garage; (2) the fact that the professed members of the community were then engaged in reviewing and drafting recommendations for changes in the ancient Constitutions of the Order in accordance with the recent Vatican II decree on religious life discussed above; and (3) the fact that the priests of the monastery were often away giving religious instructions, conducting retreats, attending conferences and the like. In retrospect, a rather profound demonstration of an openness that generally prevailed at St. Anthony's was the willingness of the superior to allow an outsider with no religious credentials to examine the social life of his monastery--a novitiate undergoing a period of great anxiety and change--in order to execute an experiment whose objectives were entirely

secular. It is also noteworthy that Father Paul, the superior, agreed to fully cooperate in the research without even asking the researcher's religious affiliation. Even after others later had asked and were told of the researcher's agnosticism, this had no effect whatsoever on the cooperation he gave. Unfortunately for rapport, especially in a few cases of lay postulants, this non-defensive attitude was not shared by all. To assist in a project which had some chance of contributing to scientific knowledge about man was sufficient reason for nearly all at St. Anthony's to cooperate in the research. Other signs of the operation of non-traditional value orientations and norms were, however, even less subtle, but before discussing them it will be necessary to describe briefly the general methods employed in the study.

Research Methods and Problems

As discussed in Chapter I, the principal objective of the study was to identify, preferably in a total institution, the forms of social relationships operative in the day-to-day interaction of the setting in order to experimentally discover whether or not they differentially affected the formation of cognitive consensus and, if so, in what ways. At first, the researcher sought to operationalize the study in an environment in which the culture was familiar to him.

But after more than a year of effort, the researcher failed to secure permission to gain access to his "ideal" population, and thereupon, set about to explore other total institutional settings conducive to the objectives of the general design. Alternatives ranging from a basic military training program, a youthful offender camp, a prison and even one "compromise" setting of a college fraternity were considered with varying degrees of seriousness and preliminary investigation. While returning home by a circuitous route after visiting one site--a reformatory, the researcher was pondering the many obstacles to direct access to subjects that might obtain in such an environment. Absorbed in thought, the researcher proceeded a mile or so beyond a modest sign by the side of the road indicating the location of a monastery before he suddenly realized the connection between the sign and his problem. Then the many prospects that a monastery might offer for organizational comparison began to come to mind. Excited by these prospects, the researcher decided to take a chance: he turned his car around and made his way up the winding road to the monastery. It was in this completely fortuitous way that the researcher was first introduced to St. Anthony's.

Phase I. Initial Interviews:
Access and Cultural Familiarization
(first to third months)

Not knowing anything of the setting, the researcher adopted the anthropological "take-me-to-your-leader" strategy, and was introduced to Father Paul. Having heard in private the research objectives and requirements of the study and after he had been given a detailed copy of a research proposal drafted in terms of the "ideal" setting, Father Paul¹ agreed to consider the proposal without discussing its experimentally crucial contents with any other member of the monastery.² Shortly thereafter, he wrote that he was willing to cooperate with the research in every way he could. The first objective of access was thereby accomplished.

The second objective of Phase I was for the researcher, with minimal intrusion, to become familiar with the background and culture of the monastery. This orientation began with a series of long, open-ended interviews with the superior, intended to give the researcher a short, intensive course in his Order's

¹Table A in the Appendix gives a complete listing of the 44 individuals by status, code number, fictitious name and months in residence at St. Anthony's.

²This promise he kept faithfully throughout the experimental phase of the study; his cooperation was an essential condition for the success of the experiments.

history and culture and the basic features of St. Anthony's. Notes were taken during these interviews and detailed, taped reports of them were executed as soon after the researcher's return from the field as possible. Apart from four visits to the monastery for this private instruction and to obtain certain books, documents and other required materials, the first three months passed without anything but the most superficial contacts between the researcher and the other members of the monastery. These encounters consisted of little more than a smile and "good morning," "good afternoon," etc. The researcher was always dressed in a suit and tie, carrying a brief case. The entire period was devoted exclusively to a study of Church history, monasticism, the contemporary Catholic Church, and particularly the history, rules and other documents of the Order.³ This initial familiarization proved absolutely invaluable in later understanding the events which occurred at St. Anthony's. Although the general objectives of the study remained focussed upon the experiment, the need to identify and understand the changing patterns of social relationships among the novices and postulants led to the more macro-problems of the social structure and expanded the study in directions

³It was only after the experimental phase that the formal content analysis noted in Chapter III was executed.

initially unanticipated. These extensions, however, were received by Father Paul with the same friendly cooperation with which he had greeted the original study plan.

The all-important factor of initially identifying the researcher and giving acceptable reasons for his presence at the monastery to the other members was discussed in detail. The strategy adopted was to give as little information as possible at first and gradually, only after the experimental phase, to expand upon it as the situation demanded. Therefore, upon agreement, the superior at a general meeting identified the researcher as a "Cornell scientist studying vision," said he thought the research worthy of cooperation, and asked all who wished to volunteer to participate in the study. The only reason for participation he gave was to "contribute to human knowledge." No other pressure whatsoever was applied, and all but one member of the community, Father Francis, voluntarily served as subjects in the experiment.

Phase II. Unobtrusive Observation:
The Identification and Validation
of Social Relationships
(fourth to eighth months)

In order to identify the social relationships obtaining at the monastery, the researcher had to observe the members of the community in unplanned interaction

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without being observed. The accomplishment of this task was aided considerably by the schedule which prevailed at the monastery, and by the use of a minor subterfuge. As we noted, according to the rules the entire round of life was run on a strict schedule. At this time life in the monastery was still governed by the horarium described in Chapter III (see Figure 1, p. 71). Only during the recreation periods was there anything approximating unrestricted interaction, in which all or a major proportion of the aspirants participated. To a more limited extent, occasions for unobtrusive observation were provided by some instructional sessions conducted by the Novice Master; by access to the way members with the same formal status paired off for processions; and later on, by some meetings conducted by the novices and postulants themselves. The fact that all members of the community were required to be at prescribed locations at certain times allowed the researcher considerable latitude to move about and observe without being detected. Under the guise of installing and "taking the bugs out of" a very "uncooperative" piece of equipment located in a basement room in the cloister (the autokinetic device made to look like an oversized television set), the researcher from several vantage points could observe and usually hear the aspirants at recreation and in these other activities without himself being seen.

Because of the extremely precarious nature of this initial observation phase, its importance to the experiment and the relatively large size of the groups being observed, the researcher adopted a procedure very similar to that described by Sherif and Sherif (1964, esp. pp. 331-339) used to locate adolescent groups in their natural habitats.

The problem was to identify redundant patterns of interaction between the members of an already bounded set of actors and then to locate among them enough nearly uncontaminated forms of social relationships to constitute relative distinct experimental groups. Of necessity, the methods employed were very crude, as judged by the standards developed by Bales and others for social psychology laboratories. In fact, the situation and developments at the monastery were as important in determining techniques as the pre-plan of the design.

According to this original plan, it was expected that there would be two aggregates of aspirants of very different backgrounds at the monastery. One aggregate--we shall call it the Cloisterville group--was in the first month made up of eight cleric novices, ten lay brother novices and one postulant, all of whom with one exception had been together at St. Anthony's for nearly a year. A substantial number of them had known each other for from three to five years, having attended the Cloisterville

minor seminary at the same time. The second aggregate, the "new class," was to enter the novitiate for the first time in the fifth month of the study. It was expected to be composed of three cleric novices and eleven postulants, who had not previously met and only one of whom had attended the Cloisterville seminary. Two separate strategies were developed to deal with these two aggregates.

Taking the second grouping first, the initial plan was to pair individuals in the new class which was to enter the novitiate in the fifth month on the basis of two forms of relationship which the researcher was relatively certain would obtain. Experimental Group I would be constituted of dyads exhibiting no patterned relationships except for common identity in a new situation. It was believed that this would be the case for formal status equals who had not previously met, during their first week or two in the monastery. A second experimental group, designated Experimental Group III, would be constituted of dyads exhibiting asymmetric sanctioning or power relationships. It was believed this would be the case for relationships between new cleric novices and priests and new postulants and professed brothers, approximating Goffman's staff-inmate relation. While the researcher had some surprises in store for him after the new class arrived, these developments were detected by unobtrusive observational procedures developed

previously in studying the Cloisterville group.

In the Cloisterville group the original plan was to identify symmetric-affect dyads or friendship pairs, but observational results and limitations forced an alteration in this plan. In observing this group, it was considered a losing cause to attempt to infer affect from the behaviors exhibited. One chief reason for this was the norm in the Order which discouraged the external display of affection. However, one pattern of behavior was most easily identified: deference behavior. Let us briefly summarize the procedure used to establish this class of relationships which constituted Experimental Group II.

From the researcher's hidden observation points, individuals were often observed interrupting others in conversation or activity. In some cases, the interrupted party would challenge the interruption by continuing, at other times he would not. Some individuals were noted to yield to certain others in procession formations, in passing in corridors or at doorways, in conversations, etc. Clusters of individuals would be overheard discussing some proposal, event or individual; and notes were made as to who made suggestions, who accepted them, and who rejected them. Sometimes absent persons would be mentioned as parties from whom to get advice or endorsement, others were not so mentioned. It immediately became clear that these

deference behaviors were highly patterned in the Cloisterville group, and it was decided then to identify asymmetric esteem dyads inferred from this behavior for Experimental Group II.

Thereupon, the observer began to note pairings of subjects of the same formal status in the community (i.e., both individuals in the dyad were either cleric novices or lay brother novices whose interaction was provisionally identified as being characterized by an asymmetric esteem relationship. Among the thirteen remaining members (with 78 potential relationships)⁴ of the Cloisterville group who had been at St. Anthony's in the first month of the study (six had voluntarily left the monastery before this observational phase began), 26 such dyadic relationships were noted. Then the researcher focussed his attention successively upon each of these dyads as the opportunity presented itself, recording on a small pad of paper the duration of observation and number and direction of deference behaviors exhibited. However, if the interaction pattern also showed two members of a dyad, so identified, as invariably interacting together to the virtual exclusion of others in "free choice" situations, it was eliminated

⁴The theoretical number of possible dyads among n individuals being $(n^2 - n)/2$.

on the assumption that the relationship was too highly contaminated with affect. This reduced the dyad pool to 18. Also, if the interaction pattern exhibited a high degree of manifest sanctioning behavior, i.e., overt statements or acts of praise or blame or correction, those dyads were eliminated. This kind of behavior was relatively rare in the Cloisterville group, but not in the new class, as will be seen. The elimination of the dyads manifesting a great amount of overt sanctioning reduced the number of dyads to 15. Then the observer's attention focussed upon the third-party interactions of each member of the remaining dyads. Only those dyads were retained in which (1) the party receiving deference was observed to defer (if he did so at all) to a third party more than to his paired esteemer, and (2) the party giving deference was observed not to defer to a third party more than to his paired esteemed. So with deference behavior used as an index of esteem for this group, we selected for asymmetric relationships, i.e., those in which the dyad included the first esteem choice of the esteemer, but excluded the first esteem choice of the esteemed. Thus, the number of dyads was reduced to ten.

Then, as a validation check, the researcher requested the superior's independent judgments of the pairings. The latter was asked to state which member of each

dyad more esteemed the other. In the six dyads about which he was relatively certain, his judgments were consistent with those obtained by the researcher through unobtrusive observation. On one dyad, the superior hazarded a "doubtful" judgment that contradicted the researcher's classification, and on the other three he reported he did not feel qualified to judge. With this check, the researcher was satisfied as to the general accuracy of his observations.

This, then, was the method by which the asymmetric esteem relationships were initially established. Final selection of the five dyads which made up Experimental Group II itself was based upon two more criteria (1) the pairings of subjects by average five inch discrepancies in judgments registered in the "alone" situation of the experiment (described in Chapter VI) and (2) the elimination of dyads which contained the same subject.

Similarly, unobtrusive observation was used to eliminate friendship pairs and other problematic dyads from Experimental Group I. As previously noted, our objective was to pair during their first few weeks at the monastery subjects of equal formal status who had not met before coming to St. Anthony's. But it was observed that a selective attraction began to operate very shortly after the arrival of the new class and so did other contaminating relationships--therefore, to eliminate them, observational data were used.

Furthermore, during this period it was quickly noted in observations that certain members of the new class and certain remaining members of the Cloisterville group were exhibiting conflict, and that the egalitarian no-relationship dyads were rapidly evaporating as intra-group differentiation and polarization developed. Unobtrusive observation was then used to trace the emergence of subgroups which led to the reclassification of Experimental Group III, of which we shall speak shortly.

Phase III. The Experimental Phase
(fifth and sixth months)

Overlapping with the unobtrusive observation phase was the experiment itself. Since we will describe the experimental methods in detail in the next chapter, it will suffice to mention only two factors of general methodological concern here. The experiments themselves provided limited opportunities for the researcher to interact with the members of the community for the first time. In this phase a non-directive, but mildly curious, attitude was adopted by the experimenter. Generally, just after the "alone" testing situation, some subjects would volunteer information on the life in the monastery and/or question the researcher further about the nature of the "test." The former the researcher encouraged, manifesting a general

demeanor of sincere interest; the latter were discouraged by technically-worded, diversionary statements to the effect, for example, that it was "a highly exploratory test of visual acuity variability, involving theoretical assumptions about ocular nystagmus and pupillary dilation, and the equipment was a newly engineered computerized device for measuring these phenomena." Generally, that satisfied even the most curious subject. Concerning unsolicited statements on matters concerning the Order, etc., the researcher feigned complete ignorance. This prompted many to give short exegeses on how wonderful it was to lead a life devoted entirely to God, etc. Some of these expressions appeared a bit too desperate in tone at times to be passed off simply as small talk and were interpreted by the researcher as attempts at self-validation. Some of these relatively brief conversations gave clues as to what was happening in the social structure and on the basis of these and other sources of information, the researcher selected three individuals as unwitting informants in subsequent phases of the research.

Phase IV. Intensive Interviews
and Informants
(sixth to twelfth months)

Immediately after the experiment, the complete identity of the researcher and rationale for the study was

explained to the Novice Master, Father Anthony. He, like Father Paul, was very supportive of the research, aiding in the recommendation of reading materials and becoming a willing informant on details of the monastery life which he--because of his office--was in a unique position to observe. The researcher continued to use every opportunity for discussion with the three unwitting informants identified in the earlier phases of the study. Each was quite candid about life in the monastery and the happenings among his peers. All three solicited the researcher's confidence in not disclosing what they said to him about others; and all three, located in crucially different points in the social structure, used these occasions to express feelings and attitudes to a non-relevant outsider which in the structure of the monastery they were restrained from expressing. These sessions were unplanned, and were given no structure by the researcher. Probing was kept at an absolute minimum. For all intents, it was made to appear to the subjects as a casual, unsolicited conversation with a sympathetic but otherwise uninformed and non-threatening third party.

Before, during and after the "living-in" period described in Phase V, all members remaining in the community were interviewed separately for approximately an hour, a few interviews running to four hours and one interview

with a key member of the new class even taking eight hours over two days. The interviewees were asked if they objected to having the interview taped. A minority did object, and in these cases notes were taken. Again, all interviews were transcribed as soon as possible after return from the field. In addition, three of those who had earlier left the monastery were located and interviewed in detail on what had transpired during their experience there. The interviews were only minimally structured: a certain number of topics were pre-determined by the researcher, but he introduced them, in as offhanded a way as possible, only if the subject did not touch on them. However, the subjects varied immensely in candor. The extreme example was Brother Amand, who was so defensive that the interview ended abruptly in an emotional outburst in which he blurted out that he could not talk to the researcher about such things because a non-Catholic could not possibly understand. The question was merely about which of his peers he liked the most.⁵ But

⁵Subsequently, Brother Amand was reassured by Father Anthony, the researcher and Brother Peter that he need not participate in the study if he did not wish to do so or if it was upsetting; and he was also reassured that the research was not going to judge--but merely describe--the monastery. These talks apparently quelled his misgivings and he thereafter gave full cooperation.

this was the exceptional case. With very few exceptions, interview rapport was judged exceptionally good. The researcher used several devices to test the candor of the interviewees. For example, flagellation was a semi-secret practise in the monastery and the researcher counted more heavily the validity of the content of the interview if the subject mentioned it when describing his view of the changing practises of the monastery. Nearly two-thirds of those interviewed did. Many other subtle cues were used, such as the subject's evasion of well-known painful or difficult experiences which occurred during the period, the use of highly guarded and pious expressions to describe events, their feelings, and the like. For about fifty per cent, candor and rapport was the rule from the beginning of the interview; for another forty per cent, this was achieved only after a slow probing process which successively exposed layer upon layer of the interviewee's more ego-involving attitudes and feelings. This was a process analogous to onion peeling, i.e., if the interviewee was describing events at level "A," let's say, and a casual remark was made by the interviewer disclosing to the interviewee that he was knowledgeable about something that occurred on level "B," the interviewee then felt free to discuss an entire range of topics on level "B," and so on. For the remaining ten per cent, the interviewer was left with the distinct

impression that the interviewee was not secure enough in the situation to relate his true feelings.

Phase V. The Quasi-Participant Observation
(seventh to tenth months)

In the three months following the completion of the experiment, the researcher made many trips to the monastery; by now, he was such a familiar fixture that very little attention was paid to his comings and goings. During a portion of this period the researcher actually moved into the monastery and participated in a few of the community activities, e.g., Mass, choir rehearsal, recreation, meals, class, and dishwashing. Obviously the researcher was never considered a member of the community nor was he able to relate to subjects as a full participant. The major objective of this phase, however, was to get a more detailed view of the culture of the monastery and to fill in gaps in information not obtained in previous phases. At first the general tendency was to reclassify the researcher as a "Catholic on retreat." After a few days of being treated in this way by many of the members of the monastery, however, the researcher decided to clarify the situation and made known in a meeting the exact nature of the experiments and their general findings, without identifying actual subjects. But during this period, the full effect of the intra-group cleavage had nearly

taken its full course and the reasons for being in the monastery changed to exploring with those who remained the detailed nature of what had happened.

Phase VI. Questionnaire Phase
(eleventh and twelfth months)

In the eleventh month of the study, the researcher distributed and mailed a questionnaire (see Appendix) to a subset of 33 of the members who had been at the monastery during the most intensive period of the research. Of the members remaining in the Order at that time, all but two, Father Dominic and Father Francis,⁶ completed questionnaires. Their completion rate was 87 per cent. Of those ex-members who had left the Order, 15 returned completed questionnaires for a rate of 83 per cent. Therefore, the overall questionnaire return rate was 85 per cent, 28 of 33.

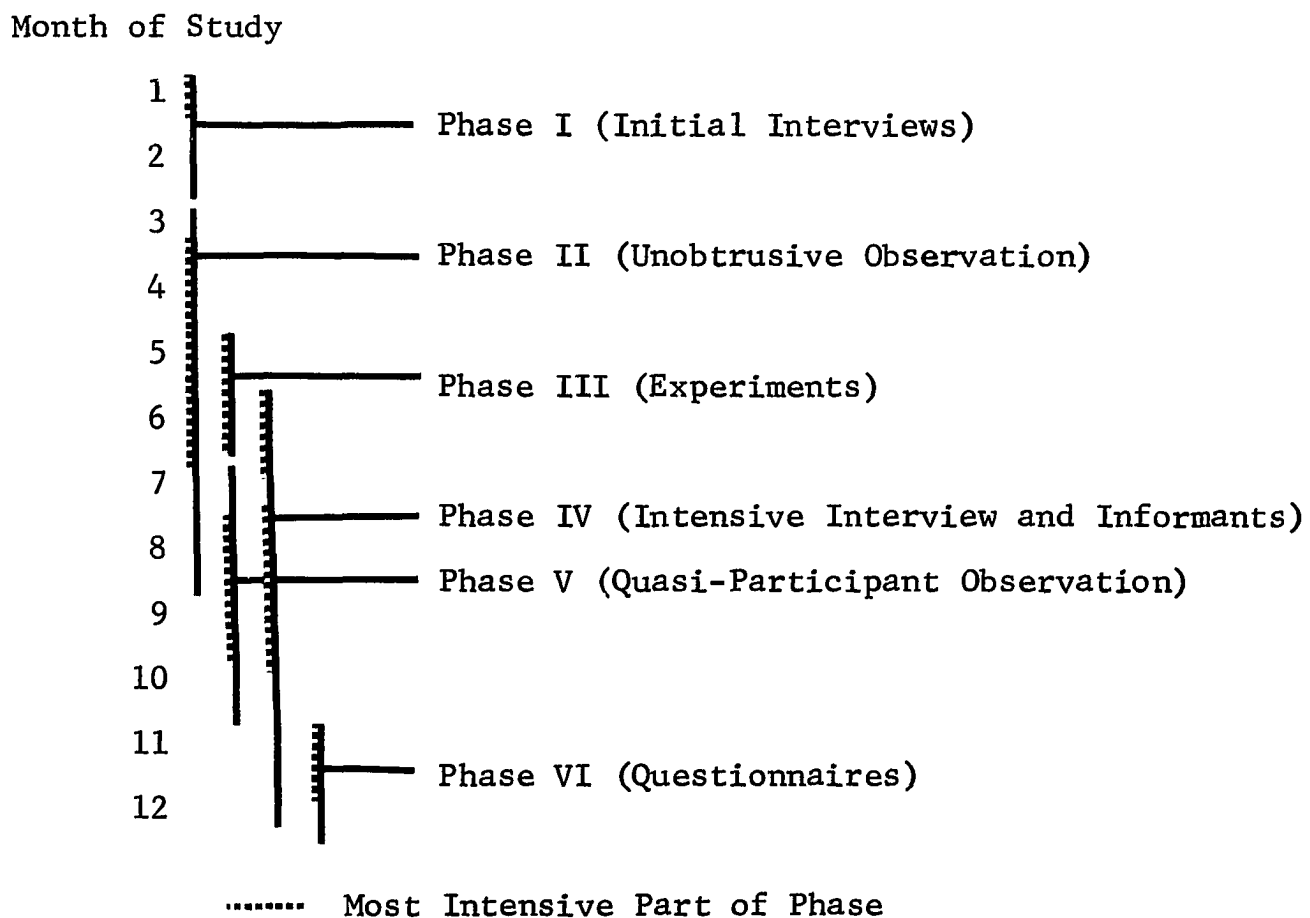
The questionnaire was used to gather further information on backgrounds to supplement data in documents and interviews; to obtain Dogmatism, Mach IV and self-esteem personality measures; to further validate social structural inferences based upon observational, informant

⁶ Although both of these subjects participated in the interviews, and Father Dominic in the experiment as well, the researcher is inclined to view their failure to cooperate as a partial result of defensiveness created by overexposure in the interviews. We shall have more to say of this in discussing the monastery staff.

and interview data; and to secure judgments on a number of religious topics, including recent changes in the monastery.

For a summary of the periods of time covered by each of the above phases of the research, see Table I.

TABLE I
RESEARCH METHODS PHASE SEQUENCE



The Population and Background
Characteristics of
St. Anthony's⁷

During the twelve months covered by the study, 44 individuals resided at St. Anthony's as members of the community in one of six statuses described in Chapter III. Table II shows the population size in each of these statuses during each of the twelve months of the study. Table III shows the gains and losses for each change in status for each of the twelve months. And Appendix Table A gives the periods of residence at St. Anthony's for individual members. As a cursory glance at these tables will show, the in-and-out and internal mobility at St. Anthony's was high and the population could hardly be called stable. Let us now examine some of the general characteristics of this population.

First, the average age of the population was relatively young (see Appendix Table B₁).⁸ The average age was 24.7. Priests averaged 33.4 and the professed lay brothers

⁷Much of the data presented in this section were derived from the survey instrument, a substantial number of the items of which were taken from Greeley and Rossi's adult questionnaire (1966, Appendix 5, pp. 290-321). See our Appendix Questionnaire.

⁸Until otherwise indicated, the following assessment of general characteristics is based upon an n of 38 on whom data were available from the questionnaire, official records and interviews. Age and status were computed for the mid-point of the study.

TABLE II
POPULATION OF ST. ANTHONY'S BY STATUS AND MONTH OF STUDY

<u>STATUS</u> ^b	<u>Month of Study</u> ^a												Total ever in Community ^d
	<u>1st</u>	<u>2nd</u>	<u>3rd</u>	<u>4th</u>	<u>5th</u>	<u>6th</u>	<u>7th</u>	<u>8th</u>	<u>9th</u>	<u>10th</u>	<u>11th</u>	<u>12th</u>	
Priests ^c	7	7	9	6	6	5	5	5	5	5	5	6	9
Cleric Novices	8	7	6	5	8	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	11
Professed Lay Brothers (Solemn Vows)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Professed Lay Brothers (Simple Vows)	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	4	5
Novice Lay Brothers	9	7	6	6	7	6	6	5	4	4	4	3	10
Postulant Lay Brothers	1	1	1	1	11	9	9	4	4	3	0	0	8
TOTALS	28	25	25	21	34	25	25	16	15	14	14	14	44

^aIf incumbent was in residence at any time during the month, he is reported for that month.

^bIf incumbent was elevated in status during month, he is reported in that month in his lower status.

^cPriests assigned to monastery, but not in residence during month due to military chaplaincy, school attendance, etc. are not reported.

^dTotal number of individuals ever in residence is reported by highest status held during year.

TABLE III
CHANGES IN POPULATION OF ST. ANTHONY'S BY TYPE OF STATUS CHANGE AND MONTH OF STUDY

	<u>Month of Study</u>												<u>TOTALS</u>
	<u>1st</u>	<u>2nd</u>	<u>3rd</u>	<u>4th</u>	<u>5th</u>	<u>6th</u>	<u>7th</u>	<u>8th</u>	<u>9th</u>	<u>10th</u>	<u>11th</u>	<u>12th</u>	
<u>GAINS</u>													
1. From Outside the Order and Monastery													
a. Cleric Novices began Novitiate	0	0	0	0	†3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	† 3
b. Postulant Lay Brothers Began Postulancy	0	0	0	0	†11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	†11
2. From Outside Monastery, but in Order													
a. Priests Reassigned	0	0	†2 ^a	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	†1 ^a	† 3
3. From Intra-Monastery Statuses													
a. Novice Lay Brothers Took Simple Vows	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	†3	0	† 3
b. Postulant Lay Brothers Became Novices	0	0	0	0	†1	0	0	0	0	0	†4	0	† 5
TOTAL GAINS	0	0	†2	0	†15	0	0	0	0	0	†7	†1	†25
<u>LOSSES</u>													
4. To Intra-Monastery Statuses													
a. Novice Lay Brothers Took Simple Vows	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-3	0	-3
b. Postulant Lay Brothers Became Novices	0	0	0	0	-1	0	0	0	0	0	-4	0	-5
5. To the Order, but Outside Monastery													
a. Priests Reassigned	0	0	-3	0	-1 ^a	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-4
b. Cleric Novices Graduated to Cleric Students	0	0	0	0	-5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-5
c. Professed Lay Brother (Simple Vows) Reassigned	0	0	0	-1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-1
6. To Outside the Order and Monastery													
a. Cleric Novices Dismissed	0	0	0	0	0	0	-2	0	0	0	0	0	-2
b. Cleric Novices Voluntarily Departed	-1	-1	-1	0	0	0	-1	0	0	0	0	0	-4
c. Novice Lay Brothers Voluntarily Departed	-2	-1	0	0	-1	0	-1	-1	0	0	-1	0	-7
d. Postulant Lay Brothers Dismissed	0	0	0	0	0	0	-2	0	0	0	0	0	-2
e. Postulant Lay Brothers Voluntarily Departed	0	0	0	0	-2	0	-3	0	-1	0	0	0	-6
TOTAL LOSSES	-3	-2	-4	-1	-10	0	-9	-1	-1	0	-8	0	-39

^aOne priest was assigned in third month, reassigned to school away from St. Anthony's in fifth month and returned in twelfth month.

33.0.⁹ This relative youthfulness of the staff may have been a factor in the general willingness to accept change at St. Anthony's. The oldest priest, Father Patrick, was only 42, and the youngest, Father Jerome, was 27. The cleric novices averaged 22.3 and the lay brother novices and postulants 20.7. This slight age advantage of the cleric novices and the higher status of their career and their higher education combined to give them a decided rank advantage in interaction among the aspirants. It should be noted also that the cleric novices in the new class averaged a full four years older than the lay postulants with whom they entered and this also was to prove an important factor in their ability to command respect from (and their inability to relate to) some of the less mature members of the new class.

Most of the members (76 per cent) came from large cities with populations greater than 100,000 (see Appendix Table B₂). Only 16 per cent came from cities with populations between 10,000 and 100,000; 8 per cent from towns of less than 10,000; and none from rural areas. Comparison of the professed with the non-professed, who were separated by a greater than ten-year age gap, suggests a trend in

⁹In the Province as a whole, the average age of priests was 41.6 and of professed lay brothers 41.3, quite similar to national averages in the Church.

hometown backgrounds to cities and towns rather than large cities, perhaps reflecting the suburbanization of Catholics noted above.

Because of the Northeastern location of the novitiate and the Province which it serves and the regional concentration of Catholics, it is not surprising that the regional distribution was as follows: 74 per cent Northeastern, 18 per cent North Central, 5 per cent Southern, and 3 per cent Western (see Appendix Table B₃). The only member from the Western states was the son of a family which had been highly geographically mobile. Most of the members of the community came from the metropolitan areas of Boston, New York City, or Philadelphia. Their regional concentrations, then, reflected both the territoriality of the Province and national Catholic distributions.

The vast majority of the members of St. Anthony's were native born (only one was not) and so were their parents (83 per cent; see Appendix Table B₄). The older priests and professed lay brothers, however, had a higher incidence of foreign-born parents, 31 and 33 per cent respectively, than the aspirants; cleric novices, 6 per cent, and lay brother novices and postulants, 14 per cent. By and large, the aspirants tended to be more removed from the traditional cultures of ethnic ghettos than the priests and lay brothers, suggesting the immigration and Americanization

processes noted above among American Catholics.

The nationality backgrounds of the members also reflected Northeastern Catholic ethnic distributions and recent trends. More than 40 per cent had Irish ancestry; 16 per cent Italian; 10 per cent English, Scotch or Welsh; 9 per cent Spanish, Portugese or Latin American (including Mexican); 8 per cent German, Swiss or Austrian; 6 per cent Polish; 5 per cent French; and 3 per cent Scandinavian (see Appendix Table B₅). Only one member had any Negro ancestry; as we shall see, this was a crucial factor in his role behavior and acceptance while at St. Anthony's. Although predominantly Irish, the diversity of national backgrounds is apparent and the trend appears to be towards greater heterogeneity as it is in the general Catholic population. For example, the priests and professed lay brothers were 59 per cent and 50 per cent Irish in background, but the cleric novices and lay brother novices and postulants were only 22 and 40 per cent Irish.

The occupation of the fathers of those at St. Anthony's showed a disproportionately high percentage in the U. S. Census Bureau classifications of laborers (24 per cent), operatives (16 per cent), craftsmen (16 per cent), and service workers (16 per cent) (see Appendix Table B₆). In these four occupational classes, 71 per cent of the members' fathers were located, in contrast to only 49 per cent of the

American work force in 1960¹⁰, only 54 per cent for American Catholics in 1955 and only 29 per cent for fathers of seminarians reported in 1958.¹¹ Generally, it is unmistakable that their backgrounds were much more working class than Catholic seminarians reported in recent surveys, and our population does not reflect the recent white-collar mobility of American Catholics. By national comparisons, the fathers' occupations are grossly under-represented in the classifications of professionals¹² (5 as compared with 11), clerical (8 as compared with 15), as well as farmers and farm laborers (none as compared with 4 and 2 per cent).¹³ Although no clear trends were noted by comparing staff and inmate differences by occupation of father, generally the priests and cleric novices came from homes in which the father was less likely to be a laborer or operative than did lay brothers and lay brother aspirants, suggesting a slightly higher socio-economic background for the priestly career

¹⁰See U.S. Census of Population: 1960. Final Report P.C. (1)-ID, Washington, D.C., 1963, Table 201, pp. 522-527.

¹¹See Fichter, 1961, esp. pp. 63 and 64.

¹²Of the two fathers who were professionals, one was a government accountant and the other a high school guidance counselor.

¹³One member's biological parents were itinerant farm laborers, but he was raised in a family in which the husband was a private household worker.

field than for the brother career field.

This differential was also reflected in the educational level attained by the members' parents. Generally, those in the priestly career line had parents of higher educational attainment than those in the brother career line (see Appendix Table B₇). Overall, only 11 per cent of the fathers and 3 per cent of the mothers of members at St. Anthony's attended a college; 18 and 37 per cent were high school graduates; 40 and 32 per cent had some high school, but did not graduate; and 32 and 29 per cent had less than an eighth grade education.

Based upon questionnaire responses augmented in four cases by interview data, 65 per cent reported average happiness in childhood, with 16 per cent reporting happier than average childhoods and 16 per cent "not too happy" childhoods. Only one individual reported an extremely happy childhood (see Appendix Table B₈).¹⁴ Our findings here indicate that the members of St. Anthony's were much less inclined to view their childhoods as happy than were the seminarians reported in Fichter's study (1963, p. 37). Generally, however, the priests tended to report happier childhoods than did any other category of respondent. When

¹⁴Until otherwise indicated, the following general background characteristics are based on an n of 31.

asked to rate their parents' marriages, however, the tendency was to see them as slightly happier than their own childhoods (see Appendix Table B₉). But still most reported their parents' marriages to have been of average happiness (42 per cent); 26 per cent reported them to be happier than average; 23 per cent, not too happy; and 10 per cent, extremely happy. Also, priests tended to report happier parental marriages than others.

As in occupation of father and education of parents, members in the priestly career field differed appreciably from members in the brother career field in the size of families from which they came (see Appendix Table B₁₀). Overall, the modal sibling family size was three and the average 4.6, but priests averaged 4.2 and cleric novices 3.9, whereas professed lay brothers averaged 7.0 and lay brother aspirants 4.7. Suggestive here also is a trend away from larger families noted above for Catholics in general.¹⁵

The overwhelming majority of members at St. Anthony's came from Catholic homes, as one would expect. They reported 86 per cent of their fathers and 92 per cent of their mothers to be Roman Catholics (see Appendix Table B₁₁).

¹⁵Consistent with Fichter's generalization (1961, p. 35), no member of St. Anthony's surveyed was an only child.

In all cases, at least one of the parents was a practising Catholic. In three cases the mother and in five the father was Protestant or had no religious preference. Comparison shows that all of these cases of mixed marriages were reported for the non-professed, and none for the staff, possibly reflecting the growing national trend of mixed marriages noted above.

When asked to judge the religiosity of their parents, members tended to report their mothers to be more religious than their fathers, an often reported sex difference in religiosity (see Appendix Table B₁₂). But the differences were not large. Members reported 88 per cent of their mothers and 66 per cent of their fathers to be either "very religious" or "somewhat religious." Again, the staff differed significantly from the inmates in that they tended to report their parents to be more religious than the younger aspirants did. Whether this is due to a more stringent view of religiosity among the aspirants or a reflection of declining religiosity, we, of course, have no way of determining. Nevertheless, it may be said that the overwhelming majority of the members at St. Anthony's came from homes in which religion was emphasized.

Considering that the members of St. Anthony's came predominantly from Northeastern metropolitan areas in which a large percentage of American Catholics live, it is not

surprising to find that they reported that the neighborhoods in which they grew up were overwhelmingly Catholic in religious composition. The majority (68 per cent) rated their neighborhoods as more than one-half Catholic (see Appendix Table B₁₃). Comparison shows the staff coming from more exclusively Catholic neighborhoods than the younger inmates. This again appears to reflect the changing Catholic residence patterns noted above.

The responses given to questions concerning the religious practises of their families reveal several interesting patterns (see Appendix Table B₁₄). On each of a number of statements the members were requested to indicate whether the statement was true or false about their families. About half (48 per cent) reported that their family was religious but not very devout, 74 per cent had no close relatives in religious life, 67 per cent reported that priests did not visit their homes, 52 per cent reported that it was not the practise in their families to always have Masses said for dead relatives, 82 per cent of their mothers and 78 per cent of their fathers were reported as not being active members of parish organizations. Only about half (56 per cent) reported Catholic magazines and newspapers came regularly to their homes; 78 per cent reported that no one in their family did charitable work for the Church (visiting the sick at hospitals, helping the

poor, etc.); 67 per cent reported that grace was not said at meals in the homes most of the time; and 89 per cent reported that regular family prayer and Bible reading was not practised. On the other hand, 78 per cent reported that it was not true of their family that most of the family could not take some of the rules (of the Church) seriously; 59 per cent reported that someone in the family attended novena services regularly; 96 per cent reported that one or both of their parents insisted that their children attend a Catholic school, if available; and 89 per cent reported that holy pictures, crucifixes, and other sacred objects were prominently displayed in their homes. The overall picture that these responses reveal is an average home background in which the required rituals and directives of the Church were generally observed and a traditional devotional religion prevailed, but otherwise the religious climate of the home was neither activist nor intellectual, nor did it go much beyond conformity to legal obligations.

The educational background of the members themselves showed a sharp increase over that of their parents, however. Only four members surveyed in the community had not graduated from high school (see Appendix Table B₁₅). And the differences between staff and inmates and the priesthood and brotherhood were striking in the predictable directions: the staff had a higher level of education than inmates,

and priests and cleric novices had a higher level of education than lay brothers and lay brother aspirants. The overwhelming majority (74 per cent) had attended Catholic schools exclusively or had more than half their schooling in them (see Appendix Table B₁₅). Moreover, slightly more than half (52 per cent) had attended a minor seminary of the Order: 75 per cent of the priests, 67 per cent of the professed lay brothers, 62 per cent of the cleric novices, and 33.3 per cent of the lay brother aspirants.

When growing up, most (78 per cent) had aspired to become priests, some for as long as they could remember. For priests it was 100 per cent; for cleric novices, 88 per cent; for both professed lay brothers and for lay brother aspirants, 67 per cent (see Appendix Table B₁₆, item a). Less than half (44 per cent) indicated they had wanted to be a lay brother while growing up (see Appendix Table B₁₆, item i). Most in the lay brother career field who had aspired to become priests had changed their minds only after being encouraged to seek another course because of marginal or poor academic records.

In the area of dating behavior, the experience of the members at St. Anthony's was very limited and mostly confined to Catholic girls (see Appendix Table B₁₆, items c-f). Only half (56 per cent) had ever dated even a Catholic girl; only 18 per cent a non-Catholic girl. Furthermore,

only 26 per cent had gone steady with a Catholic girl and 7 per cent (two) with a non-Catholic girl. Differences between career fields, however, were not significant. On other items related to experiences while growing up, the responses were as follows: only 26 per cent had belonged to a parish club or athletic team; but the vast majority (85 per cent) reported they had been known by name by their parish priest. Although 93 per cent reported they had never seriously questioned the existence of God and 85 per cent had never considered leaving the Church, only 18 per cent claimed to have had a "religious experience in which [they] really felt close to God and/or the saints" (see Appendix Table B₁₆, items b, g, and h-k).

Consistent with the high Catholicity of their homes, neighborhoods, dating behavior and education, the members reported that the vast majority of their adolescent and young adult friends were Catholics (see Appendix Table B₁₇ and B₁₈). Forty-eight per cent reported that at age thirteen all of their friends had been Catholics and another 44 per cent reported that more than half had been. At age seventeen, their friends were even more Catholic: 41 per cent reported that all of their friends then had been Catholics, and 59 per cent (all the others) reported that more than half had been.

While in high school or minor seminary, the members of the novitiate rated their happiness as follows: 11 per

cent extremely happy; 30 per cent happier than average; 30 per cent average; 26 per cent not too happy (see Appendix Table B₁₉).¹⁶ Generally, the estimations of secondary educational experience were more widely distributed among the categories of response than childhood happiness ratings. There was a slight tendency for those in the priestly career line to rate their secondary school experience happier than those in the lay brother career line. And generally those who went to minor seminary reported greater happiness than those who went to public or parochial high schools.

Very few members reported excellent or poor grades in secondary school, only 11 per cent in each category (see Appendix Table B₂₀). The majority (78 per cent) reported grades to be either good (41 per cent) or fair (37 per cent). Generally, those in the priesthood career line took more intellectually demanding curriculums and reported slightly higher grades. This was also reflected in the response patterns to an item about disliking academic subjects (see Appendix Table B₂₁, item b), to which 100 per cent of the priests and 88 per cent of the cleric novices responded false. However, 67 per cent of the professed lay brothers and 25 per cent of the lay brother

¹⁶One member reported two scores--one for high school (not too happy) and one for minor seminary (extremely happy).

aspirants" responded in the affirmative. During secondary school, most did not enjoy participation in school sports activities (67 per cent), and even more were not active in school clubs, organizations and activities (78 per cent) (see Appendix Table B₂₁, items a and f). This general lack of active participation in organized activities coincides with similar traits exhibited in parish life and by the majority of their parents in their local churches. It is, perhaps, indicative of the lower socio-economic backgrounds of most at St. Anthony's--certainly they were not "joiners," so typical of American middle-class patterns. Despite their middle-range academic accomplishments in secondary school, however, it appears from their responses that most of their parents and they themselves held favorable attitudes toward education. Although 96 per cent reported that their parents cared about their school work, 93 per cent felt that their parents did not expect too much of them in their school work, and 89 per cent reported that their parents did not help them often with homework. Whether the fact that they felt their parents did not expect too much of them in school represents a lack of parental pressure for academic achievement or a realistic attitude is uncertain, but the fact that parents did not help them with homework may be largely attributed to the fact that many attended a boarding seminary and for

most, their parents did not possess the requisite education to help them. Items relating to their attitudes toward education reflected a generally positive orientation. For example, 89 per cent did not feel that school training was of little help in meeting the problems of real life; 74 per cent felt that the more education a man has, the better he is able to enjoy life; and 96 per cent had not felt that too much education was dangerous (see Appendix Table B₂₁, items i, k and l). Regarding their teachers in high school or minor seminary, all reported that most of their teachers seemed to care if they learned; 78 per cent felt their teachers encouraged them to think for themselves, and 41 per cent reported that teachers were not respected enough by their peers in school (see Appendix Table B₂₁, items g, j and m). Although differences were not large, on nearly all items having to do with education, the priests and cleric novices surveyed tended to manifest a more positive attitude toward--or reflected more positive experiences with--secondary education than those in the lay brother career line.

Outside of the largely Catholic-dominated kinship, education and religious institutional sectors of society in which the members of St. Anthony's had participated, those surveyed had little experience. For example, during a period in which a large proportion of young American males in their age cohorts had had military experience, 82 per cent

at the monastery had none; and three, 11 per cent, had less than a year's military service, being discharged for reported physical reasons (see Appendix Table B₂₂). The same was true of occupational experience. Those who had been employed for more than a year constituted only 15 per cent of the population surveyed; 30 per cent had held a job for less than a year, and 56 per cent had never held a full-time job (see Appendix Table B₂₃).

Another striking feature of the backgrounds of those at St. Anthony's was the very great number who had experience in another order or diocesan seminary, nearly half (see Appendix Table B₂₄). When those who had left other religious career programs were asked to give the reasons for their leaving, they gave a wide range of responses. More than half reported they had been dismissed for "lack of maturity," "lack of vocation," "failed Greek and physics," etc. Others reported they had voluntarily departed. Some of the reasons they gave were as follows: "homesick," not happy," "the order was Hungarian in composition and . . . I was the only novice, situation presented emotional strain," "life not as dedicated as desired."

Also, the members of St. Anthony's were asked to recall the period just before they had entered the Order of Mystical Union and to give their personal reasons for having come. The responses were quite diverse. Some gave pious,

pat answers. For example, some wrote: "to serve God by a life of apostolic prayer and silence," "to give myself totally to God and to the 'hidden' work of saving souls through prayer and penance," or, "to labor for God, the Church and souls." Yet others were quite introspective about the non-religious factors involved in their decision, as the following answer showed: "From at least 3rd grade on I knew I was going to be a priest . . . though I didn't always want to be one. I almost went to a minor seminary after 8th grade. During second year of high school I resolved to give it a try--half thinking I wouldn't stay. I had never really given any other vocation serious consideration (though I dated up to entrance into novitiate). The priesthood was the only 'profession' I ever imagined myself in. At the time I entered the minor seminary I was chomping at the bit to get away from home--anywhere--and this may have influenced. So, too, with a long-standing jealousy of my older brother for my parents' affection. They were sure he would be a priest--he and I were sure he wasn't!" One-half of the responses mentioned personal salvation as a reason. For example, one reported: "I think it was for some selfish reasons. But also because I wanted to live more fully my Spiritual life. To draw closer to Christ. To save my soul." Another: "I became a [member of the Order] because the life which was presented to me was

one of striving toward God. I wanted to be close to God; I wanted to be a saint." And another: "To save my soul and those of the world. I felt my only reason for living was to serve God in an intimate relation alone from the world. Not isolation but solitude. I felt I was called."

These responses and most given by those in the lay brother career line reflected the belief that one "drew closer to God" by withdrawal from the world. This was also apparent in the following, more pragmatic response: "I was not satisfied with the amount of time devoted to religion. And I found that I was not able myself to become close to God when there were other things to do and no one else seemed to care. Since this life is just a preparation for that to come and Christ has told us how we are to live through the Gospel, I felt it could best be accomplished here." The priests and cleric novices, however, reported a strong interest in both the contemplative and active foci. One wrote: "I felt called to give my life totally to Christ and His kingdom as a religious. Life [in the Order of Mystical Union] seemed to me most in harmony with what I felt called to be--a man of prayer--and since the 'green light' was given by all concerned, I joined the order. (This 'call' I speak of wasn't a 'voice' or anything; it was and still is a desire to serve Christ. I wanted to serve Him not for any gain, but just because He is worthy and lovable

enough in Himself. This desire to give worship to Christ finds expression in the contemplative life. Moreover, I desired to serve my fellow man in an active way. I desired both withdrawal from and contact with society; seeing how both aspects were contained in the [Order's] way of life, it was attractive, etc., etc.)." Nearly all responses also reflected an ideology of self-surrender. One such response was as follows: "After 8th grade I felt it was the only way I could be saved. But during high school I understood it could be done in other ways. In novitiate I just gave myself to God so He could do with me what He liked. I offered a strong back to carry out whatever He wanted me to do. It was a complete gift of myself to God at the end of my novitiate." The "high status" of religious life was an attraction for some, as the following response suggests: "I wanted to join the [Order of Mystical Union] because I felt attracted to the religious Order, the habit and the way of living. I wanted to become a monk and be known to all as having entered a monastery in the Church. Above all, I felt I could better serve God this way and be happy. The trials in life which I had experienced were many and long-suffering. People were suffering in the world and I wanted to bring them closer to God--in some way relieve their sufferings." The "sufferings" of self and others was thus an explicit reason for this respondent to

withdraw from the world. So, too, suffering was an element in the following answer: "The first reason was to save my soul, but mostly it was my love for Christ and His Holy Mother. I wanted to live in a closer union with them. I also wanted to save other souls from going to hell by offering up my sufferings." Personally painful experiences in life were also strong motivating factors in another lay brother's reasons for joining the Order. After being dismissed from another Order, he attempted to find a suitable mate--but not being successful, he, in his thirties, joined the Order with a sense that this was his "last chance." He reported: "I had to find out once and for all if God wants me in religious life."

In conclusion, although each member had a unique case history which explained his coming to St. Anthony's, there were certain sociological uniformities in their backgrounds, as we have shown. Without repeating any specific findings, almost all were the products of highly homogeneous Catholic environments and few had extensive experience outside of these circumscribed environments. Most came from working-class backgrounds and it is reasonable to assert that the majority were products of families in what we have termed the ghetto or transitional stages of American Catholicism. All were quite religious, but their religiosity varied considerably from a simple devotionism (the majority) to a relatively sophisticated intellectual orientation (a few). Nearly

all had been attracted to a religious career very early in life, but most by training and experience lacked desirable occupational alternatives.

Personality Profiles

A personality battery consisting of the Dogmatism Scale (Form E), the Machiavellianism Scale (Mach IV), and a five-item self-esteem scale was included in the questionnaire.¹⁷ The Dogmatism Scale presumes to measure "individual differences in openness or closedness of belief systems" and to serve as a "measure of general authoritarianism and general intolerance" (Rokeach, 1960, pp. 71-72). The Machiavellianism Scale presumes to measure the general tendency of individuals to use or manipulate others to their own ends (Christie, 1962). The self-esteem scale presumes to measure the individual's general confidence in himself vis-a-vis an unidentified alter. While the researcher has considerable methodological reservations about the validity

¹⁷For the Dogmatism Scale, its theoretical rationale and studies bearing upon its validation status, see Rokeach (1960). For the Machiavellianism Scale, see Christie (1962) and the validation studies of Exline, Thibaut, Brannor and Gumpert (1961), Jones and Dougherty (1959) and Singer (1964). The self-esteem scale was constructed of three items from the MMPI and two items worded by the researcher. See Appendix, Questionnaire, Section B, items 1-40, 41-60, and 61-65, respectively.

of such scales and the theoretical assumptions underlying their construction, they were included in the questionnaire originally in order to see if anticipated variations in the experimental groups could be accounted for by these personality measures, since prior research had indicated that each was correlated with performance in the experimental situation employed in our study. As it happened, however, these variations did not materialize (see Chapter VI). Therefore, we have chosen to present the findings here as part of the descriptive background of the study.

Because of the lack of well-identified populations with scores on these scales, external comparisons are impossible to make with any confidence. Only on the dogmatism profile is there in published form a range of group scores with which to compare our monastery population. Table IV gives these dogmatism mean scores together with St. Anthony's score. Generally, this writer is inclined to interpret the large differences between the V. A. and worker samples and the other groups as Rokeach (1960, p. 91) himself has suggested, i.e., as functions of greater tendencies to agree among those in the V. A. and workers samples (response bias). However, the differences between the monastery sample and those of the English colleges II" and "Ohio State U. III" are not large enough to infer that these three groups are comparatively more or less closed

TABLE IV

MEAN DOGMATISM SCORES (E FORM ONLY) OF SELECTED GROUPS

	<u>n</u>	<u>Mean</u>
V. A. domiciliary ^a	80	183.2
English workers ^a	60	173.8
English colleges II ^a	80	152.8
St. Anthony's Monastery	27	148.7
Ohio State U. III ^a	21	142.6

^aSource: Rokeach (1960, p. 90, Table 4.3). Ohio State U. samples varied from 141.3 to 143.8.

in their beliefs. All we can do, therefore, is to offer some observations on the puzzling intra-monastery differences found in our study.

Table V summarizes the mean scores obtained on each of these scales for selected status aggregates at St. Anthony's. Most noteworthy here are the relatively low dogmatism, low Machiavellianism and high self-esteem scores of the three professed lay brothers. These findings are quite inexplicable to the researcher, who can offer no interpretation of them which is consistent with observational and interview data. First, the researcher was quite surprised to note the low dogmatism scores of the three professed lay brothers--the lowest of all--because of their

TABLE V

MEAN DOGMATISM, MACHIAVELLIANISM, AND SELF-ESTEEM SCORES
FOR MEMBERS OF ST. ANTHONY'S^a

	<u>Dogmatism</u>	<u>Machiavellianism</u>	<u>Self-Esteem</u>
Priests (n = 4)	138.5	56.5	20.0
Professed Lay Brothers (n = 3)	117.3	39.0	26.3
Cleric Novices (n = 8)	153.5	57.8	19.4
Lay Brother Novices and Postulants (n = 12)	156.8	59.5	20.0
Total (n = 27)	148.7	56.3	20.3

^aSee Appendix Tables C₁, C₂ and C₃ for complete item break-downs for each scale.

manifest conservatism and general rigid adherence to traditional beliefs and practises at St. Anthony's during the study. Second, their low Machiavellianism score was similarly a surprise, because of their frequently observed attempts to sway others by indirect methods related to the general lack of authority they had relative to the priests at St. Anthony's. And third, this observer is at a complete loss to explain the fact that they scored highest on the self-esteem scale, because of their esteem for the priestly vocation and their own aborted aspirations for it, their

esteem for education and personal low attainment, etc.

