

*Bishop McQuaid
And Archbishop Ireland:
School Controversy
Or Otherwise?*

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I. Introduction

Today, many Catholic parochial schools are facing declining enrollment and lack of funding. This naturally leads to the question, ‘Do we really need parochial schools?’ This is not a new question. In fact, the necessity of parochial schools was a central issue facing the Catholic Church in America during the Nineteenth Century. It seemingly strikes at the core of the Catholic School Controversy that erupted in the 1890’s.

Two of the leading bishops in the controversy representing opposing sides were Bishop Bernard J. McQuaid of Rochester and Archbishop John Ireland of St. Paul. McQuaid enjoyed the support of Archbishop Michael Corrigan of New York while Ireland had the support of Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore. Beginning in the 1870’s McQuaid was a regular lecturer on the need for Catholic Schools. Ireland was a bishop of a ‘frontier’ diocese and an avid supporter of Americanization. He sought to help Catholic immigrants become good American citizens and thus saw the ideal as Catholics attending public schools. For Ireland, parochial schools were only necessary because the public schools failed in their responsibilities.

A controversy is never simple. This paper will examine the controversy between Archbishop Ireland and Bishop McQuaid. It will present the background on each bishop and the circumstances that helped shape their position on the need for Catholic Schools. In order to do this, we must first understand the setting of the Catholic Church in America leading up to the eruption of the controversy in the 1890’s.

II. The Beginnings of the Catholic Church in America

In 1790, when the Catholic Church in America was one diocese (Baltimore), only one out of every 110 Americans was Catholic.¹ Most of the early immigrants were Protestant who came

¹ Norlene M. Kunkel, *Bishop Bernard J. McQuaid and Catholic Education: The Heritage of American Catholicism*, Vol. 19, Ed. Timothy Walch. New York: Garland Publishing. 1988, 2.

to America for religious freedom. By 1808, the number of Catholics in America had increased enough to divide the country into five dioceses, adding New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Bardstown.² As the 19th century progressed, many of the new immigrants were Catholic, greatly increasing the percentage of Catholics. At the end of the 19th Century there were fourteen archdioceses, sixty-nine dioceses, and three apostolic territories in the United States of America.³

The increasing number of Catholics strengthened the position of the Catholic Church. As Kunkel writes the Catholic Church started the 19th century “socially oppressed, politically rejected, religiously scorned” and barely tolerated.⁴ Protestants saw the Catholic Church as a threat to American values. They believed that Catholics held their allegiance to the pope rather than the state, known as “popery.”⁵ Yet, with the growing Catholic population, Kunkel says the Catholic Church made a triumphant entry into the 20th Century.⁶

This hatred led to the heavy persecution of Catholics. There were attacks against Catholic institutions such as the 1834 burning of an Ursuline Convent.⁷ By the 1830’s, sixty percent of immigrants were Catholic.⁸ Many of the immigrants formed ethnic parishes. Living in ethnic communities they held onto the culture of their native lands. This added to the idea that they were not interested in becoming Americans. This hatred of the Catholic immigrants gave rise to nationalism.⁹ An 1833 letter by Archbishop Whitfield of Baltimore, speaking disfavorably of the Irish, serves as evidence of nationalism even within the Church.¹⁰

² Ibid., 3.

³ Ibid., 3.

⁴ Ibid., 1.

⁵ Ibid., 6-7.

⁶ Ibid., 1.

⁷ Ibid., 8.

⁸ Ibid., 11.

⁹ Ibid., 12.

¹⁰ James H. Moynihan, *The Life of Archbishop John Ireland*, New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers. 1953, 5.

Public education was new in the 19th century. Education had been the responsibility of parents. For Catholics, the state had no role to play in education.¹¹ As the public schools began to form, religion was part of the instruction. Kunkel writes, “Nineteenth Century America was a religion-conscious nation. Essentially Protestant and “Catholo-phobic.””¹² The schools were Protestant for no other reason than most of the people were Protestant.

Being the majority, the Protestants did not see a problem. The Catholics, however, did. They felt that the public schools were teaching beliefs contrary to Catholicism and that the schools actually taught *against* Catholicism. The Second Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1833 included only a short section of Catholic education of children but it was enough to see it as an issue of prime importance. It *encouraged* parents to send their children to Catholic schools.¹³

In 1838, the state of Pennsylvania mandated the reading of the Bible in public schools.¹⁴ The King James was the official version. Bishop Kenrick received permission for Catholic children to use a Catholic Bible. This results in more protests against Catholics.¹⁵

III. The 1840 Controversy

In 1840, the controversy of education entered a new era with the question of public funding for Catholic schools in New York City. The NYC public school society wanted to keep the Protestant Bible and teaching in public schools. Included in the teaching was material against “popery.” The Catholics found this objectionable and formed Catholic Schools.¹⁶

¹¹ Philip Gleason, “Baltimore III and Education,” (Includes responses by bishops, William D. Borders, Daniel E. Pilarczyk, William E. McManus) *U.S. Catholic Historian* 4 no. 3 & 4 (1985): 273-313, 295.

¹² Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, iii.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 29.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 19.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹⁶ Peter G. Mode, *Source Book and Bibliographical Guide for American Church History*, Menasha, WI: George Banta Publishing Company. 1921, 462-3. Lockwood, Robert P., “The Urban Legend of Catholic Schools,” *This Rock Magazine* accessed on Catholic.com (May-June 2006, Catholic.com website, accessed January 14, 2007). Available online at <http://www.catholic.com/thisrock/2006/0605tbt.asp>.

New York Governor Seward called for children to be educated by people of their own faith and language. This led to the Catholic schools in New York City to formerly petition for public funding of parochial schools.¹⁷ Public funds raised by taxation of the people, including Catholics, was used to fund the public schools. Catholics argued that given that they paid their school taxes and then had to pay for tuition at the Catholic schools they were essentially facing double taxation.¹⁸

The Methodists in New York City wrote a response to the Catholic petition. They said as Catholics find the Protestant Bible objectionable, the Protestants find the Catholic Bible objectionable. They said the Catholics were given the opportunity to censor classroom material but that the Catholics called for the removal of material that is historically documented.¹⁹

The New York City Public School Board admitted school age children needed religion and moral influence. Their approach was to take a “minimalist” approach and teach only the beliefs they considered common to all religions. They maintained use of the Protestant Bible.²⁰ In the end, no public funding was granted for the Catholic schools. This resistance led to Catholics like Archbishop Hughes of New York to see Catholic schools as more important than the building of Churches to ensure the safeguarding of the Catholic faith.²¹ As Steinfels writes, “From the middle of the nineteenth century to the middle of the twentieth century Catholic leaders believed that the key to passing on the faith was a system of Catholic School.”²²

IV. From 1840 to Baltimore 3

¹⁷ Mode, *Source Book*, 464. Lockwood, “The Urban Legend.”

