



AMERICAN CATHOLIC STUDIES NEWSLETTER

CUSHWA CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF AMERICAN CATHOLICISM

Change of Habit

In 1993, Leslie Tentler criticized the lack of historical attention paid to women religious. Considering the vast numbers of educational, charitable, and social service institutions created and staffed by American Catholic nuns, Tentler observed, "Had women under secular or Protestant auspices compiled this record of achievement, they would today be a thoroughly researched population. But Catholic sisters are not much studied, certainly not by women's historians or even, to any great extent, by historians of American Catholicism."

Nearly a decade has passed since Tentler thus lamented the invisibility of nuns in U.S. historical scholarship. Since the publication of Tentler's widely cited essay, "On the Margins: The State of American Catholic History," in the *American Quarterly*, historians have made remarkable strides in remedying the problem. They have produced an impressive body of scholarship on women religious that recognizes the contribu-

tion of the women who supplied the unpaid labor for the parochial school system and a vast network of Catholic social service institutions. Several groundbreaking works have fostered an appreciation for the astonishing achievements of Catholic women religious in an age when society prescribed narrowly limited roles for women. In the 19th century, the convent provided women with unequalled opportunities for education and autonomy; in fact, these studies are occasionally tinged with wistfulness for a time when Catholic women had more opportunities within the Church than outside of it.

There is also plenty of evidence to indicate that historical scholarship on nuns has helped to remove them from a Catholic ghetto. Suellen Hoy, among others, has convinced women's historians to take nuns seriously. The inclusion of her article on the Sisters of Mercy in the fifth edition of Kerber and DeHart's *Women's America* (2000) testifies that inattention to nuns is no longer

excusable among historians of American women. In *The Poor Belong to Us: Catholic Charities and American Welfare* (1997), Dorothy Brown and Elizabeth McKeown describe how Catholic women religious, while caring for massive numbers of Catholic immigrants, contributed mightily to the development of the American welfare system.

In *Say Little, Do Much: Nurses, Nuns and Hospitals in the Nineteenth Century* (2001), Sioban Nelson lifts what she calls the "veil of invisibility" on nursing nuns. Although women religious founded and operated more than 35 percent of American hospitals, historians of American medicine have largely ignored them. A strength of Nelson's approach is her demonstration of the ways in which the religious commitment of the sisters actually enhanced their effectiveness as social workers; hence, she explores the link between the vocational origins of professional nursing and the central importance of religious institutions in American social history.

In *Spirited Lives: How Nuns Shaped Catholic Culture and American Life, 1836-1920* (1999), Carol K. Coburn and Martha Smith, responding directly to Tentler's criticism, observed that perceptions of nuns have been skewed by "powerful and pervasive stereotypes of nuns as otherworldly creatures, naïve

see *Change of Habit*, page 8

I N S I D E

<i>Cushwa Center Activities</i>	2-8
<i>Announcements</i>	12-13
<i>Publications: Staging Catholicism</i>	14-16



Seminar in American Religion

On Saturday, September 8, the Cushwa Center hosted a discussion of Jan Shippo's book, *Sojourner in the Promised Land: Forty Years Among the Mormons* (University of Illinois Press, 2000). Shippo, a senior research associate in the Polis Center at Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis, is professor emeritus of history and religious studies in the IUPUI School of Liberal Arts. Responding to Professor Shippo were Richard L. Bushman, the Governor Morris Professor of History at Columbia University, and Kathleen Neils Conzen, professor of history and chair of the history department at the University of Chicago.

Part autobiography, part professional retrospective, *Sojourner in the Promised Land* collects essays from across the career of a scholar who, for the past 40 years, has been one of the leading historians of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (LDS). Shippo's essays cover a broad range of topics, from relatively straightforward studies of Mormonism in America, to more theoretical reflections on the historiography of Mormonism and the place of Mormonism in the broader historiography of American religion and the American West. Written at various points over the course of Shippo's career, the essays both anticipate and revise the arguments of her best-known work, *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition*.

A breakthrough on two fronts, *Mormonism* was the first full-length professional monograph to take Mormonism seriously as a religion in its own terms. It was also the first study written by a non-Mormon that benefited from access to archival material previously available only to a select few Mormon scholars. A relatively new religion, Mormonism has for most of its short history been characterized by intense geographic concentration and communal solidarity in the face of a hostile host culture. This relative social isolation, along with a theological concern for precise genealogical documentation, has

blessed the Saints with a centralized control over the archival sources of its history unmatched among the Christian churches of the West.

This blessing has been a curse to non-Mormon or "gentile" historians who found their requests for access to the Mormon archives repeatedly denied. Shippo, known to some in the field as "that Methodist who studies Mormons," overcame Mormon suspicions of "outsider" scholars largely by her ability to develop a sympathetic "insider" perspective in her early writing on the Saints. Still, the essays collected in *Sojourner in the Promised Land* present this imaginative leap as a continued struggle. Ironically, as Shippo has tried to get inside Mormonism, Mormon scholars have struggled to achieve a more detached perspective on their own faith tradition.

In her accounts of Mormon scholars disciplined for straying outside orthodox Mormon thinking, Shippo shows how her own scholarly dilemmas have increasingly become cultural dilemmas for the Mormon community at large. Church officials vetoed a proposed invitation to the Pulitzer Prize-winning feminist historian Laurel Thatcher Ulrich to serve as keynote speaker at an important annual Mormon women's conference in 1993. Soon thereafter, they excommunicated six prominent Mormon scholars, including Shippo's close friend Lavina Fielding Anderson. These actions reflect the growing

concern among Mormon leaders that moving out into the non-Mormon world has threatened the distinctive identity of Mormons as a people.

Shippo's essay, "From Satyr to Saint: American Perceptions of the Mormons, 1860-1960," best captures the historical dimensions of the opening of Mormonism to the broader currents of American culture. The practice of plural marriage rendered Mormons a dangerous, alien "other" within American society throughout the first half century of their existence. With the abandonment of the practice at the end of the 19th century, Mormons began their not-so-long march toward respectability. As represented in the popular mind by entertainers such as the Osmond family, Mormons appear as the epitome of squeaky-clean Americanism. At the same time, the Saints have softened their view of outsiders, shifting from the hostile, Old Testament term "gentiles" to the more neutral "non-Mormons."

