

EXHIBIT

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THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE MIDDLE DISTRICT OF LOUISIANA

JOHN DOE XX

VS.

HOLY SEE (State of the Vatican City), et al

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CIVIL ACTION NO. 11-651-JJB-DD

**MEMORANDUM IN SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFF’S MOTION TO COMPEL
PRODUCTION OF DOCUMENTS OR IN THE ALTERNATIVE,
IN CAMERA INSPECTION OF DOCUMENTS**

NOW INTO COURT comes Plaintiff JOHN DOE XX in the above entitled and numbered cause, and respectfully submits this Memorandum in support of Plaintiff’s motion to compel the Roman Catholic Church of the Diocese of Baton Rouge (the “Diocese”) to produce those documents in its possession that respond to Plaintiff’s requests for discovery. See Diocese’s Responses to Plaintiff’s Requests for Production of Documents (“Diocese’s Responses”) attached hereto as Exhibit A.

INTRODUCTION

This case seeks damages for the torture and violent conduct of a serial mass child rapist/pedophile, the former Catholic priest Christopher Joseph Springer. This case stems from centuries old practices and procedures — the modern day version was released in 1962— that Plaintiff alleges are at the root of the conspiracy coordinated by named Defendants Holy See, the Redemptorists Fathers and the Roman Catholic Church of the Diocese of Baton Rouge to conceal the widespread “problem” of sex crimes committed by Catholic priests and clerics against children. See Plaintiff’s Original Complaint, ¶¶ 52 - 61.

To prove these allegations, Plaintiff is entitled to discover and therefore requested:

1) the Diocese's personnel file of named defendant and former priest, Christopher Joseph Springer (See REQUEST NO. 10);

2) the Diocese's personnel files of all priests, employees, and/or clerics accused of sexual misconduct of minors (See REQUEST NO. 101);

3) the Diocese's investigative files on all priests, employees, and/or clerics accused of sexual misconduct of minors (See REQUEST NO. 101);

4) all documents and reports that discuss or relate to allegations that a minor was sexually exploited or abused by any priest, employee and/or cleric under the control of the Diocese (See REQUEST NOS. 83 AND 85); and

5) depositions given by Bishop Robert W. Muench and/or his predecessors in any case involving clergy sexual misconduct against minors (See REQUEST NO. 82(c)).

The Diocese generally objects to producing all of the above by asserting various privileges, namely the First Amendment, medical, clergyman, anticipation of litigation and right of privacy. See Diocese's Responses at p.2. See also **Diocese Privilege Logs 1 - 16** ("Privilege Logs") attached hereto as Exhibit B. According to the majority of the authority that has considered these exact objections to discovery asserted by dioceses all across the country, none of these privileges apply in this case. In fact, the majority rule holds that Plaintiff is entitled to discover all of the above documents, reports and files from the Diocese. This Court should follow the majority rule and order the Diocese to produce all of the requested documents, reports and files.

ARGUMENT AND AUTHORITY

Make no mistake — the following authority is clear: the Diocese of Baton Rouge is misguided about how privileges are properly asserted, as well as the application of certain "protections and privileges" crafted by the United States government and the State of Louisiana for religious institutions and individuals. These certain "privileges" do not apply in this discovery dispute. Furthermore, the Fifth Circuit Court explains that "[a] lawsuit is *not a contest in*

concealment, and the discovery process was established so that either party may compel the other to disgorge whatever facts he has in his possession.” *Southern Railway Co. v. Lanham*, 403 F.2d 119 (5th Cir. 1968) (emphasis added). Accord *Ogea v. Jacobs*, 344 So.2d 953, 959 (La. 1977). Moreover, it is well-established in Louisiana jurisprudence that the parties may be compelled to give evidence that may tend to embarrass them or produce documents of a confidential nature. See *Capital City Press v. East Baton Rouge Parish Metro, Council 96-1979*, 696 So.2d 562, 566 (La. 1997) citing *Parish Nat’l Bank v. Lane*, 397 So.2d 1282 (La. 1981).

A. Diocese’s Privilege Logs are blanket assertions of privileges and are inadequate to carry its burden to assert any privilege specifically.

For some time now, the Fifth Circuit Court has refused to tolerate blanket assertions of privileges before a district court. Blanket assertions of privilege are inadequate and unacceptable — such assertions disable the court and the adversary party from testing the merits of the claim of privilege. *United States v. El Paso Co.*, 682 F.2d 530, 541 (5th Cir. 1982), *reh’g denied*, 688 F.2d 840 (5th Cir. 1982), *cert. denied*, 466 U.S. 944 (1984). Litigants in the Fifth Circuit must demonstrate in some specific way that documents fall within the ambit of the privilege. *United States v. Davis*, 636 F.2d 1028, 1044 at n.20 (5th Cir. 1981); *United States v. El Paso Co.*, 682 F.2d at 541.

A litigant has an obligation to make a privilege claim precise in accordance with Fed. R. Civ. P. 26(b)(5). A privilege log must contain sufficient information that would allow a court or a party to assess the applicability of the privilege or protection. *Fed. R. Civ. P. 26(b)(5); Coes v. World Wide Revival, Inc.*, 2006 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 57683, (M.D. Fla. 2007). Where descriptions in the privilege log fail to meet this standard, “then disclosure is an appropriate sanction.” *Chemtech*

Royalty Assocs, L.P. v. United States, 2009 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 27696 (M.D. La. 2009) (quoting *Smithkline Beecham Corp. v. Apotex Corp.*, 193 F.R.D. 530, 534 (N.D. Ill. 2000)).

The standard for testing the adequacy of the privilege log is whether, as to each document, the entry sets forth facts that “would suffice to establish each element of the privilege or immunity that is claimed.” *Chemtech Royalty Assocs, L.P. v. United States*, 2009 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 27696 (M.D. La. 2009). The focus is on the specific descriptive portion of the log, and “not on conclusory invocations of the privilege or work-product rule, since the burden of the party withholding documents cannot be discharged by mere conclusory” assertions. *Golden Trade S.r.L. v. Lee Apparel Co.*, 1992 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 17739, (S.D.N.Y. 1992) (quoting *von Bulow v. von Bulow*, 811 F.2d 136, 144 (2d Cir. 1987)). A proper assertion that certain requested documents are privileged means that a litigant must describe those documents to the best of its ability without revealing the privileged information, even if doing so is difficult to do without revealing the confidential nature of the documents. *Estate of Manship v. U.S.*, 232 F.R.D. 552, 561 (M.D. La. 2005). Other courts have similarly held that a privilege log should provide “a specific explanation of why the document is privileged.” *Allendale Mut. Ins. Co. v. Bull Data Sys., Inc.*, 145 F.R.D. 84, 88 (N. D. Ill.1992).

The Diocese’s Privilege Logs 1-16 merely conclude that the documents listed by Bates numbers fall within the privileges listed. The Privilege Logs are replete with blanket assertions, but void of any description of specific facts or details that establish any element of the privileges that are listed. For instance, the Privilege Log labeled Conference of Bishop Documents asserts the “clergyman privilege”/“First Amendment”/“Right to Privacy”. In jurisdictions around the country and in Louisiana, **the clergyman privilege protects spiritual matters to/from a clergyman, but**

not communications between clergymen concerning other matters, such as employment.

Therefore, to properly assert the clergyman privilege, each log entry, at a minimum, should: 1) identify the clergyman involved in the communication; 2) state the purpose of the communication; 3) state whether the communication is from the clergyman to the penitent or vice versa; 4) state who has possession of the document and where the document is kept; 5) explain why the clergyman privilege applies to the specific document. See e.g., *State v. Gray*, 891 So.2d 1260, 1267 (La. 2005) (La. C.E. art. 511 privilege did not apply, either privilege was waived by consent to the minister's disclosure to a third party or there was no expectation of privacy when the minister was approached); *State v. Tart*, 672 So.2d 116, 143 (La. 1996) (confession not protected when minister visited defendant as the local N.A.A.C.P. president and not as a clergyman); *State v. Berry*, 324 So.2d 822 (La. 1975) (communication to a clergyman not protected because the purpose was to seek financial gain, not spiritual advise or consolation); *Commonwealth of Pennsylvania v. Stewart*, 690 A.2d 195 (Pa. 1996) (communications concerning a how a religious institution conducts its affairs do not fit within the privilege); *Pagano v. Hadley*, 100 F.R.D. 758, 760 (D. Del 1984) ("special relationship" between a bishop and his priest do not qualify all documents in priests personnel files for privilege). In the case of all of the Diocese's Privilege Logs, it is impossible to test the merits of the clergyman privilege.

The same holds true for the Diocese's First Amendment privilege claims, which amount to blanket assertions as well. Courts and other legal authorities generally now agree that the **First Amendment privilege protects religious beliefs, and not crimes against vulnerable children.** See e.g., Marci A. Hamilton, *The Waterloo for the So-Called Church Autonomy Theory: Widespread Clergy Abuse and Institutional Cover-Up*, 29 *Cardozo Law Review* 225 (2007) attached hereto as

Exhibit C. For this court to assess the applicability of the First Amendment privilege, each log entry in the Privilege Log, at a minimum, should 1) state what religious belief/doctrine will be violated by disclosing the document; 2) describe how disclosing the document will interfere with the internal workings of the Diocese; 3) explain why the First Amendment applies to the specific document. See e.g., *Roman Catholic Archbishop of Los Angeles v. Superior Court*, 32 Cal. Rptr. 3d 209 (Cal.App.2nd Dist., 2005) *citing* *Lemon v. Kurtzman*, 403 U.S. 602 (1971) *cert. denied* *Roman Catholic Archbishop v. Superior Court*, 547 U.S. 1071 (2006) (no merit in the church's contention that disclosures were barred by the establishment clause when the core issue was whether children were molested by priests who worked for the Archdiocese and the primary effect of the disclosures will not interfere with the internal workings of the church); *Corsie v. Campanalunga*, 721 A.2d 733 (Supr. Ct. N.J., 1998) *citing* *Wisconsin v. Yoder*, 406 U.S. 205, 215 (1972) (no privilege under the free exercise clause as there is no religious dispute involved in the production of documents during the discovery process and the maintenance of personnel files does not involve religious doctrine, but is nothing more than a normal administrative procedure of any organization, whether it be religious or secular.); *Malicki v. Doe*, 814 So. 2d 347, 350 (Fl. 2002) (“We conclude that the First Amendment does not provide a shield behind which a church may avoid liability for harm caused to an adult and a child parishioner arising from the alleged sexual assault or battery by one of its clergy.”) Any lesser description regarding the First Amendment privilege claim is inadequate under the requirements of Rule 26 and unacceptable for this court's assessment.

Finally, for this court to assess the applicability of the Right to Privacy privilege claim in the Privilege Logs, Louisiana's jurisprudence on privacy interest, which are protected under Article I, Section 5 of the Louisiana Constitution, will need to be reviewed and considered. *Dunn v. State*

Farm, 927 F.2d 869 (5th Cir. 1991) (Under Rule 501 of the Federal Rules of Evidence, state law determines the applicability of a privilege in civil diversity actions where state law supplies the rule of the decision.). According to Louisiana’s jurisprudence, **an individual’s right to privacy is not absolute, but qualified by the rights of others and limited by society’s right to be informed about legitimate subjects of public interest.** See *Plaquemines Parish Comm’n Council*, 472 So.2d 560, 567 (La. 1985) *citing Parish Nat’l Bank v. Lane*, 397 So.2d 1282, 1286 (La. 1981).

At a bare minimum, to properly assert a “Right to Privacy” privilege objection, the Diocese’s Privilege Log should explain why the right to privacy privilege applies to the specific document. See e.g., *Capital City Press v. East Baton Rouge Parish Metro, Council 96-1979*, 696 So.2d 562, 566 (La. 1997) *citing Parish Nat’l Bank v. Lane*, 397 So.2d 1282 (La. 1981) (“the right to privacy, ..., may be lost in many ways -by express or implied waiver or consent, or by a course of conduct which prevents its assertion.”); *State v. Ragsdale*, 381 So.2d 492, 497 (La. 1980) (privacy interest are protected under the Constitution only if one has a “reasonable expectation” of privacy where the test for determining whether a reasonable expectation of privacy is constitutionally protected “is not only whether the person had an actual or subjective expectation of privacy, but also whether that expectation is of a type which society at large is prepared to recognize as being reasonable.”) See also *Rosado v. Bridgeport Roman Catholic Diocesan Corp.*, 970 A.2d 656, 677 (Conn. 2009) (affirmed, plaintiffs’ right of access to documents related to sexual abuse by priests located in the personnel files of the defendant priests trumps the privacy of personnel files) *cert. denied Bridgeport Roman Catholic Diocesan Corp. v. New York Times Co.*, 2009 U.S. LEXIS 7806 (U.S., Nov. 2, 2009); *In Re: Roman Catholic Archbishop of Portland In Oregon*, 2009 Bankr. LEXIS 1906 (Bankr. D. Or. 2009), *affirmed by* 2010 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 9814 (D. Or. 2010) (court recognized that

a level of privacy protection for sensitive personal information in personnel records exists, but the court found no authority for a blanket protection from disclosure of information in personnel records, particularly where the information in the personnel record involves allegations of serious wrongdoing that implicates public safety). Accord *Plaquemines Parish Comm'n Council*, 472 So.2d 560, 567 (La. 1985) (privacy interest under Louisiana constitution does not prevent the surrender of information in discovery proceedings, nor protect it from view when surrendered.)

In the same vein, Louisiana law will determine the applicability of the medical privilege where the “**physician/patient/medical privacy**” **privilege is waived as to the medical information a patient authorizes for release to a third party.** See e.g., *Matherne v. Hannan*, 545 So.2d 1094 (La. App. 4th Cir. 1989) *rev'd on other grounds* 537 So.2d 1169 (La. 1989) (Father X waived the physician-patient privilege when he authorized the psychiatrist to report the results of an exam ordered by his Bishop due to allegations of sex abuse). Accord *Doe v. Ensey*, 220 F.R.D. 422, 427 (M.D. Pa. 2004) (priests consented to psychological evaluations conducted at the request of their employer, the diocese, and knew the diocese would receive the reports, so that any patient privilege attaching to the psychological reports was waived by the disclosure or intended disclosure to third parties); *C.J.C. v. Corp. of the Catholic Bishop of Yakima*, 138 Wash.2d 699, 717; 985 P.2d 262 (Wash. 1999) (court held mental health reports sent to the diocese were discoverable, but the actual treatment records, which had not been forwarded to the diocese were confidential and were not discoverable.) It stands to reason that the medical information that the Diocese objects to producing is apart of the Diocese's files and records only because the individual consented to the release of the information to the Diocese. Under Louisiana law, the individual's consent thereby waives the privilege. *Matherne v. Hannan*, 545 So.2d 1094 (La. App. 4th Cir. 1989) *rev'd on other grounds*

537 So.2d 1169 (La. 1989). See also La. C.E. Art 510 (applies to communications made on or after January 1, 1993); *Hortman v. Louisiana Steel Works*, 696 So.2d 625(La. App. 1st Cir. 1997) *writ denied*, 703 So.2d 1268 (La. 1997) (no real discussion is necessary on the issue of health care provider-patient privilege once the privilege is destroyed or taken away under the 501B(2) exceptions for communications related to committing a crime/fraud or proceedings concerning child abuse). But again, the Diocese's blanket assertions of "medical privilege" are inadequate to determine the merits of the privilege.

B. Materials prepared in Anticipation of Litigation must aid in possible future litigation and are subject to a showing of substantial need.

The work product doctrine is codified in Fed. R. Civ. P 26(b)(3) and insulates a lawyer's research, analysis of legal theories, mental impressions, notes and memoranda of witnesses' statements from an opposing counsel's inquiries. *Upjohn Co. v. United States*, 449 U.S. 383, 400 (1981); *United States v. El Paso Co.*, 682 F.2d 530, 543 (5th Cir. 1982), *reh'g denied*, 688 F.2d 840 (5th Cir. 1982), *cert. denied*, 466 U.S. 944 (1984). The work product doctrine, however, does not protect the disclosure of relevant underlying facts to opposing counsel. *Upjohn Co. v. United States*, 449 U.S. 383, 395 (1981). The doctrine focuses only on materials that have been assembled and brought into being in anticipation of litigation. FRCP 26(b)(3). Materials assembled in the ordinary course of business are excluded from the work product materials. *United States v. El Paso Co.*, 682 F.2d at 542.

In analyzing whether a document was prepared in anticipation of litigation, the Fifth Circuit applies the "primary purpose" test. Specifically, "litigation need not necessarily be imminent as long as the primary motivating purpose behind the creation of the document was to aid in possible future

litigation.” *United States v. Davis*, 636 F.2d 1028, 1040 (5th Cir. 1981). Once eligibility is established, then a court must analyze whether the adverse party has made a showing of substantial need for the information and an inability to obtain the information through other means without undue hardship. FRCP 26(b)(3).

It is alleged in Plaintiff’s Original Complaint that the modern day conspiracy, which began with the 1962 procedure for handling “Cases of Solicitation” and made it possible for Springer to gain access to Plaintiff, was in full force in the 60’s, 70’s and 80’s. Many of the key players who were the Diocese’s head official representatives during this timeframe are no longer alive. Bishop Robert Tracey, who served the Diocese from 1961-1974, died in 1980; Bishop Joseph Sullivan served from 1974-1982 and died in the office in 1982; Bishop Stanley Ott served from 1983-1992 and also died in the office. The Diocese’s current official representative, Bishop Robert Muench, was only installed in 2002 and his testimony will certainly be that he can not speak for his predecessors or account for their acts and omissions in cases related to sexual misconduct involving the Diocese’s clergy and children.

Therefore, the accounts of the acts and/or omissions of these former Bishops, as well as their statements and impressions, will come alive in the official documents that have been requested as outlined above. The facts that will be culled from these official documents will either corroborate the statement that has been obtained from Springer or paint a different picture altogether. See *Affidavit of Christoff Joseph Springer*, attached hereto as Exhibit D. In his affidavit, Springer refers to the discussions with Bishop Ott about the priest sexual abuse scandal in Lafayette and also the House of Affirmation, where both the Lafayette priest and Springer were eventually sent by their respective Bishops for treatment related to sexual misconduct with boys. While the priest in

Lafayette was charged and convicted for his crimes against minors, Springer apparently received a “get out of jail free” card from Bishop Ott. Without these official documents, there will be no official statement from the Diocese that explains 1) how Springer was able to thrive in the Diocese’s communities without fear of prosecution and 2) how the widespread “problem” of child sex crimes by the clergy did not gain public notice in the Diocese of Baton Rouge until 2002.

If the Diocese does not produce its official documents, there is no question that Plaintiff will be unfairly prejudiced and suffer undue hardship. There are no alternative reliable sources, other than the official documents, to discover the facts and details about the Diocese’s pattern and practices to conceal the alleged conspiracy to cover-up what the Diocese knew about its clergy’s sexual activities with boys. Without the official documents, Plaintiff will be hard pressed to develop and present his case that the Diocese’s entire objective and approach to its “problem” with “Cases of Solicitation” was to avoid a scandal by concealing the sex crimes of its clergy from prosecution and its parishioners and to escape responsibility for civil damages for failing to protect the safety of vulnerable children like Plaintiff.

CONCLUSION

The assortment of unqualified privilege claims notwithstanding, this Court should follow the majority rule and order the Diocese to produce all of the requested documents, reports and files.

Respectfully submitted,

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CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I hereby certify that a true and correct copy of the foregoing has been served by electronic transmission and U.S. Mail on the following counsel pursuant to the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure on this the 12th day of June, 2012.

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EXHIBIT

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THE WATERLOO FOR THE SO-CALLED CHURCH AUTONOMY THEORY: WIDESPREAD CLERGY ABUSE AND INSTITUTIONAL COVER-UP

*Marci A. Hamilton**

INTRODUCTION

The catastrophe of childhood sexual abuse by clergy in the United States was caused by multiple social forces that came together to put children at risk. The phenomenon is nondenominational, with cases involving the Roman Catholic Church,¹ the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints,² the Jehovah's Witnesses,³ and many others.⁴ This

* Paul R. Verkuil Chair in Public Law, Benjamin N. Cardozo School of Law, Yeshiva University. I would like to thank Anne Dupre and Rachel Sussner for very helpful comments and my research assistants Chava Brandriss, Jessica Neff, Katherine Melvin, Claire Scheinbaum, Keegan Stalder, and Benjamin Steele for excellent research assistance. In the interest of full disclosure, the author represents and advises clergy abuse victims with respect to First Amendment issues, in cases involving a variety of denominations.

¹ There are too many cases to catalogue in this brief essay, but some of the most important recent cases include: *Melanie H. v. Doe*, Civ. No. 04 CV 1596 WQH-(WMe) (S.D. Cal. Dec. 21, 2005) (holding that one year window reviving otherwise time-barred claims relating to sexual abuse does not violate Religion Clauses); *In re Roman Catholic Archbishop of Portland in Or.*, 335 B.R. 842 (Bankr. D. Or. 2005) (holding that First Amendment does not bar inquiry into which church property is part of the bankruptcy estate, in bankruptcy prompted by numerous clergy abuse claims); *Roman Catholic Archbishop of L.A. v. Superior Court*, 32 Cal. Rptr. 3d 209 (Cal. Ct. App. 2005) (holding that First Amendment and clergy-penitent privilege do not bar disclosure of church documents related to allegations of sexual abuse by priests); *Maficki v. Doe*, 814 So. 2d 347 (Fla. 2002) (holding that First Amendment does not bar a third-party tort action against a religious institution based on the alleged sexual abuse of its clergy); *Doe 67C v. Archdiocese of Milwaukee*, 700 N.W.2d 180 (Wis. 2005) (holding that plaintiff did not adequately plead that church had knowledge of priest's abusive tendencies at the time of abuse, so court declined to reach the First Amendment issue); *see also id.* at 195-200, ¶¶ 59-90 (Bradley, J., concurring) (stating she would hold that the First Amendment and Wisconsin statute of limitations do not bar a negligent supervision claim against a religious organization and noting that Wisconsin is in a "distinct and diminishing minority" on the issue).

