The evolution of Catholic schools in the diocese of Grand Rapids, Michigan: A case study

Bernard T. Stanko
THE EVOLUTION OF CATHOLIC SCHOOLS IN THE DIOCESE OF
GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN: A CASE STUDY

By

Bernard T. Stanko

Dissertation

Submitted to the Department of Leadership and Counseling
Eastern Michigan University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

Dissertation Committee:
James Barott, PhD, Chair
David Anderson, PhD
Elizabeth Broughton, PhD
John Palladino, PhD

May 19, 2006
Ypsilanti, Michigan
DEDICATION

This doctoral dissertation is dedicated to the greater glory of God in memory of Helen Gelsavage, my grandmother. Although she never attended college, she understood the value of education and encouraged me to never stop learning. She also instilled in me the notion that teaching is a noble profession.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank the members of my doctoral dissertation committee for the guidance and support they have shown throughout the planning, analysis, and development of this research study. I am particularly grateful to Dr. James Barott for his patience and perseverance with me. He helped me to better understand what I was studying so that I could also conceptualize what I learned. I also thank Dr. Kevin Brandon for his support and mentorship through this process.

Writing this dissertation has been a lot of work for me as well as for those who have helped me. A special thank you to Bishop Emeritus Robert Rose for providing me with historical insights into what I wrote. Thank you also to Fr. Dennis Morrow, Diocesan Archivist and friend, for providing me with time and the resources I needed to conduct my research. Jacqueline Zbikowski and Susan Kettle provided me with graphs and tables and also moral support when it seemed that this project would get the most of me. Thank you James O’Donnell, Diocesan Superintendent, for your special support and friendship.

My friend Marc Olejniczak; my mother Christine; and Fr. Edward Hankiewicz provided me with many hours of proofreading: a necessary evil. My wife, Diane, has been a constant source of support throughout this project for which I am grateful. She, too, helped in proofing this. Finally, I wish to thank my children- - Mary, Frank, Christopher, and Nicholas - -for being patient with me and supporting my work with encouraging words and prayers.
ABSTRACT

This longitudinal case study examined the origins, growth, and development of Catholic schools in the Diocese of Grand Rapids, Michigan. The purpose of this study was to understand how the Catholic schools evolved over time.

Four eras between 1833 and 2005 were investigated and described. Each era corresponds with changes to the physical size of the Diocese of Grand Rapids. These periods also correspond to sociological events that were also occurring. Data on Catholic schools were collected for each era. A conceptual framework was applied that considered the institutional environment in which the schools were founded and the task environment that affected how the schools functioned within the institutional environment in each era. The institutional environment reflects the dominant culture and gives the organization legitimacy or the right to exist. The institutional environment consists of elements called pillars, which describe the regulations, norms, values, language, and symbols, as well as affective elements, of the dominant culture. The Catholic school organization consists of three levels of organizational responsibility: institutional (leadership), management, and the technical core.

The interpretive approach was followed to examine organizational core values. Data collected included various historical documents. Findings indicated that given a hostile environment, Catholic schools were organized in order to ensure that Catholic children would be instructed in their Catholic faith. As Catholic immigrants from Europe came to Michigan, Catholic schools persisted because their emphasis became to promote and protect the ethnic cultures of those immigrants. As immigration was curtailed in the
early 20th century, Catholic schools became a means to promote and protect a Catholic culture that emerged in the United States and remained strong until the 1960s. As Catholics became assimilated into the dominant culture, the need for separate schools that promoted a separate culture for Catholics lessened.

The study concluded that Catholic schools continue to evolve because they provide the communities in which they are found with something those communities need. The community in return provides the schools with the resources they need to survive. It shows that Catholic schools, as an organization, are both market-driven and value-driven.

Implications for future research include investigating resource-based decision-making on organizational identity, successful leadership in relationship to organizational values and resource dependencies, and the impact of environmental influences on the organizational effectiveness of Catholic schools.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>HISTORY OF CATHOLIC EDUCATION</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Part A. The History of Catholic Education prior to the founding of the United States</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Part B. The History of American Catholic Education during the 18th Century</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>THE DEVELOPMENT OF CATHOLIC SCHOOLS IN THE DIOCESE OF GRAND RAPIDS</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Forming of a Diocese: 1833-1900 (Era I)</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Early 20th Century: 1900-1938 (Era II)</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Boom Period: 1938-1970 (Era III)</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Crisis and the Struggle for Survival: 1971-2005 (Era IV)</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>CONCLUSIONS, FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Purpose of the Study</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Era I 1833-1900</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Era II 1900-1938</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Era III 1938-1970</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Era IV 1971-2005</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>General Conclusions</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Implications of this Study</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Areas for Future Research</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>REFERENCES</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>APPENDICES</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Appendix A: University Human Subjects Review Committee Approval</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Appendix B: Schools of Era I</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Appendix C: Schools of Era II</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Appendix D: Schools of Era III</td>
<td>224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Appendix E: Schools of Era IV</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Appendix F: Requirements for Recognition and Approval of a Private Catholic School within the Diocese</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Curriculum (Era I)</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Communities of Sisters teaching in Grand Rapids Diocese during Era I</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Population (Era I)</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Curriculum (Era II)</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Communities of Sisters teaching in Grand Rapids Diocese during Era II</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Population (Era III)</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Tuition</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Curriculum (Era III)</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Communities of Sisters teaching in Grand Rapids diocese during Era III</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Population (Era IV)</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Tuition (Era IV)</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Communities of Sisters teaching in Grand Rapids diocese during Era IV</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Curriculum (Era IV)</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Conceptual Model of Parsons/Thompson for the Study of Organizations</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Conceptual Model of the Pillars of Institutions</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Trustee Model of Organization and Management</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Parochial Schools (Era I)</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Enrollment (Era I)</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Religious and Lay Teachers (Era I)</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Number of Schools (Era II)</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Number of Teachers (religious and lay Era II)</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Enrollment (Era II)</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Number of Teachers (Era III)</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Enrollment (Era III)</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Number of Schools (Era III)</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Enrollment (Era IV)</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Number of Teachers (religious and lay Era IV)</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Number of Schools (Era IV)</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Conceptual Framework Model</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Conceptual Framework for Era I</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Conceptual Framework for Era II</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Conceptual Framework for Era III</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Illustration 1 Diocese of Grand Rapids 1882 ........................................ 62
Illustration 2 Catholic Diocese of Baltimore 1788 .............................. 64
Illustration 3 Catholic Diocese of Bardstown 1807 .............................. 65
Illustration 4 Scholars at the Catholic Mission of the Grand River 1833 .... 83
Illustration 5 The Genealogy of the Diocese of Grand Rapids ............... 84
Illustration 6 Mother Blanche’s letter to bishop Richter 1908 ............... 107
Illustration 7 (1899) Letter from Mother Mary OSF (Felician) .............. 108
Illustration 8 Letter from Mother Mary Ernesta SSND (1900) ............... 109
Illustration 9 Diocese of Grand Rapids 1938 ...................................... 110
Illustration 10 Vote Yes Handbill (1924) ........................................... 111
Illustration 11 Diocese of Grand Rapids 1971 ...................................... 135
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

This longitudinal research examined the origins, growth, and development of Catholic schools in the Diocese of Grand Rapids over a 172-year period. The purpose of this study was to understand how the schools evolved by learning how they formed and developed over time.

Background of the Study

Catholic schools have evolved throughout the world over the last 1,500 years. What began as the province of Churchmen changed to become a tool of nation-states and their leaders, which helped to establish a sense of nationalism in those emerging states.

In the United States, Catholic schools have coexisted with public schools since the beginning of the nation. Between 1820 and 1870, 5 million immigrants from Ireland and Germany arrived in the United States. The common school (public education) was seen by many as a means to homogenize these immigrants. The Catholic Church quickly rejected this and began to develop its own schools for these immigrants.

In Grand Rapids, the creation of the first Catholic school predated the creation of a public school district. As the community grew, so did the number of Catholic schools. Like the parishes where the schools were founded, these schools reflected a particular ethnic group: Irish, German, and Polish.

The Great Depression and World War II did not slow enrollment in Catholic schools. With the return of GI’s from the war began the “baby boom.” Catholics were determined to provide their children with a Catholic education.

In the Diocese of Grand Rapids, as in the rest of the United States, Catholic school enrollment peaked in the 1960s. However, except in rural areas, the diocese was
not faced with having to close schools until the 1980s. Most plans to build more schools were put on hold, and the emphasis has been on sustaining the schools that already exist.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to learn about the evolution of Catholic education through an examination of how Catholic schools were formed and developed over time in the Diocese of Grand Rapids, Michigan. The history of Catholic schools is well documented but not the study of the organization of the schools or how they persist and change to survive. Very little is written about how these schools are organized and how that affects whom they serve.

I wanted to understand and be able to explain how these schools were formed and how they organized and changed over time. I wanted to understand the phenomena of Catholic schools coexisting with public schools and how this came about. I also wanted to know if there was a connection between how these schools were formed and whom they served.

Research Setting

The Diocese of Grand Rapids was established on May 19, 1882. The total square miles of the diocese is 6,795. The total population of the 11 county area is approximately 1,283,717 (U.S. Census, 2000), with a Catholic population of 162,670 (Official Catholic Directory, Kenedy, 2005). There are 38 Catholic elementary schools, 1 Catholic middle school, and 4 Catholic high schools operating within the diocese. Approximately 9,000 students are enrolled in these schools. For sampling purposes I used the Diocese of Grand Rapids to tell this story.
Significance of the Study

There is a value to understanding the dynamics involved in the evolution of Catholic schools within the Diocese of Grand Rapids. By telling the story of these Catholic schools through the use of historical and empirical evidence, I was able to understand the nature of organizations, the forces at work on them, and the relationship between Catholic schools and the environment in which they exist.

The results of this study serve two purposes: First, they allowed me to use organizational theory to understand organizational practice. Second, the information from this study will be helpful to Church/diocesan officials or future researchers in understanding this particular phenomenon.

The benefit of this study is that it should increase in those who read it an understanding of the forces that affect the organization and nature of Catholic schools.

Research Questions

1. How did Catholic schools form?
2. How did Catholic schools organize?
3. How did Catholic schools evolve?
4. What was the nature of the institutional environment?
5. What was the nature of the task environment?
6. What were the core technologies of the Catholic schools?
7. How did the leadership/management level protect the technical core?
### Definitions of Relevant Terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Core Technology</td>
<td>the “technical core” (Thompson, 2003) or “core activity” is the primary function of an organization. The technical is concerned with production activities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managerial Level</td>
<td>concerned with control and coordination activities and the procurement of resources and disposal of products within an organization (Thompson, 2003).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutional Level</td>
<td>concerned with relating the organization to the norms and conventions of the community and society (Scott, 2001).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diocese</td>
<td>a physical geographic territory and the faithful who reside within the territory entrusted to the pastoral care of a bishop (Canon 369, Code of Canon Law).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legitimacy</td>
<td>the generalized perception or assumption that the actions of the organization are desirable, proper, or appropriate within a socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions (Scott, p. 52).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Task Environment</td>
<td>where the organization is directly impacted by the environment. The task environment is the part of the environment relevant to goal setting and the attainment of goals (Thompson, 2003).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organizational Domain</td>
<td>a claim which an organization stakes out for itself. This may include a range of products, a population served or service rendered (Thompson, 2003). This is the point at which an organization is dependent on inputs from the environment.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NCEA  the National Catholic Education Association.

Province  a group of dioceses that are overseen by an archbishop. The archdiocese has prominence within the province.

Academy  a private school that provides students with an education with an emphasis on an area in which the school specializes. These schools may or may not be affiliated with a religious group.

Limitations of the Study

1. This study covered only the schools located within the boundary of the Diocese of Grand Rapids. This boundary changed twice after 1882: 1938 and 1971.

2. This study covered elementary and secondary Catholic education, not postsecondary or seminary education that occurred here.

3. I used an interpretive methodology. The results may be limited by the interpretation that I, the researcher, give them.

4. The use of the term “special learning needs” is as defined by the federal Individuals with Disabilities Education Improvement Act (IDEIA, 2004).

5. The focus of this study was on the structure and organization of Catholic schools in the Diocese of Grand Rapids, not the individual results of students.

6. The research was conducted in the form of a historical study from which came the data and subsequent results.

Research Design

I used a single case study design to demonstrate organizational persistence and change in Catholic school education in the Diocese of Grand Rapids. The research was conducted longitudinally. That is, I examined Catholic school education over a period of
time. I needed to know what happened in the setting (environment). This provided me with a means to describe organizational identity, the growth of core technologies, and patterns of interaction over time between the diocese and its relevant environments. A longitudinal case study allowed me to explain how change in an organization emerges, develops, infiltrates the structure, and ceases in time in a contextual manner (Stake, 1995). This method provided me with an opportunity to examine a continuous process in a context that allowed me to observe the significance of interconnected levels of analysis. Rather than examine and take apart individual schools, I viewed them in relation to the diocese to which they belong. My research encompassed a period of 172 years from immediately prior to the creation of the diocese until the present time. The collection and analysis of data was organized into four eras: 1833-1900, 1900-1938, 1938 to 1970, and 1971 to the present.

Institutional theory based on the work of Parsons (1960), Thompson (2003), and Scott (2001) and resource dependency theory as described by Pfeffer & Salancik (2003) provided a conceptual framework to organize my work. Parsons (1960) proposed that organizations exhibit three levels: technical, managerial, and institutional. Thompson (2003) recognized that the greater the diversity in the interaction between the levels, the greater the chance for uncertainty arising between the organization and its environment.

The technical core level is where production functions in an organization occur. The managerial level is the part of the organization that designs and controls production at the technical level and secures resources to make this happen. The institutional level is where the organization relates and interacts with the environment, establishes boundaries, and gains legitimacy (Scott, 2001).
The environment supplies resources to the organization so that a product can be produced. Pfeffer & Salancik (2003) explored the dynamics of resource streams and dependencies in an organization. Organizations are created, supported, and shaped by the resource suppliers found in the environment in which they form. I wanted to see in this research if I could identify over time where and how this occurred over time.

Summary

This longitudinal case study sought to understand organizational persistence and change through learning how Catholic schools were formed and developed over time. It divided 172 years of organizational operation into four separate eras and utilized a conceptual framework that conceived of three levels of organizational responsibility (Parsons, 1960; Thompson, 2003) and collected data from various environments, core technology activities, and leadership activities.

Chapter 2 presents the methodology and literature used in this study. Chapter 3 presents a history of Catholic education from the time of Augustine (4th century) to the founding of the United States. It answers the question: How did Catholic schools develop? Chapter 4 presents a history of Catholic schools in the Diocese of Grand Rapids through four eras of history. It answers the question: How do these schools evolve? Chapter 5 presents an analysis of the data presented and offers conclusions based on the analysis of that data. This chapter summarizes the knowledge and insights generated by this research.
Chapter 2: METHODOLOGY AND LITERATURE

Chapter 2 discusses the methods and procedures employed in this study and provides an understanding of the relevant work that came before this research, which provides a foundation on which this work stands.

Design

I designed this study to show, through empirical evidence, what actions and directions were taken by the leadership (bishops and priests) of the Diocese of Grand Rapids regarding schools as they encountered changing environments. This study illustrates the competing expectations and dialectics (paradigms) interacting over time within the Catholic Church of Western Michigan, from its various environments and economic pressures both inside and outside the organization.

I used a single case study design to demonstrate an evolution in Catholic school education in the Diocese of Grand Rapids. The schools of the diocese served as the particular subject. As Stake (1995) reported:

The real business of case study is particularization, not generalization. We take a particular case and come to know it well, not primarily as to how it is different from others but what it is, and what it does. There is emphasis on uniqueness, and that implies knowledge of others that the case is different from, but the first emphasis is our understanding the case itself. (p. 8)

A case study lends itself well to the use of an interpretive methodology. An interpretive methodology and case study format focus on in-depth knowledge of a particular subject, participant observation, and the telling of a story. A case study is, by
its very nature, a single unit study (LeCompte, Preissle, & Tesch, 1993, p. 32). The emphasis of this research study was to learn about organizational change and persistence through an understanding of the foundation, formation, and development of Catholic school education in the Diocese of Grand Rapids.

The research I conducted was longitudinal. That is, I examined Catholic school education in the Diocese of Grand Rapids over a period of time. I needed to know what was happening in the setting (environment). This provided me with a means to describe organizational identity, the growth of core technologies, and patterns of interaction over time between the diocese and its relevant environments. A longitudinal case study allowed me a means by which I could explain how change in an organization emerges, develops, infiltrates the structure, and ceases in time in a contextual manner (Stake, 1995). This method provided me with an opportunity to examine a continuous process in a context which, in turn, allowed me to observe the significance of interconnected levels of analysis. Rather than examine and take apart individual schools, I viewed them in relation to the diocese to which they belong. Understanding the sources of these patterns of interconnectedness was crucial in order for me to identify and explain change processes observed (Pettigrew, 1995). This research encompassed a period of 172 years from 1833 (prior to the creation of the Diocese of Grand Rapids) until the present time (2005). My research examined the organization of Catholic schools as the Diocese of Grand Rapids developed and grew through four eras: 1833-1900, 1900-1938, 1938-1971, and 1971 to the present.
Polity

Polity refers to a unit of governance, specifically the governmental organization of a State, Church, or other institution. In this study, I studied the evolution of Catholic education from the polity of the diocese.

The Diocese of Grand Rapids represents in this study the institutional level. It is at the institutional level that schools connect with the diocese and its policies. The way to do this case study and treat the schools as a single subject was to view them from the institutional level.

Each Catholic diocese is headed by a bishop (appointed by the pope), who is the highest authority within that territory. Each diocese is divided into parishes (Canon 374). Parishes are definite physical territories within a diocese. The parish is entrusted to a pastor. The pastor is appointed by the bishop and is under his authority (Canon 515).

Catholic schools in a diocese come under the jurisdiction of the bishop. If a school uses the term “Catholic” in its title, it is only with the permission of the bishop. Catholic schools may be established by a parish (parochial) with the permission of the bishop. The diocese may establish its own schools. Also, religious communities may establish their own schools. All of these arrangements are undertaken with the permission of the bishop (Canon 806).

Within the Diocese of Grand Rapids, all of the Catholic elementary schools were established by the parish in which they are found. One high school is parochial. Two high schools are inter-parochial. That is, they were created by a joint arrangement of parishes with the permission of the bishop. One high school is currently operating as an independent Catholic school. In the past, three high schools were operated by religious
communities of Sisters (nuns). These, in fact, were independent Catholic schools.

Because the history of the majority of the schools in the Diocese of Grand Rapids is that they were founded in parishes, parishes are headed by pastors who are appointed by the bishop, and these schools are under the authority of the bishop, it made sense to study these schools from the perspective of the diocese. It was at this level that I could study the evolution in catholic school education. It is also at this level that I was able to look at the schools as an organization and not separate entities.

The role of the bishop is critical to the formation of schools within any diocese. Because the bishop controls the use of the term “Catholic” and everything that term connotes, he provides legitimacy to each school in the diocese.

Instrumentation

In this study, I, as researcher, was the primary instrument to collect the data needed to tell the story of Catholic schools in the Diocese of Grand Rapids. Miles and Huberman (1994) point out that the aim of a research study is to go beyond the superficial or the merely salient, becoming “empirically literate” (p. 38). To achieve this required that I first become familiar with the phenomenon within a conceptual or theoretical framework.

I work and live within the Diocese of Grand Rapids. I am a practicing Catholic and have spent my career working for the Catholic schools of the diocese. I have a certain familiarity to the subject. Because of my employment with the Diocese of Grand Rapids, I had access to documents, books, notes, charts, and other information required by this study. I have read diverse readings in resource dependency theory, institutional theory, and historical material regarding the Catholic Church, specifically Catholic
For the primary instrument for this study, I looked at historical as well as current data and relevant artifacts in order to tell the story of Catholic schools in the Diocese of Grand Rapids. This included histories of the Diocese of Grand Rapids; notes from previous bishops of Grand Rapids related to Catholic schools; quinquennial reports; diocesan ledgers; individual parish, school, and religious community histories; and notes and correspondences found in the diocesan archives.

Note-taking was my primary mode of instrumentation. The instrumentation process included (a) collecting data, (b) organizing data, (c) quantifying numerical data, and (d) creating documents, tables, and charts.

Accounting for the researcher’s perspective is particularly critical in a qualitative field research study (Guernsey, 2004). It was very hard for me to separate my beliefs and experiences from the phenomenon I studied. I was not a detached observer. Although this might seem to threaten the objectivity of my research by biasing data collection and inferences, it allowed me to bring to this study my own personal insights, knowledge, passion, and commitment. Peshkin (1992) wrote:

My subjectivity is the basis for the story that I’m able to tell. It is a strength on which I build. It makes me who I am as a person and as a researcher, equipping me with the perspectives and insights that shape all that I do as a researcher, from the selection of the topic through to the emphasis I make and my writing. (Cited in Glesne, 1999, p. 104).

It is frequently emphasized in qualitative research that the researcher is the evaluative instrument. Being aware of myself and how I react and process information was critical to understanding the inferences drawn in my analysis of data and conclusions. Glesne (1999) notes that monitoring subjectivity is not synonymous with
controlling subjectivity. I was responsible for monitoring my own subjectivity in order to be careful not to distort my conclusions.

My perspective was biased from the beginning because of my support for Catholic schools and my belief in their effectiveness. As an employee of the Diocese of Grand Rapids and having spent my career in the Catholic schools, my bias is in support of the institution. I want to see Catholic schools continue to function long into the future. I believe in their mission. These beliefs also provide a bias for my work.

Data

This study was historical in nature, and a longitudinal scope was followed in order to measure the phenomena, persistence, change, and the evolution of the core technology. It required me to find data that was consistent over time. Once I mapped out the story of Catholic school education, I was able to determine which types of data would be available to me and provide me with consistent information. I then used the conceptual framework to gather data that I believed would be useful in helping me understand organizing principals, core technologies, leadership activities, and the affect of environmental influences.

By mapping out historical events in the life of the organization, I was better prepared to investigate and locate critical moments that brought about change. This study of organizational evolution required that I use descriptive narratives as well numerical data that I could quantify. This included student populations, faculty populations, revenue streams, and other statistics over time. These data were organized and displayed in charts, graphs, and tables, and include:

1. Number and type of faculty (lay and religious) per era
2. Number of students enrolled per era
3. Number and types of academic programs offered
4. Catholic population per era
5. General population in each era
6. Tuition rates

The researcher used these official statistics and quantitative data to suggest patterns and trends that led to critical events of change as well as to demonstrate areas of persistence within the organization.

Pettigrew (1995, p. 94) states that explanations of change cannot be tied to single events or discrete episodes because such explanations fail to provide insight into the processes that result from influences in the environment that form a context in which change events occur. To provide context, I carefully read church histories and various archival documents, which included notes, reports, ledgers, and other firsthand information from the various time periods. Bogden and Bilken (1992) assert that official documents are formulated with the biases of those who produce the document and can portray the subject in an inaccurate manner. This warning helped me to approach these documents prepared to filter information for such biases. Internal documents disclosed information regarding governance, regulation, and personnel. These documents also helped me to establish values and qualities that persisted through time in the Catholic schools of the diocese.

This study of organizational evolution in the Catholic schools of the Diocese of Grand Rapids was established within boundaries. Because this was a longitudinal case study, the first boundary was that of time. It covered a certain period of time from the
founding of the first school in 1833 until the end of the 2004/2005 school year. This established both a beginning point from which to follow the interaction of events to measure effects and change, and an end point that provided a place in time to begin a retrospective investigation by which events could be gathered into an account that would make the conclusion understandable (Miles & Huberman, 1994). With these boundaries in place, events can then be chronicled and connections can be established to later outcomes.

The analysis of data is a process of organizing and arranging information from the field into established categories in order to derive meaning from it. From meaning comes new understanding. New understandings lead to more research, and the quest for new meaning continues. My analysis of the data came from multiple indicators of certain concepts (institutional theory, resource dependency theory). I compared data collected by means of historical context as well as conceptual theory.

In order to analyze the data, I created a timeline so that I could track significant events in the history of Catholic education in the Diocese of Grand Rapids. This allowed me to put data in a historical context.

Next, I employed a conceptual framework. I identified and recorded evidence of the diocese’s organizational responses to changes in the environment, resource streams, resource allocation, and resource dependencies as they related to change events documented on the timeline.

Finally, I compared change events identified by time period with data gathered on resources. The results of the analysis of each time period were compared against other time periods. I looked for links between changes in resource streams and changes in the
organization and core technology of Catholic education over time.

Validity and Reliability

The validity of the findings in a case study refers to the trustworthiness of the inferences drawn out from the data. Validity answers the question: Do the findings make sense (Miles and Huberman, 1994)? The trustworthiness of the conclusions about change and persistence should be inherent in the collection and analysis of the data. My goal was to accumulate data and generate findings that were accurate, convincing, and noteworthy.

Validity can be determined both internally and externally. Internal validity refers to how the research was conducted. The research design of the case study needs to be appropriate in order to draw accurate inferences. In other words, internal validity points to concepts developed in the case study as they refer to the conceptual framework. The clearer the connection is between the concepts and conceptual framework, the greater the internal validity will be.

External validity refers to the ability to generalize conclusions so that they can be applied to the larger field of educational research. The results and implications need to be cast in a form that allows them to be generalized across a field larger than where the particular research was gathered (Eisenhart & Howe, 1992). While a study of the Diocese of Grand Rapids may provide unique conclusions, external validity comes from the ability to generalize those conclusions. Generalizability can occur when the conceptual framework is analyzed against the study’s conclusions. Miles and Huberman (1994) refer to this as analytic generalizability. The ability to generalize a study’s findings provides the study external validity.
Reliability refers to the authenticity of the data and the ability to confirm the results of the analysis (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). The strength of the reliability of the data is measured by the ability to duplicate the study and replicate the results.

To increase reliability, I tried to guard against sloppy data gathering such as insufficient or selective reporting (Miles & Huberman, 1994). I attempted to provide a rich, thick description of the phenomenon in an attempt to allow the reader to enter more fully into the context of the research. Rich in terms of data refers to data that reflects a wide and diverse range of information from the study that is deep in content and covers a period of time. Lofland and Lofland (1995) suggest that the novice researcher (1) collect the richest data possible and (2) achieve familiarity with the setting. My story of Catholic education does that.

The validity of the study should rest in the effective application of data collection and analysis techniques. The interpretive methodology that I employed in this study guided the analysis of the data I collected. It also guided the analysis of the data against the conceptual framework as outlined by Parsons (1960) and Thompson (1967). A continual search for disconfirming evidence and a constant monitoring for the influence of personal bias played an important role in my effort to enhance the validity of this study. To guard against my own biases, I invited Bishop Robert Rose, retired bishop of Grand Rapids, and Fr. Dennis Morrow, diocesan archivist, to read my research with a critical eye toward accuracy and provide me with their own personal insights.

Research Tradition

This study utilized an interpretive research methodology. This type of methodology has its basis in 19th century German neo-Kantian philosophy (critical
idealists) and the social interpretivists of 20th century Europe who maintained

1. that understanding the human social world required more than a value-free, factual assessment based on the five senses;
2. that facts could not be separated from knowledge of values, not only of the observed but also the a priori knowledge of the observer;
3. that language organized perceived physical stimuli into sense making that was individual, subject to prior knowledge and cultural background (Yanow, 2000, p. 7).

Immanuel Kant, 18th century German philosopher, was the father of Critical Idealism. His Critical Idealism pushed him to investigate the limits of human understanding and reasoning (Durant, 1926). Kant had a tremendous influence on Georg Hegel, 19th century German philosopher, who believed that what is truly real in the world is mind or spirit, not material things. He developed the dialectical process of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis to show how ideas are constantly evolving. No condition is permanent. He believed that change is a principle of life (Durant, p. 323).

Hegel, in turn, influenced Weber and Durkheim, both early German sociologists. Weber employed an interpretive approach to social science. His sociological theories were an attempt to create tools to analyze the institutional underpinning of the economy. Durkheim described the symbolic systems of knowledge, belief, and moral authority. He laid the foundation for institutional analysis (Collins, 1985).

Cooley (1902), an early 20th century sociologist, focused on the interactions and interdependence between individuals and institutions. He believed that the great institutions--family, church, school, and government--appeared to stand
independently but existed interdependently.

Interpretive methodology provides me with a way to understand interpretive groups or communities that exist and interact within the Diocese of Grand Rapids. These groups include students, parents, benefactors, bishops, priests, and nuns. The technical core of the schools of the Diocese of Grand Rapids, which includes its curriculum, provides a tangible means of studying what the organization values.

Interpretive methodology attempts to define how groups of people share commonalities and thus interact with their environment. Members of a community use the same or similar cognitive mechanisms and engage in similar acts and similar language to talk about thought and action (Yannow, 2000, p. 10). The culture (shared thoughts and meanings), language, and behaviors define an interpretive community. Interpretive methodology attempts to understand organizational behavior by defining the processes by which those organizations were formed.

Change occurs in the context of a structure. The structure provides a framework that can be altered. The alteration is the result of change. I wanted to know what influenced the structure of Catholic education to bring about change. Using the qualitative tradition of interpretive methodology, research on change can lead to interpretation and clarification of the phenomena of change. This interpretive method allows the researcher to clarify and describe the complexity of the problem (Peshkin, 1993).

My research method also included a contextualist mode of analysis so that I could study the organization of Catholic school education in a holistic manner. This allowed me to study the phenomenon as a complete system. By holistic I mean to
explore the contexts, content, and process that link social interaction and social phenomena together as part of a system interconnected through time (Pettigrew, 1995).

Stephen Pepper (1942) initially proposed the theory of contextualism. The basis of contextualism is a way of creating knowledge and understanding by exploring historical events as outcomes or results of a series of other events or actions, and interconnected by referents that often trigger critical incidents that challenge organizations to make changes. Historical events occur within a context. These events are a response to actions or interactions within the environment of the event (Brandon, 2004).

By using a contextualist mode, the process of change can be revealed through the interactions of the environment upon the operation of the schools, and the responses of this organization’s core activities to those environmental pressures. I studied change within the structure of the organization (vertical), and sequential interactions through time (horizontal). This approach provided a means of organizing research on both a vertical framework and horizontal continuum (Pettigrew, 1995). By identifying the interpretive communities, activities, and interactions with the environment, I had a context in which to look for explanations of the change phenomena observed (Pettigrew, 1995).

Conceptual Framework

In order to understand persistence and change in Catholic education, my study began by exploring the concepts of institutional theory and resource dependency theory. The work of Parsons (1960) and Thompson (2003) is of particular importance
in this field. Studying change in organizations permits the change process to be seen through influences that come from the environment upon the operation of the organization. Because schools are institutions and are impacted by their dependence upon resources, this is an appropriate place to begin. I then moved into the study of institutions and organizations as outlined in the work of Scott (2001).

*The Parsons/Thompson Conceptualization of Organizations*

Parsons examined the relation between an organization and its environment. He looked at the ways in which the value system of an organization is legitimated by its connections to the main institutional patterns in different functional contexts (Scott, 2001). He believed that there were wider normative structures that serve to legitimate the existence of organizations. They legitimize the main functional patterns of operation which are necessary to implement the values (Scott). As an example of this, Parsons suggested that schools receive legitimacy in a society to the extent that their goals are connected to wider cultural values (Scott).

Based on this concept of institution, Parsons argued that organizations tend to become differentiated vertically into three distinct layers or levels: the technical, concerned with production activities; the managerial, concerned with control and coordination activities and the procurement of resources and disposal of products; and the institutional, concerned with relating the organization to the norms and conventions of the community and society (Scott). Every organization is a subsystem of a wider social system that is the source of legitimation, or higher level support, which makes the implementation of the organizations goals possible. In discussing the points of articulation between the three system levels, Parsons noted that they are
characterized by a qualitative break in the simple continuity of line authority because the functions at each level are qualitatively different (Scott).

Parsons’ organizational levels were embraced by Thompson (2003) (See figure 1). He saw that the different shapes of organizational structure and organizational responses were contingent upon differences in technology, coordination problems, and environmental pressures. Thompson saw organizational forms as human creations that solve a variety of decision making and coordination problems (Thompson).

Thompson proposed a “levels” model in which all organizations are open to the environment; all organizations must adapt to the environment by crafting appropriate structures; and organizations are differentiated systems with some components designed to be more open or closed to environmental influences than others (Thompson, 2003).

In a closed system, the variables are controlled. That is, the influence of outside forces is controlled and predictable. The ingredients of the organization are deliberately chosen to attain the goal. In an open system, some variables are subject to influences that cannot be controlled or predicted. Interdependent parts contribute to and receive from the whole, which, in turn, is interdependent with the larger environment. Survival of the system is the goal. The parts and their relationships are determined through an evolutionary process (Thompson, 2003). Scott (2001) calls schools “open systems” because they reflect in their internal structures the cultural beliefs and rules existing in the wider institutional environment and because the environment shapes, penetrates, and renews the organization.
Expanding on Parsons’ organizational model (1960), Thompson proposed that the function of the technical level is to perform a task effectively. In a school (Catholic or public), the task is to take students from the environment (input) and educate them so that they can get a job or be socialized into a particular culture. This technical level attempts to function as a closed system so that it can perform its task efficiently. Teachers need to be able to teach with as little interference as possible. The function of the managerial level is to serve the technical level by mediating between the technical level and those who use its product (i.e. customers, students), and procuring resources necessary to carry out the technical functions. In Catholic education, this can include fund-raising activities, as well as hiring teachers. The managerial level
controls (administers) the technical sub-organization by deciding the broad task to be carried out (setting curriculum), the scale of the operation (teacher/student ratio), and employment and purchasing policy. The institutional level provides the source of meaning or legitimation for the organization. This makes the implementation of the organization’s goals possible. It also allows the organization to command resources and subject its customers to discipline (diocese, bishop, pastor). This level is concerned with elements of the environment and is subject to generalized norms (i.e. laws, customs, and practices; Thompson, 2003, p. 11).