Richard Bushman focused his comments on Shippo's treatment of developments in 20th-century Mormonism. Concurring with her account of the gradual entry of Mormons into the Christian mainstream, Bushman stressed geographic as distinct from general cultural factors. Throughout the 19th century, Mormons constructed their peoplehood through the concept of the "gathering" of the faithful in a specific geographic location: the Great Basin in Utah. As the region proved

incapable of accommodating the mass of people rushing to join the gathering, Mormon leaders urged converts to stay in their own locations. The intensely communal qualities of Mormon life in Utah could not be recreated in the "scattering" of Mormon communities across America. A minority in most parts of the United States, Mormons



Richard L. Bushman, Jan Shippo and Kathleen Neils Conzen

focused their energies on constructing chapels. According Bushman, this has meant the transformation of Mormons from a people to a church.

The expansion of Mormonism outside the United States in the second half of the 20th century presented even greater challenges to Mormon peoplehood. Faced with the decline of cultural cohesion among Mormons, church leaders have sought to promote unity through an increasing standardization of doctrine. Bushman noted that while Shippo may lament the shift from cultural to more narrowly theological boundary markers, she ultimately accepts it as a concession necessary for maintaining Mormon identity. Voicing a more critical assessment, Bushman charged that the drive for doctrinal conformity has both suppressed intellectual speculation and watered down Mormon belief so as to be almost indistinguishable from Protestant Christianity. Possessing the potential to become an authentic world religion with a variety of unique, indigenous expressions, Mormonism is moving dangerously toward becoming a mere global religion, with standardized products much the same everywhere, like IBM or Coca-Cola.

Kathleen Conzen addressed the problem of audience raised by Shippo's book. Religious groups that are the subject of historical inquiry tend to view their past in terms of divine action; professional historians committed to explaining historical events in terms of temporal causality tend to dismiss the truth claims, and thus the transcendent significance, of such groups. Historians of religion, seemingly positioned to mediate between these two groups, often find their work met with indifference or hostility by both. Whom does Shippo see as the audience for her work?

Shippo conceded that in her struggle to understand her own position in relation to Mormonism, she has neglected to address adequately the relation between Mormon history and American history. Faced with the continued dominance across the humanities of static models of religion rooted in the social sciences, historians of religion need to do a better job clarifying to their fellow historians the fluid nature of religious belief and practice. In turn, faith communities wary of historical contingency ignore history at their own

risk: the diminishing distance between self-contained religious enclaves and a rapidly changing wider world make historical understanding essential to communal self-understanding.

Suellen Hoy and several other scholars in attendance engaged Shippo on the issue of advocacy in the writing of religious history. Shippo responded that sympathy is too often falsely equated with advocacy when the subject is religion. In her first book, she bracketed religious truth claims in order to get at Mormonism as history, and was criticized by some Mormons for doing so. Doubting whether her work has had any influence on Mormon belief and practice, Shippo insisted that her status as an "objective" expert on Mormonism has helped to legitimate Mormonism to the non-Mormon world.

Philip Gleason followed up on the question raised by Professor Conzen as to whether Mormon peoplehood could be understood as a type of ethnicity. Gleason asked if the shift from a people to a church decried by Bushman should be taken as an instance of religious belief diluting ethnicity, and wondered whether the Mormon case called into question the tendency of many historians to subordinate religion to ethnicity as a force in shaping group identity. Shippo replied that Mormons still conceive of themselves as a group united by "believing blood." The 1960s brought a muting of explicitly racial language, reflecting a new sensitivity both to African Americans in the church and to the mass influx of converts who lacked the visible, generational blood ties older Mormons looked to for their sense of identity. The language of believing blood serves primarily symbolic or ceremonial purposes in contemporary Mormonism.

Conceding that religion may have supplanted peoplehood as a basis for Mormon identity, Shippo also conceded that the doctrinal content of Mormon religion has been compromised substantially in recent decades. As the LDS increasingly reaches out for converts, it emphasizes its standing as a family-friendly faith and downplays its historical connections to the story of Joseph Smith. Shippo noted, however, that while Mormons seem to be assimilating into the mainstream of American society, the Mormon story has yet to be fully integrated into the larger narratives

of American history. Unwilling to take Mormon beliefs seriously, historians have treated the LDS primarily as a small but significant political pressure group. Shippo warned that the next generation of historians must resist the temptation to take the current political and economic success of Mormons in mainstream American society as justification for ignoring the distinctly religious dimensions of the Mormon experience.

Cushwa Center Lecture

On Friday, September 28, novelist Ron Hansen presented a lecture, "'Hotly in Pursuit of the Real': The Catholic Writer." Hansen is the Gerard Manley Hopkins, S.J., Professor in the Arts and Humanities at Santa Clara University. A distinguished fiction writer and literary critic, he is the author of several prize-winning novels, including *Mariette in Ecstasy* (1992), *Atticus* (1996), and *Hitler's Niece* (1999), all published with HarperCollins. For his lecture, Professor Hansen drew on material from his most recent publication, a collection of criticism titled *A Stay Against Confusion: Essays on Faith and Fiction* (HarperCollins, 2001).

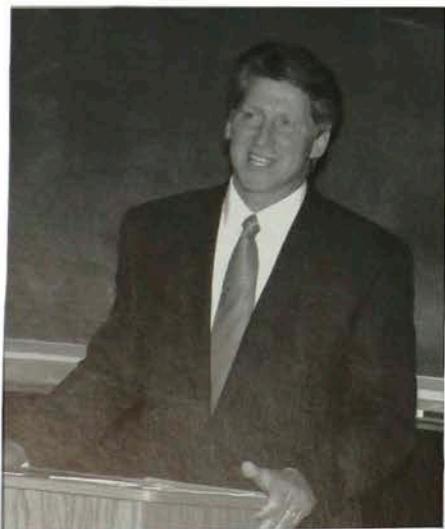
A cradle Catholic, Hansen's development as a religious writer defies the conventions established by high-profile literary converts such as Allen Tate and Thomas Merton. Literature did not open his mind to the possibility of religious truth; rather, Catholicism helped him understand the nature of literature. The liturgical rites of Hansen's pre-Vatican II childhood were grand theater. They filled him with respect for mystery, symbol, and, above all, story telling. Early on in his faith life, Hansen came to understand the Mass as a narrative suffused with rich imagery and metaphor. As certain bible stories became familiar through repetition at Mass, he would find himself delighting in their storytelling structure, anticipating each stage building toward the climax.