The only other large difference is that between the priests and the non-professed on Dogmatism, which is generally consistent with inferences based upon field data. But, in the face of the evidence, the selective use of these personality profiles is not warranted. Furthermore, as we shall see in Chapter VI, these measures in a post factum analysis were not significantly correlated with yielding in the autokinetic experiment. While this may have been due to the small n of the experiments, all we can say in conclusion is that it is the researcher's judgment that these scales were of little value in describing the characteristics of those whose behavior was rather scrupulously observed at the monastery.

The Changing Culture of St. Anthony's

As we noted above, St. Anthony's was immersed in a universe of change. On the one hand, the staff of the monastery had an extremely conservative religious training and had internalized much of the codified culture of the Order and the traditional values of the Church (see Chapters III and Chapter IV). Yet, on the other hand, they had also internalized many of the dominant American societal values and most were somewhat familiar with some post-World War II

theological developments in the Church. Therefore, even before Vatican II, there was an operative culture that was not in complete conformity with the traditional rationale and explicit provisions of the Order presented in the documents analyzed in Chapter III. For example, most priests rejected the extreme dualism that had informed the ascetic and penitential life of the Order as reflected in its documents and pious literature. Consistent with this view, most of the priests of the American Province in which St. Anthony's was located considered their apostolic work outside the monastery of great--if not equal--importance to their intra-monastery contemplative life. Most priests questioned the traditional renunciative rationale for the vows; and while still emphasizing the contemplative-community-centric aspects of the Order, they tended to see it less as a withdrawal from society than as a preparation for apostolic work. One example of this was the modest missionary work of the Province which entailed leaving the United States and working alone, or usually with only one other, in a remote area parish far from the routines of monastic community life. The Constitutional limits on financial disbursement and travel were exceeded, brothers had been given passive voice in local chapters, and superiors were inclined to be less punitive and more democratic than the formal culture would suggest. Many members considered

certain features of the codified culture of the Order "medieval," especially liturgical and other ceremonial aspects of community life. Several priests escaped from the routines of monastery life entirely by becoming military chaplains. But for all this, no major collective attempts were made to rethink the entire cultural system of formal norms. It was Vatican II and the direct challenges to traditionalism that it encouraged (as Baum's commentary noted above), which provided the excuses and justifications required to re-examine the life in the Order with the objective of change.

As has already been noted, during the first months of the study, the Constitutions of the Order were being reviewed and a "catalogue of suggestions" for changes was drafted by the staff at St. Anthony's. Let us examine some of these suggestions in order to understand the direction and degree of change about which there was some agreement among the professed at St. Anthony's.

Generally, the suggestions made did not directly challenge the importance of the contemplative, prayer, eremitic, ascetic, ceremonial and Marian themes of the culture. What they did do was to shift their meanings and prominence by emphasizing the active apostolic aspect of the life, rejecting the "legalism" of the Order's rules and promoting suggestions for change, which incorporated many

of the values derived from their American culture and the revisionist sub-culture of the Church. Let us therefore examine some of these suggestions on Constitutional amendment.

They reaffirmed the central importance of contemplation and its associated prayer theme, but recommended that legal, communal and ceremonial requirements be minimized and that simplicity and individual responsibility and freedom be maximized. For example, they recommended: "That the present prescription for two hours of mental prayer daily be reaffirmed," but "that more freedom should be allowed the individual to choose the time and place for his two hours of prayer, with the permission of the local superior." With regard to the Divine Office, among other things they suggested:

That the Divine Office in choir be recited in the vernacular. That the recitation of the Office in choir be limited to Lauds (as morning prayer) and Vespers (as evening prayer). That the rubrics of the choral recitation of the Office be simplified. That the prescriptions of the Ordinarium regarding liturgical acts be simplified. That the kissing of the floor because of mistakes and late entry into choir be eliminated. That the public signs asking permission to leave choir and refectory be eliminated. That bows during the sung Office be eliminated. That the covering of the head with the cowl--where adequate central heating is had--be eliminated. That the embrace (fraternal accolade) at all community acts be eliminated. That a simpler way of singing the Office be introduced. That the night office prescriptions should pertain to deserts¹⁸ only.

¹⁸Retreats to which members of the Order might retire for a year at a time to live almost as hermits.

And on other aspects of liturgical practise, they offered:

That the liturgy be kept simple and austere. That the schedule for sung Masses and Offices be reduced, considering always the nature of the houses. That our proper Masses and Prefaces be rewritten in accordance with the advances in liturgical studies. That our proper orations be rewritten in accord with the advances made in liturgical studies, e.g., for the renovation of vows. That the vernacular be used for all the community exercises. That the grace before and after meals should be shortened. That the particular examination of conscience should not be part of a common daily exercise, but considered as an act of private devotion."

Several pages of suggestions on apostolic activities were advanced, among them the following:

That there should be a special chapter on the apostolate of the Order in the Constitutions. This chapter should (a) include a preface on the theology of the priesthood (both ministerial and common) with references to the sacramental nature of the priesthood and to the apostolic character of [orders like ours]; (b) explain the [Order of Mystical Union's] apostolate as the prophetic witness to the aims of the Order; (c) recognize the apostolate as a primary and essential factor of our Order with stress upon its urgency and imperativeness in the modern world; and (d) give directives affecting the apostolate of the Order which consider the needs of changing times and different countries and localities. That the apostolate not be considered in the Constitutions under the negative aspect of cloister. That the apostolate of the Order is, and must be, the apostolate of the Church Herself. That any apostolate can be undertaken provided the spirit and the aims of the Order be maintained in accordance with the common good of the house.

The following list of apostolic activities were endorsed as "compatible" with the Order of Mystical Union's life:

diffusion of the doctrine of the spiritual life; the mission apostolate, retreat work and operation of retreat houses;

lecture series on the spiritual life; spiritual direction; week-end help-outs to parishes; inquiry class for Catholics and separated brethren; assistance to nuns and sisters, especially in spiritual theology; teaching of spiritual theology and related subjects in colleges and universities; spiritual direction in the Newman apostolate; establishment of public churches or chapels in cities for working people; the inner city apostolate; home missionary work; parishes.

Although it was suggested "that there should be adequate possibility for more complete retirement by our religious, either to a hermitage for a day, or for longer periods of time to a desert," the eremitic theme was tied to the apostolic work of the Order in the following suggestion: "that the eremitical spirit includes the prophetic spirit of witness and service among the people of God." Furthermore, many suggestions directed against the legal provisions supporting isolation and those oriented toward ecumenicism tended to reflect the openness of those at St. Anthony's. For example, the following suggestions on silence reflect no eremitic influence:

That [the Chapter on silence] as it stands be dropped. A rewritten chapter should reaffirm the prescription of the Rule and it should be based upon a scriptural foundation showing silence as an essential of the life of prayer. That this rewritten chapter stress silence as a social virtue, e.g., charity towards others.

Similarly, travel restrictions, requirements for mail censorship, permission to walk outside the monastery, etc., were challenged. It was recommended that "the Provincial be allowed to permit his religious to go anywhere in the world," and that "[a Sabbatical] include a change of environment, e.g., outside one's province or even country."

Under the ecumenical emphasis a new freedom of travel and extra-monastery involvement underlie the following suggestions:

That our men should be allowed to attend both Catholic and secular universities to obtain degrees in those disciplines which will aid in understanding the traditions of the Order and in applying them in a meaningful and pertinent way to contemporary moral and spiritual problems. That the ecumenical movement be considered part of our apostolate, not only in the missions but also in the Province. That some of our men be allowed to specialize in ecumenism so that the Order may be represented in nationwide and worldwide ecumenical endeavors. That students be allowed to participate in ecumenical programs. That our religious be allowed to attend seminars and conventions which are useful for their course of studies and areas of work. That superiors should encourage research and study and allow for the necessary travel involved. That the ultimate responsibility for travel should rest with the Provincial. That the means of diffusing our spiritual doctrine should include writing, scholarly research, lectures, retreats, and conducting seminars and conventions.

The negative, renunciative emphasis given the vows consistent with the traditional concept of asceticism was rejected. This was expressed in the following recommendations:

This paragraph [stressing the legal obligations of the vows] seems to legislate piety. The difference between the vow and the virtue is not spelled out. That the wording of the vow formula should be chosen so as to mirror the religious spirit of witness to the three vows. That we avoid a merely negative and purely legalistic approach in living the vows. That the vows and their obligations should be positively stated with a theological basis. That the vows should be stressed as means of service to God and to the Church. That the treatment of the vows in the Constitutions should emphasize the element of personal responsibility, freedom and the mature development of the individual in the practice of the vows.

On the vow of obedience the values of freedom and individual responsibility are emphasized. For example, regarding the requirement that "all things should be done according to the will of the superior," they suggested, "This paragraph on permission tends to eliminate initiative, responsibility and maturity and therefore should be omitted." Furthermore, they emphasized: "That the spirit of liberty be fostered without prejudice to obedience," and "That there should be less regimentation." With reference to the superior-subject relationship, they suggested: "That the concept of fraternal relationship between Superior and subject be stressed," and "That the office of Superior be seen in terms of service rather than in terms of 'lordship.'"

On chastity, no mention of renunciation was made and the suspicious and restrictive tone of the official document regarding chastity was rejected:

That this chapter [on the vow of chastity] be prefaced with positive scriptural, theological and psychological principles. That negative elements which reflect distrust of the religious or views him as non-adult be eliminated from this chapter and from the training of the religious.

Similarly, the vow of poverty was seen in non-legal terms and related not to asceticism, but to apostolic activity, as can be seen in the following recommendations:

That aspects of this vow should be presented in a religious rather than juridic manner and viewed as the true witness to the evangelical life. That the practice of poverty should take into account the customs of the country and the conditions of each Province. That our vow of poverty should manifest concretely a relationship to the poverty known and lived by the people in the world. That communities be encouraged to work with the poor. That we use some of our means to help the poor.

In this connection, local autonomy was suggested in reference to the selection of furnishings, construction of buildings, use of new inventions, etc.

Regarding other aspects of the life which were discussed above in connection with the theme of "asceticism," the members of St. Anthony's also took issue. Concerning fasting they suggested:

That a reaffirmation be given that the principal corporal mortification of our Order consists in abstinence and fasting as contained in the Rule. That [the paragraph] which concerns fasts during the non-fast period of the Rule be eliminated.

But, concerning "discipline," (i.e., the flagellation ceremony), they held: "That the discipline be regulated on a liturgical basis, e.g., on the Church's days of penance"

[three days a year], and "That communal discipline be eliminated and discipline itself relegated to a private mortification." And, on mortifications in the refectory:

That the ceremonial value of corporal mortifications should be respected in as much as they serve to emphasize our common goal, the imitation of Christ, but that those corporal mortifications which downgrade the dignity of man should be eliminated. That the ordinary and extraordinary penances in the refectory be eliminated. That the external structure of penances and mortifications be abolished.

Summarizing their position on their conception of the Order's "distinctive" austerity, they reported:

That the austerities of the Order are reflected in the Rule (mainly fasting). That this austerity be understood in terms of the contemplative goals of our life. That the traditional vita austera [ascetic life] be evaluated in terms of national and cultural conditions.

Also, the Chapter of Faults came under criticism, as the following proposals show:

That the name "Chapter of Faults" be changed to "Fraternal Chapter." That the Chapter of Faults have as its inspiration the Rule itself. That it should be renewed in the spirit in which it was originally intended--a serious discussion of the spirit of the Order, the objectives, and then last of all, the pointing out of faults. That the Chapter of Faults be a familial or community exercise in dialogue. That corrections should first be made privately. That there be no correction of individuals in Chapter. That the ceremonies presently prescribed be simplified. That the solemnly professed brothers and clerics should be allowed to stay until the end of the Chapter. That the office of Zealator be abolished. That the custom of accusing ourselves in chapter or refectory be dropped.

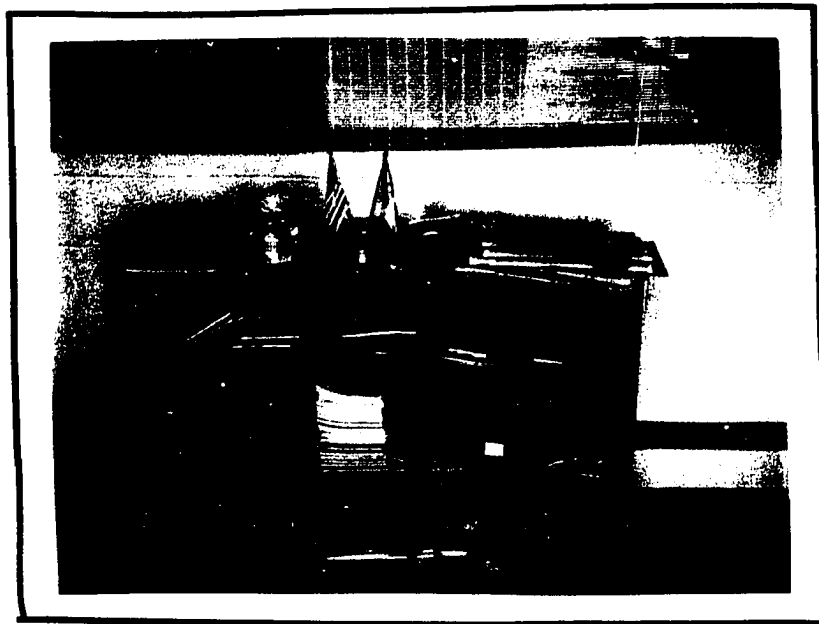
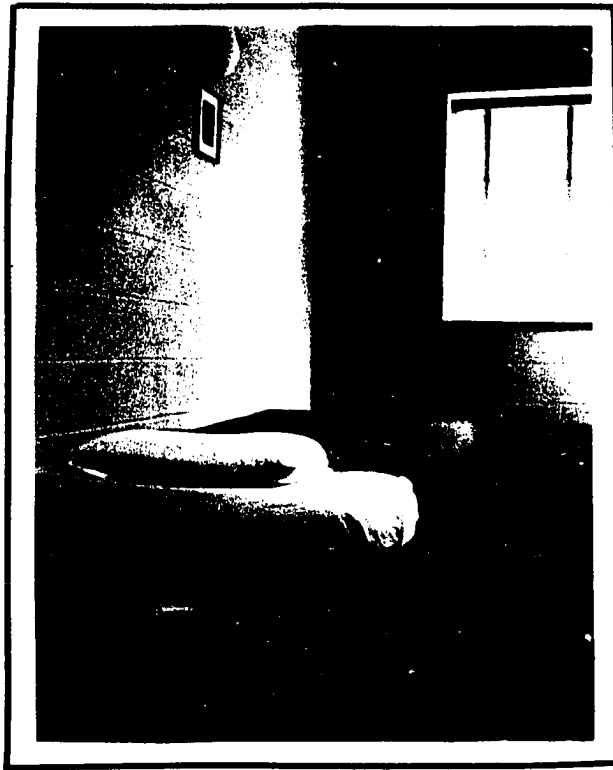
Already the pattern is clear: the rejection, reinterpretation or modification of the ancient practises of

PICTURE I. A CELL AT ST. ANTHONY'S
(Upper Picture, p. 300b)

An austere cell at St. Anthony's with bed of boards still reflects the ascetic tradition of the Order, but note that the mattress is of substantial thickness and is not in the least uncomfortable. The inspection-like neatness of this cell was, however, the rare exception. Most cells were usually in great disarray and cluttered with non-religious and religious objects alike.

PICTURE II. A FALLEN ASCETIC SYMBOL
(Lower Picture, p. 300b)

A skull, required by rule to be placed on the dining table as a symbolic reminder of the "living death" to which life in the Order is dedicated, was an object of ridicule and jest at St. Anthony's. Nicknamed "Oscar" and adorned with "shades," the skull appears here on a recreation room bookcase. Note the game, "Careers," on the bottom shelf. "Monopoly" was the favorite game of the aspirants at St. Anthony's during the period of the research and none of the players appeared aware of the vast gulf between the values which such games reflect and the values of the ascetic life of the Order to which they were orienting their lives.



the Order reflected an underlying commitment to the values of "human dignity," "freedom," "activism," "informality," "individual responsibility," etc., alien to the basic rubrics of culture of the Order and the traditional Church. Let us now examine the operation of some other values consonant with the American experience in the recommendations made.

First, the theme of egalitarianism is manifest in the following suggestions regarding the monastery and lay brother-cleric relations: "That since the Council has stressed the equality of the People of God, we must reach out to serve all without distinction," and,

That we should eliminate passages within our legislation which express the idea of no-contact between lay-brothers and clerics and clerics and priest. That it should really be a common life, and distinctions that emphasize the difference between lay-religious and the clerical religious are to be done away with. That insofar as the non-cleric is a religious, his rights should be the same as those of the cleric religious. That the lay-brothers should be given active voice in the Community. That passive voice be given concerning the holding of certain offices such as Mass procurator, house procurator. That the possibility of having passive voice even as house discreet and provincial definator be considered. That the lay-brothers be called upon to give their advice, to be allowed to voice their opinion in regard to decisions affecting their area of competency or responsibility. That active voice be given to lay-brothers in solemn vows to vote for any members about to make solemn vows. That lay-brothers who are in Solemn Vows for at least three years as amended vote for the socius [a voting representative of the monastery] to the Provincial Chapter. That after the Superiors, seating arrangement in the community acts

should be according to the time of first profession and nothing else. That the restored order of diaconate be opened to the brothers. That lay-brothers should be allowed to participate in the apostolate. That the lay-brothers be allowed to recite in choir certain Hours of the Office, if they are in the vernacular. That our Brothers should be offered the many opportunities open to them in the mission apostolate and be allowed to acquire the training necessary to undertake this work. That our legislation avoid all terminology that might lessen the respect due to the vocation of the non-cleric. That the formation of the lay-brothers be considered as seriously as that of the clerics with due consideration for the development of their technical and intellectual skills."

And so on.

Second, the themes of democracy and local autonomy, as opposed to authoritarianism and centralized control, run throughout the suggestions made regarding the political and economic affairs of the Order. The following will be sufficient to illustrate this:

That the principle of subsidiarity--understood in the sense that a higher authority does not intervene in matters which can be handled by inferior or local authority--should be adopted, and that the principle of subsidiarity is as pertinent in a religious order as in the church at large. From this principle of subsidiarity a greatly desired decentralization of power within the Order and greater autonomy for individual Provinces will be achieved. That legislation from Rome (e.g., from General Chapter or General Definitory [a council composed of the General and his advisors, called Definitors, responsible for the governing of the Order between General Chapters]) be restricted to general principles for guidelines, to be further implemented by Provincials, Provincial Congresses, or Provincial Definitory [a corresponding council to the General Definitory on the Provincial level]. That the method of elections be reorganized to be more truly representative and democratic. That the procedure of voting, at least for the office of Provincial, be changed so as to allow everyone with

active voice to vote by secret ballot. That business agenda for the Chapter (General or Provincial) be prepared long in advance of the Chapter itself. This agenda should have no classification of secrecy so that it may be available to all members of the Order or Province as the case may be. That in order to allow more equitable representation at the Provincial Chapter, the number of socii from a monastery should be in proportion to the number of religious in that monastery. That a new and more simple method be devised for amending the Constitutions by the General Chapter. . . .

And,

That the financial status of the Order should be made available by report to the Provinces. That the Provincial financial status be made available to the Definitory, Superiors and communities. That house financial status be made available to the Chapter Fathers and solemnly professed lay-brothers. That a community budget be followed with all the religious conscious of their personal responsibility in this area. That the lists of amounts the local superiors and their discreets and/or Chapters are allowed to spend without seeking permission from the Provincial or General should be revised to make it more in accord with the present day circumstances in the various provinces.

Third, greater national, regional and local autonomy is suggested in a number of other areas as well. For example, it was written:

That we deny an instruction from [the General Definitory of the Order in] Rome which states that national and regional conditions are of great importance for dioceses but not for religious families. We think the importance is equal and therefore should be the guide and norm in the establishment of constitutional legislation. That our proper Ceremonial be eliminated and the rubrics of a nation or region should be followed. That the horarium should be left to the individual communities, with the approval of the Provincial and/or the Definitory. That a degree of freedom be allowed in the various provinces concerning the determination of the status of lay-brothers.

And, "That local custom be followed for the grace before and after meals."

Fourth, the value of work was given explicit approval in the following:

That manual labor be esteemed and undertaken when necessary by all, both priest and brother always allowing for the Fathers to prepare for their sacerdotal ministry.

Fifth, an anti-legalism and anti-negativism runs throughout their suggestions, as the following examples illustrate:

That the legislation regarding the common life be expressed in a more positive, spiritual manner. That the text should be universal in scope and not descend to minute particulars and detailed prescriptions. That all traces of exaggerated legalism be done away with. That the Constitutions should be more Scriptural and inspirational and less juridical. That positive elements be incorporated into our legislation which would reflect the theology of obedience and make this section inspirational rather than juridic.

Sixth, egalitarian simplicity is emphasized and a rejection of elaborate ceremonialism is contained in many suggestions, e.g.,

That contemporary etiquette should be used in superior-subject relationships, thus eliminating what is presently considered courtly procedures and manners; e.g., kneeling before Superiors, the kissing of his hands and Scapular, the awkward standing-up when he arrives in the presence of his subjects, especially in the refectory, etc. That we drop the reading in refectory, except for a few minutes of Scripture. That the custom of washing hands before entering the refectory be abolished. That prescriptions concerning the reading of material proper to the Order, as the Ordinarium and the Constitutions, be relegated to private reading. That the Ordinarium be strictly ceremonial and also greatly simplified as to

ceremonies and should permit national modification. That the Ordinarium should not be presented as a body of law equal to the Constitutions.

The Marian theme received only one citation, which read: "That there should be a clearer formulation of the Marian tradition of the Order." Despite the attempts of Pope John, who tried to de-emphasize Marianism, especially because of its unfavorable ecumenical consequences, Pope Paul, since his election, has reintensified Marian devotion. Most of the members of St. Anthony's were especially devoted to Mary, and no clear attempt to explicitly de-emphasize Marian devotionism could win general support at St. Anthony's: thus the vague suggestion above. However, implicit examples of de-emphasis were found in a recommendation to remove the rosary from the habit and the stopping of a procession on Marian feast days.

Other miscellaneous recommendations were also made concerning allowing television in monasteries, extensive changes in the habit, changes in seminary practises, etc., but the above recommendations will give the reader some appreciation of the gap which existed between the codified culture and operative culture at St. Anthony's. Nevertheless, consensus on many of these items was far from complete at St. Anthony's, and at the beginning of field work, most of the life in the community was in general conformity to the

explicit provisions of the Constitutions. Gradually, however, many of the recommendations made by the staff noted above were "experimentally" introduced during the year of research. When considering the social structural changes in the monastery, we shall have occasion to describe some differential responses to a few of these changes and to general, religiously-related issues.

The Changing Social Relationships of St. Anthony's

Not only were changes in beliefs and norms the rule at the novitiate, but also in the matrices of relationships in which its members were located. Since it was this aspect of the life at St. Anthony's, especially those relationships obtaining between the aspirants, that were the primary focus of research, let us first describe briefly the main characteristics of the staff, or professed, and then turn to this question in some detail.

A. The Staff

The staff at St. Anthony's consisted of all the professed members of the community and included the Superior, Father Paul (1);¹⁹ the Novice Master, Father Anthony (3);

¹⁹Numbers used throughout this section refer to the code numbers assigned to all members and will be employed in figures to follow (see Appendix Table A for a complete listing).

seven priests: Fathers Augustine (2), Joachim (4), Patrick (5), Conrad (6), Francis (7), Dominic (8) and Jerome (9); and, at the beginning of the study, two professed lay brothers, Brothers Bernard (21) and Norbert (22). However, Fathers Augustine, Joachim and Conrad did not participate in the study because they were transferred before the field research began (see Tables I and II above and Appendix Table A).

Father Paul had just been reelected as Superior of St. Anthony's when the study began. Generally, his position on most issues was quite liberal and he was referred to by some liturgical and devotional traditionalists as "Old Burlap," because it was he who, when changing the chapel to conform to new liturgical standards, put plain burlap on the wall behind the altar. He admitted to the researcher that it was mainly in the previous two years that many of his ideas with regard to aspects of the Church and the Order had changed radically. He was very much committed to Vatican II's implementation. Two of his primary emphases as superior were upon not being authoritarian in the execution of his office and upon being open to extramonastery involvement. The latter was evidenced by his having invited to the monastery a female modern religious artist, a Hindu mystic, Mormon missionaries, a sociologist, etc. His many activities included: conducting days of

recollection for sisters (mainly on current Church changes and spiritual and religious renewal); participation in an interfaith ministerial peace vigil in Washington, D. C.; attendance at lectures and symposia on a wide range of topics, from religious renewal to Bonhoeffer; regular assistance in a local parish; performing as a temporary chaplain in residence at a local hospital; inviting to the monastery the superiors of regional male religious associations for a conference on renewal topics. He took special pains to avoid interfering with Father Anthony's responsibility over the novices and postulants.

Father Anthony (a Provincial Definitor²⁰) had replaced Father Augustine as Novice Master a year before the study began. The Cloisterville group at St. Anthony's was initially introduced into novitiate life under Father Augustine, who was reputed to have "gone strictly, but fairly, by the book" (i.e., the Constitutions and other manuals of rules of the Order). All of the traditional rubrics of the Order mentioned in Chapter III were then in practice, with the exception of giving mortifications as penances for faults. As noted above, the cleric novices and

²⁰He was one of four members of the very influential council of advisors to the Provincial Superior and was himself made acting Provincial during the Order's General Chapter.

lay-brother aspirants were required to study and behave in accordance with the Constitutional provisions. But, despite Father Anthony's different approach to his office, much more liberal and "non-directed," an initial managerial succession problem was avoided for two principal reasons. First, because of the fact that Father Anthony had been superior of the Cloisterville seminary before his assignment to St. Anthony's, he was known and deeply respected by nearly all the members of the Cloisterville group. Indeed, when asked to name the three living religious men for whom they had the most respect as religious men, of the thirteen members of the Cloisterville group included in our questionnaire survey, no less than nine mentioned Father Anthony.²¹ This tied Father Anthony with Pope Paul among this group of respondents, which was no small feat. The second reason for the smoothness of his transition into the office may be attributed to his very gradual introduction of changes. Like the superior, Father Anthony was also strongly committed to the implementation of Vatican II, but tended to be more committed to some of the more traditional facets of

²¹Another, but more subtle sign of Father Anthony's influence at the novitiate was the tendency of several non-professed and even Father Dominic to unconsciously imitate a nervous speech habit of his, i.e., to pause often, clearing his throat in such a manner as to have the effect of affirming the thoughtfulness and sincerity of his remarks.

the Order's ideology, mainly because of his extensive interest in and study of spiritual theology. Not given to quick judgments, he was meditative and inclined to the position that the role of novice master should be that of a non-directive, benign, role-model, who allows the aspirants considerable freedom to "find and nurture to maturity their own spirituality," rather than a disciplinarian who actively "forms" the aspirants. "They will weed themselves out," he reported. As a result, to some of the new class he appeared enigmatic and indecisive, which was in certain respects a consequential error in judgment on their parts. Like Father Paul, he was very active in several extra-monastery involvements, including membership on a local interfaith ministerial council, giving retreats, and serving on a regional board of religion and mental health. Regarding monastery changes, Father Anthony generally tended to support innovation, but he did not see individual changes as urgent or crucial to life in the Order and, therefore, his position on most issues was one of studied moderation. More committed to the eremitic aspect of the Order's culture, however, he was the leading advocate in the Province for the establishment of a desert.

Father Patrick, the oldest of the priests, was also the most traditionalistic. Of generous demeanor and with a slight, but unmistakable touch of a brogue, his sincere

interest in understanding his Church in transition did not mask his confusion or intense and simple devotionism. His activities outside the monastery were much more limited than Fathers Paul and Anthony. They were mostly confined to giving retreats and novenas. Father Patrick was, however, one of the most cooperative priests at St. Anthony's and was convinced that Catholics could benefit appreciably from understanding secular approaches to man and was therefore quite supportive of the research.

Father Francis was very much a "loner" at the Monastery and the least known to the researcher. Although apparently interested in historical research and committed to nearly all the recent changes in the Church and Order, he was quite defensive in conversations with the researcher and uncooperative with the study. We will have more to say about this below.

Of all at the monastery, young Father Dominic was perhaps the most expressive of his disenchantment with, if not alienation from, many of his Church's and Order's traditions. He frequently left the monastery in civilian clothing--something no other priest was observed doing--and refused to wear the rosary with his habit. Flaunting the regulations against taking food between meals, he would have three or four beers before retiring at night. His stated reason was his German background. Very outgoing and

expressive, he made many cynical remarks regarding the ceremonial life in the Church and held ideas of religious life that tended to emphasize ego-gratification. Indeed, "happiness" was his most frequent theme. He would argue that religious life should be a "joyful experience," not a somber one. Frustrated somewhat by being refused permission to do graduate work in anthropology, in which he had developed an interest, Father Dominic tended to be physically very active about the monastery--e.g., repairing pot-holes in the road, clearing dead trees. His extra-monastery religious activities were largely confined to rendering parished assistance.

The youngest priest of all, Father Jerome, was away from the monastery studying liturgy during the most intensive period of research. He exhibited an even keener interest in liberal changes than Father Dominic, but his disposition was more serious and less ambivalent.

Brother Bernard was the efficient, practical, jack-of-all trades at St. Anthony's. He quietly went about the numerous tasks of repairing equipment, the roof and the electrical system; seeing to the furnace; keeping track of the monastery's finances; and ordering and procuring the food and other needed supplies. Keenly interested in brother vocations, he was responsible to Father Anthony for the training of the lay brothers in cooking, shoe repair,

book-binding, and other skills. As far as his attitudes toward change were concerned, although he lacked the formal theological and intellectual training of the priests, he did his best to keep himself informed. Despite many progressive ideas on the "improvement" of cleric-lay-brother relations, the training of lay brothers, and the like, he, however, tended to vote conservatively when called upon in decision-making situations.

The most conservative of all the members of the staff however was Brother Norbert. He was severely alienated by changes in the Church's liturgy which were inconsistent with his very traditional devotionism. Statues of saints without faces, new music, changes in the Mass, etc., bothered him greatly and he was quite candid about his antipathy for them. In fact, when he discussed them, his face flushed. Nevertheless, he was resigned to go along with these changes out of a sense of obedience. On almost any issue, Brother Norbert could be counted on to take the conservative, if not the reactionary position. Still when changes were imposed by authority he would conform and would do whatever was required of him.

Despite the general homogeneity of background and orthodoxy of faith, this, then, in brief caption, was the staff: a highly heterogeneous group in matters of temperament, emphasis, interests, religious experience and

knowledge. However, to the novices and postulants, they represented authority. Indeed, they had the power to judge the aspirants' fitness and each had a voice in votes periodically taken on each aspirant as to whether or not he should be allowed to continue in training.²² Let us now turn to the measurement and presentation of the structure of social relationships obtaining among the novices and postulants during the research.

B. The Changing Structure of Inmate Social Relationships at St. Anthony's

In order to aid in describing the changing structure of social relationships existing among cleric novices and lay brother aspirants at St. Anthony's, we shall rely primarily upon the data obtained from the questionnaire, augmented by observational, interview and informant sources of information when appropriate.

1. Note on Method.--Following the general outline of social relationships introduced in Chapter I, four general classes of social relationships were distinguished: an affective relationship class, composed of the various forms of cathetic orientation relationships in which the object of ego's orientation is an alter; an esteem relationship

²²Brothers Bernard and Norbert did not legally have active voice in the local chapter, but were granted it, de facto, mid-point in the study.

class, composed of forms of cognitive orientations of alters, based upon judgments made in terms of forms of relevant evaluative orientations; an influence relationship class, composed also of forms of cognitive orientations of alters, but relating to alter's impact upon ego's experience or behavior; and a sanctioning class, comprised of cognitive orientations of ego regarding his direction of positive and negative sanctions toward alter. Each of these classes, then, are complex derivatives of our elementary relationship system and were measured by questionnaire.

In order to obtain measures on each of these classes of social relationship over time, five time periods were selected which observational and informant data had indicated were of particular significance to the aspirants at St. Anthony's. For each of these periods an alphabetical list of the religious names of all cleric novices and lay-brother novices and postulants then in residence at the novitiate was given. This was followed by a short description of the period, intended to improve recall and each was asked to write in the names of those to whom he most and least related in six degrees of relationship for each of the four classes of relationship. The following is an example of how the first time period was presented in the questionnaire:

NOVICE QUESTIONNAIRE

The following questions relate to your attitudes and feelings about novices with whom you have lived at [St. Anthony's]. As you know, people sometimes change their minds about others as time passes, so you will be asked to recall your own experiences at different periods of time. This portion of the questionnaire, is completely confidential. Please answer each question as accurately as you can.

1. Before the entry of the new class in [Month X], the following brothers, listed in alphabetical order, were at the Novitiate:

Ambrose	Bruno
Arsinius	Leo
Bartholomew	Mark
Berthold	Martin
Bonaventure	Peter
Brocard	Thomas
Victor	

THINK BACK TO [MONTH X], JUST BEFORE THE GRADUATION OF THE CLERIC NOVICES AND BEFORE THE ENTRY OF THE NEW CLASS. LOOK AT EACH OF THE NAMES ABOVE AND TRY TO RECALL WHAT WAS HAPPENING AND HOW YOU FELT THEN. NOW, PLEASE ANSWER QUESTIONS a-h AS YOU FELT AT THAT TIME. (IF YOU ARRIVED IN [MONTH X], SKIP TO QUESTION #2.)

- a. List those three brothers whom you personally liked the most:
Liked the most _____
Liked 2nd most _____
Liked 3rd most _____
- b. List those three brothers whom you personally liked the least:²³
Liked the least _____
Liked 2nd least _____
Liked 3rd least _____

²³Because of the prevalent ideology of "loving one's brothers," it was decided to not word the statement in the negative, i.e., to ask whom they most "disliked." For some to admit publicly they disliked another would have been tantamount to a confession of their inadequacy.

- c. List those three brothers whom you most esteemed:²⁴
Esteemed most _____
Esteemed 2nd _____
Esteemed 3rd _____
- d. List those three brothers whom you esteemed least:²⁵
Esteemed least _____
Esteemed 2nd least _____
Esteemed 3rd least _____
- e. List those three brothers who had the most influence upon you:²⁶
Most influence _____
2nd most influence _____
3rd most influence _____
- f. List those three brothers who had the least influence upon you:²⁷
Least influence _____
2nd least influence _____
3rd least influence _____

24, 25 In the presentation of the questionnaire, the researcher went into some detail to distinguish between esteem (or respect) and liking; that one could respect or esteem someone without necessarily liking them, and vice versa. Again, the negative disesteem (or disrespect) was avoided for reasons similar to those regarding affect.



26, 27 Here we were concerned with total perceived influence and not the direction of influence (positive or negative). While this was explained to the respondents, most apparently felt that those individuals whom they least liked and/or esteemed did not influence them. Therefore, by and large, what we got here is perception of positive influence only.

- g. List those three brothers whom you went out of your way to support, praise and/or help because their behavior was consistent with your view of the Spirit of [the Order of Mystical Union]:²⁸
1st _____
2nd _____
3rd _____
- h. List those three brothers whom you went out of your way to correct, encourage and/or help because their behavior was not consistent with your view of the Spirit of [the Order of Mystical Union]:²⁹
1st _____
2nd _____
3rd _____

For the wording of all time periods, see Appendix (Questionnaire, pp. 523-532).

Thereupon, six scores were assigned to the categories of response under each class of relationship. For example, a score of +3 was given individuals receiving a first choice in liking, +2 for a second choice, +1 for a third choice, -1 for a third least liked response, -2 for a second least liked response, and -3 for a "liked the least" choice. A matrix was then constructed based upon all responses in the four classes for all five time periods

^{28, 29} Again, the researcher had to be very careful to word the questions in the affirmative due to the prevailing ideology at St. Anthony's and link it to the perceived norms of the aspirants. Some would not have been inclined to admit to having snubbed, avoided, rebuked or otherwise disabused their fellow classmates, although each of these mechanisms of native sanctioning were observed to have occurred. Here, therefore, we attempted to enlist the ideology of benevolence to get at perceived sanctioning behavior, and it seems to have been effective.

(see Appendix Tables D₁ - D₂₀).³⁰ The figures presented in this chapter are, therefore constructed on the basis of these matrices (see, for example, Figure I, p. 323). The vertical axis of each figure represents the algebraic sum of the individuals' received choices and, unless otherwise indicated, only first and last choices are plotted. The circles with numbers enclosed, e.g., (50), represent the members of the class and his code number (see Appendix Table A). First choices (+3) are indicated by a solid line, , and last choices (-3) by a dashed line, , the arrowheads indicating the direction of the choices. Other symbols used on the figures are as follows: (See page 320.)

³⁰For a few who returned questionnaires, some categories for some time periods were left blank and they are reported as such in the matrices. In a few cases more than one individual was listed in a category or none in one category and others completed, etc. They, too, are entered in the matrices with scores reflecting the reported categories only. For the three ex-members of St. Anthony's who failed to return questionnaires, their "choices" were recorded only when other evidence was available. That is, the entries listed for these three cases are supported by data derived from interviews with the subject himself plus that given by informants.

- * a cleric novice
- a member who attended the Cloisterville minor seminary
- ↳ voluntarily departed from the novitiate
- ↳ graduated from the novitiate (cleric novices going on to college)
- ↳ reassigned
- ↳ expelled

The Cloisterville Group

At the beginning of the study there were nineteen trainees at St. Anthony's, but by the end of the fourth month when intensive field observation (Phase II) began, only thirteen remained--five cleric novices and eight lay brother novices. Cleric novices Gilmary (10), Maurice (11) and Eugene (12), and lay brother novices Zachary (27), Adam (28), and Becket (29) had voluntarily left the monastery.³¹ Our research, therefore, was focussed upon the remaining members: cleric novices Leo (13), Arsenius (14), Bruno (15),

³¹Numbers used here correspond to code numbers used in diagrams throughout this chapter. For a complete listing, see Table A of Appendix.

Thomas (16), and Bartholomew (17), and lay brother novices Martin (23), Peter (24), Bonaventure (25), Berthold (26), Mark (30), Brocard (31), Victor (32), and Ambrose (33). We called these members the Cloisterville group because nine of the thirteen had attended the minor seminary at Cloisterville and, as we have seen, it was among them that Father Anthony, the Novice Master, was held in such high esteem. As previously reported, they had been together at St. Anthony's for nearly a year. The only exception was that of Brother Ambrose (33), who had come to the novitiate four months prior to the beginning of the study and eight months before the start of field observation. They had received much of their training under Father Augustine and had formed a fairly cohesive and stable structure of social relationships without noticeable subgroup formations. Because of the closing of the Cloisterville minor seminary, this was the last group at the novitiate among whom a substantial number would be Cloisterville trained.

The time period shortly before the graduation and departure from St. Anthony's of the five cleric novices for college, the reassignment of Brother Martin, and prior to the entry of the new class, is designated T_1 . The reported relationships obtaining among the Cloisterville group for this period, which was the last week in the fourth month of the study, are presented separately for each of the

relationship classes in Figures I, II, III and IV. As noted above the figures represent only first and last choices. However, the entire matrix for each is presented in the Appendix in Tables D₁, D₂, D₃ and D₄, respectively. In the lower right-hand corner of Figure 1 is also noted the former members of the Cloisterville group who had voluntarily left the novitiate in the first three months of the study, or at T₁.

As Figure I shows, four members of the group were generally well-liked, Brothers Leo (13) and Bartholomew (17), both cleric novices and former Cloisterville students, and Brothers Bonaventure (25)³² and Ambrose (33), lay brother novices without Cloisterville backgrounds. Brother Mark (30) was, on the other hand, least liked of all. He had come to St. Anthony's with more secular experience than any other of this group and the one redeeming virtue of his position in the affective matrix was that his first choice liking was Brother Leo (13), the most liked in the group, who reciprocated in choosing him as his second most

³²Note that Brother Bonaventure (25) did not report negative choices. Generally, he was not observed to have expressed any in interaction either. His circumspect aloofness from interpersonal conflicts served to preserve his relatively high ranking on most measures throughout the study, but as a consequence, his influence on others was more as that of a detached role model than a framer of opinion or action.

FIGURE I . AFFECTIVE MATRIX, T_1

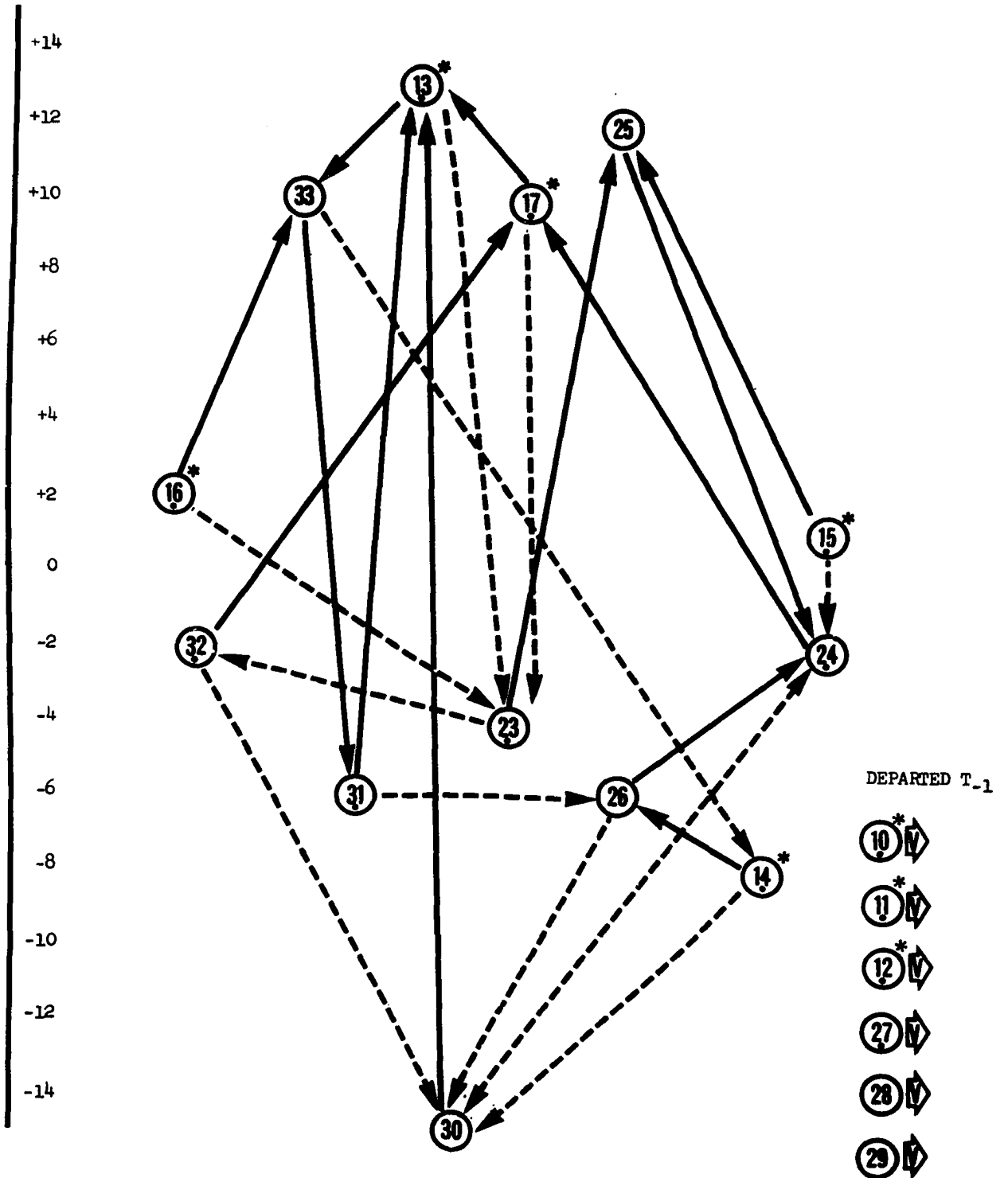


FIGURE II. ESTEEM MATRIX, T_1

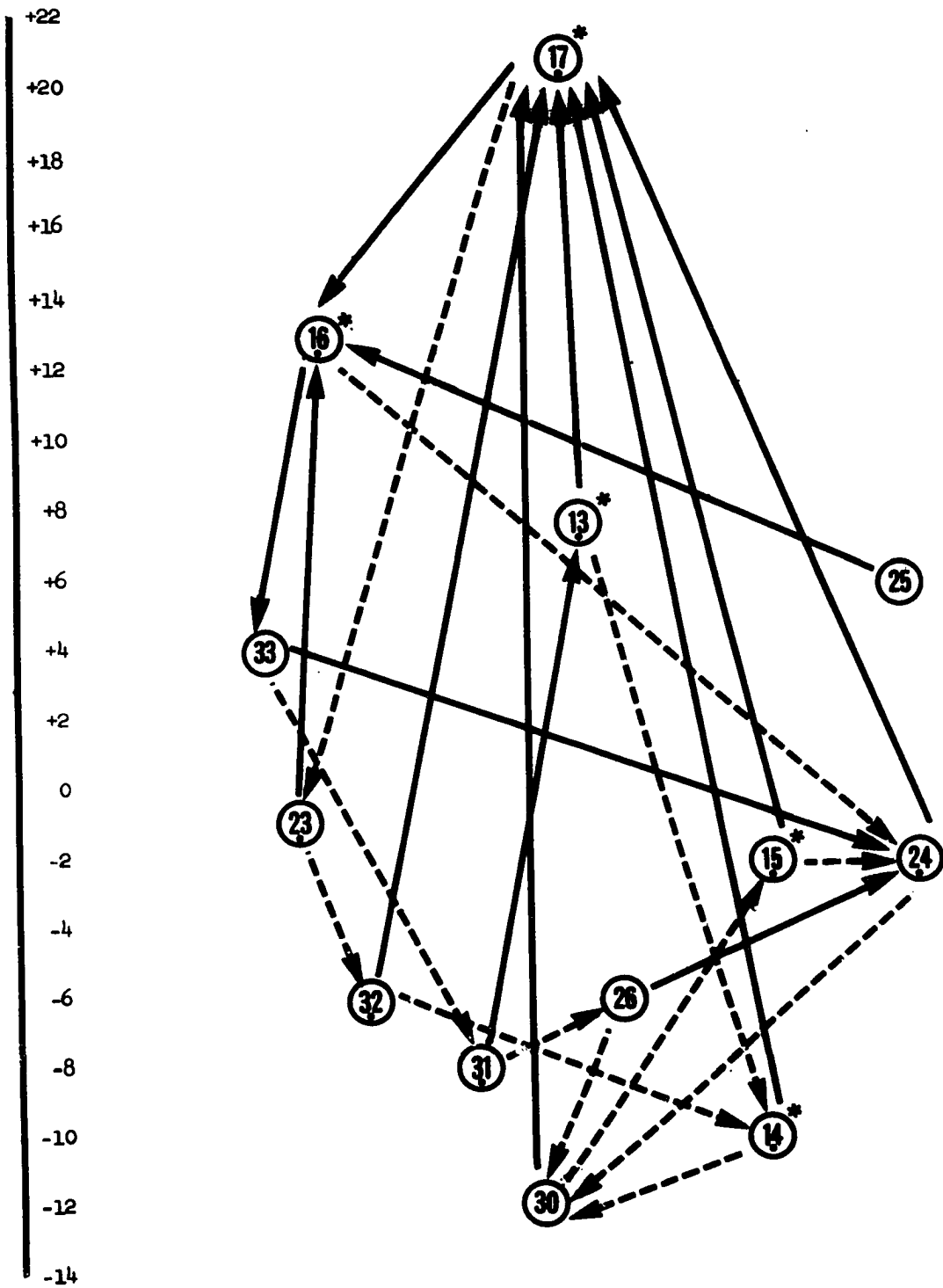


FIGURE III. INFLUENCE MATRIX, T_1

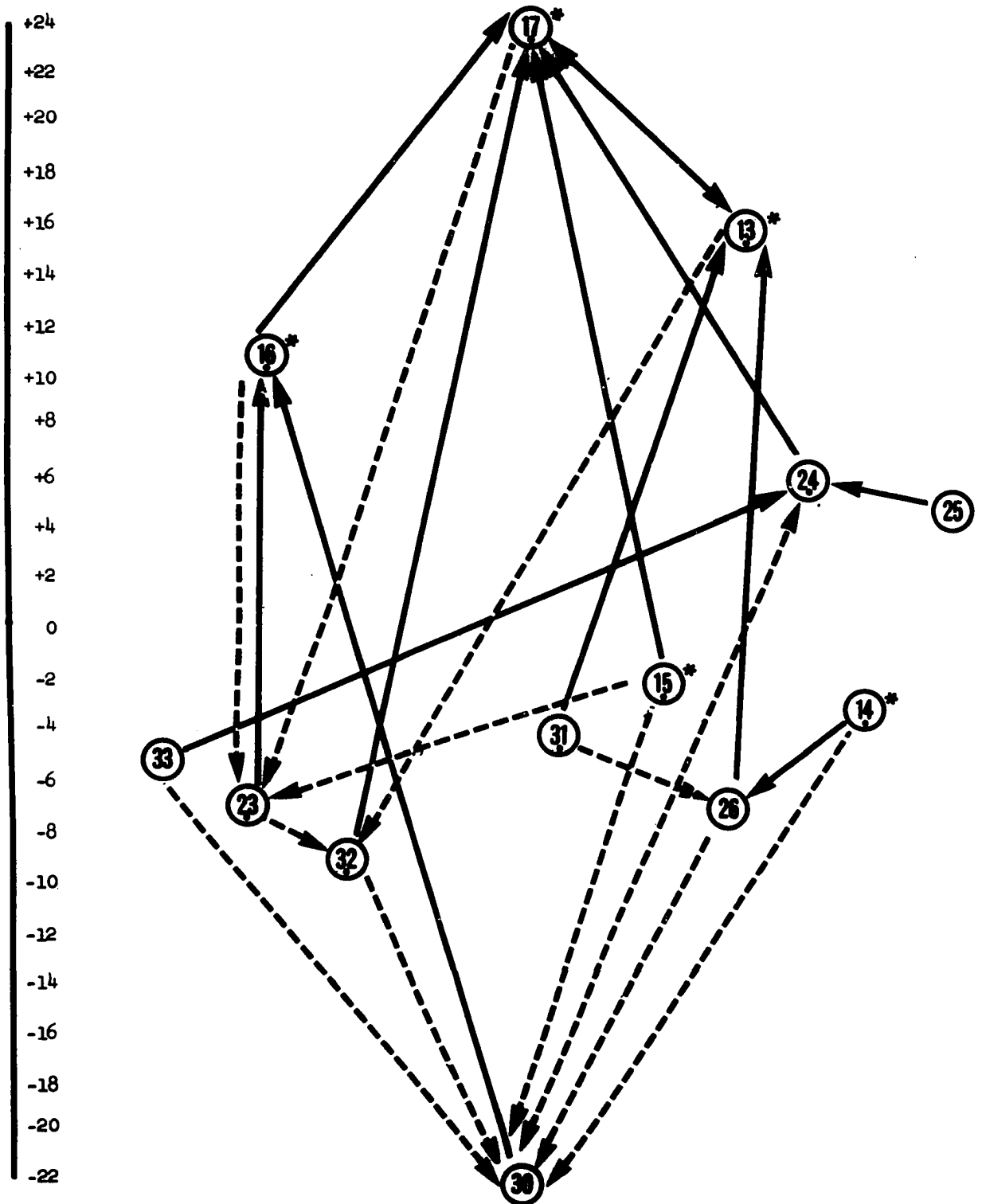
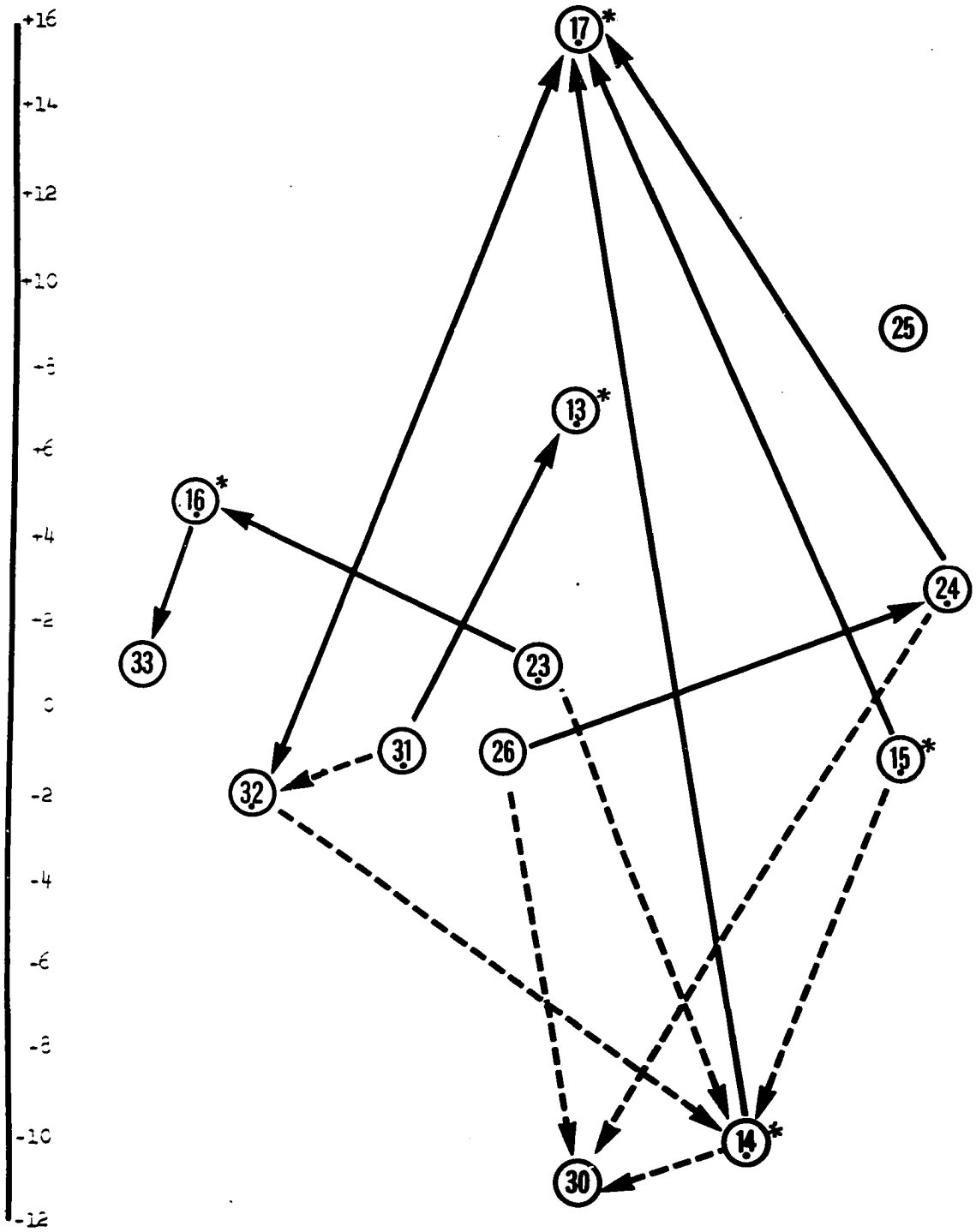


FIGURE IV. SANCTION MATRIX, T₁



liked choice. In between these two levels in the matrix were the other members of the group. One distinguishing feature of this structure is the virtual absence of symmetric first and last choice relationships (the one exception being the symmetric least liked relationship between Brother Mark (30) and Brother Peter (24)--a relationship which we will have cause to mention again). This general distribution of affect served as one index of the group's solidarity.