While the technical level can be framed as a closed system, the institutional level is an open system. Each level of an organization has a specific rationality, an explanation or reason for its existence. Thompson (2003) describes the technical rationality as a system of cause and effect relationships that leads to a desired result or activities that produce the desired outcome. Technical rationality can be measured with instrumental criteria--measure results achieved--or, with economic criteria--the results were obtained with the least expenditure of resources.

The managerial level has organizational rationality. This rationality comes from the ability to acquire the inputs and dispense the outputs necessary for the organization to survive. In other words, in order for the technical level to perform its task, that level must receive inputs (something to perform the task on) in order to produce outputs (the desired outcome). If the goal of a school is to socialize children and give them skills to function in society, it first must have students to educate (inputs) before it can give the society educated citizens (outputs). These inputs and outputs come from the task environment. They are the basis for resource
dependency. Part of the organizational rationality is to seal off or buffer the core technologies from environmental influences. Organizations seek to anticipate and adapt to environmental changes that cannot be buffered (Thompson, 2003).

Rationality at the institutional level comes from its ability to provide legitimacy, the generalized perception or assumption that the actions of the organization are desirable, proper, or appropriate within a socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions. Legitimacy in resource dependence is itself a resource. However, it is not an input used to produce an output. Rather, it is a symbolic value displayed in a manner visible to outsiders (Scott, 2001). Legitimation involves connecting the organization to a wider cultural frame within the institutional environment. There are various types of authorities empowered to confer legitimacy. Some are cultural (accepted way of doing things) while others are political (the State or its agents, Scott). In the end, whose values define legitimacy is a matter of concerted social power (Stinchcombe, 1965).

The environment refers to everything outside of those activities controlled by the organization. Not everything in the environment is directly related to the organization or the task it attempts to perform. Some parts of the environment are relevant to the organization and its task. Those parts are referred to as the relevant or task environment. Thompson identifies the task environment as where the organization is directly impacted by the environment. The task environment is the part of the environment relevant to goal setting and attaining. It is here that the exchange of input and output takes place. The task environment includes competitors, customers, regulatory groups and suppliers. Organizations are
dependent on some elements of the task environment in proportion to the organizations need for resources, or in an inverse proportion to the ability of other elements to provide the same resource.

It is in the task environment that the organization establishes a domain. The domain is a claim that an organization stakes out for itself. This may include a range of products, a population served, or service rendered. The domain identifies the points at which an organization is dependent on inputs from the environment (Thompson, 2003). Attaining a viable domain requires finding and holding a position recognized as more worthwhile than any alternatives (Pfeffer & Salancik, 2003). When this position is established, a domain consensus forms. The domain consensus defines a set of expectations both for members of the organization and with whom they interact, regarding what the organization will and will not do. In other words, this domain consensus helps to explain for what purpose the organization exists (Thompson, 2003).

The relationship between an organization and its task environment is one of exchange. If what the organization offers is not desirable, it will not receive the inputs necessary to survive (Thompson, 2003). Organizations are bound up with conditions of their environment. Any given organization needs to remove as much uncertainty as possible from its technical core by reducing the number of variables operating on it if it is to effectively accomplish its goals. Organizations survive to the extent that they are effective. Effectiveness derives from the management of demands of various interest groups upon which the organization depends for resources and support (Pfeffer & Salancik, 2003).
Organizational survival is tied to the ability to acquire and maintain resources. Monasteries need to find recruits from outside their community if they wish their community to survive. Organizations must transact with other elements in their environment to acquire needed resources. Organizations will be influenced by those who control the resources they require. Moreover, each element with which the organization exchanges is itself involved in a network of interdependence, each with its own domain and task environment (Thompson, 2003). Managing dependency and interdependency becomes a function of the managerial level of each organization.

Interdependence is a consequence of open systems. Organizations must transact with elements of the environment in order to obtain resources necessary for survival. Interdependence is characterized by the flow of these transactions. This interdependence will vary with the availability of resources to the demand (Pfeffer & Salancik, 2003).

When environments change, organizations face the prospect of not surviving or changing their activities in response to these environmental factors. Organizations do not respond to every event in the environment because they may be isolated or buffered from the event. Faced with conflicting demands, the organization must decide which groups to attend to and which to ignore. This is a function of the managerial level to determine. The role of management is to guide and control the process of manipulating the environment. Management must also recognize the social context and constraints within which the organization must operate (Pfeffer & Salancik, 2003). The organization collects information regarding the environment in order to decide how to react to changes in the environment. The ability of the
organization to create acceptable outcomes and actions is called organizational
effectiveness (Pfeffer & Salancik). This is the crux of resource dependency. If the
organization demonstrates effectiveness, resources from the task environment will
continue to flow toward the organization, thus allowing the organization to continue
making transactions of input and output. This, in turn, strengthens the legitimacy the
organization exercises in the environment.

The organizational boundary describes everything that makes up the organization.
It is a collective structure. The boundary is where the discretion of an organization to
control an activity is less than the discretion of another to control the activity (Pfeffer
& Salancik, 2003). Organizations use discretion and react over time to environmental
changes. Discretion is the capacity to determine the allocation or use of a resource.
Bases for control of a resource include possession of a resource, access to a resource,
use of the resource or controlling how it is used, and the ability to make rules or
regulate the resource. Possession can include knowledge or information as a
resource. The kind of information an organization has about the environment will
vary with its connections to the environment. Access is any process that affects the
allocation of resources. This provides a certain degree of control (Pfeffer & Salancik).

Organizations adapt their structures to handle constraints and contingencies.
Actions are constrained whenever one response to a situation is more probable than
any other response. In other words, the choices the organization has are limited.
Organizational behavior can be constrained by physical realities, social influence,
information capacity, or personal preference (Pfeffer & Salancik, 2003).

Contingencies are alternative responses made when the environment restricts
resources necessary to perform the task the organization is organized around.

One way organizations attempt to control their task environment is called boundary spanning. They attempt to extend the organization’s boundary into the task environment, the goal being to bring additional elements into the structure of the organization. The crucial problem involved with boundary spanning is adjusting to constraints not controlled by the organization. Organizations facing heterogeneous environments seek to identify homogeneous segments and establish structural units to deal with it. School districts create elementary schools as well as middle schools and secondary schools as a result of this principle. Organizations facing a stable environment rely on rules to achieve adaptation to the environment. Organizations that can not adapt will not survive. When the range of variations is unpredictable or large, the organization achieves adaptation by monitoring the environment and planning appropriate responses (Pfeffer & Salancik, 2003).

Appropriate organizational responses to the environment include buffering, controlling input/output exchanges, and dependence on a variety of exchanges. Buffering protects the organization from swings in the availability of certain resources. By developing inventories, an organization buffers itself, thus allowing the technical core to continue performing its task or activity. When a Catholic school establishes an endowment fund, it is buffering itself from economic uncertainty in the future. By controlling the input or output exchange, the managerial level can control those elements that provide resources to the organization (benefactors). The use of entrance requirements at private schools is an example of this. Diversification is a way in which an organization can become dependent on a variety of exchanges and
therefore become less dependent upon any single exchange (Pfeffer & Salancik, 2003).

Persistence in organizations cannot be assumed. A variety of environmental pressures exist at any given time that threaten the survival of an organization. Organizations can either change to fit the environment or alter the environment to fit the organization’s capabilities. Those that cannot adjust run the risk of beginning to deinstitutionalize. Those that create new solutions in the midst of conflict bring about evolutionary change within the organization. Scott (2001) describes this process by which an organization weakens and disappears as being the result of pressures on the organization. These pressures can be functional in nature, arising from perceived problems in performance levels; political, resulting from shifts in interest that provide support; or social, when divergent or discordant beliefs and practices exist (Scott).

A number of external factors exist that can bring about organizational change. The introduction of new technologies can bring about changes if their introduction causes the performance level of the technical core to diminish. Management innovations can affect performance as well as the acquisition of new resources. When U.S. automakers tried to incorporate Japanese management techniques, those techniques were met with resistance. Changes in political policies can bring about change. When the U.S. government shifted its support away from cigarette manufacturers and tobacco growers, that industry was faced with change. Major political upheavals (i.e. war, revolution) affect markets and production, thus precipitating change. Social reform movements such as civil rights, and shifts in cultural beliefs and practices such as concern for the natural environment, can also
precipitate change in an organization (Scott, 2001).

The seeds of change are found within and outside each organization. Even highly stable organizations can be dismantled. Internal tensions may arise when technical performance fluctuates or management alters the system of production. External conditions, which may be political, economic, or technological, can make organizations vulnerable to change (Scott, 2001).

**Institutional Environment**

Institutions are multifaceted, durable, social structures made up of symbolic elements, social activities, and material resources. They are relatively resistant to change and tend to be transmitted across generations in order to be maintained and reproduced (Scott, 2001).

Institutions exhibit these properties because of the processes set in motion by regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive elements (Scott, 2001; see figure 2.) that are found in the institutional environment in which the organization exists. Brandon (2004) also includes affective elements. These elements are the building blocks of the institutional structure. They provide a foundation and are responsible for any resistance an organization may exhibit toward change. Rules, norms, beliefs and values arise in interaction and are preserved and modified by human behavior (Scott).

Institutions control and constrain behavior by defining legal, moral, and cultural boundaries. They also support and empower activities and actors. Institutions provide guidelines and resources for acting, as well as prohibitions and constraints on action (Scott, p.50). It seems that this ability to control and constrain is a result of the legitimacy the institution holds within the environment. Although institutions
provide the environment with stability and order, they are subject to change (Scott). They change in order to adjust to the environment, to survive, and to maintain their legitimacy.

Scott (2001) describes the elements that support and provide structure to an institution as pillars. He describes each pillar as being made up of principal dimensions on which assumptions and arguments can be made. They are the regulative pillar, normative pillar, and cultural-cognitive pillar (p. 51).

The regulative pillar allows the institutional environment to constrain and regulate behavior. In this pillar, rules are very important. Rules are established by the institution and monitored for conformity. The organization is allowed to sanction activities by rewarding or punishing behavior in order to influence future behavior (Scott, 2001). In education, this pillar would regulate who is hired to teach in schools. In Catholic schools it would be rules that require teachers to be practicing Catholics. The role of the bishop is also one of regulating behavior in the diocese, including schools.

These regulative activities may be informal such as shaming, shunning or avoiding other in order to get compliance. Or they may be formal, such as using the police or court system. Written rules or codes of conduct are indicators of the regulative pillar. The Catholic Church in each diocese has its own court (tribunal) and its own laws (Canon Law). The legitimacy of this pillar derives from the law as it is represented in the institutional environment. While all organizations have a regulative pillar, certain organizations, such as governments (including Church government), rely on the use of authority to coerce compliance. Coercive power is
legitimated by a normative framework that supports and constrains the exercise of power (Scott, 2001).

The normative pillar includes both values and norms. Emphasis is placed on normative rules that introduce a prescriptive, evaluative, and obligatory dimension into social life (Scott, 2001). Values can be described as conceptions of what is preferred or desirable. They are standards to which existing structures/behaviors can be compared or assessed. Norms specify how things should be done. They define legitimate means to pursue valued ends. Normative systems define goals and objectives. They also designate appropriate ways to pursue them (Scott).

Norms and values may apply to all members; others may apply only to a select group. Teaching sisters in Catholic schools were all practicing Catholics and followed the general norms established for all Catholics. Special norms existed for them, because they were Sisters, in addition to the general norms. This gives rise to roles. Roles are conceptions of appropriate goals and activities for particular individuals or specified social positions. In an organizational context, particular positions carry specified rights and responsibilities and allow access to material resources (Scott, 2001).

Normative systems impose constraints on social behavior. They also can empower and enable social action. Theorists who embrace a normative conception of institutions emphasize the stabilizing influence of social beliefs and norms, which are both imposed and internalized by others. Shared norms and values are regarded as the basis of a stable social order (Scott, 2001). Organized religions are normative as well as regulative organizations that use their moral authority to maintain legitimacy.
Their regulative influence has little effect if the environment doesn’t support its norms and values.

The cultural-cognitive pillar is the third pillar that Scott (2003) describes. This pillar consists of the shared conceptions that constitute the nature of social reality and frame its meaning (p. 57). These conceptions include symbols that shape that meaning: words, language, signs, and gestures. These conceptions act as internalized symbolic representation of the world. These symbols have their effect by shaping the meaning we attribute to objects and activities. For Catholics these include the sacraments (Eucharist, baptism), the Mass, sacramentals (rosaries, medals) and prayers. Meanings are employed to make sense of the ongoing stream of happenings (Scott, 2001).

A cultural-cognitive conception of institutions stresses the central role played by the socially mediated construction of a common framework of meaning. This common framework provides a template for specific actions as well as routines (Scott, 2001). Culture has a homogenizing influence on the individual. It allows an individual to be free from making deliberate choices from a host of possibilities, including language, religious observance, attitudes toward authority, and the perception and categorization of reality (Scott). Educational organizations are examples of cultural-cognitive institutions that maintain their legitimacy by the culture itself.

Brandon (2004) has proposed a fourth pillar: the affective pillar. The affective is that which brings about emotion or emotional responses, how one feels about something. Emotions are not symbolic. However, symbols can evoke emotions. A
flag may be symbolic; however, the response to someone burning the flag is not. Emotion tends to cross cultures. Because individuals belong to organizations and they belong to the environment as well, they are in a unique position to influence the activities of the organization. Anger, joy, love, and fear are inherent qualities in human beings. These emotions are conditioned responses to the culture. Because individuals are interdependent on others in varying ways, the response of one individual may affect many more individuals within the organization and influence how they, in turn, respond to the environment or a specified situation that arises.

Human action emerges from the interaction of the individual and the situations they find themselves in. The individual comes to the situation with a set of aspirations, standards, knowledge, and beliefs. The situation may provide the individual with opportunities or constraints. The individual will always try to exploit opportunities (Scott, 2001). As mentioned above, each pillar provides a basis for legitimacy. The affective pillar finds its legitimacy in the validation given it by the individual. The individual responses may be affected by historical events, such as war, or cultural/sociological factors, such as family.
Institutional Environment

Comprised of elements referred to as pillars:
- Regulative elements
- Normative elements
- Language elements
- Affective elements

Figure 2. Conceptual Model of the Pillars of Institutions

From an institutional perspective, legitimacy is a condition reflecting a perceived consonance or alignment with relevant rules, normative support, or cultural-cognitive frameworks (Scott, 2001). In a resource dependency model or approach, legitimacy is seen as a resource, something to be acquired from the environment. Scott (2003) sees legitimacy as not an input used to produce some new output but a symbolic value to be displayed in a manner visible to outsiders (p. 59). Legitimation involves connecting the institution to the wider cultural framework.

Weber (1947) was among the first social theorists to call attention to the
importance of legitimacy in social life. Parsons (1960) applied the concept of legitimacy to the assessment of organizational goals. He saw organizations as being under normative pressure to ensure that their goals are congruent with wider societal values. This conception of legitimacy, emphasizing the consistency of organizational goals with social functions, has been embraced by Pfeffer (2003) and colleagues (Scott, 2001).

Independent of an organization’s productivity, the organization that exists in an elaborate institutional environment and succeeds in absorbing and interacting with that environment will gain the legitimacy and the resources necessary to survive. These individual organizations will exhibit culturally approved forms and activities. They will receive support from normative authorities and have approval from legal bodies. These organizations are more likely to survive than organizations that lack these. This interaction with the institutional environment, which is the copying and imitation of institutional myths and rules, is called isomorphism (Scott, 2001).

Organizations are supported and constrained by institutional forces. The pillars are representations of these forces. Not all institutional forces are conducive to organizational growth and sustenance (Scott, 2001). Organizations have arisen and gained prominence in part because of the development of distinctive cultural logics that attempt to rationalize the nature of the physical and social world (Scott, 2001). According to Scott (2003), rationalized beliefs support the rise of institutions (p. 88). A rationalized conception of the world recognizes specific purposes and the rule-like principles devised to govern activity. Rationalization involves the creation of cultural schemes that define means-ends relationships and standardized systems of control over activities and actors. Individual actors carry out practices that are simultaneously
constrained and empowered by existing social structures (Scott, 2001). Rationalization also entails the creation of entities endowed with interests and having a capacity to take action called social units (Scott, 2001).

In determining how institutions arise and persist, one must look at the pillars that support the institution: regulative, normative, cultural (Scott, 2001) or affective. Institutions do not emerge in a vacuum. They displace prior institutions. Processes and conditions in the environment give rise to new rules and associated practices. Where institutions arise is determined by where in the social structure particular shared understandings arise: world, field, population, organizational, or interpersonal level.

Because new organizations must rely on existing ideas, technologies, and social routines, organizations take on a character of the institutional environment to which they belong (Stinchcombe, 1965). They reflect the historical conditions of their origin and persist over time (Scott, 2001).

Persistence cannot be presumed. An organization must work at maintaining stability. The transmission of beliefs and practices is a vital process underlying persistence. While inertia is a normal state for organizations, eventually something will arise that will change it. Inertia refers to those activities within the organization that direct attention, continuation, and completion of the organization’s goals and objectives. Structure persists only to the extent that actors are able to continuously produce and reproduce it (Scott, 2001).

Processes from outside the organization exist and trigger change within the organization. Some of the events that trigger change can be found in the institutional environment; others are found in task environment. When multiple organizations overlap
change may be precipitated. These external factors include new technologies, management innovations, changes in political policies, major political upheavals (war, revolution), social reform movements, and shifts in cultural beliefs and practices (Scott, 2001).

Conflicting norms and cultural models can also occur within an institutional framework. Internal tensions between components can induce change. These tensions occur when general rules are applied to specific situations. Rules must be adapted and amended. Over time rules evolve and erode. Ideas, including institutional beliefs, norms, and rules, require social carriers. Humans, as highly mobile carriers of ideas, come into contact with other humans carrying different ideas. As they interact, this precipitates change based on the interpretations they make of these ideas (Scott, 2001).

Cultural beliefs play a role in terms of social arrangements, in particular organizations. Institutional actors or agents are, at the same time, products of and carriers of broader cultural frameworks. The environment functions as an evolving set of rationalized patterns, models, or cultural schemes that affect the rise and evolution of organizations (Scott, 2001).

Societies acquire, as a result of distinct historical developments, a set of organizing logics. These logics include beliefs, norms, and routine practices. Logics are belief systems and their related practices. These logics are systems of ideas that inhibit the development of alternative models and provide repositories of distinctive capabilities (Scott, 2001). Culture encompasses the social rules by which values are created and understandings of cause and effect are crafted (Scott). Institutional structures frame rational decision-making.
Organizations will continue to evolve and change because the context in which they exist changes over time. The particular context within which an organization develops and operates affects what it does and how it does it. Historical studies help to provide an institutional context. Each organization has its own history. How a social system develops and operates affects its structure and capacity for action (Scott, 2001).
CHAPTER 3: HISTORY OF CATHOLIC EDUCATION

To understand Catholic schools in the Diocese of Grand Rapids requires one to understand the history of Catholic education in the United States and its origins in Europe. The story of Catholic school education in the United States is unique to the American experience. These schools were not created to be organs of the State like public schools. Rather, they were created as a response to the environment that Catholics faced in this country as a result of the practice of their faith. It seems that the retention of cultural values, including the faith experience, had as much to do with this as academic excellence. These schools had a cultural as well as technical reason to exist.

Part A. History of Catholic Education prior to the Founding of the United States

*Augustinian to Carolingian period (300 A.D. – 800 A.D.)*

The early Christian Church was challenged first by the Jewish society from which it sprang and then from the Roman Empire to which it quickly spread. It spread in part because its beliefs were revolutionary for the times, the leadership of Paul and the other apostles was dynamic, and the new Christians believed that the end of the world was imminent. The Christian sect of the Mediterranean world quickly fell victim to terrible persecutions from various Roman emperors.

With the edict of Milan in 313 A.D., Christianity as a religion became legitimate. Constantine’s edict allowed the complete toleration by the State to anyone who was a Christian. All previous anti-Christian decrees were revoked, places of worship and property seized were restored, and compensation was provided. Christianity was given full legal recognition (Johnson, 1987).
Christianity had just come through a period of extreme persecution. The Church had no schools or centers of learning of its own. The universities and public academies were run by the State and were usually in pagan (non-Christian) hands. Even in the eastern end of the Empire, where paganism was eliminated sooner, education remained the concern of the State. The essential purpose of universities was to train for civil service (Johnson, 1987).

In the western reaches of the Empire, the public system of education disappeared in the course of the 5th and 6th centuries. This provided the Church with a unique opportunity to capture society by its roots. Education would become a means of domination and a tool of war by one culture over another. The Church had a chance not merely to establish a stranglehold on education but to recreate the whole process, content, and purpose of education in a Christian setting (Johnson, 1987).

That process and purpose had been developed earlier by St. Augustine (354-430 AD), the bishop of Hippo, in North Africa. Augustine, through his writings (The Confessions, and later, The City of God), encouraged the development of a total Christian society. The idea was to build the kingdom of God here on earth (the City of God) in preparation for Jesus’ return. The Church should embrace every aspect of society and contain the answer to every question. Augustine sketched an outline of a Latin-Christian system of knowledge in which every aspect of human creativity and intellectual endeavor was related to Christian belief. The matrix he produced continued to be elaborated throughout the middle ages (Johnson, 1987).

During the 5th century when Roman institutions were crumbling, no attempt was made to create Christian schools. The first suggestion was made in 536, when
Cassiodorus, a prominent Christian layman who was secretary to the Ostrogothic king, Theodoric, asked Pope Agapetus to found a Christian university in Rome. The project was started but collapsed during the Gothic-Byzantine wars (Johnson, 1987).

Cassiodorus himself created a Christian institution at Squillace in Calabria, at which laymen and monks copied manuscripts of standard texts. Developing the ideas of Augustine, he prepared an encyclopedic course of study, both secular and divine, for Christian ascetics. For the first time, a great portion of available knowledge was assembled for a Christian purpose. In the next two generations, the Cassiodoran system was taken up in Seville under Bishop Isidore. Seville had become a gathering place for scholarly Christian refugees (Johnson, 1987).

Over a period of twenty years, Isidore and his assistants compiled a vast survey of human knowledge, arranged etymologically. His object was partly to assist the Visigothic kings and partly to instruct his own priests and monks. His work, made public in 636 AD, first described the seven liberal arts: grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy. It also described the dependent arts: medicine, law, and chronology. It then moved on to the bible and its interpretation, and the Church’s canons and offices. Isidore completed the Augustinian revolution. Here was the sum of human knowledge in which Christian doctrine and teaching and the role of the Church was placed at the center of the intellectual universe.

Isidore’s *Etymologies*, edited in 20 books by the bishop of Saragossa, became the basis for all teaching in the West for 800 years. His teaching determined the educational method, as well as the content, from the primary to the university level (Johnson, 1987).

This period of time began with a strong Roman Empire ruled by a strong emperor
Constantine. The conversion of Constantine to Christianity aligned the Roman Empire with the emerging Christian church in a working partnership. The Church was influenced by the changes that overcame the Empire as it split into two parts. The western sector of the Empire lacked a coordinated economic system that could be policed and taxed by a central government. Unable to collect taxes, the authorities, now located in Constantinople in the eastern sector of the Empire, could not maintain a currency and pay the legions in the West. There was a vacuum of government.

The pope, as bishop of Rome, ruled what was a duchy of the Empire, and paid taxes accordingly. The West, as a whole, became an area of tribal settlement, in which semi-barbarous kingdoms existed behind fluctuating frontiers. The Roman Church found itself the residual legatee of Roman culture and civilization (Johnson, 1987). The great tribal confederations did not so much break up the Western Empire as occupy an area that had already lost its unifying institutional force. It was in this vacuum that the Church imposed Christian characteristics on the law, achieved a dominant role in the agrarian economy, and established a monopoly on education and culture.

Pope Gregory the Great (reigned 590 AD-604 AD) revised the calendar, encouraged the growth of monasteries, and contributed to the establishment of schools. It is said that, on his orders, when children were brought to the marketplace seeking work, they were taken to schools and given an education (Knab, 1993). The custom of celebrating the Feast of St. Gregory by school children began in Italy and spread to France, Belgium, Germany, and finally to Poland. It was on this day that parents in Poland would take children to school for the first time. During medieval times when sending children to school was not a mandatory affair, it was the hope of Polish officials
By the time Charlemagne was crowned emperor in 800 AD, the pope had become a king-maker. The emperor received the crown from the pope. The Church had now integrated the system of government with Christian teaching and practice as well as making the ruler a functionary of Christian theology (Johnson, 1987). The leader of the Franks was now an emperor with greater legitimacy given him by the Church.

One characteristic of the Carolingian (Charlemagne) period was the attempt to use the resources of the Church in order to produce the educated layman. In 787, Charlemagne decreed that all monasteries and cathedrals must open their schools to every boy in the empire who desired an education (Augenstein, 2003). Charlemagne had for his chief cultural and religious adviser Alcuin, the abbot of St. Martin’s Abbey, Tours, France, the most learned man of his day. In 789 AD, Alcuin caused the king to issue the *Admonitio Generalis*, a magisterial statement of Church policy. Article 72 of the decree dealt with the establishment and maintenance of monastic and cathedral schools and the transcription and correction of biblical and liturgical texts. Charlemagne built and endowed schools because he needed trained clergy to convert the Frisians, Saxons, Slavs, and Avars and because he needed more priests for the Frankish people who were already nominally Christian (Johnson, 1987). In the 7th and 8th centuries, the monks were the only agents through which the works of Isidore could be dispersed throughout barbarian Europe. The Church exercised a complete monopoly on society in general and education specifically as Christianity spread.

Education was viewed as a means to an end, the end being the building of the Kingdom of God. Not long after Charlemagne’s death, complaints were beginning to
surface from monasteries that it was not their job to educate men unless they intended to become monks. But monastic and cathedral schools were virtually the only ones available. The failure of lay education to develop at the same pace as clerical education would cause a chasm between the clerical world and lay people, which would find its completeness in the Reformation (Johnson, 1987).

Renaissance and Reformation Period (13th Century-15th Century)

By 1512 AD it was already clear that the old medieval Church, the total Christian society dating from the Carolingian times, was breaking up. The Christian universities that had sprung up from the total society were in a state of change and uncertainty. These universities had, as their underpinning metaphysics, an explanation of the natural world using the supernatural or metaphysical. This model, championed by St. Thomas Aquinas, had a structure based in logic that produced answers to every conceivable human question. The metaphysical model taught that many of the basic elements of Christianity could not be demonstrated by logic but needed to be accepted by faith (Johnson, 1987).

In the 15th century, scholars (Erasmus, Pascal) turned increasingly to re-examine the fundamental credentials of Christianity: Scripture, Church documents, and writings of the early Church fathers. Italian Renaissance scholars used these texts as standards of measurement for conventional western learning. In the new schools these scholars would develop, there would be no separation between secular and religious learning. Ancient texts from Plato and Pythagoras were seen as anticipating and confirming Christianity. Men were now able to study the Hebrew and Greek texts of scripture and compare them with the received version in Latin, which had been held as sacred for centuries. The message of this new learning was that through greater knowledge, a purer spiritual truth
could be attained (Johnson, 1987). This new intellectual movement would be used to press for reform in the Church. The spread of new knowledge coincided with the development of printing, which ensured the acceleration of both. The object of Renaissance reformers was to bring the idea of the total Christian society up to date, to use new knowledge to correct its accumulated abuses and imperfections (Johnson).

Laymen entered the field of education decisively at all levels. The Renaissance fueled the Reformation by presenting clericalism as an obstacle to learning and truth. During the ensuing Reformation period, Protestant society devoted a greater proportion of their total resources to education, since a large slice of the endowment made available from dissolving monasteries had been allocated to grammar schools and universities (Johnson, 1987). The practical difficulty of reforming the clergy effectively compelled laymen to invade spheres, particularly education, which clerics had formerly monopolized. The church still claimed the right to control teaching, but more and more schools were being endowed by laymen and run by them (Johnson).

During the 14th and 15th centuries, the papacy continually handed over to the emerging rulers of Europe its ecclesiastical sovereignty. The rulers of the States favored reforms of the Church. The papacy was opposed to reform because it was expensive in terms of revenues, and because of the power that generates revenues. There was a clash of interests. The States were growing stronger in relation to the Church. The papacy, to prevent itself from growing increasingly weaker, was trying to build up its own States in central Italy as a power base (Johnson, 1987).

The papacy’s response to the Reformation was the Council of Trent (1545-1563). One of the Council’s outcomes was to create seminaries for the training of clergy. The
creation of seminaries served to open up the whole question of Christian education. Who should receive a Christian education? How should they be educated? What is the purpose of a Christian education? The Protestant challenge forced the Catholic world to take education seriously (Johnson, 1987). The response of the Church, the Counter-Reformation, was manifested in the Society of Jesus, or Jesuits. Founded by St. Ignatius Loyola, they became the first real education order of the Catholic Church. Their mission was to train others in the faith. They brought to the business of education a uniformity, discipline, and organization that was quite new. In 1599, the Jesuits created the Ratio Studiorum, a handbook for operating schools. The Ratio included practical directives for running a school such as how exams would be given, what students would study, and rules for students (e.g., students are not to come to school with swords or knives; Pavur, 2005). They became specialists in education and were especially successful among the upper classes (Johnson, 1987).

Jesuits provided education on demand. If a Catholic prince wanted an orthodox (Catholic) school established and conducted efficiently, he would apply to the Jesuits. The prince would supply the funds and building necessary, while the Jesuits would provide trained personnel. The Jesuit influence would be later felt by John Baptist de Lasalle, the founder of the Christian Brothers order, which also would be devoted to education.

This entire period was really marked with the struggle the Church faced in being challenged and eventually giving up its complete and total authority. Against this backdrop came the Council of Trent, which was more about strengthening papal power than reforming the Church (Johnson, 1987).
The Spanish Crown controlled its own Church, both at home and overseas. Spain had the only effective standing army on the European continent. The Spanish fleet controlled the Mediterranean Sea, and Spanish money supported Catholic efforts to reverse the spread of Protestantism. Spain was also in a position to explore the open seas in a quest to replenish its gold and silver reserves. With the discovery of the West Indies, Spain would have a new field of endeavor that would involve the clergy as well.

As European States and their leaders grew stronger and more powerful, the total Christian society, as envisioned by Augustine, would give way to the emergence of a society that revolved around a commercial economy during the 17th century (Johnson, 1987).

**Discovery and the Colonial Period (16th Century-18th Century)**

The discovery of the New World by European explorers brought opportunities for trade and colonization. Missionary activity was encouraged by the pope and supported by the Catholic monarchs who promoted exploration and trade.

Missionary work was undertaken almost entirely by the religious orders (Augustinians, Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans), led by the Franciscans on the instruction of the crown. The Spanish, in particular, needed a docile labor force and a sense of security. Conversion was to help provide this, although, where Europeans found it climatically and economically possible to settle in large numbers, the native peoples were expelled or exterminated (Johnson, 1987).

The Spanish devised what became known as the mission system. Beginning in 1565, the Spanish government provided financial support and physical protection for settlements established and administered by the Catholic Church (Walch, 1996). These
missions contained chapels that were used not only to dispense sacraments but also to
serve as classrooms. Education in these missions consisted of rote memorization and
displays of religious pageantry. In 1606, Spanish Franciscans opened a formal school in
St. Augustine, Florida, whose purpose was to teach children Christian doctrine, reading,
and writing (Groome, 2003). Mission educational efforts also included occupational
training and other aspects of Spanish civilization. The missionaries and the government
that supported them hoped to control Native Americans by making them the bottom rung
on a ladder of Spanish civilization (Walch, 1996).

While the Spanish missionaries moved north from Texas, California, and Florida,
French missionaries moved down from Canada. French missionary activity was similar
to that of the Spanish. Both were administered jointly by the Church and the
government, and both were dependent on the establishment of missions in strategic
locations (Walch, 1996). French efforts were largely a failure. Obstacles included a
sparsely populated Northeast and Midwest, long distances between missions, and
hostilities with natives.

After the deaths of Fr. Jean de Brebeuf and his companions at the hand of the
Iroquois, French missionary activity dwindled. By 1770 there was no ongoing
missionary activity outside established cities in New France. Educational activities were
confined to schools established in New Orleans and Quebec. In 1718 Franciscans opened
a school for boys in New Orleans. In 1727, the Ursuline Sisters established an academy
for girls in New Orleans. For both the intent was to catechize and to improve the lot of
their students by educating them in the faith and the common good (Groome, 2003).