Hansen immersed himself in the world of children's fiction. Jules Verne provided him with his first literary hero. After a brief interlude with tamer boy's fiction such as the Tom Swift and Hardy Boys stories, Hansen found his imagination fired by the horror stories of Edgar Allan Poe.

Hansen noted that even the darkest tales of Poe carry with them the distinguishing mark of the literary artist: the power to bring order out of chaos. The practical orientation of American culture generally assigns such ordering tasks to the scientist. Hansen shared an anecdote of a professional golfer who complained to him of college English classes in which he was forced to read “big, fat books that weren’t even true.” Against this popular, common-sense American realism, literature shares with religion a commitment to an understanding of truth that eludes simple empirical inquiry.

Most contemporary writers, however, see religion as a rival rather than an ally. The antagonism of art and religion, perhaps most dramatically displayed in the writings of James Joyce, has become a commonplace assumption of modernist culture. Joyce’s defiance of religious authority was heroic in that it truly made him an exile from his own Irish Catholic culture. The contemporary situation is, in many ways, the opposite: The writer who affirms religious truth now risks becoming an exile from the community of artists.

Hansen distinguished his religious writing from the simple affirmation of faith in the basic tenets of Christianity. Of his five novels, only one, *Mariette in Ecstasy* — the story of a contemplative nun who receives the stigmata — deals directly with a religious theme. The



Ron Hansen

sacramental theology of the Catholic Church affirms that all creation may provide a medium for God’s grace. Literature performs its religious function best when it provides such a graced occasion of encounter between humanity and God.

After these opening remarks, Hansen concluded his presentation with a reading of a new story soon to be published in *Harpers Monthly*. Set in the 1980s during the period of the Soviet crackdown on the Polish Solidarity movement, “My Communist” tells of the relationship between a refugee Polish priest and the Soviet agent sent to America to spy on — and perhaps kill — him. After months of cat-and-mouse sparring, the priest and the spy realize their common alien status in a foreign land, and forge a friendship based on their love for the Polish language and the simple pleasures of Polish food.

Several members of the audience asked Hansen if he could identify anything specifically Catholic in his writing. Hansen distinguished Catholic writing from Jewish and Protestant literature. Jewish writing tends to be oriented toward the past, while Protestant eschatology (at least in the Calvinist tradition) tends to view salvation as the predestined privilege of the elect few. Catholicism, in contrast, invests the future-directed Christian eschatology with a kind of democratic spirit. Salvation is open to all, and each person’s life carries with it the possibility of redemption.

Others present asked Hansen to comment on the relationship between his fiction writing and his personal experience. Hansen responded that he does not, as a rule, choose subjects that lend themselves to autobiographical writing. In defending this strategy, Hansen expressed his debt to one of the greatest religious writers of the 20th century, T.S. Eliot. In his seminal essay, “Tradition and the Individual Talent,” Eliot argued that great writing requires a perpetual surrender of the artist’s personality in the service of the traditions of the past.

Hansen stated that he prefers to imagine other lives, sublimating his personal concerns through exploring characters that are different from him,

whether by virtue of gender, nationality, or historical circumstances.

He traced this openness to sharing the experiences of others in part to the communal character of the Catholic imagination, a kind of literary equivalent of the sacrament of the Eucharist.

Hibernian Lecture

On Friday, October 12, Gary Giddins delivered the annual Hibernian Lecture, speaking on “Bing Crosby’s Identities.” Music critic for the *Village Voice*, Giddins is generally regarded as one of the most important jazz historians of his generation. The author of major studies of Louis Armstrong and Charlie Parker, Giddins is best known for his 1998 book *Visions of Jazz: The First Century*, which received the National Book Critics Circle Award for Criticism, as well as the Ralph Gleason Music Book Award and the Bell-Atlantic Jazz Award. Giddins also served as the major consultant to Ken Burns for his PBS documentary *Jazz*, in which he shared on-screen duties as the official voice of jazz history with the great trumpeter Winton Marsalis.

Giddins drew his lecture from his most recent work, *Bing Crosby: a Pocketful of Dreams, the Early Years, 1903-1940*, the first volume in a projected two-volume study of Crosby’s life and career. Despite his credentials as a historian of jazz, Giddins faced indifference and at times hostility when he first proposed the idea for a Crosby biography to his publishers. Since his death in 1977, Crosby has survived in the popular mind largely through images of the family Christmas specials and folksy Minute Maid commercials that he produced during the last ten years of his life. Catholics of a certain generation might remember him also for his portrayal of the easy-going Irish-American priest Father Chuck O’Malley in the films *Going My Way* (1944) and *The Bells of St. Mary’s* (1945). Giddins’ larger biographical project, however, treats Crosby first and foremost as a serious jazz artist — indeed, along with Louis Armstrong, the most important male popular singer of the 20th century.

In his lecture, Giddins argued that Crosby was in fact all of these things: the happy-go-lucky Everyman, the devout Irish Catholic, and the serious jazz man. Crosby's version of the common man transformed American egalitarianism into a kind of celebration of sloth. At the peak of his artistic and commercial success in the early 1950s, he published a popular autobiography titled *Call Me Lucky*. In his golden years as the leading box office draw for Paramount Pictures during the 1930s and 1940s, he consistently played a slightly roguish, Tom Sawyer-like trickster, always preferring to get others to work for him rather than to do work himself. This persona reached its peak in the popular *On the Road* comedy series, which teamed Crosby's trickster with Bob Hope's reliable dupe who did all the work and never got the girl.

Crosby modeled this character very much on his father, Harry Lowe Crosby, and seems to have believed it to be a fairly accurate reflection of his own character. Nothing could be further from the truth. Under the influence of his stern Irish Catholic mother, Catherine Helen Harrigan, Crosby developed habits of hard work and self-discipline that spoke more of the ideals of Horatio Alger's enterprising youths than Twain's Tom Sawyer. Throughout his childhood in Spokane, Washington, he was constantly on the go, working a staggering range of odd jobs including newspaper boy, grocery-truck driver, life guard, and topographer at a lumber camp. For a period he worked as an early morning janitor at a notorious flophouse on Spokane's skid row. He arrived at five in the morning and finished his cleaning in time to serve 6:30 Mass at St. Aloysius parish near the Jesuit college of Gonzaga.