¹⁸ Gleason, “Baltimore III and Education,” 285.

¹⁹ Mode, *Source Book*, 465.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 462.

²¹ Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 19.

²² Peter Steinfels, *A People Adrift*, New York: Simon & Schuster. 2003.211.

In the time period from 1860 to 1890 the number of Catholics in America tripled, further strengthening the resolve and voice of the Church.²³ As the nineteenth century progressed, the strength of the language calling for parochial schools increased. From 1829 to 1884, the United States Bishops held seven provincial councils and three plenary sessions.²⁴ There were thirteen national pastoral letters written from 1792 to 1919. Only two of them did not include a section on Christian Education.²⁵ The Fifth Provincial Council in 1843 actually attacked public schools. Only the sixth and seventh provincial councils did not contain a section on schools.²⁶

The First Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1852 stated that bishops *should* see that every parish have a school and the teachers are to be paid by the parish.²⁷ As time progressed the public schools were becoming more secular. However, the First Plenary Council maintained that one cannot separate religion from secular education.²⁸

Outside the Church, the hatred of Catholics continued resulting in the 1850's in the formation of the "Know-nothing" party. The party platform called for resistance to the aggressive policies and corrupting influence of the Catholic Church. They called for all children to be educated by the state regardless of background and the keep the Protestant Bible and Christianity in the public schools.²⁹

²³ Morris, Charles R., *American Catholic: The Saints and Sinners Who Built America's Most Powerful Church*, New York: Vintage Books. 1997, 84.

²⁴ Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 24.

²⁵ *The National Pastorals of the American Hierarchy (1792-1919)*, Ed. Peter Guilday, Washington, DC: National Catholic Welfare Council. 1923.

²⁶ Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 20.

²⁷ William H. W. Fanning, "Plenary Councils of Baltimore," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. II, New York: Robert Appleton Company. 1907. Transcribed by Dr. Michael J. Breen for New Advent (New Advent website, accessed January 6, 2007). Available at <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/02235a.htm>. "Plenary Councils of Baltimore," Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia (Wikipedia.org website, accessed January 6, 2007). Available online at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Plenary_Councils_of_Baltimore. "Plenary Councils of Baltimore," Answers.com (Answers.com website, accessed January 6, 2007). Available online at <http://www.answers.com/topic/plenary-councils-of-baltimore>.

²⁸ Steinfels, *A People Adrift*, 211.

²⁹ Mode, *Source Book*, 468.

The Second Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1866 continued to call for Catholic parochial schools, arguing that one religion is not as good as another. To ensure the religious education of the children, they called for, but still did not mandate, for a school in every parish. They called for religious brothers and sisters to be teachers in the parochial schools. Realizing that not every child had the availability of Catholic schools, they called for catechism classes for those attending public schools.³⁰

In the 1840's the problem in public schools was the strong Protestant orientation. By the 1870's the problem was secularism.³¹ Since there was no religion in the public schools then, those opposed to the Catholic schools could understand even less the objections of the Catholics. In 1870, the New York State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Weaver said *public* education is for the common good. Therefore, public tax money should not be used for any other schools.³² In 1875, public support was strong enough for President Grant to (unsuccessfully) call for a constitutional amendment mandating public schools and denying public funding for Catholic schools.³³

Among the American bishops there was varying degrees of support for Catholic Schools. McMaster tried to get a formal condemnation of public schools in America.³⁴ In response to the request of several American Bishops, Rome produced its 1875 Instruction on public schools in

³⁰ Fanning, "Plenary Council of Baltimore." (wikipedia.org) "Plenary Councils of Baltimore." (answers.com) "Plenary Councils of Baltimore.

³¹ Gleason, "Baltimore III and Education," 289-90. Zwierlein puts the date of public schools becoming completely secular as 1875. Frederick J. Zwierlein, *The Life and Letters of Bishop McQuaid: Preface With the History of Catholic Rochester Before His Episcopate, Vol. II*, Rochester: The Art Print Shop. 1926, 142.

³² Gerald A. Postiglione, "The Opponents of Public Education: New York State, 1870-1880," *The Journal of Libertarian Studies* 6 no. 3-4 (Summer/Fall 1982): 359-376, 362-3.

³³ Lockwood, "The Urban Legend."

³⁴ Gleason, "Baltimore III and Education," 292.

America.³⁵ Among its objections to public schools were that no faith was taught and there was no control over the teaching of errors.³⁶ It concluded that Catholics cannot use American public schools in good conscience without assurance that the possibility of error is remote.³⁷ Therefore, the bishops were to promote Catholic schools and keep the children out of public schools.³⁸ Rome acknowledged that there may be circumstances making Catholic schools in some circumstances impossible. This was left to the judgment of the local bishop who was to ensure the religious education of the children.³⁹

IV. Baltimore 3

In his presentation on the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, Gleason presents the Protestant viewpoint at that time as follows. First, it was possible to teach adequate Christian morality without crossing denomination lines. They held that public education was based on sound non-sectarian Christianity. Common School Education rested on the bedrock of American national ideas. Therefore, there was no need to have parochial schools receive public funding.⁴⁰

Gleason says the Catholics maintained that good education required morals and thus religion. They believed that the minimalist approach of the public schools was inadequate. If the state is to support one religion it has to support them all.⁴¹

The Third Plenary Council of Baltimore was held in 1884. While one of the best-known results of this council was the Baltimore Catechism, there were two other major actions on Christian education. It established a commission to open a Catholic University in America and it

³⁵ Congregation of Propaganda, "Instruction of the Congregation of Propaganda de Fide Concerning Catholic Children Attending Public Schools, November 24, 1875" in *Documents of American Catholic History*, Ed. John Tracy Ellis, Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company. 1956, 417.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, paragraphs 1-2, in *Document*, 417-8.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, paragraph 3, in *Document*, 418.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, paragraph 4, in *Document*, 418.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, paragraph 6-7, in *Document*, 419.