The Protestant Dutch and English did not have religious orders and, therefore,
their governments did not take part in missionary activity. Presbyterians and Congregationalists, however, were interested in creating a religious state on the east coast of North America. The Mayflower Compact established the Plymouth Colony as a religious state in 1620. Very few Catholics emigrated to the English colonies. Most who came settled in Maryland, Rhode Island, and Pennsylvania, where they were tolerated.

The Jesuits started two schools in Maryland prior to the American Revolution. Newton Hall was started in 1640 and Bohemia Manor in 1745. Both of these schools were for boys, generally sons of landowners. Charles Carroll, signer of the Declaration of Independence, was a student of Bohemia Manor.

By 1765 there were only 25,000 Catholics out of a total population of 2 million in the English colonies. In the face of legal restrictions, colonial Catholic children received their education at home (Walch, 1996).

Part B. History of American Catholic Education during the 18th Century

*Early American Period (1700 A.D – 1830 A.D.)*

Catholics in Philadelphia established the first parochial (parish) school in 1783 (Walch, 1996). St. Mary School was operated by parish trustees. Through elected trustees, Catholic parents pooled their funds, built parish schools, hired Catholic teachers, and decided on curriculum. In 1788, Germans broke away from St. Mary’s and established Holy Trinity Church and School. Operating funds for both schools came from several sources: tuition, donations, and annuities. St. Mary’s trustees established a small endowment from donations received (See Figure 3).

As early as 1790, tens of thousands of Catholics from Ireland, France, and
Germany came to the United States (Walch, 1996). John Carroll, first bishop of the United States (Baltimore), faced the complicated task of Americanizing these foreign-born Catholics without compromising their religious faith (Walch). Without Catholic schools or similar institutions, the Church was at risk of losing untold numbers of Catholics. In his first pastoral letter (1792), Carroll emphasized the importance of Christian education as a means of instilling principles that would preserve religious faith (Walch, 1996). Concerns existed about financing Catholic schools. While the trustees’ experience proved to be successful in regard to financing schools, it proved to be troublesome to American bishops (including Carroll) and parish priests because these bishops and priests did not exercise complete control over Catholic education.

![Trustee Model of Organization Management]

In New York, Catholics began to establish their own schools and petitioned the State for the same public funding enjoyed by other denominational schools and
academies (Groome, 2003). The Catholic Church in New York began to become
dependent on the share of State school funds they received. As Catholic immigration
increased in New York, the Church could not keep up with educating these children. In
1825 the State of New York ended public funding for Catholic schools. New York would
continue to fall further and further behind in meeting the educational needs of Catholic
children (Walch, 1996). Little is known of Catholic schools in other cities in the early
19th century.

What would save and eventually make Catholic schools prosper was the
involvement of religious sisters. These sisters staffed schools at a minimal (subsistence)
expense. They were almost always loyal to the pastor, worked for next to nothing, and
staffed the school with as many teachers as necessary. Elizabeth Seton of Baltimore
started the first American group of these sisters, the Sisters of Charity (Walch, 1996).
Prior to this, the only group of Sisters working in the United States was the Ursulines,
who came from France. The Sisters of Charity staffed 15 schools in 11 cities along the
Eastern seaboard between 1809 and 1830. They also established schools (asylums) for
poor children throughout the United States (Walch, 1996). It is interesting to note that
the Ursuline Sisters operated a convent school in Boston for upper-class Protestant and
Unitarian families (Walch, 1996).

Summary

Catholic education in the United States evolved from the experiences involving
the establishment of Catholic education in Europe. The legalization of Christianity set
the groundwork for the establishment of Catholic schools throughout the continent.

Catholic schools in Europe were used for the training of clergy (Church
leadership) and for the noble classes (lay leadership). Education of the masses was never really a goal.

The history of these schools demonstrates a relationship between their function and structure. The Parsons (1960)/Thompson (2003) model can be used to explain this relationship.

Core Technology Level

The core technology level of an organization is where inputs are processed into outputs. Children come into the organization as inputs, receive training or socialization, and returned to the environment as an output of the organization or school. Inputs include not only students but the resources needed to teach them, including the teachers and the curriculum. Augustine envisioned a total Christian society by providing education in a Christian context. Charlemagne saw the value of promoting education in order to provide social stability. Heads of state and missionaries saw it as a means to civilize and subjugate a native population.

The technology has been modified through the periods already mentioned. Augustine outlined a Latin-Christian system of knowledge in which every aspect of human creativity and intellectual endeavor was related to Christian belief. Cassiodorus developed this idea into a course of study for Christian ascetics (probably not children). Bishop Isidore adapted the Cassiodoran method to the wealth of information his scholars collected and used it to teach princes and monks. Isidore defined what was being taught when he first described the 7 liberal arts and their 3 dependent arts. Isidore’s collection became the basis for all teaching for at least 800 years.

Charlemagne saw the value of education and developed cathedral schools for
laymen and monasteries to educate and train the clergy. A tension would develop about who should be taught: Monks or laymen?

The period before the Renaissance is often referred to as the Scholastic age. This was the high water mark for the total Christian society. The universities and schools of this period grounded their teaching of the liberal arts in metaphysics, the explanation of the natural world using the supernatural. Scholarship in the Renaissance and Reformation periods abandoned metaphysics and instead used ancient texts as measures for conventional learning. Hebrew and Greek texts were read and compared to Latin texts in order to attain greater knowledge. With the Reformation, education for the laity grew even more important. Protestants opened new schools at the same time that Catholic monarchs were establishing schools that would be orthodox in their teaching of the faith.

Education in the missions established by Spain consisted basically of rote memorization (probably from the bible or catechism) and religious pageantry. That evolved a bit when the school at St. Augustine was established, whose purpose also included reading and writing.

The academies established in new France also had as a purpose catechesis but added the need to educate students for the common good. These academies and the schools established by the Jesuits in Maryland were single-sex schools, for boys or for girls but not both together. We do not know what the curriculum was for those children in the colonies who were home-schooled. When the trustee schools developed, their purpose was to instill principles that would preserve religious faith. Elizabeth Seton and the Sisters of Charity included reading and writing as well as catechism in the schools they founded. Mother Seton specifically established schools for orphans and poor
Management Level

The managerial level of an organization is responsible for the procurement of resources and the management of inputs and outputs. This level has changed many times in the history of Catholic education.

From the fall of the Roman Empire until the Reformation, each monastery and the individual bishops, as well as popes, managed education. In the 5th and 6th century, the Church had an opportunity to recreate the whole process, content, and purpose of education in a Christian setting. The Church imposed Christian characteristics on culture and education. Cassiodorus, a layman, asked Pope Agapetus to found a Christian University in Rome, which he did. It collapsed during the Gothic-Byzantine wars. It is probable that resources went into fighting the wars and not into education. Charlemagne, using the resources of the Church, built and endowed many schools throughout the Empire.

After the Reformation, education was managed by religious orders such as the Jesuits, who were employed by the sovereign to provide education. Sovereigns provided funds to staff and build schools, and the Jesuits provided trained personnel, uniformity, discipline, and organization to the school.

Both the Spanish and French governments provided financial support and physical protection for the settlements and missions established and administered by the various religious communities of the Catholic Church. Wherever the religious orders established schools, they had complete control over their management and operation. Schools and academies operated by these orders often charged a tuition for their services.
In the early American period, the first parochial schools were established by parishes. The parish maintained control of the school through trustees, and hired teachers, including religious orders, to operate the schools. Over time the Church would regain managerial responsibility at the parish level by the priest when the Church eliminated the practice of trusteeism. With the increase in the number of orders of teaching sisters, costs were kept to a minimum because their compensation was minimal and thus less than what might have been paid to a lay teacher.

Elizabeth Seton, founder of the Sisters of Charity, used her personal fortune to establish schools where her community was invited. This also allowed her to determine that the emphasis of these schools would be on teaching poor children.

**Resource Dependency**

All organizations depend on resources in order to survive. Resources provide the organization with a means to perform the task it was organized to do. The pursuit of resources is the reason why legitimacy is so important to an organization. Legitimacy gives an organization the right to exist. Resources provide the organization with the means to do so.

The first Catholic schools were supported financially by individuals who founded schools or bishops who opened schools in their dioceses. When monasteries began opening schools, those monasteries used their own wealth to support these endeavors. As nation-states emerged, those monarchs or their nobility provided the resources to ensure that a school would survive. Religious orders such as the Ursuline Sisters charged fees or tuitions from their customers in order to support their schools.

As the United States developed, things would be different. This was not a
Catholic country with an established Catholic infrastructure. Most people who wanted a Catholic education sent their children to academies run by religious orders either in this country or, more likely, back in Europe.

When Catholic schools began to be established in the United States, the means of supporting schools had to be different. The expectation was that more than the affluent would be attending these schools. In some places, public funds were available to support Catholic schools. In most places, however, the funding for Catholic schools came from a subsidy provided by each parish that established a school. The subsidy was provided by members of the parish who provided the financial means for the parish to operate.

**Institutional Level**

At the institutional level the organization connects with the greater environment. It is at this level that the organization is aimed at gaining legitimacy and securing resources in order to conduct the work for which the organization was formed.

Legitimacy was given to Catholic schools because they provided the Church and, later, emerging nations with a means to socialize children into the dominant culture. When the church was developing the total Christian society, schools were a means to do this. When Europe was being conquered and converted in the 8th century, schools provided a means to assimilate the children of barbarians into the Christian culture. After the Reformation, Catholic schools ensured that the Catholic faith would be transmitted without heresy. Schools maintained their legitimacy by providing training for the leaders in the emerging nation-states of Europe.

The conversion of Constantine to Christianity aligned the Roman Empire with the emerging Christian Church in a working relationship. From the Edict of Milan to the fall
of the Empire, the Emperor provided the Catholic Church and its educational endeavors with legitimacy. As the Empire declined, the pope, as bishop of Rome, ruled what in fact was a Duchy of the Empire. He collected taxes and paid his share to Constantinople. The Church became the legatee of Roman culture and civilization. The Church took advantage of this to influence society and continue to grow in power. By the time of Charlemagne, the Church exercised a complete monopoly over society. The pope appointed the emperor, and used him to issue decrees such as *Admonitio Generalis* to strengthen its position. The authority of the pope provided educational endeavors with legitimacy.

During the 14th and 15th centuries, the papacy began handing over its ecclesiastical sovereignty to the emerging rulers of Europe. The States were growing stronger and would displace the Church’s authority in providing legitimacy. The control of the Spanish crown over the Church in Spain demonstrates this.

In the early history of the United States, legitimacy for Catholic education was first sought after by individual bishops, mainly John Carroll, who promoted the development of Catholic schools. Catholicism was viewed with hostility in many parts of the new nation. In Carroll’s letters he emphasized the importance of Christian education as a means of preserving the faith. He allowed the trustee model to be used to further promote the development of schools.

Legitimacy also came from other places. In New York State, public funding was used to support denominational schools. Socialization into the new American culture was important for the survival of the new nation. The public support of Catholic schools continued until 1825. Support by the State provided legitimacy. The fact that the
Ursuline Sisters could operate a convent school in Boston for upper-class Protestant and Unitarian families demonstrates legitimacy to their work provided from this particular group within the task environment.

Augustine envisioned education as a means to bring about a total Christian society. Education quickly became a means to educate future leaders of Church and state, the elite. Education was no longer about proselytizing or providing social stability, as it was in 8th century Europe. Schools like the Ursuline Academy in Boston provided the leadership class with a means to be socialized in the dominant culture that they would eventually inherit.
Chapter 4: THE DEVELOPMENT OF CATHOLIC SCHOOLS IN THE DIOCESE OF GRAND RAPIDS

To understand Catholic schools in the Diocese of Grand Rapids, I have divided their story into four distinct eras. The first era roughly covers 1833 (when the first school was established) to 1900 (after the diocese was created). The second era covers 1900 to 1938, when Catholic schools were dominated by the influence of the many immigrants to the community. The third era covers 1938 to 1971, when Catholic schools transitioned from schools for immigrants to American schools. The fourth era covers 1971 to 2005 and records the changes brought about by the Second Vatican Council and a shift from education for the masses to an elite education available to those who can afford it. The story of Catholic school education in the United States is unique to the American experience. The Grand Rapids experience reflects much of what was going on in Catholic education in other parts of the United States during these same periods of time (Walch, 1996)

The Forming of a Diocese: 1833-1900 (Era I)

Institutional Environment

The Diocese of Grand Rapids was established on May 19, 1882 (see illustration 1). At the time of its creation, 17 parochial schools existed in this territory, educating 2,867 pupils. A Catholic population of approximately 9,000 families resided in the 39 counties of the Diocese (Catholic Directory, Sadlier, 1883). To gain the proper perspective of how the Diocese developed requires a historical survey of the early work of the Catholic Church in Michigan as it relates to Western Michigan and Grand Rapids.
Illustration 1. The Diocese of Grand Rapids 1882

Map of the newly-formed Grand Rapids diocese in 1882.
Historical Background

The settlement of Lower Michigan began in 1701 with the establishment of Fort Ponchartrain du Detroit for New France on the present site of Detroit by Antoine Cadillac, a French military leader and trader. By the Treaty of Paris in 1763, Michigan became part of the British Empire. In 1796, a new Treaty of Paris brought the territory of Michigan under American rule, to remain the Michigan Territory until granted Statehood in 1837 (McGee, 1950). In 1787 Congress passed the Northwest Ordinance. This ordinance outlined how territory in Ohio (and later Michigan) would be organized. It called for the area to be divided into townships of 36 sections, of which one section would be reserved for the support of schools (Bassett, 1923). Although land for schools was set aside, the development of schools appears to have taken much longer.

John Carroll of Baltimore became the first bishop in the United States. The first diocese (Baltimore) extended from the East Coast to the Mississippi river and from Maine to Florida, including Michigan (see illustration 4.2). In 1807 Carroll wrote to the Holy See (pope) recommending that four other dioceses be created. The request was granted. One of these dioceses was to have its headquarters in Bardstown, Kentucky (see illustration 4.3). The Bardstown Diocese consisted of the States of Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Wisconsin, Iowa, and parts of Arkansas. In 1821 the Diocese of Cincinnati was created from the eastern parts of the Northwest Territory, including Michigan. Bishop Edward Fenwick was appointed bishop. In 1822, Fr. Gabriel Richard, of the parish in Detroit, reported to Bishop Fenwick that his parish included all of Michigan and most of Wisconsin, including 6,000 Catholics and 2 priests (McGee, 1950).
Illustration 2. The Catholic Diocese of Baltimore 1788
Illustration 3. The Catholic Diocese of Bardstown 1807
In 1833 the Diocese of Detroit was created. Bishop Frederic Rese was appointed the first bishop. Bishop Rese had been a priest of the Diocese of Cincinnati at the time of his appointment to Detroit. The second bishop of Detroit was Peter LeFevre, also of Cincinnati. During his regime, Wisconsin and the Upper Peninsula were separated into new dioceses (McGee, 1950).

In 1821 with the Treaty of Chicago, Native Americans ceded their rights to lands south of the Grand River. In 1836 another treaty ceded the lands north of the Grand River. A permanent trading post was established at Grand Rapids in 1826. Louis Campau was the first permanent white settler in Grand Rapids. He came in 1826, purchased most of the land around Grand Rapids, and sold it off to settlers. By 1836 Campau’s worth was estimated at $100,000. By 1833 there were 75 men in the village of Grand Rapids, most of them Catholic (McGee, 1950).

Fr. Frederic Baraga, a missionary priest, arrived in Grand Rapids in 1833. He came to minister to the Native Americans but also served the white Catholics in the community. He established St. Mary Mission on the banks of the Grand River. A log house was converted into a church and school. Twenty-five Native children and 4 Whites, un-baptized, were enrolled at once (McGee, 1950). The children were given the rudiments of reading, writing, catechism, and prayers (McGee).

Between 1820 and 1870, 5 million immigrants from Ireland and Germany arrived in the United States (Walch, 1996). Most of these immigrants were Catholic. This was the beginning of a century-long social phenomenon that shifted the population of many European nations to the United States (Walch). Two great waves of immigrants swept
into America due to famine and persecution. The Irish came in greatest numbers following the potato famine of 1848. The Germans came to escape the persecution of Bismarck in roughly the same period (McGee, 1950). These immigrants came at a time when the nation required more workers to fuel the economy. As immigration increased, so did social tensions (Walch). The common school movement (English Protestant education) was seen by many as the means to homogenize these immigrants (Walch, 1996). Advocates of the common school believed that Americanization and education were the responsibility of the State. The Catholic Church quickly rejected this. The basic problem appears to be one of cultural conflicts. The fear was that educating children in these common schools would lead to alienation between the students and their immigrant parents, and between the students and their culture. With the alienation from culture would come an alienation from the Church (Walch).

The impetus to build parochial schools came in some measure from the pronouncements of the American hierarchy at various national and provincial councils. These pronouncements gave special weight to the demands of individual bishops that Catholics under their jurisdiction create and use a system of parochial schools. This was important because there were Catholic laity and priests in every diocese who were not convinced that parochial schools were necessary or even desirable (Tentler, 1990).

Beginning in 1829, the American bishops began to meet periodically in Baltimore to discuss the issues that affected the Church. Education was always discussed (Catholic Encyclopedia, 2003). Pastoral letters from the bishops warned Catholic parents of the danger of public schooling (Walch, 1996).

The influence of the bishop had a lot to do with whether Catholic schools would
develop in a diocese. At the Baltimore Council of 1829, the bishops stated that Catholic schools should be erected (no. 34). In 1852 the bishops decreed that bishops are exhorted to have a catholic school in every parish and the teacher should be paid from the parochial funds (no. 13). In their pastoral letter of the same year, the bishops directed that parents had a moral responsibility to provide for the spiritual lives of their children. They stated that the best means for this was through a parish school. At the Baltimore Council of 1884, the bishops decreed that within 2 years every parish in the United States would build a Catholic school. Pastors who would not erect a school could be removed for being gravely negligent (Walch, 1996). Parishes that did not support a pastor’s efforts to build a school would be punished spiritually. And the most important decree was that Catholic parents were bound to send their children to a parish school:

“Parents must send their children to these schools unless the bishop should judge the reason for sending them elsewhere to be sufficient” (Catholic Encyclopedia, 2003).

This obligation was taken quite seriously through the 1960s, when it was common for Catholic schools to have waiting lists. Parents who had children on waiting lists could have their children attend public school until space became available in a parochial school.

These decrees (regulations) were left to each bishop to implement. Bishop Foley, of Detroit, instructed his clergy in 1877 to deny the sacraments to parents who, “without good and sufficient reason,” send their children to public school (Tentler, 1990). Bishop Richter, first bishop of Grand Rapids, followed the same course, reserving to himself whether parents had a good and sufficient reason to send children to public school (Richter Notes, 1883). In 1892 the Vatican, through its representative, Archbishop
Satolli, forbade the American bishops from denying the sacraments to parents simply because they sent their children to public school (Tentler, 1990).

To aid these bishops, regional or provincial councils were held to help them figure out how to implement these decrees. Michigan was attached to the Province of Cincinnati. The Archbishop convened 5 councils: 1855, 1858, 1861, 1882, and 1889. The bishop of Detroit attended these. When Grand Rapids became a Diocese in 1882, Bishop Richter attended as well. Being a priest of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati, Henry Richter probably attended the earlier councils. At the Council of 1855, the bishops reaffirmed the need to erect and support parochial school as well as institutions for orphans, the infirm, the deaf, dumb, and blind (Lamott, 1921). The Council of 1858 gave much consideration to the question of education. So much importance was attached to the establishment of parochial schools, that pastors were obliged under pain of mortal sin to provide a parochial school wherever conditions warranted (Lamott). The acts of this council were approved by Pope Pius IX on October 3, 1858 (Lamott). At the Council of 1861, the bishops ordered the teaching of Gregorian music in the parochial schools and the proper instruction of youth for Confession and Communion (Lamott). At the Council of 1882, insistence was laid upon the duty of parents to send their children to parochial schools (Lamott).

Part of the reason the bishops at Baltimore went to such lengths to promote Catholic schools was that the experience of Catholics varied throughout the country in regard to education. At Westphalia, Michigan, the community was wholly Catholic. The first “public” school was taught by Fr. Anton Kopp who was paid $8 in salary from the State of Michigan for his services (Tentler, 1990). In Boston, little effort was made to
build parish schools. Boston area Catholics had developed special relationships with public schools. The town of Lowell, Massachusetts, beginning in 1831, began using taxes to support a Catholic school for the Irish immigrants (Walch, 1996). Under the terms of the “Lowell Plan,” the town school committee would appoint all teachers, regulate textbooks and studies, and supervise the school. Teachers and texts would be mutually agreed upon between the parish priest and the school committee. The school building would be provided by and maintained by the parish. Teachers would be paid by the school committee (Walch).

In New York and Philadelphia, Catholics were often involved in violent confrontations over religion (Walch, 1996). With the tremendous growth in population, the bishop of New York could not raise money fast enough to educate these immigrants, and, as a result, only a small percentage were educated in Catholic schools. In Philadelphia, bitter rioting led the bishop to create what would be the first Catholic school system in the United States (Walch). In 1852, Bishop John Neumann established a central Catholic School Board. The Board was charged with raising funds to support Catholic schools, review Catholic school materials, and plan for the construction of new schools (Walch).

In the Midwest (Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin), where public schools were few in number and overcrowded, Catholic schools were often praised as important supplements to public education. Midwest Catholics quickly concluded that putting time and energy into building parish schools would be more profitable than trying to change public education. No group was more committed to the development of parochial schools than German Catholics who dominated the Dioceses of Cincinnati, St.
Louis, and Milwaukee (Walch, 1996). This fervor would be followed by the Polish in Detroit and Chicago who saw these schools as a place to maintain their language and culture (Walch, 1996).

The Catholic Almanac of 1838 (Metropolitan Catholic Almanac, Lucas 1838), covering the entire State of Michigan, lists an Indian School at Grand Rapids with instructions given in English and Indian. The Almanac notes for that year that in all of Michigan, the Catholic Church operated 5 Indian schools, 1 Academy, 2 colleges for men, 1 college for women, 12 parishes, and 12 mission stations. The Almanac notes that at Grand Rapids, sermons were given in English. By 1840, the Almanac noted that sermons at Grand Rapids were given in English, French, German, and Indian (McGee, 1950). Immigrants were starting to come here from Ireland and the Kingdom of Westphalia (Germany). The Catholic population would double in Michigan between 1850 and 1875 (Catholic Directory, Sadlier, 1875). Irish settlers first came to this area while working on the construction of the Indiana railroad. They were paid in land and settled east of Grand Rapids in Parnell (McGee, 1950). During the potato famine, more Irish came to Parnell. Along with a church, they established a school (Middleton, 1980). This school continues today.

Task Environment

The story of the American missions of the 19th century cannot be told without mention of the extensive contributions sent to the American dioceses from the Austrian Empire. In 1827, Frederic Rese, later Bishop of Detroit, arrived in Vienna as representative of Bishop Fenwick of Cincinnati, to plead for help for that diocese (McGee, 1950). With the help of Cardinal Rudolph von Hapsburg, brother of Emperor
Leopold II, an audience was had with the emperor that led to the creation of an Austrian missionary foundation, The Leopoldine Society. The purpose of the society was to promote Catholic missionary activity in the Americas. They did this by raising funds to support priests and their activities in mission territory in the United States. This activity continued until 1914 (McGee, 1950). In Grand Rapids, the monetary support sustained Fr. Baraga and supported Fr. Viszosky, his successor, until 1844 (McGee).

Efforts were made in 1840 to petition the legislature to secure public funding for Catholic schools in Michigan (Tentler, 1990). The House Committee on Education rejected a bill granting subsidies to the State’s Catholic schools, a move which the entire House upheld (Tentler).

The rental of pews in church became the most common method of raising ordinary revenues. At the end of 1863, the church committee of St. Mary’s Church issued “Rules and Regulations governing the rental of pews” (Ancona, 2000). A strong reminder was given that the Catholic school was a mission of the whole parish and not just a private institution for those enrolled. In other words, because the school provided a public good or benefit, it should be supported by the public (congregation). Therefore, all were alerted to be faithful in fulfilling their pew fees in support of both the parish and their school (Ancona, 2000)

Fundraisers were held for the support of schools. A fund raiser was held on June 7, 1860, to finance the Brigidine Sisters. As reported in the Enquirer and Herald of the day: “The Catholics of the city intend to have an excursion on the Steamer Michigan….the profits intended to assist in establishing a Young Ladies Seminary.” The paper reported that a large number of tickets were sold and that the Bishop from Detroit
was expected to attend, which he did (McGee, 1950). A “Young Ladies Seminary” was never established. In the early summer of 1870, the women of St. Mary’s Church in Muskegon held a “Fair and Festival” at the opera house. Their efforts enabled the parish to build a school the following year and support three sisters as the teaching staff (Ancona, 2000). The goal at every parish was to be able to provide the children with an education without having to charge any tuition. As noted, academies were different and charged tuition and fees in order to support their efforts.

*Technical Core Level*

The first Catholic school in Grand Rapids was the “Indian School,” which taught the catechism and reading and writing. Most families provided their own religious instruction at home, so a school was something not particularly valued yet in the community. The first schools in Grand Rapids, after the “Indian School,” were house schools, one room schools located in the teacher’s home or over stores. These schools were modeled after the academies, which, in other places, provided well-to-do families with a means to acculturate their children.

Many prosperous families in Grand Rapids were sending their daughters to St. Mary’s Academy in Monroe and the Convent of the Sacred Heart in Detroit (Middleton, 1980). These academies charged around $100 per year, which included room and board as well as the study of music, botany, French and every type of “polite literature” (Metropolitan Catholic Almanac, Lucas, 1856). In 1842, a Miss Lovell opened a school in Grand Rapids to serve “for the instruction of young ladies in the French language, drawing, and Chinese painting” (McGee, 1950). The same year Mr. Henry Seymour opened a “select school” where “all the English branches” were taught together with the
rudiments of Latin and Greek at the rate of $3.50 per quarter (McGee, 1950). These academies were becoming quite popular and appearing with more frequency. It is important to note that the Grand Rapids Public School Board was not organized until 1871. Public education as we know it now did not exist.

By the time Grand Rapids became a diocese in 1882, at least 17 parochial schools existed (8 in the area of Grand Rapids and Muskegon) (see Figure 4.) educating 2,867 pupils (see Figure 5). This was also a period marked by the immigration of Irish and Germans to Michigan. While these schools taught religion, they also passed on and protected the immigrant culture in a foreign land. Parochial schools for immigrant children would curtail the growth of academies in western Michigan. Approximately 60 sisters and 8 lay persons provided this education. The new diocese covered 39 counties in the lower peninsula of Michigan and had a Catholic population of 45,000 in a total population of 475,000 (9% of the total) (Catholic Directory, Sadlier, 1883).

![Parochial Schools](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>1882</th>
<th>1884</th>
<th>1888</th>
<th>1892</th>
<th>1896</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SCHOOLS</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 4. Parochial Schools*
A common assumption has been that the Sisters started Catholic schools. While true in some cases, there have been lay teachers working in the Diocese from the very beginning (See Figure 6). However, the presence of teaching Sisters, beginning in 1860, ensured that a core of teachers would be available to staff these new schools. Between 1882 and 1900, the number of Sisters increased from 60 to 174 (Catholic Directory, Sadlier, 1900).

Table 1, which follows Figure 6, shows what was being taught in the Catholic schools of this era. Table 2 shows which communities of Sisters were involved with teaching in the diocese at that time. The location of their motherhouses (where the community originated) is also noted.
Figure 6. Religious and Lay Teachers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>1882</th>
<th>1884</th>
<th>1888</th>
<th>1892</th>
<th>1896</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SISTERS</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LAY</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1

Curriculum

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elementary:</th>
<th>Academy:</th>
<th>Secondary:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>religion</td>
<td>Gregorian music</td>
<td>science (botany, biology)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reading</td>
<td>German</td>
<td>English French religion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>writing</td>
<td>Kindergarten</td>
<td>art music literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>math writing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>religion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2

Communities of Sisters Teaching in Grand Rapids Diocese during Era I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community of Sisters</th>
<th>(initials)</th>
<th>Location of Motherhouse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brigidine</td>
<td>CSB</td>
<td>Ireland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sisters of Charity</td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>Cincinnati, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Sisters of Notre Dame</td>
<td>SSND</td>
<td>Milwaukee, Wisconsin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immaculate Heart of Mary</td>
<td>IHM</td>
<td>Monroe, Michigan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominican</td>
<td>OP</td>
<td>Grand Rapids, MI</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Management Level

The first attempt in Grand Rapids to provide Catholic education in a formal school began with an academy taught by Peter Koch in 1853. This St. Andrew Academy lasted two years and was forced to close because expenses in maintaining the school were too high (McGee, 1950). In 1858, a second attempt was made to open a Catholic school. This one opened in a private house converted to school purposes and was taught by Miss Kate Berry and Miss Kate King. Both boys and girls attended (McGee).

In 1860 a group of Brigidine Sisters from Ireland were invited to Grand Rapids by the priest at St. Andrew’s. They supplanted the two teachers already at the school
(McGee, 1950) and took over the existing school. By 1862 tuition was no longer charged (McGee). These sisters taught in Grand Rapids until 1866 (McGee). When they left, the school closed.

In 1873 the Sisters of Mercy, also from Ireland, came to Grand Rapids. They had been invited here to open a school. To provide some income, in addition to their teaching, the sisters gave vocal and instrumental music lessons. They also taught Irish point lace and wax flower making (Middleton, 1980). In the first five years the Sisters of Mercy were in Grand Rapids, friction grew between Mother Mary Joseph and Fr. McManus, the pastor of St. Andrew. They were at odds over the management of the school. Father wanted a parish school, while sister wanted to open an academy. Mounting financial problems worried them both (Middleton). Sister Mary Cecilia Williams relates that the real source of the problem was that the old school (a converted barn) did not suit the wealthier families of the parish. There was talk of a private academy, and the talk continued after a brick school was built (Middleton).

Father McManus objected to the idea of the academy, because he judged it to be impractical and unnecessary. Mother Mary Joseph went ahead anyway and opened her academy for girls in 1876. The academy survived two years. Mother Mary Joseph employed a French teacher and a dance master. At the end of the second year, the school incurred a debt of $8,000. The Sisters of Mercy closed the academy and left Grand Rapids (Middleton, 1980). They then went to Big Rapids with the intention of building a hospital, which they did. Until the hospital was ready, they operated an academy. The academy offered a thorough English education; also the languages, music, drawing, etc. (Middleton). In 1882 the sisters closed the academy and staffed the parish school of St.
Mary, which is still operating in Big Rapids.

In September of 1877, four Sisters of Charity from Ohio came at the request of Fr. McManus to staff the St. Andrew School. The cost for their services would be $100 per year per sister and household expenses paid by the pastor (McGee, 1950). These sisters added a full high school curriculum in 1879, graduating the first class in 1882 (McGee). A kindergarten was opened in 1895 for which a fee was charged (McGee), while German was added to the curriculum in 1899 (McGee).

Between 1850, when Grand Rapids was incorporated as a city, and 1880, the population of the city went from 2,669 to 32,015 (McGee, 1950). New parishes were being planned for these new inhabitants. Parishes were started for the Germans, Polish, Dutch, and Irish (McGee). Schools would soon follow. These schools were tools for cultural transmission, allowing the new immigrants to maintain their culture and pass it onto their children.

As the Brigidine Sisters were leaving St. Andrew’s School, another congregation of Sisters (School Sisters of Notre Dame) sent three teachers to St. Mary’s Church in Grand Rapids to begin a school. They arrived from Milwaukee on August 6, 1866. In 1879, one of the sisters, the principal, became an advocate for the Polish members of the largely German St. Mary Parish and school. Sr. Mary Tita encouraged and assisted them in their dream of establishing their own church and school: St. Adalbert Parish (Ancona, 2000).

**Leadership (Bishop Richter 1883-1916).**

The new bishop of Grand Rapids was Henry Richter, who came from Cincinnati. He resolved to establish a Catholic school in every parish. His writings provide a
glimpse of his fervor:

Over a thousand more pupils were enrolled last year than the previous…The great demand for Catholic schools is the best sign that they are fast growing into favor, and that the labors of the devoted and self-sacrificing teachers are appreciated…Good Catholics cannot be content unless they have a church with a pastor and a school…In still greater danger of losing the faith are the children in places where they do not enjoy the benefits of a Catholic school. Report of the Subscriptions for the Education of the Seminarians, July 1, 1888.

During his tenure, 66 schools were put into operation. During his pastoral visits to the parishes, Bishop Richter would make a point of stopping in at the schools and visiting the students in their classrooms, listening to their recitations and speaking with them (Ancona, 2001).

Bishop Richter took seriously the call of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, which called for the creation of Catholic schools. His correspondences, although brief, show the influence he wielded in support of this:

Dear Father…In reference to the reserved case about schools, the children must be withdrawn from the public school. Letter to Fr. Thibodeau, St. Joseph Parish, Bay City, May 15, 1883.

Dear Mother Superior…You have my consent to open a school for the Polish children of East Saginaw. Letter to Mother Monica, September 9, 1886.