² *R.K. v. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints*, No. C04-2338RSM, 2006 WL 3486798 (W.D. Wash. Dec. 1, 2006) (denying motion for rehearing in final disposition of proceeding where jury awarded victim \$87,500); *Doe v. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints*, 98 P.3d 429 (Utah Ct. App. 2004) (affirming dismissal of plaintiff's claim despite finding that abuse occurred and that the church failed to respond to complaints of abuse and concealed the abuse from both members and secular authorities, because church owed no common law duty to the plaintiff); *Doe v. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints*, 90 P.3d 1147 (Wash. Ct. App. 2004) (proceeding involving church cover up of abuse of two girls by

reality is just one of the ways religious entities can cause harm to others, as I document in *God vs. the Gavel: Religion and the Rule of Law*.⁵ It is also one part of this culture's profound problem with child abuse; on average, 25% of girls are sexually abused at some point, and 20% of boys.⁶ Of those abused, 60% of boys and 80% of girls are abused by

their stepfather, later resulting in a \$4.2 million jury award); Paul McKay, *Church Shunned Sex Abuse Study*, HOUS. CHRON., May 10, 1999, at A1 (detailing Mormon response of study on women survivors of childhood sexual abuse); Peggy Fletcher Stack, *Pressure to Forgive Challenges Mormon Families, Divides Wards*, SALT LAKE TRIB., Oct. 17, 1999, at A1 (outlining steps taken to prevent child sexual abuse within the Mormon church and identifying outstanding issues); Martha N. Beck, et al., *Adult Survivors of Childhood Sexual Abuse: The Case of Mormon Women*, AFFILIA, Spring 1996, at 39 (reporting on a study of 71 Mormon women survivors of childhood sexual abuse in their dealings with church leaders); Paul McKay, *Mormons Caught Up in Wave of Pedophile Accusations*, HOUS. CHRON., May 9, 1999, at A1 (outlining numerous civil suits over child sexual abuse and the Mormon Church response); *Metcalf v. The Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints*, No. CV 90-30185 (Ariz. Super. Ct., 1990) (involving confidential settlement after church officials sent children to live with known pedophile); *Lashbaugh v. The Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints*, No. 87-03-01934 (Or. 1987) (involving confidential settlement after known pedophile Mormon sexually abused more children); *Jones v. The Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints*, No. 97-01-00267 (Tex. 1999) (awarding a \$14 million jury verdict after church leaders tipped off clergy abuser that police were after him, allowing him to destroy evidence and weaken case against him).

⁵ *Bryan R. v. Watchtower Bible & Tract Soc'y of N.Y., Inc.*, 738 A.2d 839 (Me. 1999) (affirming the dismissal of a claim against the church on First Amendment grounds despite allegations of molestation); *Beal v. Broadard*, 19 Mass. L. Rep. 114, 2005 WL 1009632 (Super. Ct. 2005) (involving daughter allegedly molested by church leader during Bible Study in home; some claims dismissed on First Amendment grounds, negligence and breach of fiduciary duty claims were allowed to go forward); *Berry v. Watchtower Bible & Tract Soc'y of N.Y., Inc.*, 879 A.2d 1124 (N.H. 2005) (involving father-daughter incest, Jehovah's Witness elders' knowledge of abuse, and failure to report to authorities); see also SilentLungs, <http://www.silentlungs.org> (provides a forum for hundreds of victims of abuse within the organization of Jehovah's Witnesses) (last visited Jun. 10, 2007).

⁴ See, e.g., *Doe v. Newbury Bible Church*, 455 F.3d 594 (2d Cir. 2006) (certifying question to state supreme court regarding whether restatement of agency applies to pastor); *C.B. ex rel. L.B. v. Evangelical Lutheran Church in Am.*, 726 N.W.2d 127 (Minn. Ct. App. 2007) (affirming dismissal of mother and daughter's sexual abuse claims against retired minister because minister was not church employee at time of alleged abuse); see also The Int'l Jewish Coalition Against Sexual Abuse/Assault, <http://www.theawarenesscenter.org> (support for victims of clergy abuse in Jewish communities in the United States and Israel, and including a list of rabbis convicted of sexually abusing members of congregation) (last visited Jun. 10, 2007).

⁵ See generally MARCI A. HAMILTON, *GOD VS. THE GAVEL: RELIGION AND THE RULE OF LAW*, chs. 1-7 (2005).

⁶ MARY GAIL FRAWLEY-O'DEA, *PERVERSION OF POWER: SEXUAL ABUSE IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH* 6-7 (2007) ("[A]lmost one third of all girls and up to one fourth of all boys [are abused] before they reach eighteen years old."); see also Jennifer J. Freyd et al., *The Science of Child Sexual Abuse*, SCIENCE, Apr. 22, 2003, at 308 ("Child sexual abuse involving sexual contact between an adult . . . and a child has been reported by 20% of women and 5 to 10% of men worldwide. Surveys likely underestimate prevalence because of underreporting and memory failure." (citing WORLD HEALTH ORG., *WORLD REPORT ON VIOLENCE AND HEALTH* (Etienne G. Krug et al., eds., 2002)); Gavin Andrews et al., *Child Sexual Abuse: Comparative Quantification of Health Risks*, 2 WORLD HEALTH ORG., *COMPARATIVE QUANTIFICATION OF HEALTH RISKS* 1852 (Majid Ezzati et al., eds., 2004), available at <http://www.who.int/publications/cra/chapters/volume2/1851-1946.pdf> ("Review articles on the prevalence of child sexual abuse have commonly reported a range of prevalence anywhere from 2% to 62%"); World Health Org., *Child Sexual Abuse and Violence*,

someone known to the child or the child's family, with the perpetrators in this category including relatives, family friends, clergy, teachers, and health care professionals.⁷ The problem is deeply embedded in the culture, and to a large extent unreported: victims of childhood sexual abuse tend not to come forward to authorities or others approximately 90% of the time.⁸ As the churches will say in their defense, these numbers make it clear that child abuse is not peculiar to religious institutions. They are correct, but what does distinguish the religious institutions is a pattern of covering up child abuse, which includes (1) not going to authorities when abuse is reported to the institution;⁹ (2) imposing secrecy requirements on clergy and victims;¹⁰ (3) shifting perpetrators throughout the religious organization, both geographically and by specific house of worship;¹¹ (4) asking law enforcement and

www.searo.who.int/LinkFiles/Disability_Injury_Prevention_&_Rehabilitation_child.pdf (last visited Sept. 11, 2007) ("Studies conducted by various NGOs and institutions in 1995 and 1997 respectively in Delhi revealed that more than half the girls surveyed had experienced sexual abuse by family members; 76% women across five cities in India admitted sexual abuse as children"); Div. of Family and Reprod. Health, World Health Org., *Sexual Violence: A Hidden Epidemic*, http://www.afro.who.int/dtr/sexual_violence.html (last visited Sept. 11, 2007) ("7% to 36% of girls and 3% to 29% of boys have suffered from child sexual abuse.").

⁷ Roxanne Lieb, Vernon Quinsey, & Lucy Berliner, *Sexual Predators and Social Policy*, 23 *CRIME & JUST.* 43, 50 (1998). According to the 1992 Crime Data Brief for the United States Department of Justice, in three states only 4% of child rape offenders for female victims under twelve years old were strangers to the victims. 46% of the offenders were family members of the victim, and 50% of the offenders were acquaintances or friends (or other non-family relationship) of the victim. For victims ages 12-17, only 12% of the offenders were strangers, while 20% were family members and 65% were friends or acquaintances of the victim. Patrick A. Langan & Caroline Wolf Harkow, *Child Rape Victims, 1992*, CRIME DATA BRIEF, June 1994, NCI-147001, at 2.

⁸ Jennifer J. Freyd et al., *supra* note 6, at 308 ("[C]lose to 90% of sexual abuse cases are never reported to the authorities.").

⁹ LYNNE ABRAHAM, DIST. ATT'Y, CITY OF PHILA., REPORT OF THE GRAND JURY (2005), available at http://www.philadelphiadistrictattorney.com/images/Grand_Jury_Report.pdf (describing the lengths taken by Philadelphia Archdiocese officials to cover up known abuse by clergy); MARTHA BECK, LEAVING THE SAINTS: HOW I LOST THE MORMONS AND FOUND MY FAITH (2005); Mark Donald, *Judging Any? Jehovah's Witnesses Sued for Allegedly Protecting Members Who Abuse*, May 5, 2004, available at <http://www.silentlambs.org/Texaslawarticle.htm> (describing imposition of silence placed on members reporting abuse, under threat of excommunication); *Conan's Chung Tonight: Witnesses Abused? Church Accused of Failing Children* (CNN television broadcast, Aug. 24, 2002), transcript available at <http://www.waichtowerinformationsservice.org/chung.htm> (same) (last visited June 10, 2007).

¹⁰ THE SUPREME AND HOLY CONGREGATION OF THE HOLY OFFICE, INSTRUCTION: ON THE MATTER OF PROCEEDING IN CASES OF SOLICITATION (Vatican Press 1962), <http://image.guardian.co.uk/sys-files/Observers/documents/2003/08/16/Criminales.pdf> (describing procedure for handling sexual offenses and outlining a policy of the strictest secrecy under penalty of excommunication); see also THOMAS P. DOYLE, A.W.R. SIPE & PATRICK J. WALL, SEX, PRIESTS, AND SECRET CODES: THE CATHOLIC CHURCH'S 2000-YEAR PAPER TRAIL OF SEXUAL ABUSE (2006).

¹¹ See, e.g., REPORT OF THE GRAND JURY, *supra* note 9, at 5 ("One abusive priest was transferred so many times that, according to the Archdiocese's own records, they were running out of places to send him where he would not already be known"); PETER W. HEED, ATT'Y GEN., STATE OF N.H., REPORT ON THE INVESTIGATION OF THE DIOCESE OF MANCHESTER (2005),

newspapers to look the other way when they learn of individual cases;¹² and, most important for this essay, (5) insisting on autonomy from the tort and criminal law for the organization's role in the furtherance of the abuse.

Until very recently, children abused by clergy in the United States were in an extraordinarily weak position to protect themselves because so many elements of society worked against their interests. Obviously, the priest or pastor or rabbi harmed them at the start, but then the measures that might have brought either justice or protection for children did not activate. Because of the American reverence for clergy and religion in general, when children reported abuse by their trusted clergy, their parents often did not believe them.¹³ If word seeped out

available at <http://doj.nh.gov/publications/pdf/3303diocscfull.pdf> (delineating the diocese practice of transferring priests to other locations after incidents of sexual abuse); JASON BERRY, *LEAD US NOT INTO TEMPTATION: CATHOLIC PRIESTS AND THE SEXUAL ABUSE OF CHILDREN* (Univ. of Ill. Press 2000); JASON BERRY & GERALD RENNER, *VOWS OF SILENCE: THE ABUSE OF POWER IN THE PAPACY OF JOHN PAUL II* (2004); Christa Brown, Op-Ed, *No More Church Secrets about Sex Abuse*, DALLAS MORN. NEWS, Apr. 28, 2005, available at http://www.dallasnews.com/sharedcontent/dws/dn/opinion/viewpoints/stories/DN-brown_2Bedi.ART.State.Edition.1.153na906.html (describing how the author's own abuser was shifted to another Southern Baptist Church and she was instructed not to speak of the abuse); Brendan M. Case, Reese Dunklin, & Brooks Egerton, *Too Much Tolerance? Even as U.S. Catholic Leaders Toss Their Tougher Child Abuse Policy, Some Have Allowed Fallen Priests to Start Over Abroad, and Some Haven't Asked the Vatican to Expel Them*, DALLAS MORN. NEWS, Mar. 16, 2005 at A14 (citing multiple instances of priests moving to new churches in other countries); Thomms Farragher & Sacha Pfeiffer, *Records Detail Quiet Shifting of Rogue Priests*, BOSTON GLOBE, Dec. 4, 2002, at A1; Tom Heinen, *Archdiocese Gave \$10,000 to Priest; Defrocked Cleric Tied to Multimillion-dollar Sex Abuse Settlement*, MILWAUKEE J. SENTINEL, Sept. 8, 2006, at B7 (detailing how Friar Franklyn Becker was repeatedly reassigned to positions in the youth ministry, despite his admitted attraction to young boys); Marie Rohde, *Covering for an Abusive Priest: Archdiocese Knew of Pedophile, Records Just Released Confirm*, MILWAUKEE J. SENTINEL, Feb. 11, 2007, at B1 (describing how known child abuser Friar Siegfried Widem was moved from Wisconsin to California after discovery of abuse); Marie Rohde, *Records of Pedophile Priest to Become Public; California Court Case Involves Former Milwaukee Cleric*, MILWAUKEE J. SENTINEL, Feb. 8, 2007, at B1 (in releasing 3,000 pages of church documents, California judge said that "[p]riests with known sexual proclivities have been handed off from one location to another without regard to the potential harm to the children of the church as well as the family members of those children"); Marci A. Hamilton, *Bringing the Fight for Clergy Child Abuse Victims to an International Arena: Cases Show that California/Mexico Priest Shuffling also Occurred*, Oct. 19, 2006, <http://wrlnews.findlaw.com/hamilton/20061019.html>.

¹² See, e.g., Bruce Murphy, *The Catholic Cover-up*, MILWAUKEE MAG., Feb. 13, 2007 (detailing how Milwaukee Journal editors pulled writer Marie Rohde from covering Milwaukee clergy abuse scandal in 1995 under pressure from the Milwaukee Archdiocese, and suggesting former Milwaukee District Attorney E. Michael McCann was compromised by close relationship with Archbishop Remberg Weisand).

¹³ See, e.g., REPORT OF THE GRAND JURY, *supra* note 9, at 3 ("A boy who told his father about the abuse his younger brother was suffering was beaten to the point of unconsciousness. 'Priests don't do that,' said the father as he punished his son for what he thought was a vicious lie against the clergy"); Sandra G. Goodman, *How Deep the Scars of Abuse? Some Victims Crippled; Others Stay Resilient*, WASH. POST, July 29, 2002, at A1 (reporting a story where a victim's parents didn't believe him when he told them about the abuse as a child, and they cut their son off when he and his wife sued the St. Louis archdiocese).

that a child had been abused, the organization or the hierarchy would importune the prosecutors and/or the newspapers, and typically persuade them to permit the religious organization to "handle" the issue internally. In addition, children are the last frontier for civil rights, and, therefore, until very recently, their needs have not dominated either sophisticated legal scholarship, especially constitutional and First Amendment law, or legislative concern.¹⁴ Sadly, perpetrators have been more protected under existing law than victims, e.g., an egregious legal failure for victims of clergy abuse has been the extraordinarily short statutes of limitations in many states that deterred the vast majority of victims because of difficulties in coming forward.¹⁵ In sum, law enforcement, the press, families, churches, and the law itself let these children down.

Some might argue that since the problem of clergy abuse has been with us for centuries,¹⁶ a modern free exercise doctrine cannot be blamed for any aspect of it. That is a fair point, but it misses the mark. The question here is how the law has failed to *alter* the course of clergy abuse. Regardless of the religious organization's practices, when there is an abhorrent social practice like clergy abuse and organizational cover up, the issue is whether the law has aided in putting a halt to the problem.¹⁷ If the First Amendment has undermined the deterrent effect of the tort laws at issue, there is reason to question the doctrine.¹⁸ After all, the intent of the Constitution is to permit the United States to

¹⁴ See James G. Dwyer, *A Taxonomy of Children's Existing Rights in State Decision Making about Their Relationships*, 11 WM. & MARY BILL RTS. J. 845 (2003).

¹⁵ I will address this issue in detail in my book, *HOW TO DELIVER US FROM EVIL* (forthcoming Fall 2007).

¹⁶ See generally DOYLE et al., *supra* note 10.

¹⁷ This essay is focused on First Amendment doctrine, but it would not be the only legal rule that has contributed to the problem of clergy abuse. One other element is that actions governing negligent hiring, retention, and supervision are relatively modern theories. See RESTATEMENT (SECOND) OF AGENCY § 213 (1958) ("A person conducting an activity through servants or other agents is subject to liability for harm resulting from his conduct if he is negligent or reckless: . . . (b) in the employment of improper persons or instrumentalities in work involving risk of harm to others; (c) in the supervision of the activity"); see also J.D. LEE & BARRY LINDAHL, *MODERN TORT LAW: LIABILITY AND LITIGATION* § 7:19 (2d ed. 2006) ("In recognizing the tort of negligent hiring or retention of an incompetent, unfit or dangerous employee, the employer's conduct which may form the basis of the cause of action need not be within the scope of employment. This is because liability of the employer is direct and not based upon respondent superior principles; rather, the liability of the employer is based upon its failure to exercise reasonable care in selecting the employee, and thus exposing third parties to an unreasonable risk of harm. Stated another way, liability results not because of the employer-employee relationship, but because the employer had reason to believe that an undue risk of harm to others would exist as a result of the employment of the employee.").

¹⁸ RESTATEMENT (THIRD) OF TORTS: LIABILITY FOR PHYSICAL HARM § 19 (Tentative Draft No. 1, Mar. 28, 2001) (noting that tort law has a deterrent effect); Anthony J. Sperber, Comment, *When Nondisclosure Becomes Misrepresentation: Shaping Employer Liability for Incomplete Job References*, 32 U.S.F. L. REV. 405 (1998) (giving policy reasons for recognizing the tort of negligent misrepresentation which includes negligent hiring liability and its deterrent effect).

achieve the common good, not just to generate theoretically or logically appealing doctrines. As society has moved toward a more protective stance toward children, religious institutions seem to have been singularly unresponsive to these legal developments. They have been shielded by the so-called "ministerial exception" in employment disputes brought by clergy in many jurisdictions, which seems to have led them to assume that any decision involving clergy might be immune from secular regulation.¹⁹ Reinforcing this attitude are the many exemptions they receive²⁰ and the constitutional theories that would permit churches to believe that they are beyond the reach of the law whenever the issue involves internal affairs or clergy, such as church autonomy theory and strict scrutiny of neutral, generally applicable laws under the Free Exercise Clause.²¹

This Essay focuses on one legal element in this social mix that has contributed to the morass that put so many children at needless risk—the legal academy's theoretical construction of a sphere of autonomy for religious organizations.²² In Part I.A, I will detail and critique the

¹⁹ See, e.g., *Alicen-Hernandez v. Catholic Bishop of Chi.*, 320 F.3d 698 (7th Cir. 2003) (holding that the ministerial exception precludes any inquiry into reasons behind church's ministerial employment decision); see also *Tomic v. Catholic Diocese of Peoria*, 442 F.3d 1036 (7th Cir. 2006); *Werft v. Desert Sw. Annual Conf. of United Methodist Church*, 377 F.3d 1099 (9th Cir. 2004); *Gellington v. Christian Methodist Episcopal Church, Inc.*, 203 F.3d 1299 (11th Cir. 2000); *Stafonon v. Evans*, 198 F.3d 173 (5th Cir. 1999); *Combs v. Cent. Tex. Annual Conf. of the United Methodist Church*, 173 F.3d 343 (5th Cir. 1999); *Bell v. Presbyterian Church*, 126 F.3d 328 (4th Cir. 1997); *E.E.O.C. v. Catholic Univ. of Am.*, 83 F.3d 455 (D.C. Cir. 1996); *Young v. N. Ill. Conf. of United Methodist Church*, 21 F.3d 184 (7th Cir. 1994); *Scharon v. Saint Luke's Episcopal Presbyterian Hosp.*, 929 F.2d 360 (8th Cir. 1991).

²⁰ In addition to the lesser known exemptions I document in *God vs. the Gavel*, religious organizations receive numerous exemptions, including income tax exemptions, property tax exemptions, parsonage exemptions, bankruptcy law exemptions, elective Social Security tax exemption, and even pension fund exemptions. See generally WILLIAM W. BASSETT, RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS AND THE LAW § 1:11 (updated 2005); Basil Froehner, Evan A. Showell, & Jan E. Stone, *Privileges & Exemptions Enjoyed by Nonprofit Organizations*, 28 U.S.F. L. REV. 85 (1993).

²¹ This phenomenon is still in place in states like Wisconsin, which has employed the First Amendment as a bar in clergy abuse cases. See *Pritzstaff v. Archdiocese of Milwaukee*, 533 N.W.2d 780 (Wis. 1995); *L.L.N. v. Cluder*, 563 N.W.2d 434 (Wis. 1997). But see *Mary Doe SD v. Salvation Army*, No. 4:07CV362MLM, mem. at 10-13 (E.D. Mo. Sept. 20, 2007) (holding that plaintiff's claim for negligent supervision of clergy in a sexual abuse case is not barred by the Free Exercise Clause or the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment).