Catholicism in general, and the Jesuits in particular, provided Crosby with more than discipline. Attending Gonzaga through his high school and college years (though he never completed his degree), Crosby received a classical education in Latin, along with training in elocution, public speaking, debate and drama. Giddins stressed the importance of this Jesuit education for Crosby's later success as a singer and an actor. His extensive training in speech prepared him for his eventual mastery of that spoken style of singing with which



Gary Giddins

his career would be forever linked: the croon.

Denounced by the likes of Boston's Cardinal William O'Connell as a force for moral degeneration, the phenomenon of crooning marked a sea change in popular singing styles away from the high tenor, operatic style of John McCormack and toward a more personal, colloquial style for which Crosby's rich baritone was perfectly suited. Crosby had great respect for McCormack (Giddins played a rare radio recording of the two performing "Where the River Shannon Flows"), but his singing style owes more to the vaudeville belting of Al Jolson, his childhood singing idol. Technological developments in the vocal microphone ultimately provided a vehicle for Crosby to synthesize the two singing traditions in a new style that struck O'Connell and others as frighteningly intimate — and dangerously successful at seducing young women.

Crosby never saw his form of jazz as part of a larger cultural revolt of the "flaming youth" of the 1920s. Music was one of many activities he participated in throughout his fairly conventional Catholic upbringing. Unlike the Jewish singer of his hero Jolson's movie *The Jazz Singer*, Crosby was never forced to choose between his religious heritage and his secular vocation as an entertainer. Even through his early years of heavy drinking and (discrete) womanizing, he attended Mass every Sunday.

Giddins noted that Crosby's Catholicism never became a real public issue until the late 1930s. Crosby was

deeply disturbed by the bad press given Irish Catholics in the wake of Father Charles Coughlin's attack on Franklin Delano Roosevelt and descent into anti-Semitic conspiracy theories. As an artistic statement in defense of his Irish Catholic heritage, Crosby, for the first time in his career, recorded two Irish songs: "Did Your Mother Come from Ireland?" and "Where the River Shannon Flows."

At the same time, Leo McCarey, a leading Hollywood film director, was trying to find some way of expressing his commitment to his own Irish Catholic heritage. McCarey had long wanted to make a film about an old Irish priest acquaintance of his, but was having trouble convincing a studio to support the project. Despite the success of Spencer Tracy and Pat O'Brien in their portrayal of priests, the topic seemed too risky, particularly with the Catholic Legion of Decency and Irish Catholic layman Joseph Breen of the Production Code Administration policing the moral content of Hollywood films. Crosby was eager to join forces with McCarey, but Paramount was wary of a venture they felt might destroy the career of its most popular star.

Crosby's clout prevailed, and *Going My Way* went on to win six academy awards, including Best Picture, Best Director for McCarey, Best Actor for Crosby's portrayal of Father O'Malley, and Best Song for "Swinging on a Star," sung by none other than Father Chuck himself. Dismissed by intellectuals of the 1960s as a symptom of the shallow sentimentality of pre-Vatican II Catholicism, *Going My Way* was, upon its initial release, praised for its realism by no less a modernist critic than James Agee. The film spawned a highly successful sequel, *The Bells of St. Mary's*, which added Ingrid Bergman in the role of Sister Benedict, and remained one of the top five highest grossing films in Hollywood history well into the 1960s.

Father Chuck triumphed as Crosby's most enduring screen character for its unique ability to synthesize the three identities he would juggle for the rest of his career: a devout Irish Catholic, an easy-going man of leisure who enjoyed few things more than a puff on a pipe and a round of golf, and a popular jazz man swinging on a star.

American Catholic Studies Seminar

On Thursday, November 8, the Fall American Catholic Studies Seminar featured a paper by Gina Marie Pitti, titled "A Ghastly International Racket": The Catholic Church and the *Bracero* Program in Northern California, 1942-1964." Pitti, a Ph.D. candidate in history at Stanford University, is a former dissertation fellow of the Cushwa Center's Twentieth Century Project. She drew the material for this paper from her dissertation, "'To Hear About God in Spanish': Gender, Church and Community in Bay Area Mexican American Colonias, 1942-1970." Daniel Groody, C.S.C., assistant professor of theology and fellow at the Institute for Latino Studies at Notre Dame, served as respondent.

The boom in wartime production drew thousands of American workers from the agricultural sector to seek new opportunities in the factories of the major industrial centers of the United States. To address the resulting agricultural labor shortage, the U.S. government negotiated a guest labor arrangement with Mexico, known as the *bracero* program. In 1942, the first year of the program, 4,189 Mexican nationals were granted special permission to work in the United States as migrant farm laborers. By 1947, 115,000 *braceros* entered California alone, and by 1960, the program was providing sanction for the importation of some 336,000 guest workers each year. What began as a response to a labor shortage became a permanent program for glutting the market for agricultural workers.

In 1945, the American Church established the Bishops' Committee for the Spanish Speaking (BCSS). A regional organization founded to address the material and spiritual needs of Mexican Americans in the Southwest, the BCSS extended its pastoral reach to both *braceros* and U.S. migrant workers. Clergy active in the BCSS were particularly alarmed by the success of Protestant missionary groups in evangelizing *braceros*. At the prompting of the BCSS, Archbishop John J. Mitty of San Francisco created the Spanish Mission Band,

a group of four diocesan priests charged with the special responsibility of ministering to Mexican-origin Catholics in the archdiocese. The priests of the Spanish Mission Band brought the sacraments into the migrant camps, but found living and working conditions there a threat to the broader spiritual well-being of Mexican-origin Catholics.

Mexican-American labor activists took the lead in protesting the continuation of the *bracero* program through Public Law 78 in 1951. They charged that the U.S. government was continuing the program long after the passing of the war time labor shortage in order to force down the wages of Mexican-American migrant workers. Archbishop Robert E. Lucey of San Antonio, chair of the BCSS, added his voice to the protest, often stressing the threat of undocumented immigrant labor to the well-being of American labor in general.