Dear Father….The children of our schools should have an opportunity, wherever
feasible, to learn, besides the English, also the languages of their parents. Fr. Schutjes, Bay City, April 30, 1887

Dear Father…The obligation of Catholics to attend our schools rests on the natural and divine law, and not merely on the positive law of the Church (vide No.194 p. 100 Conc. Plen. Balt. III). When Catholic education is otherwise provided, when there is no danger of perversion or when the danger is made remote; attendance at public school may be permitted on account of distance….You will find this doctrine clearly and more fully laid down in Vol. V, pp. 225-226 Con. Prov. Cincinnati. IV. Father Vanpammel, March 12, 1888.

The 1895 Catholic Directory notes that Bishop Richter established a Diocesan School Board. We do not know what their function was. However, the Diocese of Detroit established such a Board in 1887 whose primary function was to pass on the fitness of all parochial school teachers. No pastor was to retain a teacher who did not hold a certificate from the Board. Teacher examinations were to be held twice yearly. The Board also had authority to impose a uniform series of textbooks upon the schools (Pare, 1951). Grand Rapids Diocesan School Board probably had a similar function.

Summary

The area of West Michigan, which would become the Diocese of Grand Rapids (see illustration 5), grew rather quickly after the Native Americans were removed from their lands. The immigration of the Irish and Germans to this area sped up that settlement. Some form of Catholic education was evident as early as 1833 with the
creation of the “Indian School” by Fr. Baraga. With impetus from the Catholic hierarchy, both nationally and locally, Catholic schools developed in this area so that by the end of the 19th century the Church sponsored 44 schools for 10,000 students (Catholic Directory, Sadlier, 1900), and a diocesan school board was in place to ensure uniformity and quality.

The first Catholic school at Grand Rapids focused on religious instruction as well as the “rudiments” of reading and writing, primarily for Native American children (McGee, 1950) (see illustration 4). Education moved through a period of academies (specialized schools for girls) to parish (parochial schools) that educated boys and girls in religion as well as reading, writing, and foreign languages. Parochial schools came at a time of great influx of new immigrants to the area. Catholic schools became, for the new immigrants, a vehicle for them to transmit their culture to their children. Catholic education became more sophisticated with the advent of a Catholic high school curriculum beginning in 1879.

Catholic education was originally funded in part by donations from Europe. Early on, fund-raising was an important activity for the support of schools. While charging tuition was common at academies, parish schools were sustained by the support of parishes, primarily through the rental of church pews. Fund-raising and parish support would continue to be important means for the funding of Catholic schools in this diocese. These schools were supported by the parishes because they provided the community with a public good. Parish schools readily adapted to the new immigrants. Examples of this include providing instruction in the mother tongue and providing Kindergarten. As long as the schools were reinforcing the culture of the immigrant community, that community
would continue to support the parish and its endeavors, primarily the parish school.

Academies would never dominate in the Grand Rapids community because they were too specialized. They focused on educating girls, and the technical core they provided did not reinforce the culture of the immigrants but offered a curriculum that would have represented something foreign to them.

*A McGee (1950) notes that this list came from the archives of the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affair

Illustration 4. Scholars at the Catholic Mission of Grand River (1833)
From Baltimore to Grand Rapids

Illustration 5. The genealogy of the Diocese of Grand Rapids
The Early 20th Century: 1900-1938 (Era II)

_Institutional Environment_

The beginning of the 20th century was a time of tremendous immigration to the United States. This would continue until immigration quotas were established in 1924. A tremendous need for schools existed. With this wave of immigration came repeated efforts by State legislatures to “Americanize” immigrants. Repeated efforts were made to eliminate private schools and have all children attend public school. The Great Depression and two world wars brought challenges to society in general and the new immigrants in particular. Catholic schools mirrored the challenges of the times.

At the turn of the century, Catholic education in the United States was a patchwork of school experiments held together by a common belief in the value of daily Catholic moral instruction as part of the educational process (Walch, 1996). By 1900 there were 3,500 Catholic elementary schools in the U.S. By 1920 this number nearly doubled to 6,551 schools with 41,581 teachers for 1,759,673 pupils (Augenstein, 2003).

The _Report of the U.S. Commissioner of Education 1903_ stated that “The system of Catholic free parochial schools enrolls over 1 million children without any cost to the State” (Walch, 1996). Catholic education was coming of age. The growth of Catholic parochial education came at a price. The rapid increase in the number of schools and students had been uncoordinated and disjointed. This growth underscored the need for organization and mechanisms to centralize school planning and supervision at the diocesan level. By the end of the 1920s, bishops began to appoint school superintendents and convene school boards (1895 in Grand Rapids) to insure the continued development
of Catholic education in their diocese (Walch, 1996). This also had the effect of bringing the schools under more direct control of the bishop and away from trustees.

From 1883 to 1916, the Catholic population of the Diocese of Grand Rapids increased from 45,000 to 140,000. The general population rose from 475,000 to 925,000. The Catholic presence grew from 9% of the general population to 15% in 33 years (Ancona, 2000). The Poles were leaders along with the Germans in establishing ethnic parish schools, having established 350 nationwide by 1910 (Walch, 1996).

World War I, with its propaganda campaign against all things foreign, brought about an end to ethnic parishes and schools in many places. These schools had served as a bridge from the old world to the new for many immigrant children. With legislation that ended mass immigration in 1924, these schools gradually lost their value and their legitimacy as well (Walch, 1996). The immigration acts of 1921 and 1924 set up quotas that sharply curtailed the volume of immigration and assigned to each nationality a number of places proportionate to its contribution to the American stock as then constituted (Handlin, 1973).

A big threat to Catholic education came in the form of a court challenge that was settled by the United States Supreme Court in 1925. In the case of *Pierce v. Society of Sisters*, the Court was deciding an Oregon law that would compel all children to attend public school. The decision would have implications across the U.S., especially in Washington and Michigan, where similar acts were pending in the legislature. In a famous sentence in their decision, the Court said: “The child is not the mere creature of the State.” The Court struck down the Oregon legislation, thus providing Catholic schools with a legitimacy they had never enjoyed before in this country (Augenstein,
In Michigan, a proposed amendment to the State Constitution was brought before the voters in 1920 and 1924 (Ancona, 2000). The proposal called for all residents of the State of Michigan between the ages of 5 and 16 to attend the public school in their districts until they had graduated from eighth grade (Ancona). This would have meant an end to the parochial schools in Grand Rapids, as well as the entire State. In 1920, the proponent of this legislation was James Hamilton of Detroit, who couched the debate in terms of religious hysteria: Catholic schools, he charged, advocated the “yellow banner of the pope” rather than the stars and stripes (Ancona). Both attempts were brought forward by the Public School Defense League (Heyda, 1981). With the failure of these attempts, Catholic schools were allowed to continue to grow. A by-product of the school amendment battle was a concession the bishops of Michigan made in 1921 to support the passage of the Dacey Law, enacted that same year, which required all private schools in the State to come under the jurisdiction of the state superintendent for public instruction (Ancona). This meant that teachers in parochial schools would be held to the same standards, including teacher certification.

Grand Rapids in 1906 was a small city of about 100,000 people. Since 1880, burgeoning industries caused a doubling of the population, and many first generation ethnic groups were found in the community (Heyda, 1981). Located in an area of fine hardwood growth, Grand Rapids was already known as “a city of fine furniture.” Many skilled craftsmen came to Grand Rapids to find employment in the furniture factories (Heyda). In 1911 there were 7,500 men employed in the 59 furniture factories in the city (McGee, 1950). On April 19, 1911, the workers went on strike. They sought a nine hour
work day, 10% increase in wages, and an end to piece work (McGee). At the time, these workers averaged 10 hours per day, 60 hours per week, and an average wage of $11.27 per week or $2.05 per day (Ancona, 2000). The labor force was mainly Polish, Lithuanian, and Dutch immigrants, many of them Catholic (Ancona). The auxiliary Bishop of Grand Rapids, Joseph Schrembs, advocated for the workers. The strike lasted 17 weeks and was an utter failure for the workers, who won nothing. In spite of that, the support the workers received from the Church would not go unnoticed, especially when future bishops sought funds to build more churches and schools.

On February 26, 1938, it was announced by the Vatican that the Holy Father had created another new diocese in Michigan, much of its territory taken from the northeastern portion of the Diocese of Grand Rapids (Ancona, 2000). Grand Rapids was now a much smaller diocese, going from 39 counties to 29 Michigan counties. This was part of a plan by the Holy See (Vatican) to create smaller dioceses so that the faithful might be cared for more easily (McGee, 1950) (see table 3).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Catholic</th>
<th>General</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>92,692</td>
<td>866,066</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>965,323</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Task Environment

Two reasons are given for the Sisters of Charity’s decision to leave: first, the salary paid in Grand Rapids was less than that paid in other dioceses at that time; second, the withdrawal of the high school girls from St. Andrew School when Catholic Central was created cut off all sources for vocations to the Community (McGee, 1950). Because there was not enough room for all students in the new Catholic Central High School, the boys stayed in the St. Andrew building but the girls were sent to the Dominican Sacred Heart Academy building. (It is important to note that Sisters were not paid individually. Rather, the Motherhouse of each Community of Sisters would charge each parish based on the number of Sisters at that location). Another reason for the Sisters might be inferred from the letter (see Illustration 6) Mother Blanche sent to Bishop Richter in 1908. In the letter, Mother complains that she could not provide Sisters fast enough to the diocese. Novices were being sent with a minimum of preparation. Mother suggested that lay people be hired in the schools to help address her concern.

Upon arriving in Grand Rapids, Bishop Kelly embarked on a massive building campaign (McGee, 1950). In order to allow more churches and schools to be built, he relaxed the strict financial rules established by Bishop Richter. He allowed parishes to borrow some money from banks, based on pledges from parishioners.

During the post-war years, parishes borrowed funds, built churches and schools, expanded greatly, and were weighed down with debts (Heyda, 1981). For example, in February 1920 when Sacred Heart Parish considered building a new church, each family was asked to contribute $200, each unmarried man $100, and each unmarried woman $50 (Skendzel, 1981). Construction began shortly thereafter. Concerns were raised at that
time about obtaining a mortgage and paying interest, but that is what took place
(Skendzel). As mentioned earlier, when Catholic Central decided a gymnasium was
needed, fundraising began in 1923. The building was completed in 1925. However,
festivals and bazaars were held to finance gym construction (McGee, 1950).

As pastor of the diocese, Bishop Pinten was intent on restoring the strict and
exacting financial rules established by Bishop Richter. His directives would slow down
the expansion of the Church and its institutions that were fostered under the leadership of
Bishop Kelly (Ancona, 2000). However, they came none too soon as the Great
Depression (1929-1942) was looming.

Even prior to the Depression, Bishop Pinten became aware of three factors that
endangered the existence of Catholic schools in the diocese: Parishes were going into
debt to finance building, in many cases parishes were falling in arrears in their tuition
payments to Catholic Central High School, and enrollment at the high school was
decreasing because parishes were again adding 9th and 10th grades to their schools. This
was being done in an effort to keep the parish from having to pay the high school tuition
for those students (Heyda, 1981).

St. James Parish in Grand Rapids is an example of the debt trouble parishes were
finding themselves in when the Depression hit and instantly people were out of work.
The parish had an indebtedness of $178,000 from school construction (Ancona, 2000).
With so many parishioners out of work, the parish income for 1933 was $17,697
(Ancona).

Bishop Pinten took effective steps to bring about change. He was able to transfer
parish debts to promissory notes drawn on banks, and in the course of time he met with
bankers and successfully forced better terms on them (Heyda, 1981). He also insisted that parishes not maintain high school grades. In 1930 he established a policy of parish assessment for support of Catholic Central, which made support dependent on assessable parish income as well as the number of students in attendance (Heyda). These measures and his subsequent leadership helped to rectify the financial problems that had beset the diocese. Upon Bishop Pinten’s retirement in 1940, the Diocese of Grand Rapids was not only smaller, it was also debt-free.

Technical Core Level

Two models of Catholic schools developed after the 3rd Baltimore Council: the “American” school and the “Ethnic” school. The American Catholic school would become the prototype for contemporary parochial schools. The “American” school was the result of a desire to establish parish schools that were fully competitive with local public schools. The desire to Americanize children (acculturate them into the American culture) grew as immigration was curtailed after 1924 (see Figure 7). The desire was to develop schools superior to public schools in secular as well as religious instruction (Walch, 1996). Catholic educators mixed large doses of patriotism as well as civic respect into the curriculum to quell the argument that these schools were somehow un-American. The general attitude toward Catholic schools seemed to be that if Catholics want their own schools, leave them alone as long as the school promotes American citizenship (NCEA, 2003). Catholic schools became extraordinarily successful in turning out fine American citizens. One need only look at the myriad of Catholic school graduates, past and present, who have given leadership in public life.
The second model for Catholic schools was the ethnic parish school, an institution designed to cultivate and preserve foreign language, culture, religious faith, and provide literacy (Walch, 1996). Often instruction in these schools was conducted in the Mother tongue. This was common practice in the ethnic schools of the Diocese of Grand Rapids. Launie Conley noted in 1892: “I go to St. Joseph’s German school which is taught by the Dominican Sisters. I love my teacher, but it is hard for a little boy like me to learn from four books, two in English, and two in German” (Tentler, 1990). Even in the non-ethnic school there appears to be a sensitivity toward the Mother tongue. In July 1906, Fr. Schmitt, pastor of St. Andrew Parish, wrote to Mother Florence of the Sisters of Charity of Ohio, who staffed the school, asking that “a little Polish be taught in the school next year” (McGee, 1950). The Catholic Directory for 1899 lists three schools in the city of Grand Rapids by ethnicity: Polish, German, and Dutch (McGee). By 1905 there would be three Polish schools in Grand Rapids.
Eastern Europeans saw a very specific and important purpose for education: to sustain cultural, linguistic, and religious values into the next generation. This was happening at a time when the Catholic population in the U.S. doubled to more than 10 million (McDowell, 2000). This was the result of the second wave of immigration, mostly from Eastern Europe. McGee (1950) notes that in 1909 there were 1400 Polish families in the city of Grand Rapids (p. 235). The Polish were united by their language, religion, and native patriotism. They reproduced in an American milieu, as far as possible, the life they had known in their native Polish villages (Skendzel, 1981). They centered the religious, social, cultural, patriotic, and recreational aspects of their lives around their parish church and school (Skendzel). The oppression they fled from at home and the coolness of Americans toward the immigrant made them cautious and defensive. They formed a voluntary ghetto, which they reinforced with their church, school, fraternal societies, and press (Skendzel).

During this period (1900-1938), the number of Sisters teaching in the Diocese increased tremendously (See Figure 8). Beside the Sisters of Charity of Ohio and the Dominican Sisters, the following communities of Sisters taught in the Diocese of Grand Rapids: The Sisters of Mercy, Little Sisters of the Poor, School Sisters of Notre Dame (Milwaukee), Ursuline Sisters, Sisters of Charity (Maryland), Sisters of Providence, Felician Sisters (Polish Franciscans from Detroit), Sister Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (Monroe), and Franciscan Sisters of Christian Charity.
Figure 8. Number of Teachers (religious and lay)

The Sisters of Charity had added a high school curriculum at St. Andrew School in 1879. In the early 1900s, there were four parish high schools in Grand Rapids, one in Muskegon, and a handful of others throughout the diocese. Even though universal high school was not yet common, the pooling of students, teachers, and resources was a concern of Bishop Richter (Ancona, 2000). This is because at this time it was a common practice in the diocese to add a grade of high school if it was warranted at the parish. At St. Patrick School in Parnell, a 9th grade was added to the school in 1907 and a 10th grade in 1908. In 1918 an 11th grade was added and finally a 12th grade in 1919. This practice was to occur again for reasons that will be explored later. The pastors in the city had already begun to discuss the need for a “Union Catholic High School” (McGee, 1950). In the public schools, the “union” was a central high school with students provided from numerous district schools. In Michigan they developed early in the history of public
Bishop Richter traveled east and consulted with churchmen to see what they were doing regarding the education of teenagers. In Philadelphia he saw the first diocesan high school in the nation. This school was for boys only. Bishop Richter returned to Grand Rapids with the idea of opening the nation’s first coeducational diocesan Catholic central high school (Heyda, 1981). Because there was no school building large enough to house all the students that enrolled for high school, this “school” would be housed in 2 buildings until 1921 (Heyda). Bishop Richter asked the Sisters of Charity at St. Andrew School to open the school to all Catholic boys of high school age from all the city parishes. He asked the Dominican Sisters to open their Sacred Heart Academy to all Catholic girls of high school age from all the city parishes. Catholic Central High School opened in September 1906 (Ancona, 2000). In fact, they maintained their academy and opened a school for the other girls in the city.

It is interesting to note that the Sacred Heart Academy was already accredited with the University of Michigan. When this “central” high school was created, it too became accredited by the University of Michigan. Immediately, graduates were being accepted upon recommendation into graduate and professional schools (Heyda, 1981). When the Sisters of Mercy returned to Grand Rapids in 1918 and opened Mount Mercy Academy, they quickly moved to be accredited by the North Central Association, which they received in 1925 (Ancona, 2000). (A note about academies: Academies for girls carried over from the last century into the 20th century. They were special schools with a selective curriculum, which made them appealing to colleges and universities as potential feeders. In this century they also would become recruiting grounds for new Sisters. The
Ursuline Sisters operated an academy in Muskegon next door to the parish school, which they also staffed. Eventually, the academy closed in 1919 but the Sisters continued to teach at the parish school).

Classes at Catholic Central were relatively small in the early years, numbering 15 to 25 students, and the high school population was still an elite group of those who did not go from 8th grade into the work world or a trade school. These early classes differed from the mass high school populations that would come in later years (Heyda, 1981). In the early 1920s, uniforms for girls became required and the curriculum was enlarged with more emphasis on the scientific. Student diplomas noted the course of study completed by the individual: scientific-classical, scientific, literary-scientific, or literary (Heyda). At this time half of the graduates were college bound, with Notre Dame and the University of Detroit the favorite colleges to attend (Heyda).

At St. Simon Parish in Ludington, a high school was added in 1907. Actually, it began in 1904 with 9th grade and added a grade each year. The curriculum for the St. Simon High School included Christian doctrine, English, sciences, mathematics, Latin, French, German, history, and a commercial curriculum. The commercial curriculum included commercial law, commercial arithmetic, geography, typing, stenography, and bookkeeping (Middleton, 1980). Commercial courses were also offered at St. Patrick High School (Parnell) as well as Catholic Central High School.

After the First World War, another phenomenon was beginning to have an effect on Catholic education. For several years the need for “physical culture” was being talked about (McGee, 1950). Physical education became compulsory in the 1920s (Heyda, 1981). Physical education would require a gymnasium. At Catholic Central, efforts
began in 1923 to raise funds for a gymnasium, which was completed in 1925 (McGee).

Enrollment in Catholic schools remained relatively stable during the Depression (See Figure 9). Jobs were unavailable for teenagers when so many adults were out of work. A favorable aspect of this was that students stayed in school or returned to it (Heyda, 1981). The National Youth Administration (NYA), established by the Roosevelt administration, allowed college and high school students to work at school and be paid from federal funds while continuing their education (Heyda).

![Figure 9. Enrollment](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>1900</th>
<th>1910</th>
<th>1920</th>
<th>1930</th>
<th>1937</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ENROLLMENT</td>
<td>10,569</td>
<td>14,724</td>
<td>19,812</td>
<td>22,000</td>
<td>21,011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIGH SCHOOL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*2000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 9. Enrollment*

While many Catholic elementary schools in Grand Rapids during this period were “ethnic” parish schools with an emphasis on retaining ethnic culture, it is quite evident that the Catholic high school, particularly Catholic Central High School, was an
“American” Catholic school. It appears that the Catholic high schools of the diocese intended to fully compete with the public schools and attempt to provide students with an education superior in secular as well as religious instruction (see Table 4).

| Table 4 |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| **Curriculum Era II** |
| **Elementary:** | **Secondary:** |
| religion | religion |
| language (ethnic) | physical ed. |
| - Polish, German | |
| literature (ethnic) | civics |
| customs/folkways | science |
| dance | - chemistry |
| | - biology |
| English | commercial |
| math | - business |
| history |

Management Level

When the bishops who gathered in Baltimore in 1884 affirmed their commitment to a separate system of parochial schools, they ensured that American religious Sisters would be primarily teachers. They unwittingly ensured that Sisters would play a major role in shaping the American Catholic community (Tentler, 1990). This was especially
true in dioceses where the Chancery was slow to bring the schools under effective control. Without that control and without clergy trained in pedagogy, it was the Sisters who made the principal decisions with regard to the contents of Catholic education and the methods employed in Catholic schools (Tentler).

The preeminent order of Sisters in Grand Rapids was the Sisters of Charity. They arrived from Cincinnati in 1876 and operated St. Andrew School for 38 years (McGee, 1950). The Sisters left Grand Rapids in June 1914.

The Dominican Sisters came to Grand Rapids from Traverse City in 1889. They built and staffed an orphanage. In 1900 they opened the Sacred Heart Academy (McGee, 1950). With the departure of the Sisters of Charity in 1914, the Dominicans took over the operation of the boys Catholic Central High School as well as St. Andrew Elementary School (McGee). In 1915 the Dominican Sisters numbered 400 sisters in 42 parochial schools, 2 academies (Grand Rapids, Traverse City), 1 orphanage, and Catholic Central (Boys and Girls) High School (Ancona, 2000). As the number of students increased at Catholic Central High School, so did the number of Dominican Sisters. In 1916 there were 24 Sisters teaching 654 students (elementary, girls’ high school, boys’ high school). In 1939, 36 Sisters and 5 lay teachers taught 770 students at the high school alone. An additional 10 Sisters taught at St. Andrew Elementary School (McGee).

By the end of the 19th century, Sisters had founded many institutions needed in the Grand Rapids community. The various groups of Sisters founded hospitals, orphanages, and a poor house. In 1904 Bishop Richter invited the Sisters of the Good Shepherd to Grand Rapids. These Sisters provided care and education to troubled girls in their teens. They provided private schooling and technical training in such areas as
secretarial skills and dressmaking (Ancona, 2000).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community of Sisters</th>
<th>(initials)</th>
<th>Location of Motherhouse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dominican</td>
<td>OP</td>
<td>Grand Rapids</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mercy</td>
<td>RSM</td>
<td>Grand Rapids</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Convent of the Good Shepherd</td>
<td>RSG</td>
<td>Carthage, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sisters of Charity</td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>Cincinnati, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Sisters of Notre Dame</td>
<td>SSND</td>
<td>Milwaukee, Wisconsin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ursuline</td>
<td>OSU</td>
<td>Chatham, Ontario</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sisters of Charity</td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>Emmitsburg, Maryland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sisters of Providence</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>St. Mary-in-the-Woods, IN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felician</td>
<td>CSSF</td>
<td>Detroit, Michigan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immaculate Heart of Mary</td>
<td>IHM</td>
<td>Monroe, Michigan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franciscans of Christian Charity</td>
<td>OSF</td>
<td>Manitowoc, Wisconsin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The communities of Sisters are sometimes referred to as orders because each community follows a rule that orders their communal lives. These rules were created by their founder and thus represent the spirit (charism) of the founder. The Dominican Sisters follow the rule established by St. Dominic; the Franciscans that of St. Francis; the Mercy Sisters that of Mother Catherine McCauley. The rule dictated when and how they prayed, how they interacted with each other, what works they would be involved in (education, hospitals), and the habit or distinct uniform they would wear.

Generally, when a community of Sisters came to a school, they displaced any lay teachers. This would be the case until the development of the high schools. Lay teachers then were needed to teach the commercial classes, drama, band, physical education, and
athletics, courses which the Sisters would not be prepared to teach (Heyda, 1981). Another feature typical at the high school was the use of parish priests to teach religion classes (Heyda).

A typical group of Sisters at any Catholic school would consist of a Superior, Sisters to teach each grade, a Sister to cook, a Sister to do laundry, and possibly a Sister to teach music (Skendzel, 1981). A typical school might consist of eight grades in two large rooms. Often, at the turn of the 20th century, a parish would build a combination building consisting of a church, school, and convent all under one roof (Skendzel).

A well qualified faculty characterized Catholic Central High School because the Dominicans placed many of their best teachers, certified at excellent colleges and universities, at the school (Heyda, 1981). These Sisters obtained bachelor’s and higher degrees as qualifications for teaching increased within the State.

Those communities of Sisters that drew their members from more affluent reaches of the Catholic population provided a more extensive education to their members. The Immaculate Heart of Mary Sisters (IHM) would, even in the 19th century, have received the equivalent of some college training and a thorough grounding in pedagogy (Tentler, 1990). In 1906 the IHM’s began sending one postulant a year to the University of Michigan to earn an undergraduate degree (Tentler). In 1911 the Catholic University of America in Washington, DC, opened its summer school for teaching Sisters. Sisters would attend every summer until a degree was earned (Tentler). Eventually, many Communities of Sisters opened their own colleges to train the Sisters and grant their own degrees (Augenstein, 2003). They incorporated teacher training courses in the novitiate program (Sister training before taking vows). Marygrove College and Mercy College in
Detroit are examples of these training colleges (Tentler).

*Leadership.*

Bishop Henry Richter served the Diocese of Grand Rapids from 1883 until his death in 1916. During this period he invited numerous orders of priests and Sisters to labor in the diocese (see Table 5). He was responsible for 66 new schools being built. He was also known for the strict rules he created regarding finances: “No parish is to go into debt” (Heyda, 1981). His genius was shown when in 1906 he formed the Catholic Central High School. Parishes merged their high school students together in one school and agreed to meet tuition payments from parish funds (Heyda). In this arrangement, no student paid tuition to attend high school. It was paid for by the parish, which made up for it in pew rents and collections.

Upon the death of Bishop Richter, Michael Gallagher replaced him as bishop. Bishop Gallagher was only the head of the diocese for two years before he was appointed the bishop of Detroit. During his brief tenure it seems that he maintained the strict financial policies established by his predecessor. During the winter of 1918, fuel became scarce because of World War I, and Catholic schools closed for upwards of a month to save fuel (Ancona, 2000).

In 1919, Bishop Edward Kelly was appointed the third Bishop of Grand Rapids. His tenure would be marked by two events: The School Amendment fight and the Great Depression.

The School amendment fight involved Bishop Kelly twice: 1920 and 1924. As previously mentioned, this was an attempt make compulsory public school education in Michigan. Sponsors of the original amendment (1920) questioned the loyalty of the
Catholic Church and emphasized the need for the patriotic environment of the public school (see Illustration 4.10). In response, Catholic officials labeled the proponents bigots and opponents of the American tradition of tolerance (Brown, 1980).

On Easter Sunday (April 4) 1920, Bishop Kelly directed all priests in Western Michigan to read a pastoral letter attacking not only the amendment but also its sponsors as “underhanded plotters…born not of patriotism but of venom” (Brown, p. 38). On Election Day (1920), the people of Michigan went to the polls and rejected compulsory public education by a vote of 610,639 to 353,817 (Brown).

Bishop Kelly took no chances on the good will of the electorate. He mobilized the Catholic community with informational and motivational assemblies, often including non-Catholic speakers, articles in the press, and orders to pastors to divide up their parishes, block by block, for voter registration (Ancona, 2000). Catholic nuns, voting for the first time by virtue of the 19th amendment, cast their ballots by order of the hierarchy (Brown, 1980). One commentator observed that for a bishop to “encourage” Sisters to vote was tantamount to an order requiring religious obedience (Ancona).

Following the vote, the Public School Defense League held several meetings to plan its next effort. Petitions to get the School amendment on the ballot for the 1922 election failed to garner the necessary signatures (Brown, 1980). They did, however, get the proposal placed on the ballot for 1924.

During the 1924 campaign, Bishop Kelly concentrated on the Catholic population. He called for the creation of a defense fund to defeat the initiative and called on Catholics to support the fund as well as defeat the measure (Seminary Report, 1924). In Grand Rapids, priests used posters to demonstrate how to vote “no” (Brown, 1980). Michigan
voters rejected the measure by a vote of 760,571 to 421,472, in no small part due to the efforts of Bishop Kelly. In 1926, Bishop Kelly died and was replaced by Joseph Pinten.

Summary

This period of the 20th century was a time of tremendous immigration to the United States. This is evidenced in the Diocese of Grand Rapids where, from 1883 to 1916, the Catholic population increased from 45,000 to 140,000 people. Only federal legislation and the establishment of quotas in 1924 would bring an end to this mass immigration.

At the turn of the century, Catholic education, throughout various parts of the United States, could be described as a patchwork of school experiments held together with Catholic moral instruction. Nationally, two models of Catholic school emerged: the American school (which would become dominant), and the ethnic school. Grand Rapids had its share of ethnic schools established at least in part to help the immigrant communities hold on to their culture, and the American school meant to compete toe-to-toe with the emerging public schools. It appears that in Grand Rapids, Catholic education had become much more sophisticated than what was being experienced throughout the rest of the Country with the creation of a Diocesan School Board in 1895 and the development of a high school curriculum as early as 1879.

The development of a Catholic Central High School in 1906 is another sign of this sophistication. The pooling of financial as well as human (students and teachers) resources was unique and would prove to be insightful. This high school, with its emphasis on the sciences, literature, and commercial classes, was meant to compete directly with public schools. The attainment of college accreditation gave this school an
edge and established early on that part of its mission would be to prepare students for college.

Challenges to Catholic education were faced down by the Church in the 1920s. In Michigan, two ballot initiatives that would have brought an end to Catholic schools were defeated. The United States Supreme Court also ruled against legislation that would make public education the only educational option for parents.

The number of Sisters increased dramatically in the Diocese of Grand Rapids between 1900 and 1938 (see Illustrations 7 and 8). These Sisters provided the workforce that allowed these schools to flourish. They impacted not only what was taught but how it was taught. A side effect of the school amendment battles of the 1920s was the development of teacher certification in Michigan and the support of the Church behind this effort. Teaching Sisters worked toward this certification immediately. They also became highly qualified, earning bachelor’s and graduate degrees in the process. This, in turn, had a positive impact on instruction in Catholic schools.

The role of the four bishops on the Catholic education during this period cannot be underestimated. Bishop Richter grew the system of schools by increasing the number from 17 when he arrived to 83 when he died. He created the Catholic “central” high school and established a conservative fiscal policy that controlled growth by controlling funding.

Bishop Kelly, although he relaxed the fiscal policies of his predecessors, was instrumental in defeating the school amendments. His campaign organized Catholics in support of the schools and also brought the Catholic Church into the political arena like it had not been before in Michigan.
Finally, Bishop Pinten restored strict fiscal accountability to the Diocese of Grand Rapids and ensured a future for Catholic schools even in the midst of the Great Depression.

Illustration 6. Mother Blanche’s letter to Bishop Richter 1908
Illustration 7. 1899 Letter from Mother Mary OSF (Felician)
Illustration 8. Letter from Mother Mary Ernesta SSND (1900)
Illustration 9. The Diocese of Grand Rapids in 1938 (Saginaw Diocese created)
Vote YES for School Amendment

1. Because the Constitution of the U.S. is not founded upon faith or creeds, and the school systems of our states should be so conducted as to carry out the principles of our government.
2. Because the public school is the melting pot of America, and the very cradle of Democracy.
3. Because the school amendment will not affect the present compulsory school law, except for the elimination of three words, "Private or Parochial."
4. Because parochial schools are being used only to perpetrate some foreign language, custom, or creed.
5. Because we must make our Americans in our American public schools.
6. Because the amendment says not a word, either by direct statement or by implication, against the right of parents to maintain private or parochial schools outside of the five hours a day, 160 to 180 days a year, required for attendance at public schools. Surely this leaves sufficient time for the instruction of religious doctrine.
7. Because Bishop Schrader, of Toledo, in an address at Chicago recently, said, "If this amendment carries in Michigan, it will sweep the entire country. If the principles involved in this issue are not sound why this splendid endorsement?"
8. Because the world was astounded that 400,000 of our men were ignorant of our language—this amendment will cure that defect.
9. Because parochial schools create groups of voters, deliverable at election, to the candidates who will accept their terms.
10. Because private schools of all kinds promote class distinction.
11. Because schools for physical and mental defectives are not affected by this amendment—see Article XI, Section 15 of our State Constitution.
12. Because the present district law gives each district the broadest power to change or amend itself to suit its own constituents. The Legislature creates the districts and is at liberty to alter them.
13. Because the state does not control teachers in private schools.
14. Because to the Supremes Court, it was submitted by the opposition that there was no religious question involved in the amendment.
15. Because the opposition has unjustly stirred up religious hatred by throwing the question of religion into a question of public policy and politics.
16. Because the Amendment will leave all the churches free to devote their energies to the Christian Field, and will leave religion free to function in the spiritual realm.
17. Because if we recognize private and parochial schools as performing a public function, we should allow citizens to pay taxes to support private or parochial schools of their own choosing.
18. Because parochial schools have furnished 65% of the criminals of the State, public schools 5% and foreigners and illiterates 90%. The amendment will mean therefore, a considerable saving to the state.
19. Because if the City of Detroit were to adopt the same housing space for pupils as the parochial schools have now, every child in the parochial schools could be put into a public school without an additional school room.
20. Because the opposition can demonstrate that parochialism by keeping some of their buildings to the state, until the state has sufficient schools of its own.
21. Because there is not a valid reason why there should be anything but an elementary public school in a democracy.
22. Because the Amendment assures complete Separation of church and state.
23. Because the Amendment will not destroy a single teacher. Teachers who are qualified to teach may be retained as public school teachers; those not qualified should not be teaching now.