⁴⁰ Gleason, "Baltimore III and Education," 285-7.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 284.

changed the language of parochial schools from *should* have to *mandating* them. Every parish was to have a school within two years. Parents were mandated to send their children to Catholic schools unless the local bishop saw sufficient mitigating factors.⁴² The Third Plenary Council went so far as to say that pastors who failed to provide parish schools could be removed and that parents who willingly sent their children to public school sinned.⁴³

Support for the declarations of the Third Plenary Council was not absolute. The statement requiring parents to send their children to Catholic schools only passed 41-33.⁴⁴ On the opposite side, the bishops voted 37-32 to drop a provision to deny absolution to those parents not sending their child to Catholic schools.

There was clear support for encouraging Catholic schools.⁴⁵ The 1884 Pastoral from the Third Plenary Council said sound civilization required sound education. Complete education was physical, intellectual, moral and religious. Only then does it fully lead to self-improvement and contribute to the common good.⁴⁶ Some of the objections were of a practical nature. Bishop Riordan, coadjutor of San Francisco, saw parochial schools as impractical in the West.⁴⁷

The council said the “three great educational agencies are the home, the Church, and the school.”⁴⁸ The Church did not recognize a place for the state in education. The fear was that if we kept religion out of the schools and only taught religion in the home and at church then the

⁴² Zwierlein, *McQuaid, Vol. II*, 324. cf. Fanning, “Plenary Council of Baltimore.” (wikipedia.org) “Plenary Councils of Baltimore.” (answers.com) “Plenary Councils of Baltimore.

⁴³ Steinfels, *A People Adrift*, 211.

⁴⁴ Gleason, “Baltimore III and Education,” 300.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 297-8.

⁴⁶ “The Pastoral Letter of 1884” in *The National Pastorals of the American Hierarchy (1792-1919)*, Ed. Peter Guilday, Washington, DC: National Catholic Welfare Council. 1923.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 300.

⁴⁸ Gleason, “Baltimore III and Education,” 245.

children would learn to keep it out of their public life. Thus the 1884 Pastoral called to “multiply our schools, and to perfect them.”⁴⁹

While not unanimous, the Third Plenary Council ended with a consensus. Where did breakdown occur?⁵⁰ To explore how the controversy developed into its eruption in the 1890’s we now turn to our discussion of Bishop McQuaid and Archbishop Ireland.

V. Bishop McQuaid

a. Biographical Background of McQuaid

To understand what a person believes you must know something about the person. Bernard McQuaid was born in New York on December 15, 1825, the child of Irish immigrants.⁵¹ His mother died when he was two years old.⁵² His father was a faithful Catholic. The first Mass in their town was celebrated in the McQuaid family home in New Jersey.⁵³ His father was murdered when he was seven years old. After that, his stepmother cared for him for four years but she was not a good stepmother.⁵⁴ A family member took McQuaid to an orphanage where he was raised by the Sisters of Charity.⁵⁵ Kunkel states that he likely received a better education from the Sisters of Charity than he would have received if his parents lived.⁵⁶

As a child, McQuaid lived in an era when Catholic institutions like convents were attacked and burned simply because they were Catholic. This would lead McQuaid to have a

⁴⁹ Ibid., 246.

⁵⁰ For Gleason’s assessment see Gleason, “Baltimore III and Education,” 304.

⁵¹ McQuaid personally cited his date of birth as 1823 but public records indicate 1825. Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 47-48.

⁵² Ibid., 49

⁵³ Ibid., 49-50.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 51.

⁵⁵ Robert F. McNamara, *The Diocese of Rochester in America: Second Edition Emended and Updated 1868-1993*, Rochester: Diocese of Rochester. 1988, 114.

⁵⁶ Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 52.

negative opinion of Protestants. Kunkel states that it lead McQuaid to develop a strong sense of loyalty to the Church, favoring the institution over the individual.⁵⁷

In 1839, Bernard McQuaid entered the seminary for the Archdiocese of New York.⁵⁸ It was during his formation years that the 1840 School Controversy became a public issue.⁵⁹ In conjunction with his childhood experience of persecution by the Protestants, McQuaid developed the sense of the necessity of Catholic Schools.⁶⁰

McQuaid was ordained a priest in 1848 for New York.⁶¹ He had suffered from tuberculosis while in seminary so he was sent to a rural parish in New Jersey for some fresh air for his first assignment.⁶² Catholic schools were a part of his ministry from the beginning. He opened the first Catholic school in New Jersey at his first assignment.⁶³

In 1853, the Archdiocese of New York was divided. McQuaid became part of the Newark diocese where he served.⁶⁴ McQuaid was made rector of the Cathedral, chosen for his strong personality.⁶⁵ In 1866, he was made vicar general of the diocese.⁶⁶ He also served as the founding president of Seton Hall College.⁶⁷ He continued to see to the building of Catholic schools in the diocese of Newark. To facilitate this, he formed female religious communities under diocesan jurisdiction to teach in the schools.⁶⁸

⁵⁷ Ibid., 63.

⁵⁸ He attended preparatory seminary in Montreal and in 1841 became one of the first seminaries to attend the newly opening St. Joseph's seminary. The seminary in Montreal was administered by the Sulpicians (Ibid., 54) and St. Joseph's was first administered by the Vincentians and then the Jesuits. Ibid., 60.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 65.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 67.

⁶¹ Ibid., 69.

⁶² Ibid., 70.

⁶³ Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 73. McNamara, *The Diocese of Rochester*, 117.

⁶⁴ Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 75.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 76-77.

⁶⁶ Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 86. McNamara, *The Diocese of Rochester*, 110-1.

⁶⁷ Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 78.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 83.

In 1868, the Diocese of Buffalo was split into the dioceses of Buffalo and Rochester.⁶⁹ At the age of forty-five, McQuaid was named as the first Bishop of Rochester. There he remained as bishop for forty-one years.⁷⁰ In summarizing his life, Kunkel described McQuaid as the most conservative prelate in the United States, a champion of Catholic schools, and a traditional supporter of the hierarchy.⁷¹ He was a man who held his convictions and never adapted himself to the changing times.⁷²

b. McQuaid's Perspective on Catholic Education

McQuaid's Episcopal motto was "*Salus Animarum Lex Suprema*" (The salvation of souls is my supreme law). This articulated both his position on Catholic Schools and American citizenship.⁷³ He believed that the shortest way to ensure the salvation of souls was to provide for the education of children.⁷⁴ He immediately made known his intention to open parochial schools wherever possible.⁷⁵ McQuaid took it as his personal obligation to provide for the education of children.⁷⁶ He saw schools as more important than hospitals, or asylums.⁷⁷

McNamara states, under McQuaid, normally the first parish building built would be a two-story facility. On one floor would be the church and the other floor would be for a school.⁷⁸ In some cases the school was even built before the church.⁷⁹

In 1871, McQuaid began to publicly present his plan for Christian Free Schools for the education of all children.⁸⁰ McQuaid wanted the schools to be free to ensure the education of all

⁶⁹ McNamara, *The Diocese of Rochester*, 110.