²² I suppose there will be those who might argue that even though the academy might theorize, it cannot be held responsible for the real-world application of some theories. Perhaps that perspective might have some purchase in other arenas, but there is no doubt that the scholars in the law and religion arena, including myself, play a significant role in the actual application of legal theory of the Religion Clauses, in both judicial and legislative spheres. For example, Professor Laycock represented Archbishop Flores in *City of Boerne v. Flores*, 521 U.S. 507 (1997) (holding Religious Freedom Restoration Act unconstitutional), while I represented the City of Boerne. See also Douglas Laycock, *Conceptual Gaffs in City of Boerne v. Flores*, 39 WM. & MARY L. REV. 743, 774-75 (1998) (describing role in "shaping" disingenuous legislative history behind Religious Freedom Restoration Act); Douglas Laycock, *Summary and Synthesis: The Crisis in Religious Liberty*, 60 GEO. WASH. L. REV. 841, 851-56 (1992) (advocating passage

"church autonomy" theory, especially as articulated by Professor Douglas Laycock and more recently, Mark Chopko, General Counsel to the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops and Adjunct Professor of Law at Georgetown University Law Center. In Part IB, I will turn my attention to the theory that the Free Exercise Clause mandates strict scrutiny for any law that burdens religious conduct, whether or not it is neutral or generally applicable, and how such free exercise rights can disable the tort laws that would otherwise protect children. This theory has been most enthusiastically endorsed by then-Professor Michael McConnell, Professor Laycock, and others. I conclude that the Supreme Court's current articulation of free exercise principles, which does not create such an expansive sphere of autonomy for religious entities, is the far preferable approach if the cycle of clergy abuse is ever to end.

I. MISGUIDED FIRST AMENDMENT THEORIES

One of the primary problems with so much discussion concerning the Religion Clauses in the United States is that it is too often theoretical, abstract, and unmoored from reality. I wrote *God vs. the Gavel* in order to bring to the public's attention some of the facts that are swept away or simply not known when legal academics, judges, or commentators start to theorize. The clergy abuse crisis, which cannot be avoided in any part of the country, is the Waterloo for many of these theories. No one would sanction a First Amendment theory that would permit the murder of others to occur without accountability to society. There is hardly more reason to defend a First Amendment theory that would forbid society from using the law to deter religious organizations from permitting, aiding and abetting, and furthering the childhood sexual abuse of children by their clergy, employees, and volunteers.

In order to ground the following discussion, it is worthwhile to detail at least one case of clergy abuse. One difficulty in these situations for legal academics is that the discussions of these issues occur at such an abstract level, so it is worthwhile to provide a concrete example of the type of case at the heart of this debate. This is a classic story of institutional knowledge, cover up, and the failure to protect further victims from a child predator.

Between 1973 and 1976, Fr. Siegfried Widera sexually abused four boys at St. Andrew's Parish in Delavan, Wisconsin. He had been criminally convicted of child molestation, a fact known to Fr. John Theisen, director of the Milwaukee Archdiocese's Personnel Board in

of the Religious Freedom Restoration Act of 1993 (RFRA)).

1973, and preserved in Archdiocese records. In the same year, the Archdiocese received a letter from one of Widera's former colleagues, which detailed Widera's inappropriate conduct with respect to children. The next year, the Milwaukee Archdiocese transferred Widera from Port Washington, Wisconsin to St. Andrew's without informing members of the parish of Widera's criminal conviction, probation, or the concerns expressed by those who knew him. In 1976, the Archdiocese was alerted that Widera had sexually molested another child and its notes indicate that the decision was made to keep that fact quiet in order to avoid police records. In 1976, Widera was discharged from probation, because the state had no knowledge he had violated his probation by further abusing children, and then he was transferred to California, where he molested more boys.²³

A. *The Pernicious Church Autonomy Doctrine*

The first time that I read a brief filed by the Roman Catholic Church hierarchy in a clergy abuse case alleging hierarchical cover up of egregious child abuse, I literally could not believe what I was reading. The abuse was grotesque in individual cases and en masse, and the orchestrated cover up was patently offensive. Waving the American Constitution's First Amendment seemed like the last appropriate response.

In fact, when the clergy abuse scandal first broke in Boston in 2002, the Church did not raise the First Amendment as a defense to its culpability for enabling the heinous acts of child abuse by its priests by concealing its knowledge of the sexual proclivities of some of its clergy and moving them from parish to parish once those sexual proclivities were discovered.²⁴ That seems appropriate. One's natural reaction, as

²³ For many years, Wisconsin First Amendment and statute of limitations jurisprudence barred the victim's claims. See Complaint at ¶¶ 4-11, 18-28, 30-31, 33-34, *John Doe I v. Archdiocese of Milwaukee*, 2006 WI App 194, 722 N.W.2d 400. In an opinion that opened the door for survivors, the Wisconsin Supreme Court recently permitted allegations of fraud by clergy abuse survivors to go forward. *John Doe I v. Archdiocese of Milwaukee*, 2007 WI 95, 734 N.W.2d 827 (Wis. 2007) (affirming the dismissal of negligent supervision claims as barred by the statute of limitations, but reversing and remanding dismissal of fraud claims). Even though the case is still pending, the facts are stated as true rather than "alleged," because of the recent release of church documents involving Widera as a result of California clergy abuse litigation. See, e.g., Tom Heinen, *\$17 Million Settles 10 Abuse Cases: Archdiocese Will Sell Cousins Center; Insurance to Pay Half*, MILWAUKEE J. SENTINEL, Sept. 2, 2006, at A1; Tom Heinen, *supra* note 11, at B7; Bruce Murphy, *supra* note 12; Marie Rohde, *Records of Pastophile Priest to Become Public*, *supra* note 11, at B1; Marie Rohde, *Covering for an Abusive Priest*, *supra* note 11, at B1.

²⁴ See Thomas Farragher, *Church Cloaked in Culture of Silence*, BOSTON GLOBE, Feb. 24, 2002, at A1; Michael Rezendes, *Priest Says Church Sought to Cover Up Suit against Him*, BOSTON GLOBE, Jan. 31, 2002, at B3; Walter V. Robinson, *Scores of Priests Involved in Sex*

an American citizen, to being charged with covering up the sexual abuse of hundreds of children would not be to invoke the First Amendment. Given that the modus operandi was cover up, the first response to the public revelations had to be one of shock, but it did not take long for the Church's lawyers to start raising the First Amendment as a defense to its liability for the cover up and the harm.²⁵ The First Amendment arguments have ranged far afield, but the consistent theme has been a claim to "church autonomy," which is a term first adopted in the literature by Professor Laycock.²⁶

On its face, the term of art is absurd, because no entity in the United States' system of judgment is autonomous from the law. This is a system of "ordered liberty," first and foremost,²⁷ and the only absolute right that exists is the right to believe what one chooses.²⁸ In most

Abuse Cases, BOSTON GLOBE, Jan. 31, 2002, at A1. Complete coverage of the clergy abuse scandal by BOSTON GLOBE is available at <http://www.boston.com/globe/spotlight/abuse>.

²⁵ Walter V. Robinson, *Church Seeks Exemption in Suit*, BOSTON GLOBE, Mar. 13, 2002, at B3; Marci A. Hamilton, *Sacrificial Lauds? Child Abuse, Religious Exemptions, and the Separation of Church and State*, <http://writ.news.findlaw.com/hamilton/20020328.html> (last visited June 10, 2007).

²⁶ Douglas Laycock, *Towards a General Theory of the Religion Clauses: The Case of Church Labor Relations and the Right to Church Autonomy*, 81 COLUM. L. REV. 1373 (1981).

²⁷ It was commonplace at the time of the framing to pair liberty with the necessity of order. For example, many state constitutions had free exercise provisions with exceptions for safety, health and welfare. *City of Boerne v. Flores*, 521 U.S. 507, 539 (1997) (Scaia, J. concurring) ("Religious exercise shall be permitted so long as it does not violate general laws governing conduct. The 'provisos' in the enactments negate a license to act in a manner 'unfaithful to the Lord Proprietary' (Maryland Act Concerning Religion of 1649), or 'behave' in other than a 'peaceable and quiet' manner (Rhode Island Charter of 1663), or 'disturb the public peace' (New Hampshire Constitution), or interfere with the 'peace [and] safety of the State' (New York, Maryland, and Georgia Constitutions), or 'demean' oneself in other than a 'peaceable and orderly manner' (Northwest Ordinance of 1787)."). See also Marci A. Hamilton, *Religion, the Rule of Law, and the Good of the Whole: A View from the Clergy*, 18 J.L. & PCL. 387, 392 (2002):

The latter eighteenth century sermons reveal that religious leaders of the day did not envision a society that would permit any person to be a "law unto himself." Their vision was more collective, or at least more community-based. For believers to achieve true liberty they needed to obey the laws enacted by the duly elected legislatures, for the sake of order and the public good.

In addition, an influential religious document at the time of the framing, the Westminster Confession of 1788, rests on the same pairing of order and liberty. It forbids public officials from administering religion, requires the protection of religious liberty, and makes it

the duty of civil magistrates to protect the person and good name of all their people, in such an effectual manner as that no person be suffered, either upon pretence of religion or of infidelity, to offer any indignity, violence, abuse, or injury to any other person whatsoever; and to take order, that all religious and ecclesiastical assemblies be held without molestation or disturbance.

SYNOD OF PHILADELPHIA AND NEW YORK, PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN AMERICA, WESTMINSTER CONFSSION OF FAITH (revised and adopted May 28, 1788). For advocacy of this concept in the context of clergy sexual abuse, see Angela Carmella, *The Protection of Children and Young People: Catholic and Constitutional Visions of Responsible Freedom*, 44 B.C. L. REV. 1031 (2003).

²⁸ A Lexis search indicates that the Supreme Court has used the phrase "ordered liberty" in 116 cases in its history. See generally HAMILTON, *supra* note 5, at 207 n.17.

cases, however, its proponents have limited it to the "internal" aspects of a church. It is not at all clear what constitutional value is served by this theory of autonomy, because it is based on unstated or unexamined assumptions.

For example, Laycock's article on church autonomy presumes autonomy from the law is a positive good throughout, but he never provides a theoretical or empirical foundation that would justify the anomalous idea that churches, which, after all are run by humans, need not be deterred from bad behavior any more than other organizations. More than once, though, he seems to say that the church autonomy theory is necessary because it prevents "interfere[nce] with the very process of forming the religion as it will exist in the future."²⁹ In other words, the law should not have an impact that would alter the course of the church's future. Thus, he has posited a high degree of self-determination for religious organizations, which is intended to isolate them from legal obligations imposed on others.³⁰

The universe of Laycock's church autonomy is quite capacious: His theory "of autonomy logically extends to all aspects of church operations"³¹ and sees particularly "strong claims to autonomy with respect to employment of teachers."³² Moreover, he argues that "[t]he state has no legitimate interest sufficient to warrant protection of church members from their church with respect to discrimination, economic exploitation, or a wide range of other evils that the state tries to prevent in the secular economy."³³

Laycock has not argued, however, that religious entities deserve a right to immunity from the law in all circumstances. He divides the possibilities into internal and external affairs, with internal affairs virtually immune from the law, while issues dealing with those external to the church subject to the law. While "[a]lleged state interests in regulating internal church affairs—e.g., protection of church members

²⁹ Laycock, *supra* note 26, at 1391; see also *id.* at 1400 (arguing need for autonomy so that "the further development of the religion" is unhindered).

³⁰ Douglas Laycock, *Academic Freedom and the Free Exercise of Religion*, 66 TEX. L. REV. 1455, 1461 (1988); see also Kathleen Brady, *Religious Group Autonomy: Further Reflections About What Is At Stake*, 22 J. L. RELIGION 153 (2006); Kathleen A. Brady, *Religious Organizations and Free Exercise: The Surprising Lessons of Smith*, 2004 BYU L. REV. 1633; Mark E. Chopko, *Church Autonomy and Religious Group Liability: Continuing the Lord's Work and Healing His People: A Reply to Professors Lupu and Tuttle*, 2004 BYU L. REV. 1897 (2004); Mark E. Chopko, *Suiting Claims against Religious Institutions*, 44 B.C. L. REV. 1089 (2003); Mark E. Chopko, *Shaping the Church: Overcoming the Twin Challenges of Secularization and Scandal*, 53 CATH. U. L. REV. 125, 131 (2003); Douglas Laycock, *A Survey of Religious Liberty in the United States*, 47 OHIO ST. L.J. 409 (1986). But see Murci A. Hamilton, *A Response to Professor Brady*, 22 J. L. RELIGION (forthcoming 2007); Murci A. Hamilton, *Religious Institutions, the No-Horn Doctrine, and the Public Good*, 2004 BYU L. REV. 1099.

³¹ Laycock, *supra* note 26, at 1397.

³² *Id.* at 1411.

³³ *Id.* at 1403.

and church workers from exploitation—are usually illegitimate and should not count at all,³⁴ “[t]here is no free exercise problem in holding churches responsible to outsiders under the ordinary rules of contract, property, and tort.”³⁵

Mark Chopko, who is responsible for legal strategy for American Catholic bishops, has built on Laycock’s work, and argued for the same sort of immunity for internal actions, regardless of motivation.³⁶ He advocates a “free space for a Bishop—free of the demands of government officials, insurers, church bureaucrats, litigants, and anyone else who would force a particular decision or approach on a Bishop.”³⁷ Like Laycock, he fails to see the need for the law or society to act as a deterrent to certain actions within the organization, saying, “[r]eligious institutions have broad autonomy to order their internal affairs according to religious doctrine and should not have to recede from religiously motivated actions for fear of legislators, regulators, or courts.”³⁸ Neither Chopko nor Laycock seem to apprehend the folly of immunizing institutions and their leaders from social accountability, but that is in part, at least in Chopko’s case, because he has an overly optimistic assessment of the law relating to clergy abuse.³⁹

It is precisely this internal/external distinction that church lawyers defending against the clergy abuse claims have tried to exploit in order to avoid liability for covering up the identity of known child predators. In California, to avoid discovery requests aimed at their employment files that typically document the cover up, the hierarchy’s lawyers repeatedly resorted to “privilege,” which included many privileges such as the attorney-client privilege, the priest-penitent privilege, and the psychotherapist-patient privilege, usually to no avail.⁴⁰ They also

³⁴ *Id.* at 1374.

³⁵ *Id.* at 1406.

³⁶ Chopko, *Shaping the Church*, *supra* note 30, at 142 (“Any governmental attempt to intrude into the inner order and governance of a church by artificially classifying certain matters as non-religious is per se unconstitutional.”).

³⁷ *Id.* at 130 (“Each institution—religion and government—has autonomy appropriate to its sphere.”).

³⁸ *Id.* at 131.

³⁹ *Id.* at 152 (stating that “[t]he actions of religious superiors might have been misguided, but not criminal. . . . [T]here is no liability in the Holy See”). But for the statute of limitations, many in the hierarchy would have been subjects of criminal investigation and charges. See, e.g., HEBB, *supra* note 11 (New Hampshire Attorney General filed charges which were then dismissed on statute of limitations grounds); REPORT OF THE GRAND JURY, *supra* note 9, at 1 (but for the statute of limitations Philadelphia Archdiocese officials including Cardinal Bevilacqua may well have violated criminal laws); *Doe v. Holy See*, 434 F. Supp. 2d 925 (D. Or. 2005) (permitting clergy abuse action to proceed against Holy See); *O’Byrne v. Holy See*, 471 F. Supp. 2d 784 (D. Ky. 2007) (permitting clergy abuse class action to proceed against Holy See).

⁴⁰ *Roman Catholic Archbishop of Los Angeles v. Superior Court*, 32 Cal. Rptr. 3d 209, 231, 239 (Cal. Cl. App. 2005) (rejecting clergy-penitent privilege; psychotherapist-patient privilege shields only one document out of hundreds of documents subpoenaed); *The Clergy Cases I*, No. JCCP4286 (Cal. Super. Ct. July 26, 2005) (attorney-client privilege, Fifth Amendment privilege,

asserted that there was a privilege created by the First Amendment, though not recognized before in state law, for discussions between clergy and the hierarchy. They dubbed it the "formation privilege."⁴¹ The argument is typically raised as follows:

Roman Catholic priests owe a lifelong allegiance to the bishop that incardinated them, and are expected to confide in him completely on matters, including intimate personal problems, that affect their ability to represent Christ; when they have problems, the bishop is obligated to help them overcome those problems. That relationship is essential to the practice of their Catholic faith.⁴²

Therefore, because "exercise of legitimate governmental powers may be prohibited when they have the effect of chilling or discouraging exercise of religious rights" the communications between a bishop and his priests, as memorialized in "a priest's records, both personnel and confidential" should be privileged.⁴³

As one can see from the foregoing, the reasoning of the formation privilege is built on the shaky theoretical foundation of "church autonomy." Laycock had presaged the defense twenty years earlier: "When the state interferes with the autonomy within a church, and particularly when it interferes with the allocation of authority and influence within a church, it interferes with the very process of forming the religion as it will exist in the future."⁴⁴ The hierarchy's lawyers were arguing that the internal sphere of clergy-hierarchical relations was properly immune from judicial examination. For them, the church autonomy approach meant that all of the cases should be dismissed.

or First Amendment claims did not bar discovery); *The Clergy Cases II*, No. JCCP4297 (Cal. Super. Ct. Sept. 25, 2006) (holding that First Amendment, clergy-penitent privilege, and attorney-client privilege as to seven documents sent to third parties do not bar production); *Chrissa W. v. Watchtower Bible & Tract Soc'y of N.Y., Inc.*, No. 76-22191 (Cal. Super. Ct. Oct. 16, 2006) (ruling on submitted discovery motions that clergy-penitent privilege does not apply; attorney-client and work product privileges shield only two items).

⁴¹ *Roman Catholic Archbishop of L.A.*, 23 Cal. Rptr. 3d 289 (Cal. Ct. App. 2005) (describing at length and rejecting the formation of clergy theory).

⁴² *Petition for a Writ of Certiorari, Does 1 and 2 v. Superior Court of L.A. County*, No. 05-1039, 2006 WL 368846, at *24 (Feb. 14, 2006), *cert. denied*, 547 U.S. 1071 (2006).

⁴³ *Id.* at *24-26.

⁴⁴ Laycock, *Towards a General Theory of the Religion Clauses*, *supra* note 26, at 1391. The difference with Laycock's theory is that he was arguing for the necessity of internal autonomy in order to protect the formation of the entire organization. The Catholic hierarchy has limited its arguments to the narrower sphere of the relationship between clergy and their superiors. See also Von G. Keetch & Matthew K. Richards, *The Need for Legislation to Enshrine Free Exercise in the Land Use Context*, 32 U.C. DAVIS L. REV. 725, 726-27 ("In practical effect, however, 'neutral' and 'generally applicable' regulations sustainable under *Smith* can have a devastating impact on religious liberty. Such regulations hamper the ability of adherents to both practice firmly held religious beliefs and to gather together with co-believers in a place of worship where they may learn from one another, edify each other, instruct one another, and receive important rites, sacraments, and blessings. . . . The growth of government at all levels, combined with government's tendency to over-regulate, demand additional protection for religious practice if we are to realize a full measure of religious liberty.").

Though this reasoning has not prevailed in recent clergy abuse cases,⁴⁵ it seems to have influenced the hierarchy's decisions with respect to the movement of clergy.

The clergy abuse cases have made it quite clear that a distinction between internal and external affairs is unsupportable. With respect to the general theory, the clergy abuse crisis puts the lie to the notion that the First Amendment should protect a religious organization's right to evolve at will. Everything about clergy abuse happens inside the religious organization—the victim, usually a member of the church, is acquainted with the perpetrator through his role as clergy, the reporting of the abuse to the hierarchy (or other members) occurs within the organization, as does the subsequent cover up, and all of the proof is held within the organization's employment files. Each of Laycock's markers for invoking the church autonomy thesis are present here—internal decision-making, church members, clergy, often church teachers, and issues involving employment. If church autonomy is at its strongest when everything occurs internally, then what is meant by church autonomy is immunity from tort and criminal law when the religious organization is involved in hiding criminal activity from the authorities and its own members, whose children are at risk. That cannot be squared with what is in the best interest of the larger society, children, or even the church, let alone common sense. It turns the First Amendment into a shield for the most heinous of behaviors, as it perpetuates the unacceptable behavior.

There is very strong reason to doubt the soundness of a doctrine that would protect churches from legal liability based on their need for self-determination. While their right to determination of their religious belief and orthodoxy cannot be dictated by the courts,⁴⁶ their ability to engage in conduct that harms others cannot be so unencumbered by legal obligation.⁴⁷ There are plenty of behaviors that churches (as well as every other organization) should be deterred from pursuing, even if it were the natural product of the organization's most dearly held beliefs. Society should not have to pretend that religious organizations do not engage in socially dangerous behaviors, and, therefore, suffer the harmful consequences of their unchecked behaviors. Laycock concedes

⁴⁵ See *supra* notes 41-42; see also *Melanie H. v. Doe*, Civ. No. 04 CV 1596 WQH-(WMe) (S.D. Cal. Dec. 21, 2005) (one year window reviving otherwise time-barred claims relating to sexual abuse does not violate First Amendment protections for religion); *In re the Roman Catholic Bishop of San Diego*, No. 07cv1355-JEG(RBB) at 3-4 (S.D. Cal. Aug. 20, 2007) (denying Debtor's challenge to the constitutionality of California's window statute under the due process, *ex post facto*, and bill of attainder clauses of the U.S. Constitution).

⁴⁶ See HAMILTON, *supra* note 5, 240-43; see also *Serbian E. Orthodox Diocese v. Milivojevich*, 426 U.S. 696 (1976); *Kedroff v. St. Nicholas Cathedral of Russian Orthodox Church in N. Am.*, 344 U.S. 94 (1952); *Watson v. Jones*, 80 U.S. 679 (1872).

⁴⁷ See generally HAMILTON, *supra* note 5, at chs. 1-7.

contract law, property law, and tort law in disputes involving outsiders (and, apparently, when the issues do not affect internal aspects of the organization) are properly applicable to religious organizations, but I did not find an instance where he does the same for criminal law, or employment law. He admits two exceptions to autonomy when the issue is internal, to cases involving young children or bodily harm.⁴⁸ That would leave out the many clergy abuse cases involving adolescents and presumably sexual touching that does not result in bodily harm.⁴⁹ It would appear that his theory leaves tremendous room for religious organizations to harm children without accountability.