All For the Public Schools and the Public School For All, One Flag, One School, One Language.

PUBLIC SCHOOL DEFENSE LEAGUE
228 Broadway Market Bldg., DETROIT, MICH.
35c. per hundred—260 for $1.00.

Illustration 10. Vote Yes Handbill (1924)
1938-1970: The Boom Period (Era III)

Institutional Environment

The Great Depression and World War II did not slow enrollment in Catholic schools. These schools were staffed by teaching Sisters and were virtually free to Catholic families.

Educationally, the public schools were moving toward the movement of progressive education as championed by the likes of John Dewey and others. Progressive education was seen as a humanitarian effort to apply the ideals of American life to the urban Industrial Age. Catholic educators were aware of this movement but were suspicious. They looked for ways to co-opt some of these ideas to serve their own purpose. Catholics were wary of progressive education because they believed it would lead down the road to a further secularization of society, and this would be a moral and social disaster (Walch, 1996).

The American hierarchy, during this period, sought to centralize and solidify their authority and control over parochial education. This campaign to consolidate the administrative controls over parochial education was not established by any set of written directives. Rather, it was the result of the collective management styles of a new generation of bishops who were determined to run their dioceses with economy and efficiency (Augenstein, 2003). Diocesan school boards, established earlier, were found to be too large and cumbersome to be effective. In many places, the bishop replaced the school board with a superintendent (Augenstein).

With the return of Catholic GI’s from World War I, the “baby boom” began. These Catholics were determined to provide their children with a Catholic education.
Catholics had moved up the economic ladder and were able to move to new homes outside of the urban areas where they had grown up. Starting in the 1950s, suburbanization led to the formation of new communities of people who did not share the same neighborhood or ethnic background and who were starting over as “intentional” communities in new parishes (Augenstein, 2003). Even in the old ethnic parishes things were changing. Parishes like Sacred Heart in Grand Rapids were becoming Americanized after the War. Polish sermons were completely eliminated and Polish was no longer taught in the school (Skendzel, 1981). In spite of the changes, enrollment in the parish school continued to increase.

In 1949 Catholic schools had a national enrollment of 2 million. By the end of the 1950s that doubled to 4.2 million students and was still rising (Walch, 1996). Dioceses were not prepared for this growth. The Archdiocese of Chicago expended $12 million to build more schools. In 1962, Cardinal Ritter of St. Louis called a halt to new school construction until schools could be organized with 49 or fewer students per classroom (Walch). In spite of this growth, only 44% of Catholic children were enrolled in Catholic schools. This was because schools could not be built fast enough, resources were strained, and existing schools could not hold all the students who wanted a Catholic education. Enrollment would peak in 1965 with 5.6 million students in 13,500 schools (McDonald, 2005).

Spurred by the Soviet launch of the Sputnik space satellite in 1957, Congress passed the National Defense Act of 1958. This Act benefited both public and nonpublic schools by providing categorical aid to improve math, science, and foreign language instruction in school (Augenstein, 2003).
President Johnson insisted on more categorical assistance for “disadvantaged” public and nonpublic school students using the “child benefit” rationale established by *Everson v. Board of Education* (1947). This case, heard by the United States Supreme Court, established that public aid to nonpublic schools does not violate the First Amendment separation of church and state if the tax monies benefit the children rather than schools (Augenstein, 2003).

On April 9, 1965, President Johnson signed the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Title One allocated more than $1 billion to help educationally deprived children. Among other things, the money could pay for “shared time” programs by which nonpublic school students attend certain classes at public schools (Augenstein, 2003). Title Two provided for the purchase of textbooks and expansion of school libraries; Title Three earmarked for supplemental services available to nonpublic as well as public school students (Augenstein).

In 1963 the Bishops of Michigan founded the Michigan Catholic Conference to be the official voice of the Catholic Church in Michigan on matters of public policy. Beside its lobbying efforts on public policy matters, the Conference provides retirement benefits, health, dental, disability, and life insurance coverage for lay employees and clergy. As the role of lay people began to increase, the services provided by the Michigan Catholic Conference became essential in order to keep teachers.

The thirty years from 1960 to 1990 marked a generation of crises within American Catholicism (Augenstein, 2003). For Catholics, the 1960s saw the Second Vatican Council, which began in 1962 and ended in 1965. The Council was a great event for it brought the Church into the 20th century and adapted its teachings to modern life. It
brought reform to outdated laws, gave prominence to the scriptures in Catholic life, and paved the way for more involvement by lay people in the Church (Skendzel, 1981). The Council also contributed to the controversy of the 1960s with the changes in thinking and worshiping its directives required. Changed, too, was the relationship of laity to clergy, bishop to priest, pope to bishop, and the Church to other faiths (Ancona, 2000). Among the clergy, the clear demarcations of rights and duties previously held by pastors fell by the wayside with many priests lamenting the loss of respect previously given them (Ancona). During this time a general decline in Catholic participation in church activities began including Mass attendance and women entering religious life. Marriage annulments began increasing, and the laity began ignoring the teachings of the Church, especially regarding birth control (Augenstein, 2003). All of these factors would have a negative impact on Catholic school enrollment as the 1960s came to an end.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Catholic</th>
<th>General</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>69,822</td>
<td>1,188,277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>111,759</td>
<td>1,001,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>155,501</td>
<td>1,103,141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>212,605</td>
<td>1,249,654</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* the territory of the diocese was reduced in 1938 when the Diocese of Saginaw was created
Task Environment

With the onset of World War II, Grand Rapids parishes faced shortages of coffee, sugar, meats, and other foods. These shortages required the cancellation of many annual parish events such as suppers used to support parish activities including schools (Ancona, 2000).

Bishop Haas’ High School Development Fund Campaign of 1944 was organized to expand Catholic Central High School. The campaign was meant to coincide with the Sixth War Loan Drive then underway (Heyda, 1981). Lay people contributed money in the form of war bonds purchased. Two thousand, five hundred volunteers canvassed city parishes door-to-door asking for donations and pledges (Ancona, 2000). The campaign proposed that 20 parishes attain a goal of $750,000 in donated war bonds which, at maturity, would equal that amount (Heyda). The campaign was a success and brought to an end one year later when 16 parishes raised more than $800,000. The bishop estimated that more than 1,500 students in Grand Rapids and 600 in Muskegon were excluded from Catholic education because of a lack of facilities, and thus a campaign was essential (Blantz, 1982).

In January 1947, while major renovations at Catholic Central were nearing completion, Bishop Haas launched a campaign in Cheboygen to raise $200,000 to establish a Catholic Central High School there (Blantz, 1982).

In 1951, Bishop Haas broke ground for a further expansion of Grand Rapids Catholic Central. A five story addition would be built with 20 more classrooms,
cafeteria, power plant, and administrative offices (Heyda, 1981). In 1952 a second $750,000 campaign was undertaken to complete the new high school in Muskegon. In September 1953, Muskegon Catholic Central High School opened with 775 students (Ancona, 2000). In January 1953, Bishop Haas announced a completion fund campaign to finish the renovations at Grand Rapids Catholic Central. The goal of $1 million was handily met (Blantz, 1982). The bishop’s fundraising campaigns were so successful that he received inquiries from dioceses and institutions around the country (Blantz, 1982).

With ever-increasing enrollments, the addition and renovations at Catholic Central would only be a partial answer to the problem. In September 1953, Catholic Central opened in its enlarged and modernized building. Two thousand students were enrolled at that campus, with an additional 500 students at the west side location (Heyda, 1981).

In 1961, the construction of West Catholic High School in Grand Rapids began. The overall cost of this project, including the purchase of land, was $2.3 million. The Inter-parochial School Board assessed approximately 30 parishes in Greater Grand Rapids to assume this cost (Heyda, 1981). When construction was completed, the new school consisted of 42 classrooms, five science labs, a language laboratory, library, home economics facility, art room, choir room, band room, two chapels, and the finest gymnasium in the city (Heyda). One thousand, seven hundred students were enrolled at West Catholic that year, and an additional 2,000 students were enrolled at Catholic Central.

As lay teachers were being hired with greater frequency, operational costs would increase. Even with salaries of lay teachers lower than public school salaries, the jump in
cost was significant (Heyda, 1981). At the high schools, two measures were taken to meet the increasing financial obligations. In 1957 the Inter-parochial School Board instituted a tuition. The tuition for one student was $75 for one child, $50 for the second child, and nothing for additional children (Heyda) (see Table 7). The second measure the Board took was to increase the parish assessment each parish provided for the support of the high schools (Heyda). Tuitions also began to appear in the elementary schools in the mid 1960s. These fees would remain small as a result of the Sisters who remained teaching in these schools. Tuition is important because it is an indicator that resource streams are beginning to shift. What was once viewed as a public good supported by the public (parish) was now becoming supported by individuals who would pay the tuition.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tuition Rates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1957: $75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967: $100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Technical Core Level

The Catholic education at this time was noted for religious instruction (dogmatic and doctrinaire), citizenship, discipline, and rote instruction. The Americanization of students was now in full force. Immigration had been curtailed. Catholic schools were no longer about perpetuating the old immigrant cultures. They were about acculturating children into the American culture, albeit with a Catholic bent.

The Baltimore Catechism was the tool most used in elementary religious
instruction. The book was set up in a question and answer format, and the answers were committed to memory (Reardon, 2005). Religion as a whole was a major element of daily life in Catholic schools. Children often attended Mass daily, had their confessions heard by the priest at school, prayed daily, took part in devotional activities, and received religious instruction (Reardon).

Other subjects were taught with an emphasis on rote instruction and drill: math, history, and geography. Students also learned grammar and reading. Science was not emphasized in Catholic elementary school of the period until the nation as a whole placed more emphasis on it (Reardon, 2005).

At the high school level, great importance was also placed on religion, but advances were also made in improving the rest of the curriculum. Before becoming principal of Catholic Central in 1935, Sister Blanche made a study of the curriculum and structural needs at the school. She visited other Catholic Central high schools in the United States, evaluated what they taught, and developed plans to improve the educational offerings in Grand Rapids for greater efficiency and order (Heyda, 1981). Many of the improvements made to curriculum at the high schools were the result of the building campaigns both for new construction and renovation.

One effect of the War on curriculum was the development of ROTC (reserve officers training corps) programs at Catholic Central High School. The inclusion of this in the curriculum is an example of the Americanization occurring in the schools. The program was open to sophomores and seniors in 1943 and 1944. Students who were involved in the program also took the full complement of academic courses as well as military drill and training. Because of the difficulty of arranging class schedules around
drill periods, participation was restricted to 10\textsuperscript{th} and 12\textsuperscript{th} grades (Heyda, 1981). A girls ROTC program was instituted for the 1944-45 school year (Heyda).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elementary</th>
<th>Secondary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>Religion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>Social Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-History</td>
<td>-History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Civics</td>
<td>-Civics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing</td>
<td>Foreign Language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Latin</td>
<td>-Latin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-German</td>
<td>-German</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-French</td>
<td>-French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grammar</td>
<td>Science</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Biology</td>
<td>-Biology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Chemistry</td>
<td>-Chemistry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>-General</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ROTC</td>
<td>ROTC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the renovated building was completed in 1953, the high school was organized into 9 curricular departments: religion, math, science, English, history/social studies, foreign languages, business, physical education, and fine arts (see Table 8)
(Heyda, 1981). The education these students received was inclusive of moral values and ideals of spiritual perfection while providing an education in the social, physical, and economic aspects of life (Heyda). A full complement of athletic teams was fielded as well.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SISTERS</td>
<td>462</td>
<td>472</td>
<td>532</td>
<td>572</td>
<td>634</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LAY</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 10. Number of teachers*

In 1952, Catholic Central was staffed by 42 Sisters and 11 lay teachers (Heyda, 1981). Lay teachers made up 21% of the faculty. In 1962, Catholic Central had 43 Sisters and 23 lay teachers (lay teachers 35% of faculty), and West Catholic had 20 Sisters and 10 lay teachers (lay teachers 30% of faculty). The day of the Sister faculty would quickly come to an end in the next decade (Heyda, 1981) (See Figure 10). The 1960s brought a decline in recruitment to religious orders, which in turn decreased the number of Sisters available to teach. New attitudes unleashed by Vatican II caused a number of Sisters to leave religious communities. This was occurring at a time when enrollment was peaking in Catholic schools (Heyda). This is important to note because as the number of Sisters teaching in the schools decreased, they were replaced with lay
teachers who had to be paid a regular salary. Lay teachers did not subsidize Catholic education like the Sisters who worked basically for room and board in a convent. Resource streams were changing. Lay teachers drove up the cost of education. This, in turn, would drive up tuition rates. Increasingly, Catholic schools would be available to those who would pay the tuition. Community support for a community good would diminish and be replaced with individual support for an individual good. The need for more money would also have an effect on what was being taught. In order to attract people willing to pay for a Catholic education, the technical core would have to change from Americanizing students to preparing students to go on to college.

The following figures (11 and 12) reflect the changes in enrollment and the number of Catholic schools during this era. Although the number of Sisters teaching in the schools declined at the end of this period, Table 9 points out the variety of religious communities teaching in the schools during this era.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ENROLLMENT</td>
<td>13,394</td>
<td>13,846</td>
<td>15,918</td>
<td>21,897</td>
<td>28,674</td>
<td>33,459</td>
<td>21,435</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 11. Enrollment (Era III)
Table 9

*Communities of Sisters in Grand Rapids Diocese during Era III*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community of Sisters</th>
<th>(initials)</th>
<th>Location of Motherhouse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sisters of St. Joseph</td>
<td>SSJ</td>
<td>Nazareth, Michigan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immaculate Heart of Mary</td>
<td>IHM</td>
<td>Monroe, Michigan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School Sisters of Notre Dame</td>
<td>SSND</td>
<td>Milwaukee, Wisconsin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sisters of Charity</td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>Emmitsburg, Maryland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mercy</td>
<td>RSM</td>
<td>Grand Rapids, Michigan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pallotine</td>
<td>SAC</td>
<td>Florissant, Missouri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Convent of the Good Shepherd</td>
<td>RSG</td>
<td>Carthage, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felician</td>
<td>CSSF</td>
<td>Livonia, Michigan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sisters of Penance &amp; Christian Charity</td>
<td>OSF</td>
<td>Niagara, New York</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sisters of Christian Charity</td>
<td>SCC</td>
<td>Wilmette, Illinois</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominican</td>
<td>OP</td>
<td>Adrian, Michigan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominican</td>
<td>OP</td>
<td>Grand Rapids, Michigan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominican</td>
<td>OP</td>
<td>Heath, England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominican</td>
<td>OP</td>
<td>Racine, Wisconsin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bernardine</td>
<td>OSF</td>
<td>Reading, Pennsylvania Consolata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>missionaries</td>
<td>MC</td>
<td>Belmont, Michigan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franciscans of Christian Charity</td>
<td>OSF</td>
<td>Manitowoc, Wisconsin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Providence of God</td>
<td>OSF</td>
<td>Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There was a move by Bishop Pinten, during this period, to consolidate his authority over parochial schools. Bishop Pinten did this three ways: first, by negotiating terms for parish debts; second, by curtailing the use of foreign languages in ethnic schools (Skendzel, 1981); and third, by appointing Fr. James Flannery to be superintendent of the Catholic Central High School (Heyda, 1981). Fr. Flannery would later become the Superintendent of Diocesan Schools (McGee, 1950). The curtailing of ethnic language use in the schools was a major shift away from protecting and preserving the culture of immigrant to the Americanization of immigrants.

Attempts had been made since the early 1930s to bring the principalship of the two buildings (girls and boys) together in one person. In 1935 Sister Blanche took over

### Figure 12. Number of Schools

**Management Level**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NUMBER OF SCHOOLS</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>66 (EL)</td>
<td>75 (EL)</td>
<td>79 (EL)</td>
<td>86 (EL)</td>
<td>61 (EL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUMBER OF HIGH SCHOOLS</td>
<td>19 (HS)</td>
<td>18 (HS)</td>
<td>21 (HS)</td>
<td>18 (HS)</td>
<td>15 (HS)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the office of principal. That same year Fr. William Murphy was appointed vice-principal and religion instructor. Three years later, Fr. Murphy would become principal of the two buildings (1,000 students). Since Catholic Central was started in 1904, it had really been two schools: Boys Catholic Central and Girls Catholic Central. With Fr. Murphy as principal, the two schools merged into one. The University of Michigan, which accredited the schools, wanted the schools combined. The Management of the high school (Fr. Murphy) responded to the environment (U-M) by combining the schools. Thus began a dominant movement toward college prep education. The University of Michigan represented an elite value. The die was now cast. Catholic Central High School would continue to move toward college prep education, a feat that would be completed in the next era. Shortly after the merger occurred, Catholic Central became accredited by the North Central Association (McGee, 1950). Another advantage occurred because of the merger. By merging the schools, the boys could now compete as a “Class C” in athletics. The appointment of Fr. Murphy meant that Sisters would no longer serve as principals at the school (Heyda, 1981).

The Catholic Central West Annex opened in 1944 for freshmen and sophomores on the west side of the river. The school was housed on the third floor of St. Adalbert School and was staffed by 7 School Sisters of Notre Dame (Heyda, 1981). Fr. William Murphy remained the principal of both sites. However, in 1945 he appointed Fr. Joseph Murphy to oversee the West Side Annex (Heyda). Fr. Joe Murphy would eventually become principal of West Catholic High School when it was created in 1962 (Heyda).

Although Fr. Murphy oversaw the construction of the school, the real work of getting West Catholic built was the result of the Inter-parochial High School Board.
Shortly after arriving in Grand Rapids, Bishop Babcock instituted the Inter-parochial High School Board as an instrument for policy making and planning (Heyda, 1981). The Board was also responsible for assessing parishes for the maintenance and support of the high school. The Board was in operation when West Catholic was being planned and at the time contemplated building several high schools in the Greater Grand Rapids area (Heyda). Originally the Board consisted of all the pastors from parishes in metropolitan Grand Rapids. In 1969 the Board’s composition changed when lay people, as well as the pastors, were allowed to be members (Heyda).

In 1964 the Diocese of Grand Rapids issued a policy requiring all parishes to establish a Board of Education to direct its school and/or religious education programs.

**Leadership.**

In October 1943, the Vatican announced that the pope had selected Msgr. Francis Haas to be the sixth bishop of Grand Rapids. Haas was an academic (having taught at Marquette University) and an activist for labor relations (Ancona, 2000).

In 1944 Bishop Haas announced ambitious plans to expand the Catholic high schools in Grand Rapids and Muskegon (Ancona, 2000). Despite the success of his high school expansion campaigns, Bishop Haas was concerned about the thousands of children unable to attend Catholic schools. He was especially concerned about the children in the outlying and rural expanses of the diocese (Ancona). Having heard of a program where children learned religious instruction by correspondence, he asked the Dominican Sisters to develop a similar program to use in the Diocese of Grand Rapids. By 1952, more than 1,300 children were enrolled in this religious correspondence course (Blantz, 1982).

Bishop Haas died in 1953, just prior to the opening of the renovated Grand Rapids
Catholic Central. Besides the dramatic fundraising campaigns he initiated, he was credited with establishing 19 elementary schools in his nearly 10 years as bishop (Ancona, 2000). Enrollment in Catholic schools increased from 13,500 to more than 19,000 during his tenure (Blantz, 1982).

In March 1954, Allen Babcock was named the seventh bishop of Grand Rapids. Bishop Babcock embarked on a vast development of religious education for children not enrolled in parochial schools (Ancona, 2000). He invited the Victory Noll Sisters of Huntington, Indiana, who were considered at the time to be experts in the religious education of children not in Catholic schools, to join his efforts (Ancona). Besides his efforts for children not enrolled in Catholic schools, during Bishop Babcock’s 15 years as bishop he was responsible for the establishment of 26 schools, including 3 high schools.

Summary

Enrollment in Catholic schools remained steady during the Depression and World War II. With the return of GI’s from the War, the “baby boom” began, which played a dramatic role in the increase of enrollment that was evidenced from 1945 to 1965.

The American Church hierarchy during this period worked to centralize their authority and control over parochial education. In the Diocese of Grand Rapids, this was evidenced by the appointment of priests to the position of principal in the high schools. Bishop Haas was particularly important in spearheading fundraising campaigns to build more high schools. His successor, Bishop Babcock, also created the Inter-parochial High School Board to oversee the operation of the high schools in Grand Rapids. In 1964 the Diocese of Grand Rapids issued a policy requiring all parishes to establish Boards of Education.
As ethnic parishes and schools gave way to a more American form of Catholic school, Catholic schools of this period were marked by their insistence on doctrinaire religious instruction. Rote and drill instruction was the norm in all Catholic elementary schools. Enrollment in Catholic schools would peak in 1965. Schools could not be built fast enough to house all of these students. In spite of the growth, nationally only 44% of Catholic children were enrolled in Catholic schools.

The 1960s brought about changes in Catholic education even while enrollment was at record highs. The Second Vatican Council changed the ways Catholics thought about their Church and its teachings. The number of teaching Sisters began to decline. With this decline came a rise in lay teachers on school faculties. The increase in lay teachers brought about increased costs and the introduction of tuition in these schools. Lay people also became involved in school boards as these continued to develop. The Inter-parochial High School Board in Grand Rapids would see its first lay people on the Board by the end of the 1960s.

Catholic schools continued to be built through the 1960s. The cost of building these schools was paid for through assessments. These assessments in turn were borne by the parishioners who supported the parish. At the time of his death in 1969, Bishop Babcock had built 26 new schools and oversaw the expansion of 8 others. As costs continued to rise, tuitions increased, enrollment began to decline, and future construction would come to a halt. The effects of the changes brought about beginning in the 1960s would be felt in the coming years where the future of Catholic school education would be called into question.
As Catholic families moved to the suburbs, many urban parishes declined or closed. The new suburban parishes were not constructing schools as quickly as the urban parishes had. The decree of the 3rd Baltimore Council compelling parents to send children to Catholic schools became obsolete. At this time Catholic leaders did not understand the cause of the decline in enrollment and therefore had no sense of how to stop it (Walch, 1996). By 1984, 40% of Catholic high schools and 27% of Catholic grade schools had closed over the last two decades (Augenstein, 2003).

By 1970 a search began for a new philosophy of Catholic education. Educators and Churchmen looked to the documents of Vatican II for answers. In 1973 the American Bishops issued *To Teach as Jesus Did* in support of Catholic school education. Catholic schools were now viewed as a piece in a lifespan vision of faith formation (Augenstein). *To Teach as Jesus Did* emphasized the threefold mission of the Catholic school: Faith, Service to the Community, and Academics (USCCB, 1973). The Bishops also stated that “Catholic schools continue to be the most effective means available to the Church for the education of children and young people who are the future of the Church” (*To Teach as Jesus Did*, no. 118).

The issue of the cost of education was recognized as early as the Nixon Administration (1969-1974). On March 3, 1969, in an address to Congress, President Nixon announced the creation of a School Finance Commission to help states analyze the fiscal plight of public and nonpublic schools (Augenstein, 2003). While the Commission was at work, the President’s Office of Economic Opportunity unveiled a plan to test
tuition vouchers for parents of nonpublic school students in selected communities. Even as the American Federation of Teachers and National Education Association protested, Nixon approved the experiment to be conducted by Christopher Jencks of the Center for the Study of Public Policy. Nixon also convened a Panel for Nonpublic Education (Augenstein). A series of United States Supreme Court cases (*Lemon v. Kurtzman, 1971*) provided the nonpublic school aid campaign with a serious setback. The Panel on Nonpublic Education concluded that the Court’s decisions appeared to rule out the concept of public support for church-related schools (Augenstein).

Gerald Ford (1974-1976) inherited the voucher experiments that were still being conducted by the Office of Economic Opportunity. At the same time Congress continued to reduce the budget of this office, which impacted the voucher project. Two months after taking office, President Ford proposed a tuition tax credit, saying: “There is no reason why there should be a monopoly on education just on the public side” (Augenstein, p. 161). The fear of tax credits being declared unconstitutional meant that there would be no activity in Congress to move this forward.

In 1975, Congress enacted the first federal special education law. The Handicapped Students Act (PL 94-142) was a national attempt to provide better service to children with disabilities (Turnbull, 2002). Congress had found that more than half of the children with disabilities in the United States did not receive appropriate educational services and that 1 million children were excluded entirely from the public school system (Turnbull). In light of these findings, Congress asserted that it was in the nation’s best interest that the Federal government assist State and Local efforts to provide programs to meet their needs (Turnbull).
In 1990, Congress amended PL 94-142 and renamed it the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) (Turnbull, 2002). IDEA defined more comprehensively who was eligible for service, what services would be provided, and what rights the individual had under this law (Turnbull).

President Carter (1977-1980) was opposed to tax credits (Augenstein, 2003). However, that did not stop the House in 1978 from approving a tuition tax credit bill. The bill was later defeated in the Senate. This was at a time when a Harris poll showed that two-thirds of Americans favored a tax credit for nonpublic school students (Augenstein).

President Reagan (1981-1988) reiterated his dedication to tuition tax credits. In his State of the Union Address in 1983 he called for the passage of tuition tax credits for those parents who wanted to send their children to private or religiously affiliated schools (Augenstein, 2003). The Senate defeated this bill when it was put to a vote.

President Bush (1989-1992) introduced, in his proposal for national educational standards (America 2000), the concept that school choice should include nonpublic schools and that if parents have a choice in where they send their children to school, this would encourage educational excellence (Augenstein).

President Clinton (1993-2000) opposed the concept of nonpublic school choice as he felt it would only transfer money away from those schools that most needed it (Augenstein, 2003).

At a time when efforts to promote aid to families with children in nonpublic schools were being stymied in Congress, voucher programs were being instituted in Milwaukee and Cleveland. In June 1998, the Wisconsin Supreme Court ruled the
voucher program was constitutional (Augenstein, 2003). In 2002 the US Supreme Court ruled in *Zelman v. Harris* that Cleveland’s voucher was constitutional (Augenstein).

As the 21st century began, 18 states permitted public loans of textbooks, 26 states allowed public transportation, and 28 states authorized public auxiliary services to nonpublic schools. But 35 state constitutions prohibited some form of public aid to nonpublic schools (Blaine Amendments). The future of Catholic schools will continue to depend on the ability to fund them. Schools will need to tap into donors or businesses willing to contribute (*Catholic school officials look at ways to prevent school closings*, Catholic News Service, August, 20, 2004).

Beginning in the late 1980s, the decline in enrollment nationwide began to stabilize to about 2 million students. Schools were being opened in suburbs, while urban schools continued to close. However, it is interesting to note that minority enrollment in Catholic schools was increasing from less than 10% of enrollment in 1980 to more than 20% in 1984. Chicago had a minority enrollment of 44%, Detroit 58%, Los Angeles 65%, and New York 55%. Andrew Greeley found in his study *Catholic Schools in a Declining Church* (1976) that minority families find Catholic schools a functional educational alternative for their children (Walch, 1996). Greeley also explored the reasons for the demand by parents for private schools. According to Greeley, 78% believed that religion classes were important, while 94% believed that moral values were essential to a good education. Parents were also drawn to these schools because they believed that the schools were more responsive to their needs and interests (Walch). They also preferred the small class size and believed that these schools are academically excellent, and, therefore, give these children an advantage (Walch).
Enrollment in Catholic schools dropped from 2.6 million students in 2000 to 2.4 million in the 2004-05 school-year. From the 2003-04 school year to the 2004-05 school year, 173 schools closed (CNN.com: Catholic schools’ enrollment drops again, March 30, 2005). At the same time, the number of students with learning disabilities in Catholic schools has remained at about 1% of the total enrollment (McDonald, 2005).

The challenge of keeping Catholic schools open revolves around money (See Table 4.11). The Archdiocese of Chicago announced that it would close 23 schools in 2005. Twenty-six Catholic schools were closed in Brooklyn and Queens, New York. The Archdiocese of Detroit announced the closing of 16 schools by the end of the 2004-05 school year (Education Week, vol. 24, no. 26, March 9, 2005). The perceived mission to serve economically disadvantaged children is jeopardized with each school closing.

The American Bishops issued a new document of support for Catholic schools at their June 2005 meeting. *Renewing our Commitment to Catholic Elementary and Secondary Schools in the Third Millennium* sets forth the goal of maintaining quality Catholic schools that are available, accessible, affordable, and staffed with highly qualified teachers who are paid a just wage (USCCB, 2005). In order to do this the Bishops recommitted themselves to the importance of these schools and called on each other to promote Catholic schools as one of the Church’s primary missions that should be supported by all Catholics (USCCB, 2005). They have also committed themselves to finding other ways to finance Catholic school education.
Table 10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Catholic</th>
<th>General</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>148,128</td>
<td>899,238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>150,373</td>
<td>906,483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>154,219</td>
<td>1,167,900</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* territory of the diocese was reduced in 1971 when Gaylord and Kalamazoo Dioceses were created

Task Environment

In 1963 when the Michigan State constitution was rewritten, a “Blaine Amendment” restricting aid to nonpublic schools was not included. In 1970, Michigan residents voted to amend the Constitution by including an amendment that would prohibit aid to nonpublic schools. The Michigan Catholic Conference lobbied hard to defeat “Proposal C.” Their efforts failed. The Bishops would go on in 1978 and 2000 to support efforts to amend the Constitution to allow for educational vouchers. These efforts failed as well.

In 1970 the Bishops of Michigan petitioned the Vatican to create another diocese in Michigan. In June 1971 the Vatican announced the formation of two new dioceses in Michigan: the Diocese of Kalamazoo and the Diocese of Gaylord (see Illustration 11 and Table 10). The result of this was that the Diocese of Grand Rapids was reduced in size from 28 counties to 11 counties. Seventy-three parishes, and any schools attached to them, came under a new jurisdiction (Ancona, 2000).
Illustration 11. The Diocese of Grand Rapids 1971
Catholic schools seemed at this time to redefine their purpose in light of Vatican II. In 1971, Our Lady of Sorrows School was closed and reopened as a private non-denominational neighborhood school with a very low tuition. The Grand Rapids Public School District took over the school in 1974 (Ancona, 2000). At St. Andrew’s School, creative outreach endeavors were employed in an effort to redefine the school. The school continues today with the most diverse student body of any Catholic school in the diocese. The school receives the smallest parish subsidy (3%), uses a sliding tuition scale based on parent income, and has a very healthy foundation to support the school (Diocese of Grand Rapids, 2004).

Currently, Catholic schools rely on three means of support: tuition, parish subsidy, and development activity. The recommendation of the diocesan schools office is that the parish subsidy should be no more than 40% of the school’s revenue. The remainder of the school’s revenue should come from the other two sources. At this time the amount of parish subsidy ranges between 3% and 70% (Diocese of Grand Rapids, 2004).

In the Diocese of Grand Rapids there are two parishes that support schools through tithing and charge no tuition. The other 39 schools operating in the diocese charge tuition. Most school boards have established a standard tuition for their school. Some have a sliding tuition scale based on the family’s income (Diocese of Grand Rapids, 2004). This is particularly true of the high schools that charge a tuition that is close to the actual cost per pupil. Parents then submit tax forms and apply for financial aid, which brings their individual tuition down.
The history of educational endowments in the diocese began in 1975. The two Grand Rapids high schools (Catholic Central and West Catholic) were operating with a deficit of $400,000. Bishop Breitenbeck determined that this could not continue. The solution was to create an endowment fund to deal with the indebtedness but which was later earmarked for student financial aid (Heyda, 1981). Former diocesan superintendent Michael Gross pushed parishes, beginning in 1989, to create education endowments to support their schools (Diocese of Grand Rapids, 1992).

Efforts have continued to pool parish resources. In 1975, the Catholic elementary schools in Muskegon consolidated with Muskegon Catholic Central high school to form the Greater Muskegon Catholic Schools (GMCS). The schools were operated by an inter-parochial school board who hired an executive director to manage it for them. Parishes leased their schools to the board, which, in turn, took over responsibility for providing the education. A formula was developed so that each parish in Muskegon was assessed an annual amount for the support of the consolidation.

In 1997, the two parishes in Holland came together to sponsor a new Catholic school. St. Francis de Sales parish school was closed, and a new Corpus Christi school was built. It relies on financial support from each parish. A formula was developed for each parish’s financial obligation. A new school board was created with representation from each parish.

In 2003, the Muskegon County Catholic Educational Foundation petitioned the diocese to transfer ownership of the GMCS facilities from the Diocese of Grand Rapids to the Foundation. In the Fall of 2004, this transfer was approved by the Vatican. The Greater Muskegon schools now operate as a private Catholic school within the diocese.
In 2005 the parishes in Newaygo County agreed to come together to financially support a regional Catholic school for the area. Time will tell how effective this arrangement will be.

### Table 11

**Tuition Rate**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Tuition Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>$800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>$1,689</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>$3,255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>$6,200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This figure has moved from a per family rate to a per child rate.