On the esteem dimension, however, Figure II shows favorable ratings were highly convergent on Brother Bartholomew (17), who received first choice nominations from no less than six of the thirteen members of the group. Also relatively high in esteem was Brother Thomas (16), the oldest member of the group, a cleric novice who had returned to the novitiate after having voluntarily left two years before. Brothers Leo (13), Bonaventure (25) and Ambrose (33) make a third level.³³ At the bottom of the esteem distribution was Brother Mark (30) again, but not as relatively isolated as he was in the affective matrix. We shall have occasion to compare this esteem matrix in

³³Note the unusual confluence of both positive and negative esteem directed at Brother Peter (24). This unusual pattern made him a focal point for interaction in the class.

Chapter VI with measures obtained by the unobtrusive observational methods described above. Clearly Brother Bartholomew (17) was deferred to by nearly all in the Cloisterville group, and he mediated most of the collective decisions made by his group.

In Figure III, on reported influence, three of the cleric novices were unmistakably of first prominence, Brother Bartholomew (17)--who ranked third on liking and first on esteem--ranked first; Brother Leo (13)--most liked and third most esteemed--ranked second; and Brother Thomas--sixth in the affective distribution and second in esteem--ranked third. For this group, esteem was more related to reported influence than to liking. But it is important to note the position of Brother Peter (24), the first choice on influence of both Brother Ambrose (33) and Brother Bonaventure (25), the two of whom considerably outranked him in both the affective and esteem distributions. He held this position for several reasons, the main one being he was a product of Cloisterville and considered closer to the prestigious cleric novices by most lay brother novices who had not attended Cloisterville than really was the case. He therefore served as unofficial mediator between these clerics and some lay brother novices, especially because of his apparent familiarity with Brother Bartholomew (17). This made him central to the influence

structure as far as certain other lay brother novices were concerned. Again at the bottom was Brother Mark (30).

To repeat, there was relatively little observed sanctioning behavior among the Cloisterville group, and Figure IV shows that very little was reported by the members. Generally, however, the same relative positions of members that obtained on the influence measure held for sanctioning. Brother Bartholomew (17) monopolized much of the positive sanctioning and Brothers Mark (30) and Arsenius (14) shared the bulk of the negative sanctioning.

It should be clear that the cleric novices in this group were disproportionately represented in the top levels of each matrix: two of the highest four ranked in affect; and three of the highest four ranked in esteem, influence and sanctioning. But as Brother Arsenius' relatively low ranking on three of the measures indicates, having the more prestigious status of cleric novice was no guarantee of high interpersonal ranking.

Individual dispositional and behavioral differences were of considerable influence in these rankings. For example, Brother Bartholomew (17) was the most gregarious and verbally facile of the members of his group. Brother Mark (30), on the other hand, was incapable of presenting himself in a pious and cherubic fashion--which was very much the norm. Brother Arsenius (14), whose deep friendship

for Brother Berthold (26) was interpreted unfavorably by several in the group, which resulted in a very tense situation for some time and, in turn, contributed to the relatively low ranking he received from his peers.³⁴

The Remaining Members of the
Cloisterville Group

With the graduation ceremony,³⁵ which marked the five cleric novices' departure from St. Anthony's and

³⁴Indicative of this painful experience, in response to a question regarding the individual's responsibilities for achieving "community spirit" in the monastery, Brother Arsinus reported: "He should pray for the grace not only to love God and his brothers abstractly, but to be open and really loving to all in very real and visible ways. He should know the theology, psychology of community and know the difference between emotional or even homosexually-tended acts of friendship and love and the genuine fraternal love of brothers sharing a common life in the Lord."

³⁵For the first time the parents of the graduates were invited to the profession ceremony and a meal following it for which the boundaries of the papal cloister had to be redefined to accommodate the mothers of the graduates in the monastery. As "natural" and undistinguishing as this event might appear to the outsider, it was an unprecedented symbol of the degree to which the members of St. Anthony's were unwilling to maintain any longer the public fiction that most severed all kinship ties when entering monastic life. Most professed members of the monastery had maintained close communication with their families of orientation and visited them at least annually, as well as at times of ill health, death, marriage, etc. Nevertheless, the graduates of this class were the first to be granted the privilege of visiting their homes prior to reporting to their new assignment and Brother Berthold, while still a novice, was even given permission to attend a retirement ceremony honoring his father. Other examples

the reassignment of Brother Martin (23), who took simple vows, a subpopulation of seven lay brother novices remained at the novitiate. Figures IA, IIA, IIIA, and IVA present only the T_1 (designated as $T_{/1}$) relationships for this aggregate of the Cloisterville group, but include first and second positive and negative choices (see Appendix Tables D_1 , D_2 , D_3 and D_4).³⁶

In these figures, the focal position of Brother Peter emerges with clarity. Within this network of lay-brother novices, he was the best-liked, most esteemed, most influential and second most positively-sanctioned, if we exclude the negative orientations of Brother Mark (30). Indeed, Brother Mark's extremely low general rank on all four indices and his antipathy for Brother Peter (24) only added to Peter's stature among his peers. The departure of the cleric novices was deeply felt by most of the members of this group, but its major structural effect was to

of the closeness of kinship ties were not hard to find. Two professed members of the Order, when traveling to Father Patrick's home town, stayed at his married sister's home. Another aspect of the role of kinship in the Order was found in the unusually large number of cases of consanguine brothers in the Province. No less than thirteen per cent of the priests had siblings in the Province.

³⁶Note that second choice positive selections are symbolized by a narrow solid black line, \longrightarrow , and second choice negative selections are symbolized by the more broken of the two dash lines, $\cdots\cdots\cdots\blacktriangleright$.

FIGURE 1A. AFFECTIVE MATRIX, T_{+1}

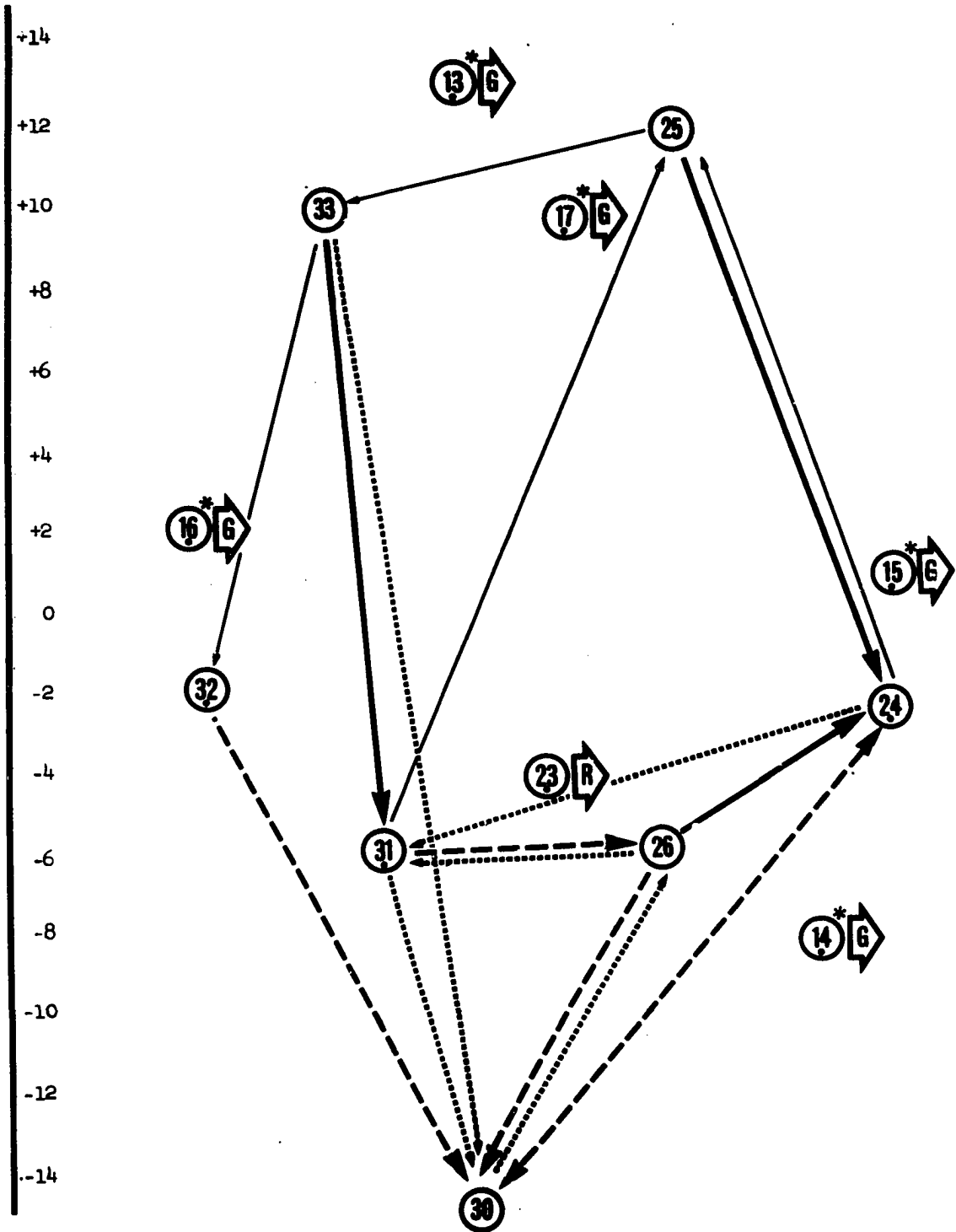


FIGURE IIA. ESTEEM MATRIX, T_{+1}

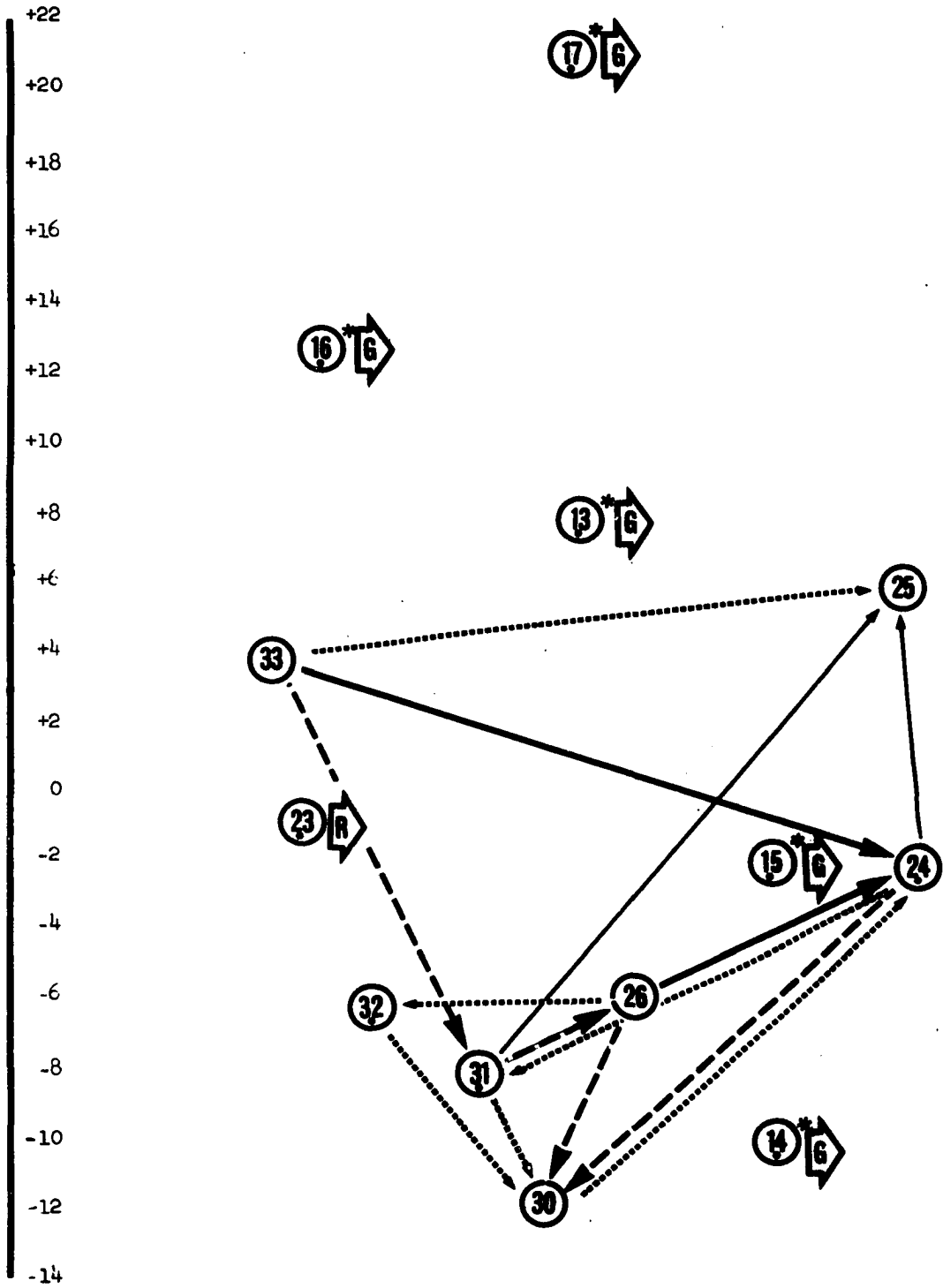
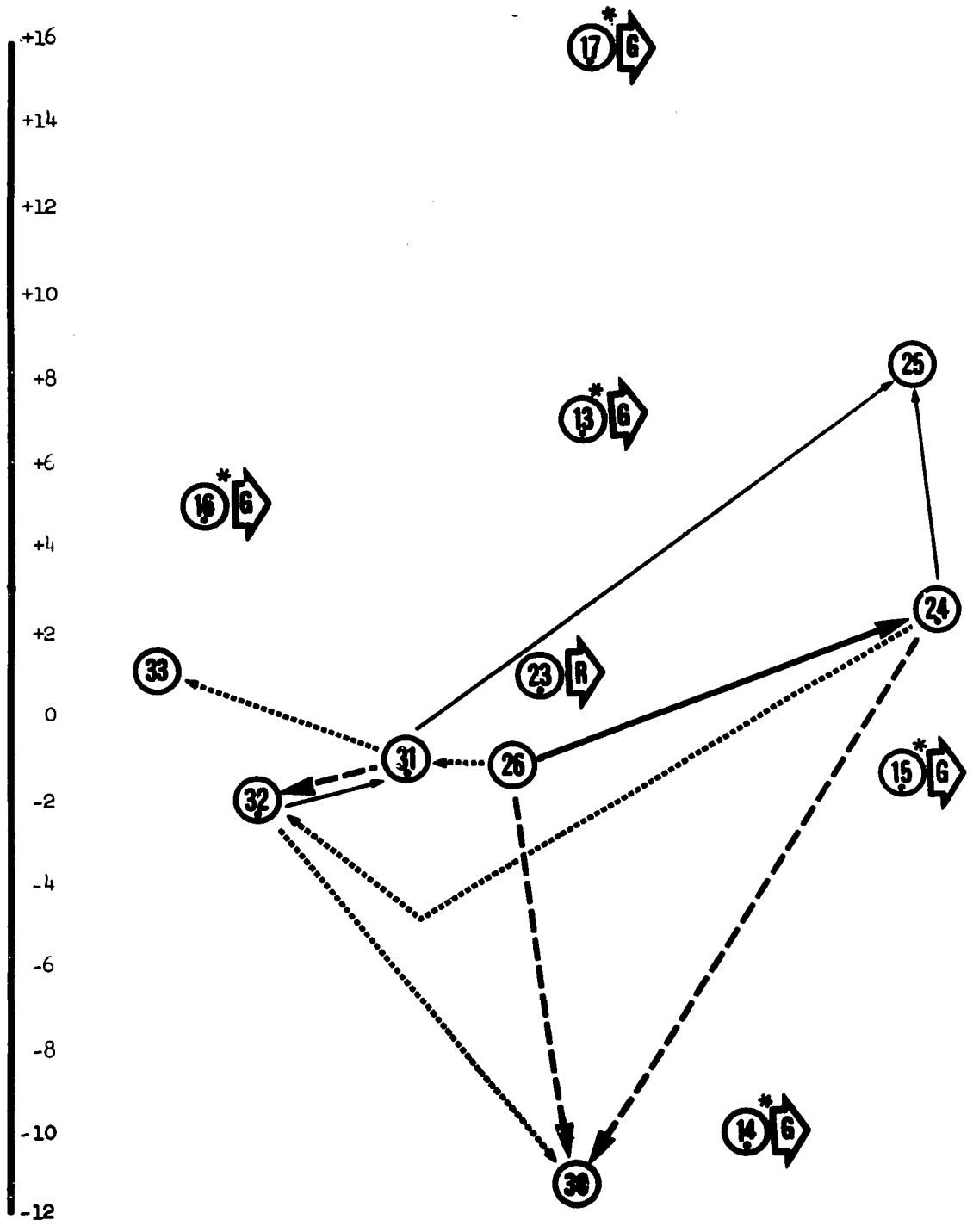


FIGURE IVA. SANCTION MATRIX, T_{+1}



reinforce a closer-knit relationship among among Brothers Peter (24), Bonaventure (25) and Berthold (26), whom we shall call the core of the remaining members of the Cloisterville group. Peripheral to, but articulated with, this core were Brothers Ambrose (33) and Victor (32). However, the departure of the cleric novices deprived Brothers Brocard (31) and Mark (30) of their key reference individuals--Brothers Bartholomew (17) and Leo (13)--and left them relatively isolated from the remaining members of the Cloisterville group.

Brother Mark (30) was left a complete isolate, with nothing but negative relationship on all four measured dimensions of relationship with all his peers, who remained. Identified with Fathers Paul (1) and Dominic (8) and not with Father Anthony (3), who was his immediate mentor, his strong desire to remain at St. Anthony's led him to attempt to closely associate with the members of the new class, as we shall see. Brother Brocard (31) had, on the other hand, grown alienated from the lay-brother status itself. This was expressed in his answer to the question, "What specific changes would you like to see occur in the novitiate that you feel would be of the most benefit to the life?" He reported:

I would do away with the postulancy period of the lay-brothers, having them enter as novices with the

clerics. It's a good idea for the religious to continue to leave the monastery in order to help the people, whether it be in hospitals or schools. Let the lay-brothers continue to have courses in school. They should hold offices of administration if qualified. I also believe some of the brothers should be deacons to help some of the priest-brothers. I would allow the brothers to attend Office with the clerics and take a more active part in its recitation.

All of these responses indicate his dissatisfaction with the existing differentials between the lay-brother and clerical statuses. In response to why he had left the novitiate, he said:

I felt I was doing the wrong thing in staying in the Order. I felt uneasy and out of place as time passed. If I were to be a religious, I felt it must be in another Order and maybe as a priest.

It appears that as he grew to identify with the cleric novices, he increasingly aspired to their status. When they left, and in the face of his relatively low rank among his peers, he could stay no longer and voluntarily left the monastery soon after the arrival of the new class and graduation of the cleric novices.

Generally, however, owing primarily to the integrative roles of the cleric novices all had felt the "community spirit" of the Cloisterville group was exceptionally strong. One member of the group reported:

I felt very close to all of them--not just to a few, but to the community at large--there was a real give and take on almost everyone's part. It was overwhelming. . . . Although there were always a few who didn't [exhibit this] . . . they were overlooked

because the majority did and those who didn't, you didn't want to judge them. . . . But I felt a great ability to love among all of them. . . .

With the graduation of the cleric novices and the entry of the new class, this impression quickly disappeared among most of the remaining members of the Cloisterville group, especially the influential Brother Peter (24).

As we have noted, many changes in monastery practises had been introduced at St. Anthony's. The giving of mortifications as penances in the Chapter of Faults had been abandoned even before the first of the Cloisterville group arrived at St. Anthony's, but many of the other traditional practises of the Order they had known. The remaining members of the Cloisterville group had read and received instructions on the ancient Constitutions of the Order; they had been segregated from the professed at breakfast; they had been required to recite Our Fathers for the Office; they had not been allowed a collation in the afternoon; they had been required to kneel for two full hours of mental prayer each day; they had participated in rituals requiring the elaborate formal gestures of kissing the floor and the superior's scapular, making prostrations, standing when the superior entered a room, etc.; they had been given mortifications to perform in the refectory; they had been accused by the Zealator in the Chapter of Faults; etc. But all of these practises had now been

abandoned and most of the new class knew nothing of them. Also, soon after the new class arrived, in rapid succession, the wearing of cowls during the fast at meals was stopped, Matins was no longer said at 1:00 a.m., and community discipline was abandoned. New "privileges" also had been recently introduced, including allowing the non-professed to work as orderlies in a local hospital; allowing the lay-brother novices and postulants to attend evening adult education classes; allowing some of the non-professed to act as catechists in a local parish, to attend Alcoholics Anonymous and inter-faith meetings, etc.; and allowing the non-professed to attend some selected movies outside the monastery together. Generally, one obvious result of these changes was to make the socialization of the new group a very different experience from that which the remaining members of the Cloisterville group had undergone. This had the effect of producing in a number of the Cloisterville group a mixed attitude of superiority and resentment. They felt superior, not only because they had been exposed to the Order of Mystical Union longer and thus felt they knew the "spirit of the life" better, but that they had also experienced the "rigors of monastic life." The fact that the new non-professed members would not be required to undergo these rigors made them that much less qualified to judge "the life." Furthermore, there was also a resentment

which was expressed in the following way by one of this group: "I felt, at first, that if we had to go through it and it was good for us, why shouldn't they?"

The New Wave

As the Cloisterville group's cleric novices departed, a new class of cleric novices and lay-brother aspirants arrived. It was an extremely heterogeneous population, with only one former Cloisterville student among them, Brother Ramuald (34).

The three cleric novices were all college-trained, but markedly different in interests and temperament. Brother John Bosco (15) was in his early thirties, a former teacher and deeply involved in the civil rights and peace movements. His religious orientations were not, however, as unambiguous as his social orientations. Brother Gregory (19) was a highly articulate, aggressive and intense young man in his mid-twenties. Extremely well read in theology and literature, his religion was primarily intellectual and his social orientations conservative. Brother Basil (20) was a very emotional young man, also in his mid-twenties. The fact that he was "half-Negro" was an ever-salient factor for him and he perpetually sought proof from others that this was not an obstacle to their acceptance of him. His religious orientation was highly devotional.

The eleven lay-brother postulants varied in age from thirty-two to nineteen, but nine were only nineteen years old. None had matriculated at a college, and two had not completed high school. They included Brothers Ramauld (34), Louis (35), Winfrid (36), Amand (37), Hugh (38), Boniface (39), Albert (40), Elias (41), Simplicius (42), Julian (43) and Columban (44).

Even before the acquaintance process had really begun, Brothers Julian (43) and Columban (44) left the novitiate. On the day after his arrival, Brother Julian (43) made a hasty departure from St. Anthony's. And a few days later, Brother Columban (44) left. The researcher was told that this was a common experience with entering classes at the monastery. "A few in every class get homesick, have second thoughts or something, and bolt." Reputedly, Brother Julian, who was really not at St. Anthony's long enough to have even adopted a religious name, had wanted to come to the novitiate despite his parents' active opposition. Without informing his parents, he had "run away" to the monastery. The next day, however, after receiving a call from his mother, he packed his things and left. Brother Columban (44), a young man with extremely effeminate gestures and speech characteristics which alarmed some of the aspirants, stayed a few days, reported he couldn't stand "all the silence," and departed. It was

also at about this time that Brother Brocard (31) decided to leave.

1. The Acquaintance.--During the first week, the new class participated in a symposium form of retreat, wherein the priests of the monastery would conduct conferences on various religious topics and the members would discuss them and present resumes. These sessions and the recreation periods provided the contexts within which the members first became known to each other and to the remaining members of the Cloisterville group. It was during this period that the social-equal, no-relationship dyads were selected for Experimental Group I. Although much of the interaction among most of the new class during this period was randomlike, soon the three cleric novices--by virtue of their higher status, education and participation in the discussions and resumes at the retreat--emerged as the most prominent members of the new class. This high visibility was especially true of Brother Gregory (19), whose presentations appeared so rationally organized and eloquently delivered that he was labelled a "genius" by some. While Brother John Bosco's resumes were less impressive from strictly monastic and liturgical perspectives, they exuded his humanism. Although how he could see a connection between the topics of the conference and civil rights, for example, puzzled several of the Cloisterville group, his humane concern combined with

his seniority and mild and friendly manner to make him instantly well-liked and highly respected. Brother Basil was another matter, however. From the very beginning, his frenzied attempts to gain self-assurance alienated almost everyone. No one at the monastery, with the possible exception of John Bosco, was equipped and willing to relate to him in a manner that was convincing to him. He was labelled as having a "personality problem" and tolerated, but not accepted.

Not only did the cleric novices make early differential impacts upon their fellow aspirants at St. Anthony's, but so did Brothers Elias (41) and Simplicius (42). Their very poor educational backgrounds and youth combined to produce adjustments to the monastery situation which were universally defined as "immature" and "childish." Although they were for a time blissfully enjoying the new experience, all their peers defined them as very seriously "needing special guidance."

Nearly from the beginning, therefore, social differentiation began. First, there were the remaining members of the Cloisterville group with its core, peripheral members and isolates. Second, within the population aggregate of the new class, two cleric novices emerged as leaders and another was rejected. Third, at the other end of the social relationship matrix, two lay-brother postulants were

differentiated as needing help. Figures V, VI, VII and VIII show the reported responses of all at the monastery for this early period, which we have designated T_2 (see Appendix Tables D_5 , D_6 , D_7 and D_8 for the entire matrices).

As Figure V shows, in the total aggregate Brother John Bosco (18) emerged as the most liked, and Brother Gregory (19) was second. Third in liking was Brother Bonaventure (25), who held that position primarily by virtue of his membership in the core of the remaining Cloisterville group. Most disliked was Brother Basil (20), and closest to him were Brothers Elias (41) and Amand (37). Already, we see that Brother Mark (30) has found a symmetric first choice relationship with Brother Albert (40) of the new class.

In the esteem and influence structures (Figures VI and VII), Brother Gregory (19) had a slight edge over Brother John Bosco (18) at T_2 ; but they are relatively alone in commanding the great respect and perceived influence of their peers. Brother Bonaventure ranks next, again by virtue of the Cloisterville subgroup. As can be easily seen, Brother Peter's (24) relatively low position on the affect, esteem and influence dimensions is due to the negative orientations directed towards him by members of the new class and especially by Brother Mark (30). Although Brother Basil (20) was lowest on affect, his cleric novice

FIGURE V. AFFECTIVE MATRIX, T₂

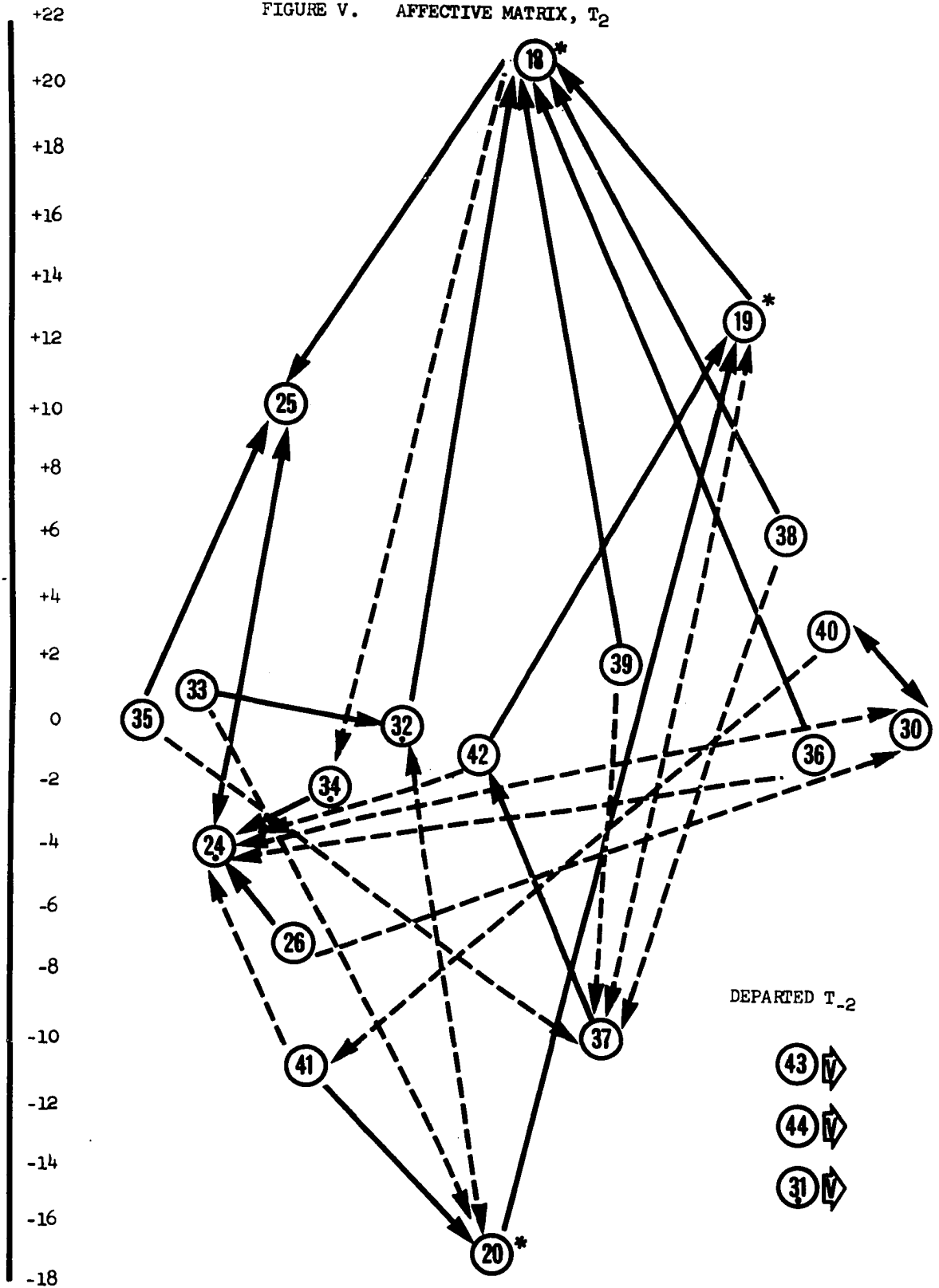


FIGURE VI. ESTEEM MATRIX, T_2

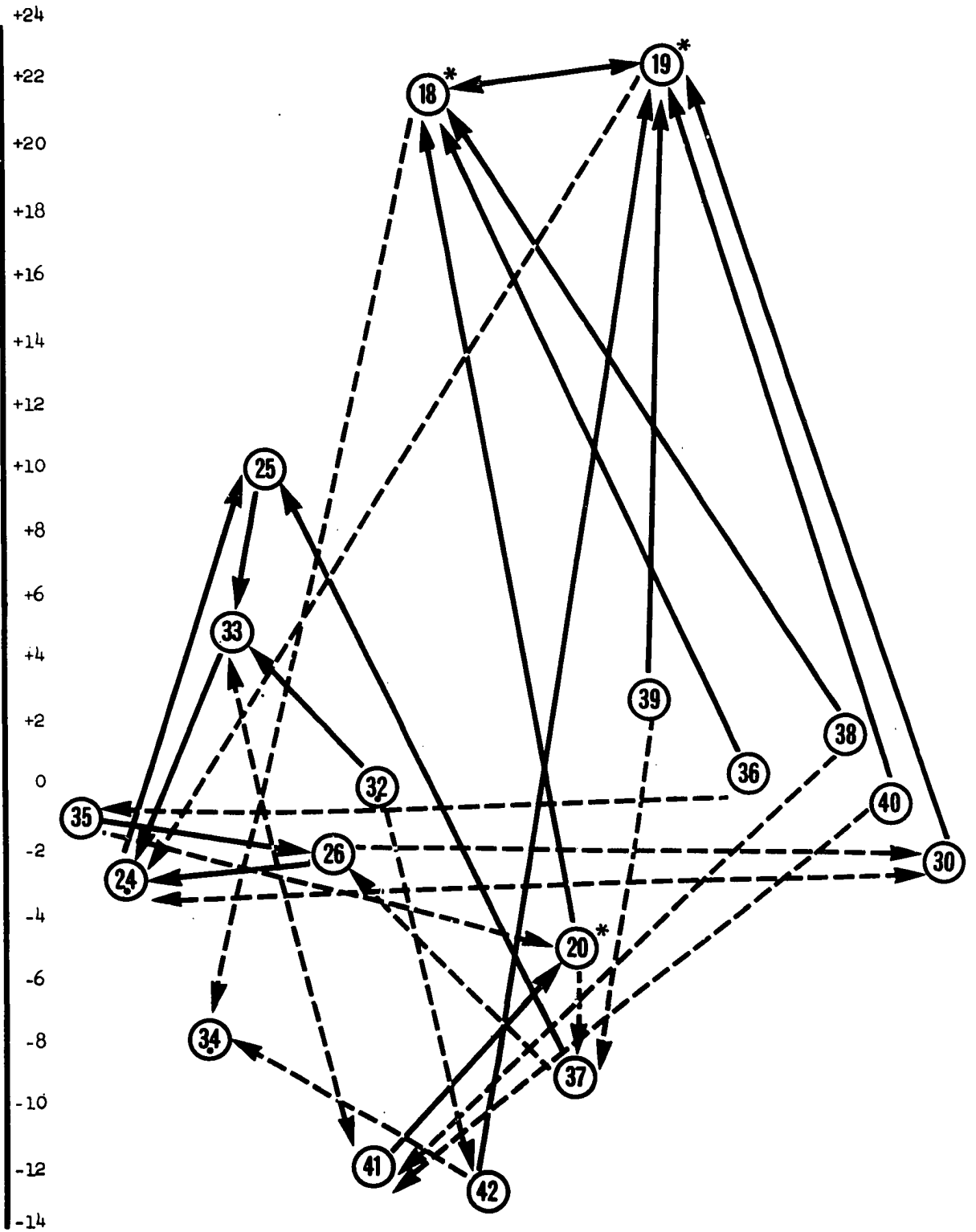


FIGURE VII. INFLUENCE MATRIX, T_2

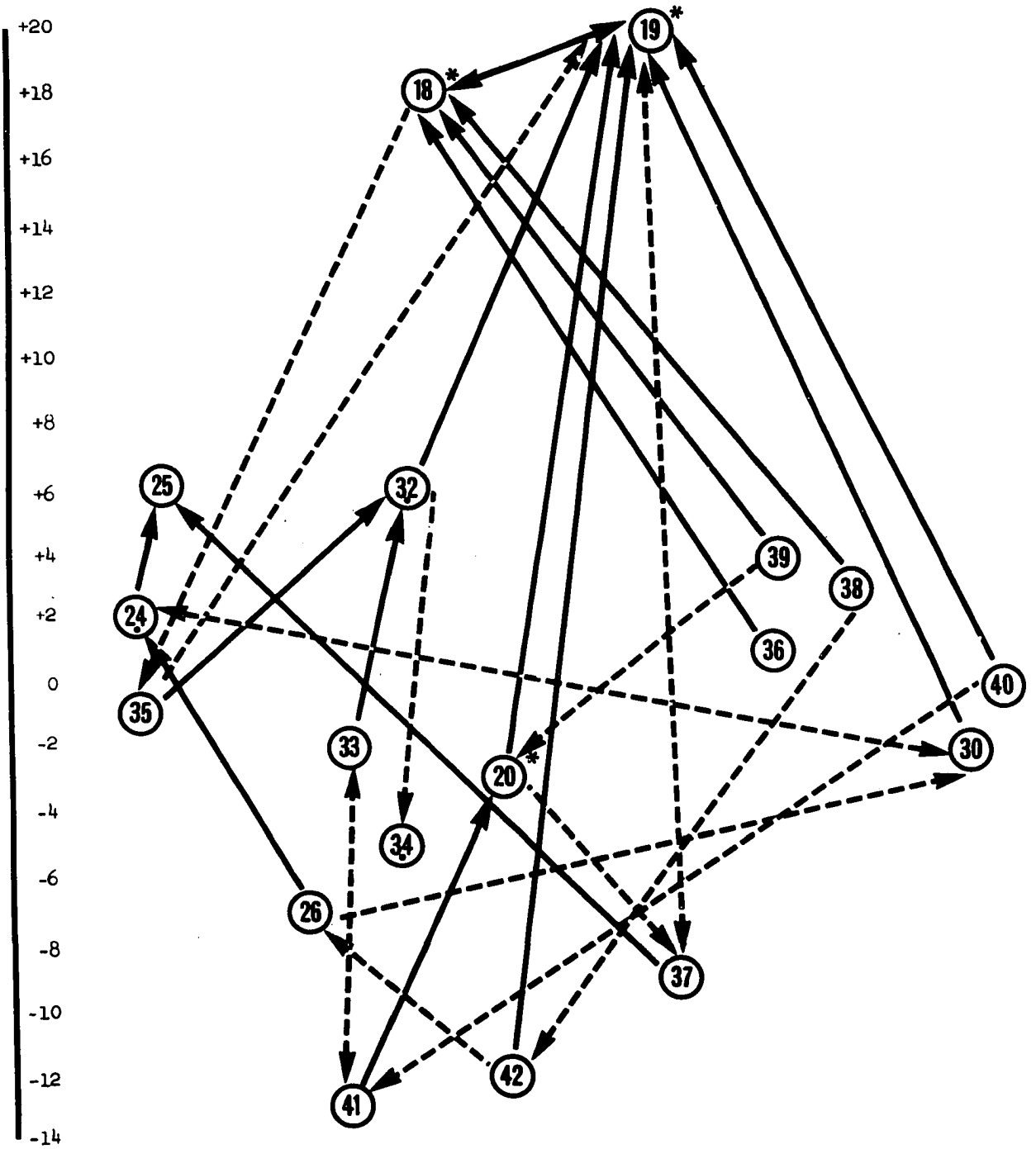
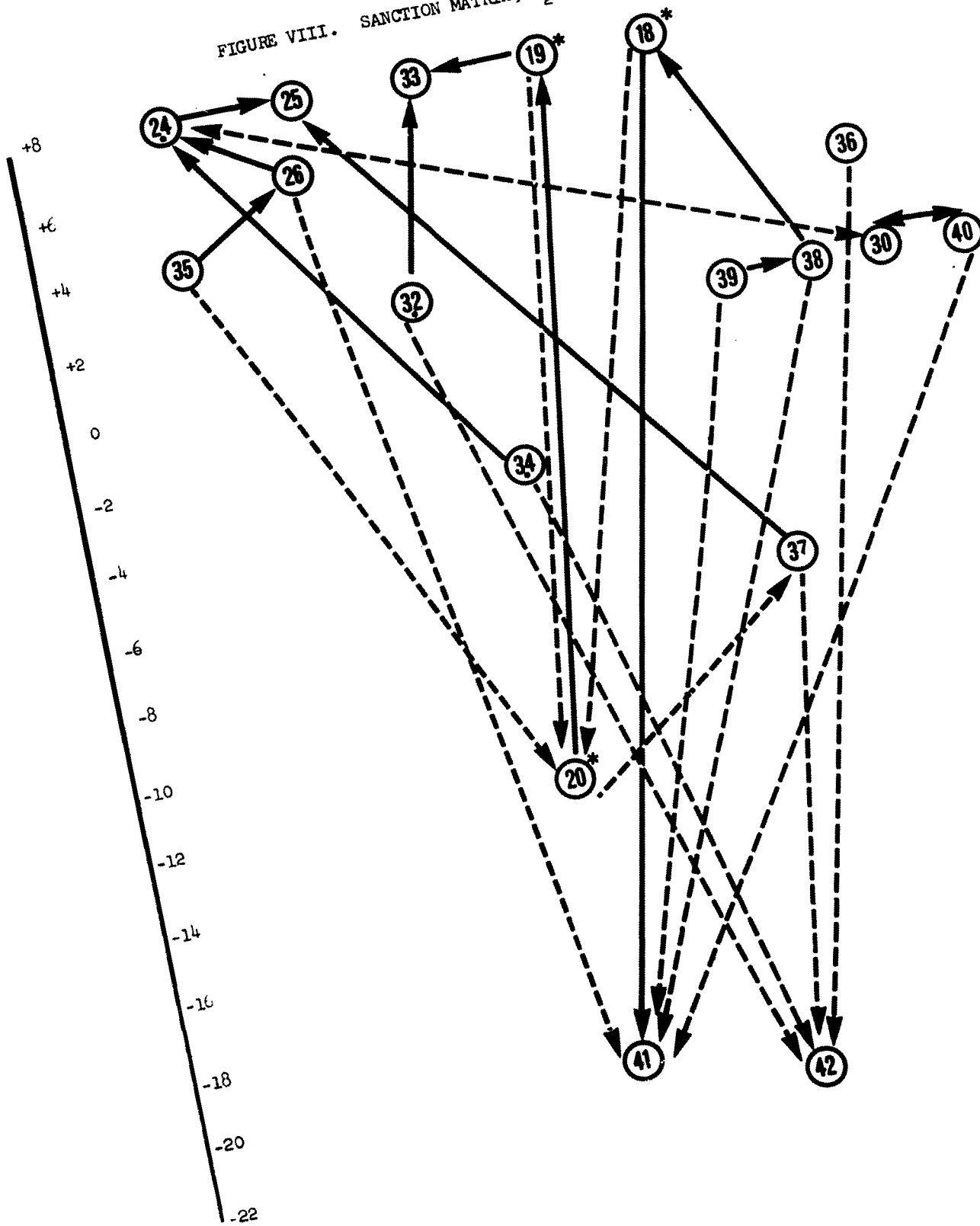


FIGURE VIII. SANCTION MATRIX, T_2



status appears to have insulated him from a similar fate on esteem and influence, owing to his selection by even lower ranking members, especially Brother Elias (41).

It is, however, in the sanction matrix (Figure VIII) that we see clearly the relatively early and widespread attempts made to bring Brothers Simplicius (42), Elias (41) and Basil (20) into line. During this early period, and among the new group particularly, it was not safe to direct corrective sanctions against others, but these three exceptions were noteworthy. The now well-known mutually negative sanctioning relationship between Brothers Peter (25) and Mark (30) continued.

2. Subgroup Differentiation and Polarization.--As time passed, the majority of the new class became increasingly alienated from the members of the Cloisterville core and, simultaneously, from most of the members of the staff--especially from Fathers Anthony (3) and Patrick (5) (who substituted for Father Anthony during his absences) and from Brothers Bernard (21) and Norbert (22). The sources of this alienation were many and not always clear, but let us sketch its major dimensions.

To begin with, the members of the emerging subgroup structure among the new class were confronted with the Cloisterville subgroup, with their mixed attitudes of

superiority and resentment noted above. With the exception of Brother Louis (33), no member of the new class was fully able to relate to or become completely accepted by more than one of the Cloisterville subgroup. Many of the members of the class tended to view the "old members" as "lacking in initiative," or "conformists." An active group in the new class rejected the role of the novice as someone who is passively "formed" and incapable of contributing actively to the training process. This they quickly discovered was alien to the thinking of several key members of the Cloisterville group. Not having been trained at Cloisterville, they interpreted the awe in which Father Anthony (3) was held as "overdependence." The favorite expression among them for one who had attended the minor seminary was "[Cloisterville] baby." A few became convinced that most of the staff were "incapable of adjusting to the new theology." Some expected more direct leadership from Father Anthony (3) and a follow-through on his "promises" of greater dialogue and more extra-monastery involvement, which they felt did not materialize. His reluctance to structure their program was frequently interpreted as indicative of his "indecisiveness and confusion about what he wanted." Not finding "decisive leadership" among the staff, a few made an effort to supply it themselves. Again a few, especially Brother Gregory (19), believed that "All

things [should be] open to question." He reported, "It didn't mean that we wanted to change everything, but we wanted to know about them. Why do they exist? What were their purposes? How are they supposed to function? Can they help us? Or are they without purpose and use?" Let's review briefly some of the events in which these and other factors operated and combined to produce the polarization of the two groups at St. Anthony's.

When the Cloisterville cleric novices had left, no one was explicitly assigned the task of chant director. Brother Leo (13), who had been chant director, gave the pitch-pipe to Brother Elias (41) upon departing, and he, in turn, brought it to Brother Gregory (19). Seeing no one else had been appointed, Brother Gregory merely took upon himself the task. He was then indirectly challenged by some members of the Cloisterville group and, in response, attempted to relinquish the responsibility to Brother Victor (32), but then was officially designated as chant director by Father Anthony (3). This was the first surfacing of opposition to Brother Gregory's leadership and an early sign of the forthcoming schism.

Then, in their second week at St. Anthony's, the superior assembled the three cleric novices and, after giving instruction on the Divine Office, brought out a box. Addressing them, he was reported to have said, "This is not

a bouquet of roses." Then he showed them a stiff, new, waxed whip used in the community discipline. Upon seeing it, Brother Basil blurted out in disbelief, "Oh, my God!" and Brother John Bosco queried, as if betrayed, "Why didn't you show us this in the beginning? Why did you wait until now?" To him, a devout pacifist, this was a symbol of the violence that he detested. The shock, mixed with fright that this caused among the lay-brother aspirants was similar, especially those who had not known of the tradition. But for most, their reactions were less ideological than Brother John Bosco's, and reflected their disdain for self-inflicted pain and the high premium they placed upon physical comfort, which was an ingrained part of the American culture they shared.

Shortly after this, Father Anthony had to leave the monastery for a period of time, and Brother Gregory (19), after consultation with Brother John Bosco and several other members of the class, suggested to Father Anthony that the novices and postulants might meet to discuss common problems before he left, especially the "laxity" manifested by some members of the class regarding silence in the corridors along which the cells were located. To this Father Anthony gave his general approval. Brother Gregory (19) described the reasoning behind his request as follows:

Well, of course I perpetrated the meeting. And my thought was this: The Master had been gone for a number of days [prior to this]. And there was sort of a "the cat's away and the mice will play" attitude [among some in the new class]. Some of the brothers had been rather restless. Well, I myself felt a need for a certain strictness that needed to be brought about because some of the brothers, I could see, were endangering their [religious] lives--like Brother [Simplicius (42)] and Brother [Elias (41)] and some of the other brothers because they were resisting the routine of the life. It was a little bit hard for them, you know, to go to their room and stay by themselves when the evening meal was done. I thought that since Father [Anthony (3)] was going to be gone for over two weeks, that the novices needed to help each other. I got this idea from what the superior [Father Paul (1)] had said--that they did not want to have to tell us, "here, now, this is what has to be," etc. In other words, he encouraged a free obedience to the rules that comes when you know what the rules are, the reasons for them, and you want to give yourself over to them. Well, some brothers did want a little help and encouragement. And, because it's best if encouragement comes from your peers, in a democratic way, I decided that a meeting would be good. So my whole idea was that we would all have a way of achieving a common understanding--expressed as a group--that we were going to try to follow the routine even though the master wasn't there. The second thing that was in my mind regarding these meetings was that the only time we really had a chance to communicate as a real group, it took place in chant class, and I didn't like that. Chant class should be for chant practice. I therefore felt that we needed this group meeting type thing so we could understand each other's minds and so forth.