The clergy abuse cases bring to the fore the inherent weaknesses of an autonomy theory for religious organizations. There is no necessary good in the development of a religious organization when that organization is orchestrating a worldwide system of covering up the abuse of children by its clergy. The myth of autonomy led these institutions to believe that they had a right to handle repeated crimes in private and to place their public image above the interests of vulnerable children. The results of such a world view—the permanent emotional disability of thousands of children and, therefore, their families as well—are anathema to any rational moral or democratic system. The legal system failed to deter them, and thereby contributed to the exponential increase in child abuse within these institutions.

B. *The Free Rein, Free Exercise Clause*

There has been sharp debate regarding the level of scrutiny to be applied under the Free Exercise Clause, when the law at issue is neutral and generally applicable. As I explain in *God vs. the Gavel: Religion and the Rule of Law*, the dominant approach at the Supreme Court has been to apply such laws to religious entities.⁵⁰ This approach culminated in 1990 with the Supreme Court's affirmation of the dominant approach, in *Employment Division v. Smith*.⁵¹ Legal scholars at the time like now-Judge Michael McConnell and Professor Laycock, among others, strongly resisted, to state it mildly, the Court's embrace of low-level scrutiny for neutral laws of general applicability.⁵² They

⁴⁸ Laycock, *supra* note 26, at 1406.

⁴⁹ On this reading, Laycock's theory is not far from that of Professors Lupu and Tuttle, who would permit religious organizations to negligently fail to protect children. See Marci A. Hamilton, *Religious Institutions, the No-Harm Doctrine, and the Public Good*, *supra* note 30, at 1171-73 (citing Ira C. Lupu & Robert W. Tuttle, *Sexual Misconduct and Ecclesiastical Immunity*, 2004 BYU L. REV. 1789, 1845-73).

⁵⁰ HAMILTON, *supra* note 5, at 205-14.

⁵¹ 494 U.S. 872 (1990).

⁵² Douglas Laycock, *The Crisis in Religious Liberty*, 60 GEO. WASH. L. REV. 841, 848 (1992).

passionately advocated strict scrutiny across all laws, including when the issue is the liability of a religious organization.⁵³ Laycock, in fact, places his church autonomy theory in the Free Exercise Clause, which, on his terms, “forbids government interference with church operations unless there is, to use the conventional phrase, a compelling governmental interest to justify the interference. Identifying those governmental interests that are sufficient is a complex task that requires further exploration.”⁵⁴ Suffice it to say that the category of societal or governmental interests that trump the religious organization’s needs is quite small, on their reasoning, because “[a] church’s legitimate interest in autonomy has few natural limits,” so that the analysis should be “tilted in favor of the constitutional right,”⁵⁵ which really means tilted in favor of the religious organization since there is no constitutional right to autonomy in the sense that he would posit.

Thus, strict scrutiny under the Free Exercise Clause sends the same message as “autonomy”—religious organizations need not be concerned with the vast majority of secular law. They have free rein to operate without reference to just about any outside interest. Laycock has pushed this notion as a matter of “deregulating” religious practices,⁵⁶ as has Michael McConnell.⁵⁷ Under their thinking, this is a matter of

(referring to *Smith* as “the near total loss of any substantive constitutional right to practice religion” and talking about “our despair over the loss of protection for religious exercise”).

⁵³ They have not been terribly concerned whether strict scrutiny is obtained through the courts or the legislatures. Having lost the battle at the Supreme Court, they turned to the legislatures to institute strict scrutiny through the Religious Freedom Restoration Act of 1993 (RFRA), 42 U.S.C. § 2000bb (2000), the Religious Land Use and Institutionalized Persons Act of 2000 (RLUIPA), 42 U.S.C.A. § 2000cc (2007), and thirteen state religious liberty statutes. See ALA. CONST. art. I, § 3.01; ARIZ. REV. STAT. ANN. § 41-1493.01 (2006); CONN. GEN. STAT. § 52-571b (2006); FLA. STAT. § 761.03 (2006); IDAHO CODE ANN. § 73-402 (2006); 775 ILL. COMP. STAT. 35/1 (2007); MO. REV. STAT. § 1.302 (2007); N.M. STAT. § 28-22-3 (2007); OKLA. STAT. tit. 51 § 258 (2006); 71 PA. CONST. STAT. § 2401 (2006); R.I. GEN. LAWS § 42-80.1-3 (2007); S.C. CODE ANN. § 1-32-40 (2006); TEX. CIV. PRAC. & REM. CODE ANN. § 110.001 (2006). RFRA only applies to the federal government, because it has been held unconstitutional as applied to the states, *City of Boerne v. Flores*, 521 U.S. 507 (1997), and RLUIPA applies solely to land use and governmental institutionalization, e.g., prisons and hospitals. The thirteen state religious liberty statutes have a wide range of exceptions for particular areas of the law, depending on the state.

⁵⁴ Laycock, *supra* note 26, at 1392; see also Michael McConnell, *The Origins and Historical Understanding of the Free Exercise of Religion*, 103 HARV. L. REV. 1409, 1414-15 (1990) (arguing in favor of mandatory judicial exemptions); Chopko, *Shaping the Church*, *supra* note 30, at 134.

⁵⁵ Laycock, *supra* note 26, at 1402.

⁵⁶ Douglas Laycock, *Theology Scholarships, The Pledge of Allegiance, and Religious Liberty: Avoiding the Extremes but Missing the Liberty*, 118 HARV. L. REV. 155, 200 (2004). Laycock has also used the term “nonmolestation” of religion. Laycock, *supra* note 52, at 846 (citing Michael W. McConnell, *Accommodation of Religion: An Update and a Response to the Critic*, 60 GEO. WASH. L. REV. 685, 688-95 (1992)).

⁵⁷ Michael W. McConnell, *Institutions and Interpretation: A Critique of City of Boerne v. Flores*, 111 HARV. L. REV. 153, 157-60 (1997). McConnell suggests that the “natural tendency of regulatory regimes is to make no exceptions for private concerns and to overinflate the

"simply" not regulating religious institutions, as though the absence of regulation is a pure and natural state (which goes without saying, they assume is beneficial for society). Moreover, the religious entities' free rein becomes entrenched so that it is gradually transformed into an entitlement.⁵⁸ In other words, application of the law to a religious entity becomes constitutionally and morally offensive, not just a "burden," which is the actual language of the doctrine. That point is particularly troublesome when religious institutions take these messages to mean that covering up child abuse is within a constitutionally protected sphere. When the Los Angeles District Attorney subpoenaed the Los Angeles Archdiocese for the personnel records of two former priests in a criminal child molestation investigation, the Archdiocese refused to comply.⁵⁹ Cardinal Roger Mahony's argument in court was that the subpoena constituted "an unconstitutional intrusion on private church affairs" and even though the request was only for 21 pages of documents, that the subpoena "inherently entangles the state in the internal religious life of churches and intrudes into religious practice."⁶⁰ The Cardinal's argument did not persuade the Superior Court of California, which ruled that the Archdiocese would have to turn over the documents; after the Court of Appeal affirmed, both the California Supreme Court and the United States Supreme Court declined to review the ruling.⁶¹

The strict scrutiny that has been advocated under the Free Exercise Clause would only recognize compelling interests that involve, for example, health and safety, and would impose a "least restrictive means" analysis that requires the courts to shape the law to accommodate the religious entity to the "maximum" extent possible.⁶² Thus, the argument is made that negligence torts should not be applied to religious entities, because the lesser restrictive alternative is an intentional tort.⁶³ The result, if this view were to prevail, which it has

importance of their own objectives—even when those private concerns are rooted in constitutional rights and accommodation could be made at reasonably low cost to public purposes," *Id.* at 157, and that "governmental action at every level, of every description, and regardless of subject matter, can intrude deeply into the freedom of Americans to practice their religion in accordance with the dictates of conscience." *Id.* at 160. While these extremely broad assertions carry some truth, they fail to take account of the harm that religious conduct can cause and inescapably lead to the conclusion that conduct based on religious belief, no matter how harmful, cannot be regulated by secular law.

⁵⁸ See generally Mirci A. Hamilton, *Free? Exercise*, 42 WM. & MARY L. REV. 823 (2001).

⁵⁹ Randal C. Archibald, *Archdiocese Loses Case to Keep Former Priests' Records Secret*, N.Y. TIMES, Apr. 18, 2006, at A24.

⁶⁰ *Id.*

⁶¹ *Id.*

⁶² Laycock, *supra* note 52, at 854; Douglas Laycock, *Formal, Substantive, and Disaggregated Neutrality toward Religion*, 39 DEPAUL L. REV. 993, 1018 (1990).

⁶³ This is essentially Lupu and Tuttle's suggestion in their article on church autonomy. See Lupu and Tuttle, *supra* note 49.

not, is that the religious institutions would be protected at tremendous cost to society, which remains uninformed regarding the identity of many child predators.

Chopko has applied this reasoning to the clergy abuse context, in a way that severely limits the ability of victims of the Church's cover up to obtain relief. First, Chopko suggests that theories of respondeat superior bar an action against a religious employer, because the criminal act of the perpetrator could not have been within the scope of employment.⁶⁴ He correctly notes that this is the view of a majority of jurisdictions, with an exception for the Oregon courts.⁶⁵ The problem with this reasoning is that it fails to take into account the role of the religious organization in the placement of a known child predator in an employment position with access to children. Child abuse may not be one of the employment obligations of the clergy employee, but at least one state has taken a more expansive approach to scope of employment.

In *Fearing v. Bucher*, the Oregon Supreme Court was asked to determine whether or not a priest's acts in connection with his sexual abuse of a child were within the scope of his employment with the Archdiocese of Portland.⁶⁶ The court stated that the priest's "alleged sexual assaults on plaintiff clearly were outside the scope of his employment, *but our inquiry does not end there*. The Archdiocese still could be found vicariously liable, if acts that were within [the priest's] scope of employment resulted in the acts which led to injury to plaintiff."⁶⁷ In other words, the employer could be liable if the perpetrator used his position with the employer in order to achieve his criminal goals, and the employer knew that such actions could result from placing the perpetrator in that position. The complaint in *Fearing* included allegations that the priest used his position to access the child and gain the child and his family's trust, and that these grooming activities were done in connection with the priest's employment. The court concluded that allegations outside of the sexual abuse allegations were sufficient for "establishing that employee conduct was within the scope of employment."⁶⁸ The Oregon court's reasoning rejects the notion that the employer should not have any vicarious liability in a situation where the position of employment sets the stage for the child abuse. It is akin to the "ratification" theory adopted elsewhere.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ Chopko, *Setting Claims Against Religious Institutions*, *supra* note 30, at 1113-14.

⁶⁵ *Id.*

⁶⁶ 977 P.2d 1163, 1164 (Or. 1999).

⁶⁷ *Id.* at 1166 (internal quotations omitted) (emphasis added).

⁶⁸ *Id.* at 1167.

⁶⁹ See, e.g., *Jameson v. Gavett*, 71 P.2d 937 (Cal. Dist. Ct. App. 1937); *Fretland v. County of Humboldt*, 82 Cal. Rptr. 2d 359 (Cal. Ct. App. 1999); *Herrick v. Quality Hotels, Inns & Resorts*, 24 Cal. Rptr. 2d 209 (Cal. Ct. App. 1993); *Rita M. v. Roman Catholic Archbishop*, 323 Cal. Rptr. 685 (Cal. Ct. App. 1986); *Coats v. Construction & Gen. Laborers Local No. 185*, 93 Cal. Rptr.

The better fit, admittedly, are claims based on negligence. The cases where abuse was known and then concealed feature negligent hiring, retention, and supervision. Chopko rejects negligent hiring and retention because he posits that courts in such cases are required to delve into religious questions. He is making the argument that the interpretation of terms like "appropriate investigation" or "unsuitability" are terms that cannot be applied by courts to religious entities "without probing deeply into basic religious questions for a faith community."⁷⁰ While these arguments might have some traction outside the universe of child abuse, it is difficult to see why a court cannot make a determination regarding an appropriate investigation involving child abuse or unsuitability of clergy to be near children without reference to religious doctrine.⁷¹ Chopko's problem is that he has turned autonomy into a justification for looking at all legal problems through the lens of the religious organization. In these cases, though, the central issue always involves children, and it is both logical and sensible to pose the legal question as whether the person being considered or retained is appropriate for a job involving access to children, period. The secular courts need not look at the church's beliefs in order to take evidence of the organization's actions solely relating to children, just as it need not investigate beliefs when it weighs evidence involving a bounced check or a breach of contract. The church, of course, can also place religious restrictions on candidates and use religious principles in choosing any particular person for ministry. The question here is not qualifications for ministry *per se*, but rather employment for a position relating to children. Analogously, a Catholic hospital that employed a doctor who later turned out to have faked her credentials could not argue that its belief in reconciliation and forgiveness justify keeping the individual on as a doctor. Identifiable, neutral criteria must be satisfied for someone to be a doctor just as neutral criteria can be identified with respect to the choice of any employee—inside or outside of a religious organization—who will work near children.

If the institution chooses to place this person near children, it must act in ways that do not negligently put children at risk. Does this secularize the institution? No, it just makes it less dangerous to others.

639 (Cal. Ct. App. 1971).

⁷⁰ Chopko, *Stating Claims against Religious Institutions*, *supra* note 30, at 1115.

⁷¹ This is why an increasing majority of states are moving in the direction of applying neutral tort law principles in clergy abuse cases. See, e.g., *Malicki v. Doe*, 814 So. 2d 347, 351 (Fla. 2002) (joining "the majority of both state and federal jurisdictions that have found no First Amendment bar" to civil litigation in clergy abuse cases, including: Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Texas, Washington, Second Circuit, Fifth Circuit, Eighth Circuit, District of Rhode Island, Northern District of Iowa, Northern District of Texas, District of Connecticut, and the Eastern District of Michigan); *Mary Doe SD v. Salvation Army*, No. 4:07CV362MLM, mem. at 10 (E.D. Mo. Sept. 26, 2007) (stating that "religious entities remain subject to generally applicable, neutral employment law.").

This interest is undoubtedly compelling, but the compelling interest test is wrongheaded in the first place as it gives religious organizations hope that they need not take into account the needs of children as they make placement decisions involving clergy.

Chopko rightly concedes that it is more difficult to shield religious entities from negligent supervision claims, but he still pursues the path of arguing that churches should be able to avoid such claims. He says that "if the plaintiff's claims depend on a court reviewing internal policies and protocols, scrutinizing a religious chain of discipline, and assessing culpability because the religious entity emphasized reconciliation and not punishment, the 'very process of inquiry' may lead to an unconstitutional exercise."⁷² Once again, if the arena were other than the welfare of children, he might have some small point, but when the question is the safety of children, it is very hard to argue against the notion that the general social norms that dictate certain minimum actions to protect children from harm must be followed by all organizations, religious or not. Whether or not the religious organization believes in reconciliation for its errant clergy is simply irrelevant to whether it acted negligently in persisting in employing a particular member of the clergy in a position that has access to children.

Chopko's real objection, though, appears to be the possibility that the law might alter the church; he would define the harm done to a church as follows: "The imposition of such a secular duty carries a risk of subtly altering the church's internal structure."⁷³ Like Laycock's discussion of "autonomy," he assumes that alteration in a church's internal affairs is necessarily problematic. Yet, when the issue is the systematic cover up of clergy abuse, it is hard to believe anyone would argue in favor of preserving present practices, though when one inhabits the universe of "church autonomy" and strict scrutiny, there are many arguments that take one down the path that bypasses common sense.

While Laycock has not weighed in specifically on clergy abuse issues, he has advocated "maximum religious liberty" as the goal of the Religion Clauses.⁷⁴ He sees it as an obvious social good. For Laycock, as for Chopko, his theories sound relatively sound, until they are tested by the realities of how religious organizations operate in the real world. As I document in *God vs. the Gavel*, the reality is that religious institutions have a significant potential for harm to others. If one knows and accepts the facts about religious entities, rather than operating from either an abstract or romantic assessment of religion, it is hard to justify the notion that the Religion Clauses exist to prevent the law from

⁷² Chopko, *Stating Claims against Religious Institutions*, *supra* note 31, at 1117.

⁷³ *Id.* at 1118.

⁷⁴ Laycock, *Formal, Substantive, and Disaggregated Neutrality toward Religion*, *supra* note 62, at 1018.

effecting change in religious organizations. If religious organizations that are harboring child predators are not forced to change, the result is obvious and wholly unacceptable.

CONCLUSION

General Counsel to the United States Bishops, Mark Chopko, would shield the Catholic Church from too much judicial interference as a result of the clergy abuse cases, because he would hate to see the Church remade "in dangerous ways."⁷⁵ One can only marvel at statements like this. What could be more dangerous than the Church's continuing history of covering up the sexual abuse of children? It has not ended. In 2007, Cardinal Francis George of the Chicago Archdiocese is desperately trying to explain away the fact he failed to report Father Daniel McCormack to the authorities, and, therefore, a boy was recently abused. When McCormack pled guilty to sexual assault, the Archdiocese issued a statement that McCormack's crimes were not really that bad—after all, he had pled guilty to sexual assault, not rape.⁷⁶

It is hard to find a crime or social harm that is more heinous than childhood sexual abuse, other than, say, murder. The reality is that if the law does not push churches to be accountable for the child abuse within their organizations, there will be more child abuse. Nor has the theory of autonomy within the internal dynamics of a church yielded positive results. There is no evidence that leaving religious entities to their own devices results in a safer world for the children in their care.

⁷⁵ Chopko, *Shaping the Church*, *supra* note 30 at 148-49.

⁷⁶ See, e.g., Sue Ontiveros, *Mishandling of McCormack Case Shakes Faith*, CHIC. SUN TIMES, July 7, 2007, available at http://www.suntimes.com/news/ontiveros/459256_07_ontiveros.article; Letters to the Editor, *Betrayed Again by the Church: Three Takes on Father Daniel McCormack's Punishment*, CHIC. SUN TIMES, July 4, 2007, available at http://www.suntimes.com/news/commentary/letters/455414_CST-NWS-lightning04.article; Charles Sheehan et al., *George: 'I Take Responsibility': Monitoring of Priests to Change Now, He Says*, CHIC. TRIB., Feb. 3, 2006, at 1 (noting that soon after Reverend Daniel McCormack of St. Agatha's Church in Chicago appeared in court to face charges of abusing a third boy since the first accusation of abuse surfaced in August 2005, Cardinal Francis George said that "he would immediately reform the monitoring program that should have kept the priest away from children"); Jay Wenver, *Ex-priest Doherty Implicated in Another Sex-abuse Suit*, MIAMI HERALD, Jan. 3, 2007, available at <http://www.miami.com/mld/miamiherald/16374514.htm> (reporting another child molestation suit filed against Reverend Neil Doherty of St. Vincent Catholic Church of the Archdiocese of Miami); Jim Doyle, *Bishop Avoids Charge in Failure to Swiftly Report Abuse Claims: Counseling Instead of Misdemeanor for Delay in Notification*, S.F. CHRON., Nov. 21, 2006, at B2 (reporting that Bishop Daniel Walsh will enter a "pre-filing diversion" program in order to avoid being charged with violating a state mandatory sexual abuse reporting law when he failed to report serial child abuse by Rev. Francisco Ochoa-Perez, who is believed to have fled to Mexico); Editorial, *Notes on a Scandal: NH Clergy Abuse Five Years on*, UNION LEADER, Feb. 15, 2007, at A16.

Indeed, there is contrary evidence. None of the reforms embraced to date by the Catholic Church were taken as a result of autonomous actions. Rather, they were triggered by scandal and litigation, and there is good question how effective they have been, as evidence of further abuse and cover up continues to appear.

The Supreme Court has reached the correct balance—absolute protection of belief, but “[its] cases do not at their farthest reach support the proposition that a stance of conscientious opposition relieves an objector from any colliding duty fixed by a democratic government.”⁷⁷ Unless the issue is belief, “autonomy” is the wrong metaphor; it is too close to the licentiousness the framing generation feared,⁷⁸ and the Supreme Court has been right all along—ordered liberty is what the Constitution rightly demands. As I argue throughout *God vs. the Gavel: Religion and the Rule of Law*, the facts about religious conduct establish that autonomy is a mistake for which the vulnerable pay the price—nowhere is that as true as it is in the clergy abuse context.

⁷⁷ *Employment Div. v. Smith*, 494 U.S. 872, 882 (1990) (quoting *Gillette v. United States*, 401 U.S. 437, 461 (1971)).

⁷⁸ See generally Marcel A. Hamilton, *Religious Institutions, the No-Harm Doctrine, and the Public Good*, *supra* note 30, at 1156; Steven J. Heyman, *Righting the Balance: An Inquiry Into the Foundations and Limits of Freedom of Expression*, 78 B.U. L. REV. 1275, 1292 (1998); Henry Paul Monaghan, *It's the Peoples, Original Understanding, and Constitutional Amendment*, 96 COLUM. L. REV. 121, 142 (1996).