---

**Figure 13.** Enrollment in the Diocese of Grand Rapid

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>ENROLLMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>21,941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>11,378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>10,314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>9,423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>8,345</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Technical Core Level

The 1960s proved to be a decade of the highest enrollment in Catholic schools as well as the largest decline in any decade. From a high of nearly 7 million elementary and secondary students in 1965 to 3 million students in 1970, many Catholic leaders wondered whether these schools could survive (Groome, 2003) (see Figure 13). Tuition in Catholic schools increased (see Table 11) as fewer Sisters continued to teach and were being replaced by lay people (see Figure 14). In 1964, 85% of Catholic school faculties consisted of Sisters, Brothers, and priests. By 1995, 91% of Catholic school faculties consisted of lay people (Groome). This phenomenon was borne out in Grand Rapids as well.

![Graph showing the number of teachers from 1971 to 2004.]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SISTERS</td>
<td>481</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LAY</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>385</td>
<td>399</td>
<td>493</td>
<td>493</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 14. Number of Teachers*
Table 12  

Communities of Sisters in Grand Rapids Diocese during Era IV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community of Sisters</th>
<th>(initials)</th>
<th>Location of Motherhouse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bernardine</td>
<td>OSF</td>
<td>Reading, Pennsylvania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consolata</td>
<td>MC</td>
<td>Belmont, Michigan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominican</td>
<td>OP</td>
<td>Grand Rapids, Michigan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominican</td>
<td>OP</td>
<td>Sinsinawa, Wisconsin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felician</td>
<td>CSSF</td>
<td>Livonia, Michigan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Franciscans of Providence</td>
<td>OSF</td>
<td>Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good Shepherd</td>
<td>RSG</td>
<td>Carthage, Ohio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mercy</td>
<td>RSM</td>
<td>Farmington, Michigan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pallotine</td>
<td>SAC</td>
<td>Florissant, Missouri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sisters of St. Joseph</td>
<td>SSJ</td>
<td>Nazareth, Michigan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sisters of Notre Dame</td>
<td>SSND</td>
<td>Milwaukee, Wisconsin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Servants of Jesus</td>
<td>SJ</td>
<td>Clarkston, Michigan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The answer to the 1970s question “Should Catholic schools continue?” was by no means certain (Augenstein, 2003). While studies beginning in the 1960s by Coleman and Greeley focused on the value of Catholic education, other sociologists indicated that Catholic schools were thought to be elitist and a haven for those fleeing desegregation in public schools (Augenstein).
Figure 15. Number of Schools

Since 1971, 8 schools have closed in the diocese (see Figure 15). Two of the schools were academies for girls, one was the school for delinquent girls, and the other five were parish schools. One of the closed schools, St. Adalbert, has a charter school operating in its building. Decisions to close schools require the permission of the bishop (Canon 800). A process for determining the viability of a school has been developed and is followed before a school closes.

Also during this time, a new emphasis was being placed on adult-centered religious education. Parochial schools were receiving less revenue from the parish as money was going into these new programs. This loss in subsidy revenue was occurring at the same time enrollment was declining (Augenstein, 2003).

What is taught in Catholic schools in the diocese and who is being taught was
influenced during this period from a number of different sources. Vatican II had a
dramatic effect on Catholic education.

Prior to Vatican II the common understanding was that those outside the Church
(non-Catholics) could not be saved. The documents that the Council produced seemed to
show that the former thinking was no longer valid. Because in many cases the purpose of
a Catholic school was to protect children from the errors of Protestantism, the schools
lost their focus. At this time the number of Sisters teaching in the Catholic schools was
dramatically reduced. The 19th century ethos of parochial education as the bulwark of
Catholic identity in a Protestant culture no longer held true (Augenstein, 2003).

Much of the 1970s was spent with experimentation in the mechanics of classroom
structure: the “open” classroom, large and small group instruction, team teaching,
modular scheduling (Augenstein, 2003). Values clarification became an important
methodological presupposition for teachers (Augenstein).

Starting in the late 1960s a common practice in Catholic schools was to have
public school teachers enter the school to provide Title I services on site (Augenstein,
2003). Over time, public school teachers were entering Catholic schools to teach other
subjects. These programs were referred to as “Shared Time” programs. The Grand
Rapids Public Schools had quite an elaborate arrangement for “shared time” with the
Catholic schools in the city. In 1985, the United States Supreme Court ruled in Aguilar v.
Felton and Grand Rapids v. Ball that these arrangements were unconstitutional. The
Court prohibited public school teachers from teaching in parochial schools because the
effect of doing so subsidized the religious function of the school (Augenstein). This
decision would be overturned in 1997 when the Court ruled that under certain conditions
“shared time” programs could function without an unnecessary entanglement of Church and State. Today, “shared time” programs provide music, art, P.E., computer, and foreign language instruction in many Catholic schools throughout the diocese (Diocese of Grand Rapids, 2004).

In 1990, the Michigan Legislature enacted Public Act 25. This Act required public schools to develop school improvement plans. The State also established a core curriculum and proposed learning outcomes for students. The Act also called for the accreditation of public schools based on an evaluation of their progress toward school improvement. Schools were also required to publish an annual educational report (Education Policy Center, article 3, Fall 2000).

Since 1995, Catholic schools in the Diocese of Grand Rapids have also begun to have their schools accredited. Accreditation is provided by the Michigan Nonpublic Schools Accrediting Association. This Association is recognized by the Michigan Department of Education (Diocese of Grand Rapids, 2004) and the College Board. The purpose for accreditation is to certify and assure that each school meets or exceeds all criteria set out as defining an excellent school (Diocese of Grand Rapids, 2005). Criteria have been established for 11 standards: philosophy/mission, school and community, school climate, organization/administration, professional staff, curriculum and student evaluation, instructional materials and resources, student services, school facilities, long range planning, and child care services.

Today, students receive a college preparatory education (see Table 13). Ninety-seven percent of the students who graduate from the Catholic high schools go on to college. To prepare these students, the high schools offer 21 advanced placement courses
as well as honors courses and a core curriculum that includes 4 years of English, 4 years of religion, 3 years of math, 3 years of social science, and 2 years of science.

At the elementary level, students are prepared, through the curriculum, to matriculate to the Catholic high schools. Emphasis is placed on language arts, science, and math, as well as religion. As evidenced by standardized tests such as the MEAP, elementary Catholic school students do very well and are prepared for high school and college.
Table 13

Curriculum Era IV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elementary</th>
<th>Secondary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Studies</td>
<td>Sciences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language Arts</td>
<td>-Literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art</td>
<td>-Anatomy, Biology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art</td>
<td>-Chemistry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>Mathematics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Arithmetic</td>
<td>Social Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Algebra</td>
<td>-History (World)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Geometry</td>
<td>-Economics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Calculus</td>
<td>-Sociology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phys. Ed.</td>
<td>-Trig/ Analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td>-US Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science</td>
<td>Foreign Language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technology</td>
<td>Technology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Latin</td>
<td>-Computers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-French</td>
<td>Business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Spanish</td>
<td>Religion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-German</td>
<td>Fine Arts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Choir, Band, Art</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*13 honors courses and 10 Advanced Placement courses are offered.
Management Level

In 2005, three Sisters and 38 lay persons served as school principals in the Diocese of Grand Rapids (see Table 12). In the past, the pastor did not need to be very involved in the school. He turned over most responsibilities to the Sisters in charge. Prior to 1964, there were no school boards. The pastor’s primary responsibility revolved around the financial stability of the school. Today, the pastor is much more involved with the operation of the school (Canon 794). He hires the principal, who reports to him. The pastor is assisted in developing policies by the school board. Each board provides the pastor with advice and recommendations regarding the operation of the school. Any decisions reached by the board must be approved by the pastor. As steward of the parish’s resources and accountable to the bishop regarding these resources (Canon 532), the pastor directly determines how much parish revenue will be devoted to the operation of a parish school.

In 2002 the Diocese of Grand Rapids began requiring the schools of the diocese to keep track of students with learning disabilities. A Student Services Taskforce was initiated in 2003 to understand the scope of special needs in the schools and develop recommendations to improve services to these students and their families. The work of the taskforce found that 4% of the students enrolled in the Catholic schools of the diocese have a certified learning disability (Diocese of Grand Rapids, 2004). The report and recommendations have been given to the Regional Councils to include in the strategic plans they are currently developing.
Leadership.

The Bishop of Grand Rapids at this time was Joseph Breitenbeck, who served from 1969 to 1989. Besides implementing the changes brought about by Vatican II and the diocesan realignment of 1971, Bishop Breitenbeck set about establishing policies for the governance of the diocese in particular schools. These policies were promulgated in 1977. Regarding schools, the bishop established a Secretary for Education who was the superintendent of schools and represented the bishop’s interests in education in the diocese. The superintendent/secretary had discretionary authority to make decisions for which no formal policy existed. The bishop established that, in cooperation with the local parish school board, principals would be hired by the pastor. The pastor was also responsible for executing policies of the local board and the Diocesan Office of Education.

Under the leadership of the 9th bishop of Grand Rapids, Robert Rose (1989-2003), the Diocese and the Secretariat for Education became more directly involved in Catholic schools. In 1996 a diocesan curriculum was developed for all schools as well as a process to review curriculum. Report cards were standardized, and an administrative evaluation process for principals was instituted. In 1998 Bishop Rose announced a fundraising campaign that was to include the creation of an endowment for Catholic education (Ancona, 2000). In 2005, 675 students received $130,000 in support from the Bishop’s Fund (the proceeds from the endowment for this year) (Diocese of Grand Rapids, 2005).

In 2001 Bishop Rose directed that a governance taskforce be created to investigate more effective ways to run schools in the diocese. The recommendations of
the taskforce called for a regional approach to schools. That is, the diocese was to be divided into regions. Each region would create a regional council. Each council would develop a strategic plan regarding Catholic schools in the region. Based on the plan, all the parishes in the region would provide support to ensure the viability of the schools in their region. The Diocesan School Board Constitution was rewritten in 2003 to reflect this regional approach to school governance. Regional councils are now being created throughout the diocese.

Summary

The 1960s proved to be a decade of the highest enrollment in Catholic schools as well as the largest decline in any decade. Tuition increased as fewer Sisters continued teaching and were replaced by lay people.

By 1970 a search began for a new philosophy of Catholic education in light of Vatican II. In 1973 the American bishops issued To Teach as Jesus Did in support of Catholic schools. By the late 1980s the decline in enrollment began to stabilize.

The issue of the cost of education was recognized by the Nixon administration, which began experimenting with tuition vouchers for the parents of students in nonpublic schools in selected communities. Efforts by the government to expand vouchers and, later, tax credits were not successful. Creative means of funding Catholic schools have emerged throughout the country, most notably the Nativity schools and Christo Rey schools that rely on private and corporate donations to operate.

In Michigan, The Michigan Catholic Conference has lobbied to change the State Constitution to allow for aid nonpublic schools specifically through tuition vouchers. These efforts have been to no avail.
In 1971 the Diocese of Grand Rapids was reorganized when two other dioceses were created from it. The Diocese of Grand Rapids now consists of 11 counties, significantly smaller than its original 38 county territory. During the tenure of Bishop Breitenbeck, the changes brought about by Vatican II were implemented. The bishop established formal policies for the governance of schools in the diocese. Under the leadership of Bishop Rose, a taskforce was created to improve the governance of Catholic schools in the diocese.

In 2005 the majority of principals and teachers in Catholic schools were lay people. The pastor played a much more direct role in the operation and management of the Catholic school. School Boards were also involved in helping the pastor by developing policies and budgets.

The Catholic schools of 2005 were dependent upon parish subsidies, as well as tuition, for operational support. All schools in the diocese have endowment funds that provide additional support. Efforts continue to pool resources as evidenced in Muskegon, Holland, and Newaygo County.

What is taught in Catholic schools today has been influenced by changes within the Church itself. The Church has had to redefine its mission for the schools and evaluate their need. Diversity and outreach to the community now play an important role in who is being educated.

The State of Michigan has mandated school improvement and a core curriculum. Catholic schools in the Diocese of Grand Rapids have also directed the schools toward school improvement as well as a more rigorous core curriculum. Catholic schools students now take the MEAP test and compete with public school students for
scholarship opportunities. Catholic schools, like their public school counterparts, are accredited. Accreditation provides the modern Catholic school with the legitimacy necessary to retain students and the resources necessary to continue operating the schools.

Who is being taught in Catholic schools is increasingly white, Catholic, middle-class families. Minority enrollment, while increasing, is not increasing as much as white students, both Catholic and non-Catholic students. The number of students with learning disabilities also continues to increase. The diversification of the student body in Catholic schools will continue to bring about changes in what is taught and how it is taught.
This chapter presents a summary of the conclusions I drew from the research I presented in Chapter 4. I have organized this chapter by eras of time as I had done in the previous chapter. In each era I applied the research questions from Chapter 1. I then used the conceptual framework (see Figure 16) outlined in Chapter 2 to answer these questions. The conclusions I drew were based on the knowledge, understanding, and new insights I gained into the phenomenon of Catholic schools as a result of this activity. Applications for this research and the implications of this research on current practices in Catholic school management are discussed. The impact this study had on the author, why this study makes a difference, and areas for further research are also discussed.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to understand Catholic schools in the Diocese of Grand Rapids. I wanted to learn how they began, changed, and persisted organizationally over time. The history of Catholic schools is well documented (Walch, 1996) but not the study of the organization of those schools and how that affects their ability to evolve and survive. I also wanted to understand the phenomena of Catholic schools that coexist in an environment with public schools and how this came about. I wanted to know if there was a connection between how these schools formed and who they serve.
Figure 16. Conceptual Framework
I set about conducting research that would help me to answer the following questions:

1. How did Catholic schools form?
2. How did Catholic schools organize?
3. How did Catholic schools evolve?
4. What was the nature of the institutional environment in each era?
5. What was the task environment in each era?
6. What were the core technologies in each era?
7. How did the leadership/management level protect the technical core?

The question of how Catholic schools formed is asked only once. After they formed, the question became how did they persist or survive. Regarding leadership, it is really a management function that occurs at a different level in the organization. For the purpose of answering these questions, management is concerned with the day-to-day aspects of the operation of the schools (dealing directly with the task environment), whereas leadership is concerned with negotiating the institutional environment (connecting the schools to the larger community). The following conclusions answer these questions.
Protestant values dominate
Michigan becomes a State

Councils of Bishops
- Baltimore
- Cincinnati

(Leadership)
Bishop Richter
(1882-1916)
Pastor---------Sisters

(Management)

Teachers
Sisters & Lay Teachers

Technical Core
Parish School & High School

Curriculum
religion
ethnic culture & folkways
high school classes

Students
immigrant boys & girls

Curriculum

Teachers
Sisters

Technical Core
Academy (cultural elite)

Students
Girls

Figure 17. Conceptual Framework for Era I
Era I: 1833-1900

**Conclusion: How Catholic Schools Formed in Western Michigan**

Catholic schools formed in the territory of western Michigan (later the Diocese of Grand Rapids) for three reasons: 1. to protect Catholic culture and practices, 2. to protect immigrant cultures as a result of Catholic immigration, 3. to fill a void created by a general lack of educational opportunities available. Catholic culture refers specifically to the practices, rituals, and symbols of the Catholic Church that connect Catholics across ethnic or national boundaries.

**Conclusion: How Catholic Schools Organized**

Faced with a threat to the Church’s ability to transmit the faith in light of the hostile Protestant environment, the bishops of the United States determined that parishes in every diocese would create their own schools. Because Catholic schools lacked the funding provided the Protestant common schools, Catholic schools were organized as parish schools and thus supported by each parish.

In 1829 the bishops stated that Catholic schools should be built. In 1852 the bishops decreed that every parish should have a school and its teachers paid with parish funds. In 1884 they decreed that within two years, every parish in the United States would have a school. The first Catholic school in the Diocese of Grand Rapids was founded in 1833 at St. Mary Mission by Fr. Frederic Baraga.

As massive immigration began in the 1800s from Catholic Ireland, Germany, Poland, and Catholic Holland to western Michigan, these immigrants created enclaves for themselves; which included parishes and schools. These (ethnic) schools helped these
communities maintain their culture, language, and folkways, including their religious practices.

The first Church records for this territory (1837) show that the community consisted of English, French, and Irish immigrants and Native Americans. Between 1840 and 1870, Irish and German immigrants came to Michigan and the Grand River valley. The Polish, Dutch, Lithuanians, and Italians would soon follow.

The Germans established a parish in Grand Rapids and almost immediately started a school. They brought in the School Sisters of Notre Dame from Milwaukee to teach. These Sisters spoke fluent German. Many Germans also settled in Muskegon and established a parish and school there. Later, the Poles who were attending St. Mary’s in Grand Rapids were encouraged to start their own parish, which they did (St. Adalbert). They brought in Sisters who spoke Polish to teach in the school. The Dutch founded a parish and school as well.

The Irish established a parish outside of Grand Rapids in Parnell. Most Irish in Grand Rapids attended St. Andrew parish and attended that school in 1860. The Irish established St. James Parish in 1868 and only established their own school in 1886.

An alternative form of Catholic school also existed at this time: the academy. The academy was usually organized around a particular religious community (order of Sisters, Brothers, or priests). For support these academies charged tuition. In the Grand Rapids diocese, academies were started by the Ursuline Sisters, Dominican Sisters, Mercy Sisters, and Notre Dame Sisters.
Conclusion: The Nature of the Institutional Environment

Regulative Elements (institutional environment)

After the American Revolution, the territory of the United States was established around the original 13 colonies. The constitution for this new nation called for the free practice of religion and not the establishment of a national church. Quickly, more territory was taken to expand the country. Congress passed the Northwest Ordinance as a means to regulate how territory in Michigan and Ohio would be organized. The ordinance called for land to be set aside for schools. Michigan became a territory of the United States in 1805 and a state in 1837.

In order to facilitate white settlement in the territory, Native Americans were removed from the area through a series of treaties. Removal of these people allowed a new culture to develop in Michigan.

After Michigan was granted statehood, a constitution was created to govern the state. The constitution called for the creation of a state superintendent of public instruction. In other words, the state saw the need to regulate education. In 1840 the legislature rejected the notion of Catholic schools receiving a subsidy from the state. Catholic schools would be allowed to exist but would not be supported financially by the state.

In the emerging Catholic culture, fighting occurred (sometime bloody) over the right of Catholics to practice their faith and for their schools to exist. The American Catholic bishops met in a series of councils in Baltimore to develop strategies to protect the emerging Catholic culture. The decrees of these councils regulated Catholic life throughout the United States.
As the Catholic population in Michigan increased the Diocese of Grand Rapids was established by the Vatican in 1882. Now western Michigan would have its own bishop to interpret the Baltimore decrees for Catholics within this diocese.

Without the legitimacy which government conferred on Catholic schools the decrees of the Baltimore Councils would not have been effective. The decrees worked because Catholic schools were recognized as legitimate.

*Normative Elements (institutional environment)*

When Catholics first came to America they were a minority. At the time of the American Revolution their numbers were about 2 million. Most of those Catholics home-schooled their children rather than send them to a school. This was due in part to economics (they couldn’t afford to enroll their children in private academies), and also due to religious differences between an overwhelmingly Protestant population and the Catholic minority.

Early on, Catholics were only welcomed in Rhode Island, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. As the country developed, so did the common school movement. Common schools, which were publicly supported, reflected the Protestant values of the communities in which they were established. A Protestant bible was used as well as Protestant prayers. Protestant religious values (including those which were anti-Catholic) filled the curriculum. There would be no compromise between Catholic and Protestants.

In light of this conflict, Catholics organized their own schools. These schools would ensure that the Catholic faith was preserved at the same time that children were being socialized into the culture. The transmission of the faith was what was important in these schools.
While Catholics in many parts of the United States faced discrimination and hostility toward their religious practices, this was not the case in Michigan. This territory had been settled first by the French, who were Catholic. Grand Rapids was established by Louis Campau, a French-Canadian. The Catholic faith and practice were established and accepted. Overt discrimination like what occurred in the eastern United States did not happen here.

Catholic schools emerged as places to transmit the faith. To be Catholic meant that one believed in the ability of the priest to forgive your sins in the name of Jesus, and to make Jesus present to believers in the Eucharist. Catholics could also be assured that theirs was the true faith. Protestants did not believe any of this. What Catholics believed was, to them, ordained from God and that Protestants were in error for not believing this and therefore their souls were in jeopardy of ruin. Catholics listened to Mass said in Latin and prayed to saints and the Blessed Mother (Mary) for intercession. They also had devotional practices, such as praying the rosary.

Catholics were a minority in this country in the beginning. Because they could not get along with Protestants, they created their own system of schools that would parallel the public schools that were developing. Their purpose was to protect the Catholic faith in a hostile environment.

Catholic schools in western Michigan filled a void created by the general lack of educational opportunities available in the area. The legislature allowed for public schools as early as 1835, but school districts were not formed everywhere and entrepreneurs took
it upon themselves to provide schooling for a price. Wealthy families sent children away to academies in order to provide them with an education. When the Church began operating schools, this filled that void. Prior to 1840, education was not mentioned in the United States Census. Literacy had little effect on employment. Most people in Michigan were employed in farming or agriculture. After the Civil War (1862-1865), industry and manufacturing began to increase and people migrated from farms to cities. The need for schools as a vehicle for socialization increased as the urban population increased. The Protestant establishment was not as strong in western Michigan as it was in other parts of the United States. The establishment of Catholic schools early on ensured that Catholic culture and practice would be protected and allowed to grow in the territory.

Conclusion: How Leadership/Management Protected the Technical Core

In the Catholic Church, the bishop is the leader in a territory called a diocese. The bishop governs Catholic activities within the diocese and has authority over all things called Catholic. The bishop creates parishes within the diocese and appoints pastors to carry out the mission of the Church.

Faced with a threat to the Church’s ability to transmit the faith in light of the hostile Protestant environment, the bishops of the United States determined that parishes in every diocese would create their own schools. Beginning in 1829, the bishops met regularly in Baltimore to discuss issues that affected the Church and develop strategies to address those issues.

The bishops issued warnings to parents regarding the evils of public education, and they established punishments for pastors who refused to establish schools. The
bishops of the Province of Cincinnati, in which Michigan is located, met five times to
determine how to carry out these directives in their own dioceses. These bishops devised
severe consequences for both pastors and parents who refused to support Catholic
schools.

Bishops throughout the United States also created diocesan school boards so that
the bishop could control what texts were used in the schools and determine the
qualifications for teachers in the schools.

The actual establishment of a parish school was the responsibility of the pastor. The
Church’s Canon law gave the pastor of a parish tremendous authority regarding
matters pertaining to the parish and the faith life of the parishioners. That is why the
bishops had to establish punishments for pastors who refused to open schools. The
bishop could not just open a school in a particular parish; it had to be done by the pastor.

The academies, as previously mentioned, were governed by the religious
community who operated the school. Canon law provided rules that allowed for
institutions operating in a diocese not under the direct control of the bishop. For instance,
the bishop could apply certain conditions to a school or academy to ensure that it was
being operating in accordance with the Church and its teachings.

As mentioned in Chapter 4, prior to Grand Rapids becoming a diocese, Fr.
McManus of St. Andrew parish invited the Mercy Sisters to operate the parish school.
The Sisters wanted, instead, to open their own academy. This dispute led to the removal
of the Sisters of Mercy from Grand Rapids. They settled in Big Rapids and operated an
academy there.
Prior to Grand Rapids becoming a diocese, the parish priest was responsible for inviting Sisters to teach in the parish school. The number of schools established was still small (17 by 1884). The pastor contracted with the Sisters for their services. The parish priest was also responsible for ensuring that funds were available to support the school. The pastor played a key management role during this period, but his was not the only management role.

Conclusion: The Technical Core

The first Catholic school at Grand Rapids focused on religious instruction as well as the “rudiments” of reading and writing. The curriculum revolved around the desire of the bishops to preserve and protect the Catholic faith. Religious instruction took two forms. The first form was sacramental preparation. Children were trained in order to receive their first confession, first communion, and confirmation. The second form was instruction in the Baltimore Catechism, developed by the bishops to be used by Catholics in the U.S. It consisted of questions and answers that children memorized.

The Catholic academies that existed in Michigan offered religion, botany, dance, music, French, English, “polite literature,” and Chinese painting. This was considered a classical education, not unlike what was being taught in European academies of the time.

The idea that children in Grand Rapids were taught reading and writing suggests that socialization of children into the dominant culture was important. Throughout this period, children continued to be instructed in religion, reading, and writing. Science and math entered the curriculum toward the end of the 19th century. All elementary education at this time tended to be ungraded.
Catholic schools emerged in two forms: the ethnic school and the “American” school. The ethnic school was meant to socialize children into the ethnic culture predominant in that school. Children were taught in the native language by teachers fluent in the native tongue. They learned customs, folkways, dance, literature, reading, and writing in the ethnic culture. This was true whether the particular student belonged to that ethnic group or not.

The “American” school was meant to socialize students into the American culture. Instruction occurred using the English language. High school education developed from the “American” school model.

The development of high schools affected the elementary curriculum. The first Catholic high school in Grand Rapids opened in 1878. This school, which was recognized by the University of Michigan, began offering students science and math courses toward the end of the 19th century. The high school offered Latin, French, English, and grammar, as well as religious instruction.

Conclusion: The Nature of the Task Environment

The first children to attend Catholic school in Grand Rapids attended the school at St. Mary Mission established by Fr. Baraga. Twenty-five Native American and French-Canadian children attended the school. The school operated for two years.

After the St. Mary Mission school closed, attempts were made to open academies in Grand Rapids. The Mercy Academy at St. Andrew parish enrolled girls. Because academies charged tuition, the girls who attended came from families who could afford to
pay tuition. These families sent their daughters away to academies in other places prior to their development in Grand Rapids.

The first parochial (parish) school in Grand Rapids was St. Andrew School. Both boys and girls attended this school. All subsequent parish schools were open to boys and girls of families registered in the parish. In 1878, St. Andrew School expanded to include a high school. This high school was also for boys and girls.

The number of students enrolled in Catholic schools exceeded 10,000 by 1900. Many of these students were children of German, Irish, and Dutch immigrants who began arriving in the Grand Rapids after 1840.

The pastors attempted to staff their schools with Sisters who reflected the parish. Fr. McManus invited the Brigidine Sisters, who originated in Ireland, to teach at St. Andrew School. They originated in Ireland. When they left he invited the Mercy Sisters, also from Ireland. When the Mercy Sisters left and went to Big Rapids, they were replaced with Sisters of Charity from Cincinnati, which had a large German population. By inviting these Sisters he may have been responding to the increase in German students in the community.

German Sisters from Milwaukee were invited to serve in Grand Rapids and Muskegon. Polish sisters were also brought in to teach. The management of the schools was sensitive to the needs of the immigrants.

Once the Sisters were invited to staff a school, the religious community assumed the management of that school. They controlled who taught in the school, what would be taught, what grades would be taught, and how many children would be in each classroom. A common assumption has been that the Sisters started Catholic schools.
While true in some cases, there have been lay teachers working in the Diocese from the very beginning. However, the presence of teaching Sisters, beginning in 1860, ensured that a core of teachers would be available to staff these new schools. Between 1882 and 1900, the number of Sisters increased from 60 to 174 (Catholic Directory, 1900).

Between 1882 and 1900, the number of Sisters teaching in Catholic schools increased from 28 to 174, while the number of lay teachers increased from 6 to 19. During this period, six communities of Sisters were working in schools in the Diocese of Grand Rapids.

Catholic education was originally funded in part from donations from Europe. The Leopoldine Society collected money to support missionary activity in the United States. This activity included schools.

Early on, fund-raising was an important activity for the support of schools. Because parishes took on the roll of supporting schools, fundraisers such as fairs and festivals became ways these parishes supported schools.

While charging tuition was common at academies, parish schools were sustained by the support of parishes. While fundraising was limited to a particular event or time of year, the primary method of supporting schools came from the rental of church pews. Pew rents were not just used for the school but to support all the endeavors of the parish. Fund-raising and parish support would continue to be important means for the funding of Catholic schools in this diocese.
Immigration Quotas
Compulsory education
University of Michigan’s influence

Institutional Environment

Task Environment

Immigrants (Polish, Lithuanian)
furniture factories (industry)

Development of American Catholic Culture

(Leadership)
Bishop Richter (1882-1916)
Bishop Gallagher (1916-1918)
Bishop Kelly (1919-1926)
Bishop Pinten (1926-1940)

(Management)
Bishop-Pastor-Sister

Parish subsidy supports schools

Teachers
Sisters & Lay Teachers

Technical Core
Americanization
College prep emerges

Students
1st and 2nd generation
(children of immigrants)

Curriculum
religion
sciences
literature (reading, writing)
commercial (business)

Figure 18. Conceptual Framework for Era II
Era II: 1900-1938

Conclusion: How the Catholic Schools Evolved

This period of the 20th century was a time of tremendous immigration to the United States. This is evidenced in the Diocese of Grand Rapids where, from 1883 to 1916, the Catholic population increased from 45,000 to 140,000 people. Only federal legislation and the establishment of quotas in 1924 would bring an end to this mass immigration.

Challenges to Catholic education were faced down by the Church in the 1920s. In Michigan, two ballot initiatives, which would have brought an end to Catholic schools, were defeated. The United States Supreme Court also ruled against legislation that would make public education the only educational option for parents.

Catholic schools persisted during this era because they continued to offer the community what it needed: a means to socialize children into the dominant culture. As the needs of the community changed throughout this period, the Catholic schools evolved or changed from protectors of immigrant culture to promoters of American culture in order to continue meeting the community’s needs.

Conclusion: How Catholic Schools Organized

During this period, schools continued to be organized within the parish. Many parishes continued to be ethnically based. The number of schools increased from 45 in 1901 to 86 in 1938.

After St. Andrew School added a high school in 1879, parish schools began to add high school grades to their schools as well. Early in this period (1906) it was decided that there would be one central high school instead of a high school at each parish.
The Church in Grand Rapids ensured that Catholic high schools would be of the “American” model. Instruction was given in English, and the emphasis was on socializing students to succeed in the American culture. There would be no Polish, German, or Dutch high school. With the University of Michigan providing recognition to schools, it is hardly possible to think of any alternative.

Conclusion: The Nature of the Institutional Environment

Regulative Elements

The first Michigan law requiring children to attend school was enacted in 1905. It required children between 5 and 16 to attend a school. Twice (1920, 1924) the notion of compelling these students to attend public school would arise on statewide ballots. These measures were defeated. The US Supreme Court would also weigh in on compulsory public education when it ruled against it in 1925.

As a result of the defeat of the 1920 ballot initiative to compel students to attend public schools, the Michigan legislature enacted the “Dacey law” in 1921. The effect of this legislation was to bring private schools under the jurisdiction of the state school superintendent. Catholic schools would be held to many standards set for public schools, including teacher certification.

As a result of the mass immigration to the United States throughout the 19th century, Congress established quotas in 1921 and 1924 to limit the number of immigrants entering the United States. Many of these immigrants were Catholic. Quotas would limit not only immigrants but Catholics as well.
Cultural/Language Elements

The Polish came to Grand Rapids at the end of the 19th century. In Grand Rapids they established three parishes and schools, as well as others in Muskegon and in Ludington. The Polish created ghettos in which to live where they attempted to duplicate life just as it had been in the old country. They established clubs, papers, churches, schools, cemeteries, and stores, and duplicated social activities from Poland. The Church was not always sensitive to the Polish people in their desire to maintain and protect their culture.

Catholic schools started by immigrants were meant in large part to protect and preserve their native culture. For a period of time they were successful, as evidenced by the Polish and Germans. With the end of mass immigration to this country, the flow of new immigrants stopped. These schools adapted to this change by becoming more “American.”

Normative Elements

Catholics were often segregated in the communities to which they immigrated. Within the enclaves they established, life revolved around the parish church. The parish school was an extension of that parish. This allowed a Catholic culture to develop alongside the predominant “American” culture regardless of what ethnic culture was represented in the parish.

With the influx of immigrants to the United States (many of them Catholic) in the 19th and early 20th centuries, Catholic schools were places to preserve not only Catholic faith but also the cultures of those immigrants. As the immigrants assimilated into the American culture, the need to preserve those cultures no longer
existed. However, a Catholic culture developed. Catholic schools came to be places that protected that Catholic culture. One of the goals of that Catholic culture became to ensure the success of Catholics in the larger culture. Catholics became very successful in the American culture, as evidenced by the election of John Kennedy.

Because life revolved around the parish, those things associated with the parish were important and also valued. Transmission of the faith was important because it helped to cement the Catholic culture even as the ethnic cultures began to be assimilated into the larger “American” culture. The Catholic culture regulated Catholic social life: whom they could marry, what movies they could see, what books they could read, family practices. These cultural practices would be reinforced in Catholic schools.

*Affective Elements*

This period was marked by the institutionalization of Catholic devotional practice within the Church community and larger community as well. Catholic institutions (hospitals, orphanages, etc.) were not restricted to Catholics but served the larger community. The external practices of Catholics--Mass in Latin, priests and nuns in habits--set Catholics apart. With the influx of immigrants came their own unique ways of practicing Catholicism.