These meetings, then, brought out into the open the latent hostilities and radical differences between the key members of the new class and those of the Cloisterville core. Brother Peter (24) and later Brothers Brocard (26) and Louis (33) joined in opposing the very idea of such a meeting. Briefly, their reasoning was that authority was

vested in the office of novice master, that all decisions and instructions should come from him and him only, and that the novices and postulants were there "to learn, not to run things." This attitude toward authority was totally alien to Brother Gregory (19) and many of his close associates, who valued dissent, dialogue and self-determination. At the first meeting, Brother Gregory (19), acting as temporary chairman, called for nominations for permanent chairman. After the slight opposition of a few who saw no need for a chairman was overridden, Brother Gregory (19) nominated Brother John Bosco (18), and he reciprocated by nominating Gregory; Brother Louis (33) nominated Brother Berthold (26), and Brother Amand (37) nominated Brother Basil (20). After a secret ballot, the following results were announced:

Gregory	11
John Bosco	3
Berthold	2
Basil	1

Brother Peter (24) was the only one absent and he did not vote. By interviews later, the researcher was able to reconstruct the vote as follows: only Brother Amand (37) voted for Basil; Brothers Louis (33) and Berthold (26) for Berthold; Brothers Gregory (19), Basil (20) and Victor (22) for John Bosco; and all the rest for Gregory.

Next, it was proposed by Brother John Bosco (18) that parliamentary procedure be adopted. Again, there was some opposition, but it, too, was overwhelmingly passed.

At the next meeting, however, Peter (24) challenged the whole nature of the first meeting and emotionally accused Brother Gregory (19) of "steamroller tactics." However, Brother Gregory's chairmanship was reaffirmed by another vote and the meeting adjourned after a resolution was adopted to "attempt to maintain silence in the corridor." Brother Peter (24) challenged the right of any such group to make rules governing the life, and went to Father Anthony (3) with his complaint. Father Anthony subsequently revoked the resolution and limited discussion periods to fifteen minutes. Thus, the attempt at minimal student government failed despite the fact that it was a small minority of the Cloisterville group who had complained. This is not to say that Brother Gregory's tactics were never authoritarian. In his enthusiasm he often aggressively used his verbal facility to "reason" others to his position, and a few resented it, but they were relatively ineffectual in challenging him publicly and on his own ground.

As Brother Peter's (24) behavior indicated, it was the custom of the Cloisterville group to go to Father Anthony (3) with their problems and in this manner he was kept abreast of happenings among the students. This

behavior was viewed by several members of the new class variously as "crying to big daddy," "brown-nosing," or "squealing," and they would never consider going to an authority to report on the activities of their peers. The group who did this were known as "reds," and the whole process was called "Father [Anthony's] spy system."

Although there were numerous other episodes of the polarization process which could be cited, the above examples are sufficient to illustrate the trend. It should be pointed out, however, that most of the members of St. Anthony's were not fully aware of the extent to which the novices and lay-brothers were involved in this process. The "problems" were typically viewed as individual problems involving only isolated individuals. Nothing could have been further from the truth. Although some at the novitiate attempted to remain aloof from the altercations which developed and others were ambivalently located between the emerging camps, every one of the members was involved in and affected by these processes through his social relationships. Each was alienated from or drawn into one of the two opposing camps. Clearly the focal member and leader of the new class was Brother Gregory (19), and his ideas and those of Brother John Bosco (18) were its ideology. We shall call this group the Young Truks. Brother Gregory's (19) foremost opponent in the Cloisterville group

was Brother Peter (24) and we have designated those who shared his opinions or were aligned with him the Loyal Opposition. We shall examine shortly the composition of these camps as reflected in the matrices of social relationships which defined them, but we should also like to characterize a third "group," which we shall call the Outcasts. These were members of the new class who were accepted by neither camp. Not a group in the technical sense of the term, they also were affected by the polarization between the Young Turks and the Loyal Opposition, but were excluded from them.

Two periods were selected by the researcher to chart the social relationships among the novices and postulants during the unfolding of this process: the time of the first meeting which Brother Gregory (19) had initiated-- T_3 , and the period just before several of the class were expelled from St. Anthony's-- T_4 . Let's examine and compare in some detail the matrices for these two periods and T_2 .

Figures IX and X show the affective network of relationships for T_3 and T_4 (see Appendix Tables D_9 and D_{13} for the complete matrices). On the affect dimension, Brother Gregory's (19) and Brother Peter's (24) price paid for their task leadership was a loss in overall affect rank. Brother Gregory had ranked second on liking at T_2 (Figure V, p. 345); but at T_3 he ranked tenth and at T_4 , fourteenth.

FIGURE IX. AFFECTIVE MATRIX, T_3

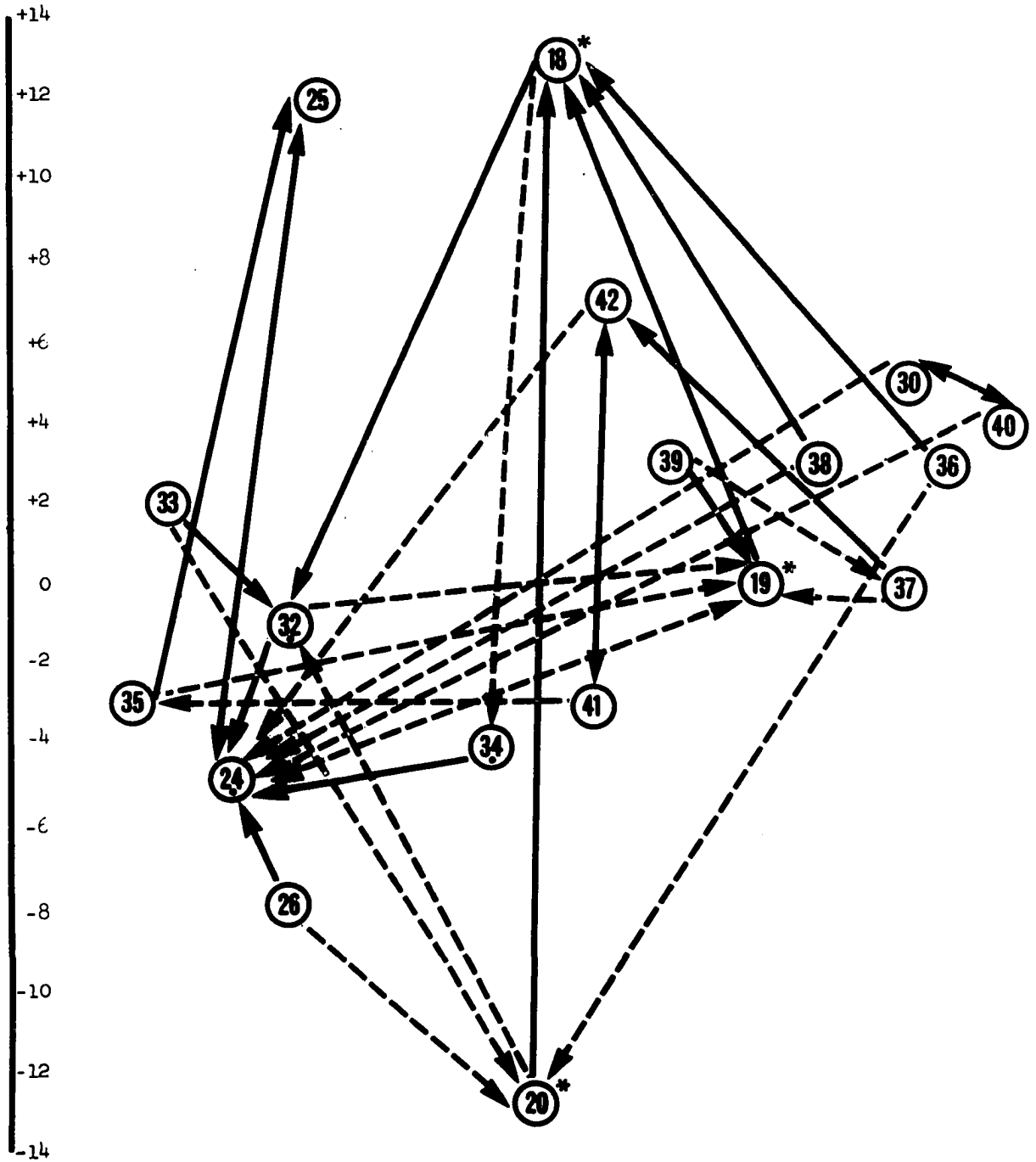
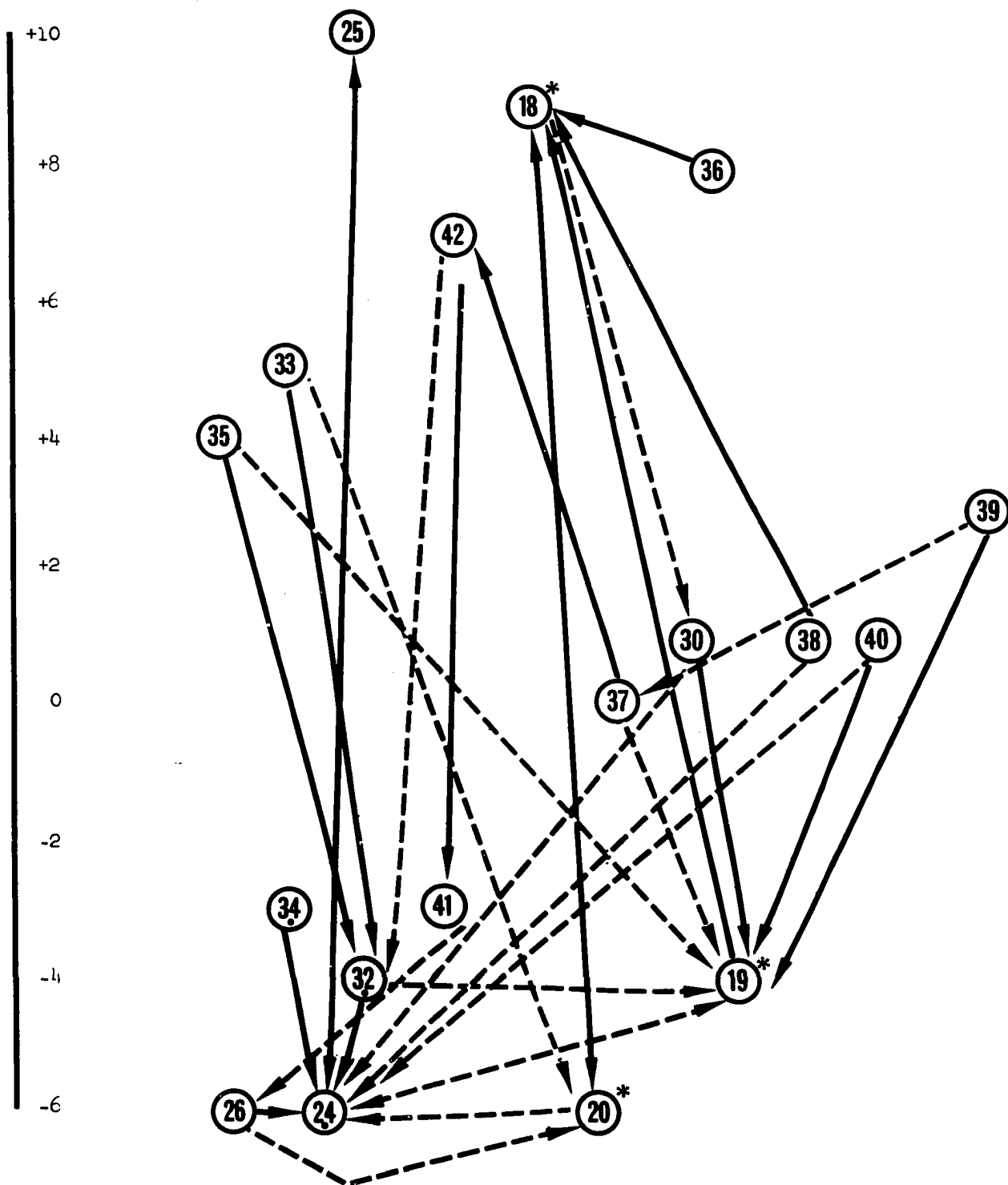


FIGURE X. AFFECTIVE MATRIX, T_4



Brother Peter correspondingly went from fourteenth at T_2 , to sixteenth at T_3 , to a tie for last at T_4 . Nevertheless, within their respective camps, the leaders, Brothers Gregory and Peter, still retained many positive first choices. Their decreasing overall rank was, therefore, largely a function of their receipt of least-liked choices from members of the opposing camp. And, since the Young Turks were more numerous than the Loyal Opposition, Peter's overall affective rank was the more adversely affected of the two. At the same time, however, their own first-liked associates, who were more aloof from direct involvement than they, generally maintained or increased their overall affect ranking. Brother John Bosco (18) was the first at T_2 , first at T_3 , and second at T_4 , while Brother Bonaventure (25), who was third at T_2 , was second at T_3 and first at T_4 . These members of the opposing camps were the equivalents of socio-emotional leaders who were also capable of drawing some support across the line of cleavage. But what in effect occurred was that the range in total affect scores from first to last of three successive time periods decreased (T_2 , 38; T_3 , 26; and at T_4 , only 16). This collapsing range of differences reflects a redistribution of affect along the cleavage line, including the displacement of negative affect choices from former low-ranking individuals to the leaders and core members of the opposing camps.

Nevertheless, Brother Basil (20) retained his former relatively low overall position. At one time, he tried to advise Brother Gregory, but being unsuccessful, offered his services to Brother Peter, who likewise rejected his "assistance."

In the esteem matrices the same collapsing range phenomenon produced by increasing polarization and differentiation, noted above for affect, can be seen in Figures XI and XII (see also Appendix Tables D₁₀ and D₁₄). At T₂ (Figure VI) the range had been 37 points between the first and last ranked individuals; at T₃, it was only 28, and at T₄, 23. Although the overall rankings of Brothers Gregory (19) and Peter (24) were adversely affected by the cleavage, Brother Gregory managed to maintain a relatively higher overall esteem than affect position. At T₂ (Figure VI, p. 346), Gregory was first in overall esteem; at T₃ he was third; and at T₄, tied for third with three others. Brother Peter's relatively lower esteem ranking, caused again mainly by the smaller size of the Loyal Opposition group, was similar to his affect rating: at T₂ he had ranked twelfth; at T₃, seventeenth; and at T₄, fifteenth. Again, the mixed choice patterns indicative of the group differentiation are apparent. Again, the relative positions of Brothers John Bosco (18) and Bonaventure (25) were differentially enhanced as a by-product of the process.

FIGURE XI. ESTEEM MATRIX, T_3

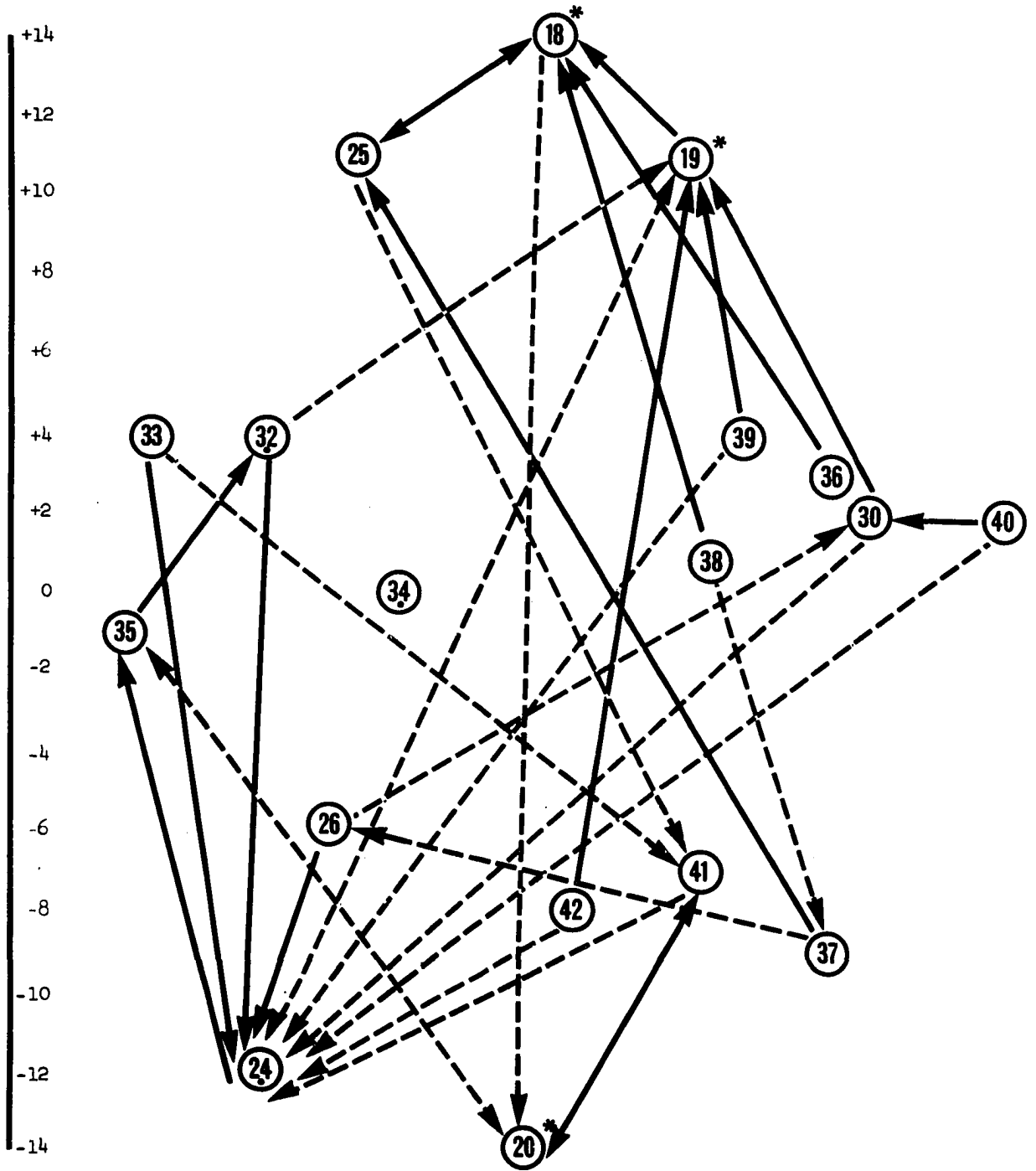
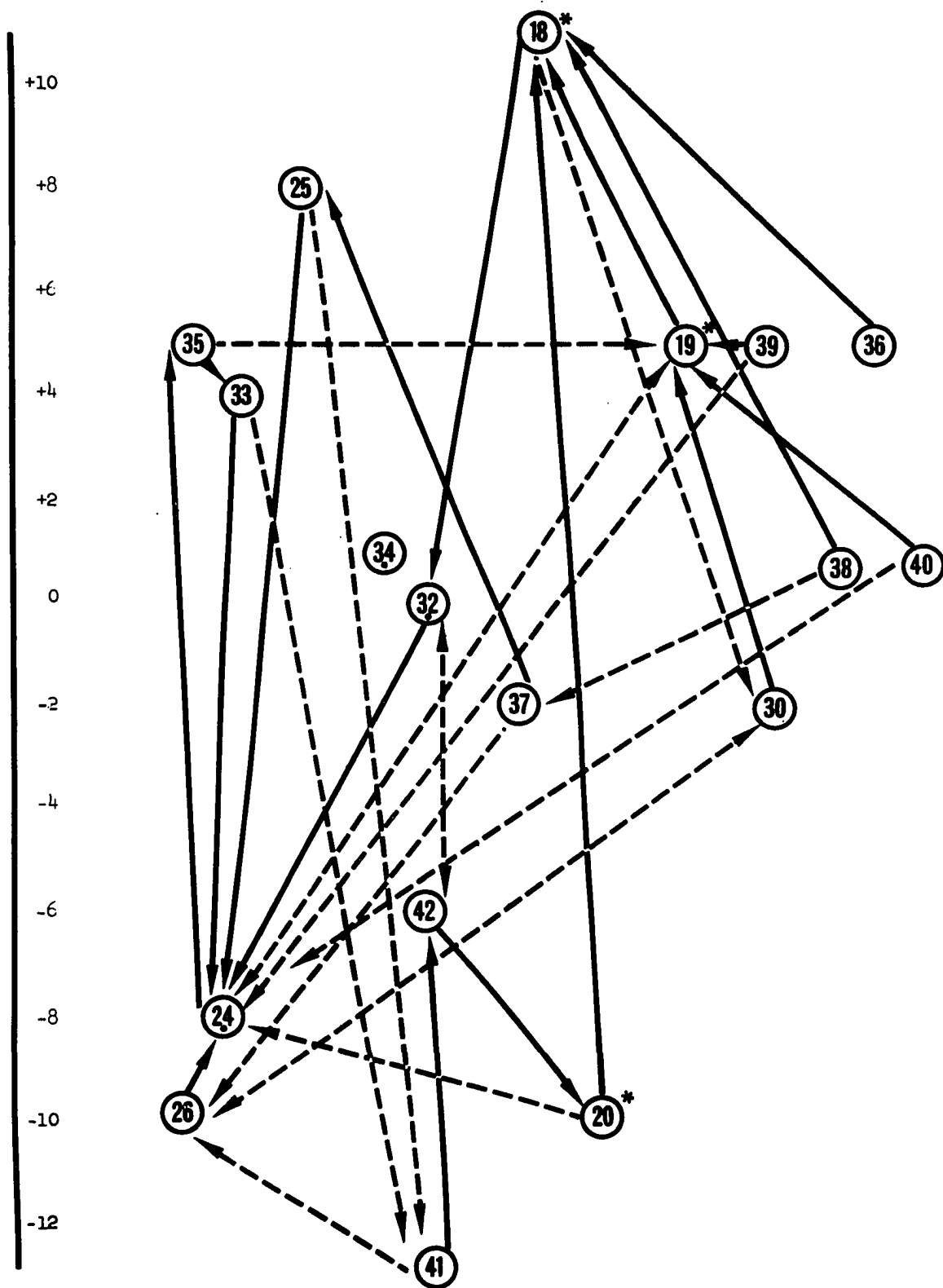


FIGURE XII. ESTEEM MATRIX, T_L



Apart from the key members of the Loyal Opposition, Brothers Elias (41), Basil (20), Simplicius (42), and, to a decreasing extent, Amand (37) retained lowest ranks on esteem.

On the influence dimension, Figures XIII and XIV (see also Appendix Tables D₁₁ and D₁₅) show that the same collapsing range may be noted as on the other two dimensions, but to a lesser extent. However one outstanding feature of the influence structure is the dramatic way it shows the polarization of the two main subgroups and Brother Gregory's (19) ability to retain high influence vis-a-vis Brother Peter's (24) relatively declining influence. At T₂ (Figure VII, p. 347), before the polarization of the aspirants had proceeded very far, Brother Gregory was first in influence and Brother Peter seventh. Despite the cleavage, Gregory maintained at T₃ second place, and at T₄ was first again; but Peter was ninth at T₃ and tied for last at T₄. In addition to Gregory, Brother John Bosco was also attributed with high overall influence, and the reciprocity of influence between him and Brother Gregory was maintained throughout these periods, despite John Bosco's tendency to select others on the other three dimensions. Brother Bonaventure's relative passivism may be credited as partially responsible for his lower ranks on the influence than on the affective and esteem dimensions. Again, we find Brothers Elias (41), Simplicius (42) and Amand (37) at the bottom of

FIGURE XIII. INFLUENCE MATRIX, T_3

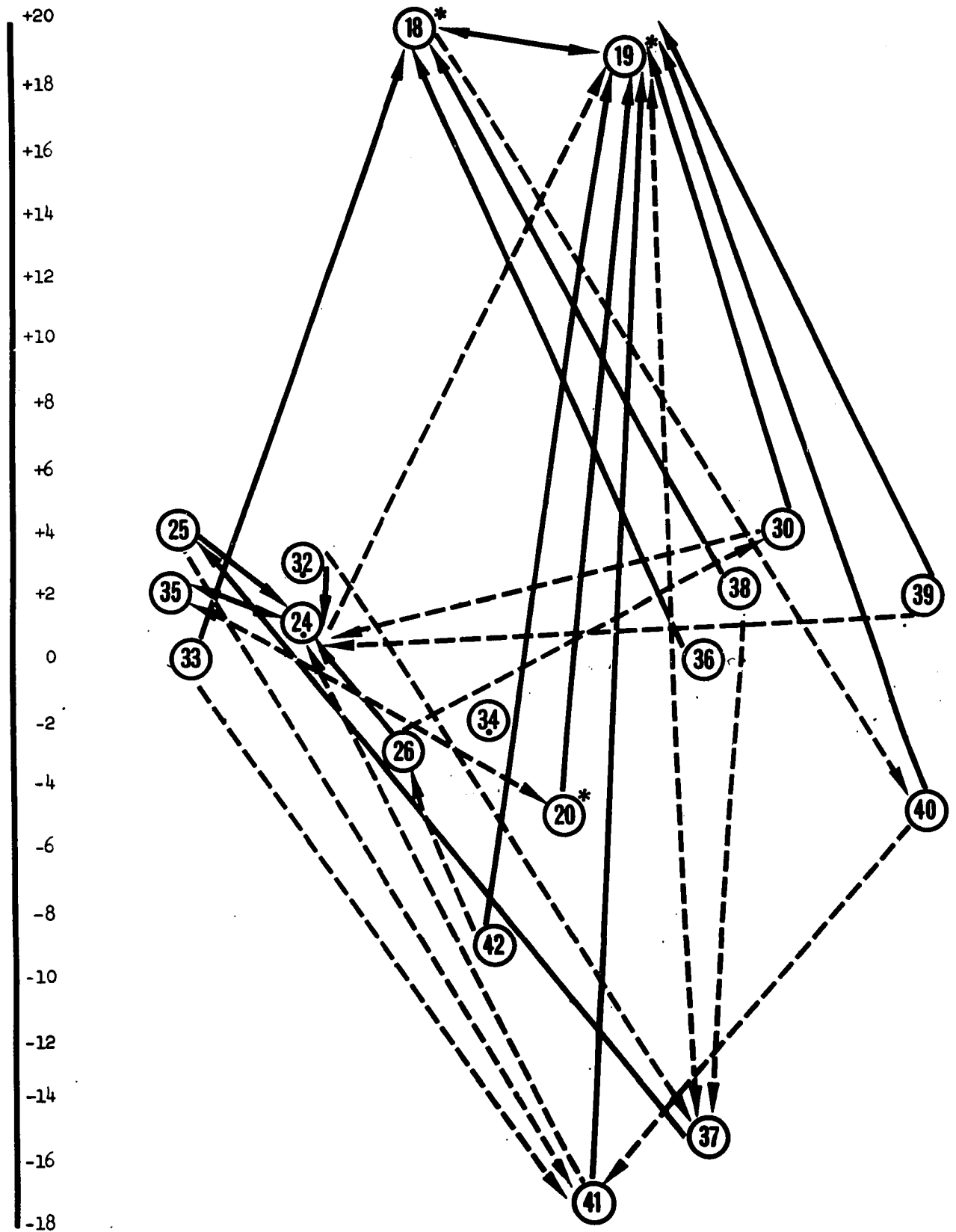
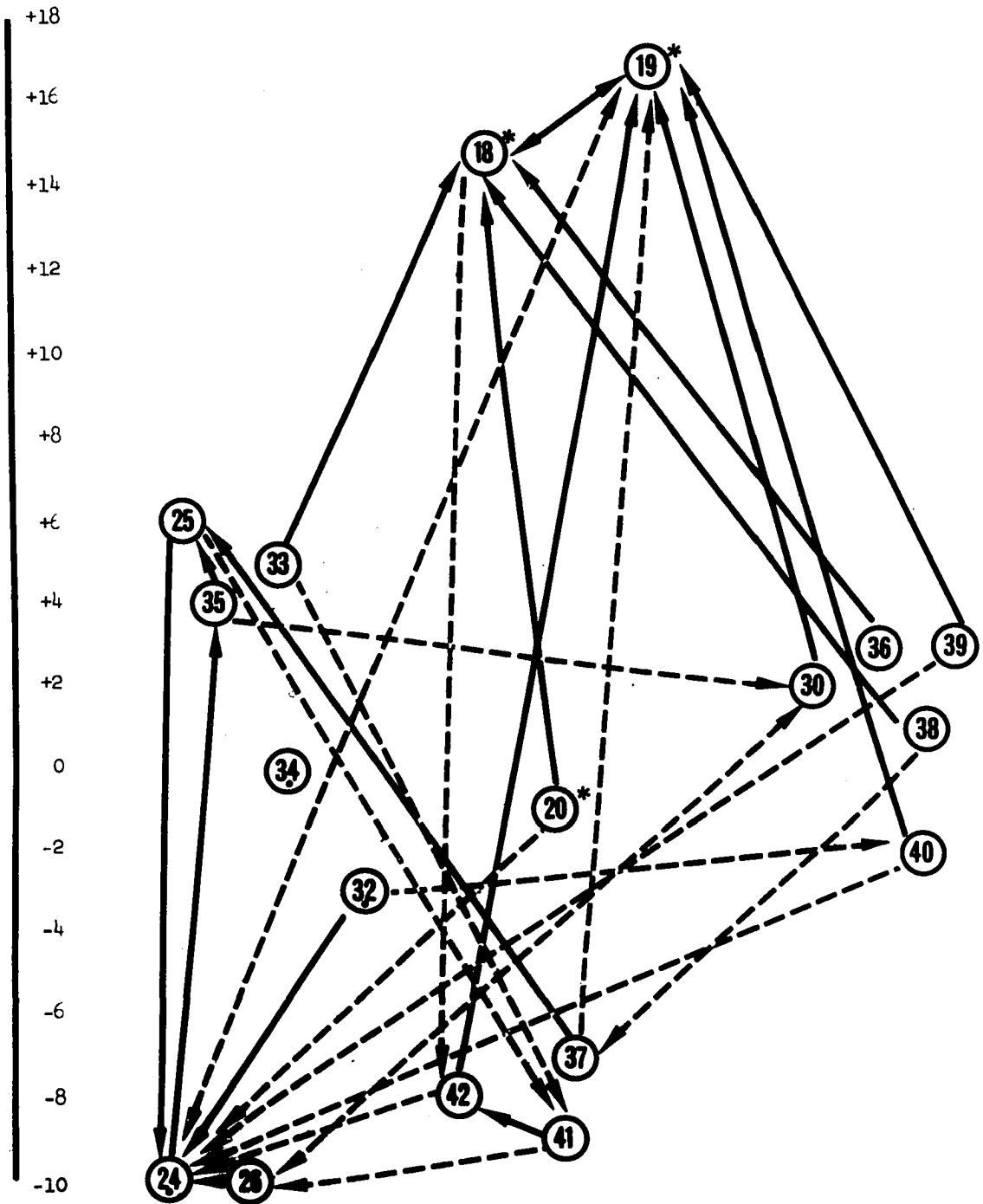


FIGURE XIV. INFLUENCE MATRIX, T_4



the influence structure with, however, Brother Basil having few influence of non-influence choices directed at him, maintaining a relatively higher rank.

On sanctioning, Figures XV and XVI, we do not find the ranges collapsing as on the other dimensions, but there is increasing differentiation in the aggregate and some noticeable polarization (see Appendix Tables D_{12} and D_{13} for the complete matrices). At all periods from T_2 (Figure VIII, p. 348) to T_4 , the primary recipients of most of the negative sanctioning were Brothers Simplicius (42), Elias (41) and Basil (20)--the Outcasts. As we noted before, many did not report sanctioning behavior, but the direction of negative sanctions against Brother Peter (24) increased as time passed, and those directed against Brother Gregory (19) peaked during the period of the meetings and thereafter abated somewhat.

In order to gain an overview of the membership in each of the camps, Figure XVII is a plotting of the cumulative scores received by each novice and postulant on all four dimensions for T_4 , and the first and second choice high influence relationships for that period. Without going into a detailed description of all the relationships operative then, we will describe the composition of the groups.

FIGURE XV. SANCTION MATRIX, T_3

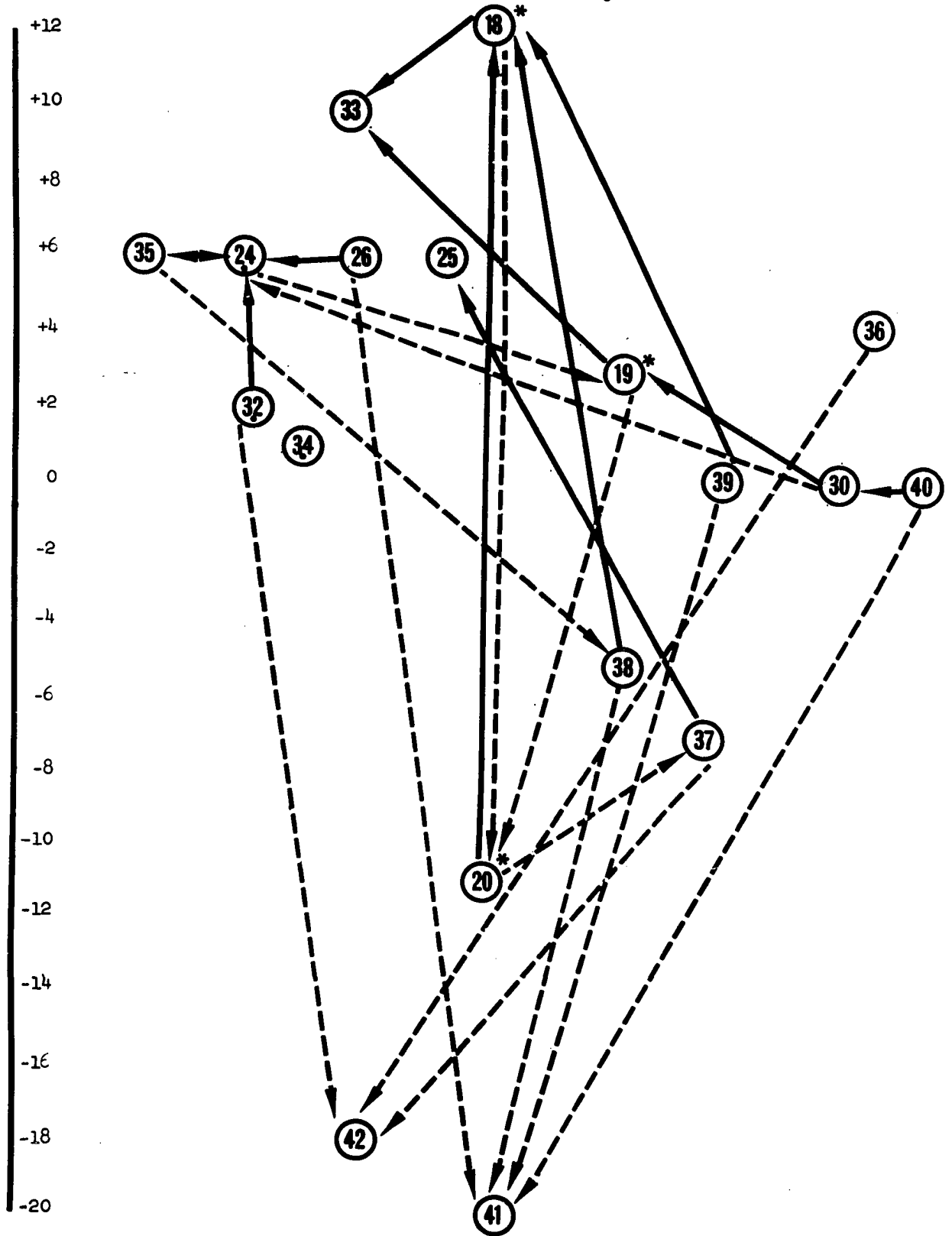


FIGURE XVI. SANCTION MATRIX, T_4

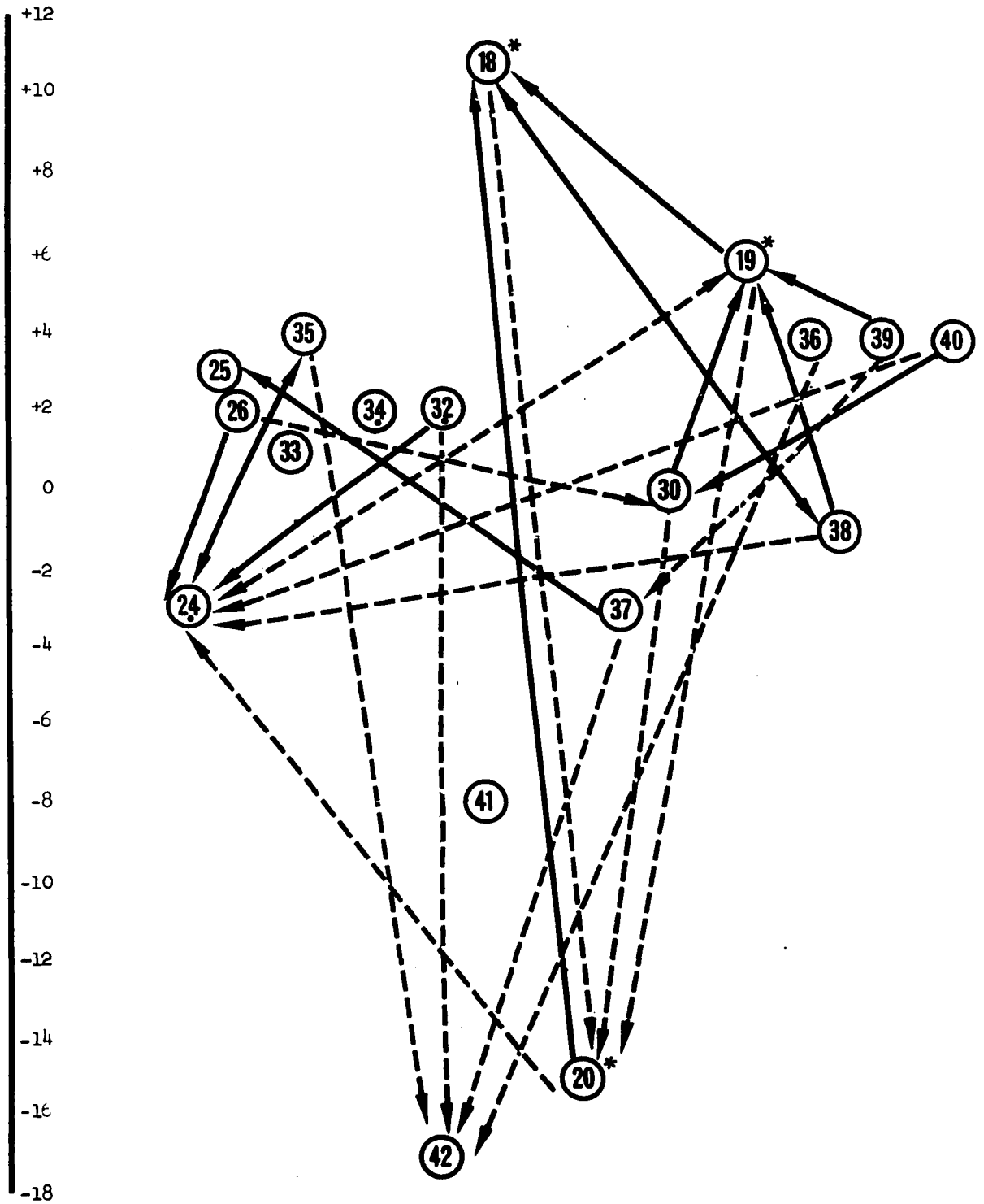
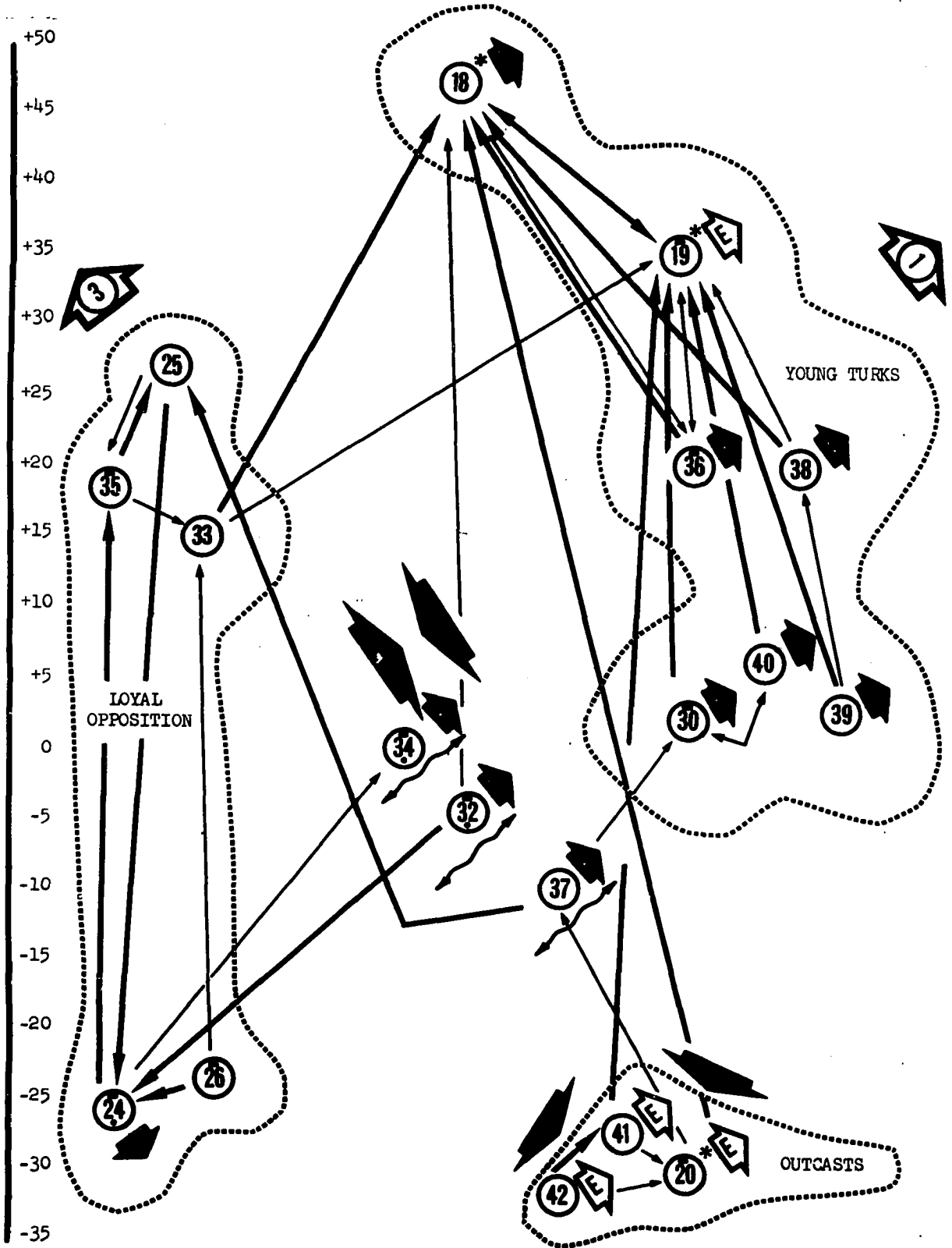


FIGURE XVII. CUMULATIVE MATRIX AND FIRST AND SECOND CHOICE INFLUENCE, T_{14}



The structure of influence patterns indicates, rather unambiguously, that the Young Turks were led by Brother Gregory (19) and the core of the group included Brothers Gregory (19), John Bosco (18) and Winfrid (36). Closely linked to this core were Brothers Hugh (38), Albert (40), Boniface (39) and Mark (30) (the only member of the old Cloisterville group among them). In the camp of the Loyal Opposition were its leader--Brother Peter (24), and Brothers Bonaventure (25), Berthold (26) and Louis (35) (the only member of the new class among them). The two bold arrowheads in Figure XVII are merely meant to indicate the conflict between these two camps. Brother Ambrose (33), a member of the Cloisterville group, was marginal to the Loyal Opposition, but very much influenced by the Young Turks.

Interstitial to the two groups were Brothers Ramuald (34), Victor (32) and Amand (37), who tended to vacillate between them. The "S" form arrow symbol represents the ambivalence associated with their positions. The former Cloisterville students, Ramuald and Victor, were in great conflict, for they became quite involved in the altercations which occurred between the most active members in each group. (The solid dash, —, within the circles over the code numbers, indicates those novices and postulants observed by the researcher to be implicated in the intergroup conflicts.)

At the bottom of the structure are the Outcasts-- Brothers Basil (20), Simplicius (42) and Elias (41). Their rejection by the members of both camps is noted by the small solid arrowheads. When, however, issues involving the two opposing groups arose, the Outcasts could be counted on to support the Young Turks, as their major influence choices indicate.

Generally, the Loyal Opposition's role model on the staff was Father Anthony (3) (as is indicated in Figure XVII by the white arrowhead in the upper left-hand corner), but they were relatively closely linked to Father Patrick (5) and Brothers Bernard (21) and Norbert (22) as well. The Young Turks tended to see Father Paul (1) as a more acceptable role model (indicated by the white arrowhead in the upper right-hand corner of Figure XVII), but all considered religious figures outside of St. Anthony's as more appropriate objects of their highest esteem. Significantly, no member of the Young Turk group named a single member of the Order of Mystical Union as one of his three "most respected religious leaders," whereas the members of the Loyal Opposition mentioned four Order members-- some 34 per cent of their choices. It was the growing alienation of the Young Turks and Brother Basil to selected members of the staff that was noted by the researcher in the Experimental Phase, and provided the dyads for

Experimental Group III (see Chapter VI).

3. The Exodus.--It was a week after T₄, in the seventh month of the study, that the staff at St. Anthony's met and voted to expel four members of the new class. All the Outcasts (see Figure XVII) were asked to leave. Brother Basil (20) was considered to have too much of a "personality problem" to remain, and Brothers Elias (41) and Simplicius (42) were judged "too immature." But included among those expelled was Brother Gregory (19), leader of the Young Turks. The reasons given for his expulsion were that he was judged to have "considered himself above the rules" and the researcher was told that his attitude was "not in conformity with the spirit of the Order," i.e., he was "too independent, questioning and arrogant," and "his religious approach was too combative [polemical] and elaborate [rationalistic]." Although from the perspective of the staff all these reasons were plausible enough, the fact that he had so much influence over many of his peers and that his initiative had upset so many of the older class was also basic to their decision. What, however, was not fully understood at that time was the key position he occupied in the social structure and its implications.

In the week and a half after Brother Gregory (19) departed from St. Anthony's, five of the six members of the Young Turks left voluntarily. In Figure XVII the black arrows with numbers enclosed indicate the order of voluntary departures from St. Anthony's. First, Brother John Bosco (18) left; then, in order, Brothers Albert (40), Boniface (39), Hugh (38) and Mark (30). Shortly after this mass exodus, Brothers Amand (37) and Victor (32), who had been interstitial to the subgroups, also left. A month and a half later, Brother Ramuald (34) likewise departed. Thus only two and one-half months after the expulsions, the number of students at St. Anthony's had shrunk from eighteen to six, and four of that six--Brothers Peter (24), Bonaventure (25), Berthold (26) and Ambrose (33)--had been in the original Cloisterville group and took simple vows in the Order in the eleventh month of the study.

It would be a great mistake, however, to attribute the exodus of others from St. Anthony's to the expulsion of Brother Gregory, the individual. This would be attributing much too much significance to his admittedly charismatic qualities. No other student at St. Anthony's shared his sophisticated analytical approach to religion; none had the background to do so. No other student or staff member, for that matter, shared his alienation from orthodox dogma, his rigid disdain for "hypocrisy" or his adroit verbal

facility. These qualities in many ways made even his closest associates ambivalent toward him. Indeed, in most respects, he was "alone in his thinking" as Father Anthony (3) once remarked. Some who left after Gregory were quite oblivious to his ideas and some not inclined to be influenced by him directly. What was so significant in Brother Gregory's dismissal was the position he occupied in the network of relationships that had developed among the students at St. Anthony's. When he departed, keystone-like relationships were removed from the interpersonal structure.

For example, Brother John Bosco (18), even though he was the recipient of generally favorable orientations from nearly everyone at the novitiate, because of his age and background found it nearly impossible to relate meaningfully to the younger students. He would often avoid recreation because of this. Shortly after Gregory left, John Bosco realized that he had been the only other member to whom he had been able to relate effectively, despite the fact that Gregory was not his first affect or esteem choice. Then, his leaving combined with Gregory's to produce a compounding effect, and, in domino-like fashion, the network simply collapsed.

The Aftermath

In the eleventh month of the study, T₅, the seven students remaining at St. Anthony's were structured in a relatively predictable fashion (see Figures XVIII, XIX, XX and XXI, and Appendix Tables D₁₇, D₁₈, D₁₉ and D₂₀).³⁷ On all dimensions, Brother Bonaventure (25) occupied the highest rank position and Brothers Peter (24) and Louis (35) held relatively high rank. At the bottom of all structures except affect (in which he was next to the last) stood Brother Winfrid (36), the only ex-member of the Young Turks to have remained for a time after the exodus. The relatively low rank of Brother Berthold (26), who had always been the lowest ranked member of the Loyal Opposition, was maintained. Brother Ramuald (34), who had been interstitial to the subgroups and in conflict as a result, also ranked relatively low on all dimensions but the rarely reported sanctioning dimension. Shortly afterwards, he also left St. Anthony's voluntarily.

One very striking feature of the affective matrix (Figure XVIII) is the prominence of positive symmetric affective relationships linking Brothers Bonaventure (25) and Peter (24); Peter (24) and Ramuald (34); Ramuald (34) and Ambrose (33); Ambrose (33) and Louis (35); and Louis (35) and Bonaventure (25), despite cross-cutting least

³⁷Both first and second positive and negative relationships are reported in the figures.