EXHIBIT

'C'

THE WATERLOO FOR THE SO-CALLED CHURCH AUTONOMY THEORY: WIDESPREAD CLERGY ABUSE AND INSTITUTIONAL COVER-UP

*Marci A. Hamilton**

INTRODUCTION

The catastrophe of childhood sexual abuse by clergy in the United States was caused by multiple social forces that came together to put children at risk. The phenomenon is nondenominational, with cases involving the Roman Catholic Church,¹ the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints,² the Jehovah's Witnesses,³ and many others.⁴ This

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¹ There are too many cases to catalogue in this brief essay, but some of the most important recent cases include: *Melanie H. v. Doe*, Civ. No. 04 CV 1596 WQH-(WMe) (S.D. Cal. Dec. 21, 2005) (holding that one year window reviving otherwise time-barred claims relating to sexual abuse does not violate Religion Clauses); *In re Roman Catholic Archbishop of Portland in Or.*, 335 B.R. 842 (Bankr. D. Or. 2005) (holding that First Amendment does not bar inquiry into which church property is part of the bankruptcy estate, in bankruptcy prompted by numerous clergy abuse claims); *Roman Catholic Archbishop of L.A. v. Superior Court*, 32 Cal. Rptr. 3d 209 (Cal. Ct. App. 2005) (holding that First Amendment and clergy-penitent privilege do not bar disclosure of church documents related to allegations of sexual abuse by priests); *Malicki v. Doe*, 814 So. 2d 347 (Fla. 2002) (holding that First Amendment does not bar a third-party tort action against a religious institution based on the alleged sexual abuse of its clergy); *Doe 67C v. Archdiocese of Milwaukee*, 700 N.W.2d 180 (Wis. 2005) (holding that plaintiff did not adequately plead that church had knowledge of priest's abusive tendencies at the time of abuse, so court declined to reach the First Amendment issue); *see also id.* at 195-200, ¶¶ 59-90 (Bradley, J., concurring) (stating she would hold that the First Amendment and Wisconsin statute of limitations do not bar a negligent supervision claim against a religious organization and noting that Wisconsin is in a "distinct and diminishing minority" on the issue).

² *R.K. v. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints*, No. C04-2338RSM, 2006 WL 3486798 (W.D. Wash. Dec. 1, 2006) (denying motion for rehearing in final disposition of proceeding where jury awarded victim \$87,500); *Doe v. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints*, 98 P.3d 429 (Utah Ct. App. 2004) (affirming dismissal of plaintiff's claim despite finding that abuse occurred and that the church failed to respond to complaints of abuse and concealed the abuse from both members and secular authorities, because church owed no common law duty to the plaintiff); *Doe v. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints*, 90 P.3d 1147 (Wash. Ct. App. 2004) (proceeding involving church cover up of abuse of two girls by

reality is just one of the ways religious entities can cause harm to others, as I document in *God vs. the Gavel: Religion and the Rule of Law*.⁵ It is also one part of this culture's profound problem with child abuse; on average, 25% of girls are sexually abused at some point, and 20% of boys.⁶ Of those abused, 60% of boys and 80% of girls are abused by

their stepfather, later resulting in a \$4.2 million jury award); Paul McKay, *Church Shunned Sex Abuse Study*, HOUS. CHRON., May 10, 1999, at A1 (detailing Mormon response of study on women survivors of childhood sexual abuse); Peggy Fletcher Stack, *Pressure to Forgive Challenges Mormon Families, Divides Wards*, SALT LAKE TRIB., Oct. 17, 1999, at A1 (outlining steps taken to prevent child sexual abuse within the Mormon church and identifying outstanding issues); Martha N. Beck, et al., *Adult Survivors of Childhood Sexual Abuse: The Case of Mormon Women*, AFFILIA, Spring 1996, at 39 (reporting on a study of 71 Mormon women survivors of childhood sexual abuse in their dealings with church leaders); Paul McKay, *Mormons Caught Up in Wave of Pedophile Accusations*, HOUS. CHRON., May 9, 1999, at A1 (outlining numerous civil suits over child sexual abuse and the Mormon Church response); *Metcalf v. The Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints*, No. CV 90-30185 (Ariz. Super. Ct., 1990) (involving confidential settlement after church officials sent children to live with known pedophile); *Lashbaugh v. The Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints*, No. 87-03-01934 (Or. 1987) (involving confidential settlement after known pedophile Mormon sexually abused more children); *Jones v. The Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints*, No. 97-01-00267 (Tex. 1999) (awarding a \$14 million jury verdict after church leaders tipped off clergy abuser that police were after him, allowing him to destroy evidence and weaken case against him).

⁵ *Bryan R. v. Watchtower Bible & Tract Soc'y of N.Y., Inc.*, 738 A.2d 839 (Me. 1999) (affirming the dismissal of a claim against the church on First Amendment grounds despite allegations of molestation); *Beal v. Broadard*, 19 Mass. L. Rep. 114, 2005 WL 1009632 (Super. Ct. 2005) (involving daughter allegedly molested by church leader during Bible Study in home; some claims dismissed on First Amendment grounds, negligence and breach of fiduciary duty claims were allowed to go forward); *Berry v. Watchtower Bible & Tract Soc'y of N.Y., Inc.*, 879 A.2d 1124 (N.H. 2005) (involving father-daughter incest, Jehovah's Witness elders' knowledge of abuse, and failure to report to authorities); see also *SilentLungs*, <http://www.silentlungs.org> (provides a forum for hundreds of victims of abuse within the organization of Jehovah's Witnesses) (last visited Jun. 10, 2007).

⁴ See, e.g., *Doe v. Newbury Bible Church*, 455 F.3d 594 (2d Cir. 2006) (certifying question to state supreme court regarding whether restatement of agency applies to pastor); *C.B. ex rel. L.B. v. Evangelical Lutheran Church in Am.*, 726 N.W.2d 127 (Minn. Ct. App. 2007) (affirming dismissal of mother and daughter's sexual abuse claims against retired minister because minister was not church employee at time of alleged abuse); see also *The Int'l Jewish Coalition Against Sexual Abuse/Assault*, <http://www.theawarenesscenter.org> (support for victims of clergy abuse in Jewish communities in the United States and Israel, and including a list of rabbis convicted of sexually abusing members of congregation) (last visited Jun. 10, 2007).

⁵ See generally MARCI A. HAMILTON, *GOD VS. THE GAVEL: RELIGION AND THE RULE OF LAW*, chs. 1-7 (2005).

⁶ MARY GAIL FRAWLEY-O'DEA, *PERVERSION OF POWER: SEXUAL ABUSE IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH* 6-7 (2007) ("[A]lmost one third of all girls and up to one fourth of all boys [are abused] before they reach eighteen years old."); see also Jennifer J. Freyd et al., *The Science of Child Sexual Abuse*, SCIENCE, Apr. 22, 2003, at 308 ("Child sexual abuse involving sexual contact between an adult . . . and a child has been reported by 20% of women and 5 to 10% of men worldwide. Surveys likely underestimate prevalence because of underreporting and memory failure." (citing WORLD HEALTH ORG., *WORLD REPORT ON VIOLENCE AND HEALTH* (Etienne G. Krug et al., eds., 2002)); Gavin Andrews et al., *Child Sexual Abuse: Comparative Quantification of Health Risks*, 2 WORLD HEALTH ORG., *COMPARATIVE QUANTIFICATION OF HEALTH RISKS* 1852 (Majid Ezzi et al., eds., 2004), available at <http://www.who.int/publications/cra/chapters/volume2/1851-1946.pdf> ("Review articles on the prevalence of child sexual abuse have commonly reported a range of prevalence anywhere from 2% to 62%"); World Health Org., *Child Sexual Abuse and Violence*,

someone known to the child or the child's family, with the perpetrators in this category including relatives, family friends, clergy, teachers, and health care professionals.⁷ The problem is deeply embedded in the culture, and to a large extent unreported: victims of childhood sexual abuse tend not to come forward to authorities or others approximately 90% of the time.⁸ As the churches will say in their defense, these numbers make it clear that child abuse is not peculiar to religious institutions. They are correct, but what does distinguish the religious institutions is a pattern of covering up child abuse, which includes (1) not going to authorities when abuse is reported to the institution;⁹ (2) imposing secrecy requirements on clergy and victims;¹⁰ (3) shifting perpetrators throughout the religious organization, both geographically and by specific house of worship;¹¹ (4) asking law enforcement and

www.searo.who.int/LinkFiles/Disability_Injury_Prevention_&_Rehabilitation_child.pdf (last visited Sept. 11, 2007) ("Studies conducted by various NGOs and institutions in 1995 and 1997 respectively in Delhi revealed that more than half the girls surveyed had experienced sexual abuse by family members; 76% women across five cities in India admitted sexual abuse as children"); Div. of Family and Reprod. Health, World Health Org., *Sexual Violence: A Hidden Epidemic*, http://www.afro.who.int/dtr/sexual_violence.html (last visited Sept. 11, 2007) ("7% to 36% of girls and 3% to 29% of boys have suffered from child sexual abuse.").

⁷ Roxanne Lieb, Vernon Quinsey, & Lucy Berliner, *Sexual Predators and Social Policy*, 23 *CRIME & JUST.* 43, 50 (1998). According to the 1992 Crime Data Brief for the United States Department of Justice, in three states only 4% of child rape offenders for female victims under twelve years old were strangers to the victims. 46% of the offenders were family members of the victim, and 50% of the offenders were acquaintances or friends (or other non-family relationship) of the victim. For victims ages 12-17, only 12% of the offenders were strangers, while 20% were family members and 65% were friends or acquaintances of the victim. Patrick A. Langan & Caroline Wolf Harkow, *Child Rape Victims, 1992*, CRIME DATA BRIEF, June 1994, NCI-147001, at 2.

⁸ Jennifer J. Freyd et al., *supra* note 6, at 308 ("[C]lose to 90% of sexual abuse cases are never reported to the authorities.").

⁹ LYNNE ABRAHAM, DIST. ATT'Y, CITY OF PHILA., REPORT OF THE GRAND JURY (2005), available at http://www.philadelphiadistrictattorney.com/images/Grand_Jury_Report.pdf (describing the lengths taken by Philadelphia Archdiocese officials to cover up known abuse by clergy); MARTHA BECK, LEAVING THE SAINTS: HOW I LOST THE MORMONS AND FOUND MY FAITH (2005); Mark Donald, *Judging Any? Jehovah's Witnesses Sued for Allegedly Protecting Members Who Abuse*, May 5, 2004, available at <http://www.silentlambs.org/Texaslawarticle.htm> (describing imposition of silence placed on members reporting abuse, under threat of excommunication); *Conan's Chung Tonight: Witnesses Abused? Church Accused of Failing Children* (CNN television broadcast, Aug. 24, 2002), transcript available at <http://www.waichtowerinformationsservice.org/chung.htm> (same) (last visited June 10, 2007).

¹⁰ THE SUPREME AND HOLY CONGREGATION OF THE HOLY OFFICE, INSTRUCTION: ON THE MATTER OF PROCEEDING IN CASES OF SOLICITATION (Vatican Press 1962), <http://image.guardian.co.uk/sys-files/Observers/documents/2003/08/16/Criminales.pdf> (describing procedure for handling sexual offenses and outlining a policy of the strictest secrecy under penalty of excommunication); see also THOMAS P. DOYLE, A.W.R. SIPE & PATRICK J. WALL, SEX, PRIESTS, AND SECRET CODES: THE CATHOLIC CHURCH'S 2000-YEAR PAPER TRAIL OF SEXUAL ABUSE (2006).

¹¹ See, e.g., REPORT OF THE GRAND JURY, *supra* note 9, at 5 ("One abusive priest was transferred so many times that, according to the Archdiocese's own records, they were running out of places to send him where he would not already be known"); PETER W. HEED, ATT'Y GEN., STATE OF N.H., REPORT ON THE INVESTIGATION OF THE DIOCESE OF MANCHESTER (2005),

newspapers to look the other way when they learn of individual cases;¹² and, most important for this essay, (5) insisting on autonomy from the tort and criminal law for the organization's role in the furtherance of the abuse.

Until very recently, children abused by clergy in the United States were in an extraordinarily weak position to protect themselves because so many elements of society worked against their interests. Obviously, the priest or pastor or rabbi harmed them at the start, but then the measures that might have brought either justice or protection for children did not activate. Because of the American reverence for clergy and religion in general, when children reported abuse by their trusted clergy, their parents often did not believe them.¹³ If word seeped out

available at <http://doj.nh.gov/publications/pdf/3363diocscfull.pdf> (delineating the diocese practice of transferring priests to other locations after incidents of sexual abuse); JASON BERRY, LEAD US NOT INTO TEMPTATION: CATHOLIC PRIESTS AND THE SEXUAL ABUSE OF CHILDREN (Univ. of Ill. Press 2000); JASON BERRY & GERALD RENNER, VOWS OF SILENCE: THE ABUSE OF POWER IN THE PAPACY OF JOHN PAUL II (2004); Christa Brown, Op-Ed, *No More Church Secrets about Sex Abuse*, DALLAS MORN. NEWS, Apr. 28, 2005, available at http://www.dallasnews.com/sharedcontent/dws/dn/opinion/viewpoints/stories/DN-brown_2Bedi.ART.State.Edition.1.153na9d6.html (describing how the author's own abuser was shifted to another Southern Baptist Church and she was instructed not to speak of the abuse); Brendan M. Case, Reese Dunklin, & Brooks Egerton, *Too Much Tolerance? Even as U.S. Catholic Leaders Toss Their Tougher Child Abuse Policy, Some Have Allowed Fallen Priests to Start Over Abroad, and Some Haven't Asked the Vatican to Expel Them*, DALLAS MORN. NEWS, Mar. 16, 2005 at A14 (citing multiple instances of priests moving to new churches in other countries); Thomass Farragher & Sacha Pfeiffer, *Records Detail Quiet Shifting of Rogue Priests*, BOSTON GLOBE, Dec. 4, 2002, at A1; Tom Heinen, *Archdiocese Gave \$10,000 to Priest; Defrocked Cleric Tied to Multimillion-dollar Sex Abuse Settlement*, MILWAUKEE J. SENTINEL, Sept. 8, 2006, at B7 (detailing how Friar Franklyn Beiser was repeatedly reassigned to positions in the youth ministry, despite his admitted attraction to young boys); Marie Rohde, *Covering for an Abusive Priest: Archdiocese Knew of Pedophile, Records Just Released Confirm*, MILWAUKEE J. SENTINEL, Feb. 11, 2007, at B1 (describing how known child abuser Friar Siegfried Widem was moved from Wisconsin to California after discovery of abuse); Marie Rohde, *Records of Pedophile Priest to Become Public; California Court Case Involves Former Milwaukee Cleric*, MILWAUKEE J. SENTINEL, Feb. 8, 2007, at B1 (in releasing 3,000 pages of church documents, California judge said that "[p]riests with known sexual proclivities have been handed off from one location to another without regard to the potential harm to the children of the church as well as the family members of those children"); Marci A. Hamilton, *Bringing the Fight for Clergy Child Abuse Victims to an International Arena: Cases Show that California/Mexico Priest Shuffling also Occurred*, Oct. 19, 2006, <http://wrlt.news.findlaw.com/hamilton/20061019.html>.

¹² See, e.g., Bruce Murphy, *The Catholic Cover-up*, MILWAUKEE MAG., Feb. 13, 2007 (detailing how Milwaukee Journal editors pulled writer Marie Rohde from covering Milwaukee clergy abuse scandal in 1995 under pressure from the Milwaukee Archdiocese, and suggesting former Milwaukee District Attorney E. Michael McCann was compromised by close relationship with Archbishop Remberg Weisand).

¹³ See, e.g., REPORT OF THE GRAND JURY, *supra* note 9, at 3 ("A boy who told his father about the abuse his younger brother was suffering was beaten to the point of unconsciousness. 'Priests don't do that,' said the father as he punished his son for what he thought was a vicious lie against the clergy"); Sandra G. Goodman, *How Deep the Scars of Abuse? Some Victims Crippled; Others Stay Resilient*, WASH. POST, July 29, 2002, at A1 (reporting a story where a victim's parents didn't believe him when he told them about the abuse as a child, and they cut their son off when he and his wife sued the St. Louis archdiocese).

that a child had been abused, the organization or the hierarchy would importune the prosecutors and/or the newspapers, and typically persuade them to permit the religious organization to "handle" the issue internally. In addition, children are the last frontier for civil rights, and, therefore, until very recently, their needs have not dominated either sophisticated legal scholarship, especially constitutional and First Amendment law, or legislative concern.¹⁴ Sadly, perpetrators have been more protected under existing law than victims, e.g., an egregious legal failure for victims of clergy abuse has been the extraordinarily short statutes of limitations in many states that deterred the vast majority of victims because of difficulties in coming forward.¹⁵ In sum, law enforcement, the press, families, churches, and the law itself let these children down.

Some might argue that since the problem of clergy abuse has been with us for centuries,¹⁶ a modern free exercise doctrine cannot be blamed for any aspect of it. That is a fair point, but it misses the mark. The question here is how the law has failed to *alter* the course of clergy abuse. Regardless of the religious organization's practices, when there is an abhorrent social practice like clergy abuse and organizational cover up, the issue is whether the law has aided in putting a halt to the problem.¹⁷ If the First Amendment has undermined the deterrent effect of the tort laws at issue, there is reason to question the doctrine.¹⁸ After all, the intent of the Constitution is to permit the United States to

¹⁴ See James G. Dwyer, *A Taxonomy of Children's Existing Rights in State Decision Making about Their Relationships*, 11 WM. & MARY BILL RTS. J. 845 (2003).

¹⁵ I will address this issue in detail in my book, *HOW TO DELIVER US FROM EVIL* (forthcoming Fall 2007).

¹⁶ See generally DOYLE et al., *supra* note 10.

¹⁷ This essay is focused on First Amendment doctrine, but it would not be the only legal rule that has contributed to the problem of clergy abuse. One other element is that actions governing negligent hiring, retention, and supervision are relatively modern theories. See RESTATEMENT (SECOND) OF AGENCY § 213 (1958) ("A person conducting an activity through servants or other agents is subject to liability for harm resulting from his conduct if he is negligent or reckless: . . . (b) in the employment of improper persons or instrumentalities in work involving risk of harm to others; (c) in the supervision of the activity"); see also J.D. LEE & BARRY LINDAHL, *MODERN TORT LAW: LIABILITY AND LITIGATION* § 7:19 (2d ed. 2006) ("In recognizing the tort of negligent hiring or retention of an incompetent, unfit or dangerous employee, the employer's conduct which may form the basis of the cause of action need not be within the scope of employment. This is because liability of the employer is direct and not based upon respondent superior principles; rather, the liability of the employer is based upon its failure to exercise reasonable care in selecting the employee, and thus exposing third parties to an unreasonable risk of harm. Stated another way, liability results not because of the employer-employee relationship, but because the employer had reason to believe that an undue risk of harm to others would exist as a result of the employment of the employee.").

¹⁸ RESTATEMENT (THIRD) OF TORTS: LIABILITY FOR PHYSICAL HARM § 19 (Tentative Draft No. 1, Mar. 28, 2001) (noting that tort law has a deterrent effect); Anthony J. Sperber, Comment, *When Nondisclosure Becomes Misrepresentation: Shaping Employer Liability for Incomplete Job References*, 32 U.S.F. L. REV. 405 (1998) (giving policy reasons for recognizing the tort of negligent misrepresentation which includes negligent hiring liability and its deterrent effect).

achieve the common good, not just to generate theoretically or logically appealing doctrines. As society has moved toward a more protective stance toward children, religious institutions seem to have been singularly unresponsive to these legal developments. They have been shielded by the so-called "ministerial exception" in employment disputes brought by clergy in many jurisdictions, which seems to have led them to assume that any decision involving clergy might be immune from secular regulation.¹⁹ Reinforcing this attitude are the many exemptions they receive²⁰ and the constitutional theories that would permit churches to believe that they are beyond the reach of the law whenever the issue involves internal affairs or clergy, such as church autonomy theory and strict scrutiny of neutral, generally applicable laws under the Free Exercise Clause.²¹

This Essay focuses on one legal element in this social mix that has contributed to the morass that put so many children at needless risk—the legal academy's theoretical construction of a sphere of autonomy for religious organizations.²² In Part I.A, I will detail and critique the

¹⁹ See, e.g., *Alicen-Hernandez v. Catholic Bishop of Chi.*, 320 F.3d 698 (7th Cir. 2003) (holding that the ministerial exception precludes any inquiry into reasons behind church's ministerial employment decision); see also *Tomic v. Catholic Diocese of Peoria*, 442 F.3d 1036 (7th Cir. 2006); *Werft v. Desert Sw. Annual Conf. of United Methodist Church*, 377 F.3d 1099 (9th Cir. 2004); *Gellington v. Christian Methodist Episcopal Church, Inc.*, 203 F.3d 1299 (11th Cir. 2000); *Stafonon v. Evans*, 198 F.3d 173 (5th Cir. 1999); *Combs v. Cent. Tex. Annual Conf. of the United Methodist Church*, 173 F.3d 343 (5th Cir. 1999); *Bell v. Presbyterian Church*, 126 F.3d 328 (4th Cir. 1997); *E.E.O.C. v. Catholic Univ. of Am.*, 83 F.3d 455 (D.C. Cir. 1996); *Young v. N. Ill. Conf. of United Methodist Church*, 21 F.3d 184 (7th Cir. 1994); *Scharon v. Saint Luke's Episcopal Presbyterian Hosp.*, 929 F.2d 360 (8th Cir. 1991).

²⁰ In addition to the lesser known exemptions I document in *God vs. the Gavel*, religious organizations receive numerous exemptions, including income tax exemptions, property tax exemptions, parsonage exemptions, bankruptcy law exemptions, elective Social Security tax exemption, and even pension fund exemptions. See generally WILLIAM W. BASSETT, RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS AND THE LAW § 1:11 (updated 2005); Basil Frochman, Evan A. Showell, & Jan E. Stone, *Privileges & Exemptions Enjoyed by Nonprofit Organizations*, 28 U.S.F. L. REV. 85 (1993).