As ethnic cultures were assimilated into the American culture, a Catholic culture emerged. For Catholics, this Catholic culture regulated every aspect of Catholic life. Thus to be Catholic during this time was equated with following rules. Catholic schools were the place to learn those rules. By following these rules, Catholics could become successful in American society. Catholics equated for themselves the practice of their
faith life with being good and patriotic citizens. They went out of their way to demonstrate this after the schools withstood challenges to their very existence.

Many Catholic faith practices were external: making the sign of the cross, praying rosaries, even the design of church buildings. These externals helped to unify Catholics by reinforcing their beliefs and making it easier to practice the faith. Schools became important vehicles to reinforce those beliefs.

**Conclusion: How Leadership/Management Protected the Technical Core**

While the pastor of the parish governed the school in that parish, the bishop provided a vision for what that education should be. The bishop continued to establish parishes and push the development of schools.

As immigrants flooded into Michigan, beginning in the 19th century and carrying into the early 20th century, bishops established new parishes for them, assigning priests who spoke the native language. When schools were being established, the bishop invited teaching Sisters into the diocese who spoke the native languages of these immigrants. The bishops ensured that the immigrant cultures would be protected and preserved. (Prior to the creation of the Diocese of Grand Rapids this was the responsibility of the pastor.)

In the 1920s, a threat to Catholic schools came in the form of constitutional amendments to compel all students to attend public schools. Bishop Kelly of Grand Rapids used the full force of his office to influence the outcome of elections in 1920 and 1924. He ordered Sisters to vote. He organized pastors as election block captains to “get out” the vote. He wrote letters that the pastors read in church explaining how to vote and also how they were to vote. Both times the amendments were soundly defeated. The
Michigan bishops accepted the provisions of the Dacey Law in their schools. They chose not to fight this.

In response to the economic depression that gripped the country beginning in 1929, Bishop Pinten tightened the finance policies of the diocese to bring solvency back to the diocese. He used the influence of his office to negotiate with banks in the community new terms to prevent bankruptcy and any further disruption to the work of the Church including schools. No schools closed during the Depression.

The role of the four bishops on Catholic education during this period cannot be underestimated. Bishop Richter grew the system of schools by increasing the number from 17 when he arrived to 83 when he died. He created the Catholic “central” high school and established a conservative fiscal policy that controlled growth by controlling funding.

Although he relaxed the fiscal policies of his predecessors, Bishop Kelly was instrumental in defeating the school amendments. His campaign organized Catholics in support of the schools and also brought the Catholic Church into the political arena like it had not been before in Michigan.

Finally, Bishop Pinten restored strict fiscal accountability to the Diocese of Grand Rapids and ensured a future for Catholic schools even in the midst of the Great Depression.

After Grand Rapids became a diocese (1882), the bishop became more involved in the management of schools. Bishop Richter determined that resources would be pooled and one central high school would be developed rather than one at each parish. Bishop Richter also invited the Dominican Sisters to teach in the diocese.
The Dominican Sisters moved their headquarters (motherhouse) to Grand Rapids. This made them attractive to potential new recruits for the order. Many girls from the Grand Rapids area became Dominican Sisters.

When the Sisters came to a school, they were in charge. They became the principal decision makers for all things educational. Pastors were relieved to have this responsibility assumed by someone else. Parents respected the Sisters, and the parish community affirmed the work of the Sisters by sending children to the schools and daughters to the convent.

Conclusion: The Technical Core

The establishment of schools followed two models: the ethnic school and the American school. In the American school, instruction was given in English. Their purpose was to be an alternative to common public schools. They socialized children into the American culture while also protecting the faith through religious instruction and the promotion of Catholic values and mores. The ethnic school conducted classes in the mother tongue of the sponsoring parish. While still promoting Catholic values and mores, they were also bent on protecting and maintaining their native cultures. In many of these schools, instruction was given in the mother tongue until 5th grade where English was then used. Catholic schools became places to make safe the practice of the Catholic faith as well as to maintain and preserve each immigrant’s way of practicing the faith. The Irish had different devotional customs from the Germans. The Polish devotional practices were different from those of the Irish and Germans.

“American” Catholic schools attempted to be superior to public education in providing instruction while at the same time preserving the faith through religious
instruction, devotions, and worship. While ethnic and American Catholic schools coexisted for awhile, the “American” model was the one that would be used for high school. It was only a matter of time before the ethnic schools became obsolete. The new language was going to be English if you expected to succeed in this culture. As the culture became more American, so did the schools.

Catholics were still viewed as a minority in many parts of the United States. Catholic schools during this period became vehicles to not only help children become socialized in the dominant culture but also to master that culture and become successful (be better off than their immigrant parents). If Catholics followed the “cultural plan” and stuck together, they could succeed. They would ensure that their schools could do this for them.

As public high schools developed, so did Catholic high schools. There would be no need to go outside the Church to get what was needed to succeed. The teaching Sisters in the Catholic high schools were as qualified as any public school teacher. The curriculum reflected what would benefit students at the time. And the Catholic high school in Grand Rapids was accredited by the University of Michigan and continued to be so until 1987 when the University stopped doing this (and North Central accreditation became the norm).

The University of Michigan emerged early on in safeguarding the dominant culture by providing recognition to those schools that met the criteria outlined by the university. This recognition or accreditation became very important because it ensured that graduates of those schools would be accepted into universities upon graduation. Catholic Central High School in Grand Rapids received this recognition in 1906.
Catholic Central High School with its emphasis on the sciences, literature, and commercial classes was meant to compete directly with public schools. The attainment of college accreditation gave this school an edge and established early on that part of its mission would be to prepare students for college.

Catholic elementary schools taught reading, writing, arithmetic, and religion. Prayers and devotional practices were also learned. Religion continued to be based on memorizing the Baltimore catechism. During the period around World War I, patriotism, instilling a love of country, became an important element in Catholic school life both at the elementary and secondary level.

Conclusion: The Nature of the Task Environment

Catholic boys and girls of all economic and ethnic backgrounds attended Catholic schools during this period. At this time no tuition was being charged to attend these schools. Enrollment increased from around 10,000 students in 1900 to 21,000 students in 1938.

The number of Sisters increased dramatically in the Diocese of Grand Rapids between 1900 and 1938. These Sisters provided the workforce that allowed these schools to flourish. They impacted not only what was taught but how it was taught. Lay teachers were still needed, however, to teach those subjects the Sisters were not trained for, including commercial classes and physical education. Ten different communities of Sisters were involved with teaching in the Diocese of Grand Rapids at this time. A side effect of the School amendment battles of the 1920s was the development of teacher certification in Michigan and the support of the Church behind this effort. Teaching Sisters worked toward this certification immediately. They also became highly qualified,
earning bachelor and graduate degrees in the process. This, in turn, had a positive impact on instruction in Catholic schools.

Catholic elementary schools continued to be supported during this period with a parish subsidy (public support for a public good). The parish provided this subsidy through the collection of pew rents and by sponsoring various fundraising events such as festivals.

Catholic Central High School was supported with a subsidy from all the parishes in the city of Grand Rapids. Bishop Pinten developed a formula whereby each parish was assessed for the support of Catholic Central. In other parts of the diocese, parishes did operate high schools. Those high schools were supported by the individual parish subsidy.
Figure 19. Conceptual Framework for Era III
Era III: 1938-1970

Conclusion: How the Catholic Schools Evolved

During this period, Catholic schools survived and thrived because they “Americanized” students. With the restrictions placed on immigration through quotas, ethnic parishes and schools gave way to a more American form of Catholic parish and school. The focus of these schools was to ensure that Catholics who attended could be successful and productive in the American society. The leadership of the bishops encouraged the building of more schools. After the Second World War, college became available for more people. Catholic high schools continued to provide a college prep curriculum.

Conclusion: How Catholic Schools were Organized

Catholic schools continued to be organized by each individual parish. Outside of Grand Rapids, parishes opened both elementary schools and high schools. While schools continued to be opened through the 1960s, the later 1960s also saw the first school closings. A number of parish high schools (Parnell, Hubbardston, Ludington, Ionia) closed their doors by the end of that decade.

In Grand Rapids, where the diocese had organized one Catholic high school to be supported by all the city parishes, another high school was built to handle the demand for Catholic education. West Catholic, completed in 1962, was also to be supported by the city parishes. The diocese organized similar high schools in Manistee, Muskegon, and Cheboygan during the 1950s and 1960s. These diocesan high schools were operated by an interparochial school board, that is, a board consisting of the pastors of each supporting parish. Plans were developed to open two more Catholic high schools in
Grand Rapids. With the changes in Catholic thinking that emerged after the second Vatican Council, those schools were never built.

Conclusion: The nature of the Institutional Environment

Normative Elements

The Americanization of Catholic schools in the Diocese of Grand Rapids really began to take off around the time of the Second World War. In the parishes, sermons were given in English (by decree of the bishop). With the halt of immigration from Europe beginning in 1924, the flow of new immigrants stopped. There were no new immigrants to sustain the ethnic culture. At the same time, as much as they may have resisted, the ethnic groups were becoming acculturated into the American culture.

After the Second World War, Catholics began to come into their own in American society. They fought for their country valiantly, their priests served as chaplains on battlefronts, their social institutions (orphanages, schools, hospitals) were recognized for their positive contributions to the community. In 1960 John F. Kennedy became the first Catholic president of the United States. People saw opportunities outside of their ghettos. Suburbs and other planned communities developed, which lured people away and helped to increase the demise of the ethnic communities.

With the development of suburbs and the elimination of discriminatory real estate covenants (except for Blacks), Catholics found themselves after the war living the American dream. Jobs were plentiful, and the GI Bill allowed many people the opportunity to attend college. The consumerism that grew after the War coincided with the “baby boom” of the 1950s and 60s. The Catholic “culture plan” worked in making Catholics successful, and Catholic schools were an important reason for that in the minds
of many Catholics. During this period, parishes and dioceses could not build schools fast enough to accommodate the growing Catholic population. Many Catholic schools had waiting lists until more space became available. At the same time, Catholics were interested in not only being successful, but also being truly integrated into American society.

Just like everybody else in America, Catholics in the 1960s were questioning authority, religious practices, and values, and were trying to define for themselves what it meant to be Catholic and American. A change occurred. They began to see themselves as American first. This change was probably helped by the Church itself through the decrees of the Second Vatican Council.

Affective Elements

The outward practice of Catholicism was raised to “high art” for most of this period ending with the Second Vatican Council. As Catholics established themselves in a community, they built churches and schools. These buildings would be monuments to their faith. The churches would be big and reflect the ethnic heritage of that community. External signs of success were important. They reinforced for Catholics their presence in the community and reinforced to the community that Catholics were here to stay.

Catholic students were taught in Catholic schools by Sisters who, according to their religious habits, all looked the same. Catholic students wore uniforms that set them apart but made them look alike. Catholic students went to Mass every morning, prayed aloud throughout the day, and studied religion. This was not the public school practice.
At this time, Catholics did not question attending a Catholic school. It was part of who you were as a Catholic. Catholics voted for Catholics and were directed by the Church on how to vote on issues. This was just part of being Catholic in America.

The Second Vatican Council brought changes in the way Catholics worshiped, thought, and practiced their faith. In Grand Rapids, Mass was now said in English instead of Latin. The threat of Protestantism was lifted. What once was so threatening to the Catholic life was no more. American values (culture: melting pot) at the time stressed homogeneity, and the Church seemed to reinforce that.

The Catholic culture, now firmly established, was dramatically affected during this period by the decrees of the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965). The Council called for Catholics to rethink their relationship to the culture in which they were found. Long held ways of thinking were abandoned in order that Catholics might more fully fit into society and thereby affect it from within.

With the threat of Protestantism (seen as something poisonous) lifted from Catholics, another reason for sending children to Catholic schools seemed to vanish. At the same time, many Sisters stopped wearing religious habits. Almost immediately, a symbol in the lexicon of Catholicism disappeared. These decrees caused the American Catholic community to examine, among other things, the need for Catholic schools.

Conclusion: How Leadership/Management Protected the Technical Core

As immigration came to a halt, the need to protect immigrant culture dissipated. Bishop Pinten issued directives that curtailed the use of foreign language to provide instruction in the schools. Parishes and schools continued to be built to ensure that the needs of the emerging Catholic culture would be met.
Bishop Pinten appointed priests who were accountable to him to oversee the management of the high school. He also appointed priests to be superintendents and principals at the high school.

In response to the growth and prosperity that came about following the Second World War, Bishop Haas promoted building campaigns to build more schools, particularly high schools. He convinced people to donate the war bonds they purchased to the diocese. When those bonds matured, the money was available to build. The bishops during this period ensured that the “Catholic culture” they had developed would continue.

During the 1950s America was going through a “baby boom.” Catholic schools were being built to meet the growing need. While Bishop Haas was responsible for spearheading fundraising campaigns to build more high schools, his successor, Bishop Babcock, was responsible for creating the Interparochial High School Board to oversee the operation of the high schools in Grand Rapids. In 1964 the bishop issued a policy requiring all parishes to establish Boards of Education.

During this period, Sisters continued to manage and operate the Catholic elementary schools and parish high schools. In Grand Rapids, the bishop appointed priests to manage the high schools.

This era saw the development of boards to assist in the management of the schools. Lay people joined parish schools when they began to develop after 1964. The interparochial board originally consisted of priests. In 1969, lay people were allowed to be members. While the role of the parish board is to advise the pastor on matters related
to the school, these boards exercised an informal authority over the schools, especially as the Sisters began to leave the schools and be replaced by lay administrators.

**Conclusion: The Technical Core**

During this period the technical core of Catholic schools changed from protecting ethnic culture to embracing American culture with the goal of succeeding in that culture without losing their faith. The use of English became the norm in these schools.

The University of Michigan continued to exercise its influence on these schools in order to maintain accreditation. Changes in curriculum recommended by the university were readily adopted. With the GI Bill of 1948, more students would be going to college. Accreditation would continue to be important throughout this period.

Except for religious instruction, Catholic schools mirrored the public education provided at the time. In the elementary schools the emphasis was on reading, writing, and math. After the Soviets launched the Sputnik satellite in 1957, schools, including Catholic schools, put an emphasis on science education. In the 1960s more emphasis was placed on social studies.

With regard to religion, Catholic schools of this period were marked by their insistence on doctrinaire religious instruction. Memorization of the Baltimore Catechism continued as well the exercise of Catholic devotional practices throughout the school day and year, including daily attendance at Mass.

**Conclusion: The Nature of the Task Environment**

Enrollment in Catholic schools remained steady during the Depression and World War II. With the return of GI’s from the War, the “baby boom” began, which played a dramatic role in the increase of enrollment that was evidenced from 1945 to 1965.
Enrollment in Catholic schools would peak in 1965. Schools could not be built fast enough to house all of these students. In spite of the growth, nationally only 44% of Catholic children were enrolled in Catholic schools.

The 1960s brought about changes in Catholic education even while enrollment was at record highs. The major threat to Catholic schools was the mindset created in the Church by the Second Vatican Council. The Council brought about changes in the ways Catholics thought about their Church and its teachings. The effects of the changes brought about beginning in the 1960s would be felt in the coming years where the future of Catholic school education would be called into question.

The enrollment in Catholic schools peaked at 33,459 in 1965. By 1970 that number had fallen to 21,435. In 1965 86 elementary schools were operating in the diocese as well as 18 high schools. By 1970 that number fell to 61 elementary schools and 15 high schools.

From the beginning of this period through the 1950s most Catholic school classrooms were staffed by Sisters. Beginning in the mid 1960s things changed. With Vatican II came a change in how Catholics viewed themselves and the world around them. The number of Sisters teaching in schools began to decline. These Sisters were replaced with lay teachers. Part of Vatican II called for more empowerment of lay people. As the Sisters left, a shift began to occur away from the predominance of religion permeating every subject toward an emphasis on academic excellence. Lay people did not bring the same enthusiasm toward religion as the Sisters had to the schools.

In 1938, 470 Sisters and 8 lay people taught in Catholic schools. In 1965, 650 Sisters as well as 9 priests and 380 lay people taught in Catholic schools. By 1970 the
The number of Sisters teaching was 603 while the number of lay teachers increased to 500. The number of priests teaching was 10. During the 1960s so many men were ordained priests that a number of them could be assigned to teach in school as well as serve in a parish. In 1965, 15 communities of Sisters were teaching in the Diocese of Grand Rapids.

Throughout this era the major financial support for Catholic schools was provided by the parish subsidy. As Catholic schools (elementary and secondary) continued to be built through the 1960s, the cost of building these schools was paid for through assessments. These assessments in turn were borne by the parishioners who supported the parish (parish subsidy).

In 1957, the first tuition was charged in Grand Rapids for high school education. The charge of $75 per student was meant to supplement the parish subsidy. The increase of lay teachers on teaching faculties and the decline of Sisters brought about the increased costs that led to the introduction of tuition. As costs continued to rise, tuitions increased, enrollment began to decline, and future construction would come to a halt. Tuitions were not introduced in the elementary schools until after 1965.
Vatican II        Suburbanization increases
Catholic Culture dismantles     Tuition increases/subsidy decreases
Accreditation and standards      Foundations created to support schools


Pastor-lay people
(role of bishop diminished)

Technical Core
Academic Excellence
(cultural elite)

Teachers
Lay teachers

Students
Students are white, middle class, Catholic and non-Catholic

Curriculum
elementary curriculum mirrors State core curriculum, religion
high school: college prep, honors, AP courses, religion

Figure 20. Conceptual Framework for Era IV
Era IV: 1971-2005

Conclusion: How the Catholic Schools Evolved

Catholic schools survived in this period because they were able to redefine themselves after the Second Vatican Council. The focus of the schools moved away from maintaining a Catholic culture and the success of Catholics in general to promoting a quality education and the success of individuals. Catholic schools became all about academic excellence and preparing students for college. The success generated in these schools was due in part to more personal attention to students and their needs.

Catholic schools are primarily supported by tuition paying parents. The schools give those parents what they want. Parents dissatisfied with public schools find a rigorous curriculum for their children that prepares them for college. Parents who are looking for value/moral/character education find it in a Catholic school.

Conclusion: How Catholic schools are Organized

In this era the Catholic schools of the diocese are organized around the parish in which they are found. No new schools were organized or built in the diocese. During this time, a number of schools closed.

What also emerged during this time was the regional elementary school. A regional school is one that serves a region larger than an individual parish and is supported, at least in part, from the pooled resources of the sponsoring parishes. This is very similar to the arrangement developed for the high schools. Joint sponsorships occurred in Ludington, Holland, Newaygo County, and Muskegon. Muskegon created the most sophisticated arrangement when the Greater Muskegon Catholic Schools was
established. The Catholic high school and the parish schools consolidated under one school board. The parishes in Muskegon supported the consolidated schools financially.

In 2005, the Muskegon Education Foundation offered to buy the Greater Muskegon Catholic Schools and operate them as independent Catholic schools (independent of the diocese). This required the approval of the bishop of Grand Rapids and the Vatican. Approval was granted. In order to use the word Catholic in their title, stringent requirements must be followed. Otherwise, the bishop can withdraw permission to use that term in describing the school.

**Conclusion: The nature of the Institutional Environment**

*Language/Cultural Elements*

During this time Catholic schools focused on mirroring the American experience, which was becoming increasingly polarized along racial and economic lines. When Hispanic immigrants began appearing, there was no rush to create schools for them. Instead those children accessed public schools, which were more adept at providing them with socialization into the American experience.

*Normative Elements*

After Vatican II, Catholics began asking the question: “What does it mean to be Catholic as full members of this society?” At first, many Catholics felt empowered to use their influence on the Church as well as society itself. The American bishops issued encyclicals condemning the nuclear arms race and economic injustice. Social justice overshadowed religious doctrinal teaching in Catholic schools.

However, a backlash also occurred. Many Catholics were upset and confused over the changes brought about by the Second Vatican Council. They wanted the old
church and its culture back. Two cultures of Catholics began to emerge: those who assimilated the changes brought about by Vatican II and those who rejected them. Among those who accepted Vatican II (Culture II), Catholic schools were not necessary if that meant being successful in the culture. They were also empowered to provide their children with religious instruction themselves. Among those who rejected Vatican II (culture I), Catholic schools were only a means to reinforce what they didn’t agree with.

**Affective Elements**

The practice of Catholicism changed drastically after Vatican II. With a new emphasis placed on personal responsibility regarding one’s faith, how Catholics viewed their Church and faith changed. Catholics began to question traditional authority, rules, and practices. The use of birth control methods among Catholics is an example of this. In 1968 the Church issued a document *Humanae Vitae* (On Human Life), which continued the Church’s ban. In 1961 a Catholic doctor invented the birth-control pill as a means of helping families regulate the occurrence of children. Many Catholics were optimistic that this method would be accepted by the Church. Pope Paul VI convened a commission of theologians and doctors to study the issue. In the end the Church rejected the pill. However, many Catholics continued to use it.

Today the common denominator among Catholics regarding what they “hold sacred” is the Mass. But even among Catholics, how they celebrate that Mass differs. A number of Catholics ascribe to the “Tridentine” Mass, which was the Mass prior to Vatican II. The Church has allowed that Mass to continue in some circumstances.

The Church, after the Second Vatican Council, moved Catholics away from an emphasis on external practice toward an internalization of Catholic belief. It is harder
now to identify what Catholics, as a group, hold sacred. While Catholics hold the same beliefs regarding the basic tenets of the faith (that’s what makes them Catholics), how they practice that faith differs from Catholic to Catholic.

**Conclusion: How Leadership/Management Protected the Technical Core**

As the Catholic culture began to dismantle after 1965, more lay people were employed in the schools as teachers and principals, to replace the Sisters who were leaving the field of education.

The bishops, who had been so actively involved in the support of Catholic education in the past, were backing away from it. The bishops did continue to give pledges of support, but never again would they be so actively involved in the management and operation of the schools. They encouraged more lay people to be involved when they allowed parish school boards to be instituted. During the tenure of Bishop Breitenbeck, the changes brought about by Vatican II were implemented. The bishop established formal policies for the governance of schools in the diocese.

Beginning in the 1990s an emphasis was placed on accountability in public schools across the state. The legislature demanded a core curriculum of classes, accreditation of schools, and improved student performance as demonstrated on standardized tests. In response to this, Bishop Rose saw to the creation of a diocesan curriculum to be used in all Catholic schools in the diocese. He also directed that all Catholic schools in the diocese be accredited. Under the leadership of Bishop Rose, a taskforce was created to explore ways to improve the governance of Catholic schools in the diocese.
In the past, the bishops were actively involved in Catholic education, making sure that enough Sisters were in the community to teach, and using their influence to make sure that schools could be built to meet the needs of the Catholic community. Today they give tacit approval for schools, but they are no longer directly involved in the management of them.

By 2005 the majority of principals and teachers in Catholic schools were lay people. The pastor played a much more direct role in the operation and management of the Catholic school. School boards were also involved in helping the pastor by developing policies and budgets. Pastors, who had taken a back seat while the Sisters ran the schools, found themselves back in the role of managing these schools. Pastors tended to support the parish school if that school was supported by the parish community. Where that support was not found, the schools closed. Since 1971, eight schools have closed in the diocese.

Conclusion: The Technical Core

The State of Michigan has mandated school improvement and a core curriculum. In 1985 the state legislation enacted PA 25, which called for the development of a core curriculum, standards for student achievement, accreditation of public schools, and school improvement. Catholic schools in the Diocese of Grand Rapids have also directed the schools toward school improvement as well as a more rigorous core curriculum. Catholic school students take the MEAP test and compete with public school students for scholarship opportunities. Catholic schools, like their public school counterparts, are accredited. Accreditation provides the modern Catholic school with the
legitimacy necessary to retain students and the resources necessary to continue operating the schools.

The curriculum in Catholic elementary schools now consists of religion, mathematics, social studies, science, language arts, fine arts, computers, and physical education/health. Foreign languages are also offered in a number of schools. Language arts consist of reading, writing, speaking, spelling, listening, and grammar.

At the secondary level, students need 24 credits in order to graduate. Religion and English are required all four years. Thirteen honors classes are offered, as well as 10 advanced placement courses. Advanced placement benefits those students going to college. Ninety-five percent of the Catholic high school graduates go on to college.

Conclusion: The Nature of the Task Environment

Enrollment in Catholic schools was significantly impacted by the Second Vatican Council. Many Culture I Catholics home-schooled their children or supported independent Catholic schools. Many Culture II Catholics opted for public education. What were common expectations among parents who sent their children to Catholic schools in the past no longer exist. Today parents may send their children to Catholic schools because they value the religious practices their children will participate in. Some value the moral instruction their children receive. One common expectation, however, is that parents want what is best for their children, and they are willing to pay for it. The children are what they hold sacred, not the practice of religion. Religion is important if they view it as best for their child. Many parents feel that Catholic schools have smaller classes, and therefore the teacher can pay more attention to their child’s needs. The
success of the child and the ability of that child to succeed are what these parents hold sacred.

With the new emphasis on academic excellence, Catholic schools began to draw people who were interested in that for their children. The decline in the quality of public education in many districts made these Catholic schools attractive. For the first time, significant numbers of non-Catholic families began to enroll their children in Catholic schools.

Who is being taught in Catholic schools continues to be white, Catholic children from middle-class families. Minority enrollment is increasing as well as the enrollment of non-Catholic students. The number of students with learning disabilities continues to increase. The diversification of the student body in Catholic schools will continue to bring about changes in what is taught and how it is taught (core activity) as well as the ability to attain the resources necessary to continue operating the schools.

Between 1970 and 2005, enrollment declined from around 21,000 students to 8,300 students. Ninety-two percent of those students are white. Ninety-seven percent are Catholic. Five percent of the students have learning disabilities.

Today, 99% of the teachers in the Catholic schools of the Diocese of Grand Rapids are lay people. All of them possess teaching certificates. Eighty-five percent of the teachers are female. Twenty-two percent hold a masters degree or higher.

The Catholic school today is dependent upon a parish subsidy as well as tuition for its operational support. Parish subsidies vary throughout the diocese from as low as 3% to as high as 70% of the school’s budget. In general, subsidies are declining and now
average around 50% of the school’s budget. That percentage will continue to decline and
tuition will continue to increase.

The average elementary tuition is currently $3,000 per child. High School tuition
is approximately $6,000 per year. While tuitions continue to increase as subsidies
decrease, schools have begun to develop funds for tuition assistance.

Virtually all schools in the diocese have endowment funds that provide additional
support. Currently, foundation assets for Catholic schools in the Diocese of Grand Rapids
exceed $12 million.

General Conclusions

An environment will support organizations that are determined to be necessary to
that environment. In return, the organization must provide something that the
environment needs. Found within an environment are cultures. These cultures compete
for dominance, and this competition creates conflict within the environment. Found
within each culture are elements which support it: regulative, normative, language, and
the affective. These elements affect how the various cultures relate with each other in
their attempts to establish dominance. The various cultures will support a socialization
process, which, in turn, will support that culture. Where that culture is not supported, or
feels threatened, conflict will arise. Cultures develop communities around shared
conceptions of reality. These communities, be they states, towns, or ethnic groups,
support schools as a means to socialize its members into the culture. Even though a
dominant community will emerge, other communities continue to coexist as long as they
are not perceived to be a threat to the dominant culture. Where the perception of threat
exists, a conflict will develop. The institutional elements establish how that relationship
will be. They frame how the conflict will be addressed. Catholic communities support Catholic schools in order to socialize Catholics in the ways of the faith as well as particular cultural aspects of the community. This ability to provide the community/culture/environment with what it needs to survive provides the organization/school with legitimacy that it needs in order to survive.

How that organization survives depends, among other things, upon its ability to access resources from the task environment. The ability to access resources is dependent, in part, on how the organization navigates conflicts that may arise within the environment. Resources for schools come in three forms: fiscal (money), human (teachers and students), and program (curriculum). The organization trades inputs from the task environment for outputs that it gives back to the community. The school takes in children and socializes them in a manner acceptable to the community. In return, the community continues to send students, teachers, and money to support this activity.

The Institutional Environment

The institutional environment is that part of the environment that reflects the dominant culture. It gives organizations found within it legitimacy or the right to exist. Those organizations that help the culture to exist, grow, or continue are given this right to exist.

The institutional environment is constantly changing. It has changed and will continue to do so. Conflicts between various cultures bring about change. Every organization within the environment must change as well if it is to survive. The dominant culture has changed from that of a dependent colony of Great Britain, with all
of the cultural elements that go with that, to an American culture with all of the elements that go into creating that. History, immigration, natural progress and technology, and the conflicts inherent to each, have all worked to bring about the emergence of this American culture. Early on, a Catholic culture emerged that paralleled the emerging American culture.

Catholic education existed in the old environment and was recognized for its ability to socialize students into that culture. As the environment changed, Catholic schools continued to provide children with the socialization the emerging culture demanded. Because these schools provided what the culture needed to survive, Catholic schools were allowed to exist and continue to do so today.

The changes that have occurred in the institutional environment over the last 200 years can be tracked by examining conflicts in the institutional elements.

*The Task Environment*

The task environment provides the organization with the resources necessary in order to survive. Once the institutional environment has conferred legitimacy upon the organization, that organization must secure resources if it is to survive. A study of the task environment is really how these resources come into the organization and how they go out. Inputs and outputs are part of an economic model of understanding. Because of the reliance on resources, it makes sense to frame this in economic terms.

The organization, as it relates to the task environment, is divided into three levels: institutional, managerial, and technical core. For purposes of better understanding Catholic schools, I refer to the institutional level as leadership. Leadership is really a management function, but in this case Church leaders used their positions to remind the
larger environment (culture) that they have been granted legitimacy in order to promote
the schools and to encourage the flow of resources from the community in order to
maintain that legitimacy. This is especially important when conflicts arise within the
environment. These leaders became boundary spanners between the schools and the
community. As changes occur in the community, this level must be receptive to those
changes and respond appropriately in order for the organization to continue to get the
resources necessary to survive.

The managerial level is concerned with protecting the technical core level. In
other words, they ensure that what has been granted legitimacy functions as it is supposed
to. The managerial level works to protect the technical core from conflicts that may
threaten how it functions. This level is concerned with inputs and outputs. Inputs
include teachers, principals, students, money, and anything else the organization needs to
take in, in order to perform its technical function. Outputs are those things the
community gets back as a result of its investment in the organization. Outputs include
competent graduates.

The technical core level is where the organization performs the task that it was
created for. At this level the organization takes resources in and transforms them into a
desired product. Resources can be divided into three categories: fiscal, human, and
program. Fiscal resources include money and funding so that the technical level can
perform. Human resources include teachers and students, parents and administrators.
Without these resources, there is no one on whom to perform the task. Program
resources include what is taught and how it is taught. This includes the curriculum.

Each of these levels is essential for the survival of the organization.
Implications of this Study for the Future of Catholic Schools

Catholic schools throughout the United States are struggling to survive. Catholic education will survive but will not thrive to the extent that it did in the 100-year period between 1860 and 1960. Neither will Catholic schools have the same impact on society in general and Catholics in particular that was experienced in the past. These schools developed and evolved in a period of time that was unique and called for the preservation of values (Catholic and cultural) and a Catholic culture that no longer exists. Those who long for the good old days will be disappointed because those halcyon days will not be repeated.

The schools that evolved during the late 19th century and continued on into the 20th century are an anomaly in the history of Catholic schools. Prior to the 19th century, Catholic schools served an elite clientele who had the financial means to support this education. Catholic education was also associated with status and success among that elite. The United States during the mid-19th century was a hostile environment for immigrants in general and Catholics in particular. Catholic schools became vehicles to protect those immigrant cultures as well as to protect Catholic religious values and their transmission. An entire Catholic culture developed and was sustained in part by these schools. When that culture began to be dismantled in the 1960s the schools did not go away but they did decline in number and enrollment. Those that have survived have done so because they have found a way to change (evolve) that will be supported by those members of the community who are interested in supporting Catholic schools. Scott
(1995) posits that those organizations that create new solutions in the midst of conflict bring about evolutionary change.

I will now examine practical implications for the future of the leadership, management, and technical core levels of Catholic schools. I will then examine how these implications affect me as a decision-maker and administrator of Catholic schools.

**Implications for Leadership**

Organizations are dependent upon the institutional environment to provide their work with legitimacy and the task environment to provide the resources necessary to function. Leaders reach outside of the organization in order to engage those environments. Thompson (2001) refers to this as boundary spanning.

Catholic school leaders need to scan the institutional environment for signs of change. Leaders need to be able to read the environment and determine if the schools need to adjust their programs. Leaders also need to determine how to present the schools to the institutional environment in a way that makes them relevant and necessary, and to the task environment as worthy of support.

If Church leaders were to read the current environment in Michigan, they would see that the political climate is increasingly more conservative. People are concerned about failing public schools, a lack of values in public education, and the need for more choices in education. There is increasing support for public funding of Catholic schools either through vouchers or tax credits. Leaders need to take advantage of this sentiment and use it to garner increased support for Catholic education.

The Catholic Church has an opportunity to promote the schools as places of academic excellence imbued with Christian values that provide stability and leadership to
the environment. In turn, Catholic schools can become a means for the Church to pursue its social agenda of promoting social justice, evangelization, and providing service to the poor. Catholic leaders have an opportunity to use Catholic schools as a vehicle to influence and impact the institutional environment. Catholic schools will train leaders who will impact the environment with the decisions they will make. Scientific discoveries and societal realities are going to force ethical choices that will impact all of us in the future. Church leaders must examine the institutional environment, understand what is being called for, and make adjustments to the schools and their programs accordingly.