⁷⁰ McNamara, *The Diocese of Rochester*, 124.

⁷¹ Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 223.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 111.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 106.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 107.

⁷⁵ McNamara, *The Diocese of Rochester*, 134.

⁷⁶ Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 130.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 147.

⁷⁸ McNamara, *The Diocese of Rochester*, 188.

⁷⁹ McNamara, *The Diocese of Rochester*, 118, Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 147.

children. He believed that the Protestants saw only to the education of the rich.⁸¹ He also thought that Catholic children in the public schools were corrupted by the Protestants and the infidels.⁸² McQuaid had no problem with the quality of public schools. His issue was the moral and religious indifference of the schools.⁸³ The schools became McQuaid's battleground to ensure the proper teaching of the church.⁸⁴

The Protestants objected to McQuaid's statements. They saw Christianity as the basis for our laws and government so Christianity was present in the schools through what they taught.⁸⁵

In 1872, McQuaid continued to speak advocating Catholic schools. He admitted that some Christianity was being taught in the schools, which was better than no religion to him. However, it was strictly Protestant religion being taught in the public schools and he said that violated the New York State Constitution's freedom of religion.⁸⁶ McQuaid's influence extended beyond Rochester. He was invited by several other bishops, such as in Cambridgeport, Massachusetts in 1876, to speak in their dioceses on Catholic schools.⁸⁷

In 1874, McQuaid saw the issue of Catholic schools as important enough to deny the sacraments to parents who willingly sent their children to public schools.⁸⁸ He was supported in 1875 in doing this by the 1875 "Instruction Concerning Catholic Children Attending American Public Schools" which called for denying absolution to these parents.⁸⁹

⁸⁰ Zwierlein, *McQuaid, Vol. II*, 119-20. Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 150.

⁸¹ Zwierlein, *McQuaid, Vol. II*, 122.

⁸² Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 109.

⁸³ Frederick J. Zwierlein, *The Life and Letters of Bishop McQuaid: Preface With the History of Catholic Rochester Before His Episcopate, Vol. III*, Rochester: The Art Print Shop. 1927, 192.

⁸⁴ Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 130.

⁸⁵ Zwierlein, *McQuaid, Vol. II*, 123.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 129-30.

⁸⁷ Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 155. McNamara, *The Diocese of Rochester*, 168ff.

⁸⁸ McNamara, *The Diocese of Rochester*, 166. Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 167.

⁸⁹ Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 167.

Neither was the simple presence of parish schools sufficient for McQuaid. He saw to it that the Catholic schools of Rochester were of the highest quality. To do this McQuaid used teachers from religious orders under his jurisdiction so that he could ensure they were properly trained and followed good practices.⁹⁰ He also saw to their *continuing* education while teaching.⁹¹

c. McQuaid and Patriotism

As was stated above, one of the problems facing the Catholic immigrants was the perception that they held their allegiance to the pope and served as his puppets. Thus, they could not be good American citizens. Those who held this opinion saw the Catholic schools as a threat to the American way of life. McQuaid was born in America and said he loved America.⁹² He believed Catholics were patriotic.⁹³ In a commencement address at Nazareth Academy in 1893 He said Americans do not stand opposed to the state. Catholics simply wanted to be able to teach their own religion.⁹⁴

McQuaid believed the American Ideal of education included religious education.⁹⁵ In “Religion in the Schools” he saw religious education as part of American Tradition. He held that it was the parents right to control their children’s education.⁹⁶ McQuaid did not advocate solely for Catholic schools. He believed all denominations should have schools that teach their

⁹⁰ Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 139. He actually formed two diocesan communities, the Sisters of St. Joseph (SSJ) and the Sisters of Mercy (RSM) for this purpose. McNamara, *The Diocese of Rochester*, 134-5.

⁹¹ Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 148.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 119.

⁹³ Zwierlein, *McQuaid Vol. II*, 132.

⁹⁴ Zwierlein, *McQuaid, Vol. III*, 198.

⁹⁵ Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 112.

⁹⁶ McQuaid’s “Religion in the Schools” “originally appeared in *The North American Review*, April 1881, and was reprinted in the volume entitled *Christian Free Schools* (1892), pp. 130-144.” Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 168.

religion.⁹⁷ The separation of Church and state necessitated separate schools for different denominations.⁹⁸

McQuaid saw schools as vital to Americanizing the immigrants but maintained the necessity of Catholic schools.⁹⁹ Christian Free Schools would teach the children to be good citizens.¹⁰⁰ McQuaid believed it was important to be both Catholic and American. However, when the two were in conflict he was always a Catholic first and an American second.¹⁰¹

d. The State's Role in Education

McQuaid did not deny a role for the state in education. As stated above, McQuaid took the quality of his schools seriously. Beginning in 1874, under his direction all students in the Rochester Catholic Schools began to take the New York State Regents examinations. He did this to show his schools were of the same quality as the public schools and to demonstrate that it was possible for the state to oversee secular education without interfering in religious education.¹⁰² He also supported state standards for the teachers to ensure a quality education.¹⁰³

e. School Taxes and Catholic School Funding

Ultimately, McQuaid said the choice of schools belonged to the parents and not the state.¹⁰⁴ While the choice of schools was the parents, he believed the state had an obligation to pay for the *secular* education of the children as long as they collected school taxes.¹⁰⁵ If the parents were to pay school taxes, it was an injustice for their children to have to attend public

⁹⁷ Zwierlein, *McQuaid, Vol. II*, 120.

⁹⁸ Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 183-4.

⁹⁹ McNamara, *The Diocese of Rochester*, 203.

¹⁰⁰ Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 118-9.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 108.

¹⁰² Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 156. McNamara, *The Diocese of Rochester*, 164.

¹⁰³ Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 158.

¹⁰⁴ Zwierlein, *McQuaid, Vol. II*, 133.

¹⁰⁵ McNamara, *The Diocese of Rochester*, 168, 170. In 1841, the city of Rochester was one of the first cities to begin to collect school taxes. Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 128. McQuaid did not argue simply for public funding of Catholic schools but all denominational schools. Zwierlein, *McQuaid, Vol. II*, 131.

school, receiving a godless education, to benefit from these taxes.¹⁰⁶ With public funding, McQuaid would also allow some formal supervision of the schools by the state.¹⁰⁷ The mandating of the school tax and requiring attendance at public schools to benefit from the tax was seen by some as undemocratic and socialistic.¹⁰⁸ Neither were American principles.