²¹ This phenomenon is still in place in states like Wisconsin, which has employed the First Amendment as a bar in clergy abuse cases. See *Pritzlaff v. Archdiocese of Milwaukee*, 533 N.W.2d 780 (Wis. 1995); *L.L.N. v. Cluder*, 563 N.W.2d 434 (Wis. 1997). But see *Mary Doe SD v. Salvation Army*, No. 4:07CV362MLM, mem. at 10-13 (E.D. Mo. Sept. 20, 2007) (holding that plaintiff's claim for negligent supervision of clergy in a sexual abuse case is not barred by the Free Exercise Clause or the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment).

²² I suppose there will be those who might argue that even though the academy might theorize, it cannot be held responsible for the real-world application of some theories. Perhaps that perspective might have some purchase in other arenas, but there is no doubt that the scholars in the law and religion arena, including myself, play a significant role in the actual application of legal theory of the Religion Clauses, in both judicial and legislative spheres. For example, Professor Laycock represented Archbishop Flores in *City of Boerne v. Flores*, 521 U.S. 507 (1997) (holding Religious Freedom Restoration Act unconstitutional), while I represented the City of Boerne. See also Douglas Laycock, *Conceptual Gaffs in City of Boerne v. Flores*, 39 WM. & MARY L. REV. 743, 774-75 (1998) (describing role in "shaping" disingenuous legislative history behind Religious Freedom Restoration Act); Douglas Laycock, *Summary and Synthesis: The Crisis in Religious Liberty*, 60 GEO. WASH. L. REV. 841, 851-56 (1992) (advocating passage

"church autonomy" theory, especially as articulated by Professor Douglas Laycock and more recently, Mark Chopko, General Counsel to the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops and Adjunct Professor of Law at Georgetown University Law Center. In Part I.B, I will turn my attention to the theory that the Free Exercise Clause mandates strict scrutiny for any law that burdens religious conduct, whether or not it is neutral or generally applicable, and how such free exercise rights can disable the tort laws that would otherwise protect children. This theory has been most enthusiastically endorsed by then-Professor Michael McConnell, Professor Laycock, and others. I conclude that the Supreme Court's current articulation of free exercise principles, which does not create such an expansive sphere of autonomy for religious entities, is the far preferable approach if the cycle of clergy abuse is ever to end.

I. MISGUIDED FIRST AMENDMENT THEORIES

One of the primary problems with so much discussion concerning the Religion Clauses in the United States is that it is too often theoretical, abstract, and unmoored from reality. I wrote *God vs. the Gavel* in order to bring to the public's attention some of the facts that are swept away or simply not known when legal academics, judges, or commentators start to theorize. The clergy abuse crisis, which cannot be avoided in any part of the country, is the Waterloo for many of these theories. No one would sanction a First Amendment theory that would permit the murder of others to occur without accountability to society. There is hardly more reason to defend a First Amendment theory that would forbid society from using the law to deter religious organizations from permitting, aiding and abetting, and furthering the childhood sexual abuse of children by their clergy, employees, and volunteers.

In order to ground the following discussion, it is worthwhile to detail at least one case of clergy abuse. One difficulty in these situations for legal academics is that the discussions of these issues occur at such an abstract level, so it is worthwhile to provide a concrete example of the type of case at the heart of this debate. This is a classic story of institutional knowledge, cover up, and the failure to protect further victims from a child predator.

Between 1973 and 1976, Fr. Siegfried Widera sexually abused four boys at St. Andrew's Parish in Delavan, Wisconsin. He had been criminally convicted of child molestation, a fact known to Fr. John Theisen, director of the Milwaukee Archdiocese's Personnel Board in

of the Religious Freedom Restoration Act of 1993 (RFRA)).

1973, and preserved in Archdiocese records. In the same year, the Archdiocese received a letter from one of Widera's former colleagues, which detailed Widera's inappropriate conduct with respect to children. The next year, the Milwaukee Archdiocese transferred Widera from Port Washington, Wisconsin to St. Andrew's without informing members of the parish of Widera's criminal conviction, probation, or the concerns expressed by those who knew him. In 1976, the Archdiocese was alerted that Widera had sexually molested another child and its notes indicate that the decision was made to keep that fact quiet in order to avoid police records. In 1976, Widera was discharged from probation, because the state had no knowledge he had violated his probation by further abusing children, and then he was transferred to California, where he molested more boys.²³

A. *The Pernicious Church Autonomy Doctrine*

The first time that I read a brief filed by the Roman Catholic Church hierarchy in a clergy abuse case alleging hierarchical cover up of egregious child abuse, I literally could not believe what I was reading. The abuse was grotesque in individual cases and en masse, and the orchestrated cover up was patently offensive. Waving the American Constitution's First Amendment seemed like the last appropriate response.

In fact, when the clergy abuse scandal first broke in Boston in 2002, the Church did not raise the First Amendment as a defense to its culpability for enabling the heinous acts of child abuse by its priests by concealing its knowledge of the sexual proclivities of some of its clergy and moving them from parish to parish once those sexual proclivities were discovered.²⁴ That seems appropriate. One's natural reaction, as

²³ For many years, Wisconsin First Amendment and statute of limitations jurisprudence barred the victim's claims. See Complaint at, ¶¶ 4-11, 18-28, 30-31, 33-34, *John Doe I v. Archdiocese of Milwaukee*, 2006 WI App 194, 722 N.W.2d 400. In an opinion that opened the door for survivors, the Wisconsin Supreme Court recently permitted allegations of fraud by clergy abuse survivors to go forward. *John Doe I v. Archdiocese of Milwaukee*, 2007 WI 95, 734 N.W.2d 827 (Wis. 2007) (affirming the dismissal of negligent supervision claims as barred by the statute of limitations, but reversing and remanding dismissal of fraud claims). Even though the case is still pending, the facts are stated as true rather than "alleged," because of the recent release of church documents involving Widera as a result of California clergy abuse litigation. See, e.g., Tom Heinen, *\$17 Million Settles 10 Abuse Cases: Archdiocese Will Sell Cousins Center; Insurance to Pay Half*, MILWAUKEE J. SENTINEL, Sept. 2, 2006, at A1; Tom Heinen, *supra* note 11, at B7; Bruce Murphy, *supra* note 12; Marie Rohde, *Records of Pedophile Priest to Become Public*, *supra* note 11, at B1; Marie Rohde, *Covering for an Abusive Priest*, *supra* note 11, at B1.

²⁴ See Thomas Farragher, *Church Cloaked in Culture of Silence*, BOSTON GLOBE, Feb. 24, 2002, at A1; Michael Rezendes, *Priest Says Church Sought to Cover Up Suit against Him*, BOSTON GLOBE, Jan. 31, 2002, at B3; Walter V. Robinson, *Scores of Priests Involved in Sex*

an American citizen, to being charged with covering up the sexual abuse of hundreds of children would not be to invoke the First Amendment. Given that the modus operandi was cover up, the first response to the public revelations had to be one of shock, but it did not take long for the Church's lawyers to start raising the First Amendment as a defense to its liability for the cover up and the harm.²⁵ The First Amendment arguments have ranged far afield, but the consistent theme has been a claim to "church autonomy," which is a term first adopted in the literature by Professor Laycock.²⁶

On its face, the term of art is absurd, because no entity in the United States' system of judgment is autonomous from the law. This is a system of "ordered liberty," first and foremost,²⁷ and the only absolute right that exists is the right to believe what one chooses.²⁸ In most

Abuse Cases, BOSTON GLOBE, Jan. 31, 2002, at A1. Complete coverage of the clergy abuse scandal by BOSTON GLOBE is available at <http://www.boston.com/globe/spotlight/abuse>.

²⁵ Walter V. Robinson, *Church Seeks Exemption in Suit*, BOSTON GLOBE, Mar. 13, 2002, at B3; Marci A. Hamilton, *Sacrificial Lauds? Child Abuse, Religious Exemptions, and the Separation of Church and State*, <http://writ.news.findlaw.com/hamilton/20020328.html> (last visited June 10, 2007).

²⁶ Douglas Laycock, *Towards a General Theory of the Religion Clauses: The Case of Church Labor Relations and the Right to Church Autonomy*, 81 COLUM. L. REV. 1373 (1981).

²⁷ It was commonplace at the time of the framing to pair liberty with the necessity of order. For example, many state constitutions had free exercise provisions with exceptions for safety, health and welfare. *City of Boerne v. Flores*, 521 U.S. 507, 539 (1997) (Scaia, J. concurring) ("Religious exercise shall be permitted so long as it does not violate general laws governing conduct. The 'provisos' in the enactments negate a license to act in a manner 'unfaithful to the Lord Proprietary' (Maryland Act Concerning Religion of 1649), or 'behave' in other than a 'peaceable and quiet' manner (Rhode Island Charter of 1663), or 'disturb the public peace' (New Hampshire Constitution), or interfere with the 'peace [and] safety of the State' (New York, Maryland, and Georgia Constitutions), or 'demean' oneself in other than a 'peaceable and orderly manner' (Northwest Ordinance of 1787)."). See also Marci A. Hamilton, *Religion, the Rule of Law, and the Good of the Whole: A View from the Clergy*, 18 J.L. & PCL. 387, 392 (2002):

The latter eighteenth century sermons reveal that religious leaders of the day did not envision a society that would permit any person to be a "law unto himself." Their vision was more collective, or at least more community-based. For believers to achieve true liberty they needed to obey the laws enacted by the duly elected legislatures, for the sake of order and the public good.

In addition, an influential religious document at the time of the framing, the Westminster Confession of 1788, rests on the same pairing of order and liberty. It forbids public officials from administering religion, requires the protection of religious liberty, and makes it

the duty of civil magistrates to protect the person and good name of all their people, in such an effectual manner as that no person be suffered, either upon pretence of religion or of infidelity, to offer any indignity, violence, abuse, or injury to any other person whatsoever; and to take order, that all religious and ecclesiastical assemblies be held without molestation or disturbance.

SYNOD OF PHILADELPHIA AND NEW YORK, PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN AMERICA, WESTMINSTER CONFSSION OF FAITH (revised and adopted May 28, 1788). For advocacy of this concept in the context of clergy sexual abuse, see Angela Carmella, *The Protection of Children and Young People: Catholic and Constitutional Visions of Responsible Freedom*, 44 B.C. L. REV. 1031 (2003).

²⁸ A Lexis search indicates that the Supreme Court has used the phrase "ordered liberty" in 116 cases in its history. See generally HAMILTON, *supra* note 5, at 207 n.17.

cases, however, its proponents have limited it to the "internal" aspects of a church. It is not at all clear what constitutional value is served by this theory of autonomy, because it is based on unstated or unexamined assumptions.

For example, Laycock's article on church autonomy presumes autonomy from the law is a positive good throughout, but he never provides a theoretical or empirical foundation that would justify the anomalous idea that churches, which, after all are run by humans, need not be deterred from bad behavior any more than other organizations. More than once, though, he seems to say that the church autonomy theory is necessary because it prevents "interfere[nce] with the very process of forming the religion as it will exist in the future."²⁹ In other words, the law should not have an impact that would alter the course of the church's future. Thus, he has posited a high degree of self-determination for religious organizations, which is intended to isolate them from legal obligations imposed on others.³⁰

The universe of Laycock's church autonomy is quite capacious: His theory "of autonomy logically extends to all aspects of church operations"³¹ and sees particularly "strong claims to autonomy with respect to employment of teachers."³² Moreover, he argues that "[t]he state has no legitimate interest sufficient to warrant protection of church members from their church with respect to discrimination, economic exploitation, or a wide range of other evils that the state tries to prevent in the secular economy."³³

Laycock has not argued, however, that religious entities deserve a right to immunity from the law in all circumstances. He divides the possibilities into internal and external affairs, with internal affairs virtually immune from the law, while issues dealing with those external to the church subject to the law. While "[a]lleged state interests in regulating internal church affairs—e.g., protection of church members

²⁹ Laycock, *supra* note 26, at 1391; see also *id.* at 1400 (arguing need for autonomy so that "the further development of the religion" is unhindered).

³⁰ Douglas Laycock, *Academic Freedom and the Free Exercise of Religion*, 66 TEX. L. REV. 1455, 1461 (1988); see also Kathleen Brady, *Religious Group Autonomy: Further Reflections About What Is At Stake*, 22 J. L. RELIGION 153 (2006); Kathleen A. Brady, *Religious Organizations and Free Exercise: The Surprising Lessons of Smith*, 2004 BYU L. REV. 1633; Mark E. Chopko, *Church Autonomy and Religious Group Liability: Continuing the Lord's Work and Healing His People: A Reply to Professors Lupu and Tuttle*, 2004 BYU L. REV. 1897 (2004); Mark E. Chopko, *Suiting Claims against Religious Institutions*, 44 B.C. L. REV. 1089 (2003); Mark E. Chopko, *Shaping the Church: Overcoming the Twin Challenges of Secularization and Scandal*, 53 CATH. U. L. REV. 125, 131 (2003); Douglas Laycock, *A Survey of Religious Liberty in the United States*, 47 OHIO ST. L.J. 409 (1986). But see Murci A. Hamilton, *A Response to Professor Brady*, 22 J. L. RELIGION (forthcoming 2007); Murci A. Hamilton, *Religious Institutions, the No-Horn Doctrine, and the Public Good*, 2004 BYU L. REV. 1099.

³¹ Laycock, *supra* note 26, at 1397.

³² *Id.* at 1411.

³³ *Id.* at 1403.

and church workers from exploitation—are usually illegitimate and should not count at all,³⁴ “[t]here is no free exercise problem in holding churches responsible to outsiders under the ordinary rules of contract, property, and tort.”³⁵

Mark Chopko, who is responsible for legal strategy for American Catholic bishops, has built on Laycock’s work, and argued for the same sort of immunity for internal actions, regardless of motivation.³⁶ He advocates a “free space for a Bishop—free of the demands of government officials, insurers, church bureaucrats, litigants, and anyone else who would force a particular decision or approach on a Bishop.”³⁷ Like Laycock, he fails to see the need for the law or society to act as a deterrent to certain actions within the organization, saying, “[r]eligious institutions have broad autonomy to order their internal affairs according to religious doctrine and should not have to recede from religiously motivated actions for fear of legislators, regulators, or courts.”³⁸ Neither Chopko nor Laycock seem to apprehend the folly of immunizing institutions and their leaders from social accountability, but that is in part, at least in Chopko’s case, because he has an overly optimistic assessment of the law relating to clergy abuse.³⁹

It is precisely this internal/external distinction that church lawyers defending against the clergy abuse claims have tried to exploit in order to avoid liability for covering up the identity of known child predators. In California, to avoid discovery requests aimed at their employment files that typically document the cover up, the hierarchy’s lawyers repeatedly resorted to “privilege,” which included many privileges such as the attorney-client privilege, the priest-penitent privilege, and the psychotherapist-patient privilege, usually to no avail.⁴⁰ They also

³⁴ *Id.* at 1374.

³⁵ *Id.* at 1406.

³⁶ Chopko, *Shaping the Church*, *supra* note 30, at 142 (“Any governmental attempt to intrude into the inner order and governance of a church by artificially classifying certain matters as non-religious is per se unconstitutional.”).

³⁷ *Id.* at 130 (“Each institution—religion and government—has autonomy appropriate to its sphere.”).

³⁸ *Id.* at 131.

³⁹ *Id.* at 152 (stating that “[t]he actions of religious superiors might have been misguided, but not criminal. . . . [T]here is no liability in the Holy See”). But for the statute of limitations, many in the hierarchy would have been subjects of criminal investigation and charges. *See, e.g.*, HEBB, *supra* note 11 (New Hampshire Attorney General filed charges which were then dismissed on statute of limitations grounds); REPORT OF THE GRAND JURY, *supra* note 9, at 1 (but for the statute of limitations Philadelphia Archdiocese officials including Cardinal Bevilacqua may well have violated criminal laws); *Doe v. Holy See*, 434 F. Supp. 2d 925 (D. Or. 2005) (permitting clergy abuse action to proceed against Holy See); *O’Byrne v. Holy See*, 471 F. Supp. 2d 784 (D. Ky. 2007) (permitting clergy abuse class action to proceed against Holy See).

⁴⁰ *Roman Catholic Archbishop of Los Angeles v. Superior Court*, 32 Cal. Rptr. 3d 209, 231, 239 (Cal. Cl. App. 2005) (rejecting clergy-penitent privilege; psychotherapist-patient privilege shields only one document out of hundreds of documents subpoenaed); *The Clergy Cases I*, No. JCCP4286 (Cal. Super. Ct. July 26, 2005) (attorney-client privilege, Fifth Amendment privilege,

asserted that there was a privilege created by the First Amendment, though not recognized before in state law, for discussions between clergy and the hierarchy. They dubbed it the "formation privilege."⁴¹ The argument is typically raised as follows:

Roman Catholic priests owe a lifelong allegiance to the bishop that incardinated them, and are expected to confide in him completely on matters, including intimate personal problems, that affect their ability to represent Christ; when they have problems, the bishop is obligated to help them overcome those problems. That relationship is essential to the practice of their Catholic faith.⁴²

Therefore, because "exercise of legitimate governmental powers may be prohibited when they have the effect of chilling or discouraging exercise of religious rights" the communications between a bishop and his priests, as memorialized in "a priest's records, both personnel and confidential" should be privileged.⁴³

As one can see from the foregoing, the reasoning of the formation privilege is built on the shaky theoretical foundation of "church autonomy." Laycock had presaged the defense twenty years earlier: "When the state interferes with the autonomy within a church, and particularly when it interferes with the allocation of authority and influence within a church, it interferes with the very process of forming the religion as it will exist in the future."⁴⁴ The hierarchy's lawyers were arguing that the internal sphere of clergy-hierarchical relations was properly immune from judicial examination. For them, the church autonomy approach meant that all of the cases should be dismissed.

or First Amendment claims did not bar discovery); *The Clergy Cases II*, No. JCCP4297 (Cal. Super. Ct. Sept. 25, 2006) (holding that First Amendment, clergy-penitent privilege, and attorney-client privilege as to seven documents sent to third parties do not bar production); *Chrissa W. v. Watchtower Bible & Tract Soc'y of N.Y., Inc.*, No. 76-22191 (Cal. Super. Ct. Oct. 16, 2006) (ruling on submitted discovery motions that clergy-penitent privilege does not apply; attorney-client and work product privileges shield only two items).

⁴¹ *Roman Catholic Archbishop of L.A.*, 23 Cal. Rptr. 3d 289 (Cal. Ct. App. 2005) (describing at length and rejecting the formation of clergy theory).

⁴² *Petition for a Writ of Certiorari, Does 1 and 2 v. Superior Court of L.A. County*, No. 05-1039, 2006 WL 368846, at *24 (Feb. 14, 2006), *cert. denied*, 547 U.S. 1071 (2006).

⁴³ *Id.* at *24-26.

⁴⁴ Laycock, *Towards a General Theory of the Religion Clauses*, *supra* note 26, at 1391. The difference with Laycock's theory is that he was arguing for the necessity of internal autonomy in order to protect the formation of the entire organization. The Catholic hierarchy has limited its arguments to the narrower sphere of the relationship between clergy and their superiors. See also Von G. Keetch & Matthew K. Richards, *The Need for Legislation to Enshrine Free Exercise in the Land Use Context*, 32 U.C. DAVIS L. REV. 725, 726-27 ("In practical effect, however, 'neutral' and 'generally applicable' regulations sustainable under *Smith* can have a devastating impact on religious liberty. Such regulations hamper the ability of adherents to both practice firmly held religious beliefs and to gather together with co-believers in a place of worship where they may learn from one another, edify each other, instruct one another, and receive important rites, sacraments, and blessings. . . . The growth of government at all levels, combined with government's tendency to over-regulate, demand additional protection for religious practice if we are to realize a full measure of religious liberty.").

Though this reasoning has not prevailed in recent clergy abuse cases,⁴⁵ it seems to have influenced the hierarchy's decisions with respect to the movement of clergy.

The clergy abuse cases have made it quite clear that a distinction between internal and external affairs is unsupportable. With respect to the general theory, the clergy abuse crisis puts the lie to the notion that the First Amendment should protect a religious organization's right to evolve at will. Everything about clergy abuse happens inside the religious organization—the victim, usually a member of the church, is acquainted with the perpetrator through his role as clergy, the reporting of the abuse to the hierarchy (or other members) occurs within the organization, as does the subsequent cover up, and all of the proof is held within the organization's employment files. Each of Laycock's markers for invoking the church autonomy thesis are present here—internal decision-making, church members, clergy, often church teachers, and issues involving employment. If church autonomy is at its strongest when everything occurs internally, then what is meant by church autonomy is immunity from tort and criminal law when the religious organization is involved in hiding criminal activity from the authorities and its own members, whose children are at risk. That cannot be squared with what is in the best interest of the larger society, children, or even the church, let alone common sense. It turns the First Amendment into a shield for the most heinous of behaviors, as it perpetuates the unacceptable behavior.

There is very strong reason to doubt the soundness of a doctrine that would protect churches from legal liability based on their need for self-determination. While their right to determination of their religious belief and orthodoxy cannot be dictated by the courts,⁴⁶ their ability to engage in conduct that harms others cannot be so unencumbered by legal obligation.⁴⁷ There are plenty of behaviors that churches (as well as every other organization) should be deterred from pursuing, even if it were the natural product of the organization's most dearly held beliefs. Society should not have to pretend that religious organizations do not engage in socially dangerous behaviors, and, therefore, suffer the harmful consequences of their unchecked behaviors. Laycock concedes

⁴⁵ See *supra* notes 41-42; see also *Melanie H. v. Doe*, Civ. No. 04 CV 1596 WQH-(WMe) (S.D. Cal. Dec. 21, 2005) (one year window reviving otherwise time-barred claims relating to sexual abuse does not violate First Amendment protections for religion); *In re the Roman Catholic Bishop of San Diego*, No. 07cv1355-JEG(RBB) at 3-4 (S.D. Cal. Aug. 20, 2007) (denying Debtor's challenge to the constitutionality of California's window statute under the due process, *ex post facto*, and bill of attainder clauses of the U.S. Constitution).