Mexican-American Catholics at odds with *braceros* on economic grounds nonetheless shared in common cultural and religious practices, often serving as liaisons between local parishes and the *bracero* camps. Emphasizing the conflict of interests between native and foreign labor, Church activists were slow in acknowledging the common Mexican origins of the *braceros* and the U.S. migrant workers.

By the mid-1950s, the priests of the Spanish Mission Band began to direct Church protest away from its anti-immigrant rhetoric. Father Donald McDonald had come to realize that many *braceros* were actually putting down roots in Mexican-American communities. Acknowledging the tenuous legality of much of this *bracero* settlement pattern, McDonald and others began to stress that *braceros* and U.S. migrant workers shared a common religious identity in Catholicism. With religion eclipsing citizenship, Catholic activists shifted the focus of their protest from immigration regulation to social justice.

Guided by the teachings of the social encyclicals, Mission Band priests attacked the migrant labor system for its deleterious effect on the moral life of workers. By its very nature, migrant labor threatened both family and faith. Low wages forced women and children

to work to supplement the earnings of the male head of household, while the geographic transience undermined all efforts to maintain family stability in the midst of poverty. Sunday was rarely a day of rest, and priests charged that the work schedule imposed on the migrant laborers left little opportunities for attending Mass or receiving the sacraments.

The protests of the Spanish Mission Band priests received official theological sanction from no less an authority than Father Francis J. Connell, C.Ss.R., a moral theologian at Catholic University. Reviewing Public Law 78 in light of Catholic social principles, Connell judged the abuses of the migrant labor system to be systematic and beyond amelioration through pastoral care. In a public statement circulated through the national Catholic press, Connell declared that, because of the evils associated with migrant labor, Catholic farmers could not in good conscience hire *braceros*.



Gina Marie Pitti

Catholic social teaching of course had no binding power on Congress or non-Catholic Americans in general. As Catholic activists sought to build a coalition with other religious organizations such as the Protestant National Council of Churches and the Jewish Synagogue Council of America, they adopted a more generic American language of moral consumerism.

Testifying before the California State Industrial Welfare Commission, Spanish Mission Band priest Thomas McCullough insisted that American consumers must be willing to pay the price for produce necessary to ensure adequate wages for migrant workers. Monsignor George Higgins of the National Catholic Welfare Conference and Archbishop Lucey of the BCSS used similar language while serving on the ecumenical National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor.

By the early 1960s, the Catholic critique of the *bracero* program had come full circle. What began as an attack on immigration matured into a plea for transnational justice. On September 19, 1963, 28 Mexican-nationals brought into the United States under the *bracero* program were killed as a train struck the bus transporting them to their work in the fields in Chualar, California. Father James L. Vizzard, S.J., of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, issued a national press release comparing the bus-train crash to the church bombing that had killed four African-American children in Birmingham only a few days earlier.

Vizzard clearly wished to invest the protest against the *bracero* program with the moral authority and national significance of the Civil Rights Movement; however, by taking up the cause of Mexican nationals working in America, he and other church activists pushed the social justice discourse of the day from a focus on the rights guaranteed citizens to a defense of universal human rights that transcended nationality. Civil rights activists saw the fruit of their labors in the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. That same year, Congress voted to abolish, at least for a time, the *bracero* program.

Dan Groody, C.S.C., began his comments by reflecting on the place of Mexican-Americans in the Church today. Despite efforts such as those described in Pitti's paper, the Church was, and remains, out of touch with Mexican-American Catholics. Groody argued that the clerical focus of the paper obscures real tensions between Anglo priests and Latino laity. The Church was, and still is, racist, and very little has changed for migrant workers since the protests of the early 1960s. Groody asked Pitti what, if anything, have we learned from all of this?

Deferring on questions of policy, Pitti conceded that in the long run the repeal of Public Law 78 did very little to help the overall situation of migrant workers. Growers were able to find loopholes in the laws governing migrant labor. Still, she insisted that the Church's appeal to universal human rights provided a powerful language on which future activists could draw in their struggles for justice. No less a figure than Cesar Chavez used this language to shake the Church out of its complacency during his organizing drives for the United Farmworkers in the late 1960s.

Thomas Kselman wondered whether there was change taking place in the relation between the priests and the people that could account for the shift from pastoral to social concerns among the clergy. Pitti replied that these concerns should be seen as parallel tracks occupied by different groups of clergy. There was very little concern for social justice among parish priests at any time in the period covered in her paper; the situation at the parish level largely bears out Groody's criticisms.

Still, the Spanish Mission Band priests were genuinely committed to social justice. These priests went through seminary together in the 1940s, teaching themselves Spanish and studying the social encyclicals. Their commitment to social justice predates the larger upheavals of the civil rights and antiwar movements. The Spanish Mission Band's opposition to the *bracero* program complicates the conventional story that equates the passing of the New Deal-era labor priest with the Church's abandoning the struggle for social justice.

Research Travel Grants

These grants help defray the expenses of travel to Notre Dame's library and archival collections for research on American Catholicism. The recipients of awards in 2002 are the following:

Kathleen Anne Brosnan, assistant professor of history at the University of Tennessee, won a grant for her project titled "Public Presence, Public Silence: The Irish Sisters of Mercy in Early Chicago." This study will explore how these women religious used financial independence and canonical rules of incorporation as social leverage to

establish a significant public presence in the religious world of community-oriented ministries in pre-Civil War Chicago.

Kevin E. Schmiesing, research fellow at the Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and Liberty, received an award for his project, "American Catholic Social Thought: A Reappraisal." This study seeks to recover alternative traditions of Catholic social thought that endured through the rise of the New Deal liberalism of John A. Ryan.

Ann L. Silverberg, associate professor of music at Austin Peay State University, won a grant for her study, "The Cecilian Movement in the United States." This project explores the efforts of German-trained musicians to reinstate the liturgical use of Gregorian chant and unaccompanied Renaissance-style vocal music during the late 19th century.

Diana Irene Williams, a Ph.D. candidate in the History of American Civilization program at Harvard University, received an award for her study, "'They Call It Marriage': Interracial Families in Post-Emancipation Louisiana." This dissertation examines legal struggles over "miscegenation" as central to the development of the "separate but equal" logic of Jim Crow segregation.