VI. *Archbishop Ireland*

a. *Biographical Background of John Ireland*

Archbishop Ireland was described as an impulsive man with a strong personality, yet having a gentleness and softness to him.¹⁰⁹ Moynihan praises Ireland as a man devoted to his church.¹¹⁰ He was born in Ireland and baptized on September 11, 1838. At that time Ireland was a “land of poverty and hunger, of injustice and oppression.”¹¹¹ His family moved to America in 1850, living briefly in Vermont and Chicago. In 1852, the family relocated to Minnesota.¹¹² In 1853, he entered the seminary for the diocese of St. Paul and did his preparatory studies at Meximieux followed by major seminary at Montbel.¹¹³ He was ordained a priest in 1861 and assigned as an assistant at the Cathedral before becoming a military chaplain in 1862.¹¹⁴

Ireland served his country well as a chaplain. He was known to be a very dedicated officer in the Civil War. There are stories of Ireland’s carrying ammunition to the front line by himself.¹¹⁵ Yet, he had to be sent home after becoming ill.¹¹⁶

¹⁰⁶ Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 116.

¹⁰⁷ Zwierlein, *McQuaid, Vol. II*, 137.

¹⁰⁸ Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 128-9.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 179-80.

¹¹⁰ Moynihan, *John Ireland*, 279.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 2.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, ix.

Ireland returned home to St. Paul to serve at the cathedral.¹¹⁷ Ireland fought for Catholic rights in state institutions like reform schools.¹¹⁸ He became rector of the cathedral in 1867 and showed a great interest in temperance, education, and the Native American Indians.¹¹⁹ He attended the First Vatican Council as the representative of his Bishop who was ill. It was here that he began to establish “connections” that would serve him well.¹²⁰ Ireland was named co-adjutor in St. Paul in 1875. In 1884, he succeeded Bishop Grace as the bishop of St. Paul.

b. Ireland and Immigrants

Ireland was himself an immigrant and yet a patriotic American. He is quoted as

Next to God is country, and next to religion is Patriotism. Patriotism is a Catholic virtue. I would have Catholics be the first patriots of the land.¹²¹

As a friend to the immigrants he helped many immigrants move to Minnesota both as a priest and as bishop. He did this to help alleviate their suffering and poverty in the large cities.¹²² As such he helped his fellow immigrants and helped build up Minnesota.¹²³

Yet his loyalty to his country seemed to triumph his relationship with his fellow immigrants. The Americanization of the immigrants was a serious matter for Ireland. He wanted them to go to the same schools as everyone else as part of their Americanization. He was against anything that kept the ethnic groups as separate bodies according to nationality.

c. Ireland and Americanism

Morris calls Ireland an “Apostle of Americanism”¹²⁴ and the prophet of Midwestern Catholicism for he embraced America as he found it.¹²⁵ Morris writes

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 9.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 10.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 9.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 11.

¹²¹ As quoted from the Archives of the Archdiocese of St. Paul, O’Connell to John Ireland, Rome, October 17, 1898 in Moynihan, *John Ireland*, 45.

¹²² Moynihan, *John Ireland*, 20. Morris, *American Catholic*, 82.

¹²³ Ireland was instrumental in the growth of the city of St. Paul. He helped bring the rail line and the Law Enforcement League to St. Paul among other contributions. Moynihan, *John Ireland*, 255-6.

Midwestern Catholicism was always less claustrophobic than the big city variant of the Northeast, perhaps because Catholics were not constantly struggling against entrenched local elites, or perhaps because the frontier psyche is more attuned to possibility.”¹²⁶

Ireland never experienced persecution in the same way that Bishop McQuaid did.

Thus, Ireland more readily embraced the American culture. For him, Church and State were essential institutions and necessary for one another.¹²⁷ Both helped make the people good citizens. Seeing American liberty as the most sacred thing on earth,¹²⁸ Ireland “strove to make the Catholic Church a vital force in the life of the nation.”¹²⁹ Ireland said Catholics should love America and defend it. These were powerful words against those who saw Catholics as mere puppets of the pope.¹³⁰

Ireland did not see his version of Americanization as casting off of one’s ethnic heritage. Rather it was to fill you heart with America so you would not be strangers. Part of this was to learn and use English in all the schools so the children could speak as one people.¹³¹

d. Ireland and Catholic Schools

Ireland’s prime concern was not the Catholic schools but rather the conversion of America.¹³² He saw education as essential to being a good citizen.¹³³ Ireland stated

As the priest and as the citizen I held it my duty to contribute my mite as opportunity permitted to the pleasure or the improvement of my fellow-man, to the welfare, passing or permanent, of country and society.¹³⁴

This is what drove the educational activities of Archbishop Ireland.

¹²⁴ Morris, *American Catholic*, 83.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 81.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 81.

¹²⁷ Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 185.

¹²⁸ Moynihan, *John Ireland*, 45.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 284.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 48.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 81.

¹³² Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 180.

¹³³ Moynihan, *John Ireland*, 46.

¹³⁴ As quoted from Ireland’s introduction to *The Church and Modern Society* in Moynihan, *John Ireland*, ix.

In 1890, Ireland delivered an address to the National Education Association (NEA). In this address he said that compulsory education was good and free schools were necessary for society.¹³⁵ He also said that it is the parents' right to determine where their children attend school. Compulsory education is for those children whose parents fail to see to their education.¹³⁶ Ireland proposed two possible solutions for how the state and parish schools could work together. The first was used in England and Prussia. In those countries, the state would provide funds for the secular education of children in parochial schools when the children passed state exams. Reimbursement was at the same rate as what the state paid for the students in public schools. The second plan was the Poughkeepsie plan. In Poughkeepsie, NY the public school board rented the parish schools during regular school hours, paid for the teachers' salaries and conducted tests on the students and teachers. All religion education occurred outside regular school hours.¹³⁷

Perhaps the first cause of stirring among Catholics who objected to Ireland's proposal was that he said he wished parish schools were not necessary.¹³⁸ He said the only thing missing in the state schools was religion. This would lead to the degradation of society.¹³⁹ Nonetheless, there was only a minor amount of controversy at this point. The controversy significantly rose when Ireland put his idea into practice in the Faribault and Stillwater schools in his diocese.¹⁴⁰ To Ireland, the Faribault-Stillwater plan was doing what was necessary for the circumstances. The percentage of Catholics in his diocese was low making it difficult to sustain Catholic

¹³⁵ Moynihan, *John Ireland*, 79. Zwierlein, *McQuaid*, Vol. III, 160.