In the past, the leadership of the bishops was critical to the success and survival of Catholic schools in the United States. Today, leadership is provided by bishops, diocesan school officials (in the person of a superintendent), and pastors. Bishops will provide this leadership if they view Catholic schools as performing a role that supports the mission of the Church in the 21st century. In other words, if they see schools as a means to reach into and influence the institutional environment, they will support them. Bishops have an opportunity to exploit the political climate to support Catholic schools and promote the mission of the Church. Diocesan school officials have an opportunity to influence their bishops in support of Catholic education. These officials must also scan the environment for signs of change and opportunities to exploit that change to the benefit of the schools.

Pastors have become much more important in providing leadership for Catholic schools. Since most Catholic schools are located in a parish and come under the control of the pastor, the pastor continues to exercise tremendous influence. Pastors can also influence bishops. The pastor of a parish with a school is in touch with the environment
in a way that the bishop can not be. He sees, feels, and reacts to the influences of the institutional environment as they impact his congregation. The pastor can influence that congregation to affect change in the larger community.

*Implications for Management*

The management level is responsible for protecting the technical core from the institutional environment while, at the same time, gathering the necessary resources from the task environment that will allow the technical core to function.

Currently, pastors continue to be responsible for the management of the parish school. Often, the only experience they have with Catholic schools may be the education they received from a Catholic school. They rely heavily on lay leadership in the form of the principal to manage the school. Today, 99% of the school administrators in the Diocese of Grand Rapids are lay people.

The principal is responsible for hiring and managing a competent staff, participating in the development of a school budget, and following that budget. The principal acts as disciplinarian as well as instructional leader. Currently, principals earn approximately 70% of what their public school counterparts earn. Principals are expected to have a master’s degree in educational leadership and have teaching experience. There is not a large pool of Catholic school teachers who want to become principals.

In the future, Catholic parishes will need to pay their principals more if they want to attract qualified candidates who will stay in the position for a longer period of time. While most principals will tell you that they’re not in it for the money, nonetheless, an attractive wage will draw them to the position.
Many of today’s principals and teachers lack an institutional sense of what it means to be Catholic and what a Catholic school stands for. Those who themselves attended Catholic school bring part of that experience with them. What they lack is a clear sense of mission and purpose. Without this, principals and their staffs, regardless of how well they are trained professionally, lack an understanding of what makes a Catholic school environment unique. Principals need to understand and gain a sense of institutional history and instill that in their faculties if a strong “Catholic” technical core is to be maintained. There is no dependable test or measure to determine how “Catholic” a teacher is. Therefore, it is important for the principal to have a clear vision of what Catholic education is and then hire teachers who support and complement that vision.

A tension exists as to whether Catholic schools are value-driven or market-driven. Catholic school management will need to maintain a balance between the need for resources and the promotion of values in the future. Without a clear sense of Catholic mission and purpose, management risks sacrificing values for resources. At the same time, if management is not sensitive to the needs of the community (market), resources will become scarce.

The management of the school must constantly seek new ways to replenish these resources from the task environment if they want the school to survive. Principals must actively market their schools to new audiences. They must explore the possibility of attracting students away from charter schools and public schools.

Schools are expensive to operate. Approximately eighty percent of the costs involved in operating a school are tied to staff salaries and benefits as well as fixed costs, such as utilities. In the future, another concern will be a decaying infrastructure. More
money will be needed to repair and update aging buildings. Management needs to develop ways to contain costs and find other methods to provide financial support for the school.

In the past, financial resources were provided in the form of parish subsidies and tuition. Parish subsidies will continue to decline and tuition will continue to increase. While many schools have created endowment funds to supplement income, these funds are too small and will need to increase. This means that the principal will need to be more actively involved in development activities.

Schools will need to establish annual funds and capital campaigns. This will require more involvement from the school board than is currently taking place. This type of fundraising also develops a pool of benefactors to draw on in the future. Management will need to develop a strategic plan for development activity. These funds have the ability to slow down the increases in tuition that are inevitable if a school plans on keeping an effective teaching staff. Benefactors, both corporate and individual, need to be sought out to provide additional financial support. Pastors have a unique role in developing these benefactors.

As tuitions increase, the number of families that can continue to pay it gets smaller. Tuition is elastic. That means there is a point at which tuition rises and enrollment is significantly impacted. School boards need to determine how far they can raise tuition before they price out their families. The challenge for Catholic school administrators, as well as pastors and school boards, will be to keep the schools affordable and available to those families who want a Catholic education. Pastors will
need to look at the viability of their parish school and determine whether that school can be sustained.

Regional schools, supported by more than one parish, can provide an option to those parishes that determine they want a school but can’t afford to support it alone. If regional Catholic schools develop, the management of the school will become more complicated. This will require that the lines of responsibility between the pastors, principal, and school board be clearly established. In the few cases where this currently exists in the diocese, the pastors have formed a Council of Pastors that, as a body, provides leadership to the school as well as a management function that is clearly outlined so as to complement the management provided by the principal and board.

*Implications for the Technical Core Level*

The technical core level is that part of the organization responsible for receiving inputs and changing them into outputs. The technical level takes resources from the environment and acts upon them in order to provide the environment with new resources.

Resources drive the technical core of Catholic education. Resources include the students who attend the schools, the teachers who teach the students, the parents and benefactors who provide financial support to the school, and the curriculum that is taught to the students.

There are four reasons that parents send children to Catholic schools. Some parents send their children to the schools for the religious education; others, for the academic rigor. There are those who want to escape the public schools and the problems they perceive with those schools. Others choose Catholic schools because they believe their child will have more opportunities to participate in athletics and be in smaller
classes. Attendance in these schools is seen as a symbol of status and success. The perception is that students who attend Catholic schools have more opportunities and chances at success because they are better prepared. Smaller class size often equates to more personal attention paid to students.

At the same time, Catholic schools strive to form children in the Catholic faith with religious values, a strong academic foundation, a well-rounded social experience, and the necessary emotional development to cope in the larger environment. In other words, they strive to form the whole child. The challenge for the technical level is to provide parents with a reason to send their children to a Catholic school without diminishing the goal of forming the whole child.

Catholic schools impart a Catholic character on the students. This occurs early on with the introduction of prayers, devotional activities, preparation to receive the sacraments, and attending Mass. Children receive formal religious instruction in all grades.

The schools need to maintain their devotional activities as well as increase the number of community service activities for students, while at the same time maintaining a rigorous curriculum. The technical core must provide the academic rigor parents want without diminishing the role of religion in the school. At the same time the technical core must be able to adjust the curriculum to better provide for the needs of the students. The challenge for the technical core, especially at the high school level, is to offer students a demanding curriculum without negating that Catholic character that is imparted on students who attend.
A challenge for the technical core is to be able to attract the best and brightest teachers who also understand and value what a Catholic education represents. Teachers need to be well prepared academically and professionally (highly qualified) in order to be able to teach the rigorous curriculum. At the same time they need to understand what it means to teach in a Catholic school and what their role is in the Church’s mission. Teachers often lack this understanding. They will need professional development opportunities that focus on Catholic beliefs and thinking.

Another challenge for the technical core is to attract students who can learn the curriculum and adjust to the academic rigor. At the same time, the school must not be so selective that they hurt their ability to provide the student with a balanced and full social experience. Students in Catholic schools tend to be white and from the middle class. In the past, much more economic diversity existed in Catholic schools as was reflected by the parish in which the school was established. Racial diversity will be much harder to attain if this trend continues. Diversity is one means by which a school can provide students with a rich social experience. Students with special learning needs also add to the richness of the educational experience of the students. While the number of students with special needs is increasing, that number will level off because there is only so much the schools can do before costs rise to a point that affects the other academic offerings. Those students with the mildest forms of disabilities will continue to be accepted. The technical core must explore more options to include more special needs students.

What is occurring now is that a more selective group (elite) is attending the schools. The schools will become more elite if they can not find new ways to be more inclusive of other students. This elitism will continue to present the technical core with
challenges to its mission, especially that of providing students with a well-rounded social experience. Catholic schools will continue to serve those families that are looking for a rigorous academic regime that prepares their child for the best colleges and the best chances for success after graduation. The challenge for the technical core is to attract families that also value the education of the whole child.

The Researcher

I began this study because I was interested in finding out why students with special learning needs (disabilities) were not attending Catholic schools. I wanted to know if there was something inherent in the organization of these schools that kept students away.

In order to pursue this study I had to look at the history of Catholic schools from their beginnings in Europe to their introduction in the United States. I also needed to find a conceptual framework that would allow me to understand the organization of these schools within the historical context that I was using.

Thompson’s theory of organizations (2001) helped me to identify the components of an organization (the schools) and how they relate to each other as well as function. Scott (1995) helped me to see that institutions/organizations are impacted in a number of ways from the environment in which they exist. It is that institutional environment that allows the organization to exist. It gives it legitimacy or the right to exist because the organization gives the environment (in this case community) something it needs. Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) allowed me to see the role that resources play in maintaining an organization and allowing it to survive. Organizations are dependent on resources that
come from the environment (community) and will continue if the organization provides
the environment with what it needs.

In this case the community needed schools. Schools provided an opportunity to
socialize children into the dominant culture. In addition, Catholic schools also socialized
children into the ethnic culture of their parents and then into an emerging Catholic culture
that came about because Catholics as a cultural group felt threatened and unaccepted in
the United States.

As the dominant culture changed, the schools needed to change if they wanted to
survive. Catholic schools are market-driven. That is, they provide the culture or
community something that community is willing to pay for. Through four periods of
history, the Catholic schools in the Diocese of Grand Rapids did that. Only in the last
period was there any real interest by the community in students with special needs.
Because public schools are mandated to provide these students with services they require,
there has been no real push from the community to have Catholic schools provide these
services as well. That does not mean Catholic schools have no responsibility for
educating special need students. I need to use my position, within the diocese, to
advocate for the inclusion of more special needs students wherever possible. And I need
to help leaders understand what they can provide and how they can provide for the needs
of those students. This can not be lost if we want to stay faithful to our mission. The
inclusion of more of these students may also help the Church to influence the institutional
environment.

Today Catholic schools continue because, among other things, they provide those
who are willing to pay for it, what they want: an opportunity to succeed. Some would
call this elitism. In fact, those who attend these schools are an elite group because they are willing to provide the resources to allow this to continue. The number of students who have a Catholic education available to them is decreasing annually. I believe that there will continue to be Catholic schools in Grand Rapids as long as people are willing to pay for them. People who value these schools and can provide the financial resources will ensure that some of these schools will continue.

In order to keep schools available to students who want a Catholic education, strategic planning will need to occur in order to assure that schools stay open in parts of the community where there is a demand. Strategic planning should not occur only by looking inward. A good plan must also look to the institutional environment for trends and changes already occurring and use the opportunity to take advantage of that in future planning. I can use my expertise to inform planners to look beyond their immediate needs.

In order to maintain a competent and qualified teaching staff, salaries and benefits will need to increase in order to be competitive with the public schools. A challenge for me is to use my position with the diocese to advocate for higher pay for teachers and principals. Teachers, although academically qualified, need to have professional development in Catholic identity and practice. The diocese needs to be involved in this to ensure that the professional development will be consistent and serve its purpose. I need to use my position to ensure that training programs are developed and implemented.

The Church may no longer be interested in promoting these schools to the extent that they did in an earlier time. That doesn’t mean the schools can’t serve to promote the Church’s mission. I need to use my position to influence and inform the leadership of the
Church of the value these schools have in helping the Church live out its mission. In order to do so, I must also scan the environment for signs of change and be able to influence the bishop and pastors by presenting new opportunities to use the schools to further the mission of the Church.

Catholic schools have provided the Church with its leadership in the past and will continue to do so in the future. As our society (culture) becomes more secular (not so much anti-Catholic as anti-religious) a Catholic culture is re-emerging. Catholic schools will need to be prepared for this by grounding their students in Catholic thinking, in order to promote and protect this new Catholic culture. Religion classes are already in place that could begin to put more emphasis on apologetics and morality. As the director of curriculum, I need to ensure that the proper emphasis is placed on religion and that it does not take a back seat to other academic disciplines.

The skills and knowledge base that I acquired through this dissertation research will allow me to influence decisions that will impact the future of Catholic schools in the Diocese of Grand Rapids. I have learned how Catholic schools came about, how they are organized, the relationship between organizational parts, and how the schools are dependent on resources in order to survive. This research has contributed to a better understanding of these things. I have an opportunity to contribute as well by promoting (teaching others) among Catholic decision-makers what I have learned. Further data collection and analysis will be used to make better decisions so that these schools can continue.
Areas for Future Research

This research focused on the Catholic Schools of the Diocese of Grand Rapids as a single organization. There were many patterns of persistence and change presented that suggest area for further research:

1. This longitudinal case study demonstrated that Catholic schools in the Diocese of Grand Rapids reflected the dominant culture and biases of the immediate environment. Further research could be conducted to understand which level of the environment exercises the most influence on other educational system and how those biases impact schools.

2. This study revealed that Catholic schools in the Diocese of Grand Rapids are becoming more market-driven and less value-driven. Additional research could be conducted to ascertain whether this is the case with other Catholic schools in other communities.

3. This study showed that Catholic schools in the Diocese of Grand Rapids follow resource streams in order to survive, regardless of the effect that has on organizational identity. Further studies could be conducted in order to understand the effect of resource-based decision-making on organizational identity.

4. This study was exclusive to the Catholic schools of the Diocese of Grand Rapids. Further research could be conducted on the schools of other religious denominations in order to see where the results are similar or different.
5. This study revealed that Catholic schools in the Diocese of Grand Rapids are dependent upon financial resources that come from individuals who are willing to pay for a Catholic education. Further research could identify other models of funding Catholic education and their effectiveness in maintaining students in Catholic schools.

6. This study demonstrated that students are a critical component in the organizational structure of schools. Further research could be conducted to measure the effect of home-schooling on Catholic school enrollment in other communities.

7. This study showed that Catholic schools in the Diocese of Grand Rapids are organized around parishes. In the future that may not be the case. Further research should be conducted on the effectiveness of independent Catholic schools in relationship to parish based schools.

8. This study substantiated the importance of bishops as boundary spanners extending the boundary of the organization of schools further into the task environment. Further research is needed to determine who the boundary spanners are in other diocese today and their effectiveness.

9. This research was conducted using Thompson’s model of organizational levels to show how the Catholic schools are organized and function. This study could be duplicated using different measures in order to see if the results can be duplicated.
REFERENCES


Cathedral of the Holy Name (1949) *100 Years: The History of the Church of the Holy Name*, Chicago, IL: Archdiocese of Chicago.


William H.W. Fanning, transcribed by Dr. Michael J. Breen


Detroit Free Press, July 27, 2005: *To Survive, Schools cut ties to Church*, David Crumm


Diocese of Grand Rapids (July 1, 1888) *Report of the Subscriptions for the Education of the Seminarians*, Grand Rapids, MI.


Metropolitan Catholic Almanac (1838) Baltimore, MD: Lucas Brothers.

Metropolitan Catholic Almanac (1856) Baltimore, MD: Lucas Brothers.


Pare, G. (1951) *The Catholic Church in Detroit*, Detroit, MI: Gabriel Richard Press.


United States Conference of Catholic Bishops (1972) *To Teach as Jesus Did*, Washington DC: USCCB.


United States Census Bureau (1890) *Education Report*, Washington DC.

United States Census Bureau (1890) *Occupations Report, Washington DC*.


Appendix A: University Human Subjects Review Committee Approval

EASTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY

05/18/04

Mr. Bernard Stanko
Department of Educational Leadership


The Human Subjects Institutional Review Board (IRB) of Eastern Michigan University has granted approval to your proposal: “The value of Catholic school education in the United States”.

After careful review of your application, the IRB determined that the rights and welfare of the individual subjects involved in this research are carefully guarded. Additionally, the methods used to obtain informed consent are appropriate, and the individuals are not at a risk.

You are reminded of your obligation to advise the IRB of any change in the protocol that might alter your research in any manner that differs from that upon which this approval is based. Approval of this project applies for one year from the date of this letter. If your data collection continues beyond the one-year period, you must apply for a renewal.

On behalf of the Human Subjects Committee, I wish you success in conducting your research.

Sincerely,

[Signature]
Dr. Patrick Melia
Administrative Co-Chair
Human Subjects Committee

CC: Dr. Steve Pernecky, Faculty Co-Chair
Dr. James Barott
Appendix B: Schools of Era I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School/Location</th>
<th>Year Opened</th>
<th>Year Closed</th>
<th>Constituency</th>
<th>Sisters/Teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>St. Andrew (Grand Rapids)</td>
<td>1853</td>
<td>1854</td>
<td></td>
<td>Brigidine SC OP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Joseph (Wright)</td>
<td>1865</td>
<td></td>
<td>German</td>
<td>RSM/OP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Mary (Grand Rapids)</td>
<td>1866</td>
<td></td>
<td>German</td>
<td>SSND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SS Peter &amp; Paul, Ionia</td>
<td>1870</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>IHM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holy Trinity (Comstock Park)</td>
<td>1870</td>
<td></td>
<td>German</td>
<td>OP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Mary (Muskegon)</td>
<td>1871</td>
<td></td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>IHM/OP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academy of Our Lady of Mercy (Grand Rapids)</td>
<td>1877</td>
<td>1878</td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>RSM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sisters of Mercy Academy (Big Rapids)</td>
<td>1878</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>RSM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Mary (Big Rapids)</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>RSM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. John (Hubbardston)</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>OP (Racine)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Adalbert (Grand Rapids)</td>
<td>1884</td>
<td></td>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>OSF/SSND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Joseph (Muskegon)</td>
<td>1885</td>
<td></td>
<td>German</td>
<td>OP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. James (Grand Rapids)</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td></td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>SSND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Jean Baptiste (Muskegon)</td>
<td>1888</td>
<td></td>
<td>French</td>
<td>OSU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Joseph (Grand Rapids)</td>
<td>1889</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>RSM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Alphonsus (Grand Rapids)</td>
<td>1889</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>OP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Simon (Ludington)</td>
<td>1891</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>RSM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Patrick (Parnell)</td>
<td>1893</td>
<td></td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>RSM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix C: Schools of Era II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School/Location</th>
<th>Year Opened</th>
<th>Year Closed</th>
<th>Constituency</th>
<th>Sisters/Teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>St. Isidore (Grand Rapids)</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td></td>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>SSND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Simon (HS) (Ludington)</td>
<td>1903</td>
<td></td>
<td>Boys and Girls</td>
<td>RSM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Villa Maria (Grand Rapids)</td>
<td>1904</td>
<td></td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>Good Shepherd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Michael (Remus)</td>
<td>1904</td>
<td>1932</td>
<td></td>
<td>RSM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Joseph (Weare)</td>
<td>1904</td>
<td></td>
<td>Belgian-Dutch</td>
<td>OP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sacred Heart (Grand Rapids)</td>
<td>1905</td>
<td></td>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>SSND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Mary (Carson City)</td>
<td>1906</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>OP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Anthony (Grand Rapids)</td>
<td>1906</td>
<td></td>
<td>German</td>
<td>OP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic Central (Grand Rapids)</td>
<td>1906</td>
<td></td>
<td>Boys and Girls</td>
<td>OP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Patrick (Portland)</td>
<td>1906</td>
<td></td>
<td>Irish and German</td>
<td>SSJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SS Peter &amp; Paul (Grand Rapids)</td>
<td>1907</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lithuanian</td>
<td>OP/SSF Pittsburgh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holy Name of Jesus (Wyoming)</td>
<td>1908</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>RSM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Sebastian (Byron Center)</td>
<td>1909</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>OP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Stanislaus (Ludington)</td>
<td>1909</td>
<td></td>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>RSM/Felician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Michael (Muskegon)</td>
<td>1913</td>
<td></td>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>RSM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Joseph (Pewamo)</td>
<td>1913</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>OP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mount Mercy (Grand Rapids)</td>
<td>1914</td>
<td></td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>RSM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School/Location</td>
<td>Year Opened</td>
<td>Year Closed</td>
<td>Constituency</td>
<td>Sisters/Teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Francis Xavier (Grand Rapids)</td>
<td>1914</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>RSM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Patrick HS (Parnell)</td>
<td>1918</td>
<td></td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>RSM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ursuline Academy (Muskegon)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1919</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Patrick (Grand Haven)</td>
<td>1919</td>
<td></td>
<td>RSM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Charles Academy (Greenville)</td>
<td>1919</td>
<td>1927</td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>RSM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marywood (Grand Rapids)</td>
<td>1922</td>
<td></td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>OP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Stephen (E. Grand Rapids)</td>
<td>1925</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>OP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Thomas (Grand Rapids)</td>
<td>1925</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>OP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Joseph HS (Muskegon)</td>
<td>1928</td>
<td></td>
<td>German</td>
<td>OP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Francis (Holland)</td>
<td>1923</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>RSM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix D: Schools of Era III

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School/Location</th>
<th>Year Opened</th>
<th>Year Closed</th>
<th>Constituency</th>
<th>Sisters/Teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sacred Heart (Muskegon)</td>
<td>1940</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hungarian</td>
<td>OP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Charles (Greenville)</td>
<td>1946</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Adrian OP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Phillip (Reed City)</td>
<td>1947</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td></td>
<td>SSND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Gregory (Hart)</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>1968</td>
<td></td>
<td>SSND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blessed Sacrament</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>OP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Catherine (Revenna)</td>
<td>1951</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SC/OP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IHM (Grand Rapids)</td>
<td>1952</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>OP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. John Vianney (Wyoming)</td>
<td>1952</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Felician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Mary (Lowell)</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>OP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holy Spirit (Grand Rapids)</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Felician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muskegon CC (High School)</td>
<td>1952</td>
<td></td>
<td>Boys and Girls</td>
<td>RSM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Mary (Spring Lake)</td>
<td>1954</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pallotine Sisters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Francis de Sales (Muskegon)</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bernadine Franciscan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Jude (Grand Rapids)</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>OP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Mary (Custer)</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sisters of St. Casimir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Michael (Brunswick)</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>RSM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Joseph (Belding)</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Adrian OP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School/Location</td>
<td>Year Opened</td>
<td>Year Closed</td>
<td>Constituency</td>
<td>Sisters/Teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assumption (Belmont)</td>
<td>1958</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Consolata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Our Lady of Grace (Muskegon)</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>OP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Pius (Grandville)</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td></td>
<td>OP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Michael (Coopersville)</td>
<td>1962</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sisters of St. Francis (Pittsburg)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Paul (Grand Rapids)</td>
<td>1962</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>OP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. James (Montague)</td>
<td>1962</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>OP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Catholic HS (Grand Rapids)</td>
<td>1962</td>
<td></td>
<td>Boys and Girls</td>
<td>SSND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. John HS (Hubbardston)</td>
<td>1963</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Patrick HS (Parnell)</td>
<td>1963</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Our Lady of Consolation (Rockford)</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Consolata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. John (Hubbardston)</td>
<td>1968</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Simon HS (Ludington)</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Stanislaus (Ludington)</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Patrick (Grand Haven)</td>
<td>1968</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SS Peter &amp; Paul HS (Ionia)</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Joseph (Muskegon)</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Our Lady of Sorrows (Grand Rapids)</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Joseph the Worker (Grand Rapids)</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Appendix E: Schools of Era IV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School/Location</th>
<th>Year Opened</th>
<th>Year Closed</th>
<th>Constituency</th>
<th>Sisters/Teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mount Mercy (Grand Rapids)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1974</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Sebastian (Byron Center)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1976</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Villa Maria (Grand Rapids)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1986</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Jean (Muskegon)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1988</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marywood (Grand Rapids)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1989</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Mary (Grand Rapids)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1990</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Mary (Lowell)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1995</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sacred Heart (Muskegon)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1995</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Adalbert (Grand Rapids)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1999</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corpus Christi (Holland)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1999</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Francis Xavier (Grand Rapids)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2005</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix F: Requirements for Recognition and Approval of a Private Catholic School within the Diocese

DIOCESE OF GRAND RAPIDS

REQUIREMENTS FOR RECOGNITION AND APPROVAL OF A PRIVATE CATHOLIC SCHOOL WITHIN THE DIOCESE

The purpose of this document is to establish and enact the authority of the Bishop of Grand Rapids in matters of Catholic education as stated in Canon Law: to establish a working relationship with the School that protects the Bishop's responsibility and authority; to ensure that the School is conducting itself in a manner that exhibits not only best and fair practice, but also the beliefs and traditions of the Catholic Church; to provide a process for initial and ongoing recognition and approval; to maintain legal and fiscal separation between the Diocese and the School; and to protect the independent status of the School.

AUTHORITY OF THE BISHOP

The Bishop of Grand Rapids has sole ecclesiastical authority to recognize and designate a school as “Catholic”. All Catholic schools within the Diocese are canonically responsible to the Bishop. The Superintendent of Diocesan Schools is the Bishop's official representative and agent for his relationship to and with all recognized and approved Catholic schools in the Diocese of Grand Rapids.

Canon Law on Catholic education is summarized in Canon 773 and Canon 832. However, Canons 803, 804, 805 and 806 are “anchor” canons in describing and recognizing the Catholic essence of a school. These canons especially define how the Catholic school must be operated and/or recognized by Church authority; they also address the nature of Catholic religious formation and education.

Private Catholic schools are schools, other than Religious Institute Schools, which are owned and operated by an entity legally distinct from the Diocese, but which are formally recognized and approved by the Bishop as private Catholic schools. The governing bodies of these schools submit to the Bishop's direct authority over these schools in matters of faith and morals and to the Bishop's supervision over the Catholicity and religious education programs of these schools. A
private school must seek to be recognized and approved as a private Catholic school within the Diocese.

PROCESS TO GAIN INITIAL RECOGNITION AND APPROVAL

1. A private school seeking recognition and approval must submit to the Bishop through the Superintendent of Diocesan Schools:
   a. a letter requesting that the Bishop of Grand Rapids recognize and approve the School as a private Catholic school.
   b. sufficient documents which demonstrate that the Standards for Recognition and Approval are substantially met.

2. The Superintendent of Diocesan Schools shall review documents submitted by the School and determine whether the Standards for Recognition and Approval have been met. The Superintendent may, at his/her discretion, request further documents or waive requirements for evidence of meeting the standards. The Superintendent shall summarize his/her findings and make a recommendation to the Bishop.

3. The Bishop shall determine whether recognition and approval as a private Catholic school is to be granted.

4. Recognition and approval as a private Catholic School shall be acknowledged by a formal statement of recognition and approval which will include the above mentioned requirements and be signed by the Bishop and the duly authorized officer of the Board of Directors of the School seeking recognition and approval.

5. A school achieving recognition and approval for the first time shall be granted a "probationary" recognition and approval status for two years. This status is to be published by the School and communicated to its faculty, parents, students and the greater community.

PROCESS TO GAIN CONTINUED RECOGNITION AND APPROVAL

At the end of the second year of probationary recognition and approval, the private Catholic school may request recognition and approval for three additional years. The Superintendent of Diocesan Schools shall recommend to the Bishop what further steps, if any, must be taken to grant an additional three years of recognition and approval.
At the end of the three year recognition and approval period, the School may request recognition and approval on a five year cycle. The Superintendent shall recommend to the Bishop what further steps, if any, must be taken to grant continued recognition and approval.

**STANDARDS FOR RECOGNITION AND APPROVAL AS A PRIVATE CATHOLIC SCHOOL**

The recognition and approval process shall be guided by but not limited to evidence that the School has achieved the following standards:

**I. General Standards**

A. The School shall have a written Mission Statement in accord with the Mission Statement of the Office of Catholic Schools of the Diocese.

B. As appropriate, the School shall adhere to the standards and requirements for nonpublic schools as established by the State of Michigan.

C. The School shall meet the same accreditation requirements as do all Catholic schools in the diocese as well as demonstrate that it is authentically Catholic, academically excellent, community supported and financially feasible.

D. The School shall consult with and seek the consul of the Diocese regarding the opening, expansion, reduction or closing of the School itself, a school division or grade level.

E. The School shall ensure that its various policies, handbooks, contractual and other agreements, etc., are in compliance with state and federal employment rules and regulations and those other requirements set forth for all schools in the Diocese of Grand Rapids.

F. For the protection of children, the School shall establish a policy on responding to an accusation of sexual abuse or neglect of a child and institute appropriate pre-employment background checks and screening procedures.

G. The School shall cooperate with all Catholic schools in the Diocese in furthering the educational mission of the Church.

H. The School shall cooperate with the Bishop through the Superintendent of Diocesan Schools in the ongoing review of all
Catholic schools in the Diocese for compliance with these Standards, which may include periodic scheduled visits to the School.

I. The School shall maintain public liability insurance in the amount of not less than five million dollars per occurrence for the duration in which the School is recognized and approved by the Bishop. It is further agreed that the School agrees to protect, indemnify, defend and hold harmless the Bishop or its employees or agents against and from any claim or cause of action arising out of or from any negligence or other actionable fault caused by the School or its employees, agents, members or officers up to the policy limits defined above. The School agrees to provide a certificate of insurance to the Bishop which will name the Bishop as an additional insured on the School's liability policy.

II. Catholic and Religious Education Standards

A. The School shall conform to the authority of the Bishop in all matters of faith and morals, especially as related to the Catholicity of the School, religious education, and Church liturgical requirements and practice.

B. The School shall provide for its students on a regular basis sacramental and liturgical services that are conducted by priests or deacons officially authorized by the Bishop. Prayer services and other pastoral programs should reflect Catholic teaching and practice.

C. Canonically, the responsibility for the preparation of students to receive the Sacraments of Initiation (Baptism, Confirmation and Holy Eucharist) rests with Pastors and their parish communities. The School shall cooperate fully and provide effective coordination with the pastors of local parishes in this regard.

D. The School shall ensure that its religious education program is in compliance with the religious education policies of the Diocese.


F. The religious education curriculum and textbooks provided by the School for the religious education and spiritual development of
students shall be approved and periodically reviewed by the Office of Catholic Schools. Additionally, all religion textbooks must have been approved by competent ecclesiastical authority.

G. The School shall strive to ensure that all aspects of education in the School are rooted in Catholic teaching.

H. The School shall not knowingly permit the use of school facilities or invite to the School, support and/or endorse any speaker, program, political or other groups or persons who publicly oppose or bring into question the teachings of the Catholic Church.

III. Administrative Leadership Standards

A. Principals/Administrators of Catholic schools shall be an active, practicing Catholic, outstanding for their doctrine, their witness of Christian living, exhibit a lifestyle that is compatible with Catholic moral values and professional conduct consistent with Catholic teaching.

B. A candidate for Principal/Administrator of a Catholic school shall be an active, practicing Catholic unless an exception is granted by the Bishop.

C. The Bishop, through the Superintendent of Diocesan Schools, shall be consulted before a candidate is named Principal/Administrator.

IV. Teacher Standards

A. A teacher in a Catholic school shall exhibit a lifestyle that is compatible with Catholic moral values and professional conduct consistent with Catholic teachings.

B. A teacher of religion in a Catholic school must be an active, practicing Catholic, outstanding for his/her doctrine, witness of Christian living and pedagogical skill, and be certified according to the criteria established by the Office of Catholic Schools of the Diocese.

V. Related Issues

A. A private Catholic school in the Diocese must state on all its official materials and documents that it is "a private Catholic school recognized and approved by and within the Diocese of Grand Rapids".
B. The Diocese (including any parish or parishes) shall have no financial obligation with respect to the ownership or operation of the private Catholic School.

C. Local parishes, as well as the Diocese, are under no obligation to support the School financially, however, they may support the school financially and are encouraged to support Catholic education whenever and however possible.

D. The Diocese and the local parishes may provide tuition assistance to any student who enrolls at the School, but are under no obligation to do so.

E. A private Catholic school will not pay fees to the Diocese nor will the Diocese be obligated to provide services or resources of the Office of Catholic Schools or any other diocesan office to the private Catholic school.

F. Although a cleric of the Diocese may volunteer with the approval of the Bishop to serve as chaplain and/or celebrate liturgy, the Diocese shall not be required to assign a cleric to serve as chaplain and/or celebrate liturgy.

G. Every cleric employed or engaged by a private Catholic school to provide any services whatsoever for the School must be approved by the Bishop.

H. By reason of its recognition and approval as a private Catholic school, the School will be listed in the Diocesan Catholic Directory as a private Catholic school.

WITHDRAWAL OF RECOGNITION AND APPROVAL

Recognition and approval may be withdrawn by the Bishop if a school fails to comply with or maintain these Standards. The School will be given three weeks to address and remedy any concerns with respect to its compliance with these Standards. For serious reasons, however, and in his sole discretion, the Bishop may withdraw at any time the recognition and approval of a school as "Catholic". Any withdrawal of recognition and approval shall be communicated to the School in a written document.

If recognition and approval is withdrawn by the Bishop, the Board of Trustees must immediately remove the Catholic designation from all school references.
The School may withdraw from this agreement at any time without cause. However, sufficient written notification must be sent to the Diocese preceding this action.

This policy on Requirements for Recognition and Approval of a Private Catholic School within the Diocese may, from time to time, be amended by the Diocese and at the request of the schools.

12/11/03