Nolan Zavoral, religion writer for the *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, won a grant for his project, "The Role of the Catholic Committee on Urban Ministry in the Life of the American Catholic Church." This study will examine developments in Catholic social justice activism as embodied in the life and work of Rev. Edward Flahavan of the Archdiocese of St. Paul and Minneapolis.

Hibernian Research Awards

Funded by an endowment from the Ancient Order of Hibernians, this annual award provides travel funds to support the scholarly study of the Irish in America. The recipients for 2002 are the following:

Charles Fanning, professor of English at Southern Illinois University, won an award for his study, "A Hidden Flowering: Irish America in the Depression Years." This project examines the achievements of Irish Americans in the arts across the fields of poetry, drama,

painting, radio and cinema during the 1930s.

Michael Silvestri, director of the Advisement Center of the College of Architecture, Arts and Humanities at Clemson University, won a grant for his project, "Ireland, India and America: Nationalist Relationships and Irish-

American Identity." This study examines the American dimension of the relationship between Irish and Indian nationalists, who viewed themselves as fellow subject races of the British Empire.

Mary Burgess Smyth, of the Keough Institute for Irish Studies at Notre

Dame, won an award for her work on a biography of the 19th-century Irish nationalist John Mitchel. Living in exile in the United States for twenty years, he defended Irish Republicanism as well as the Southern Confederacy.

Change of Habit

continued from page 1

and unassuming, sheltered from the secular world." In *Spirited Lives*, they provide a necessary corrective to this distorted view. Their history of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet goes far beyond a congregational study by illuminating the way nuns used religion to justify and expand their role within the Church and American society. Coburn and Smith explore what Catholic sisters shared in common with Protestant and secular women's groups, but they also analyze the unique characteristics of women's religious communities: ethnic diversity, lifelong commitment to education, perpetual vows, and female space.

By placing nuns at the center of Catholic culture and American life, Coburn and Smith challenge caricatures of nuns as either drones or martyrs: "'Passive minions' or 'self-sacrificing handmaidens' could not have created, financed and/or administered the vast number of educational, health care, and social service institutions that were an accepted part of American Catholic culture by 1920. The complexity of the sisters' lives and the breadth and significance of their activities belie these outdated and belittling stereotypes."

These examples — only a few of many — show that research on women's religious communities has changed the way Americans historians think about nuns. In a striking development, the ripple effect of this new understanding has penetrated American popular culture. If most historians believed the myths and misconceptions about women religious, so did the rest of the country.

When Tentler wrote her article, the most popular nun in the United States was Dolores Van Cartier, the Reno lounge singer portrayed by Whoopi Goldberg in *Sister Act*. Dolores is forced to hide in a local convent after she witnesses a murder; the rest of the plot is predictable. Disguised as Sister Mary Clarence, she mangles prayers, violates rules, and horrifies the stodgy Mother Superior with her antics. By the end of the movie, however, Sister Mary Clarence has endeared herself to the nuns by teaching them how to dance and sing. Upon her departure, the convent has more vitality, more laughter and, of course, more rhythm.

Ten years later, Vanessa Williams also portrayed a nun in Lifetime's *The Courage to Love*. But unlike *Sister Act* and its sequel *Back in the Habit*, which were based on caricatures of nuns, *The Courage to Love* focuses on an actual historical figure: Henriette Delille, the founder of the Sisters of the Holy Family in New Orleans. A Catholic of mixed-race origin, Delille founded the order in 1842 to minister to slaves and free people of color. The Sisters of the Holy Family have recently received attention in the historical community with the publication of Virginia Meachem Gould and Charles E. Nolan's *No Cross, No Crown: Black Nuns in Nineteenth Century New Orleans* (2001). An edited version of Sister Mary Bernard Deggs' history of the community, *No Cross, No Crown* has made an enormous contribution to the study of women religious and of African-American Catholics.

Like *No Cross, No Crown*, the *Courage to Love* focuses on Delille's struggle for acceptance as a black nun in the Catholic Church. The Sisters of the

Holy Family did not receive permission to take vows until ten years after their founding, and thirty years passed before they were allowed to wear full habits. Williams, a former Miss America, was concerned at first that her glamorous image might compromise her ability to portray a nun authentically. But as a black Catholic, Williams found Delille, "a woman of color who was Catholic and had a calling," to be a compelling character.

Sister Act and *The Courage to Love* bracket a decade in which representations of nuns in American popular culture have grown more positive and realistic. In part, this reflects the efforts of organizations such as Media Images and Religious Awareness (MIRA). Founded in the early 1990s by a Sister of Charity and a Sister of Mercy, MIRA gives annual awards to people who contribute to a more positive image of women religious in American culture. Vanessa Williams received a MIRA award this year for her performance in *The Courage to Love*. Previous honorees include Ann Dowd, who portrayed Sister Maureen in the television drama *Nothing Sacred*, and Susan Sarandon, who played Sister Helen Prejean in *Dead Man Walking*.

The direct pressure exerted by MIRA has certainly had an influence in persuading television and film producers to eschew stereotypes. So, too, has the change in historical perspective. There is, however, a more fundamental explanation for the refreshingly nuanced rendering of nuns in American popular culture: Nuns have grown collectively less mysterious over the last decade. When we consider the innovations in historical scholarship in tandem with a

series of parallel developments in the lives of women religious themselves, we see the extent to which many Americans — Catholic and non-Catholic alike — have been encouraged to rethink commonly held assumptions about nuns' lives.

The real Sister Helen Prejean, even more so than her on-screen counterpart, helps to explain why perceptions of nuns have changed. Prejean embodies the fuller manifestation of the shifting theology of religious life that began in the wake of Vatican II. The council rejected the idea of strict separation between religious and the world, and called for each religious community to re-evaluate its individual charism. In the early 1980s, the spirit of Vatican II prompted Prejean to radically change her ministry by living and working among the poor. Soon, her desire to "harness faith to social justice" led her to crusade against the death penalty. By the mid-1990s, in the wake of the success of *Dead Man Walking*, Prejean had become a widely admired celebrity. Her presence in the national consciousness has undoubtedly helped Americans better understand women religious in the last decade.