¹³⁶ Moynihan, *John Ireland*, 80.

¹³⁷ Moynihan, *John Ireland*, 81. Zwierlein, *McQuaid*, Vol. III, 160. While some called it the Poughkeepsie plan it was never done as a plan but simply as a method tried in that city. It only became known as the Poughkeepsie plan when Ireland spoke of it as an example. Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 191.

¹³⁸ Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 189-190.

¹³⁹ Zwierlein, *McQuaid*, Vol. III, 160. Moynihan, *John Ireland*, 80.

¹⁴⁰ Zwierlein, *McQuaid*, Vol. III, 162.

schools.¹⁴¹ This was his reaching out to those within his diocese.¹⁴² However, to his opposition among Catholics, it appeared Ireland was compromising his values.¹⁴³

Ireland's Faribault-Stillwater plan was based on the Poughkeepsie plan. The state rented the schools during the day. Mass was celebrated before the opening of the school day and catechesis was taught after the end of the regular school day.¹⁴⁴

Like Bishop McQuaid in Rochester, Ireland strived to receive public money for the support of the parish schools.¹⁴⁵ He too objected to school taxes for Catholics who could not in good conscience support the public schools.¹⁴⁶ The efforts for public funding of Catholic parochial schools proved unsuccessful. Ireland would realize that it was impossible for a school to be neither Protestant nor Catholic. It was a moral impossibility.¹⁴⁷

In the end, Ireland's plan failed not simply because of the Catholic objection but the public schools themselves rejected it.¹⁴⁸ After the controversy was over, in 1896 Ireland wrote

The Catholic school – the future will prove it beyond a doubt – is the most fruitful of all institutions for the preservation and perpetuation of the faith in this country.¹⁴⁹

VII. The Heart of the Controversy

The controversy was not a singular controversy between Ireland and Bishop McQuaid. Ireland had the support of bishops Keane, Foley, Archbishop Williams, and Cardinal Gibbons

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 166.

¹⁴² Moynihan, *John Ireland*, 84-5.

¹⁴³ Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 205. Later, the pastor in Stillwater (after his retirement) said the arrangement was not necessary to be able to maintain the parish school in Stillwater. Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 206.

¹⁴⁴ Moynihan, *John Ireland*, 84-5.

¹⁴⁵ McNamara, *The Diocese of Rochester*, 173.

¹⁴⁶ Moynihan, *John Ireland*, 80-81.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 10.

¹⁴⁸ Ellis, *Documents of American Catholic History*, Ed. John Tracy Ellis, Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company. 1956, 489. Justin Walsh, "Heresy Blossoms Like a Rose: Part I, Americanism, 1890-1900," *The Angelus* Vol. XXIII no.4 (April 2000) accessed online at

http://www.ssp.ca/Angelus/2000_April/Heresy_Blossoms_Like_a_Rose.htm, access date January 6, 2007.

¹⁴⁹ As quoted from the *Northwestern Chronicle* (September 4, 1896) in Moynihan, *John Ireland*, 254.

among others.¹⁵⁰ Of these, Cardinal Gibbons would prove a crucial supporter when Rome became involved. McQuaid's most influential supporter was Archbishop Corrigan of New York along with Bishop Ryan.¹⁵¹

One part of the Catholic School Controversy was the establishment of an official Catholic University as called for by the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore. Archbishop Ireland was an avid supporter and was one of the official representatives, with Bishop Keane, sent to Rome to seek permission for the University. On the other side were Bishop McQuaid and Archbishop Corrigan. McQuaid supported the concept of a Catholic University of America but felt the establishment of seminaries was more important.¹⁵² Rome approved the university and it was opened in Washington, D.C. placing it under the jurisdiction of Cardinal Gibbons in 1890 as the Catholic University of America.

Despite the public opposition between McQuaid and Ireland, it was not McQuaid but the German bishops of Wisconsin who first wrote to Rome.¹⁵³ Gleason states that Ireland's Faribault plan was not that different from plans in other dioceses but Ireland's reputation as an Americanizer and a liberal led to a negative interpretation of his plan.¹⁵⁴ Kunkel believes McQuaid focused on how Ireland's position in the 1890 address differed from his own rather than the similarities. She goes so far as to say McQuaid saw Ireland as an enemy of the Church.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 68

¹⁵¹ Moynihan cites conflict as early as 1888 when Corrigan would not allow Ireland to speak in his diocese. Moynihan, *John Ireland*, 331.

¹⁵² McNamara, *The Diocese of Rochester*, 171. Moynihan states that McQuaid was against the establishment of a Catholic University but if it was to be built he felt it should be in New York. Of course, then it would have fallen under Corrigan's jurisdiction. Moynihan, *John Ireland*, 236. Perhaps part of his opposition was that he had just established St. Bernard's as the official seminary for Rochester and saw the Catholic University as competition. Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 42.

¹⁵³ Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 192.

¹⁵⁴ Gleason, "Baltimore III and Education," 304-5. For a discussion of the liberal movement among some American Catholic Clergy see Robert Emmett Curran, "Prelude to 'Americanism': The New York Accademia and the Clerical Radicalism in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Church History* 47 no. 1 (March 1978): 48-65.

¹⁵⁵ Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 181.

McQuaid did not become involved in the controversy till after the announcement of the Faribault-Stillwater plan, McQuaid wrote to Corrigan, “Just as our arduous work of the last forty years was beginning to bear ample fruit they arbitrarily upset the whole.”¹⁵⁶ Perhaps one reason McQuaid had not been quick to rush to public judgment of Ireland’s position was that there was a school within McQuaid’s own diocese that combined public and parochial schools.

In Lima, NY the Catholics had realized they did not have the financial resources to keep the parish school open on their own. However, the public school did not have the space to simply absorb all the parochial students if the parish school closed. A deal was worked out for the public school to effectively combine with the parish school. The public system paid for two teachers and coal and school supplies at the parish school at the same rate as was paid for the public schools. All religious education was done after hours.¹⁵⁷ In fact, the teachers paid for by the public school board were two members of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Rochester.¹⁵⁸ Many simply saw the entire school system in Lima as a parochial school.¹⁵⁹

As the controversy broke out following the implementation of his plan, Ireland said in an 1891 meeting of the bishops that he was willing to discontinue the use of the “Poughkeepsie” plan in his diocese if so advised.¹⁶⁰ No such advisement was made at that meeting.