FIGURE XVIII. AFFECTIVE MATRIX, T₅

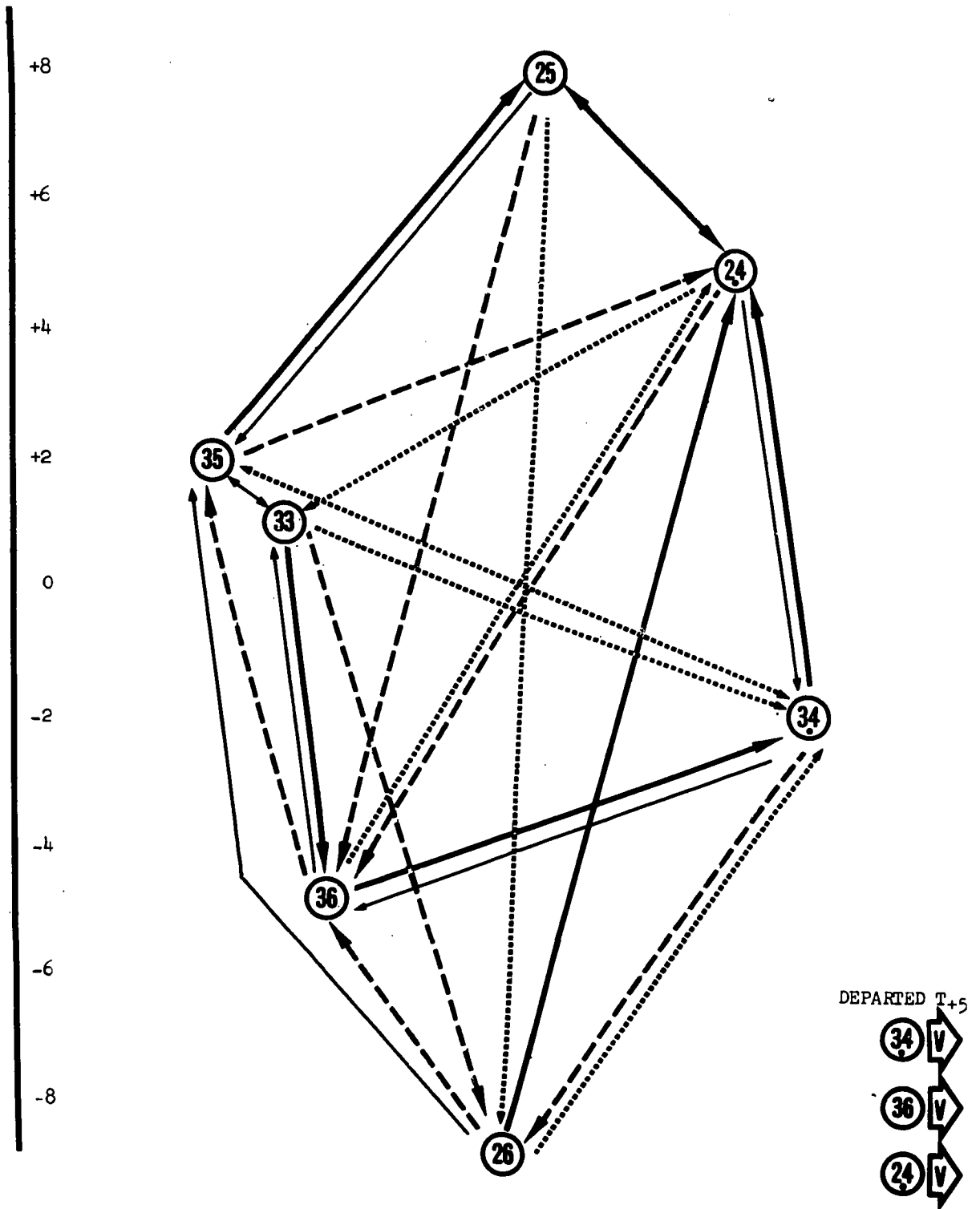


FIGURE XIX. ESTEEM MATRIX, T_5

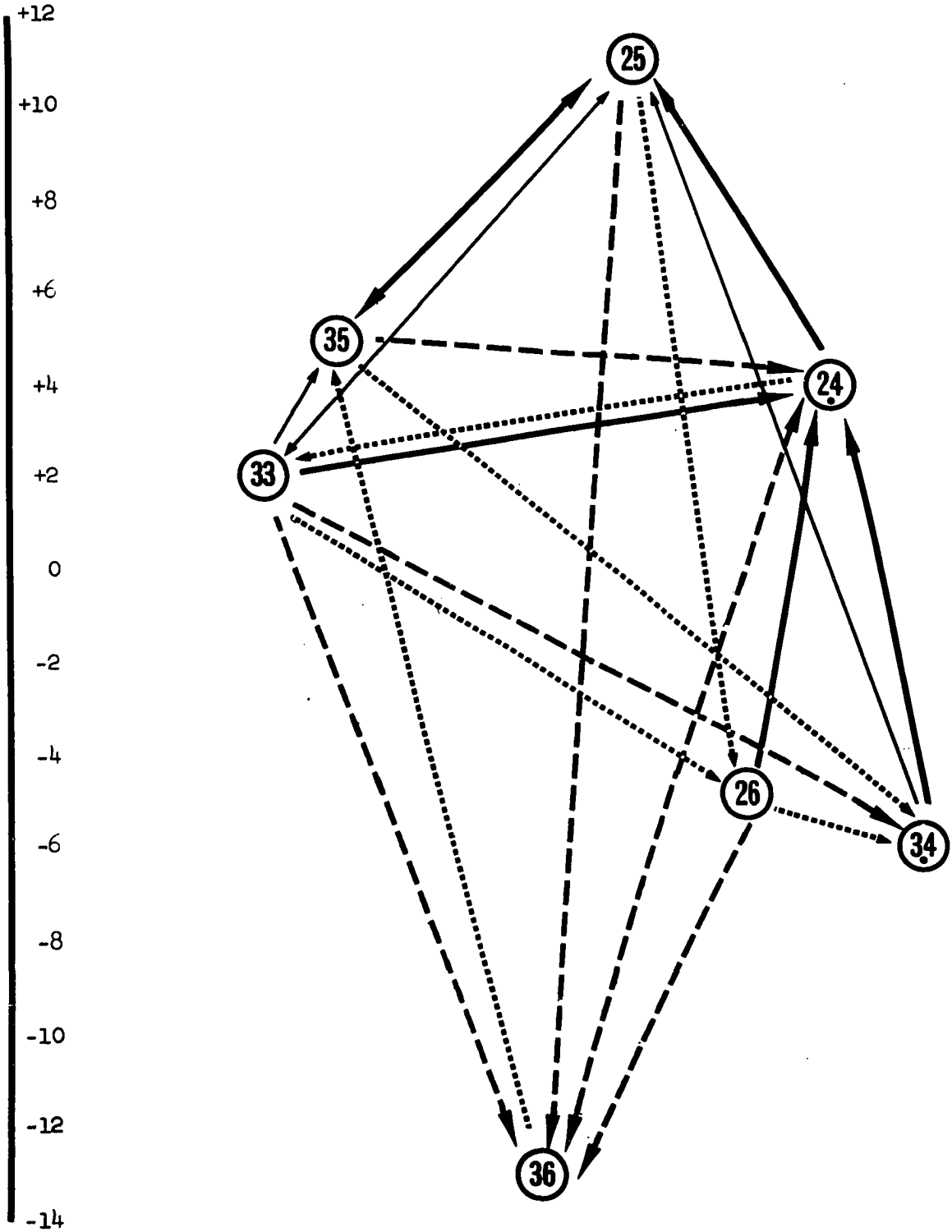


FIGURE XX. INFLUENCE MATRIX, T₅

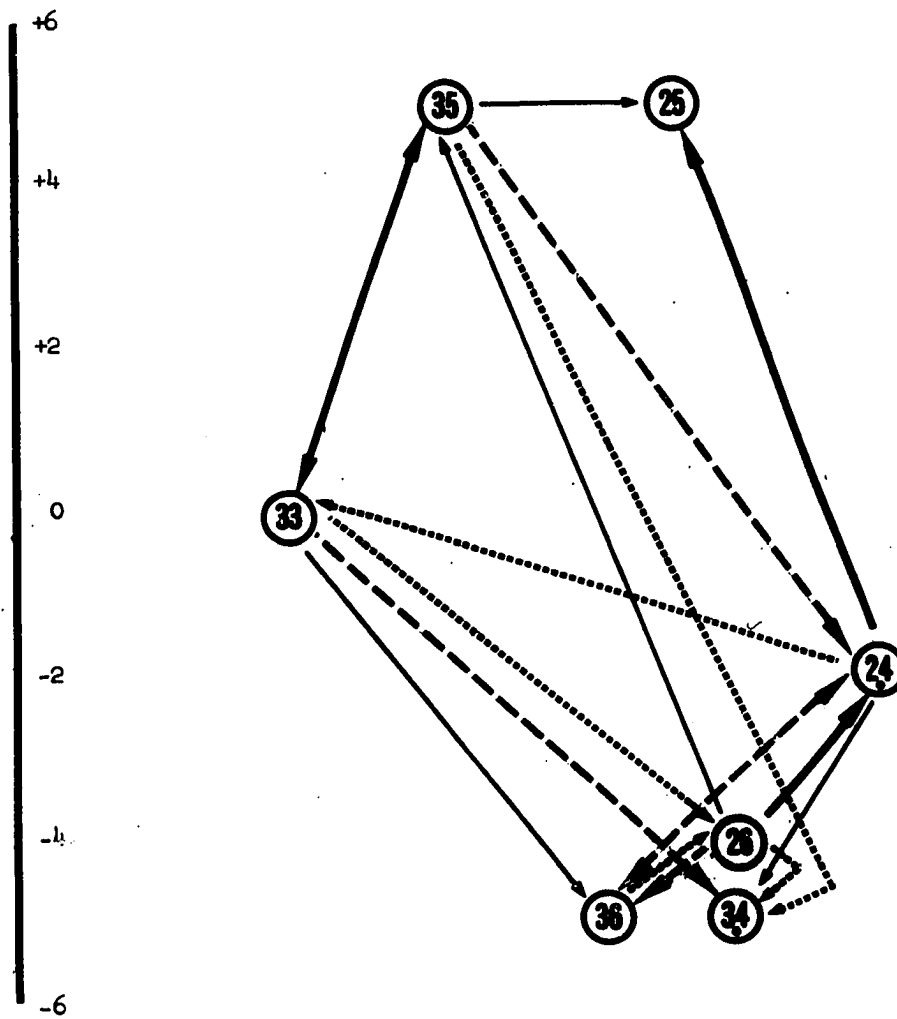
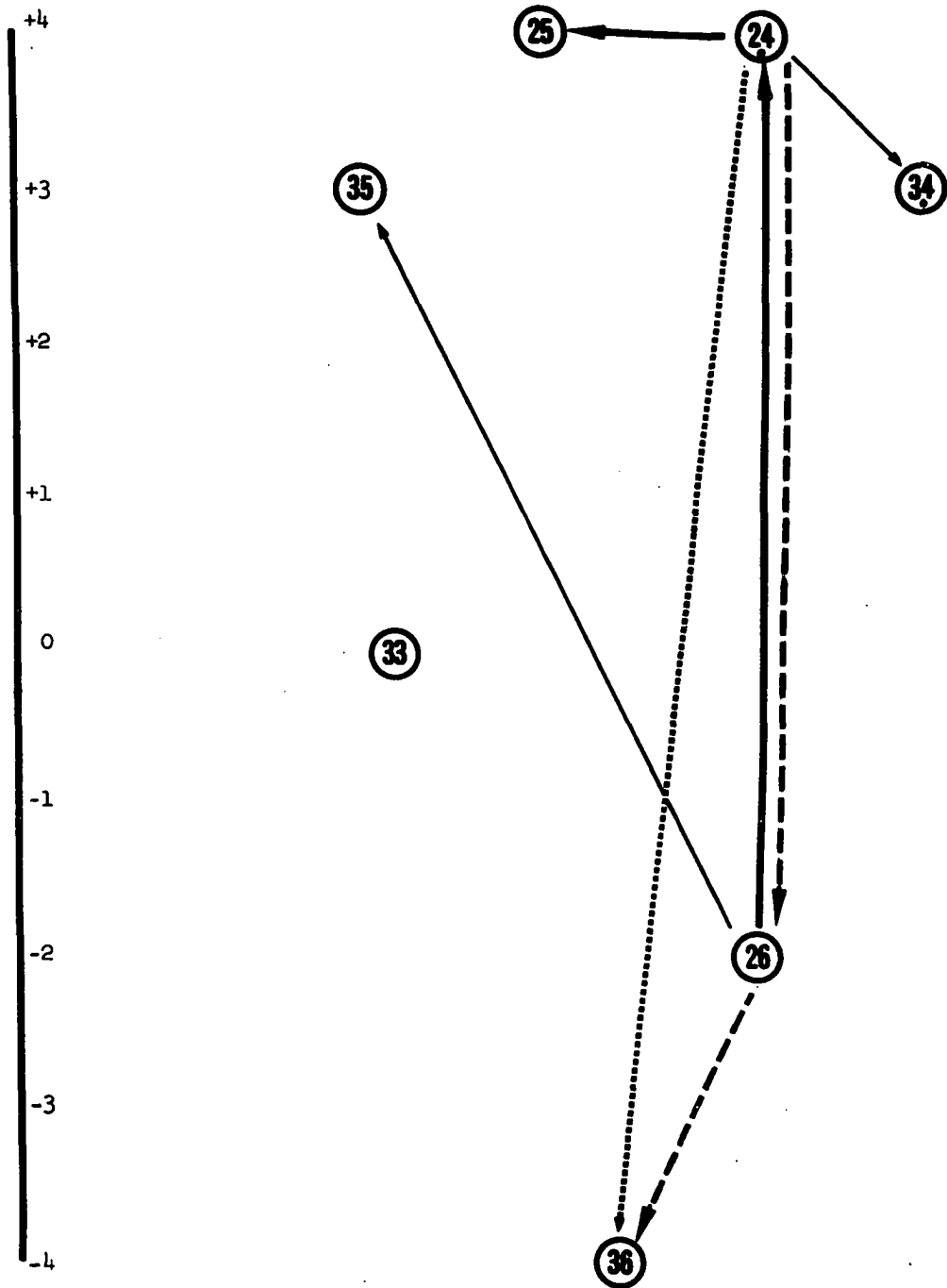


FIGURE XXI. SANCTION MATRIX, T_5



and second-least liked choices. The only remaining Young Turk, Brother Winfrid (26) was clearly isolated; but, reflecting his instrumentalism, he attempted to positively relate on all four dimensions to the most active leaders of the Loyal Opposition, whom he had previously rejected when Brothers Gregory (19) and John Bosco (18) had been at St. Anthony's. Brother Winfrid, an older member of the new class who had had very little formal education, reported to the researcher that he had been active in party politics before entering St. Anthony's. Upon further questioning, he maintained that he had made a practise of aligning himself with political candidates and organizations in order to secure for himself governmental jobs which required "a minimum of work" and were given as political favors to "loyal" workers. With no ideological position, he had merely made it his business to "back the winners" for his own ends. He had no qualms whatsoever about the ethics of such behavior; indeed, he was boastful of his skill in making such alliances of convenience. However, in the election before his coming to the novitiate, his influential "friends" had been ousted in local elections and he lost his patronage job. It appears that Brother Winfrid employed this rather unique strategy of survival in St. Anthony's as well. When Brothers Gregory and John Bosco were "winners," he was in their camp. When they

departed, Brother Winfrid merely switched camps. Despite the fact that Brother Winfrid established symmetrical positive affect ties with Brothers Ambrose (33) and Ramuald (34) and T₅ (see Figure XVIII), he was the least esteemed, the least influential and the most negatively sanctioned among the remaining group at St. Anthony's (see Figures XIX, XX and XXI). After the departures of Brother Ramuald (34) in the last month of the study and of Brother Peter (24) a month following the termination of field work, Brother Winfrid also took leave of the Order of Mystical Union. The researcher is convinced that Brother Winfrid's failure to conform to the temporal exodus pattern expected of one in his social structure position was possible only because of the unusual manipulative way in which he typically related to others. But this trait merely delayed matters and did not change the final outcome.

A few weeks after the field portion of the study was completed, none of the Young Turks, the Outcasts or those caught between the opposing camps remained at St. Anthony's. Four had been expelled and eight had voluntarily departed. Of the thirteen original members of the new class, only Brother Ambrose (33), who felt this was his "last chance," remained. The mainly covert value incompatibilities between the members of the new class and the monastic tradition had translated itself into an interpersonal group

structural cleavage which, in turn, all but depopulated the novitiate of a year's supply of aspirants.

Ironically, the most militant member of the Loyal Opposition, Brother Peter (24), in the process of "effectively combating the dangerous tendencies" of the Young Turks, had his own ambivalences awakened, and he also departed. It was reported to the researcher that Brother Peter, upon leaving, had said that he was "filled with confusion about the purposes of the life" (i.e., the culture of the Order) and no longer felt that it was the way in which he could "best fulfill" his "spiritual goals."

The above description of the basic dimensions of the changing social structure at St. Anthony's will serve to indicate the complexities which confronted the researcher in his attempt to isolate dyads exhibiting similar relationship types for the experimental phase of the study. Let us now turn to the focal objective of the study--the experimental analysis of the role of social relationships in cognitive dissensus maintenance and resolution.

CHAPTER VI

THE ROLE OF SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS IN DISSENSUS MAINTENANCE AND RESOLUTION

The Problem

The process by which individuals having different initial cognitive orientations toward the same significant object come to share a common orientation to that object will be recognized as a research question of long standing in both sociology and social psychology. Studies dealing with this topic in contemporary social psychology are found under an enormous range of titles, e.g., "suggestibility," "conformity," "attitude change," "leadership," "communication," "power," "influence," etc. With very few exceptions, the approaches to variants of this question implicitly or explicitly adopt an actor-situation frame of reference, with the individual as the primary unit of analysis and with interaction viewed as a monadic process. Consequently, the theoretical approaches developed or drawn upon to explain findings in this area have emphasized the role of psychological and/or organismic processes, e.g., theories of learning, perception, memory, cognitive functioning, motivation, judgment, personality dynamics, psycho-biological

interaction and the like.

On the sociological side, studies dealing with this general topic are known under a number of rubrics: "culture change," "accommodation," "assimilation," "diffusion," etc. But here the phenomena are typically viewed in one of two ways. First, there is the systemic-emergence approach, which tends to employ macro-units of analysis such as analytically differentiated social or cultural systems in relationship to other macro-units, e.g., ecological, demographic, technological, institutional, group organizational, societal, etc. Second, there is the aggregated approach, which nevertheless employs an implicit individual unit of analysis and easily reduces to the dominant social psychological frame of reference.

As noted in Chapter I, an alternative and not necessarily conflicting approach interstitial to the dominant modes of analysis has been developing slowly from both the social psychological and sociological perspectives. We have called this the social relationship approach, for it employs at minimum a dyadic unit of analysis. In the language of our frame of reference (Chapter I), the question is one of the process of social transformation from a cognitive dissensus relationship (#2) to a class inclusion cognitive consensus relationship (#1).¹ We proposed to

¹All references to numbered relationships refer to the paradigm presented in Appendix Figure 1.

address this problem initially from a distinctly sociological perspective, asking how different specific types of social relationships independently serve to facilitate or impede this process of consensus formation in a relatively ambiguous stimulus situation (the autokinetic situation). To restate our research objective, then, it was to attempt to discover if, and in what ways, selected types of social relationships operative in everyday interaction affect the transformation of a situationally-produced dissensus.

Each subject was selected on the basis of the criteria of social relationships described below and was first asked to judge the amount of autokinetic movement in an "alone" session. As Sherif (1935) has shown, subjects in such situations tend to establish a relatively stable judgmental scale within which future estimates of perceived movement are made. By the emergence of an individual norm, the subject may be said to establish a particular stable, cognitive orientation toward the stimulus. Further studies by Bovard (1948) and by Rohrer, Baron, Hoffman and Swander (1954) have shown that judgmental scales established in autokinetic situations have great stability over time, indeed up to one year.

Naive matched subjects, having been tested in an "alone" session, were thereupon paired on the basis of: (1) the social relationships they had been found to

manifest in Phase II; and (2) the fact that their average independent judgments in the 'alone' trial had been approximately five inches apart.² Thus, we may say that a situationally-produced cognitive dissensus relationship obtained between all pairs. Then each such pair judged the same stimulus movement in three successive interactive trials. It should be emphasized that no "stooges" or "plants" were involved. Thus, the general hypothesis underlying these experiments is that the amount and symmetry of convergence in the "together" condition responses will vary as a function of the kinds of social relationships obtaining between the subjects in the social structure of the monastery.³ This approach represents a

²This was done to insure the comparability of all experimental groups, as well as to avoid the "boomerang effects" of too large discrepancies found by Whittaker (1964). To use the terminology of Sherif, Sherif and Nebergall (1965), we wished the discrepancies in the initial judgmental scale of each subject in all experimental groups to be within the normal base-line "latitude of acceptance" of the judgmental scale of his paired subject. Our reasoning was that if we got "boomerang effects," they could only be seen as the result of differential involvements produced by the social relationships operative in the situation, and not by the initial discrepancy ranges themselves.

³Although the researcher conjectured about the outcomes of the experiments, no theoretical predictions were possible, owing to the dearth of systematic knowledge of relationship effects. Therefore, the experimental techniques may be viewed as "discovery"-oriented, rather than designed to test systematically formulated hypotheses (see Kaplan (1964), esp. pp. 144-154). While insufficient for

departure in research into the social causes of social effects, but does so within an experimental framework developed traditionally for social psychological research.

While research using the autokinetic situation is almost exclusively concerned with the individual's response in often contrived social stimulus situations, some, nevertheless, has been suggestive of the approach adopted here. Kelman (1950), Haggard and Babin (1948), Farrow and Santos (1962) and others have seen individual autokinetic "perception" changes as a function of the reinforcement structure or schedule in the experimental situation. It is but a small step to see the stabilized extra-experimental social sanctioning relationships as relevant intra-experimentally. Studies such as that by Hood and Sherif (1962), which have shown that "coincidental" judgments of others overheard prior to testing have an influence upon the subject's responses when subsequently tested, lend further support to the strategy adopted herein. Although none of these studies explicitly specifies that the subjects' daily patterns of orientations and sanctioning be drawn upon and studied in the autokinetic situation, they make such an inference

our purposes, the most relevant and suggestive published formulation is that of French (1956) relating to his "formal theory of power," in which he speculates on the effects of connectedness on opinion changes in hypothetical four-member groups.

plausible. Further support for the position adopted here may be derived from the findings of Chaplin (1955) and Whittaker (1964), which showed sex differences in "persuasibility" in the autokinetic situation. However, neither researcher attempted to examine the social relationship structures obtaining between male and female subjects in an attempt to arrive at the possible social nexus of these differences. Closer approximations to the proposed study in the autokinetic literature was found in the work of Pollis (1966) and Pollis and Montgomery (1966), which demonstrate that the stability scores of subjects vary as a function of the sequence of judgmental contexts, ranging from "alone," and "togetherness," to group. Other research is currently involved in the cross-cultural investigation of the communicator or source credibility dimension in the autokinetic situation. However, the closest approximations to our approach are found in the studies of Downing (1958) and von Cranach (1960). Downing found that members of highly cohesive groups conform less readily to the group norm in the autokinetic situation, and von Cranach found that "high-ranking" subjects' estimates were strong factors in determining group responses. Nevertheless, although suggestive, none of these studies attempted to identify, except in general ways, the specific types of social relationships operative

in their experiments.

Selection and Validation of Dyadic Relationship Groups

1. Subjects. In Chapter V, many general characteristics of our subject pool were described. All were males between the ages of 19 and 42 and members of St. Anthony's novitiate. All subjects used in the study had had an eye examination within the previous two years and reported "normal" visual acuity, corrected or uncorrected. All were volunteers. Only one subject had had a college course in psychology, and post-experimental interviews revealed none to have been familiar with autokinesis or the social psychological research employing it.

2. Dyadic Relationship Groups. On the basis of initial interviews and unobtrusive observations, three classes of social relationships were identified as significant in number and clarity at the monastery so as to constitute three experimental groups.

Experimental Group I consisted of dyads composed of formal social equals, i.e., all lay-brother postulants in the new class, with no discernible structured relationships between them, in the very first week of their stay at St. Anthony's. Furthermore, no subjects paired in this

group had met one another prior to their coming to the novitiate. Although they shared common identities in a new environment, technically a form of class inclusion cognitive consensus relationship in our paradigm, the paired subjects were observed to interact only minimally and more or less randomly, neither avoiding nor seeking each other out in patterned ways and, when interacting, not manifestly sanctioning each other. The dyads in this group were, therefore, identified as symmetric no-relationship, social-equal dyads.⁴ Only four such pairs qualified due to the tendency to quickly pair off in the acquaintance period and the subsequent rapid intra-group differentiation. Table I identifies the subjects in each dyad, shows the gross time each dyad was unobtrusively observed interacting after identification in Phase II of the study, and, as a validation check, the ratings reported by each subject in the questionnaire administered in Phase VI for all four relationship classes for T_2 , the time during which these subjects participated in the experiment.

From inspection, three of the four dyads appear to be relatively free of reported choices, except for the one

⁴In our analytic paradigm, this relationship form may be symbolized as basically as #1 (where 0 is the status of ego and alter's identity), -2 (where 0 is the alter and an asymmetric evaluation is the criterion for classification). See Appendix Figure I.

TABLE I
THE OBSERVED SYMMETRIC NO-RELATIONSHIP, SOCIAL-EQUAL DYADS
AT T₂, TIME OF OBSERVATION, AND QUESTIONNAIRE CHOICES

Total Observa- tion Time in Minutes and Num- ber of Separate Interaction Sit- uations Unobtru- sively Observed		<u>Affect^a</u>	<u>Esteem^b</u>	<u>Influence^c</u>	<u>Sanctioning^d</u>
Dyad 1 ^e	:45 (6)				
(34)		0	0	0	0
(37)		0	0	0	-1
Dyad 2	:15 (5)				
(35)		0	0	0	0
(40)		0	0	0	0
Dyad 3	:30 (7)				
(39)		≠1	≠1	≠2	≠3
(38)		≠2	≠2	≠2	≠1
Dyad 4	:10 (3)				
(41)		≠1	0	0	0
(42)		0	0	0	0

^aSee Appendix Table D₅, Affect Matrix, T₂.

^bSee Appendix Table D₆, Esteem Matrix, T₂.

^cSee Appendix Table D₇, Influence Matrix, T₂.

^dSee Appendix Table D₈, Sanctioning Matrix, T₂.

^eNumbers under each dyad indicate subject code numbers. See Appendix Table A.

case in Dyad 4 of a third most-liked choice of Brother Elias (41) for Brother Simplicius (42), and one case in Dyad 1 of a third negative sanction choice of Brother Ramuald (34) for Brother Amand (37). Dyad 3, however, reports reciprocal positive choices on all four dimensions. The reported relatively high reciprocity of positive orientations and sanctions between Brothers Boniface (39) and Hugh (38) was not observed by the researcher in the initial T_1 period. As social differentiation progressed, however, these two subjects were observed to develop a very close relationship, and their recall and reporting for T_2 may have been affected by intervening events. We may, on the other hand, have been mistaken in our classification of this dyad and, as we shall see, the experimental results obtained appear to suggest that this is true. Generally, however, the dyads in Experimental Group I were clearly reported to be relatively free of confounding relationships, validating our field observational inferences.

Experimental Group II was composed of dyads of formal social equals, i.e., either pairs of cleric novices or pairs of lay brother novices in the Cloisterville group, who had interacted in the same environment over a period of nearly a year and who, in the informal structure, manifested deference behavior such that the researcher was able to infer that an asymmetric esteem relationship

TABLE II
THE OBSERVED ASYMMETRIC ESTEEM, SOCIAL-EQUAL RELATIONSHIP
DYADS AT T₁, TIME OF OBSERVATION AND QUESTIONNAIRE
CHOICES

	Total Observa- tion Time in Minutes and Num- ber of Separate Interaction Sit- uations Unobtru- sively Observed	<u>Questionnaire Choices</u>			
		<u>Affect^a</u>	<u>Esteem^b</u>	<u>Influence^c</u>	<u>Sanctioning^d</u>
Dyad 1					
Esteemed (17) ^e	:85 (20)	+3	0	+3	0
Esteemer (13)		0	+3	+3	0
Dyad 2					
Esteemed (16)	:40 (18)	0	-1	0	0
Esteemer (14)		0	+2	0	0
Dyad 3					
Esteemed (25)	:75 (21)	0	0	0	0
Esteemer (31)		+2	+2	+2	+2
Dyad 4					
Esteemed (24)	:50 (14)	0	0	0	0
Esteemer (33)		0	+3	+3	0
Dyad 5					
Esteemed (23)	:60 (10)	-3	-3	-3	0
Esteemer (32)		+2	+2	+2	+1

^aSee Appendix Table D₁, Affective Matrix, T₁.

^bSee Appendix Table D₂, Esteem Matrix, T₁.

^cSee Appendix Table D₃, Influence Matrix, T₁.

^dSee Appendix Table D₄, Sanctioning Matrix, T₁.

^eNumbers under each dyad indicate subject code numbers, Table A.

obtained between them.⁵ The technique used to identify these dyads is described in some detail in Chapter V. In Table II, the dyads finally selected for Experimental Group II; the total time and number of situations in which each dyad was unobtrusively observed after identification; and the relevant questionnaire choices for T_1 , when the experiment with this group was conducted, are identified.

While not free of contaminating relationships, all five dyads selected for Experimental Group II were characterized as asymmetric esteem by the subjects themselves, i.e., in all cases the paired esteemed was the esteemer's first or second positive choice and in no case was the esteemer the esteemed's first, second or third positive choice. Indeed, in two dyads, the high esteem orientation of the esteemer is returned by a relatively low esteem orientation from the esteemed--dyads #2 and #5. The questionnaire responses also reveal that in all but one dyad, the esteemer reports the esteemed as having a relatively high influence upon him. Furthermore, the direction of esteem reported for dyads 1, 2, 4 and 5 was confirmed by the superior's independent judgment, made prior to the experiments (see Chapter V).

Experimental Group III was originally planned to comprise pairings of members of the staff and members of

⁵In our analytic paradigm, this relationship form may be symbolized as basically #1 (where 0 is alter's identity), -2 (where 0 is the alter and an asymmetric positive evaluation is the criterion for classification). See Appendix Figure I.

the new class. The initial assumption was that legitimized authority of the staff members, the general atmosphere of the novitiate, the early phase of the training and the motivation of the aspirants would combine to produce dyads constituted of asymmetric sanctioning in which the "follower" would be strongly positively identified with the "leader." But the rapid emergence of the Young Turk group and the critical detachment and alienation of most of its members created a class of relationships of a very different type. It was decided to pair each member of the Young Turk group (and one member of the Outcasts who shared their alienation) with a specific member of the staff whose authority he rejected. The dyads of Experimental Group III were composed, therefore, of an asymmetric sanctioning relationship compounded by a reciprocated disesteem relationship at T_3 .⁶ Priests were matched with cleric novices in three dyads and professed lay brothers with lay-brother aspirants in two of the final five selected for the experimental group. The criterion for inclusion in the dyad pool for this group was originally developed on the basis of conversations among the staff and among aspirants overheard during the

⁶ In our analytic paradigm, this dominant relationship form may be symbolized as a #3-2 (where 0 is the alter and a symmetric negative evaluation is the criterion for classification). See Appendix Figure I.

unobtrusive observation phase and was subsequently established by observing interactions between specific staff members and aspirants during the same period. The further pre-experimental confirmatory information was obtained from the researcher's informants (see Chapter V).⁷ Post-experimental validation was obtained from interviews⁸ and, indirectly, by the expulsion or voluntary exodus of all five of the aspirants paired in the dyads of this experimental group. Table III indicates the dyads finally selected and the presence or absence of validating evidence on these four indices.

These, then, were the types of dyads finally selected to compose the three experimental groups and the methods used to identify and validate their dominant relationship characteristics. Many more dyads among the members of St. Anthony's exhibited the isolated relationship types than were included in the experimental groups. However, they were eliminated for one or both of two reasons: (1) not approximating the five-inch average judgment discrepancies in the "alone" situation of the experiment and/or (2) participating in another experimental pairing. In other words, all

⁷For reasons of rapport, it was decided not to include staff-inmate ratings in the questionnaire.

⁸All subjects but one were interviewed in Phase IV, and the opinions of each were solicited on a number of individuals at St. Anthony's, including the subject's paired partner.

TABLE III

THE OBSERVED ASYMMETRIC POWER-ALIENATION RELATIONSHIP,
SOCIAL-UNEQUAL DYADS AT T₃, TIME OF OBSERVATION AND
VALIDATIONAL CHECKS

	Total Observation Time in Minutes and Number of Separate Interactions Unobtrusively Observed	Pre-experimental Conversational Confirmation	Pre-experimental Informant Confirmation	Post-experimental Interview Confirmation	Expelled or Voluntarily Departed
Dyad 1 Authority (3) Alienated (19)	:15 (4)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Expelled
Dyad 2 Authority (5) Alienated (18)	:10 (6)	Yes	No	Yes	Voluntarily Departed
Dyad 3 Authority (8) Alienated (20)	:20 (7)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Expelled
Dyad 4 Authority (21) Alienated (30)	:05 (3)	No	Yes	Yes	Voluntarily Departed
Dyad 5 Authority (22) Alienated (36)	:15 (2)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Voluntarily Departed

possible cases of dyads manifesting the desired relationship were included in the appropriate experimental groups. Although all members of the monastery participated in the experimental phase, except Father Paul (1), the superior, and Father Francis (7), four individuals could not be paired in any of the three experimental groups, because of the above criteria. The small n 's are, therefore, a function of the relatively small absolute population at the monastery during the Experimental Phase, i.e., $n = 34$, and the limitations imposed by our methodology.

Experimental Method and Situation

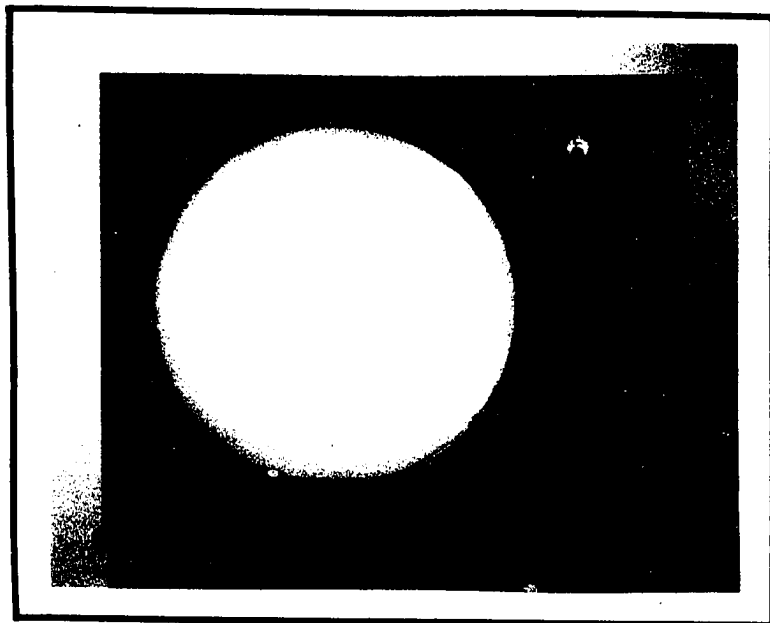
A slight modification of the classic autokinetic situation was employed to discover the differential effects of selected types of social relationships upon the transformation of a cognitive dissensus relationship into a cognitive consensus relationship.⁹ Since the autokinetic situation provided conditions under which the initially discrepant cognitive orientations (in this case, judgments about the apparent movement of a fixed point of light in an otherwise totally dark room) of two subjects have been

⁹The choice of the autokinetic situation for the study of consensus formation was an easy one, in as much as over the last thirty years it has proven to be one of the most reliable "projective" cognitive judgment stimuli in the arsenal of social psychology. Research using this stimulus

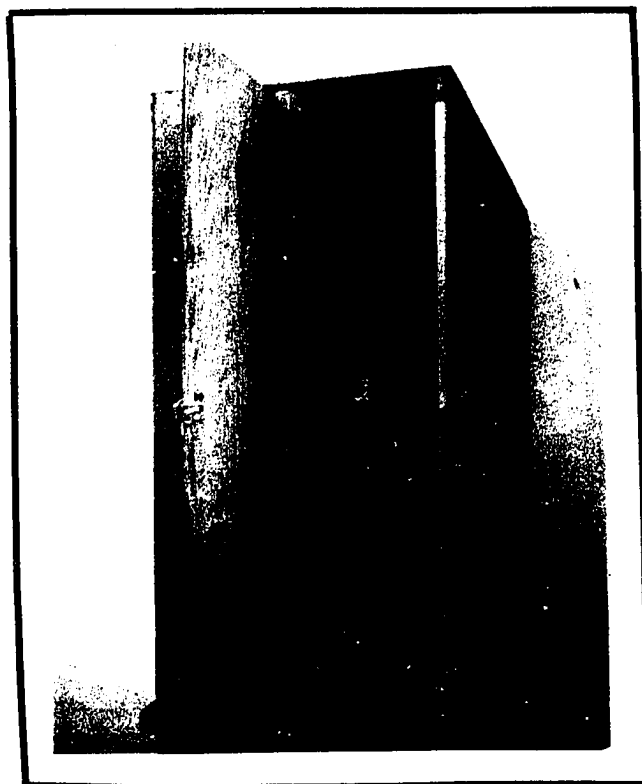
shown in prior research to converge during the process of interaction, it is uniquely appropriate as a setting in which to examine the impact of the subjects' relationships on the maintenance and/or resolution of cognitive dissensus.

1. Apparatus. The device employed in the research to induce autokinesis consisted of an automatic timer-controlled light projected through a pin-point of 1 mm. diameter in the center of a circular piece of plexiglass painted and shaped to look like a large television tube. The light source itself was a 5 watt instrument bulb. The "tube" was housed in a customized light-proof box, 52" x 40" x 20", painted grey with two non-functional energized ammeters and a dial affixed to improve realism. Pictures I and II show front and side views of the apparatus. Enclosed in the box was an automatic timer and an experimenter's panel. Whenever the experimenter was not in the darkroom, the autokinetic box was secured by a padlock to preclude inspection by the curious. Before the subjects, two sets of buttons were placed conveniently on an enclosed panel painted the same grey color as the autokinetic box, and shown in Picture III. One button on the subject's panel

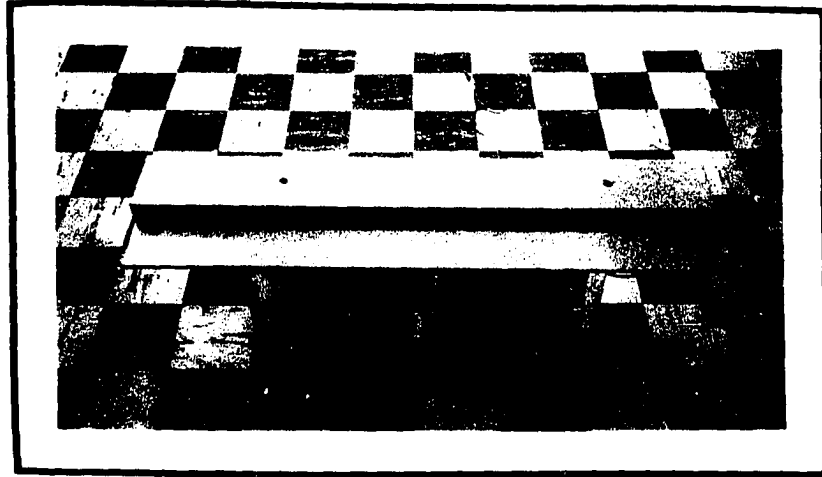
situation is too well known, diversified and extensive to cite here. It is sufficient to note that its basic use in social psychology was pioneered by Sherif (1935), and the most recent and complete review of attempts to explain the autokinetic phenomenon may be found in Royce, Carron, Aftanas, Lehman, and Blumenthal (1966).



Picture I. Front View of Autokinetic Device from the Subject's Position.



Picture II. Side View of Autokinetic Device from the Experimenter's Position.



Picture III. Subject's Panel.

actuated a dim, shielded red light on the experimenter's panel inside the autokinetic box and was used to identify the respondent rendering judgments in paired sessions. The other button on the subject's panel actuated the timer. In paired sessions, both subjects had to depress their timer buttons in order for the timer to be actuated. The dark room was a windowless room in the basement of the cloister, 40' x 12' x 18'. The center of the "tube," where the pin-point of light was projected, was approximately at eye-level to the subjects, who were seated on a long piano bench without arm or back rests, and the subject-to-light-source distance was 16'6". A light-proofed tape recorder was used to record all experimental sessions.

2. Procedure. Each subject was asked to report to the "testing" room as the experimenter determined. As reported in Chapter V, the experimenter had been identified to all subjects as a "Cornell scientist studying vision" at a general meeting by the superior. In the experiment room, after a friendly greeting, each subject was asked to come into the then-lighted, experiment room and to sit on the piano bench before the autokinetic apparatus. When seated, each subject was asked when his last eye examination had been and told that, "This is the first of a series of

measurement sessions that I (the researcher) will request your help in. I certainly appreciate your cooperation." The subject was then told to "completely relax," and the following instructions were given him:

When the room is completely dark and your eyes have dark-adapted, I will give you the signal R-E-A-D-Y and show you a point of light. After a short time the light will begin to move. As soon as you see it move, press the black button to the right on the panel before you. A few seconds later the light will disappear. Then tell me the distance it moved. Try to make your estimates as accurate as possible. The direction doesn't matter--just the distance it moved through space.

He was then asked if he had any questions about what he was expected to do, and, after answering whatever questions the subject might have had, the researcher turned off the lights in the room. Then, the subject was told that it would take a few minutes for his eyes to adjust to the darkness and he was asked to locate the appropriate button on his panel. After five minutes, during which the experimenter never initiated conversation but acknowledged anything the subject wished to discuss with an "ah ha" or "um hum," or some other non-committal response, the subject was asked if he was ready and the "alone" session began. Each judgment made by the subject was recorded by the researcher on a small pad of paper and each session was tape recorded. Eighty judgments constituted a session and the time of each exposure to the light was 2.5 seconds after the subject indicated movement.

Then, on the basis of the social relationships noted above and the criterion of an average five-inch discrepancy between judgments in the last sixty judgments in the "alone" situation, subjects were paired for three successive eighty-judgment sessions in which both subjects reported aloud estimates of movement.

The procedures for the paired sessions were the same as the "alone" situation, except that subjects were told:

Now that you are familiar with the test, to save your time and mine I've decided to double-up, if you don't mind.

None did mind, and the subjects were then told:

When the light disappears, give your judgments, the order in which you report doesn't matter, but to help me know who's talking, please do press the white button when giving your judgments. Again, try to make your estimates as accurate as possible.

After the experiments were completed, all subjects were interviewed and, among other things, asked if they felt they were influenced in making their judgments by their partner in the situation. As in previous research, no subject reported that he was. Most maintained that they had made up their minds before the other person had given his estimates.

On the average, there was a two-to-four-day delay between the "alone" session and the first paired session for all dyads in all experimental groups. However, the

three paired sessions were usually completed in the two days following the first paired session.

Results

Data produced in the three experimental groups revealed three strikingly different patterned results. Not only the average of all dyads in the three groups, but also every dyad in each of the groups manifested the distinctive pattern of its group.

Let us first examine the gross amount of dissensus resolution and maintenance which obtained in the three experimental groups. Figure I shows the mean convergence patterns of all three experimental groups. Apparent by inspection is the general tendency toward consensus and the great differences between Experimental Group III and the others. In order to statistically compare the convergence effect across groups, the mean absolute distance between the judgments of the two partners in each dyad was calculated for each trial and a two-way analysis of variance was carried out using group condition and trials as independent variables. The results, shown in Table IV, indicate that the difference between groups was significant. The group by trial interaction effect was appreciably smaller, but still significant. But the between-trials

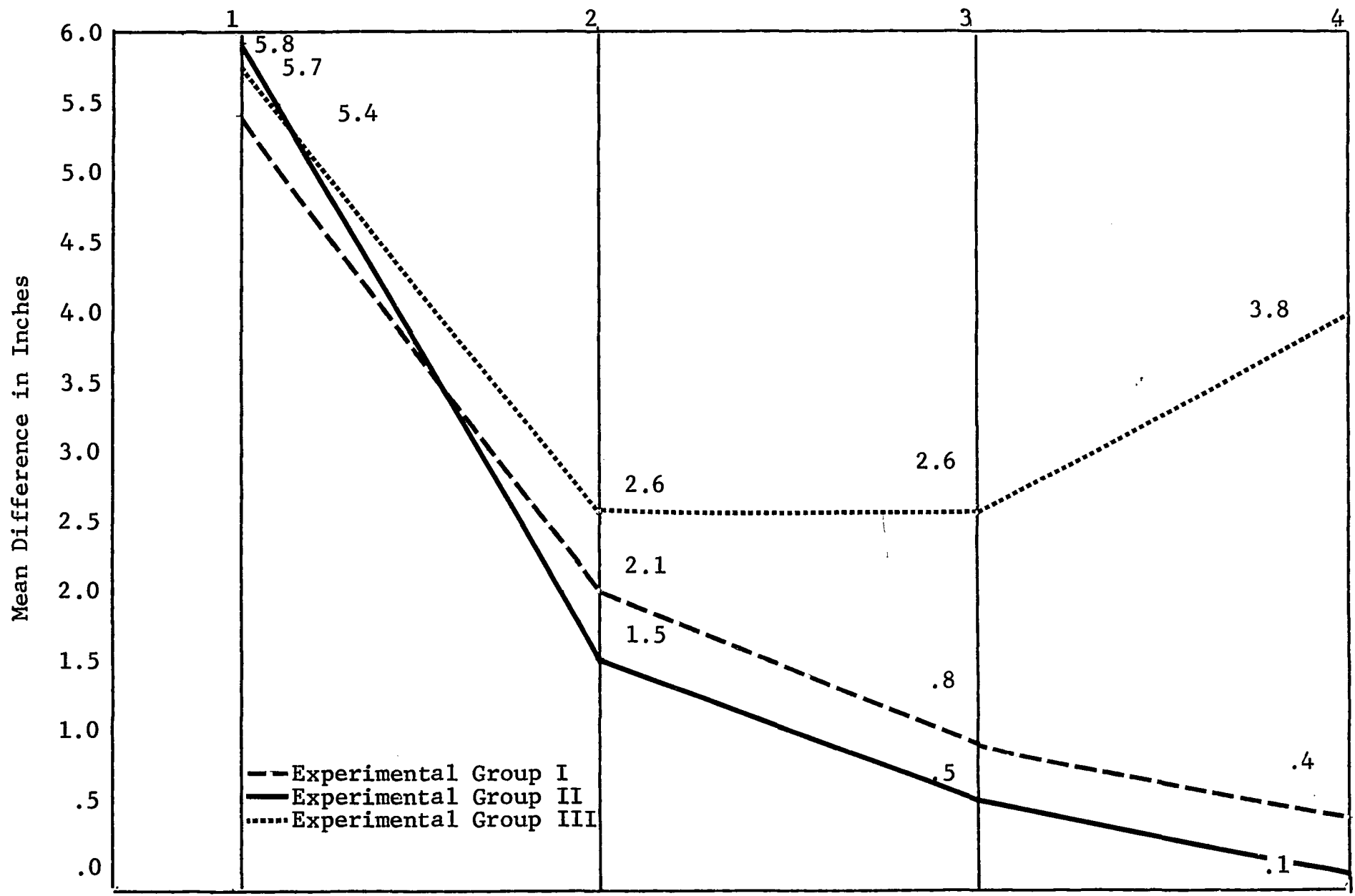
TABLE IV
TWO-WAY ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE BY TRIALS AND GROUPS

Source	df	ss	ms	F
Between Trials	2	3.80	1.90	
Between Groups	2	43.99	22.00	44.0*
Group x Trial Interaction	4	12.66	3.17	6.4*
Residual	33	16.67	.50=s ²	
TOTAL	41	77.12		

Source	df	ss	ms	F
Between Trials	2	3.80	1.90	
Between Groups within Trial 2	2	2.62	1.31	2.6
Between Groups within Trial 3	2	13.04	6.52	13.0*
Between Groups within Trial 4	2	40.99	20.49	41.0*
Residual	33	16.67	.50=s ²	
TOTAL	41	77.12		

* Significance at .01 level.

FIGURE I. AVERAGE CONVERGENCE PATTERNS IN ALL EXPERIMENTAL GROUPS



factor showed no significant effect.

However, when the group by trial effect is separated, the difference between groups increases with successive trials, as suggested in Figure I. Using T-tests to more specifically identify the factors contributing to the increasing across-trial variability, it was found that the differences between Group III--the authority-alienated relationship--and the other two groups were appreciable. Both at Trial 3 and Trial 4, Groups I and II were significantly different from Group III, but were not significantly different from one another.¹⁰ However, while both Groups I and II arrived at a resolution of the original dissensus relationship with little difference in their gradients of convergence, as shown in Figure I, they did so by very different means as we shall see below.

Let us now examine the results obtained for each experimental group separately.

1. Group I. The dyads in the first experimental group of no-relationship, formal social equals had an

¹⁰At Trial 3, Group I and Group II, $T=.81$, n.s.; but Group I and Group II, $T=3.7$, $p<.001$. At Trial 4 Group I and Group II, $T=.5$, n.s.; but Group I and Group III, $T=7.1$, $p<.001$. At both Trials 3 and 4, the Group II and Group III differences were even greater than those between Group I and III and are, therefore, also significant.

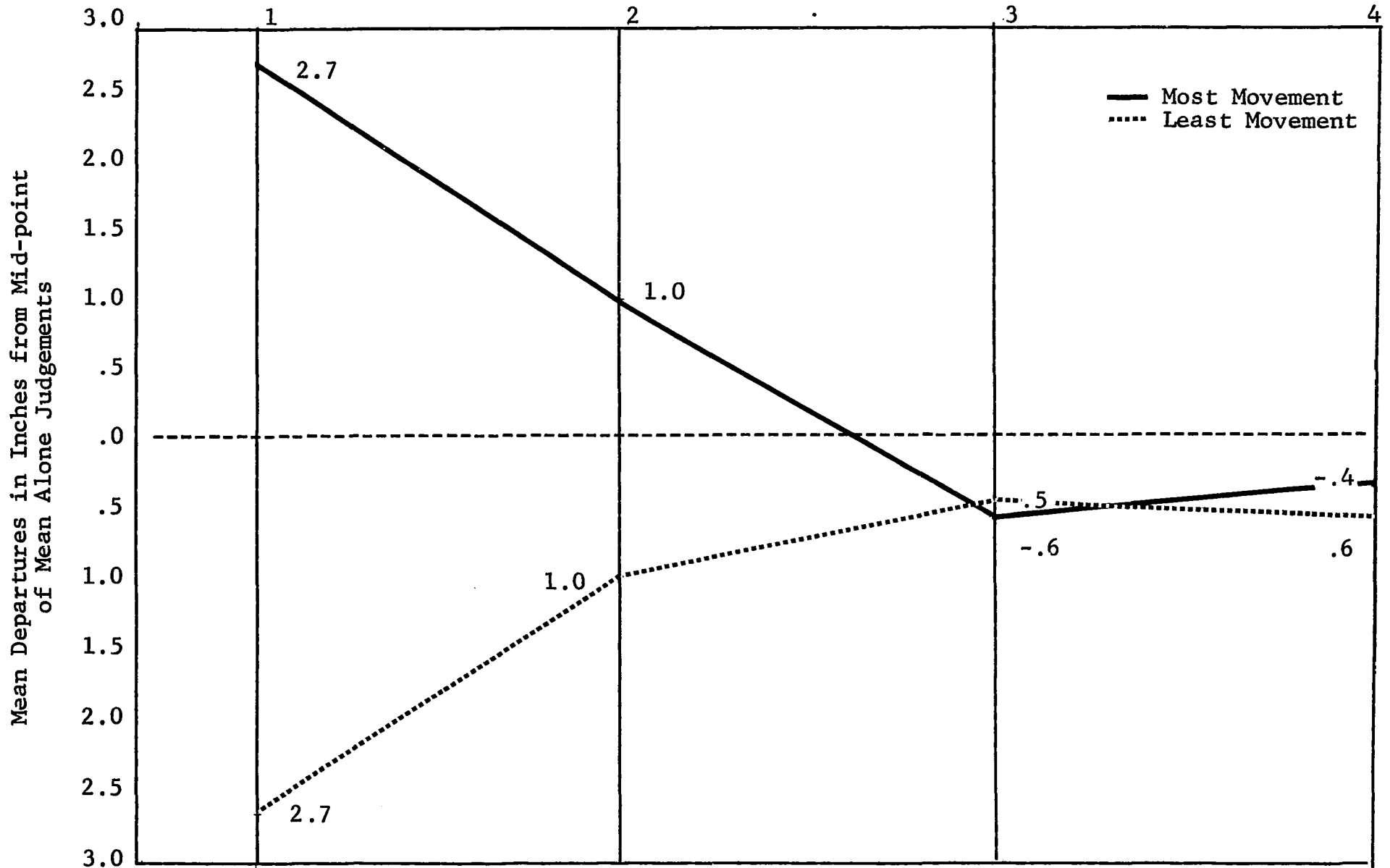
average "alone" discrepancy of 5.4", the range being from 3.6" to 7.1". The mean reported inches of movement for each dyad and mean of mean differences for all dyads for all four testing sessions are reported in Appendix Table F₁. Figure II shows the mean pattern of autokinetic judgments relative to the mean departures from mid-point of "alone" judgments.¹¹ In Group I, the symmetry in movement toward the emergent consensus pattern is clearly evident.¹² A two-way analysis of variance of convergence in Group I was executed using the difference score of each dyad at Trials 2, 3, and 4 as the dependent variable. The results, shown in Table V, indicate both significantly different convergence achieved by dyads and different amounts of convergence across trials. Breaking the between trials variance into a linear regression component and deviation from linearity, it was found that the change in convergence across trials was predominantly linear.