While Prejean is probably the most famous example of a nun who defies stereotypes, other examples abound. A recent article in *Parade Magazine* emphasized that nuns are not as celestial as most Americans may think. Although it mentioned several nuns engaged in more traditional work, the article featured Sister Joy Manthey, a Sister of St. Joseph who ministers to riverboat captains on the Mississippi, and another nun who studies air-conditioning repairs so she can help in the Sister of Mercy's housing for the poor. To underscore that nuns "are real people," the article concluded with the following observation by a Dominican: "We sin. We also have fun. I rollerblade and play basketball."

Women religious do not have to be young and vigorous to be appealing. Americans have recently fallen in love with a group of nuns who are all between the ages of 75 and 106. Around the same time that historians recognized nuns' untapped potential as subjects for research, a parallel phenomenon was occurring in the scientific community. Epidemiologist Brent Snowdon

discovered that because convents kept meticulous records, and because circumstances of convent life eliminated variables in lifestyle, income, and quality of health care, women's religious communities made unique control groups. As part of an aptly — if unimaginatively — titled "Nun Study," Snowdon examines an aging group of School Sisters of Notre Dame to study the effects of Alzheimer's disease. In *Aging with Grace: What the Nun Study Teaches Us About Leading Longer, Healthier, and More Meaningful Lives* (2001), Snowdon introduces readers to some of the 678 participants in the study.

Aging with Grace is a poignant story about women who, having devoted their entire lives to the service of others, continue to give of themselves after they die. All of the nuns undergo regular assessments to monitor brain functioning, and they have all agreed to donate their brains after their deaths. This research has helped Snowdon understand more about the medical causes of Alzheimer's, but he has also identified intangible factors that help ward off the disease. He has discovered, for example, that high linguistic ability in early life can keep mental deterioration at bay. His research also suggests that positive spirit, faith and community support can increase our chances for health and longevity.

In a culture increasingly preoccupied with the effects of aging, Snowdon's research is timely, and his study has received a great deal of media attention. Whether Americans encounter the study in a *New York Times* article, on a National Public Radio interview, or through the book itself, Snowdon's portrait of these compassionate and generous women has gone a long way in weakening stereotypes about elderly nuns.

Neither, it seems, do nuns have to be engaged in active ministry to be interesting; contemplatives have also come to occupy a more prominent place in the American consciousness. The 1990s, after all, brought us Sister Wendy Beckett, a Sister of Notre Dame who lives in seclusion near a Carmelite

convent in England. Although Sister Wendy spends most of her life in prayer and solitude, her vocation as a contemplative permits her to work two hours each day as an art historian. In 1991, she appeared on a BBC documentary about the National Gallery, and in 1997, her television series *Sister Wendy's Story of Painting* introduced her to an American audience. Immensely popular on both sides of the Atlantic, Sister Wendy moves effortlessly between a world of travel and television and a life of silence and solitude.

In another genre, Kathleen Norris' bestselling *The Cloister Walk* (1996) explained the structure of monastic life to thousands of Americans, and contemplatives have also appeared in

the fiction of the 1990s. Ron Hansen's *Mariette in Ecstasy* (1991) and Mark Salzman's more recent *Lying Awake* (2000) feature cloistered nuns as their protagonists. Hansen's portrait of a turn-of-the-century priory blurs the line between the life of the spirit and the life of the world, and Salzman has been praised for conveying the true nature

of convent life with "humanity and insight."

The humanity of "Women of God" is also a recurring theme of Mary Gordon's recent centerpiece article in the *Atlantic Monthly*. Never one to be unduly sympathetic to things Catholic, Gordon spends the requisite amount of time discussing the dissonance between her idealized image of nuns in childhood and the tortured reality of her experience with them. But either her memory has grown dimmer, or Gordon now has enough distance to see the positive aspects of religious life. She interviewed dozens of nuns in the United States, Rome, and Romania, some of whom would be considered "traditional" and others who are more modern. After sipping martinis with some nuns and dancing with others, Gordon seems convinced by the nun who tells her, "we're women, we're humans, and we experience everything a woman does."

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Gordon's article also highlights the generational shift that has occurred. A growing number of American Catholics, of course, have no recollection of Catholicism before Vatican II, and they see the world quite differently.

To take the issue of celibacy as just one example of how this is so, Gordon observed that she comes from "the cohort least disposed in history" to accept it. But compared to those who came of age in the midst of the sexual revolution, those who were raised in the era of AIDS awareness and abstinence programs do not find celibacy as difficult to imagine. If they do not choose it for themselves, they are at least inclined to respect it as a choice for others. For Gen-Xers, the idea of forswearing material wealth might ultimately prove more perplexing. In one recent article featuring young women about to enter religious life, the renunciation of sex never came up; giving up cars and checking accounts, however, repeatedly surfaced in their interviews.

All of these developments — scholarship in history and science, initiatives designed to counter stereotypes, changing understandings of religious life, attention to the mystical life in art, and a generational shift — have converged to undermine facile images of women religious in American popular culture.

To be sure, caricatures persist. While the cover of *Aging with Grace* shows a smiling sister playing cymbals, the *Time* magazine cover story about the Nun Study featured a nun much more evocative of the sort who allegedly terrorized grade-school children a half-century ago. On a recent episode of the Fox television series *Grounded for Life*, it is a nun who breaks up young couple caught hiding under the bleachers at a high-school dance. *Late-Night Catechism*, a one-woman play in the tradition of *Nonsense*, plays to sell-out crowds across the country. But given the eminently human images of women religious that have surfaced in historical research, scientific studies, news features, popular literature, fiction and in non-fiction, these stereotypical depictions of nuns ring less true. The laughter, it seems, is growing fainter.

Of course, there is one very important way in which images of nuns — hip, happy, and fulfilled, or frightening, vile, and vituperative — in popular culture do *not* reflect reality. Nuns are ubiquitous in American popular culture in a way that is simply not commensurate with their actual numbers. The Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate has compiled the dismal statistics: In 1965 there were 179,954 women religious in United States; thirty years later, that total had plunged to 90,809, and would drop to 78,094 by 2001.