When the controversy reached Rome, the Vatican asked Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore to prepare a response to Rome.¹⁶¹ As Gibbons prepared that response, Archbishop Ireland wrote a letter to Gibbons explaining his position. He opened by saying that he believed portions of his

¹⁵⁶ As quoted from McQuaid’s Letter to Corrigan, Dec. 13, 1892 in Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 177.

¹⁵⁷ Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 202.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 203.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 204.

¹⁶⁰ Zwierlein, *McQuaid, Vol. III*, 162.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 164.

address were taken out of context.¹⁶² He stated that one-half of Catholic children in America were attending public school. There simply were not enough parish schools to handle all those students. Therefore, his approach was to attempt to improve the public schools.¹⁶³ Ireland stated that it is not the role of the Church to teach ciphering and writing. It only does so when others fail in their duty.¹⁶⁴ Ireland states that in England and Ireland there are no “strictly speaking” parish schools because the public schools are acceptable. Neither were there in Belgium or France till the infidels took over.¹⁶⁵ Ireland also attempts to clarify that he does not speak of free schools as they are today but in the ideal as they should be.¹⁶⁶ He states his purpose was to explain Catholic opposition to public schools and propose an alternative.¹⁶⁷

In turn, Cardinal Gibbons wrote his response to Rome. Gibbons emphasized the fact that several dioceses had similar relationships between parish and public schools.¹⁶⁸ Gibbons stated that he believed that Ireland acted as he did to save the schools.¹⁶⁹ Gibbons listed some advantages to Ireland’s plan. The schools were better maintained, the teachers were paid better, the parents were not paying for education twice, the pastors no longer faced budget problems and there were more students in “parish” schools.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶² John Ireland, “Archbishop Ireland Explains His Stand on Public and Parochial Schools, December 1890” in *Documents of American Catholic History*, Ed. John Tracy Ellis, Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company. 1956, 490.

¹⁶³ Ireland, “Ireland Explains His Stand,” 493.

¹⁶⁴ Ireland, “Ireland Explains His Stand,” 493. Moynihan, *John Ireland*, 83.

¹⁶⁵ Ireland, “Ireland Explains His Stand,” 492-3.

¹⁶⁶ Ireland, “Ireland Explains His Stand,” 491. Moynihan, *John Ireland*, 83.

¹⁶⁷ Ireland, “Ireland Explains His Stand,” 490

¹⁶⁸ The list of dioceses included New York, Milwaukee, Albany, Buffalo, Erie, Harrisburg, Peoria, Rochester, and Savannah Zwierlein, *McQuaid, Vol. III*, 165. Moynihan, *John Ireland*, 88-9.

¹⁶⁹ Zwierlein, *McQuaid, Vol. III*, 165.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 165.

As part of his defense, Ireland appeared in Rome in 1892. While in Rome, in the midst of the controversy, Ireland learned that the Faribault-Stillwater plan had failed because the public school board within its support based on issues of religion.¹⁷¹

Ireland had affirmed the right of the state to form schools with the understanding that parents had the choice to choose where to send their children to school.¹⁷² This right of the state to form schools was not part of the Catholic position. In the midst of the controversy in 1891 Rev. Thomas Bouquillon, a professor at the Catholic University wrote the first serious work by a Catholic to recognize a role for the state in education.¹⁷³ Bouquillon argued that it was a right of the state to provide education because it was for the common good. He also maintained the right of the individual to receive an education and the right of parents to oversee their children's education. He stated that the Church has the divine right to teach supernatural truths. He wrote that the Church teaches secular subjects as an act of charity only when necessary.¹⁷⁴ While Bouquillon wrote supporting Ireland, McQuaid interpreted him to argue that Ireland had gone too far in giving the state primary responsibility in education.

Rome appointed five cardinals to review Ireland's plan.¹⁷⁵ Based on their favorable recommendation Rome said Ireland's plan could be tolerated (*tolerari potest*) in light of the circumstances in the Diocese of St. Paul. Cardinal Ledochowski, who wrote the official response, was careful to remind each United States Bishop of their obligation to see that every

¹⁷¹ Moynihan, *John Ireland*, 101.

¹⁷² Ireland, "Ireland Explains His Stand," 490-1.

¹⁷³ Gleason, "Baltimore III and Education," 296. Bouquillon was a supporter of Ireland. Cardinal Gibbons requested Bouquillon's scholarly opinion. Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 208-9.

¹⁷⁴ Moynihan, *John Ireland*, 86.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 90.

parish have its own school where possible.¹⁷⁶ Ireland's opponents took this to mean that his plan was condemned and it was only tolerated for exceptional reasons.¹⁷⁷

Yet, after granting the *tolerari potest*, Rome sent Archbishop Ireland to France as an unofficial representative because of failing church state relations. How else can this be taken but as a positive show of support.¹⁷⁸

A few months later, on November 17, 1892, the Apostolic Delegate to the United States, Archbishop Francis Satolli spoke to the Archbishops assembled in New York listing fourteen points on the school question.¹⁷⁹ Proposition five called to no longer deny the sacraments to parents whose children were in public school.¹⁸⁰ Proposition seven encouraged the use of public school where there was no teaching against the faith.¹⁸¹ The other propositions were less controversial, continuing to give the bishop the power to decide when a parish school was not feasible and to ensure the quality of parish schools.¹⁸²

Ireland received Satolli's fourteen propositions with joy as a sign of the Church's openness.¹⁸³ McGlynn, himself a priest suspended for his liberal view, praised the Apostolic Delegate, saying education is a function of the state. He maintained the Church exists to teach spiritual dogma.¹⁸⁴ On the other side, McQuaid objected to things like proposition five calling to not deny the sacraments because public schools can be a danger to faith and morals.¹⁸⁵

¹⁷⁶ Moynihan, *John Ireland*, 94. Frederick J. Zwierlein, *Letters of Archbishop Corrigan to Bishop McQuaid and Allied Documents*, Rochester: The Art Print Shop. 1946, 142. Zwierlein, *McQuaid, Vol. III*, 170. Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 214

¹⁷⁷ Moynihan, *John Ireland*, 96-7.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 136.

¹⁷⁹ Zwierlein, *Letters of Archbishop Corrigan*, 155-6.

¹⁸⁰ Zwierlein, *McQuaid, Vol. III*, 182.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 183.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 184-6.

¹⁸³ Moynihan, *John Ireland*, 100.

¹⁸⁴ Zwierlein, *McQuaid, Vol. III*, 189-90.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 194.