Carrying out T-tests of differences in consensus

¹¹For the detailed results for each dyad, see Appendix Table F₄.

¹²There was apparently a slight tendency for the dyadic norm among these subjects to yield slightly in the direction of less movement. This can be seen in Figure IV because for this experimental group, and this only, the top line represents all those in the four dyads who judged greater movement in the "alone" situation than their paired social equal.

FIGURE II. AUTOKINETIC JUDGEMENT PATTERNS FOR EXPERIMENTAL GROUP I
Symmetric No Relationship, Social Equal Dyads



N=4

TABLE V
TWO-WAY ANALYSES OF VARIANCE OF DYADIC
CONVERGENCE IN EACH EXPERIMENTAL GROUP

Source	df	ss	ms	F
<u>GROUP I</u>				
Between Dyads	3	4.18	1.40	7.4*
Between Trials	2	6.01	3.01	15.8**
Linear Regression	1	5.61	5.61	29.5**
Deviation from Linear Regression	1	.40	.40	2.1
Residual	6	1.12	.19=s ²	
TOTAL	11	11.31		
<u>GROUP II</u>				
Between Dyads	4	.98	.245	1.8
Between Trials	2	5.38	2.69	19.2**
Linear Regression	1	4.90	4.90	35.0**
Deviation from Linear Regression	1	.48	.48	3.4
Residual	8	1.16	.14=s ²	
TOTAL	14	7.52		
<u>GROUP III</u>				
Between Dyads	4	3.83	.96	1.41
Between Trials	2	5.05	2.53	3.7
Linear Regression	1	3.97	3.97	5.8
Deviation from Linear Regression	1	1.08	1.08	1.6
Residual	8	5.40	.68=s ²	
TOTAL	14	14.28		

*Significance at .05 level.

**Significance at .02 level.

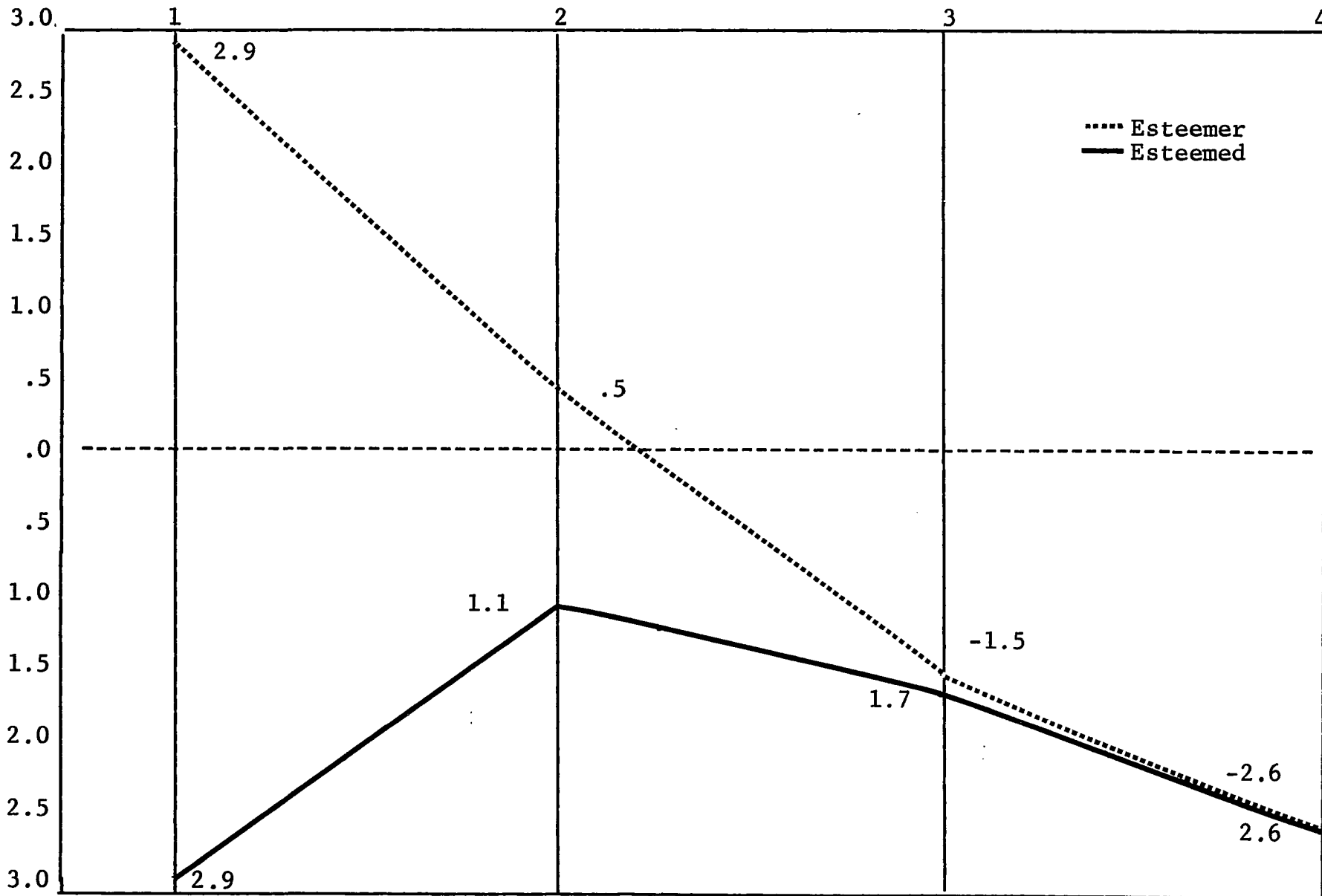
between time intervals, it was found that the greatest change occurred between Trial 2 and Trial 3 ($t=4.3$, $p<.02$). Trial 2 showed significantly less consensus than either Trials 3 or 4. Trial 3 and 4 did not significantly differ from one another ($t=1.3$, $p=n.s.$). This reflects the fact that dissensus was effectively resolved by Trial 3 and maintained in Trial 4. While the consensus achieved among dyads was variable, much of that variability may be attributable to overcompensation represented by Group I's more marked tendency for cross-over judgments than that in the other experimental groups.¹³

2. Group II. The dyads in the second experimental group of asymmetric esteem--formal social equals--had the greatest average "alone" discrepancy, 5.8", with a range from 4.3" to 6.5". Appendix Table F₂ shows the mean reported inches of movement for each dyad and mean of mean differences for all dyads across all four trials. Figure III is a presentation of the mean pattern of autokinetic

¹³The dyad in this group exhibiting the most cross-over responses was Dyad 3, which had the high reported positive reciprocity choices noted above (see Appendix Tables F₁ and F₄). While the pattern of responses in this dyad is similar in form to the others in this group, this slight observable difference might lead one to suspect that the higher the reciprocity of high affect, esteem, perceived influence and positive sanctioning, the greater the tendency to symmetric consensus formation in ambiguous situations.

FIGURE III. AUTOKINETIC JUDGEMENT PATTERNS FOR EXPERIMENTAL GROUP II
Asymmetric Esteem, Social Equal Dyads

Mean Departures in Inches from Mid-point
of Mean Alone Judgements



N=5

judgments relative to mean departures from the mid-point of "alone" judgments.¹⁴ In Group II, the asymmetry of the consensus pattern is unmistakable. On the chart, the upper, dashed line represents the esteemers' mean of mean differences from the "alone" mid-point. The lower, solid line represents the esteemed's mean of mean differences from the "alone" mid-point.

The same two-way analysis of variance was carried out for Group II as for Group I. Similar to Group I, a significant trial effect was observed (see Table V), which again was predominantly linear. In Group II there was no difference between dyads in their consensus. This suggests that the esteem-esteemed social relationship may have more potent stabilizing effects on cognitive orientation consensus formation in ambiguous situations than does a no-relation, social equal relationship. Again, while there was increasing consensus with each subsequent trial, the increased consensus from Trials 2 to 3 was the only statistically significant difference obtained ($t=4.5$, $p < .05$). Periods 3 and 4 were not significantly different ($t=1.3$, $p=n.s.$).

What is particularly striking about this pattern is the way in which the esteemed approaches mid-range and then

¹⁴For the detailed results reported for each dyad, see Appendix Table F₅.

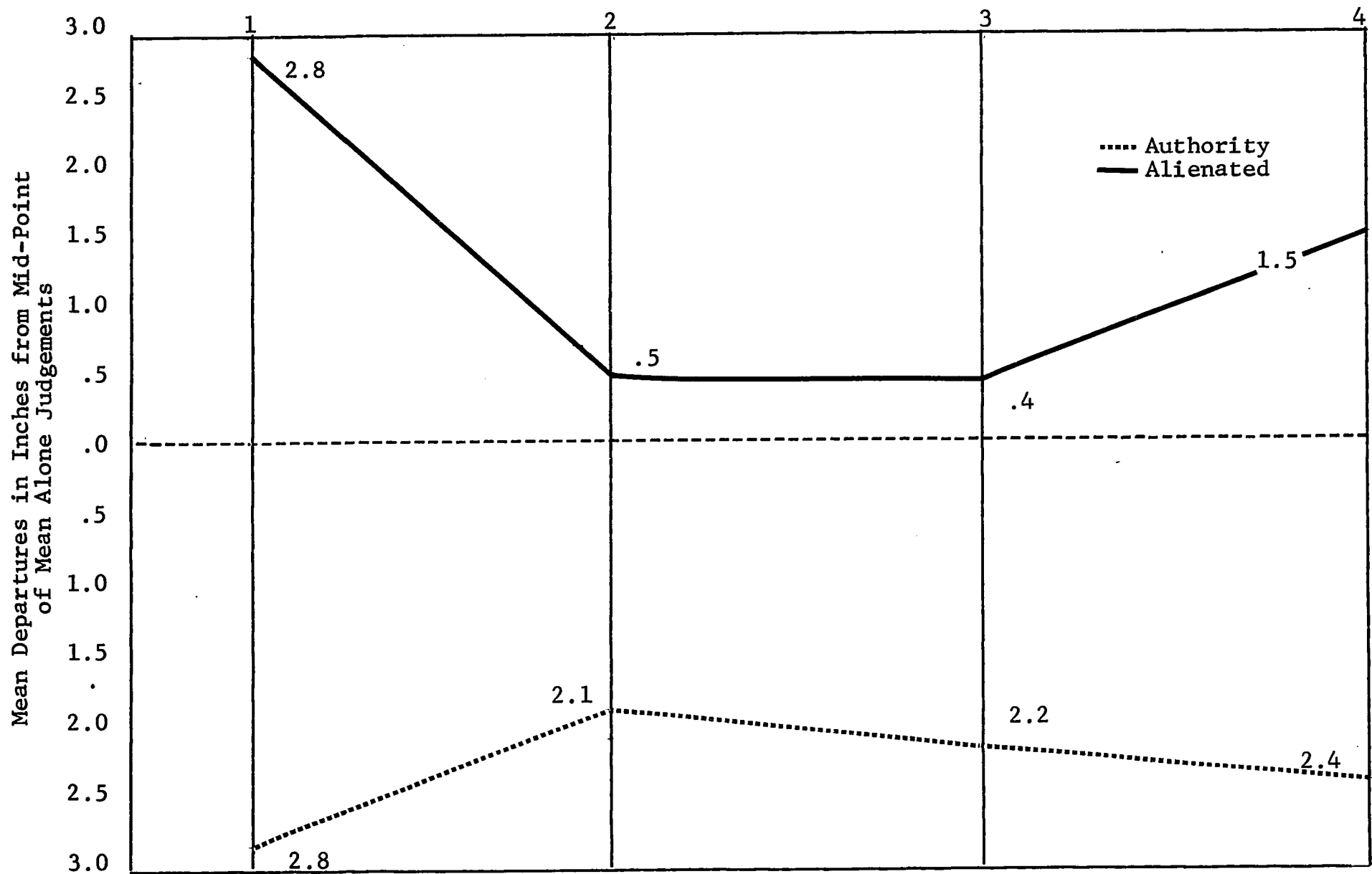
proceeds to return to close to his original estimates-- "dragging" the esteemer along with him in a pattern of "true" leadership which, according to interview data, was not a conscious ploy on the esteemed's part. It appears to be an important social dimension of the interaction of persons in such relationships. This is, of course, a very familiar "strategy" of leadership observed by researchers in many fields, and even taught in "management" courses, but to find it unconsciously operative with such consistency in an experimental situation such as that employed was unanticipated.

3. Group III. The five dyads in the third experimental group--asymmetric power-alienation, formal social unequals--had an average initial discrepancy of 5.7", and a range of 4.6" to 7.3". The mean reported inches of movement for each dyad and the mean of mean differences for all dyads for all four testing trials are reported in Appendix Table F₃. Figure IV shows the mean pattern of autokinetic judgments relative to the mean departure for mid-point of "alone" judgments.¹⁵

In Group III, there is a strikingly different pattern from Groups I and II. Suggested first in our separated

¹⁵For detailed results for each dyad, see Appendix Table F₆.

FIGURE IV. AUTOKINETIC JUDGEMENT PATTERNS FOR EXPERIMENTAL GROUP III
Asymmetric Power--Alienation, Social Unequal Dyads



N=5

group by trial effect analysis, Table V shows that, in contrast to the other groups, Group III did not move toward consensus. Neither was there a significant difference between dyads. In fact, not only was there no consensus formation, but after an approach tendency at Trial 2, a boomerang effect occurred despite the fact that the original judgmental differences of the dyads were not appreciably different from those of the other two experimental groups.

In Figure IV the top, solid line represents the cleric novices or brother aspirant's response averages; and the lower line, the priest's or professed brother's response averages. As can be seen, those in the power or authority position hardly altered their judgments, whereas the subordinates yielded markedly at first, but thereupon recoiled. Often, during the "together" situations in this group, the subordinate would express disbelief and/or apology, e.g., "What? I don't see it that way." "I'm sorry, Father, but I must disagree." Such expressions were never made in the other groups. In terms of Sherif, Sherif and Hebergall's (1965) judgmental theory of attitude change, we appear to have here reciprocated cases of narrowed latitudes of acceptance produced by the social relationship of asymmetric power and alienation. Nevertheless, whatever the psychological processes involved, relationships of this type appear to support the maintenance of situationally

operative dissensus in interaction, at least when the stimulus is ambiguous.

Discussion

The findings obtained in these experiments appear to warrant the extension of research employing the social relationship approach to other aspects of social interaction and structure. The results support the induction that the maintenance and/or resolution of cognitive dissensus in ambiguous stimulus situations is a function of the social relationships obtaining between the persons in the situation. It is also evident that the processes by which dissensus is maintained and/or resolved may be predictable from the forms of social relationships obtaining.¹⁶

¹⁶A Note on Personality Factors. There have been many studies reported in the psychological literature which have attempted to find associations between certain "personality factors" and yielding in the autokinetic situation. Often the authors have assumed that this yielding behavior was itself an index of another personality factor, e.g., "general suggestibility." What the authors mean by a personality factor (dimension, trait, etc.) has varied as a function of their theoretical frames of reference, but most assume it to be a relatively enduring tendency of individuals to respond in certain characteristic ways across situations. In the accumulated research to date, propositions based on this assumption have encountered a great deal of verificational difficulty and the author is inclined to view such efforts as of less heuristic potential than a number of alternative research strategies. Nevertheless, three personality measures were included in

It would be premature to generalize from data derived from such limited samples of social relationships to the class of all social relationships which they theoretically represent or to generalize from the autokinetic situation to situations of dissensus in more ego-involving and/or structured situations. However, the results obtained do clearly support the researchers' theoretical assumption: that social relationships can be studied experimentally and (under relatively highly controlled conditions) yield remarkably uniform--indeed law-like--results.

our study which prior research and/or indirect theoretical inference suggested might have a bearing upon autokinetic yielding. These measures were the Dogmatism Scale (Form E), the Machiavellianism Scale (Form IV) and a self-esteem scale. Although it was not our intention to examine systematically the role of these factors in the autokinetic situation, the research plan was to employ them as post-experimental controls to see if these measures contributed to the findings. High yielders were subjects in all three experimental groups whose mean judgments in the last autokinetic session differed from their original "alone" estimates by more than 1.6" (the range being from 1.6" to 6.3"). Low yielders were subjects who shifted less than 1.6" (the range being from 1" to 1.3"). The results obtained in this experiment are as follows: high yielders (N=13) obtained a mean dogmatism score of 144.7, a mean Machiavellian score of 56.6 and a mean self-esteem score of 21.4; whereas, low yielders (n=13) obtained a mean dogmatism score of 143.7, a mean Machiavellian score of 54.9 and a mean self-esteem score of 19.9. It is clear from inspection that the differences obtained are not significant for any of the three measures. This, of course, is not a valid test of the role of the personality traits which these scales presumably measure in autokinetic yielding, but at least in our small population differences were not found.

Critical to this study was the pre-experimental identification of social relationships. Replications and extensions of this research line will require at least equally detailed familiarity with the socio-cultural structure of the subject populations treated.

It is not unreasonable to suspect that the experimental results obtained in Group III are of obvious special relevance not only to our discussion of St. Anthony's social structure, but perhaps to much of the behavior of many young, highly educated American Catholics today. The way in which authority has traditionally been defined in the Church, and the large measure of alienation from it experienced by these Catholics, combine in a period of substantial religious instability to render consensus formation, even on ambiguous issues, highly unlikely. Indeed, if our findings are correct and authorities continue to rigidly adhere to conventional definitions of the situation, a substantial proportion of younger subordinates, after initially striving for, but not finding, a rapprochement, should be driven to expressions of manifest dissensus in both verbal and non-verbal behavior. The current trend of the gradual depopulation of the religious vocations in the United States may be, in part, merely one of the most visible manifestations of this process.

On the theoretical side, the author appreciates the fact that the frame of reference which served as a guide for this study is far from adequate to the task of the detailed analysis of the many, varied and complex forms of social relationships confronting the researcher, but it is hoped that a beginning has been made and that future research will result in the refinement of the approach or the development of one more adequate. Conceiving of social behavior in terms of interpersonal relations is still relatively "underdeveloped." Nearly thirty years after he said it we can only echo Sullivan's observation that:

It is clear that the study of interpersonal relations in contrast to the study of persons and group has validity. The demarcation of the field is made difficult by the conventions of speech and thought and by other aspects of controlling culture. The new type of orientation that can be obtained by this type of approach is quite certain to be fruitful both in social theory and practice (1939, p. 937).

It is the author's hope that this study may make some small contribution to confirming the validity of Sullivan's prophetic insight.

A P P E N D I X

TABLE A. CODE NUMBERS^a, RELIGIOUS NAMES^b AND PERIOD OF RESIDENCE^c OF MEMBERS OF ST. ANTHONY'S BY HIGHEST STATUS HELD DURING STUDY

<u>Code Number</u>	<u>Religious Name</u>	<u>Months in Residence</u>
PRIESTS		
1	Father Paul	1-12
2	Father Augustine	1- 3
3	Father Anthony	1-12
4	Father Joachim	1- 3
5	Father Patrick	1-12
6	Father Conrad	1- 3
7	Father Francis	1-12
8	Father Dominic	3-12
9	Father Jerome	3- 5 and 12
CLERIC NOVICES		
10	Brother Gilmary ^d	1
11	Brother Maurice ^d	1- 2
12	Brother Eugene ^d	1- 3
13	Brother Leo ^d	1- 5
14	Brother Arsenius ^d	1- 5
15	Brother Bruno ^d	1- 5
16	Brother Thomas ^d	1- 5
17	Brother Bartholomew ^d	1- 5
18	Brother John Bosco ^e	5- 7
19	Brother Gregory ^e	5- 7
20	Brother Basile ^e	5- 7
PROFESSED LAY BROTHERS (SOLEMN VOWS)		
21	Brother Bernard	1-12
PROFESSED LAY BROTHERS (SIMPLE VOWS)		
22	Brother Norbert ^f	1-12
23	Brother Martin ^g	1- 4
24	Brother Peter ^h	1-12
25	Brother Bonaventure ^h	1-12
26	Brother Berthold ^h	1-12
NOVICE LAY BROTHERS		
27	Brother Zachary ⁱ	1
28	Brother Adam ⁱ	1
29	Brother Becket ⁱ	1- 2
30	Brother Mark ⁱ	1- 5
31	Brother Brocard ⁱ	1- 7
32	Brother Victor ⁱ	1- 8
33	Brother Ambrose ^j	1-12

TABLE A.--Continued

<u>Code Number</u>	<u>Religious Name</u>	<u>Months in Residence</u>
34	Brother Ramuald ^k	5-11
35	Brother Louis ^k	5-12
36	Brother Winfrid ^k	5-12
POSTULANT LAY BROTHERS		
37	Brother Amand ^k	5- 9
38	Brother Hugh ^k	5- 7
39	Brother Boniface ^k	5- 7
40	Brother Albert ^k	5- 7
41	Brother Elias ^k	5- 7
42	Brother Simplicius ^k	5- 7
43	Brother Julian ^k	5
44	Brother Columban ^k	5

^aThe code numbers assigned are those used throughout the study in all figures and tables relating to the social relationships of the Novitiate.

^bThe religious names assigned are fictitious.

^cNumbers indicate the month(s) of study when individual was in residence at St. Anthony's.

^dFirst cohort of cleric novices. Entered Novitiate eight months prior to beginning of study.

^eSecond cohort of cleric novices. Entered Novitiate in fifth month of study.

^fBrother Norbert transferred from another order with vows.

^gBrother Martin was only survivor of first cohort of lay brother aspirants. Entered postulancy two years and four months prior to beginning of study.

^hRemaining members of second cohort of lay brother aspirants. Entered postulancy a year and seven months prior to beginning of study.

ⁱRemaining members of third cohort of lay brother aspirants. Entered postulancy seven months prior to beginning of study.

^jBrother Ambrose entered postulancy alone two months prior to beginning of study.

^kFourth cohort of lay brother aspirants. Entered postulancy in fifth month of study.

TABLE B₁. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY AGE AND STATUS OF MEMBERS

	Priests	Professed Lay Brothers	Cleric Novices	Lay Brother Novices and Postulants	Total
>50	--	--	--	--	--
40-49	12.5(1)	--	--	--	2.6(1)
30-39	62.5(5)	66.6(2)	11.1(1)	5.5(1)	23.7(9)
20-29	25.0(2)	33.3(1)	77.7(7)	33.3(6)	42.1(16)
<20	--	--	11.1(1)	61.1(11)	31.6(12)
Totals	100.0(8)	99.9(3)	99.9(9)	99.9(18)	100.0(38)
Averages	33.4	33.0	22.3	20.7	24.7

TABLE B₂. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY HOMETOWN SIZE AND STATUS OF MEMBERS

	Priests	Professed Lay Brothers	Cleric Novices	Lay Brother Novices and Postulants	Total
Rural	--	--	--	--	--
Town ^a	--	--	22.2(2)	5.5(1)	7.9(3)
City ^b	12.5(1)	--	22.2(2)	16.7(3)	15.8(6)
Large City ^c	87.5(7)	100.0(3)	55.5(5)	77.7(14)	76.3(29)
Totals	100.0(8)	100.0(3)	99.9(9)	99.9(18)	100.0(38)

^aPopulation less than 10,000.

^bPopulation between 10,000 and 100,000.

^cPopulation greater than 100,000.

TABLE B₃. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY REGION^a AND STATUS OF MEMBERS

	Priests	Professed Lay Brothers	Cleric Novices	Lay Brother Novices and Postulants	Total
Northeastern	62.5(5)	66.6(2)	66.6(6)	83.3(15)	73.7(28)
North Central	25.0(2)	--	22.2(2)	16.6(3)	18.4(7)
Southern	12.5(1)	33.3(1)	--	--	5.3(2)
Western	--	--	11.1(1)	--	2.6(1)
Totals	100.0(8)	99.9(3)	99.9(9)	99.9(18)	100.0(38)

^aState composition of regions is that of standard U.S. Census regions.

TABLE B₄. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY PARENTS' PLACE OF BIRTH^a AND STATUS OF MEMBERS

	Priests	Professed Lay Brothers	Cleric Novices	Lay Brother Novices and Postulants	Total
Native-Born	68.8(11)	66.6(4)	94.4(17)	86.1(31)	82.9(63)
Foreign-Born	31.2(5)	33.3(2)	5.5(1)	13.9(5)	17.1(13)
Totals	100.0(16)	99.9(6)	99.9(18)	100.0(36)	100.0(76)

^aTwo parent entries for each subject.

TABLE B₅. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY ETHNICITY^a AND STATUS OF MEMBERS

	Priests	Professed Lay Brothers	Cleric Novices	Lay Brother Novices and Postulants	Total
Irish	59.4(19)	50.0(6)	22.2(8)	40.3(29)	40.8(62)
Italian	--	--	19.4(7)	23.6(17)	15.8(24)
English, Scotch, Welsh	6.2(2)	--	22.2(8)	6.9(5)	9.9(15)
Spanish, Portugese, Latin American ^b	--	33.3(4)	--	12.5(3)	8.6(13)
German, Swiss, Austrian	12.5(4)	16.7(2)	11.1(2)	2.8(2)	7.9(12)
Polish	--	--	5.6(2)	9.7(7)	5.9(9)
French	3.1(1)	--	11.1(4)	4.2(3)	5.3(8)
Scandinavian	15.6(5)	--	--	--	3.3(5)
Negro	--	--	2.8(1)	--	.7(1)
Other	3.1(1)	--	5.6(2)	--	2.0(3)
Totals	99.9(32)	100.0(12)	100.0(36)	100.0(72)	100.2(152)

^aFour entries are recorded for each member of the community in order to reflect dual nationality backgrounds reported for some parents.

^bIncludes Puerto Rican, Southwestern Spanish-speaking, and Portugese from the Azores.

TABLE B₆. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY FATHER'S OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION^a
AND STATUS OF MEMBERS

	Priests	Professed Lay Brothers	Cleric Novices	Lay Brother Novices and Postulants	Total
Professional	12.5(1)	--	--	5.5(1)	5.3(2)
Managers	12.5(1)	33.3(1)	--	5.5(1)	7.9(3)
Clerical	25.0(2)	--	--	5.5(1)	7.9(3)
Sales	12.5(1)	--	11.1(1)	--	5.3(2)
Craftsmen	12.5(1)	--	33.3(3)	11.1(2)	15.8(6)
Operatives	12.5(1)	--	11.1(1)	22.2(4)	15.8(6)
Laborers	12.5(1)	33.3(1)	11.1(1)	33.3(6)	23.7(9)
Service	--	--	33.3(3)	16.7(3)	15.8(6)
Private House	--	33.3(1)	--	--	2.6(1)
Farmers	--	--	--	--	--
Farm Laborers	--	--	--	--	--
Totals	100.0(8)	99.9(3)	99.9(9)	99.8(18)	100.1(38)

^aOccupational classification is that of standard U.S. Census classification categories.

TABLE B₇. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY PARENTS' EDUCATION AND STATUS OF MEMBERS

	Priests	Professed Lay Brothers	Cleric Novices	Lay Brother Novices and Postulants	Total
Father					
Some College or >	12.5(1)	--	22.2(2)	5.5(1)	10.5(4)
H.S. Graduate	25.0(2)	33.3(1)	--	22.2(4)	18.4(7)
Some H.S.	62.5(5)	--	55.5(5)	27.8(5)	39.5(15)
8th Grade or <	--	66.6(2)	22.2(2)	44.4(8)	31.6(12)
Totals	100.0(8)	99.9(3)	99.9(9)	99.9(18)	100.0(38)
Mother					
Some College or >	--	--	11.1(1)	--	2.6(1)
H.S. Graduate	25.0(2)	33.3(1)	66.6(6)	27.8(5)	36.8(14)
Some H.S.	50.0(4)	--	11.1(1)	38.9(7)	31.6(12)
8th Grade or <	25.0(2)	66.6(2)	11.1(1)	33.3(6)	29.0(11)
Totals	100.0(8)	99.9(3)	99.9(9)	100.0(18)	100.0(38)

TABLE B₈. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY HAPPINESS OF CHILDHOOD AND STATUS OF MEMBERS

	Priests	Professed Lay Brothers	Cleric Novices	Lay Brother Novices and Postulants	Total
Extremely Happy	--	--	11.1(1)	--	3.2(1)
Happier than Avg.	75.0(3)	--	11.1(1)	6.7(1)	16.1(5)
Average	25.0(1)	100.0(3)	55.5(5)	73.3(11)	64.5(20)
Not too Happy	--	--	22.2(2)	20.0(3)	16.1(5)
Totals	100.0(4)	100.0(3)	99.9(9)	100.0(15)	99.9(31)

TABLE B₉. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY HAPPINESS OF PARENTS' MARRIAGE
 AND STATUS OF MEMBER

	Priests	Professed Lay Brothers	Cleric Novices	Lay Brother Novices and Postulants	Total
Extremely Happy	25.0(1)	--	22.2(2)	--	9.7(3)
Happier than Avg.	75.0(3)	--	22.2(2)	20.0(3)	25.8(8)
Average	--	100.0(3)	22.2(2)	53.3(8)	41.9(13)
Not too Happy	--	--	33.3(3)	26.7(4)	22.6(7)
Totals	100.0(4)	100.0(3)	99.9(9)	100.0(15)	100.0(31)

TABLE B₁₀. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY NUMBERS OF CHILDREN IN FAMILY AND STATUS OF MEMBERS

	Priests	Professed Lay Brothers	Cleric Novices	Lay Brother Novices and Postulants	Total
10 or >	--	33.3(1)	--	--	3.2(1)
9	--	--	--	--	--
8	--	--	--	6.7(1)	3.2(1)
7	25.0(1)	--	11.1(1)	6.7(1)	9.7(3)
6	--	33.3(1)	11.1(1)	20.0(3)	16.1(5)
5	--	--	11.1(1)	26.6(4)	16.1(5)
4	25.0(1)	33.3(1)	11.1(1)	13.3(2)	16.1(5)
3	50.0(2)	--	33.3(3)	13.3(2)	22.6(7)
2	--	--	22.2(2)	13.3(2)	12.9(4)
1	--	--	--	--	--
Totals	100.0(4)	99.9(3)	99.9(9)	99.9(15)	99.9(31)
Averages	4.2	7.0	3.9	4.7	4.6

TABLE B₁₁. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY RELIGION OF PARENTS
 AND STATUS OF MEMBERS

	Priests	Professed Lay Brothers	Cleric Novices	Lay Brother Novices and Postulants	Total
Father					
Catholic	100.0(7)	100.0(3)	100.0(9)	72.2(13)	86.5(32)
Protestant	--	--	--	11.1(2)	5.4(2)
Jewish	--	--	--	--	--
No Preference	--	--	--	16.6(3)	8.1(3)
Totals	100.0(7)	100.0(3)	100.0(9)	99.9(18)	100.0(37)
Mother					
Catholic	100.0(7)	100.0(3)	77.7(7)	94.4(17)	91.9(34)
Protestant	--	--	22.2(2)	--	5.4(2)
Jewish	--	--	--	--	--
No Preference	--	--	--	5.5(1)	2.7(1)
Totals	100.0(7)	100.0(3)	99.9(9)	99.9(18)	100.0(37)

TABLE B₁₂. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY RELIGIOSITY OF PARENTS
 AND STATUS OF MEMBERS

	Priests	Professed Lay Brothers	Cleric Novices	Lay Brother Novices and Postulants	Total
Father					
Very Religious	25.0(2)	66.6(2)	--	--	12.5(4)
Somewhat Religious	62.5(5)	33.3(1)	77.8(7)	33.3(4)	53.1(17)
Not too Religious	--	--	--	25.1(3)	9.4(3)
Not at all Religious	--	--	11.1(1)	--	3.1(1)
Do not Know	12.5(1)	--	11.1(1)	41.7(5)	21.9(7)
Total	100.0(8)	100.0(3)	100.0(9)	100.1(12)	100.0(32)
Mother					
Very Religious	75.0(6)	100.0(3)	--	50.0(6)	46.9(15)
Somewhat Religious	25.0(2)	--	88.9(8)	25.0(3)	40.6(13)
Not too Religious	--	--	--	25.0(3)	9.4(3)
Not at all Religious	--	--	--	--	--
Do not Know	--	--	11.1(1)	--	3.1(1)
Total	100.0(8)	100.0(3)	100.0(9)	100.0(12)	100.0(32)

TABLE B₁₃. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY CATHOLICITY OF NEIGHBORHOOD AND STATUS OF MEMBERS

	Priests	Professed Lay Brothers	Cleric Novices	Lay Brother Novices and Postulants	Total
Almost All	50.0(4)	33.3(1)	22.2(2)	27.3(3)	32.3(10)
> 1/2	25.0(2)	33.3(1)	44.4(4)	36.4(4)	35.5(11)
< 1/2	12.5(1)	--	11.1(1)	27.3(3)	16.1(5)
Almost None	12.5(1)	--	22.2(2)	--	9.7(3)
Do not Know	--	33.3(1)	--	9.1(1)	6.5(2)
Total	100.0(8)	99.9(3)	99.9(9)	100.1(11)	100.1(31)

TABLE B₁₄. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY FAMILY RELIGIOUS PRACTISES AND STATUS OF MEMBERS

		Priests	Professed Lay Brothers	Cleric Novices	Lay Brothers Novices and Postulants	Total
Family Religious Practise Items ^a						
a.	T	25.0(1)	66.6(2)	62.5(5)	41.7(5)	48.1(13)
	F	75.0(3)	33.3(1)	37.5(3)	58.3(7)	51.9(14)
b.	T	25.0(1)	66.6(2)	--	33.3(4)	26.0(7)
	F	75.0(3)	33.3(1)	100.0(8)	66.6(8)	74.1(2)
c.	T	25.0(1)	66.6(2)	50.0(4)	16.7(2)	33.3(9)
	F	75.0(3)	33.3(1)	50.0(4)	83.3(10)	66.6(18)
d.	T	--	--	--	50.0(6)	22.2(6)
	F	100.0(4)	100.0(3)	100.0(8)	50.0(6)	77.7(21)
e.	T	75.0(3)	66.6(2)	12.5(1)	58.3(7)	48.1(13)
	F	25.0(1)	33.3(1)	87.5(7)	41.7(5)	51.9(14)
f.	T	50.0(2)	33.3(1)	--	16.7(2)	18.5(5)
	F	50.0(2)	66.6(2)	100.0(8)	83.3(10)	81.5(22)
g.	T	50.0(2)	66.6(2)	12.5(1)	8.3(1)	22.2(6)
	F	50.0(2)	33.3(1)	87.5(7)	91.7(11)	77.7(21)
h.	T	50.0(2)	66.6(2)	37.5(3)	75.0(9)	59.3(16)
	F	50.0(2)	33.3(1)	62.5(5)	25.0(3)	40.7(11)

TABLE B₁₄.--Continued

		Priests	Professed Lay Brothers	Cleric Novices	Lay Brother Novices and Postulants	Total
i.	T	50.0(2)	66.6(2)	50.0(4)	58.3(7)	55.5(15)
	F	50.0(2)	33.3(1)	50.0(4)	41.7(5)	44.4(12)
j.	T	25.0(1)	33.3(1)	12.5(1)	25.0(3)	22.2(6)
	F	75.0(3)	66.6(2)	87.5(7)	75.0(9)	77.7(21)
k.	T	100.0(4)	100.0(3)	100.0(8)	91.7(11)	96.3(26)
	F	--	--	--	8.3(1)	3.7(1)
l.	T	25.0(1)	66.6(2)	37.5(3)	25.0(3)	33.3(9)
	F	75.0(3)	33.3(1)	62.5(5)	75.0(9)	66.6(18)
m.	T	100.0(4)	100.0(3)	87.5(7)	83.3(10)	88.8(24)
	F	--	--	12.5(1)	16.7(2)	11.1(3)
n.	T	25.0(1)	33.3(1)	12.5(1)	--	11.1(3)
	F	75.0(3)	66.6(2)	87.5(7)	100.0(12)	88.8(24)

^aSee Appendix Figure II, questionnaire Section A, question 16, items a-n.

TABLE B₁₅. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY EDUCATION AND STATUS OF MEMBERS

	Priests	Professed Lay Brothers	Cleric Novices	Lay Brother Novices and Postulants	Total
Amount of Education Before Entry into Noviate					
College Graduate	25.0(1)	--	37.5(3)	--	13.8(4)
Some College	--	--	62.5(5)	--	17.2(5)
High School					
Graduate	75.0(3)	100.0(3)	--	71.4(10)	55.2(16)
Some High School	--	--	--	21.4(3)	10.3(3)
8th Grade or <	--	--	--	7.1(1)	3.5(1)
Totals	100.0(4)	100.0(3)	100.0(8)	99.9(14)	100.0(29)
Type of School Attended					
All Catholic	--	66.6(2)	37.5(3)	58.3(7)	44.4(12)
>1/2 Catholic	100.0(4)	--	25.0(2)	16.7(2)	29.6(8)
Some, but < 1/2					
Catholic	--	33.3(1)	25.0(2)	8.3(1)	14.8(4)
No Catholic	--	--	12.5(1)	16.7(2)	11.1(3)
Totals	100.0(4)	99.9(3)	100.0(8)	100.0(12)	99.9(27)
Attendance at Minor Seminary of Province (Cloisterville)					
T	75.0(3)	66.6(2)	62.5(5)	33.3(4)	51.9(14)
F	25.0(1)	33.3(1)	37.5(3)	66.6(8)	48.1(13)
Totals	100.0(4)	99.9(3)	100.0(8)	99.9(12)	100.0(27)

TABLE B₁₆. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF EXPERIENCES WHILE GROWING UP AND STATUS OF MEMBERS

		Priests	Professed Lay Brothers	Cleric Novices	Lay Brother Novices and Postulants	Total
Growing Up Experience Items ^a						
a.	T	100.0(4)	66.6(2)	87.5(7)	66.6(8)	77.7(21)
	F	--	33.3(1)	12.5(1)	33.3(4)	22.2(6)
b.	T	25.0(1)	--	62.5(5)	8.3(1)	26.0(7)
	F	75.0(3)	100.0(3)	37.5(3)	91.7(11)	74.1(20)
c.	T	50.0(2)	66.6(2)	75.0(6)	41.7(5)	55.5(15)
	F	50.0(2)	33.3(1)	25.0(2)	58.3(7)	44.4(12)
d.	T	25.0(1)	--	25.0(2)	16.7(2)	18.5(5)
	F	75.0(3)	100.0(3)	75.0(6)	83.3(10)	81.5(22)
e.	T	25.0(1)	33.3(1)	37.5(3)	16.7(2)	26.0(7)
	F	75.0(3)	66.6(2)	62.5(5)	83.3(10)	74.1(20)
f.	T	--	33.3(1)	12.5(1)	--	7.4(2)
	F	100.0(4)	66.6(2)	87.5(7)	100.0(12)	92.6(25)
g.	T	100.0(4)	66.6(2)	100.0(8)	75.0(9)	85.2(23)
	F	--	33.3(1)	--	25.0(3)	14.8(4)
h.	T	25.0(1)	--	37.5(3)	8.3(1)	18.5(5)
	F	75.0(3)	100.0(3)	62.5(5)	91.7(11)	81.5(22)

TABLE B₁₆.--Continued

		Priests	Professed Lay Brothers	Cleric Novices	Lay Brother Novices and Postulants	Total
i.	T	--	33.3(1)	50.0(4)	58.3(7)	44.4(12)
	F	100.0(4)	66.6(2)	50.0(4)	41.7(5)	55.5(15)
j.	T	--	33.3(1)	--	8.3(1)	7.4(2)
	F	100.0(4)	66.6(2)	100.0(8)	91.7(11)	92.6(25)
k.	T	--	33.3(1)	12.5(1)	16.7(2)	14.8(4)
	F	100.0(4)	66.6(2)	87.5(7)	83.3(10)	85.2(23)

^aSee Appendix Figure II, questionnaire Section A, question 18, items a-k.

TABLE B₁₇. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY CATHOLICITY OF FRIENDS
 AND STATUS OF MEMBERS (AGE 13 OR 14)

	Priests	Professed Lay Brothers	Cleric Novices	Lay Brother Novices and Postulants	Total
All	50.0(2)	66.6(2)	25.0(2)	58.3(7)	48.1(13)
>1/2	50.0(2)	33.3(1)	62.5(5)	33.3(4)	44.4(12)
<1/2	--	--	--	8.3(1)	3.7(1)
None	--	--	12.5(1)	--	3.7(1)
Do not Remember	--	--	--	--	--
Totals	100.0(4)	99.9(3)	100.0(8)	99.9(12)	99.9(27)

TABLE B₁₈. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY CATHOLICITY OF FRIENDS
 AND STATUS OF MEMBERS (AGE 17)

	Priests	Professed Lay Brothers	Cleric Novices	Lay Brother Novices and Postulants	Total
All	75.0(3)	33.3(1)	37.5(3)	33.3(4)	40.7(11)
>1/2	25.0(1)	66.6(2)	62.5(5)	66.6(8)	59.3(16)
<1/2	--	--	--	--	--
None	--	--	--	--	--
Do not Remember	--	--	--	--	--
Totals	100.0(4)	99.9(3)	100.0(8)	99.9(12)	100.0(27)

TABLE B₁₉. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY HAPPINESS OF HIGH SCHOOL AND/OR
 MINOR SEMINARY AND STATUS OF MEMBERS

	Priests	Professed Lay Brothers	Cleric Novices	Lay Brother Novices and Postulants	Total
Extremely Happy	--	--	37.5(3)	--	11.1(3)
Happier than Average	75.0(3)	33.3(1)	12.5(1)	25.0(3)	29.6(8)
Average	--	66.6(2)	12.5(1)	41.7(5)	29.6(8)
Not too Happy	25.0(1)	--	37.5(3)	25.0(3)	26.0(7)
Other	--	--	--	8.3(1)	3.7(1)
Totals	100.0(4)	99.9(3)	100.0(8)	100.0(12)	100.0(27)

TABLE B₂₀. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY GRADES IN HIGH SCHOOL^a
AND STATUS OF MEMBERS

	Priests	Professed Lay Brothers	Cleric Novices	Lay Brother Novices and Postulants	Total
Excellent	--	--	12.5(1)	16.7(2)	11.1(3)
Good	75.0(3)	33.3(1)	62.5(5)	16.7(2)	40.7(11)
Fair	25.0(1)	33.3(1)	25.0(2)	50.0(6)	37.0(10)
Poor	--	33.3(1)	--	16.7(2)	11.1(3)
Totals	100.0(4)	99.9(3)	100.0(8)	100.1(12)	99.9(27)

^aSee Appendix Figure II, questionnaire Section A, question 22, items c₁-c₄.

TABLE B₂₁. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY EXPERIENCES IN HIGH SCHOOL^a
AND STATUS OF MEMBERS

		Priests	Professed Lay Brothers	Cleric Novices	Lay Brother Novices and Postulants	Total
a.	T	25.0(1)	66.6(2)	50.0(4)	16.7(2)	33.3(9)
	F	75.0(3)	33.3(1)	50.0(4)	83.3(10)	66.6(18)
b.	T	--	66.6(2)	12.5(1)	25.0(3)	22.2(6)
	F	100.0(4)	33.3(1)	87.5(7)	75.0(9)	77.7(21)
d.	T	25.0(1)	--	--	8.3(1)	7.4(2)
	F	75.0(3)	100.0(3)	100.0(8)	91.7(11)	92.6(25)
e.	T	--	--	12.5(1)	--	3.7(1)
	F	100.0(4)	100.0(3)	87.5(7)	100.0(12)	96.3(26)
f.	T	--	--	37.5(3)	25.0(3)	22.2(6)
	F	100.0(4)	100.0(3)	62.5(5)	75.0(9)	77.7(21)
g.	T	--	--	--	--	--
	F	100.0(4)	100.0(3)	100.0(8)	100.0(12)	100.0(27)
h.	T	--	--	12.5(1)	16.7(2)	11.1(3)
	F	100.0(4)	100.0(3)	87.5(7)	83.3(10)	88.8(24)
i.	T	--	--	--	25.0(3)	11.1(3)
	F	100.0(4)	100.0(3)	100.0(8)	75.0(9)	88.8(24)
j.	T	75.0(3)	66.6(2)	87.5(7)	75.0(9)	77.7(21)
	F	25.0(1)	33.3(1)	12.5(1)	25.0(3)	22.2(6)
k.	T	100.0(4)	66.6(2)	75.0(6)	66.6(8)	74.1(20)
	F	--	33.3(1)	25.0(2)	33.3(4)	25.9(7)

TABLE B₂₁.--Continued

		Priests	Professed Lay Brothers	Cleric Novices	Lay Brother Novices and Postulants	Total
1.	T	--	--	--	8.3(1)	3.8(1)
	F	100.0(4)	100.0(3)	100.0(8)	91.7(11)	96.1(26)
m.	T	--	33.3(1)	25.0(2)	66.6(8)	40.7(11)
	F	100.0(4)	66.6(2)	75.0(6)	33.3(4)	59.3(16)

^aSee Appendix Figure II, questionnaire Section A, question 22, items a, b, d-m.

TABLE B₂₂. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY MILITARY EXPERIENCE
 AND BY STATUS OF MEMBERS

	Priests	Professed Lay Brothers	Cleric Novices	Lay Brother Novices and Postulants	Total
>1 Year	--	--	--	16.7(2)	7.4(2)
<1 Year	--	33.3(1)	12.5(1)	8.3(1)	11.1(3)
None	100.0(4)	66.6(2)	87.5(7)	75.0(9)	81.5(22)
Totals	100.0(4)	99.9(3)	100.0(8)	100.0(12)	100.0(27)

TABLE B₂₃. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY FULL TIME EMPLOYMENT
 AND STATUS OF MEMBERS

	Priests	Professed Lay Brothers	Cleric Novices	Lay Brother Novices and Postulants	Total
>1 Year	--	--	25.0(2)	16.7(2)	14.8(4)
≤1 Year	25.0(1)	66.6(2)	25.0(2)	25.0(3)	29.6(8)
None	75.0(3)	33.3(1)	50.0(4)	58.3(7)	55.5(15)
Totals	100.0(4)	99.9(3)	100.0(8)	100.0(12)	99.9(27)

TABLE B₂₄. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY EXPERIENCE IN OTHER ORDER OR
 EPISCOPAL SEMINARY AND STATUS OF MEMBERS

	Priests	Professed Lay Brothers	Cleric Novices	Lay Brother Novices and Postulants	Total
Yes	25.0(1)	100.0(3)	37.5(3)	50.0(6)	48.1(13)
No	75.0(3)	--	62.5(5)	50.0(6)	51.9(14)
Totals	100.0(4)	100.0(3)	100.0(8)	100.0(12)	100.0(27)

TABLE C₁. MEAN OF RESPONSES TO DOGMATISM SCALE ITEMS BY STATUS OF MEMBERS

	Priests N=4	Professed Lay Brothers N=3	Cleric Novices N=8	Lay Brother Novices and Postulants N=12	Total N=27
Dogmatism Scale Item Number ^a					
1.	1.3	1.7	2.0	2.5	2.1
2.	5.0	4.0	3.8	4.2	4.1
3.	4.0	4.0	4.1	2.5	3.4
4.	4.0	5.3	4.5	4.3	4.4
5.	2.3	6.3	4.6	5.3	4.8
6.	2.3	1.7	3.8	4.3	3.6
7.	2.5	1.3	4.0	4.2	3.6
8.	1.5	3.7	4.5	4.8	4.1
9.	3.5	2.0	4.6	4.8	4.3
10.	5.5	5.0	5.8	5.3	5.4
11.	2.8	2.7	4.5	2.8	3.3
12.	3.0	3.3	5.3	4.0	4.1
13.	4.0	2.0	3.5	3.8	3.5
14.	4.8	3.0	4.8	4.7	4.5
15.	3.8	3.3	4.9	2.9	3.7
16.	4.0	2.7	3.5	5.0	4.1
17.	5.0	5.3	6.1	5.4	5.6
18.	5.0	2.3	3.9	3.3	3.6
19.	1.3	1.3	2.4	1.5	1.7
20.	6.8	3.0	3.6	3.9	4.1
21.	6.8	2.3	4.4	5.8	5.1
22.	2.8	2.0	2.4	3.3	2.8

TABLE C₁.--Continued

	Priests N=4	Professed Lay Brothers N=3	Cleric Novices N=8	Lay Brother Novices and Postulants N=12	Total N=27
23.	5.5	3.0	2.6	5.2	4.2
24.	2.3	1.7	2.1	2.8	2.4
25.	3.8	2.0	3.6	4.3	3.7
26.	5.0	3.0	3.8	4.8	4.3
27.	1.3	3.3	2.3	3.3	2.7
28.	3.3	3.3	4.0	3.5	3.6
29.	1.5	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.0
30.	2.5	2.0	3.0	2.9	2.8
31.	4.5	3.0	4.9	4.2	4.3
32.	1.5	2.3	3.1	2.5	2.5
33.	2.3	2.7	2.9	2.8	2.7
34.	1.5	4.7	3.4	4.4	3.7
35.	5.8	5.0	5.0	5.8	5.4
36.	3.0	2.0	3.3	3.1	3.0
37.	1.0	1.7	1.9	2.5	2.0
38.	6.3	4.0	4.9	5.0	5.0
39.	3.0	4.0	5.4	4.1	4.3
40	3.0	1.3	3.3	3.8	3.2
Totals	138.5	117.3	153.5	156.8	148.7

^aSee Appendix Figure II, questionnaire Section B, items 1-40. Mean responses are based upon a seven point scale from strongly agree (7) to strongly disagree (1). The higher the mean score the more "closed minded" the response.