⁴⁶ See HAMILTON, *supra* note 5, 240-43; see also *Serbim E. Orthodox Diocese v. Milivojevich*, 426 U.S. 696 (1976); *Kedroff v. St. Nicholas Cathedral of Russian Orthodox Church in N. Am.*, 344 U.S. 94 (1952); *Watson v. Jones*, 80 U.S. 679 (1872).

⁴⁷ See generally HAMILTON, *supra* note 5, at chs. 1-7.

contract law, property law, and tort law in disputes involving outsiders (and, apparently, when the issues do not affect internal aspects of the organization) are properly applicable to religious organizations, but I did not find an instance where he does the same for criminal law, or employment law. He admits two exceptions to autonomy when the issue is internal, to cases involving young children or bodily harm.⁴⁸ That would leave out the many clergy abuse cases involving adolescents and presumably sexual touching that does not result in bodily harm.⁴⁹ It would appear that his theory leaves tremendous room for religious organizations to harm children without accountability.

The clergy abuse cases bring to the fore the inherent weaknesses of an autonomy theory for religious organizations. There is no necessary good in the development of a religious organization when that organization is orchestrating a worldwide system of covering up the abuse of children by its clergy. The myth of autonomy led these institutions to believe that they had a right to handle repeated crimes in private and to place their public image above the interests of vulnerable children. The results of such a world view—the permanent emotional disability of thousands of children and, therefore, their families as well—are anathema to any rational moral or democratic system. The legal system failed to deter them, and thereby contributed to the exponential increase in child abuse within these institutions.

B. *The Free Rein, Free Exercise Clause*

There has been sharp debate regarding the level of scrutiny to be applied under the Free Exercise Clause, when the law at issue is neutral and generally applicable. As I explain in *God vs. the Gavel: Religion and the Rule of Law*, the dominant approach at the Supreme Court has been to apply such laws to religious entities.⁵⁰ This approach culminated in 1990 with the Supreme Court's affirmation of the dominant approach, in *Employment Division v. Smith*.⁵¹ Legal scholars at the time like now-Judge Michael McConnell and Professor Laycock, among others, strongly resisted, to state it mildly, the Court's embrace of low-level scrutiny for neutral laws of general applicability.⁵² They

⁴⁸ Laycock, *supra* note 26, at 1406.

⁴⁹ On this reading, Laycock's theory is not far from that of Professors Lupu and Tuttle, who would permit religious organizations to negligently fail to protect children. See Marci A. Hamilton, *Religious Institutions, the No-Harm Doctrine, and the Public Good*, *supra* note 30, at 1171-73 (citing Ira C. Lupu & Robert W. Tuttle, *Sexual Misconduct and Ecclesiastical Immunity*, 2004 BYU L. REV. 1789, 1845-73).

⁵⁰ HAMILTON, *supra* note 5, at 205-14.

⁵¹ 494 U.S. 872 (1990).

⁵² Douglas Laycock, *The Crisis in Religious Liberty*, 60 GEO. WASH. L. REV. 841, 848 (1992).

passionately advocated strict scrutiny across all laws, including when the issue is the liability of a religious organization.⁵³ Laycock, in fact, places his church autonomy theory in the Free Exercise Clause, which, on his terms, “forbids government interference with church operations unless there is, to use the conventional phrase, a compelling governmental interest to justify the interference. Identifying those governmental interests that are sufficient is a complex task that requires further exploration.”⁵⁴ Suffice it to say that the category of societal or governmental interests that trump the religious organization’s needs is quite small, on their reasoning, because “[a] church’s legitimate interest in autonomy has few natural limits,” so that the analysis should be “tilted in favor of the constitutional right,”⁵⁵ which really means tilted in favor of the religious organization since there is no constitutional right to autonomy in the sense that he would posit.

Thus, strict scrutiny under the Free Exercise Clause sends the same message as “autonomy”—religious organizations need not be concerned with the vast majority of secular law. They have free rein to operate without reference to just about any outside interest. Laycock has pushed this notion as a matter of “deregulating” religious practices,⁵⁶ as has Michael McConnell.⁵⁷ Under their thinking, this is a matter of

(referring to *Smith* as “the near total loss of any substantive constitutional right to practice religion” and talking about “our despair over the loss of protection for religious exercise”).

⁵³ They have not been terribly concerned whether strict scrutiny is obtained through the courts or the legislatures. Having lost the battle at the Supreme Court, they turned to the legislatures to institute strict scrutiny through the Religious Freedom Restoration Act of 1993 (RFRA), 42 U.S.C. § 2000bb (2000), the Religious Land Use and Institutionalized Persons Act of 2000 (RLUIPA), 42 U.S.C.A. § 2000cc (2007), and thirteen state religious liberty statutes. See ALA. CONST. art. I, § 3.01; ARIZ. REV. STAT. ANN. § 41-1493.01 (2006); CONN. GEN. STAT. § 52-571b (2006); FLA. STAT. § 761.03 (2006); IDAHO CODE ANN. § 73-402 (2006); 775 ILL. COMP. STAT. 35/1 (2007); MO. REV. STAT. § 1.302 (2007); N.M. STAT. § 28-22-3 (2007); OKLA. STAT. tit. 51 § 258 (2006); 71 PA. CONST. STAT. § 2401 (2006); R.I. GEN. LAWS § 42-80.1-3 (2007); S.C. CODE ANN. § 1-32-40 (2006); TEX. CIV. PRAC. & REM. CODE ANN. § 110.001 (2006). RFRA only applies to the federal government, because it has been held unconstitutional as applied to the states, *City of Boerne v. Flores*, 521 U.S. 507 (1997), and RLUIPA applies solely to land use and government institutionalization, e.g., prisons and hospitals. The thirteen state religious liberty statutes have a wide range of exceptions for particular areas of the law, depending on the state.

⁵⁴ Laycock, *supra* note 26, at 1392; see also Michael McConnell, *The Origins and Historical Understanding of the Free Exercise of Religion*, 103 HARV. L. REV. 1409, 1414-15 (1990) (arguing in favor of mandatory judicial exemptions); Chopko, *Shaping the Church*, *supra* note 30, at 134.

⁵⁵ Laycock, *supra* note 26, at 1402.

⁵⁶ Douglas Laycock, *Theology Scholarships, The Pledge of Allegiance, and Religious Liberty: Avoiding the Extremes but Missing the Liberty*, 118 HARV. L. REV. 155, 200 (2004). Laycock has also used the term “nonmolestation” of religion. Laycock, *supra* note 52, at 846 (citing Michael W. McConnell, *Accommodation of Religion: An Update and a Response to the Critic*, 60 GEO. WASH. L. REV. 685, 688-95 (1992)).

⁵⁷ Michael W. McConnell, *Institutions and Interpretation: A Critique of City of Boerne v. Flores*, 111 HARV. L. REV. 153, 157-60 (1997). McConnell suggests that the “natural tendency of regulatory regimes is to make no exceptions for private concerns and to overinflate the

"simply" not regulating religious institutions, as though the absence of regulation is a pure and natural state (which goes without saying, they assume is beneficial for society). Moreover, the religious entities' free rein becomes entrenched so that it is gradually transformed into an entitlement.⁵⁸ In other words, application of the law to a religious entity becomes constitutionally and morally offensive, not just a "burden," which is the actual language of the doctrine. That point is particularly troublesome when religious institutions take these messages to mean that covering up child abuse is within a constitutionally protected sphere. When the Los Angeles District Attorney subpoenaed the Los Angeles Archdiocese for the personnel records of two former priests in a criminal child molestation investigation, the Archdiocese refused to comply.⁵⁹ Cardinal Roger Mahony's argument in court was that the subpoena constituted "an unconstitutional intrusion on private church affairs" and even though the request was only for 21 pages of documents, that the subpoena "inherently entangles the state in the internal religious life of churches and intrudes into religious practice."⁶⁰ The Cardinal's argument did not persuade the Superior Court of California, which ruled that the Archdiocese would have to turn over the documents; after the Court of Appeal affirmed, both the California Supreme Court and the United States Supreme Court declined to review the ruling.⁶¹

The strict scrutiny that has been advocated under the Free Exercise Clause would only recognize compelling interests that involve, for example, health and safety, and would impose a "least restrictive means" analysis that requires the courts to shape the law to accommodate the religious entity to the "maximum" extent possible.⁶² Thus, the argument is made that negligence torts should not be applied to religious entities, because the lesser restrictive alternative is an intentional tort.⁶³ The result, if this view were to prevail, which it has

importance of their own objectives—even when those private concerns are rooted in constitutional rights and accommodation could be made at reasonably low cost to public purposes," *Id.* at 157, and that "governmental action at every level, of every description, and regardless of subject matter, can intrude deeply into the freedom of Americans to practice their religion in accordance with the dictates of conscience." *Id.* at 160. While these extremely broad assertions carry some truth, they fail to take account of the harm that religious conduct can cause and inescapably lead to the conclusion that conduct based on religious belief, no matter how harmful, cannot be regulated by secular law.

⁵⁸ See generally Marc A. Hamilton, *Free? Exercise*, 42 WM. & MARY L. REV. 823 (2001).

⁵⁹ Randal C. Archibald, *Archdiocese Loses Case to Keep Former Priests' Records Secret*, N.Y. TIMES, Apr. 18, 2006, at A24.

⁶⁰ *Id.*

⁶¹ *Id.*

⁶² Laycock, *supra* note 52, at 854; Douglas Laycock, *Formal, Substantive, and Disaggregated Neutrality toward Religion*, 39 DEPAUL L. REV. 993, 1018 (1990).

⁶³ This is essentially Lupu and Tuttle's suggestion in their article on church autonomy. See Lupu and Tuttle, *supra* note 49.

not, is that the religious institutions would be protected at tremendous cost to society, which remains uninformed regarding the identity of many child predators.

Chopko has applied this reasoning to the clergy abuse context, in a way that severely limits the ability of victims of the Church's cover up to obtain relief. First, Chopko suggests that theories of respondeat superior bar an action against a religious employer, because the criminal act of the perpetrator could not have been within the scope of employment.⁶⁴ He correctly notes that this is the view of a majority of jurisdictions, with an exception for the Oregon courts.⁶⁵ The problem with this reasoning is that it fails to take into account the role of the religious organization in the placement of a known child predator in an employment position with access to children. Child abuse may not be one of the employment obligations of the clergy employee, but at least one state has taken a more expansive approach to scope of employment.

In *Fearing v. Bucher*, the Oregon Supreme Court was asked to determine whether or not a priest's acts in connection with his sexual abuse of a child were within the scope of his employment with the Archdiocese of Portland.⁶⁶ The court stated that the priest's "alleged sexual assaults on plaintiff clearly were outside the scope of his employment, *but our inquiry does not end there*. The Archdiocese still could be found vicariously liable, if acts that were within [the priest's] scope of employment resulted in the acts which led to injury to plaintiff."⁶⁷ In other words, the employer could be liable if the perpetrator used his position with the employer in order to achieve his criminal goals, and the employer knew that such actions could result from placing the perpetrator in that position. The complaint in *Fearing* included allegations that the priest used his position to access the child and gain the child and his family's trust, and that these grooming activities were done in connection with the priest's employment. The court concluded that allegations outside of the sexual abuse allegations were sufficient for "establishing that employee conduct was within the scope of employment."⁶⁸ The Oregon court's reasoning rejects the notion that the employer should not have any vicarious liability in a situation where the position of employment sets the stage for the child abuse. It is akin to the "ratification" theory adopted elsewhere.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ Chopko, *Setting Claims Against Religious Institutions*, *supra* note 30, at 1113-14.

⁶⁵ *Id.*

⁶⁶ 977 P.2d 1163, 1164 (Or. 1999).

⁶⁷ *Id.* at 1166 (internal quotations omitted) (emphasis added).

⁶⁸ *Id.* at 1167.

⁶⁹ See, e.g., *Jameson v. Gavett*, 71 P.2d 937 (Cal. Dist. Ct. App. 1937); *Fretland v. County of Humboldt*, 82 Cal. Rptr. 2d 359 (Cal. Ct. App. 1999); *Herrick v. Quality Hotels, Inns & Resorts*, 24 Cal. Rptr. 2d 209 (Cal. Ct. App. 1993); *Rita M. v. Roman Catholic Archbishop*, 323 Cal. Rptr. 685 (Cal. Ct. App. 1986); *Coats v. Construction & Gen. Laborers Local No. 185*, 93 Cal. Rptr.

The better fit, admittedly, are claims based on negligence. The cases where abuse was known and then concealed feature negligent hiring, retention, and supervision. Chopko rejects negligent hiring and retention because he posits that courts in such cases are required to delve into religious questions. He is making the argument that the interpretation of terms like "appropriate investigation" or "unsuitability" are terms that cannot be applied by courts to religious entities "without probing deeply into basic religious questions for a faith community."⁷⁰ While these arguments might have some traction outside the universe of child abuse, it is difficult to see why a court cannot make a determination regarding an appropriate investigation involving child abuse or unsuitability of clergy to be near children without reference to religious doctrine.⁷¹ Chopko's problem is that he has turned autonomy into a justification for looking at all legal problems through the lens of the religious organization. In these cases, though, the central issue always involves children, and it is both logical and sensible to pose the legal question as whether the person being considered or retained is appropriate for a job involving access to children, period. The secular courts need not look at the church's beliefs in order to take evidence of the organization's actions solely relating to children, just as it need not investigate beliefs when it weighs evidence involving a bounced check or a breach of contract. The church, of course, can also place religious restrictions on candidates and use religious principles in choosing any particular person for ministry. The question here is not qualifications for ministry *per se*, but rather employment for a position relating to children. Analogously, a Catholic hospital that employed a doctor who later turned out to have faked her credentials could not argue that its belief in reconciliation and forgiveness justify keeping the individual on as a doctor. Identifiable, neutral criteria must be satisfied for someone to be a doctor just as neutral criteria can be identified with respect to the choice of any employee—inside or outside of a religious organization—who will work near children.

If the institution chooses to place this person near children, it must act in ways that do not negligently put children at risk. Does this secularize the institution? No, it just makes it less dangerous to others.

639 (Cal. Ct. App. 1971).

⁷⁰ Chopko, *Stating Claims against Religious Institutions*, *supra* note 30, at 1115.

⁷¹ This is why an increasing majority of states are moving in the direction of applying neutral tort law principles in clergy abuse cases. See, e.g., *Malicki v. Doe*, 814 So. 2d 347, 351 (Fla. 2002) (joining "the majority of both state and federal jurisdictions that have found no First Amendment bar" to civil litigation in clergy abuse cases, including: Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Texas, Washington, Second Circuit, Fifth Circuit, Eighth Circuit, District of Rhode Island, Northern District of Iowa, Northern District of Texas, District of Connecticut, and the Eastern District of Michigan); *Mary Doe SD v. Salvation Army*, No. 4:07CV362MLM, mem. at 10 (E.D. Mo. Sept. 26, 2007) (stating that "religious entities remain subject to generally applicable, neutral employment law.").

This interest is undoubtedly compelling, but the compelling interest test is wrongheaded in the first place as it gives religious organizations hope that they need not take into account the needs of children as they make placement decisions involving clergy.

Chopko rightly concedes that it is more difficult to shield religious entities from negligent supervision claims, but he still pursues the path of arguing that churches should be able to avoid such claims. He says that "if the plaintiff's claims depend on a court reviewing internal policies and protocols, scrutinizing a religious chain of discipline, and assessing culpability because the religious entity emphasized reconciliation and not punishment, the 'very process of inquiry' may lead to an unconstitutional exercise."⁷² Once again, if the arena were other than the welfare of children, he might have some small point, but when the question is the safety of children, it is very hard to argue against the notion that the general social norms that dictate certain minimum actions to protect children from harm must be followed by all organizations, religious or not. Whether or not the religious organization believes in reconciliation for its errant clergy is simply irrelevant to whether it acted negligently in persisting in employing a particular member of the clergy in a position that has access to children.

Chopko's real objection, though, appears to be the possibility that the law might alter the church; he would define the harm done to a church as follows: "The imposition of such a secular duty carries a risk of subtly altering the church's internal structure."⁷³ Like Laycock's discussion of "autonomy," he assumes that alteration in a church's internal affairs is necessarily problematic. Yet, when the issue is the systematic cover up of clergy abuse, it is hard to believe anyone would argue in favor of preserving present practices, though when one inhabits the universe of "church autonomy" and strict scrutiny, there are many arguments that take one down the path that bypasses common sense.

While Laycock has not weighed in specifically on clergy abuse issues, he has advocated "maximum religious liberty" as the goal of the Religion Clauses.⁷⁴ He sees it as an obvious social good. For Laycock, as for Chopko, his theories sound relatively sound, until they are tested by the realities of how religious organizations operate in the real world. As I document in *God vs. the Gavel*, the reality is that religious institutions have a significant potential for harm to others. If one knows and accepts the facts about religious entities, rather than operating from either an abstract or romantic assessment of religion, it is hard to justify the notion that the Religion Clauses exist to prevent the law from

⁷² Chopko, *Stating Claims against Religious Institutions*, *supra* note 31, at 1117.

⁷³ *Id.* at 1118.

⁷⁴ Laycock, *Formal, Substantive, and Disaggregated Neutrality toward Religion*, *supra* note 62, at 1018.

effecting change in religious organizations. If religious organizations that are harboring child predators are not forced to change, the result is obvious and wholly unacceptable.

CONCLUSION

General Counsel to the United States Bishops, Mark Chopko, would shield the Catholic Church from too much judicial interference as a result of the clergy abuse cases, because he would hate to see the Church remade "in dangerous ways."⁷⁵ One can only marvel at statements like this. What could be more dangerous than the Church's continuing history of covering up the sexual abuse of children? It has not ended. In 2007, Cardinal Francis George of the Chicago Archdiocese is desperately trying to explain away the fact he failed to report Father Daniel McCormack to the authorities, and, therefore, a boy was recently abused. When McCormack pled guilty to sexual assault, the Archdiocese issued a statement that McCormack's crimes were not really that bad—after all, he had pled guilty to sexual assault, not rape.⁷⁶

It is hard to find a crime or social harm that is more heinous than childhood sexual abuse, other than, say, murder. The reality is that if the law does not push churches to be accountable for the child abuse within their organizations, there will be more child abuse. Nor has the theory of autonomy within the internal dynamics of a church yielded positive results. There is no evidence that leaving religious entities to their own devices results in a safer world for the children in their care.

⁷⁵ Chopko, *Shaping the Church*, *supra* note 30 at 148-49.

⁷⁶ See, e.g., Sue Ontiveros, *Mishandling of McCormack Case Shakes Faith*, CHIC. SUN TIMES, July 7, 2007, available at http://www.suntimes.com/news/ontiveros/459256_07_ontiveros.article; Letters to the Editor, *Betrayed Again by the Church: Three Takes on Father Daniel McCormack's Punishment*, CHIC. SUN TIMES, July 4, 2007, available at http://www.suntimes.com/news/commentary/letters/455414_CST-NWS-lightning04.article; Charles Sheehan et al., *George: 'I Take Responsibility': Monitoring of Priests to Change Now, He Says*, CHL. TRIB., Feb. 3, 2006, at 1 (noting that soon after Reverend Daniel McCormack of St. Agatha's Church in Chicago appeared in court to face charges of abusing a third boy since the first accusation of abuse surfaced in August 2005, Cardinal Francis George said that "he would immediately reform the monitoring program that should have kept the priest away from children"); Jay Wenver, *Ex-priest Doherty Implicated in Another Sex-abuse Suit*, MIAMI HERALD, Jan. 3, 2007, available at <http://www.miami.com/mld/miamiherald/16374514.htm> (reporting another child molestation suit filed against Reverend Neil Doherty of St. Vincent Catholic Church of the Archdiocese of Miami); Jim Doyle, *Bishop Avoids Charge in Failure to Swiftly Report Abuse Claims: Counseling Instead of Misdemeanor for Delay in Notification*, S.F. CHRON., Nov. 21, 2006, at B2 (reporting that Bishop Daniel Walsh will enter a "pre-filing diversion" program in order to avoid being charged with violating a state mandatory sexual abuse reporting law when he failed to report serial child abuse by Rev. Francisco Ochoa-Perez, who is believed to have fled to Mexico); Editorial, *Notes on a Scandal: NH Clergy Abuse Five Years on*, UNION LEADER, Feb. 15, 2007, at A16.

Indeed, there is contrary evidence. None of the reforms embraced to date by the Catholic Church were taken as a result of autonomous actions. Rather, they were triggered by scandal and litigation, and there is good question how effective they have been, as evidence of further abuse and cover up continues to appear.

The Supreme Court has reached the correct balance—absolute protection of belief, but “[its] cases do not at their farthest reach support the proposition that a stance of conscientious opposition relieves an objector from any colliding duty fixed by a democratic government.”⁷⁷ Unless the issue is belief, “autonomy” is the wrong metaphor; it is too close to the licentiousness the framing generation feared,⁷⁸ and the Supreme Court has been right all along—ordered liberty is what the Constitution rightly demands. As I argue throughout *God vs. the Gavel: Religion and the Rule of Law*, the facts about religious conduct establish that autonomy is a mistake for which the vulnerable pay the price—nowhere is that as true as it is in the clergy abuse context.