Given the response to Satolli's propositions, Pope Leo XIII invited all United States Bishops to write individual responses.¹⁸⁶ McQuaid wrote an unfavorable response.¹⁸⁷ The response by Leo XIII was to state the decrees of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore were still in full effect.¹⁸⁸ This settled the issue for Bishop McQuaid and Archbishop Corrigan.¹⁸⁹ However, it did not end the controversy between Ireland and McQuaid. Ireland continued to speak on the Church needing to adapt to the changing needs of the time.¹⁹⁰

Then, in 1894, Bishop McNierney of Albany died leaving his position on the State Board of Regents as the only Catholic open. Archbishop Corrigan moved to get McQuaid appointed to the position.¹⁹¹ The bishops of New York supported McQuaid because they felt he represented the Catholic position well and since the Rochester Catholic schools took the Regents exams, he was familiar with them.¹⁹² However, Ireland intervened to oppose McQuaid's nomination and lobbied for the appointment of Fr. Malone.¹⁹³ Ireland's intervention in New York policy led to McQuaid and Corrigan objecting to his meddling in affairs outside his jurisdiction.¹⁹⁴ When McQuaid publicly preached against Ireland's involvement in New York State affairs Apostolic Delegate Satolli ordered McQuaid to not publicly attack Archbishop Ireland.¹⁹⁵

They also remained divided over issues involving Americanism. While both McQuaid and Ireland sought to be loyal to both the Church and America, McQuaid maintained that Church

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 191.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 174-6, 187.

¹⁸⁸ Zwierlein, *McQuaid*, Vol. III, 196. Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 221, Zwierlein, *Letters of Archbishop Corrigan*, 163.

¹⁸⁹ Zwierlein, *Letters of Archbishop Corrigan*, 164. Zwierlein, *McQuaid*, Vol. III, 198.

¹⁹⁰ 1893 Address on the 25th Anniversary of the Episcopal ordination of Cardinal Gibbons. Moynihan, *John Ireland*, 36-37.

¹⁹¹ Zwierlein, *Letters of Archbishop Corrigan*, 166.

¹⁹² Zwierlein, *McQuaid*, Vol. III, 203.

¹⁹³ Zwierlein, *McQuaid*, Vol. III, 204 McNamara, *The Diocese of Rochester*, 176.

¹⁹⁴ Zwierlein, *McQuaid*, Vol. III, 218. Zwierlein, *Letters of Archbishop Corrigan*, 177-8.

¹⁹⁵ McNamara, *The Diocese of Rochester*, 177. Zwierlein, *McQuaid*, Vol. III, 210.

always took precedence over country.¹⁹⁶ Ireland saw Church and country as working together. Ireland favored quick assimilation into the American way life while McQuaid “preferred the slow, natural, inevitable acculturation that time itself would unfortunately provide.”¹⁹⁷ This must be understood in light of their background. McQuaid was born in America but grew up in view of the persecution of Catholics by Protestants, thus very much aware of the conflict between the Catholic Church and America. Ireland was an immigrant who did not see so much of the persecution, although he was aware of the differences in school.¹⁹⁸ While he was an immigrant, he came from Ireland so he already knew English so that it would have been an easier assimilation for him than non-English speaking immigrants.

VIII. Conclusions

Anderson saw Archbishop Ireland as standing for Americanism and a larger independence. Anderson said the opposite side of the Catholic Church, like McQuaid was out of touch with America and Modern Ideals.¹⁹⁹ Comments like this are indicative of the real differences between McQuaid and Ireland. Ireland himself said he realized the differences between McQuaid and himself were rooted in issues other than the school controversy.²⁰⁰ Ireland had the support of the government as evidenced by his diplomatic activity on behalf of the president.²⁰¹ McQuaid was more appreciated by those holding to traditional values.²⁰² While the Church held to its traditional values, Ireland’s form of Americanism was never

¹⁹⁶ Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 183.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 44.

¹⁹⁸ Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 185.

¹⁹⁹ Zwierlein, *McQuaid, Vol. III*, 234.

²⁰⁰ Moynihan, *John Ireland*, 99.

²⁰¹ In 1900 and 1909, Archbishop Ireland was commissioned by the President of the United States to represent the United States in France at ceremonial events. (Moynihan, *John Ireland*, 151, 160). Ireland also served a diplomatic role during the Spanish American War. Moynihan, *John Ireland*, 162-210.

²⁰² Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 198.

condemned. It was a variant of Americanism in Europe that would later receive papal condemnation.²⁰³

After the 1893 upholding of the statements of the Third Plenary Council, McQuaid and Ireland went their separate directions but both continued to promote Catholic schools. In 1904, McQuaid and Ireland largely reconciled their differences.²⁰⁴

In 1896, in his ongoing efforts to ensure the quality of Catholic Schools, McQuaid opened Rochester's Diocesan Institute for Religious Teachers, the first in the nation to teach methods of education in secular subjects.²⁰⁵

In 1901, in a commencement address at St. Joseph's Academy, Ireland said the great fault of American education was the lack of depth of thought lack of principles.²⁰⁶ Clearly, Ireland recognized there was a problem with the public schools. In 1913, in a letter to the people and clergy of his diocese, Ireland stated that education by seculars presented a danger to Catholic Children. Prior to that, in 1904, McQuaid and Ireland largely reconciled their differences.²⁰⁷

The Church continued to hold its position of requiring public schools for many years. The 1917 Code of Canon Law upheld the statements regarding education of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore.²⁰⁸ The 1919 Pastoral Letter by the United States Bishops did the same.²⁰⁹ It would only be with the Second Vatican Council that the Church would modify its position. The Second Vatican Council still called for Catholic schools but the purpose was no longer to

²⁰³ Moynihan, *John Ireland*, 379.

²⁰⁴ McNamara, *The Diocese of Rochester*, 240-1.

²⁰⁵ Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 165. McNamara, *The Diocese of Rochester*, 165.

²⁰⁶ Moynihan, *John Ireland*, 249.

²⁰⁷ McNamara, *The Diocese of Rochester*, 240-1.

²⁰⁸ Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 242.

²⁰⁹ "The Pastoral Letter of 1919" in *The National Pastorals of the American Hierarchy (1792-1919)*, Ed. Peter Guilday, Washington, DC: National Catholic Welfare Council. 1923, 280.

save the Church. Now, the purpose of Catholic Schools is to help the individual contribute to society.²¹⁰ A goal held in common with the public schools that understand the common good.

The differences between McQuaid and Ireland were indeed beyond the school controversy. In some ways it was a difference of personalities. However, it was largely centered on how they saw the values of the Church and America in relation to one another. Perhaps, the schools are the place that simply made these differences most noticeable.

²¹⁰ Kunkel, *McQuaid and Catholic Education*, 245.

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