TABLE C₂. MEAN OF RESPONSES TO MACH IV SCALE ITEMS BY STATUS OF MEMBERS

	Priests N=4	Professed Lay Brothers N=3	Cleric Novices N=8	Lay Brother Novices and Postulants N=12	Total N=27
Machiavellianism Scale Item Number ^a					
1.	1.8	1.3	2.3	3.6	2.7
2.	1.3	1.0	1.8	2.9	2.1
3.	3.3	4.3	2.8	2.6	3.0
4.	2.8	4.0	1.6	1.8	2.1
5.	1.0	1.3	2.6	2.1	2.0
6.	2.8	1.0	3.3	2.6	2.6
7.	4.3	3.0	2.5	4.3	3.6
8.	1.8	2.7	3.8	2.7	2.9
9.	2.5	1.0	1.3	1.8	1.7
10.	2.5	1.3	1.8	2.3	2.1
11.	4.5	4.0	4.8	5.3	4.9
12.	2.0	1.3	4.5	2.6	3.0
13.	2.0	1.0	1.9	2.1	1.9
14.	3.8	1.3	3.6	3.5	3.3
15.	2.0	1.7	2.6	3.0	2.6
16.	4.0	1.3	2.4	3.2	2.9
17.	3.8	1.3	3.9	4.0	3.6
18.	3.5	1.3	4.8	4.3	4.0
19.	2.3	2.3	1.8	1.7	1.9
20.	4.8	2.3	4.1	3.3	3.6
Totals	56.5	39.0	57.8	59.5	56.3

^aSee Appendix Figure II, questionnaire Section B, items 41-60. Mean responses are based upon a seven point scale from strongly agree to strongly disagree. In order to avoid the response set factor some items were inverted, but the mean scores reported here are corrected for this and, therefore, the higher the score the more "Machiavellian" the response for all items.

TABLE C₃. MEAN RESPONSES TO SELF-ESTEEM SCALE ITEMS BY STATUS MEMBERS

	Priests	Professed Lay Brothers	Cleric Novices	Lay Brother Novices and Postulants	Total
	N=4	N=3	N=8	N=12	N=27
Self-esteem Scale Item Number ^a					
1.	4.5	6.7	4.9	4.3	4.7
2.	2.0	3.7	3.5	3.7	3.4
3.	4.5	3.0	3.5	2.7	3.2
4.	3.8	6.3	3.1	4.6	4.2
5.	5.3	4.7	4.4	4.8	4.7
Totals	20.0	26.3	19.4	20.0	20.3

^aSee Appendix Figure II, questionnaire Section B, items 61-65. Mean responses are based upon a seven point scale from **strongly** agree to **strongly** disagree. In order to avoid response set three of the five items were inverted, but the mean scores reported here are corrected for this and the higher the score the greater the "self-esteem" for all items.

TABLE D₁. AFFECTIVE MATRIX, T₁

	13	14	15	16	17	23	24	25	26	30	31	32	33
13. Leo	--	0	0	0	0	-3	0	0	-1	+2	-2	+1	+3
14. Arsenius	0	--	0	0	0	+2	+1	0	+3	-3	-2	-1	0
15. Bruno	+2	0	--	0	+1	0	-3	+3	-2	0	-1	0	0
16. Thomas	0	0	0	--	0	-3	-2	+2	0	-1	+1	0	+3
17. Bartholomew	+3	-2	0	0	--	-3	0	0	0	-1	0	+1	+2
23. Martin	0	-2	0	+1	0	--	0	+3	0	+2	-1	-3	0
24. Peter	+1	0	0	0	+3	0	--	+2	0	-3	-2	-1	0
25. Bonaventure	0	0	0	0	+1	0	+3	--	0	-1	0	0	+2
26. Berthold	0	+2	0	+1	0	0	+3	0	--	-3	-2	-1	0
30. Mark	+3	-1	0	0	+1	+2	-3	0	-2	--	0	0	0
31. Brocard	+3	0	0	0	+1	-1	0	+2	-3	-2	--	0	0
32. Victor	+1	-2	0	0	+3	+2	-1	0	0	-3	0	--	0
33. Ambrose	0	-3	+1	0	0	0	0	0	-1	-2	+3	+2	--
Totals (+)	13	2	1	2	10	6	7	12	3	4	4	4	10
(-)	0	10	0	0	0	10	9	0	9	19	10	6	0
(T)	+13	-8	+1	+2	+10	-4	-2	+12	-6	-15	-6	-2	+10

TABLE D₂. INFLUENCE MATRIX, T₁

	13	14	15	16	17	23	24	25	26	30	31	32	33
13. Leo	--	0	+1	0	+3	0	0	-2	-1	0	+2	-3	0
14. Arsenius	+1	--	0	0	+2	0	0	0	+3	-3	-2	-1	0
15. Bruno	+2	0	--	+1	+3	-3	0	0	0	-3	0	0	-2
16. Thomas	0	0	0	--	+3	-3	-1	+2	0	-2	0	0	0
17. Bartholomew	+3	-2	0	+1	--	-3	+2	0	0	-1	0	0	0
23. Martin	+2	0	0	+3	0	--	0	0	0	+1	-1	-3	-2
24. Peter	+1	0	0	0	+3	0	--	+2	0	-3	-2	-1	0
25. Bonaventure	0	0	0	+1	+2	0	+3	--	0	0	0	0	0
26. Berthold	+3	0	-2	0	+1	0	+2	0	--	-3	-1	0	0
30. Mark	+1	0	0	+3	+2	0	-3	0	-2	--	0	-1	0
31. Brocard	+3	0	-1	+1	0	0	0	+2	-3	-2	--	0	0
32. Victor	0	0	0	0	+3	+2	0	+1	-2	-3	0	--	-1
33. Ambrose	0	-1	0	+1	+2	0	+3	0	-2	-3	0	0	--
Totals (+)	16	0	1	11	24	2	10	7	3	1	2	0	0
(-)	0	3	3	0	0	9	4	2	10	23	6	9	5
(T)	+16	-3	-2	+11	+24	-7	+6	+5	-7	-22	-4	-9	-5

TABLE D₃. ESTEEM MATRIX, T₁

	13	14	15	16	17	23	24	25	26	30	31	32	33
13. Leo	--	-3	+2	-1	+3	0	-2	+1	0	0	0	0	0
14. Arsenius	+1	--	0	+2	+3	0	0	0	0	-3	-2	-1	0
15. Bruno	0	+2	--	0	+3	0	-3	0	-2	0	-1	+1	0
16. Thomas	0	-1	0	--	0	-2	-3	+2	0	0	0	+1	+3
17. Bartholomew	0	-2	0	+3	--	-3	+2	+1	0	-1	0	0	0
23. Martin	0	-2	0	+3	0	--	0	0	0	+2	-1	-3	+1
24. Peter	+1	0	0	0	+3	0	--	+2	0	-3	-2	-1	0
25. Bonaventure	0	0	0	+3	0	+2	0	--	0	0	0	0	+1
26. Berthold	+1	-1	-1	0	+2	0	+3	0	--	-3	0	-2	0
30. Mark	+2	0	-3	0	+3	+1	-2	0	0	--	0	0	-1
31. Brocard	+3	0	0	+1	0	-1	0	+2	-3	-2	--	0	0
32. Victor	0	-3	0	0	+3	+2	0	0	-1	-2	+1	--	0
33. Ambrose	0	0	0	+2	+1	0	+3	-2	0	0	-3	-1	--
Totals(+)	8	2	2	14	21	5	8	8	0	2	1	2	5
(-)	0	12	4	1	0	6	10	2	6	14	9	8	1
(T)	+8	-10	-2	+13	+21	-1	-2	+6	-6	-12	-8	-6	+4

TABLE D₄. SANCTION MATRIX, T₁

	13	14	15	16	17	23	24	25	26	30	31	32	33
13. Leo	--	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14. Arsenius	+1	--	0	0	+3	0	0	0	+2	-3	0	0	0
15. Bruno	+2	-3	--	+1	+3	0	-2	0	-1	0	0	0	0
16. Thomas	0	0	0	--	+1	0	0	+2	0	0	0	0	+3
17. Bartholomew	0	0	0	0	--	0	0	+2	0	0	0	+3	+1
23. Martin	0	-3	-1	+3	0	--	+2	+1	-2	0	0	0	0
24. Peter	+1	0	0	0	+3	0	--	+2	0	-3	-1	-2	0
25. Bonaventure	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	--	0	0	0	0	0
26. Berthold	0	0	0	+1	+2	0	+3	0	--	-3	-2	0	-1
30. Mark	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	--	0	0	0
31. Brocard	+3	-1	0	0	+1	0	0	+2	0	0	--	-3	-2
32. Victor	0	-3	0	0	+3	+1	0	0	0	-2	+2	--	0
33. Ambrose	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	--
Totals (+)	7	0	0	5	16	1	5	9	2	0	2	3	4
(-)	0	10	1	0	0	0	2	0	3	11	3	5	3
(T)	+7	-10	-1	+5	+16	+1	+3	+9	-1	-11	-1	-2	+1

TABLE D₅. AFFECTIVE MATRIX, T₂

	18	19	20	24	25	26	30	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42
18. John Bosco	--	0	+2	0	+3	-2	-1	0	0	-3	0	0	0	+1	0	0	0	0
19. Gregory	+3	--	0	0	0	0	+2	0	0	-1	0	0	-3	+1	0	0	-2	0
20. Basil	+2	+3	--	-1	0	0	0	-3	-2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+1	0
24. Peter	0	0	-2	--	+3	+1	-3	0	0	+2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-1
25. Bonaventure	0	0	0	+3	--	0	0	0	0	0	+2	0	+1	0	0	0	0	0
26. Berthold	+1	0	0	+3	0	--	-3	-1	+2	0	0	-2	0	0	0	0	0	0
30. Mark	0	+2	0	-3	-1	-2	--	+1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+3	0	0
32. Victor	+3	+2	-3	0	0	0	0	--	+1	0	0	0	0	-2	0	0	-1	0
33. Ambrose	0	0	-3	0	+2	0	0	+3	--	0	0	0	0	0	0	+1	-2	-1
34. Romuald	0	0	0	+3	0	0	0	+1	0	--	0	0	0	+2	0	0	0	0
35. Louis	0	0	-1	0	+3	0	0	+1	0	0	--	0	-3	+2	0	0	-2	0
36. Winfrid	+3	+2	-1	-3	0	0	0	0	0	0	-2	--	0	+1	0	0	0	0
37. Amand	0	-3	0	0	+2	-2	+1	0	0	0	0	-1	--	0	0	0	0	+3
38. Hugh	+3	0	0	0	0	0	0	-2	0	0	+1	+2	-3	--	+2	0	-1	0
39. Boniface	+3	+2	-2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-3	+1	--	0	-1	-1
40. Albert	+1	+2	0	0	0	0	+3	0	0	0	0	0	-1	0	0	--	-3	-2
41. Elias	0	0	+3	-3	-2	0	0	0	0	0	-1	0	+2	0	0	0	--	+1
42. Simplicius	+2	+3	0	-3	0	-2	+1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-1	0	--
Totals (+)	21	16	5	9	13	1	7	6	3	2	3	2	3	8	2	4	1	4
(-)	0	3	12	13	3	8	7	6	2	4	3	3	13	2	0	1	12	5
(T)	+21	+13	-17	-4	+10	-7	0	0	+1	-2	0	-1	-10	+6	+2	+3	-11	-1

TABLE D₆. ESTEEM MATRIX, T₂

	18	19	20	24	25	26	30	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42
18. John Bosco	--	+3	0	-2	0	0	0	0	0	-3	-1	+1	0	0	+1	0	+2	0
19. Gregory	+3	--	-1	-3	+1	0	0	0	+2	0	0	0	-2	0	0	0	0	0
20. Basil	+3	+2	--	-1	0	0	0	0	0	0	-2	0	-3	0	0	0	+1	0
24. Peter	+1	0	-2	--	+3	+2	-3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-1
25. Bonaventure	0	0	0	0	--	0	0	0	+3	0	+2	0	+1	0	0	0	0	0
26. Berthold	+1	+2	0	+3	0	--	-3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-2	-1
30. Mark	+2	+3	0	-3	0	-2	--	-1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+1	0	0
32. Victor	0	0	0	+2	+1	0	0	--	+3	0	0	0	0	-1	0	0	-2	-3
33. Ambrose	0	0	0	+3	+2	0	0	+1	--	0	0	0	-1	0	0	0	-3	-2
34. Romuald	+1	+1	+1	0	0	0	0	0	0	--	0	0	0	0	0	0	-1	-1
35. Louis	-	+1	-3	0	+2	+3	-2	0	0	0	--	0	0	0	0	0	0	-1
36. Winfrid	+3	+1	-2	-1	0	0	0	0	0	0	-3	--	0	+2	0	0	0	0
37. Amand	0	-2	-1	0	+3	-3	+2	0	0	0	+1	0	--	0	0	0	0	0
38. Hugh	+3	+1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+2	0	-2	--	+2	0	-3	-1
39. Boniface	+2	+3	0	0	0	0	+1	0	0	-2	0	0	-3	+1	--	0	-1	-1
40. Albert	+1	+3	0	0	0	0	+2	0	0	0	0	0	-1	0	0	--	-3	-2
41. Elias	0	+2	+3	0	-2	0	0	0	-3	0	0	0	+1	0	0	-1	--	0
42. Simplicius	+2	+3	0	-1	0	-2	+1	0	0	-3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	--
Totals (+)	22	25	4	8	12	5	6	1	8	0	5	1	2	3	3	1	3	0
(-)	0	2	9	11	2	7	8	1	3	8	6	0	12	1	0	1	15	13
(T)	+22	+23	-5	-3	+10	-2	-2	0	+5	-8	-1	+1	-9	+2	+3	0	-12	-13

TABLE D7. INFLUENCE MATRIX, T2

	18	19	20	24	25	26	30	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42
18. John Bosco	--	+3	+2	0	0	0	0	-1	0	-2	-3	0	0	+1	0	0	0	0
19. Gregory	+3	--	0	-2	0	0	+1	0	0	0	0	+2	-3	0	0	-1	0	0
20. Basil	+1	+3	--	+2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-3	0	0	0	-1	-2
24. Peter	0	0	-2	--	+3	+2	-3	+1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-1
25. Bonaventure	0	+2	0	+1	--	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
26. Berthold	-	+2	0	+3	+1	--	-3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-2	-1
30. Mark	+1	+3	0	-3	0	-2	--	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+1	+2	0	-1
32. Victor	0	+3	0	0	-1	-2	0	--	+1	-3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+2
33. Ambrose	0	0	-1	+2	0	0	0	+3	--	0	+1	0	0	0	0	0	-3	-2
34. Romuald	+1	+1	0	+1	0	0	0	0	0	--	0	0	0	0	0	0	-1	-1
35. Louis	-1	-3	-2	+1	+2	0	0	+3	0	0	--	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
36. Winfrid	+3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	--	0	0	0	0	0	0
37. Amand	0	-3	0	0	+3	-2	+2	0	0	0	+1	-1	--	0	0	0	0	0
38. Hugh	+3	0	0	-1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	--	+2	0	-2	-3
39. Boniface	+3	+1	-3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-2	+2	--	0	-1	-1
40. Albert	+2	+3	0	0	0	0	+1	0	0	0	0	0	-1	0	0	--	-3	-2
41. Elias	0	+2	+3	0	-2	0	0	0	-3	0	0	0	+1	0	0	-1	--	0
42. Simplicius	+2	+3	0	-2	0	-3	0	0	0	0	0	0	-1	0	+1	0	0	--
Totals (+)	19	26	5	10	9	2	4	7	1	0	2	2	1	3	4	2	0	2
Totals (-)	1	6	8	8	3	9	6	1	3	5	3	1	10	0	0	2	13	14
Totals (T)	+18	+20	-3	+2	+6	-7	-2	+6	-2	-5	-1	+1	-9	+3	+4	0	-13	-12

TABLE D₈. SANCTION MATRIX, T₂

	18	19	20	24	25	26	30	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42
18. John Bosco	--	-1	-3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+2	+1	0	0	-2	+3	0
19. Gregory	0	--	-3	0	0	+1	+2	0	+3	0	0	0	-2	-1	0	0	0	0
20. Basil	+1	+3	--	+2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-3	0	0	0	-2	-1
24. Peter	0	0	-2	--	+3	+2	-3	+1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-1
25. Bonaventure	0	0	0	0	--	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
26. Berthold	0	+1	0	+3	0	--	-1	0	+2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-3	-2
30. Mark	+1	+2	0	-3	0	0	--	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+3	-2	-1
32. Victor	0	0	-1	+1	0	0	0	--	+3	0	+2	0	0	0	0	0	-2	-3
33. Ambrose	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	--	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
34. Romuald	0	+1	0	+3	+2	0	0	0	0	--	0	0	0	-1	0	0	-2	-3
35. Louis	0	-2	-3	+2	0	+3	0	+1	0	0	--	0	0	-1	0	0	0	0
36. Winfrid	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	--	0	+1	0	0	-1	-3
37. Amand	0	+1	0	0	+3	0	0	0	0	-1	+2	0	--	0	0	0	-2	-3
38. Hugh	+3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-1	0	+2	0	--	+1	0	-3	-2
39. Boniface	+2	+1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-1	0	0	-2	+3	--	0	-3	0
40. Albert	+1	+2	0	0	0	0	+3	0	0	0	0	0	-1	0	0	--	-3	-2
41. Elias	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	--	0
42. Simplicius	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	--
Totals (+)	8	11	0	11	8	6	5	2	8	0	4	4	1	4	1	3	3	0
(-)	0	3	12	3	0	0	4	0	0	3	0	0	8	3	0	2	23	21
(T)	+8	+8	-12	+8	+8	+6	+1	+2	+8	-3	+4	+4	-7	+1	+1	+1	-20	-21

TABLE D9. AFFECTIVE MATRIX, T3

	18	19	20	24	25	26	30	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42
18. John Bosco	--	+2	0	-2	+1	0	0	+3	0	-3	-1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
19. Gregory	+3	--	0	-3	0	0	+1	-2	0	0	0	+2	-1	0	+1	0	0	0
20. Basil	+3	-1	--	0	0	-2	0	-3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+1	+2
24. Peter	-2	-3	0	--	+3	+2	0	0	0	0	+1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
25. Bonaventure	+2	0	0	+3	--	0	0	0	0	0	+1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
26. Berthold	+1	0	-3	+3	0	--	0	-1	+2	0	0	-2	0	0	0	0	0	0
30. Mark	+1	+2	0	-3	0	-2	--	-1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+3	0	0
32. Victor	-2	-3	-1	+3	0	+1	0	--	0	+2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
33. Ambrose	0	0	-3	0	+1	0	0	+3	--	0	0	+2	+2	0	0	0	-2	-1
34. Romuald	0	0	0	+3	+1	0	0	0	0	--	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
35. Louis	-1	-3	-2	+2	+3	0	0	0	0	0	--	0	0	+2	0	+1	0	0
36. Winfrid	+3	+1	-3	0	0	-2	0	0	0	0	0	--	0	0	0	0	-1	0
37. Amand	0	-3	0	0	+2	-2	+1	0	0	0	0	-1	--	0	0	0	0	+3
38. Hugh	+3	+1	0	-3	0	0	0	0	0	-2	0	+1	0	--	+2	0	-1	0
39. Boniface	+2	+3	-2	0	+1	0	0	0	0	-1	0	0	-3	+1	--	0	-1	0
40. Albert	0	+2	-1	-3	0	0	+3	0	0	0	0	+1	0	0	0	--	-2	0
41. Elias	0	+1	+2	-2	0	-1	0	0	0	0	-3	0	0	0	0	0	--	+3
42. Simplicius	0	+1	0	-3	0	-2	0	0	0	0	-1	0	+2	0	0	0	+3	--
Totals (+)	18	13	2	14	12	3	5	6	2	2	2	6	4	3	3	4	4	8
(-)	5	13	15	19	0	11	0	7	0	6	5	3	4	0	0	0	7	1
(T)	+13	0	-13	-5	+12	-8	+5	-1	+2	-4	-3	+3	0	+3	+3	+4	-3	+7

TABLE D₁₀. ESTEEM MATRIX, T₃

	18	19	20	24	25	26	30	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42
18. John Bosco	--	+2	-3	-1	+3	0	0	0	+2	0	0	+1	0	-2	0	0	0	0
19. Gregory	+3	--	-1	-3	+1	0	0	0	+2	0	0	0	-2	0	0	0	0	0
20. Basil	+2	-1	--	-2	0	0	0	0	0	0	-3	0	+1	0	0	0	+3	0
24. Peter	-2	-3	0	--	+2	0	-1	+1	0	0	+3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
25. Bonaventure	+3	+1	-1	+2	--	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-1	0	0	0	-3	-2
26. Berthold	+1	+2	-2	+3	0	--	-3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-1
30. Mark	0	+3	-2	-3	0	-1	--	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+1	+2	0	0
32. Victor	-2	-3	-1	+3	+1	+2	0	--	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
33. Ambrose	+1	0	0	+3	0	0	0	+2	--	0	0	0	-1	0	0	0	-3	-2
34. Romuald	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	--	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
35. Louis	-1	-2	-3	0	+2	0	0	+3	0	+1	--	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
36. Winfrid	+3	+2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	--	0	+1	0	0	0	0
37. Amand	0	-2	-1	0	+3	-3	+2	0	0	0	0	0	--	0	0	0	0	0
38. Hugh	+3	+2	0	-2	0	0	0	-2	0	0	-2	+2	-3	--	+2	0	-1	-1
39. Boniface	+1	+3	-2	-3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-1	+2	--	0	-1	-1
40. Albert	0	+2	-2	-3	0	0	+3	0	0	0	0	0	-1	0	+1	--	-2	-2
41. Elies	0	+2	+3	-3	-1	-2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+1
42. Simplicius	+2	+3	+1	-3	0	-2	+1	0	0	-1	0	0	-1	0	0	0	0	--
Totals (+)	19	22	4	11	12	2	6	6	4	1	4	3	1	3	4	2	3	1
Totals (-)	5	11	18	23	1	8	4	2	0	1	5	0	10	2	0	0	10	9
Totals (T)	+14	+11	-14	-12	+11	-6	+2	+4	+4	0	-1	+3	-9	+1	+4	+2	-7	-8

TABLE D₁₁. INFLUENCE MATRIX, T₃

	18	19	20	24	25	26	30	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42
18. John Bosco	--	+3	0	0	0	0	+2	0	0	0	0	+1	-2	0	0	-3	-1	0
19. Gregory	+3	--	0	-2	0	0	+1	0	0	0	0	+2	-3	0	0	-1	0	0
20. Basil	+2	+3	--	+1	0	0	0	0	0	0	-3	0	0	0	0	0	-2	-1
24. Peter	-2	-3	0	--	0	+2	-1	+1	0	0	+3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
25. Bonaventure	+2	0	0	+3	--	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-1	0	0	0	-3	-2
26. Berthold	0	+2	0	+3	+1	--	-3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-2	-1
30. Mark	+2	+3	-1	-3	0	0	--	0	0	0	0	0	-1	0	0	+1	-2	-1
32. Victor	0	0	+1	+3	0	0	0	--	0	0	+2	-1	-3	0	0	-2	0	0
33. Ambrose	+3	+2	0	+1	0	0	0	0	--	0	0	-1	0	0	0	0	-3	-2
34. Romuald	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	--	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
35. Louis	-1	-2	-3	+3	0	0	0	+2	0	0	--	0	+1	0	0	0	0	0
36. Winfrid	+3	+2	0	0	0	0	+1	0	0	0	0	--	0	0	0	0	0	0
37. Amand	0	-3	0	0	+3	-2	+2	0	0	0	+1	-1	--	0	0	0	0	0
38. Hugh	+3	+1	-1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-3	--	+2	0	-2	-2
39. Boniface	0	+3	-2	-3	0	0	+1	0	0	0	-1	0	0	+2	--	0	0	0
40. Albert	+2	+3	0	0	0	0	+1	0	0	0	0	0	-1	0	0	--	-3	-2
41. Elias	0	+3	+1	-3	0	0	0	0	0	-2	0	0	-1	0	0	0	--	+2
42. Simplicius	+2	+3	0	-2	0	-3	0	0	0	0	0	0	-1	0	0	0	+1	--
Totals (+)	22	28	2	14	4	2	8	3	0	0	6	3	1	2	2	1	1	2
Totals (-)	3	8	7	13	0	5	4	0	0	2	4	3	16	0	0	6	18	11
Totals (T)	+19	+20	-5	+1	+4	-3	+4	+3	0	-2	+2	0	-15	+2	+2	-5	-17	-9

TABLE D₁₂. SANCTION MATRIX, T₃

	18	19	20	24	25	26	30	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42
18. John Bosco	--	-2	-3	0	+1	+2	0	0	+3	0	0	0	0	-1	0	0	0	0
19. Gregory	0	--	-3	0	+2	+1	0	0	+3	0	0	0	-2	-1	0	0	0	0
20. Basil	+3	+2	--	+1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-3	0	0	0	-2	-1
24. Peter	0	-3	-1	--	0	+2	-2	+1	0	+1	+3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
25. Bonaventure	0	0	0	0	--	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
26. Berthold	0	+1	0	+3	0	--	-1	0	+2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-3	-2
30. Mark	+1	+3	0	-3	0	-1	--	0	0	0	+1	+2	0	0	0	0	-2	0
32. Victor	0	0	-1	+3	0	+2	0	--	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-2	-3
33. Ambrose	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	--	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
34. Romuald	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	--	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
35. Louis	0	-2	-1	+3	0	0	0	+1	+2	0	--	0	0	-3	0	0	-1	-3
36. Winfrid	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	--	0	-2	0	0	-2	-3
37. An and	0	-1	0	0	+3	0	0	0	0	0	+2	0	--	0	0	0	-3	-2
38. Hugh	+3	+1	-2	-1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+2	0	--	0	0	-3	-2
39. Boniface	+3	+1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-1	+2	0	0	-3	-2
40. Albert	+1	+2	0	0	0	0	+3	0	0	0	0	0	-1	0	--	--	-3	-2
41. Elias	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	--	0
42. Simplicius	+1	+1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+1	--
Totals (+)	12	11	0	10	6	7	3	2	10	1	6	4	0	2	0	0	1	0
(-)	0	8	11	4	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	7	7	0	0	21	18
(T)	+12	+3	-11	+6	+6	+6	0	+2	+10	+1	+6	+4	-7	-5	0	0	-20	-18

TABLE D₁₃. AFFECTIVE MATRIX, T₄

	18	19	20	24	25	26	30	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42
18. John Bosco	--	-2	+3	0	0	0	-3	0	0	-1	0	+1	0	+2	0	0	0	0
19. Gregory	+3	--	0	-3	0	0	+1	-2	0	0	0	+2	-1	0	0	0	0	0
20. Basil	+3	-2	--	-3	0	-2	0	0	0	0	0	0	+2	0	0	-1	+1	+2
24. Peter	-2	-3	0	--	+3	+1	0	0	0	0	+2	0	0	-1	0	0	0	0
25. Bonaventure	0	0	0	+3	--	0	0	0	+1	0	+2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
26. Berthold	0	-1	-3	+3	+1	--	-2	0	+2	0	0	0	0	0	0	+2	-2	0
30. Mark	0	+3	0	-3	0	-2	--	-1	0	0	0	+1	0	0	0	0	0	0
32. Victor	0	-3	-2	+3	0	+2	0	--	+1	0	0	0	0	-1	0	0	0	0
33. Ambrose	0	0	-3	0	+1	0	0	+3	--	0	0	+2	0	0	0	0	-2	-1
34. Romuald	0	0	0	+3	+1	0	0	0	+1	--	0	0	+2	0	0	0	0	0
35. Louis	-1	-3	-2	0	+2	0	0	+3	0	0	--	0	0	+1	0	0	0	0
36. Winfrid	+3	+2	0	0	0	0	+1	0	0	0	0	--	0	0	0	0	0	0
37. Amand	0	-3	0	0	+2	-2	+1	0	0	0	0	-1	--	0	+2	0	0	+3
38. Hugh	+3	0	0	-3	0	0	0	-2	0	0	0	+1	0	--	0	0	-1	0
39. Boniface	0	+3	-2	-1	0	0	+1	0	0	0	0	+2	-3	0	--	0	0	0
40. Albert	0	+3	-1	-3	0	0	+2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+1	--	-2	0
41. Elias	0	+1	+2	-1	0	-3	0	-2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	--	+3
42. Simplicius	0	+1	+2	-1	0	0	0	-3	0	-2	0	0	0	0	0	0	+3	--
Totals (+)	12	13	7	12	10	3	6	6	5	0	4	9	4	3	3	2	4	8
Totals (-)	3	17	13	18	0	9	5	10	0	3	0	1	4	2	0	1	7	1
Totals (T)	+9	-4	-6	-6	+10	-6	+1	-4	+5	-3	+4	+8	0	+1	+3	+1	-3	+7

TABLE D₁₄. ESTEEM MATRIX, T₄

	18	19	20	24	25	26	30	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42
18. John Bosco	--	-2	-1	0	+1	0	-3	+3	0	0	0	+2	0	0	0	0	0	0
19. Gregory	+3	--	-2	-3	+1	0	0	+2	0	0	0	0	-1	0	0	0	0	0
20. Basil	+3	-1	--	-3	0	-2	0	0	0	0	0	0	+2	0	0	0	+1	0
24. Peter	-2	-3	0	--	0	+1	0	0	0	+2	+3	0	0	-1	0	0	0	0
25. Bonaventure	0	0	-1	+3	--	0	0	0	+1	0	+2	0	0	0	0	0	-3	-2
26. Berthold	0	0	-2	+3	0	--	-3	-1	0	0	+2	0	0	0	0	0	-2	0
30. Mark	0	+3	-2	-2	0	-3	--	-2	0	0	0	+1	0	0	+1	+2	-1	0
32. Victor	0	0	0	+3	+1	+2	0	+2	0	0	0	0	-1	0	0	0	-2	-3
33. Ambrose	+1	0	0	+3	0	0	0	0	--	0	0	0	-1	0	0	0	-3	-2
34. Romuald	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	--	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
35. Louis	-1	-3	-2	0	+2	0	0	0	+3	0	--	0	0	0	0	-1	0	0
36. Winfrid	+3	+2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	--	0	+1	0	0	0	0
37. Amand	0	-2	-1	0	+3	-3	+2	0	0	0	+1	0	--	0	0	0	0	0
38. Hugh	+3	+2	0	-2	0	0	0	0	0	0	-2	+1	-3	--	+2	0	-1	-1
39. Boniface	+1	+3	-2	-3	0	0	0	0	0	0	-1	0	0	+2	--	0	-1	-1
40. Albert	0	+3	-2	-3	0	0	+2	0	0	0	0	+1	0	0	+2	--	-2	-1
41. Elias	0	+1	+2	-2	0	-3	0	-1	0	0	0	0	+1	0	0	0	--	+3
42. Simplicius	0	+2	+3	-2	0	-2	0	-3	0	-1	0	0	0	0	0	0	+1	--
Totals (+)	14	16	5	12	8	3	4	7	4	2	8	5	3	3	5	2	2	4
Totals (-)	3	11	15	20	0	13	6	7	0	1	3	0	5	2	0	1	15	10
Totals (T)	+11	+5	-10	-8	+8	-10	-2	0	+4	+1	+5	+5	-2	+1	+5	+1	-13	-6

TABLE D₁₅. INFLUENCE MATRIX, T₄

	18	19	20	24	25	26	30	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42
18. John Bosco	--	+3	0	0	0	0	+1	0	0	-2	0	+2	0	0	0	-1	0	-3
19. Gregory	+3	--	0	-3	0	0	+1	0	0	0	0	+2	-2	0	0	0	0	0
20. Basil	+3	-1	--	-3	0	-2	0	0	0	0	0	0	+2	0	0	0	+1	0
24. Peter	-2	-3	0	--	0	+1	0	0	+2	0	+3	0	0	-1	0	0	0	0
25. Bonaventure	0	+1	-1	+3	--	0	0	0	0	0	+2	0	0	0	0	0	-3	-2
26. Berthold	0	+1	0	+3	0	--	-3	0	+2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-2	-1
30. Mark	0	+3	-2	-2	0	-3	--	-2	0	0	0	+1	0	0	0	+2	-1	0
32. Victor	+2	0	0	+3	0	0	0	--	+1	0	+2	-1	-2	0	0	-3	0	0
33. Ambrose	+3	+2	0	+1	0	0	0	0	--	0	0	-1	0	0	0	0	-3	-2
34. Romuald	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	--	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
35. Louis	0	0	0	+1	+3	0	-3	0	+2	0	--	0	0	0	0	0	-1	-2
36. Winfrid	+3	+2	0	0	0	0	+1	0	0	0	0	--	0	0	0	0	0	0
37. Amand	0	-3	0	0	+3	-2	+2	0	0	+1	-1	-1	--	0	+2	0	-1	-1
38. Hugh	+3	+2	0	-2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+1	-3	+2	--	0	0	0
39. Boniface	0	+3	-1	-3	0	0	+1	0	0	0	0	0	-2	0	+1	--	0	0
40. Albert	0	+3	-1	-3	0	0	+2	0	0	0	-2	0	0	0	+1	0	0	0
41. Elias	0	+1	+2	-2	0	-3	0	-1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	--	0
42. Simplicius	0	+3	+2	-3	0	-1	0	0	0	0	-2	0	0	0	0	0	+1	--
Totals (+)	17	24	4	11	6	1	8	0	5	2	8	6	2	2	3	2	2	3
Totals (-)	2	7	5	21	0	11	6	3	0	2	4	3	9	1	0	4	11	11
Totals (T)	+15	+17	-1	-10	+6	-10	+2	-3	+5	0	+4	+3	-7	+1	+3	-2	-9	-8

TABLE D16. SANCTION MATRIX, T₄

	18	19	20	24	25	26	30	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42
18. John Bosco	--	0	-3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-2	+2	0	+3	0	0	+1	-1
19. Gregory	+3	--	-3	0	0	0	+1	0	0	0	0	+2	0	0	0	0	0	0
20. Basil	+3	-2	--	-3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+2	-1	0	0	+1	0
24. Peter	0	-3	0	--	0	+1	-1	0	0	+2	+3	0	0	-2	0	0	0	0
25. Bonaventure	0	0	0	0	--	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
26. Berthold	0	0	0	+3	0	--	-3	0	+1	0	+2	0	-1	0	0	0	-2	-1
30. Mark	0	+3	-3	-2	0	-1	--	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+1	+2	0	0
32. Victor	0	0	-1	+3	0	+2	0	--	0	0	+1	0	0	0	0	0	-2	-3
33. Ambrose	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	--	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
34. Romuald	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	--	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
35. Louis	0	0	0	+3	0	0	0	+2	0	0	--	0	0	-1	0	+1	-2	-3
36. Winifrid	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	--	0	-2	0	0	-1	-3
37. Amand	0	-1	0	0	+3	0	0	0	0	0	+2	0	--	0	+2	+1	-2	-3
38. Hugh	+3	+3	-1	-3	0	0	0	0	0	0	-2	0	0	--	+2	0	0	0
39. Boniface	+1	+3	-2	-1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-3	+2	--	0	0	-1
40. Albert	0	+2	-2	-3	0	0	+3	0	0	0	0	0	-1	0	+1	--	-2	-2
41. Elias	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	--	0
42. Simplicius	+1	+1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	+1	--
Totals (+)	11	12	0	9	3	3	4	2	1	2	8	4	2	5	4	4	3	0
(-)	0	6	15	12	0	1	4	0	0	0	4	0	5	6	0	0	11	17
(T)	+11	+6	-15	-3	+3	+2	0	+2	+1	+2	+4	+4	-3	-1	+4	+4	-8	-17

TABLE D17. AFFECTIVE MATRIX, T₅

	24	25	26	33	34	35	36
24. Peter	--	+3	-1	-2	+2	+1	-3
25. Bonaventure	+3	--	-2	+1	-1	+2	-3
26. Berthold	+3	+1	--	-1	-2	+2	-3
33. Ambrose	+1	-1	-3	--	-2	+2	+3
34. Romuald	+3	+1	-3	-1	--	-2	+2
35. Louis	-3	+3	+1	+2	-2	--	-1
36. Winfrid	-2	+1	-1	+2	+3	-3	--
Totals (+)	10	9	1	5	5	7	5
(-)	5	1	10	4	7	5	10
(T)	+5	+8	-9	+1	-2	+2	-5

TABLE D₁₈. ESTEEM MATRIX, T₅

	24	25	26	33	34	35	36
24. Peter	--	+3	-1	-2	+2	+1	-3
25. Bonaventure	+1	--	-2	+2	-1	+3	-3
26. Berthold	+3	+1	--	-1	-2	+2	-3
33. Ambrose	+3	+2	-2	--	-3	+1	-3
34. Romuald	+3	+2	0	+1	--	0	0
35. Louis	-3	+3	+1	+2	-2	--	-1
36. Winfrid	-3	0	-1	0	0	-2	--
Totals (+)	10	11	1	5	2	7	0
(-)	6	0	6	3	8	2	13
(T)	+4	+11	-5	+2	-6	+5	-13

TABLE D₁₉. INFLUENCE MATRIX, T₅

	24	25	26	33	34	35	36
24. Peter	--	+3	-1	-2	+2	+1	-3
25. Bonaventure	0	--	0	0	0	0	0
26. Berthold	+3	+1	--	-1	-2	+2	-3
33. Ambrose	+1	-1	-2	--	-3	+3	+2
34. Romuald	0	0	0	0	--	0	0
35. Louis	-3	+2	+1	+3	-2	--	-1
36. Winfrid	-3	0	-2	0	0	-1	--
Totals (+)	4	6	1	3	2	6	2
(-)	6	1	5	3	7	1	7
(T)	-2	+5	-4	0	-5	+5	-5

TABLE D₂₀. SANCTION MATRIX, T₅

	24	25	26	33	34	35	36
24. Peter	--	+3	-3	-1	+2	+1	-2
25. Bonaventure	0	--	0	0	0	0	0
26. Berthold	+3	0	--	0	0	+2	-3
33. Ambrose	0	0	0	--	0	0	0
34. Romuald	0	0	0	0	--	0	0
35. Louis	+1	+1	+1	+1	+1	--	+1
36. Winfrid	0	0	0	0	0	0	--
Totals (+)	4	4	1	1	3	3	1
(-)	0	0	3	1	0	0	5
(T)	+4	+4	-2	0	+3	+3	-4

TABLE E₁. MEAN RESPONSES TO CHANGES IN THE NOVITIATE^a BY STATUS OF MEMBERS

Change Item ^b	Priests	Professed Lay Brothers	Cleric Novices	Lay Brother Novices and Postulants	Total
	N=4	N=3	N=8	N=12	N=27
a.	1.3	2.3	1.4	1.4	1.5
b.	1.0	1.7	1.4	1.4	1.4
c.	1.0	2.7	2.1	2.2	2.0
d.	1.0	1.7	1.5	1.0	1.2
e.	1.0	3.0	2.5	2.3	2.3
f.	1.5	2.7	1.1	2.4	2.0
g.	2.8	2.7	1.8	2.4	2.3
h.	1.0	3.0	2.4	1.5	1.9
i.	1.0	2.0	1.8	1.2	1.4
j.	1.0	1.7	1.1	1.0	1.1
k.	2.5	3.3	2.9	4.2	3.4
l.	2.3	3.7	2.1	2.8	2.6
m.	1.0	1.3	1.1	1.4	1.3
n.	1.8	3.3	3.0	2.3	2.5
o.	1.0	1.7	1.1	1.0	1.1
p.	1.5	3.7	2.5	2.5	2.5
q.	1.3	3.7	2.1	2.3	2.2
r.	2.0	3.7	2.9	2.3	2.6
s.	2.0	3.3	3.5	2.8	3.0
Totals	27.8	51.2	38.2	38.4	38.2

^aMean responses are based upon a five point scale from very good (1) to very bad (5). The higher the score the more dissatisfied with the change.

^bSee Appendix Figure II, questionnaire Section D, 111, items a-s.

TABLE E₂. MEAN RESPONSES^a TO OPINION ITEMS PAST AND PRESENT BY STATUS OF MEMBERS

		Priests N=4	Professed Lay Brothers N=3	Cleric Novices N=8	Lay Brother Novices and Postulants N=12	Total N=27
	Opinion Item Number ^b					
1.	Past ^c	2.3	3.0	1.8	1.8	2.0
	Present ^d	1.0	2.0	1.4	1.5	1.4
2.	Past	4.3	5.0	4.4	4.4	4.4
	Present	5.3	5.0	4.4	4.4	4.6
3.	Past	2.5	2.7	2.3	3.3	2.8
	Present	2.5	2.7	2.3	3.3	2.8
4.	Past	1.5	1.7	1.9	1.7	1.7
	Present	1.0	1.7	2.1	1.7	1.7
5.	Past	2.0	2.3	4.4	4.6	3.9
	Present	1.5	3.7	4.4	4.2	3.8
6.	Past	1.8	1.7	3.4	6.0	4.1
	Present	1.3	1.7	2.5	5.6	3.8
7.	Past	2.8	1.3	5.0	3.4	3.6
	Present	2.3	1.3	4.4	3.1	3.1
8.	Past	3.8	4.0	4.5	4.3	4.3
	Present	4.0	4.0	5.3	4.0	4.4
9.	Past	2.0	1.3	1.6	3.8	2.6
	Present	2.0	1.3	1.6	3.3	2.4

TABLE E₂.--Continued

		Priests	Professed Lay Brothers	Cleric Novices	Lay Brother Novices and Postulants	Total
		N=4	N=3	N=8	N=12	N=27
10.	Past	2.0	2.7	3.0	5.2	3.8
	Present	2.8	2.7	2.1	5.0	3.6
11.	Past	4.8	6.3	4.3	6.3	5.4
	Present	4.0	5.3	4.4	6.0	5.1
12.	Past	2.5	4.7	4.9	4.9	4.5
	Present	2.3	4.7	4.9	4.9	4.5
13.	Past	4.0	3.0	2.3	4.4	3.6
	Present	2.8	3.0	3.0	4.0	3.4
14.	Past	1.0	1.0	1.5	1.0	1.1
	Present	1.0	1.0	1.5	1.0	1.1
15.	Past	4.3	5.0	5.8	4.8	5.0
	Present	2.5	3.7	5.8	4.8	4.6
16.	Past	3.0	3.0	4.5	3.8	3.8
	Present	3.0	3.0	4.3	3.8	3.7
17.	Past	3.5	1.3	2.4	3.3	2.9
	Present	1.8	1.3	2.0	3.0	2.3
18.	Past	1.0	1.3	2.6	1.6	1.8
	Present	1.0	1.3	1.8	1.6	1.5

TABLE E₂.--Continued

		Priests	Professed Lay Brothers	Cleric Novices	Lay Brother Novices and Postulants	Total
		N=4	N=3	N=8	N=12	N=27
19.	Past	5.0	1.7	2.9	2.9	3.1
	Present	2.0	1.7	2.1	2.1	2.0
20.	Past	1.0	1.3	3.0	2.5	2.3
	Present	1.0	1.3	2.1	2.5	2.0
21.	Past	1.3	1.7	3.0	2.8	2.5
	Present	1.5	1.7	3.5	2.8	2.7
22.	Past	5.0	5.7	6.3	3.9	5.0
	Present	6.3	5.7	6.3	5.5	5.9
23.	Past	3.3	1.3	2.3	1.9	2.1
	Present	3.3	1.3	2.3	2.6	2.4
24.	Past	3.3	3.7	5.1	5.7	5.0
	Present	2.8	2.7	4.0	5.2	4.2
25.	Past	4.3	5.3	5.1	4.8	4.9
	Present	4.3	5.3	5.1	4.8	4.9
26.	Past	2.3	1.3	1.9	1.8	1.9
	Present	1.0	1.3	1.9	1.8	1.7
27.	Past	4.0	5.3	4.9	6.0	5.3
	Present	4.0	5.3	4.9	6.0	5.3

TABLE E₂.--Continued

		Priests	Professed Lay Brothers	Cleric Novices	Lay Brother Novices and Postulants	Total
		N=4	N=3	N=8	N=12	N=27
28.	Past	4.0	1.3	4.1	3.0	3.3
	Present	4.0	1.3	4.1	3.0	3.3
29.	Past	6.0	5.7	6.5	5.6	5.9
	Present	5.0	5.7	6.3	5.6	5.7
30.	Past	5.0	2.0	4.0	4.8	4.3
	Present	2.3	2.0	3.6	4.8	3.7
31.	Past	1.0	1.7	1.3	1.4	1.3
	Present	1.0	1.7	1.3	1.4	1.3
32.	Past	2.0	1.3	2.0	2.9	2.3
	Present	1.0	1.3	2.5	2.6	2.2
33.	Past	6.8	3.3	4.6	4.1	4.5
	Present	6.8	3.3	4.6	4.1	4.5
34.	Past	1.3	1.3	2.3	3.2	2.4
	Present	1.3	1.3	1.5	2.8	2.0
35.	Past	2.0	2.0	1.4	1.3	1.5
	Present	1.3	2.0	1.4	1.3	1.4
36.	Past	2.0	2.7	2.4	1.8	2.1
	present	2.0	1.7	2.9	1.8	2.1

TABLE E₂.--Continued

		Priests	Professed Lay Brothers	Cleric Novices	Lay Brother Novices and Postulants	Total
		N=4	N=3	N=8	N=12	N=27
37.	Past	1.0	4.7	4.4	3.8	3.7
	Present	1.0	4.7	2.9	3.4	3.0
38.	Past	1.0	4.7	2.4	3.7	3.0
	Present	1.5	4.7	2.4	2.3	2.5
39.	Past	5.3	4.3	5.4	4.4	4.8
	Present	5.3	4.3	5.4	4.4	4.8
40.	Past	3.8	3.0	3.9	4.1	3.9
	Present	3.8	3.0	3.9	4.1	3.9
41.	Past	4.0	5.0	4.4	5.3	4.8
	Present	1.0	5.0	4.4	5.3	4.4
42.	Past	3.8	2.7	3.1	2.3	2.8
	Present	4.8	4.3	2.6	2.5	3.1
43.	Past	1.0	2.7	2.0	1.7	1.8
	Present	1.0	2.7	2.3	1.7	1.9
44.	Past	4.8	5.3	5.1	6.3	5.6
	Present	3.5	5.3	5.1	6.3	5.4
45.	Past	1.0	3.0	2.1	3.4	2.6
	Present	1.0	3.0	2.1	3.4	2.6

TABLE E₂.--Continued

		Priests	Professed Lay Brothers	Cleric Novices	Lay Brother Novices and Postulants	Total
		N=4	N=3	N=8	N=12	N=27
46.	Past	4.3	2.7	1.9	2.7	2.7
	Present	6.3	2.7	1.9	2.4	2.9
47.	Past	1.3	5.0	2.8	3.3	3.0
	Present	1.3	5.0	2.3	3.3	2.9
48.	Past	1.5	2.0	1.8	2.4	2.0
	Present	1.5	2.0	2.3	2.4	2.2
49.	Past	2.5	4.3	3.5	3.6	3.5
	Present	2.5	4.3	4.0	3.1	3.4
50.	Past	6.0	5.3	3.3	5.3	4.8
	Present	5.0	5.3	5.5	5.3	5.3
51.	Past	2.8	2.7	3.8	2.8	3.1
	Present	2.8	2.7	3.8	2.8	3.1
52.	Past	1.0	1.0	1.1	1.4	1.2
	Present	1.0	1.0	1.8	1.4	1.4
53.	Past	4.3	4.0	4.6	4.2	4.3
	Present	4.3	4.0	4.4	3.9	4.1
54.	Past	5.0	5.3	4.6	6.3	5.5
	Present	5.0	5.3	4.9	6.3	5.6

TABLE E₂.--Continued

		Priests	Professed Lay Brothers	Cleric Novices	Lay Brother Novices and Postulants	Total
		N=4	N=3	N=8	N=12	N=27
55.	Past	3.0	3.7	3.0	5.7	4.3
	Present	1.8	3.7	3.0	5.7	4.1
56.	Past	4.0	2.7	4.9	3.6	4.0
	Present	4.0	2.7	4.9	3.6	4.0
57.	Past	3.8	6.3	5.4	6.0	5.5
	Present	3.8	6.3	5.4	6.3	5.6
58.	Past	1.5	2.0	1.9	1.6	1.7
	Present	2.8	2.0	2.1	2.1	2.2
59.	Past	3.8	3.7	3.3	5.3	4.3
	Present	3.8	3.7	3.3	5.0	4.1
60.	Past	1.0	2.3	2.3	1.8	1.9
	Present	1.0	2.3	2.3	1.8	1.9
61.	Past	6.0	4.0	4.8	3.5	4.3
	Present	5.3	4.0	5.3	3.5	4.3
62.	Past	4.8	3.3	4.3	3.8	4.0
	Present	5.5	3.3	4.3	3.8	4.1
63.	Past	5.3	3.3	5.0	4.2	4.5
	Present	6.0	3.3	5.0	4.2	4.6

TABLE E₂.--Continued

		Priests	Professed Lay Brothers	Cleric Novices	Lay Brother Novices and Postulants	Total
		N=4	N=3	N=8	N=12	N=27
64.	Past	3.3	1.3	2.4	2.9	2.6
	Present	4.3	1.3	2.9	2.9	3.0
65.	Past	2.3	3.0	2.4	3.3	2.9
	Present	1.3	3.0	2.4	3.1	2.6
66.	Past	1.0	1.7	3.8	3.8	3.1
	Present	2.3	1.7	3.5	4.2	3.4
67.	Past	2.5	1.7	2.5	2.4	2.4
	Present	3.0	1.7	2.5	2.4	2.4
68.	Past	5.0	3.3	3.9	4.0	4.0
		5.3	3.3	4.1	4.8	4.5
69.	Past	5.5	3.7	5.6	5.8	5.5
	Present	6.5	5.0	5.6	6.1	5.9
70.	Past	5.0	2.3	4.8	3.8	4.1
	Present	4.0	2.3	4.8	3.5	3.8
71.	Past	4.8	3.7	4.8	5.9	5.1
	Present	3.5	3.7	4.8	5.5	4.8
72.	Past	2.8	3.7	4.3	3.8	3.8
	Present	2.3	3.7	4.3	3.6	3.6

TABLE E₂.--Continued

		Priests	Professed Lay Brothers	Cleric Novices	Lay Brother Novices and Postulants	Total
		N=4	N=3	N=8	N=12	N=27
73.	Past	6.8	2.7	4.5	3.2	4.0
	Present	6.8	2.7	4.5	3.2	4.0
74.	Past	2.3	3.3	4.1	3.3	3.4
	Present	2.3	3.3	4.4	3.0	3.3
75.	Past	2.3	2.0	2.9	3.0	2.7
	Present	1.0	2.0	2.9	2.8	2.5
76.	Past	4.3	3.7	5.5	4.0	4.4
	Present	2.8	3.7	5.5	4.0	4.2
77.	Past	2.5	3.0	3.5	3.2	3.1
	Present	2.5	3.0	3.8	3.6	3.4
78.	Past	5.5	3.3	5.6	5.8	5.4
	Present	5.5	3.3	5.9	5.8	5.5
79.	Past	1.3	2.3	2.3	3.5	2.7
	Present	1.3	2.3	2.3	3.2	2.5
80.	Past	2.3	1.7	1.4	3.3	2.4
	Present	3.8	1.7	1.4	3.3	2.6
81.	Past	2.0	1.0	2.4	2.8	2.3
	Present	1.0	1.0	2.0	2.8	2.1

TABLE E₂.--Continued

		Priests	Professed Lay Brothers	Cleric Novices	Lay Brother Novices and Postulants	Total
		N=4	N=3	N=8	N=12	N=27
82.	Past	2.3	3.7	1.3	3.5	2.7
	Present	1.0	3.7	1.3	3.2	2.3
83.	Past	3.8	4.7	5.0	4.5	4.5
	Present	3.8	4.7	4.6	4.8	4.6
84.	Past	7.0	6.0	7.0	5.4	6.2
	Present	7.0	6.0	7.0	5.4	6.2
85.	Past	1.5	2.0	2.8	1.8	2.0
	Present	1.5	2.0	2.8	1.8	2.0
86.	Past	2.5	3.3	3.1	3.1	3.0
	Present	2.5	3.3	2.9	3.1	3.0
87.	Past	3.8	3.3	4.0	4.3	4.0
	Present	3.8	3.3	4.0	4.3	4.0
88.	Past	2.0	1.7	2.9	2.8	2.6
	Present	2.0	1.7	2.9	2.8	2.6
89.	Past	4.3	3.7	3.9	3.7	3.8
	Present	4.0	3.7	3.9	3.7	3.8
90.	Past	6.5	2.7	4.3	3.6	4.1
	Present	6.5	2.7	4.3	3.8	4.2

TABLE E₂.--Continued

		Priests	Professed Lay Brothers	Cleric Novices	Lay Brother Novices and Postulants	Total
		N=4	N=3	N=8	N=12	N=27
91.	Past	1.3	1.3	3.1	2.5	2.4
	Present	1.3	1.3	2.5	2.5	2.2
92.	Past	1.0	2.3	1.9	2.4	2.0
	Present	1.0	2.3	1.9	2.4	2.0
93.	Past	1.3	1.3	1.9	1.8	1.7
	Present	1.3	1.3	1.9	1.8	1.7
94.	Past	5.3	5.3	5.8	5.0	5.3
	Present	6.8	5.3	5.8	5.0	5.5
95.	Past	3.5	4.3	4.5	4.4	4.3
	Present	3.5	4.3	4.5	4.4	4.3
96.	Past	1.0	1.0	1.5	2.1	1.6
	Present	1.0	1.0	1.5	2.1	1.6
97.	Past	1.5	2.3	2.0	2.8	2.3
	Present	1.5	2.3	2.0	2.8	2.3
98.	Past	5.3	4.7	5.4	4.3	4.8
	Present	2.3	4.7	5.4	4.1	4.3

TABLE E₂.--Continued

		Priests	Professed Lay Brothers	Cleric Novices	Lay Brother Novices and Postulants	Total
		N=4	N=3	N=8	N=12	N=27
99.	Past	5.8	5.3	4.9	4.6	5.0
	Present	6.8	5.3	5.4	5.0	5.4
100.	Past	2.5	5.3	4.6	4.2	4.2
	Present	3.8	4.3	4.4	4.1	4.1

^aMean responses are based upon a seven point scale from strongly agree (7) to strongly disagree (1). The higher the score the greater the agreement with the items.