⁷⁷ *Employment Div. v. Smith*, 494 U.S. 872, 882 (1990) (quoting *Gillette v. United States*, 401 U.S. 437, 461 (1971)).

⁷⁸ See generally Marcel A. Hamilton, *Religious Institutions, the No-Harm Doctrine, and the Public Good*, *supra* note 30, at 1156; Steven J. Heyman, *Righting the Balance: An Inquiry Into the Foundations and Limits of Freedom of Expression*, 78 B.U. L. REV. 1275, 1292 (1998); Henry Paul Monaghan, *If's the Peoples, Original Understanding, and Constitutional Amendment*, 96 COLUM. L. REV. 121, 142 (1996).

EXHIBIT 'D'

Affidavit of Christoff Joseph Springer

Before me, the undersigned authority, on this day appeared Christoff "Chris" Joseph Springer of St. Tammany Parish, Louisiana, known to me to be a credible person, who, after having been by me duly sworn, upon his oath deposes and says:

My name from birth is Christoff Joseph Springer. I was born in New Orleans, La to George Springer and Pauline Parker Springer on November 7, 1925. I am 83 years old.

In 1952, I was ordained as a Redemptorist priest in Wisconsin (Oconomowoc). As a seminarian at St. Joseph College in Kirkwood, Missouri, I was

noted by the Latin teacher, Father John O'Connell. When Father O'Connell started noting me I was 12 or 13 years old and in my first year of high school in 1940. At the end of my second year of high school, I spoke with my confessor about what

Father O'Connell had been doing to me since my first year of high school. After my confession, no one at the school did anything to stop Father O'Connell

and Father O'Connell continued to molest me until Father O'Connell was moved to the parish of St. Alphonsus in New Orleans.

My leave of absence from the Redemptionists came about because there was a meeting with my vicar provincial, Alphonsus G. Abadie, and the Consul, Fathers Joseph Elworthy and Gerald Siebold. At the meeting, I was concerned about their recommendation for me to go to a doctor. Father Abadie gave me no reason for why they wanted me to see a doctor, but I opted to take a leave of absence from the Redemptionists.

I called the Bishop of Baton Rouge and spoke with Bishop Tracy by telephone about taking me into the Diocese and he accepted me. I got my dispensation from the Redemptionists within the Redemptionists telling the Bishop that I had needed help and that the Redemptionists had made arrangements for me to see a doctor and that I had decided not to go through with the appointment.

At the end of 1984, Bishop Ott called me in for a meeting and spoke about a priest in Lafayette - Bishop Ott wanted me to go to the Diocese of Affirmation in Oceanate, Ft. The Diocese was going to cover all of the expenses for the Diocese of Affirmation. Bishop Ott stressed that I could get help. Bishop Ott never spoke directly

about the problem with children, but I understood the reference about the priest in Lafayette and what Bishop Pitt was telling me about going to the phase of affirmation. I assumed at the time that Bishop Pitt knew that I was sexually abusing boys. I am giving this statement because I want the priests to be made known about the Redemptorists Fathers and the Diocese of Baton Rouge. I do not need legal counsel because I am telling the truth and I want my conscience to be clear.

My Commission Expires: _____
(Printed)

Notary Public in and for St. Tammany Parish, Louisiana
Jane L. Triola

JANE L. TRIOLA
NOTARY PUBLIC #11831
Parish of St. Tammany, State of Louisiana
My Commission is Issued For Life

On this day personally appeared Christopher "Chris" Joseph Springer, known to me to be the person whose name is subscribed to the foregoing Affidavit, and acknowledged to me that such Affidavit was his act and deed and that he executed the same for the purposes and consideration therein expressed.
Given under my hand and seal of office this the 13 day of March, A.D., 2009.

§ THE STATE OF LOUISIANA
§
§ PARISH OF ST. TAMMANY
§

Notary Public in and for St. Tammany Parish, Louisiana

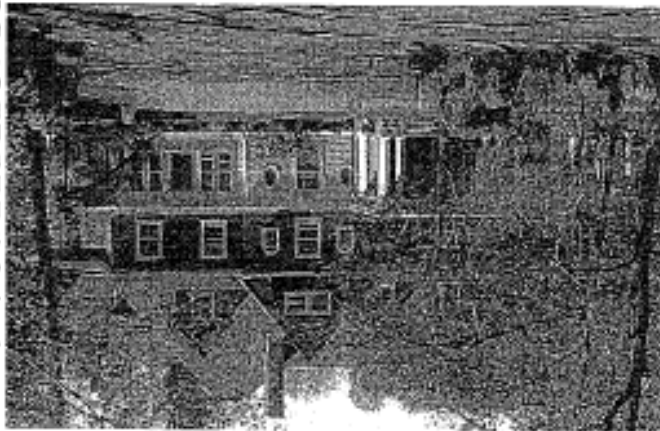
SWORN TO AND SUBSCRIBED BEFORE ME, the undersigned authority, by the said Christopher "Chris" Joseph Springer, Affiant, on this, the _____ day of ~~December~~ March, 2008, to certify which witness my hand and seal of office.

Chris Joseph Springer
Christopher "Chris" Joseph Springer

Chris
Chris

House of Affirmation

The House of Affirmation was a treatment center for priests with psychological and psychosexual problems, founded by Worcester priest Rev. Thomas A. Kane. The House was in operation from 1973 to 1980, when it was closed after Kane was accused of financial improprieties. Kane was subsequently accused of sexual abuse, and allegations of sexual abuse at the Whitinsville MA facility then came to light. There were other House of Affirmation facilities in Hopkdale, Boston, and Natick MA, Middletown CT, Montara CA, Webster Groves MO, and Clearwater FL. In addition, the House of Affirmation was personally and legally connected to senior officials of the Rockville Centre NY diocese. On this page, we provide links to articles about the House and documentation on some of the accused priests who were evaluated and treated there.



PROMOTIONAL MATERIALS, RESOURCES, AND ANALYSIS

- House of Affirmation: International Therapeutic Center for Clergy and Religious: Give Me Your Hand... by Rev. Thomas A. Kane, promotional brochure (9/73)
- The House of Affirmation, by Rev. Thomas A. Kane, Brothers Newsletter, vol. 17, no. 4 (1978)
- The House of Affirmation, on WorcesterVoice.com.

removed.

They know. They have always known. What is blatantly obvious is that they just don't care. As they say, "What would Jesus do?"

And then, in January, 1996, in the Worcester Telegram by Gary Murray, Telegram & Gazette Staff:

A jury yesterday rejected claims that retired Bishop Timothy J. Harrington and the Worcester Diocese were negligent in supervising a Catholic priest who four years ago took semi-nude photographs of a 10-year-old Barre boy. The Worcester Superior Court jury did agree with a claim filed on behalf of the boy, now 14, that the Rev. Donald D. Provost's negligence was a substantial contributing factor to the boy's emotional distress. However, the 14-member jury did not find that the boy suffered any objective physical manifestations of his emotional distress.

"I have felt from the beginning that the case was an unjust accusation against the diocese and certainly against Bishop Harrington, who just celebrated his 50th year as a priest," Worcester lawyer James G. Reardon said, "and it gives us all a great deal of comfort to see that a jury can sift through the issues and discern the type of testimony that was offered against the diocese and the bishop and return such a fair and just verdict."

The claim against Harrington and the diocese in the civil lawsuit was that the retired bishop and other diocesan officials knew or should have known that Provost had a propensity for such behavior and failed to take appropriate action.

In testimony, Provost and Harrington offered conflicting accounts of a 1980 meeting between the two after another priest expressed concern about photographs of young boys that Provost had in his room at Our Lady of Mount Carmel Church in Worcester.

Provost testified that Harrington, then Auxiliary Bishop and vicar for priests, questioned him about taking nude pictures of boys and sent him to the House of Affirmation, an (alleged) treatment center for clergy.

September 26, 1987

Counseling program for Catholic clergy faces uncertain future

JEANNE PUGH, St. Petersburg Times,

RELIGION

CLEARWATER - The House of Affirmation was established in Clearwater three and a half years ago to provide psychological counseling for Catholic priests, nuns and religious brothers suffering from problems related to stress, burnout, depression and other emotional maladies.

Today the private, non-profit facility is foundering in a sea of problems that are not of its own making but the result of a scandal that has rocked the foundations of the entire chain of Massachusetts-based counseling centers known collectively as the House of Affirmation.

Spokesmen for the bishop's office in Worcester, Mass., acknowledged this week that an investigation has been under way for nearly a year into charges that the Rev. Thomas A. Kane, a Catholic priest and co-founder of the chain, used House of Affirmation finances to support personal real estate investments in Massachusetts, Maine and Florida, paid salaries from House of Affirmation funds to persons employed in his personal business enterprises and misrepresented his academic credentials. They said that suggestions that the other co-founder, Sister Anna Polino, was wholly involved in the deceptions appear to be unfounded. But both Father Kane, 46, and Sister Polino, in her mid-60s, are said to be the subjects of scrutiny by the Massachusetts state attorney general's office as a result of a 10-page complaint filed by 11 former professional associates of the House of Affirmation - individuals who acted as directors, administrators or counselors at the organization's various residential and outpatient centers in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Missouri, California and Florida. Among their allegations is that Kane did not earn a doctorate in psychology from the University of Birmingham, England, as he has claimed.

The repercussions have shaken the office of Bishop Timothy J. Harrington of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Worcester, who has been a member of the House of Affirmation board of directors since its founding in the early 1970s. He became president of the organization late last year after Kane was

dismissed from his post and Sister Polcino went into retirement as "chairman emeritus,"

The Worcester diocese's interests in the organization go much deeper than those of other dioceses in which its centers are located. According to Sister Polcino, contacted by telephone at her present home in Seaside, N.J., the Worcester diocese subsidized the original counseling center in Worcester and helped to establish the first residential center in nearby Whitinsville.

Centers established later in other parts of the country have been independently financed, both by donations and by fees paid by dioceses and religious orders to cover the costs of psychotherapy for dergy and religious referred for care.

The Clearwater facility, Sister Polcino said, was established after a group of lay people who had heard the work of the House of Affirmation petitioned Bishop W. Thomas Larkin of the Diocese of St. Petersburg to invite the organization to bring its services to the area. The organization, although endorsed by the diocese for its professional services, remained a private corporation with no direct financial ties to the diocese.

A message seeking comment from Kather Kane was left on his answering machine in Boston, but he did not return the call.

Sandy Tobin of Clearwater, who worked as the development director for the local facility for nearly two years, said this week that about \$600,000 in cash and pledges was raised from local congregations, individuals and businesses during her tenure.

The Clearwater facility originally was located in the former rectory of St. Catherine of Siena Roman Catholic Church on 5 Belcher Road. It later moved to its present quarters, a complex of three adjoining buildings including a 16-unit apartment building near the corner of Pierce and Park streets.

The complex, once filled to capacity with resident clients and a constant flow of outpatients, is now nearly empty. The Rev. Gerald Fath, the priest and clinical psychologist who had served as director since 1984, resigned in June and is now living in Washington, D.C., where he is supervising a course in death and dying for seminarians under the auspices of Catholic University and taking courses in theology. The skeleton staff at the center - the Rev. John Walsh, psychologist Jane Bueck and a secretary - are serving only a small number of outpatients. The local advisory board and board of directors, all volunteers, have disbanded.

The enterprise has suffered similarly across the country. Centers in Montara, Calif., Middletown, Conn., and Natick, Mass., have been closed. Facilities in Whitinsville and Hopdale, Mass., and Webster Groves, Mo., are operating with reduced staff and clients. Staff members and directors, some of whom say they were fired without cause and without severance pay, are threatening to sue - although some have reached settlements with a new team of management consultants hired by Bishop Harrington and the reorganized board of directors.

Mrs. Tobin said she took a medical leave of absence from her job as development director for the Clearwater center about a year ago, before the revelations of mismanagement caused by what she thought acknowledged, however, that her departure was related in part to distress caused by what she thought was a careless attitude toward finances on the part of the national office.

"If I had had any inkling that there were real improprieties - rather than just carelessness - I would have left before I did," she said. "But I did not learn until later that I was not the only one raising questions."

In recent weeks, Bishop Harrington has been fielding charges that the new board of directors is "foot-dragging" on its promise to make public a full report on the House of Affirmation's financial condition and the charges against Father Kane. But Samuel R. De Simone, a Worcester lawyer hired last May by the board, said this week that he expects to "have something ready by mid-October."

De Simone attributed the long delay to the complexity of the House of Affirmation organization and the fluid nature of events still transpiring in the wake of the departures of Father Kane and Sister Polcino.

"Many of the things that we were concerned about in the beginning are being resolved," he said. "Some of the people who had resigned have come back to us and are working again. We have worked out severance agreements with some who were fired, and we have a couple more pending."

As for what happened to money donated to the organization and apparently not accounted for, De Simone said he could not comment "at this point in time" on where the money went. But he added that

The House of Affirmation, as a private corporation, is solvent and that any funds found to be missing are expected to be recovered. "If we cannot recover what I think is due, civil action will be brought," he said.

De Simone noted that there is no indication of any impropriety in the operation of the Clearwater facility.

In fact, Edward D. Geary, an officer of the management company hired to take over operation of the organization last April, said he hopes that the Clearwater facility can be either revitalized as a resident center or become the nucleus for a group of outpatient centers throughout the state of Florida.

Geary said that he and his business associate, Thomas F. Siegel Jr., plan to accompany Bishop Harrington to a meeting in West Palm Beach next week where they will present such a proposal to the Catholic Bishops of Florida.

Meanwhile, people who are familiar with the Clearwater center's work seem to be in a state of mourning.

"The tragedy of all this," said Mrs. Tobin, "is that their work was excellent. So many people were helped. I saw priests and nuns come into the place with bodies physically bent over from stress - and then I saw them a few months later, walking upright, smiling and happy."

Jim David of Clearwater, who served on the local board of directors, echoed her feelings. "It was really a loss when the facility closed because it filled such a need," he said. "There's been a hurt in this for all of us. I hope that they can reorganize and keep it open."

But Father Fath, who headed the local center from its start, says he does not think he wants to return. "I was very sorry to have to leave because it was such a valuable ministry," he said in a telephone call to Washington, D.C. this week. "And I would like to go back to working in psychotherapy but not with the House of Affirmation."

The hurt, he said, has been too deep. "But I wouldn't want anyone to think that I am undervaluing the work we did there," he hastily explained. "We did a tremendous amount of good work for the priests, brothers and sisters who came to us. The only problem is that it all seems to be overshadowed by this mess."

BLACK AND WHITE PHOTO, Robin Dolina, (2); BLACK AND WHITE PHOTO, House of Affirmation: 1987, (2); Caption: Entrance of the House of Affirmation in Clearwater; The Rev. Gerald Fath

October 4, 1989

House of Affirmation to close // Future of outpatient mental health programs not decided

Jewel Bradstreet; Staff Reporter, Telegram & Gazette Worcester, MA

The House of Affirmation, a Hopkedge-based, non-profit corporation that provides mental health care to the deaf, will be closing gradually during the next year, according to the agency's lawyer, Samuel R. Desimone.

Desimone said that last week the House of Affirmation's board of trustees voted to close all the corporation's residential programs by Dec. 31. The disposition of House of Affirmation property and the future of its outpatient programs have yet to be decided, he said.

Desimone said he did not believe the scandal that erupted in 1987 when the Rev. Thomas Kane, a House of Affirmation founder and former president, was accused of financial misconduct, had anything to do with the board's decision to close the agency.

However, last August, Sister Suzanne Kearney, Father Kane's replacement, said referrals to the House of Affirmation had dropped off at centers all over the country once the allegations became public. She also said she believed the scandal affected the organization's ability to attract qualified psychotherapists.

QUESTIONS REFERRED

Yesterday, Sister Kearney referred all questions to Bishop George E. Ruesger, House of Affirmation

board of members chairman. His office referred questions to Desimone. The two residential centers slated to close by the end of this year are in Northbridge and Webster Groves, Mo. A third residential center in Hopedale was converted to central administration for the corporation last year. Desimone said that although there has been no formal vote, he expects that all operations will cease eventually.

By the closing time for the residential centers, all patients being treated in them should be finished with their programs, he said. Outpatient services would continue to be available for an as-yet undefined period of time into next year. The corporation still has other obligations that must be taken care of before all its outpatient services can cease, he said.

"You can't just put up a sign 'Closed Tomorrow,'" he said.

The organization has outpatient centers in Boston, Clearwater, Fla., and Middletown, Conn.

DECLINE

The closing was prompted by a decline in new patients in the residential programs, he said. Many of the patients in the outpatient programs are getting followup help after residential treatment. Desimone investigated the allegations against Father Kane in 1987 for the House of Affirmation. He found at least some of the allegations to be true and recommended that the House of Affirmation seek to recover monetary damages, rather than file civil or criminal charges. Father Kane agreed last October to pay a monetary settlement. Desimone said, the amount of which was not disclosed under terms of the settlement. Father Kane also was barred from any association with the House of Affirmation, the agency he helped found 19 years ago. The House of Affirmation's express mission is to help clergy who are suffering from job stress and other psychological problems. While it has focused primarily on Roman Catholic priests and nuns, the outpatient programs have been opened to lay people.

HISTORIC HOUSES

The organization owns historic houses in the Whitinsville section of Northbridge and in Hopedale. In Northbridge, where the corporation was based until last year, the residential center is housed in the Hill Street mansion once owned by industrialist Chester Laseil, who was connected to the Whittin family and the former Whittin Machine Works. The property is historically known as Oakhurst. In Hopedale, the corporation's headquarters is located in the former home of the Draper family at 11 Williams St. The Drapers ran the former Draper Corp., the business that built Hopedale. Desimone said no decision has yet been made about the disposal of these historically important properties.

November 16, 1992

Book investigates cases // Sexual abuse by priests called "national disgrace"

By Kathleen A. Shaw, Staff Reporter

The House of Affirmation in Hopedale, a now-closed mental health treatment center for priests and religious, figures prominently in Jason Berry's new book about Roman Catholic priests who molest children. The Rev. Gilbert Gauthier, a Louisiana priest in Vermillion Parish who sexually abused numerous children before he was charged with 34 counts of molestation in 1984, was sent by his bishop to Hopedale for treatment while he was awaiting trial.

The scope of Berry's investigation is presented in "Lead Us Not Into Temptation: Catholic Priests and the Sexual Abuse of Children," which was published by Doubleday last month.

"It's a national disgrace," Berry said in a recent interview. He said he knows of 400 priests in North

America who have molested children, but the Rev. Thomas Doyle, a Washington, D.C., canon lawyer, said the number could be as high as 3,000 priests. "I wrote the book to put forth the voice of conscience," Berry said.

Berry said he questions how American bishops can "proclaim the sanctity of life in the womb and recycle priests who molest children?"

Gauthe was pulled from the House of Affirmation by his defense lawyer, F. Roy Mouton, who was appalled to find that the staff intended to release Gauthe so he could take an ambulance job in Gulfport, Miss.

Berry said Mouton thought while flying here to meet with Gauthe that he was going "to meet Lucifer disguised as a Roman Catholic priest." Gauthe's therapist, Sister Miriam Ukertis, described Gauthe as "like a dependent child."

"Mouton exploded: Jesus Christ, lady! Did she know that hundreds of sex crimes had made him eligible for life at hard labor in Louisiana's penitentiary. She insisted that he was making good progress," Berry writes of the encounter.

Berry said Mouton recognized the church was open to criminal negligence, if Gauthe was released, so he had Gauthe moved to a locked unit at the secular Institute of Living in Hartford.

Gauthe told Mouton, "I hated myself for what I was doing, but what I hated more was that I didn't have the power to stop it ... and I would see kids that I had had sex with come to communion, and I'd say, 'How can I do that?' And then I'd see other kids I'd want."

The House of Affirmation, which Mouton told Berry was like "a country club," was founded in 1970 by then Bishop Bernard J. Flanagan of the Worcester Diocese, and priests, sisters and brothers from throughout the country were sent for treatment. The House became the center of controversy in 1987 when a co-founder, the Rev. Thomas A. Kane, was accused of financial wrongdoing. It closed in 1990, never fully recovering from the scandal.

Berry, a freelance journalist, said it is not easy writing about priests accused of molesting children, but he believes the church must be "held accountable." He is a practicing Catholic and graduate of the Jesuit-sponsored Georgetown University.

The institutional church so far has put more effort into meeting the needs of priests accused of sexually molesting children than it has in helping the victims, he said. "This has to be faced in an honest way," he said.

"The church must 'be more humane' and listen to the victims of priests, and the church must better 'resound the message of Christ,' if it is to grow as an institution, he said.

Berry said Gauthe's superiors knew of his record of abuse, but chose to move him from parish to parish rather than remove him from situations where he would be near children.

Berry said he can better understand the pathology of priests who sexually abuse children than why church leaders would systematically cover up for these priests, knowing they would continue to abuse children.

"I had no idea of the magnitude of the problem," he said.

Priests in the Worcester diocese also have been charged with sexually abusing children. A grand jury recently indicted the Rev. Joseph A. Fredette, a former Assumptionist priest, on charges that he raped two boys in his care when he was executive director of the Come Alive program in the 1970s.

A grand jury also recently indicted the Rev. Ronald D. Provost on charges he took a dozen photographs of a 10-year-old boy in various stages of undress.

The Rev. Robert E. Kelley in 1990 was sentenced to 5 to 7 years in the state prison at Walpole after he pleaded guilty to sexually abusing a young girl while he was pastor of Sacred Heart Church, Gardner.

June 21, 1992

5 years later, Rev. T. Kane teaches ethics // House of Affirmation scandal

PAUL DELLA VALLE, Telegram Worcester, MA

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