^bSee Appendix Figure II questionnaire Section D, items 1-100.

^cIndicates average of members' agreement--disagreement with item in last three years.

^dIndicates average of members' agreement--disagreement with item at the time of the survey.

TABLE E₃. NUMBER OF REJECTIONS OF SPEAKERS BY STATUS OF SPEAKERS AND STATUS OF MEMBERS

	Priests	Professed Lay Brothers	Cleric Novices	Lay Brother Novices and Postulants	Total
	N=4	N=3	N=8	N=12	N=27
Agnostics	0	0	1	0	1
Atheists	0	0	1	0	1
Baptists	0	0	1	0	1
Black Muslims	0	1	0	4	5
Buddhists	0	0	0	1	1
Catholic Laymen	0	0	0	0	0
Communists	0	0	1	1	2
Episcopalians	0	0	0	0	0
Females	0	0	0	0	0
Hindus	0	0	0	0	0
L.S.D. Cultists	0	1	1	4	6
Jehovah's Witnesses	1	0	1	1	3
Jews	0	0	0	0	0
Modern Artists	0	0	0	0	0
Mohammedans	0	0	1	0	1
Normans	0	0	0	0	0
Orthodox Greeks	0	0	0	0	0
Sociologists ^a	0	0	0	0	0
Totals	1	2	7	11	21

^aOne lay brother novice did indicate that he would not invite a sociologist to speak to novices if he were superior, but he made a point of indicating that his response was intended as a "joke".

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION:

Of all the problems which the world faces today, which three do you think are the most important?

	N=86 ^a	
Peace (International cooperation, resolution of cold war, end of Viet-Nameese War and war in general)	23.3(20)	
Economic injustice and poverty	16.3(14)	
Humanism (Respect for the dignity of man, tolerance and understanding of one's fellow man, etc.)	16.3(14)	
Traditional Religious Issues (Man's relationship with God, salvation, etc.)	7.0(6)	
Man's Alienation (Problem of identity)	5.8(5)	
Nuclear Disarmament	5.8(5)	
Race Relations	5.8(5)	
Education	3.5(3)	
Family Issues (Stability and birth control)	3.5(3)	
Political Rights and Inequalities (Not specifically racial)	3.5(3)	
Underdeveloped Countries (Economic and educational assistance)	3.5(3)	
Crime	2.3(2)	
Religious Freedom	2.3(2)	
Disease	1.2(1)	
Totals	100.1(86)	

- 167 -

^aTotal number of issues mentioned in all responses to Appendix Figure II, Questionnaire Section B, question 66.

TABLE F₁ MEAN REPORTED INCHES OF MOVEMENT BY SUBJECT DYAD
AND TESTING SITUATION FOR GROUP I

	Testing Situation			
	1	2	3	4
Dyad 1				
Most Movement ^a (34) ^b	10.2	8.9	7.5	6.4
Least Movement (37)	3.1	6.0	6.2	6.1
Mean Differences	7.1	2.9	1.3	.3
Dyad 2				
Most Movement (35)	4.8	3.6	2.6	2.6
Least Movement (40)	1.2	2.5	2.9	2.5
Mean Differences	3.6	1.1	.3	.1
Dyad 3				
Most Movement (39)	12.7	11.0	8.0	9.8
Least Movement (38)	6.4	7.9	9.6	8.9
Mean Differences	6.3	3.1	1.6	.9
Dyad 4				
Most Movement (41)	5.9	3.6	2.5	2.7
Least Movement (42)	1.4	2.4	2.3	3.0
Mean Differences	4.5	1.2	.2	.3
Mean of Mean Differences	5.4	2.1	.8	.4

^aThis experimental group is the only one in which the subjects in each dyad are entered by the amount of movement reported in alone testing situation.

^bThe code numbers in parenthesis in this and Appendix Tables F₂-F₆ designate the subjects in each dyad. (See Appendix² Table A.)

TABLE F₂ MEAN REPORTED INCHES OF MOVEMENT BY SUBJECT DYAD
AND TESTING SITUATION FOR GROUP II

	Testing situation			
	1	2	3	4
Dyad 1				
Esteemed (17)	1.5	3.2	2.8	2.1
Esteemer (13)	7.1	5.8	3.1	1.9
Mean Differences	5.6	2.6	.3	.2
Dyad 2				
Esteemed (16)	1.7	3.9	2.7	2.1
Esteemer (14)	6.0	4.7	2.8	2.1
Mean Differences	4.3	.8	.1	.0
Dyad 3				
Esteemed (25)	9.6	8.0	8.6	9.4
Esteemer (31)	3.1	6.4	7.9	9.1
Mean Differences	6.5	1.6	.7	.3
Dyad 4				
Esteemed (24)	5.3	7.4	7.1	5.6
Esteemer (33)	11.7	8.9	6.4	5.4
Mean Differences	6.4	1.5	.7	.2
Dyad 5				
Esteemed (23)	7.3	5.9	6.4	7.2
Esteemer (32)	1.1	4.7	5.9	7.2
Mean Differences	6.2	1.2	.5	.0
Mean of Mean Differences	5.8	1.5	.5	.1

TABLE F₃ MEAN REPORTED INCHES OF MOVEMENT BY SUBJECT DYAD
AND TESTING SITUATION FOR GROUP III

	Testing situation			
	1	2	3	4
Dyad 1				
Authority (3)	4.6	5.6	5.7	5.4
Alienated (19)	11.9	8.1	7.4	9.8
Mean Differences	7.3	2.5	1.7	4.4
Dyad 2				
Authority (5)	11.1	11.3	11.0	10.9
Alienated (18)	6.5	8.2	7.4	6.9
Mean Differences	4.6	3.1	3.6	4.0
Dyad 3				
Authority (8)	7.6	6.5	7.1	6.9
Alienated (20)	1.7	4.6	2.9	2.2
Mean Differences	5.9	1.9	4.2	4.7
Dyad 4				
Authority (21)	5.7	4.6	4.5	4.7
Alienated (30)	.8	1.6	2.5	1.8
Mean Differences	4.9	3.0	2.0	2.9
Dyad 5				
Authority (22)	4.0	4.9	4.4	3.7
Alienated (36)	9.6	7.2	6.0	6.8
Mean Differences	5.6	2.3	1.6	3.1
Mean of Mean Differences	5.7	2.6	2.6	3.8

TABLE F₄ MEAN DEPARTURES FROM MID-POINT OF ALONE JUDGMENTS
GROUP I

	Alone Mid-point 1	Departures from Mid-point		
		2	3	4
Dyad 1				
Most Movement (34)	6.7	2.2	.8	-.3
Least Movement (37)	6.7	.7	.5	.6
Dyad 2				
Most Movement (35)	3.0	.6	-.4	-.4
Least Movement (40)	3.0	.5	.1	.5
Dyad 3				
Most Movement (39)	9.6	1.4	-1.6	.2
Least Movement (38)	9.6	1.7	.0	.7
Dyad 4				
Most Movement (41)	3.6	.0	-1.1	-.9
Least Movement (42)	3.6	1.2	1.3	.6
The Sum of all Dyad Departures from Alone Mid-point				
Most Movement		4.2	-2.3	-1.4
Least Movement		4.1	1.9	2.4
The Mean of all Dyad Departures from Alone Mid-point				
Most Movement		1.0	-.6	-.4
Least Movement		1.0	.5	.6

TABLE F₅ MEAN DEPARTURES FROM MID-POINT OF ALONE JUDGMENTS
GROUP II

	Alone Mid-point 1	Departures from Mid-point		
		2	3	4
Dyad 1				
Esteemed (17)	4.3	1.1	1.5	2.2
Esteemer (13)	4.3	1.5	-1.2	-2.4
Dyad 2				
Esteemed (16)	3.8	-.1	1.1	1.7
Esteemer (14)	3.8	.9	-1.0	-1.7
Dyad 3				
Esteemed (25)	6.4	1.6	2.2	3.0
Esteemer (31)	6.4	.0	-1.5	-2.7
Dyad 4				
Esteemed (24)	8.5	1.1	1.4	2.9
Esteemer (33)	8.5	.4	-2.1	-3.1
Dyad 5				
Esteemed (23)	4.2	1.7	2.2	3.0
Esteemer (32)	4.2	-.5	-1.7	-3.0
The Sum of all Dyad Departures from Alone Mid-point				
Esteemed		5.4	8.4	12.8
Esteemer		2.3	-7.5	-12.9
The Mean of all Dyad Departures from Alone Mid-point				
Esteemed		1.1	1.7	2.6
Esteemer		.5	-1.5	-2.6

TABLE F₆ MEAN DEPARTURES FROM MID-POINT OF ALONE JUDGMENTS
GROUP III

	Alone Mid-point 1	Departures from Mid-point		
		2	3	4
Dyad 1				
Authority (3)	8.2	2.6	2.5	2.8
Alienated (19)	8.2	-.1	-.8	1.6
Dyad 2				
Authority (5)	8.8	2.5	2.2	2.1
Alienated (18)	8.8	.6	1.4	1.9
Dyad 3				
Authority (8)	4.6	1.9	2.5	2.3
Alienated (20)	4.6	.0	1.7	2.4
Dyad 4				
Authority (21)	3.2	1.4	1.3	1.5
Alienated (30)	3.2	1.6	.7	1.4
Dyad 5				
Authority (22)	6.8	1.9	2.4	3.1
Alienated (36)	6.8	.4	-.8	.0
The Sum of all Dyad Departures from Alone Mid-point				
Authority		10.3	10.9	11.8
Alienated		2.5	2.2	7.3
The Mean of all Dyad Departures from Alone Mid-point				
Authority		2.1	2.2	2.4
Alienated		.5	.4	1.5

FIGURE I

AN OUTLINE CATEGORICAL SYSTEM OF SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

The following is a schematic presentation of the types of social relationships expressed as simply as possible in a two-value form. No attempt is made to portray the relationships in variable form, but this may easily be done, e.g., we will consider a cognitive orientation relation as varying from Type #1, a complete consensus, all the way to Type #2, extreme dissensus. Similarly, the degree of attraction and the potency of sanction varies, etc.

Key to Symbols Used

- O = an object of orientation for an individual or action system.
- P = a property, state, class, relationship, etc., attributed to the object by an individual or action system.
- A = one of the individuals or action systems party to the relationship being described.
- B = the other individual or action system party to the relationship being described.
- X = a positive sanction for its recipient.
- Y = a negative sanction for its recipient.

I. Orientation Relationship Variable Class

A. Cognitive Orientation Relationship Forms

1. Class Inclusion Cognitive Consensus Relationship

O is P for A
O is P for B

2. Cognitive Dissensus Relationship

O is P for A(B)
O is non-P for B(A)

3. Mixed Cognitive Class Exclusion and Non-Cognitive Relationship

O is non-P for A(B)
B(A) has no cognitive orientation to O

4. Class Exclusion Cognitive Consensus Relationship

O is non-P for A
O is non-P for B

5. Mixed Cognitive Class Inclusion and Non-Cognitive Relationship

O is P for A(B)
B(A) has no cognitive orientation to O

6. Non-Cognitive Relationship

A has no cognitive orientation to O
B has no cognitive orientation to O

B. Evaluative Orientation Relationship Forms

7. Class Inclusion Evaluative Consensus Relationship

O should be P for A
O should be P for B

8. Evaluative Dissensus Relationship

O should be P for A(B)
O should be non-P for B(A)

9. Mixed Evaluative Class Exclusion and Non-Evaluative Relationship

O should be non-P for A(B)
B(A) has no evaluative orientation to O

10. Class Exclusion Evaluative Consensus Relationship

O should be non-P for A
O should be non-P for B

11. Mixed Evaluative Class Inclusion and Non-Evaluative Relationship

O should be P for A(B)
B(A) has no evaluative orientation to O

12. Non-Evaluative Relationship

A has no evaluative orientation to O
B has no evaluative orientation to O

C. Cathectic Orientation Relationship Forms

13. Positive Cathectic Consensus Relationship

O has positive attraction for A
O has positive attraction for B

14. Cathectic Dissensus Relationship

O has positive attraction for A(B)
O has negative attraction for B(A)

15. Mixed Negative Cathectic and Non-Cathectic Relationship

O has negative attraction for A(B)
B(A) has no cathectic orientation to O

16. Negative Cathectic Consensus Relationship

O has negative attraction for A
O has negative attraction for B

17. Mixed Positive Cathectic and Non-Cathectic Relationship

O has positive attraction for A(B)
B(A) has no cathectic orientation to O

18. Non-Cathectic Relationship

A has no cathectic orientation to O
B has no cathectic orientation to O

II. Sanction Relationship Variable Class

A. Positive Sanction Relationship Forms

19. Reciprocal Positive Relationship (Type 1)

A effects an X for B
B effects an X for A

20. Reciprocal Positive Relationship (Type 2)

A does not effect a Y for B
B does not effect a Y for A

21. Reciprocal Positive Relationship (Type 3)

A(B) effects an X for B(A)
B(A) does not effect a Y for A(B)

22. Non-Reciprocal Positive Relationship (Type 1)

A(B) effects an X for B(A)
B(A) effects neither an X nor a Y for A(B)

23. Non-Reciprocal Positive Relationship (Type 2)

A(B) does not effect a Y for B(A)
B(A) effects neither an X nor a Y for A(B)

B. Non-Sanction and Mixed Sanction Relationship Forms

24. Non-Sanction Relationship

A effects neither an X nor a Y for B
B effects neither an X nor a Y for A

25. Mixed Positive-Negative Relationship (Type 1)

A(B) effects an X for B(A)
B(A) effects a Y for A(B)

26. Mixed Positive-Negative Relationship (Type 2)

A(B) does not effect an X for B(A)
B(A) does not effect a Y for A(B)

27. Mixed Positive-Negative Relationship (Type 3)

A(B) effects and X for B(A)
B(A) does not effect an X for A(B)

28. Mixed Positive-Negative Relationship (Type 4)

A(B) effects a Y for B(A)
B(A) does not effect a Y for A(B)

C. Negative Sanction Relationship Forms

29. Reciprocal Negative Relationship (Type 1)

A effects a Y for B
B effects a Y for A

30. Reciprocal Negative Relationship (Type 2)

A does not effect an X for B
B does not effect an X for A

31. Reciprocal Negative Relationship (Type 3)

A(B) effects a Y for B(A)
B(A) does not effect an X for A(B)

32. Non-Reciprocal Negative Relationship (Type 1)

A(B) effects a Y for B(A)
B(A) effects neither an X nor a Y for A(B)

33. Non-Reciprocal Negative Relationship (Type 2)

A(B) does not effect an X for B(A)
B(A) effects neither an X nor a Y for A(B)

FIGURE II

QUESTIONNAIRE

CORNELL UNIVERSITY SOCIAL RELATIONS STUDY

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

ITHACA, NEW YORK

- 503 -

6. Are both your parents still alive? If one or both your parents is (are) deceased, indicate date of death.

	<u>Still living</u>	<u>Died (month and year of death)</u>
Father	_____	_____
Mother	_____	_____

7. What is your father's main occupation? If your father is now deceased or retired, list his main occupation when he was working. BE AS SPECIFIC AS POSSIBLE.

Father's occupation and work _____

8. What is your mother's main occupation? If your mother is now deceased or retired, list her main occupation when she was working. BE AS SPECIFIC AS POSSIBLE.

Mother's occupation and work _____

9. What was the highest grade in school your father and mother completed?

	Father	Mother
No schooling		
6th grade or less		
7th or 8th grade		
Some high school		
High school graduate		
Some college		
College graduate or more		
Don't know		

10. On the whole, how happy would you say your childhood was?

- Extremely happy _____
- Happier than average _____
- Average _____
- Not too happy _____
- Other SPECIFY) _____

11. Everything considered, how happy would you say your parents' marriage was while you were growing up?

- Extremely happy _____
- Happier than average _____
- Average _____
- Not too happy _____
- Other (SPECIFY) _____

12. List your brothers and sisters, giving year of birth, years of schooling and occupation of each.

First name of brother or sister	Year	Highest grade in school	Occupation

13. When you were growing up, what were your father's and mother's religious preferences?

	Father	Mother
*Protestant		
Catholic		
Jewish		
No religious preference		
Other (SPECIFY)		

*If Protestant, write in the name of the denomination, if known.

14. How religious would you say your father was while you were growing up?
How religious would you say your mother was while you were growing up?

	Father	Mother
Very religious		
Somewhat religious		
Not too religious		
Not at all religious		
Don't know		

15. Think of the neighborhood in which you grew up. How many of your neighbors were Catholic?

Almost all of my neighbors were Catholic _____
 More than half my neighbors were Catholic _____
 Less than half my neighbors were Catholic _____
 Almost none of my neighbors were Catholic _____
 Don't know or don't remember _____

16. Here are some statements about the way in which families regard their religion. Check each of the following statements as being true or false about your family when you were growing up

	True	False
a. We were religious but not very devout.		
b. There was a close relative who was a priest, brother or nun.		
c. Priests visited the house.		
d. We were Catholics, but most of the family could not take some of the rules seriously.		
e. We always had masses said for dead relatives.		
f. Mother was an active member of parish organizations.		
g. Father was an active member of parish organizations.		
h. Someone in the family attended novena services regularly.		
i. Catholic magazines and newspapers came into the house regularly.		
j. Someone in the family did charitable work for the church (like visiting the sick at hospitals and helping the poor).		
k. One or both of my parents insisted that the children attend a Catholic school, if available.		

16. (Continued)

	True	False
i. Grace was said at meals most of the time.		
m. Holy pictures, crucifixes and other sacred objects were prominently displayed in the home.		
n. Some members of the family would regularly meet to pray or to read from the Bible together each week.		

17. What was your primary and secondary school background? Check the most appropriate box for each year of schooling.

Year of School Completed	Type of Schooling					
	Catholic School	Public School	Minor Seminary	Trade School	Correspondence School	Not Attended or Completed
Kinder-garten						
1st Grade						
2nd Grade						
3rd Grade						
4th Grade						
5th Grade						
6th Grade						
7th Grade						
8th Grade						
9th Grade						
10th Grade						
11th Grade						
12th Grade						

*If you went to a minor seminary, what order was it? Write in the name of the order:

18. Here are some experiences that people sometimes have when they were growing up. Check each of the following statements as being true or false for when you were growing up.

	True	False
a. I wanted to be a priest.		
b. I belonged to a parish club or played on a parish athletic team.		

18. (Continued)

	True	False
c. I dated a Catholic girl.		
d. I dated a non-Catholic girl.		
e. I went steady with a Catholic girl.		
f. I went steady with a non-Catholic girl.		
g. I was known by name by a parish priest.		
h. I had a religious experience in which I really felt close to God and to the saints.		
i. I wanted to be a lay brother.		
j. I seriously questioned the existence of God.		
k. I considered leaving the Church.		

19. Thinking about the friends you had when you were about 13 or 14, how many would you say were Catholic?

All my close friends were Catholic _____
 More than half my close friends were Catholic _____
 Less than half my close friends were Catholic _____
 None of my close friends were Catholic _____
 Don't know or don't remember _____

20. Thinking about the friends you had when you were 17 or so, how many of your friends were Catholic?

All my close friends were Catholic _____
 More than half my close friends were Catholic _____
 Less than half my close friends were Catholic _____
 None of my close friends were Catholic _____
 Don't know or don't remember _____

21. Everything considered, how happy would you say your high school and/or minor seminary life was when you were there?

	<u>High School</u>	<u>Minor Seminary</u>
Extremely happy	_____	_____
Happier than average	_____	_____
Average	_____	_____
Not too happy	_____	_____
Other (SPECIFY)	_____	_____

22. Here are some experiences that people sometimes have in high school. Check each of the following statements as being "True" or "False" for you when you were in high school or minor seminary.

	True	False
a. I enjoyed participation in school sports activities.		
b. I disliked academic subjects.		
c ₁ . My grades were excellent--much above average.		
c ₂ . My grades were good--above average.		
c ₃ . My grades were fair--average		
c ₄ . My grades were poor--below average.		
d. My parents expected too much of me in school work		
e. My parents did not care how well I did in school. Other things were more important.		
f. I was very active in school clubs, organizations and activities.		
g. Most of my teachers did not seem to care if we learned anything or not.		
h. My parents helped me with homework often.		
i. I felt that school training is of little help in meeting the problems of real life.		
j. My teachers encouraged me to think for myself.		
k. I felt that the more education a man had the better he is able to enjoy life.		
l. I felt that too much education was a dangerous thing.		
m. Teachers were not respected enough by the kids in school.		

23. If you quit school before graduating from high school or its equivalent, please indicate why you did so:

24. Did you go to college? Yes _____ No _____

[IF YOUR ANSWER TO #24 IS "YES," PLEASE ANSWER #25;
IF YOUR ANSWER TO #24 IS "NO," THEN SKIP TO QUESTION
#26.]

25. Since your answer to #24 was "yes," what was your college background?

College(s) Attended	Years Attended	Major Subjects	Degree(s) Earned

26. Were you ever in the armed forces of the United States?
Yes _____ No _____

[IF YOUR ANSWER TO #26 WAS "YES," PLEASE ANSWER #27-31,
INCLUSIVE. IF YOUR ANSWER TO #26 WAS "NO," SKIP TO
#32.]

27. In which branch of the armed forces did you serve?

_____ (Army, Navy, Air Force or Marines)

28. How many months were you in the service? _____

29. What jobs did you do? (Describe each briefly).

30. Did you serve in a combat zone? Yes _____ No _____

If yes, for how many months? _____

31. Why did you leave military service?

32. What was your occupational background? Do not consider military service or part-time work:

a. I have been employed on a full-time basis:

Yes _____ No _____

[IF YOUR ANSWER TO #32 IS "YES," PLEASE ANSWER #33;
IF YOUR ANSWER TO #32 IS "NO," THEN SKIP TO #34.]

33. List all jobs held, period of employment, and reason for leaving.

Kind of work done	No. of months employed	Reason for Leaving

34. Were you ever a postulant, novice or seminarian in another order?

Yes _____ No _____

[IF YOUR ANSWER TO #34 IS "YES," PLEASE ANSWER QUESTIONS #34 & #36; IF YOUR ANSWER IS "NO," THEN SKIP TO #37.]

35. What order was it and how long did you stay?

_____ (Name of Order)

_____ (# of Months in Order)

36. Please describe briefly the reason or reasons for your leaving.

B. OPINIONS — GENERAL

The following is part of a study of what the general public thinks and feels about a number of important social and personal questions. The best answer to each statement below is your personal opinion. We have tried to cover many different and opposing points of view; you may find yourself agreeing strongly with some of the statements, disagreeing just as strongly about others, and perhaps uncertain about others; whether you agree or disagree with any statement, you can be sure that many people feel the same as you do. Mark each statement according to how much you agree or disagree with it. Please mark every one.

	Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Slightly Agree	Neutral	Slightly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. The United States and Russia have just about nothing in common.							
2. The highest form of government is a democracy and the highest form of democracy is a government run by those who are most intelligent.							
3. Even though freedom of speech for all groups is a worthwhile goal, it is unfortunately necessary to restrict the freedom of certain political groups.							

	Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Slightly Agree	Neutral	Slightly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
4. It is only natural that a person would have a much better acquaintance with ideas he believes in than with ideas he opposes.							
5. Man on his own is a helpless and miserable creature.							
6. Fundamentally, the world we live in is a pretty lonesome place.							
7. Most people just don't give a damn for others.							
8. I'd like it if I could find someone who would tell me how to solve my personal problems.							
9. It is only natural for a person to be rather fearful of the future.							
10. There is so much to be done and so little time to do it.							
11. Once I get wound up in a heated discussion, I just can't stop.							
12. In a discussion, I often find it necessary to repeat myself several times to make sure I am being understood.							

	Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Slightly Agree	Neutral	Slightly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
13. In a heated discussion, I generally become so absorbed in what I am going to say that I forget to listen to what others are saying.							
14. It is better to be a dead hero than to be a live coward.							
15. While I don't like to admit this even to myself, my secret ambition is to be a great man like Einstein, or Beethoven, or Shakespeare.							
16. The main thing in life is for a person to want to do something important.							
17. If given the chance I would do something of great benefit to the world.							
18. In the history of mankind there have been just a handful of really great thinkers.							
19. There are a number of people I have come to hate because of the things they stand for.							
20. A man who does not believe in some great cause has not really lived.							

	Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Slightly Agree	Neutral	Slightly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
21. It is only when a person devotes himself to an ideal or cause that life becomes meaningful.							
22. Of all the different philosophies which exist in this world, there is probably only one which is correct.							
23. A person who gets enthusiastic about too many causes is likely to be a pretty wishy-washy sort of person.							
24. To compromise with our political opponents is dangerous because it usually leads to the betrayal of our own side.							
25. When it comes to differences of opinion in religion, we must be careful not to compromise with those who believe differently from the way we do.							
26. In times like these, a person must be pretty selfish if he considers primarily his own happiness.							
27. The worst crime a person could commit is to attack publicly the people who believe in the same thing he does.							

	Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Slightly Agree	Neutral	Slightly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
28. In times like these, it is often necessary to be more on guard against ideas put out by people or groups in one's own camp than by those in the opposing camp.							
29. A group which tolerates too much difference of opinion among its own members cannot exist for long.							
30. There are two kinds of people in this world: those who are for the truth and those who are against the truth.							
31. My blood boils whenever a person stubbornly refuses to admit he's wrong.							
32. Most of the ideas which get printed nowadays aren't worth the paper they are printed on.							
33. A person who thinks primarily of his own happiness is beneath contempt.							
34. In this complicated world of ours, the only way we can know what's going on is to rely on leaders or experts who can be trusted.							
35. It is often desirable to reserve judgement about what's going on until one has had a chance to hear the opinions of those one respects.							

	Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Slightly Agree	Neutral	Slightly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
36. In the long run the best way to live is to pick friends and associates whose tastes and beliefs are the same as one's own.							
37. The present is all too often full of unhappiness. It is only the future that counts.							
38. If a man is to accomplish his mission in life, it is sometimes necessary to gamble "all or nothing at all."							
39. Unfortunately, a good many people with whom I have discussed important social and moral problems don't really understand what's going on.							
40. Most people just don't know what's good for them.							
41. Never tell anyone the real reason you did something unless it is useful to do so.							
42. The best way to handle people is to tell them what they want to hear.							
43. One should take action only when sure it is morally right.							
44. Honesty is the best policy in all cases.							

	Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Slightly Agree	Neutral	Slightly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
45. It is safest to assume that all people have a vicious streak and it will come out when they are given a chance.							
46. Most people are basically good and kind.							
47. There is no excuse for lying to someone else.							
48. Generally speaking, men won't work hard unless they're forced to do so.							
49. All in all, it is better to be humble and honest than to be important and dishonest.							
50. When you ask someone to do something for you, it is best to give the real reasons for wanting it rather than giving reasons which carry more weight.							
51. Most people who get ahead in the world lead clean, moral lives.							
52. Anyone who completely trusts anyone else is asking for trouble.							

	Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Slightly Agree	Neutral	Slightly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
53. The biggest difference between most criminals and other people is that the criminals are stupid enough to get caught.							
54. Most men are brave.							
55. It is wise to flatter important people.							
56. It is possible to be good in all respects.							
57. Barnum was wrong when he said that there's a sucker born every minute.							
58. It is hard to get ahead without cutting corners here and there.							
59. People suffering from incurable diseases should have the choice of being put painlessly to death.							
60. Most men forget more easily the death of their father than the loss of their property.							
61. I often have the feeling that I cannot do anything right.							
62. It is easy to get one's own way in most situations.							
63. It is easy to lose confidence in oneself.							

	Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Slightly Agree	Neutral	Slightly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
64. Other people seem to get along with others better than I.							
65. I feel I'm as good a judge of most things as the next person.							

66. Of all the problems which the world faces today, which three do you think are the most important? Please write in those problems below:

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

C. NOVICE QUESTIONNAIRE

The following questions relate to your attitudes and feelings about novices with whom you have lived at St. Anthony's. As you know, people sometimes change their minds about others as time passes, so you will be asked to recall your own experiences at different periods of time. This portion of the questionnaire is very important to the study and, like other parts of the questionnaire, is completely confidential. Please answer each question as accurately as you can.

1. Before the entry of the new class in August, the following brothers, listed in alphabetical order, were at the Novitiate:

(Listing of names of brothers)

THINK BACK TO AUGUST, JUST BEFORE THE GRADUATION OF THE CLERIC NOVICES AND BEFORE THE ENTRY OF THE NEW CLASS. LOOK AT EACH OF THE NAMES ABOVE AND TRY TO RECALL WHAT WAS HAPPENING AND HOW YOU FELT THEN. NOW, PLEASE ANSWER QUESTIONS a-h AS YOU FELT AT THAT TIME. (IF YOU ARRIVED IN AUGUST, SKIP TO QUESTION #2.)

- a. List those three brothers whom you personally liked the most:

Liked the most _____

Liked 2nd most _____

Liked 3rd most _____

- b. List those three brothers whom you personally liked the least:

Liked the least _____

Liked 2nd least _____

Liked 3rd least _____

- c. List those three brothers whom you most esteemed:

Esteemed most _____

Esteemed 2nd _____

Esteemed 3rd _____

- d. List those three brothers whom you esteemed least:

Esteemed least _____

Esteemed 2nd least _____

Esteemed 3rd least _____

- e. List those three brothers who had the most influence upon you:

Most influence _____

2nd Most influence _____

3rd Most influence _____

- g. List those three brothers whom you went out of your way to support, praise and/or help because their behavior was consistent with your view of the Spirit of (The Order of Mystical Union).

1st _____

2nd _____

3rd _____

- h. List those three brothers whom you went out of your way to correct, encourage and/or help because their behavior was not consistent with your view of the Spirit of (The Order of Mystical Union)

1st _____

2nd _____

3rd _____

2. With the entry of the new class and the graduation of the cleric novices, the following brothers, listed in alphabetical order, were at the Novitiate:

(Listing of names of brothers)

THINK BACK TO THE FIRST WEEK OR SO AFTER THE NEW CLASS ARRIVED. IT WAS THE PERIOD OF THE RETREAT. LOOK AT EACH OF THE NAMES ABOVE AND TRY TO RECALL WHAT WAS HAPPENING AND HOW YOU FELT THEN. NOW, PLEASE ANSWER QUESTIONS a-h AS YOU FELT AT THAT TIME.

- a. List those three brothers whom you personally liked the most:

Liked the most _____

Liked 2nd most _____

Liked 3rd most _____

b. List those three brothers whom you personally liked the least:

Liked the least _____

Liked 2nd least _____

Liked 3rd least _____

c. List those three brothers whom you most esteemed:

Esteemed most _____

Esteemed 2nd _____

Esteemed 3rd _____

d. List those three brothers whom you esteemed least:

Esteemed least _____

Esteemed 2nd least _____

Esteemed 3rd least _____

e. List those three brothers who had the most influence upon you:

Most influence _____

2nd Most influence _____

3rd Most influence _____

f. List those three brothers who had the least influence upon you:

Least influence _____

2nd Least influence _____

3rd Least influence _____

g. List those three brothers whom you went out of your way to support, praise and/or help because their behavior was consistent with your view of the Spirit of (the Order of Mystical Union)

1st _____

2nd _____

3rd _____

- h. List those three brothers whom you went out of your way to correct, encourage and/or help because their behavior was not consistent with your view of the Spirit of (the Order of Mystical Union)

1st _____

2nd _____

3rd _____

3. During the last week in October, the following brothers, listed in alphabetical order, were at the Novitiate:

(Listing of names of brothers)

THINK BACK TO THE LAST WEEK IN OCTOBER. IT WAS THE PERIOD OF THE FIRST DIALOGUE MEETING OF THE NOVICES AND POSTULANTS. THIS MEETING WAS HELD JUST BEFORE FATHER MASTER WENT AWAY TO GIVE A RETREAT. LOOK AT EACH OF THE NAMES ABOVE, AND TRY TO RECALL WHAT WAS HAPPENING AND HOW YOU FELT THEN. NOW, PLEASE ANSWER QUESTIONS a-h AS YOU FELT AT THAT TIME.

- a. List those three brothers whom you personally liked the most:

Liked the most _____

Liked 2nd most _____

Liked 3rd most _____

- b. List those three brothers whom you personally liked the least:

Liked the least _____

Liked 2nd least _____

Liked 3rd least _____

- c. List those three brothers whom you most esteemed:

Esteemed most _____

Esteemed 2nd _____

Esteemed 3rd _____

- d. List those three brothers whom you esteemed least:

Esteemed least _____

Esteemed 2nd least _____

Esteemed 3rd least _____

- e. List those three brothers who had the most influence upon you:

Most influence _____

2nd Most influence _____

3rd Most influence _____

- f. List those three brothers who had the least influence upon you:

Least influence _____

2nd Least influence _____

3rd Least influence _____

- g. List those three brothers whom you went out of your way to support, praise and/or help because their behavior was consistent with your view of the Spirit of (the Order of Mystical Union)

1st _____

2nd _____

3rd _____

- h. List those three brothers whom you went out of your way to correct, encourage and/or help because their behavior was not consistent with your view of the Spirit of (the Order of Mystical Union)

1st _____

2nd _____

3rd _____

4. In mid-November the following brothers, listed in alphabetical order, were at the Novitiate:

(Listing of names of brothers)

THINK BACK TO THE WEEK BEFORE BROTHERS BASIL, ELIAS, GREGORY, AND SIMPLICIUS DEPARTED FROM THE NOVITIATE. IT WAS IN MID-NOVEMBER. LOOK AT EACH OF THE NAMES ABOVE AND TRY TO RECALL WHAT WAS HAPPENING AND HOW YOU FELT THEN. NOW, PLEASE ANSWER QUESTIONS a-h AS YOU FELT AT THAT TIME.

- a. List those three brothers whom you personally liked the most:

Liked the most _____

Liked 2nd most _____

Liked 3rd most _____

b. List those three brothers whom you personally liked the least:

Liked the least _____

Liked 2nd least _____

Liked 3rd least _____

c. List those three brothers whom you most esteemed:

Esteemed most _____

Esteemed 2nd _____

Esteemed 3rd _____

d. List those three brothers whom you esteemed least:

Esteemed least _____

Esteemed 2nd least _____

Esteemed 3rd least _____

e. List those three brothers who had the most influence upon you:

Most influence _____

2nd Most influence _____

3rd Most influence _____

f. List those three brothers who had the least influence upon you:

Least influence _____

2nd Least influence _____

3rd Least influence _____

g. List those three brothers whom you went out of your way to support, praise and/or help because their behavior was consistent with your view of the Spirit of (the Order of Mystical Union)

1st _____

2nd _____

3rd _____

h. List those three brothers whom you went out of your way to correct, encourage and/or help because their behavior was not consistent with your view of the Spirit of (the Order of Mystical Union)

1st _____

2nd _____

3rd _____

5. Today, the following brothers, listed in alphabetical order, are at the Novitiate

(Listing of names of brothers)

NOW, PLEASE ANSWER QUESTIONS a-h AS YOU NOW FEEL.

a. List those three brothers whom you personally like the most:

Like the most _____

Like 2nd most _____

Like 3rd most _____

b. List those three brothers whom you personally like the least:

Like the least _____

Like 2nd least _____

Like 3rd least _____

c. List those three brothers whom you most esteem:

Esteem most _____

Esteem 2nd _____

Esteem 3rd _____

d. List those three brothers whom you esteem least:

Esteem least _____

Esteem 2nd least _____

Esteem 3rd least _____

e. List those three brothers who have the most influence upon you:

Most influence _____

2nd Most influence _____

3rd Most influence _____

f. List those three brothers who have the least influence upon you:

Least influence _____

2nd Least influence _____

3rd Least influence _____

g. List those three brothers whom you go out of your way to support, praise and/or help because their behavior is consistent with your view of the Spirit of (the Order of Mystical Union)

1st _____

2nd _____

3rd _____

h. List those three brothers whom you go out of your way to correct, encourage and/or help because their behavior is not consistent with your view of the Spirit of (the Order of Mystical Union)

1st _____

2nd _____

3rd _____

D. OPINIONS — RELIGIOUS

The following is part of a study of what members and former members of (St. Anthony's) think and feel about a number of important questions on some matters relating to religion. The answer to each statement below should be your own personal opinion. We have tried to cover many different and opposing points of view; you may find yourself agreeing strongly with some of the statements, disagreeing just as strongly about others, and perhaps uncertain about others; whether you agree or disagree with any statement, you can be sure that some religious feel the same way you do.

First, mark each statement with an (x) indicating how much you agree or disagree with it at the present time.

Second, if you have changed your opinion on the statement in the last three years or so, please also mark each statement with a check (✓) mark, indicating how much you agreed or disagreed with the statement before you changed your mind.

EXAMPLE:

- d. Novices should be allowed to smoke if they wish to.

	Strongly Agree
✓	Moderately Agree
	Slightly Agree
	Neutral
	Slightly Disagree
x	Moderately Disagree
	Strongly Disagree

Now, let us say the person who is answering this question feels today that the rule against smoking is a basically good rule, so he might place an (x) in the column titled "Moderately Disagree."

If this has been his opinion for some time, he would go on to the next statement. However, in the past he may have held to the opinion that such a rule was unnecessary, so he would also place a check (✓) mark, let us say, in the column titled "Moderately Agree." This would indicate that he had changed his attitude in this matter.

1. All activities involving the (members of the Order of Mystical Union) with the secular world and its goals should be avoided.
2. The federal government should help financially support parochial schools.
3. Some ideas are simply not worthy of being heard.

	Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Slightly Agree	Neutral	Slightly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1.							
2.							
3.							

	Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Slightly Agree	Neutral	Slightly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
4. If the Catholic Church does not rapidly implement the message of Vatican II, the Church will be better off.							
5. There is never any moral justification for taking the life of another human being.							
6. Sexual desire was given to man by God for the exclusive purpose of procreation (having children).							
7. There is only one true Bible-- the Roman Catholic Bible.							
8. Statues, rosaries, crucifixes and other holy symbols are such an essential part of what religion means to most Catholics that they should not be taken away.							
9. The earth which God created especially for man is in the center of the universe.							
10. Without religion, men would live like animals with no moral standards.							
11. (This item referred to a mystical encounter in which a member of the Order was alleged to have been given a special message from a supernatural agent.)							

	Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Slightly Agree	Neutral	Slightly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
12. The Pope's recent message to the Jesuits on obedience was entirely consistent with the spirit of Vatican II.							
13. No one should have the right to tell others what books they can read or movies they can see.							
14. It is possible that there may be no God.							
15. Some social action programs should be advocated, but should play a relatively minor role in the life of the (Order of Mystical Union)							
16. What a person does is more important than what he believes.							
17. It is very dangerous to allow Communists to speak in our Catholic universities.							
18. Fasting is a relic of the Middle Ages and is not essential to a Christian life.							
19. A man who commits murder should be executed for his crime.							
20. Freedom of religion does not mean freedom from religion, therefore, atheistic Americans should be silenced.							

	Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Slightly Agree	Neutral	Slightly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
21. Sex education of children is the sacred responsibility of the parents, and therefore should not be part of the public school curriculum.							
22. The physical body that humans have is the result of a long evolutionary process from prior forms of animal life.							
23. The religious habit of our Order must be discarded if we are to be effective apostles in the United States today.							
24. The use of contraceptive birth control devices or pills to limit the size of the family is morally and unequivocally wrong.							
25. Everything that happens is God's will.							
26. Catholics should always remember that Christ was crucified by the Jews.							
27. I believe if one prays to the Virgin Mary, she has the power to answer those prayers.							
28. The way things are changing these days, it's difficult to know what is the right thing to do.							

	Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Slightly Agree	Neutral	Slightly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
29. There is only one true church-- the Roman Catholic Church.							
30. American Catholics have a moral responsibility to support state laws which ban the sale of contraceptive devices, pills or other artificial means of birth control.							
31. The "rule of silence" is really of minor importance and should not be strictly enforced in (the Order of Mystical Union).							
32. Priests should stay out of political, economic and social matters; they should confine their preaching to doctrines of the Church, sacred scripture and other religious topics.							
33. Pope Paul was misinformed or wrong when he recently required the religious clerics to retain the Latin Office when in choir.							
34. Sexual desires are evil and should be suppressed.							
35. Only those activities involving (members of the Order of Mystical Union) with the secular world which are absolutely necessary for the perpetuation of the community should be approved.							

	Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Slightly Agree	Neutral	Slightly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
36. The superiors of (St. Anthony's) have not been strict enough with Novices.							
37. At one time the entire earth was covered by a flood from which only those on Noah's ark were saved.							
38. The religious habit of the Order of Mystical Union is sacred and should never be changed.							
39. Salvation is impossible without prayer.							
40. If holy symbols are considered essential by some Catholics, then the Church has failed to teach them the true meaning of Christianity.							
41. Censorship of books by withholding the <u>Imprimatur</u> is a good practise and should be maintained.							
42. Many social action programs should be advocated and they should play a major role in the life of the (members of the Order of Mystical Union)							
43. It's all right for engaged couples, in good conscience, to have sexual intercourse.							

	Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Slightly Agree	Neutral	Slightly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
44. Priests don't need a union or an association in order to protect their rights in the Church.							
45. God is male.							
46. I think a T.V. set should be in the Novitiate.							
47. If the religious habit of (our Order) was good enough for the Saints of (the Order), it should be good enough for us.							
48. Loving our enemies is a good idea, but people are not capable of it.							
49. Physical penance ("discipline") should be preserved as a basic part of monastic life.							
50. Catholic children should visit other churches and be told about the beliefs of non-Catholic religions.							
51. If the Catholic Church does not rapidly implement the message of Vatican II, the Church cannot hope to survive in the modern world.							

	Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Slightly Agree	Neutral	Slightly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
52. When a prominent Catholic saint wrote, "In order to arrive at knowing everything, desire to know nothing," he meant that the religious should not strive to gain knowledge.							
53. Christians who turn from Christ are doomed.							
54. It is all right to kill in self-defense.							
55. Life would be so much better if people would only be satisfied with what they have.							
56. The habit of the Order of Mystical Union is just a uniform which should be changed or discarded, if the needs of the ministry require it.							
57. All the Christian churches which have different versions of the Bible should get together and agree upon one.							
58. Women should be allowed to become priests just as men.							
59. The sacraments are absolutely essential to the salvation of the soul.							

	Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Slightly Agree	Neutral	Slightly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
60. The Novitiate has been very lax in observing the true "Spirit of (the Order of Mystical Union)							
61. A man can do no greater good than to follow his own conscience even if it means that he must disobey his superiors.							
62. With children starving, men killing one another in war, men deprived of education and their political rights, the (members of the Order of Mystical Union) must do more than pray and preach.							
63. The people who administer Church Law should be different from those who judge grievances.							
64. Most of the liturgy practised for so long in the Church has little real meaning for me.							
65. Priests who disobey their religious superiors should be punished severely.							
66. Baptism should not be given until a person is old enough to understand fully what is happening, at least six or so.							
67. I believe the Church has stood still too long and must change or eventually cease to exist.							

	Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Slightly Agree	Neutral	Slightly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
68. Priests should be allowed to marry, if they want to.	68.						
69. There should be no difference between lay brothers and priests in the matter of voting and holding office in the Order.	69.						
70. It is more difficult to live a holy life as a layman than as a religious.	70.						
71. Everything in the Novitiate should be done according to the will and direction of the superior.	71.						
72. The world is an enemy of Union with God.	72.						
73. If the Catholic Church does not rapidly implement the message of Vatican II, the Church will find it difficult to hold its own in the modern world.	73.						
74. Salvation is a gift of God and man is powerless to do anything which will assure his own salvation.	74.						
75. While curing the sick, helping the poor, educating the ignorant and working for human equality are worthwhile goals, they are meaningless unless done for the salvation of souls.	75.						

		Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Slightly Agree	Neutral	Slightly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
76. Catholic theologians who reject the Virgin Birth, the Resurrection, the existence of hell or similar dogmas should be silenced or excommunicated.	76.							
77. There is no such thing as a "just war."	77.							
78. Man is basically weak and needs strong discipline to live a good Christian life.	78.							
79. Attempts to understand man by scientific methods are doomed, for man's conduct is known by God alone.	79.							
80. The vow of poverty should not be taken literally.	80.							
81. Non-Catholics should not be allowed to teach in Catholic colleges and high schools.	81.							
82. Men have one less rib than women have because God took a rib from Adam to create Eve.	82.							
83. Parents are too soft today with their children.	83.							
84. I don't really understand how there can be "one God in Three Divine Persons."	84.							

	Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Slightly Agree	Neutral	Slightly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
85. The (idea of living an eremitical life) mentioned in the (sacred writings on monasticism) has no real meaning today.							
86. Only those activities involving the Order of Mystical Union with the secular world which are required in the salvation of souls should be approved (examples: the administration of the sacraments, religious counseling, religious education, religious missionary work and the like).							
87. Man's intellect gets him in more trouble than his basic passions.							
88. The dialogue between Catholics and other Christians is only a temporary thing for there can be no compromise with heretical belief.							
89. I believe the "Liberals" or "Progressives" in the Church are asking the Church to change too fast.							
90. A Catholic who openly questions the basic doctrines of the Church should be encouraged to follow his conscience.							
91. Most people outside the "religious life" are not very religious.							

	Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Slightly Agree	Neutral	Slightly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
92. If the Catholic Church does, or does not rapidly implement the message of Vatican II, it won't make much difference one way or the other.							
93. The work of the (Order of Mystical Union's) religious communities should be overwhelmingly oriented to social action programs.							
94. The only real sin is alienation from God and one's fellow man.							
95. The vow of obedience means that one must accept willingly the commands of his superiors no matter what his wishes and beliefs in the matter are.							
96. Too much reading is dangerous to the faith.							
97. I think that most of the so-called "new ideas" on religion are harmful to the faith of Catholics.							
98. The superior should be given special respect by such gestures as rising when he enters the room.							
99. Confirmation should be postponed until the age of about 17.							

100. Protestants should not be permitted to receive communion at Catholic masses.

	Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Slightly Agree	Neutral	Slightly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
100.							

PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS AS INDICATED:

101. If I were superior of a Novitiate, I would not invite the following to speak to the novices:
[MARK AN "x" NEXT TO THOSE WHOM YOU WOULD NOT INVITE]

- ___ Agnostics
- ___ Atheists
- ___ Baptists

- ___ Black Muslims
- ___ Buddhists
- ___ Catholic laymen
- ___ Communists
- ___ Episcopalians
- ___ Females
- ___ Hindus
- ___ L.S.D. Cultists
- ___ Jehovah's Witnesses
- ___ Jews

- ___ Modern Artists
- ___ Mohammedans
- ___ Mormons
- ___ Orthodox Greeks
- ___ Sociologists

102. Of the problems which face the Catholic Church today, which three do you think are the most important?

- a. _____
- b. _____
- c. _____

103. Name the three living religious men for whom you have the most respect as religious men:

- a. _____
- b. _____
- c. _____

104. Of the problems which face the Order today, which three do you think are the most important?

- a. _____
- b. _____
- c. _____

105. If you had the power to change anything in the Roman Catholic Church today, what are the first three things you would do?

- a. _____
- b. _____
- c. _____

106. If it were in your power to change anything in the Order today, what are the first three things you would do?

a.

b.

c.

107. What things do you feel are most necessary in achieving a "community spirit" in the monasteries of the (Order of Mystical Union)?

108. What specific things do you feel the superior should do or not do in order to achieve this "community spirit"?

109. What specific things do you feel the individual member of the community should or should not do in order to achieve this "community spirit"?

110. What traits or characteristics do you feel are most important for a (member of the Order) to have or develop?

111. Below is a list of twenty changes which have occurred in the Novitiate. All things considered, do you think these changes are very good, good, unimportant, bad or very bad for achieving the "true spirit of (the Order of Mystical Union)" in members of the community? Mark an "x" in the most appropriate box next to each statement.

- a. Allowing non-professed volunteers to work as orderlies in local hospitals.
- b. Inviting outside non-Catholic speakers to address novices on religious matters.

	Very Bad	Bad	Unimportant	Good	Very Good
a.					
b.					

	Very Bad	Bad	Unimportant	Good	Very Good
c. Stopping the practise of mortifications in the refectory.					
d. Allowing professed and non-professed to take breakfast together.					
e. Stopping the practise of community physical penance of discipline.					
f. Allowing the non-professed to meet together, without supervision, to discuss matters relating to community life.					
g. Returning to the practise of having priests and cleric novices recite the Divine Office in Latin apart from the lay brothers.					
h. Allowing some lay brother postulants and novices to attend evening adult education courses outside the monastery.					
i. Allowing the use of a guitar and new English hymns during Mass.					
j. Abandoning the practise of having cleric novices take precedence over professed brothers in formal community activities.					
k. De-emphasizing the place of devotionals to Mary in the life.					
l. Removing statues from a place of prominence in the chapel.					
m. Allowing professed and non-professed brothers to substitute the Divine Office in English for the "Our Fathers."					

- n. Granting novices greater freedom to find their own spiritual direction by reducing the amount of direct supervision.
- o. Permitting professed brothers to hold more demanding and responsible offices in the order such as procurator.
- p. Abandoning the practise of putting up cowls during the fast at meals.
- q. Eliminating many of the formal gestures of bowing, kissing of the scapular, prostration, etc. in rituals.
- r. Stopping the practise of the chapter of faults.
- s. Changing the time of Matins from 1 A.M. to 8:40 P.M.

	Very Bad	Bad	Unimportant	Good	Very Good
n.					
o.					
p.					
q.					
r.					
s.					

112. What specific changes would you like to see occur in the Novitiate that you feel would be of most benefit to the life? (List below whatever suggestions you may have.)

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