The decline has been even more precipitous with women religious than it has been with priests. Between 1965 and 2000, the population of women religious shrank by 54 percent; over the same time period, the number of priests decreased by 30 percent. (These numbers seem even more dramatic when we consider that the Catholic population overall increased by 47 percent during these years). Signs indicate that this trend will not reverse itself any time soon; the median age of American women religious is 69, and few religious communities report natural increase. The census conducted by the National Religious Retirement Office in 2000 showed 31,845 women religious under the age of 70, and they project that the number will drop to only 11,639 by the year 2012.

Faced with these disheartening statistics, even those who are optimistic about the future of women's religious communities readily admit that they will be significantly altered from their present-day versions. In *The Fire in These Ashes: A Spirituality of Contemporary Religious Life*, Joan Chittister, O.S.B., acknowledged that "the hope of recasting religious life in old molds smacks of pure fantasy." But she also thinks it is too soon to predict what

form a future model will take in "a world we do not know." Until the nature of that world is revealed to them, Chittister argues that the task of women religious today is to tend the ashes of modern religious life while waiting for a new wind to fan the flame, "so that a future model can rise...with confidence and courage."

Signs of new vitality may already exist in the imaginative response of some congregations to dwindling numbers. In the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, for example, lay men and women can join the order as Associate members. I.H.M. associates participate in a formation program, have a voice in the congregation's governing body, and live out the charism of the community. Although the I.H.M.s described these Associates as "a life-giving and transformative" force, the presence of these non-vowed members nevertheless suggests that women's religious communities as

Nuns are ubiquitous in American popular culture in a way that is simply not commensurate with their actual numbers.

we know them may be disappearing.

So, how will both of these realities — the decline in numbers and the evolution of women's religious communities into new models — affect representations of nuns in American popular culture? For the time being, I suspect that neither will have much of an impact on their popularity. The most convenient symbol of women religious, the habit, will prove to be very tenacious. For anyone wishing to signify authoritarianism, a habit still works in a pinch. In inane sitcoms, a stern-faced lay principal — no matter how foreboding — would not have the same cachet as a nun.

Even in more sophisticated and thoughtful renderings, such as Salzman's *Lying Awake*, few things better signify "other" than a fully habited nun. Salzman's main character, a Carmelite nun, reflects on the irony of this when

she considers that habits were “originally adopted by nuns to make them inconspicuous in the world. In the Middle Ages, a plain serge tunic, linen wimple, and veil was the outfit favored by poor widows.” Sitting in a doctor’s office, amid curious stares, Sister John of the Cross muses that “a true habit now...would be a nylon jogging outfit worn over tennis shoes.”

If habits are handy symbols, they have also been very fluid ones. If they have been used to symbolize oppression, they have also stood for liberation from the tyranny of body image and the dictates of fashion. If they are used to connote patriarchy, they can also represent a time when Catholic women proved remarkably adept at renegotiating the boundaries of the female experience. If they can signify a moribund church, they also call to mind the

vitality of a time when everyone knew, in theory at least, what it meant to be Catholic. Because of its enormous potential as a symbol, the habit will continue to be ever-present in American popular culture, no matter how few women are actually wearing one.

But even in jogging outfits and tennis shoes, nuns can still represent the “other.” In *Finding the Treasure: Locating Catholic Religious Life in a New Ecclesial and Cultural Context* (2000), Sandra Schneiders, I.H.M., makes projections about what religious life will look like in the new millennium. Using the paradigm of Dark Night of the Soul to explain the current state of religious life, Schneiders reminds readers that a person in the midst of the Dark Night must “walk in secret, in darkness, without trying to see or analyze or improve or otherwise meddle in God’s work.” Like

Chittister, she does not know exactly what forms religious life will take in a postmodern world. Schneiders does believe, however, that people will always be called to enter religious life in a “unique and finally unexplainable way.”

Therein lies the key. Thanks to historians, scientists, theologians, artists, novelists, and nuns themselves, Americans know more about women religious than ever before. Yet they remain an enigma. And because people love enigmas, their collective fascination with nuns — and thus their proliferation in popular culture — will endure.

— Kathleen Sprows Cummings

NEW CUSHWA CENTER DIRECTOR APPOINTED

The Cushwa Center is pleased to announce the appointment of Timothy Matovina as director of the Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism. Tim’s appointment begins in August. He succeeds Scott Appleby, who has served as director of the Center since 1994.

Matovina, who joined Notre Dame’s Department of Theology in 2000, earned the bachelor’s degree from Indiana University, the master of divinity degree from the Toronto School of Theology, and the doctorate in religion and culture from Catholic University of America. From 1995 to 1999, he was assistant professor of theological studies at Loyola Marymount University, Los Angeles. Tim has also taught at Our Lady of the Lake University and the University of the Incarnate Word in San Antonio, Texas. From 1993 to 1995 he was associate project director of San Fernando Cathedral Study Project, a project funded by the Lilly Endowment and conducted through the Mexican American Cultural Center in San Antonio, Texas.



Professor Matovina is the author of *Horizons of the Sacred: Mexican Traditions in U.S. Catholicism*, forthcoming later this year from Cornell University Press as part of the series of Cushwa Center Studies of Catholicism in Twentieth Century America. Tim was a member of the core committee of the Cushwa Center project that led to the Cornell series.

Tim is also the author of *Tejano Religion and Ethnicity: San Antonio, 1821-1860* (University of Texas Press,

1995). With Virgilio Elizondo he co-authored *San Fernando Cathedral: Soul of the City*. With Gerald E. Poyo, he co-edited *¡Presente!: U.S. Latino Catholics from Colonial Origins to the Present* (Orbis, 2000), an award-winning volume of annotated primary sources. Tim is currently at work on a manuscript entitled *Guadalupe Devotion in a Borderlands Community: Public Ritual as Theological Discourse*, a history of Guadalupe devotion at San Fernando Cathedral in San Antonio.

NINE YEARS ON

I am delighted that Tim Matovina will succeed me as director of the Cushwa Center. A leader of the community of scholars who study Latino religion, culture, and history, Tim's scholarship focuses on devotions, rituals and other popular religious practices and institutions. He also fosters research by other scholars working on a variety of topics central to a nuanced understanding of Catholic theology, spirituality and history. A splendid teacher and communicator, Tim also knows and appreciates the pastoral, ministerial and social justice dimensions of the church. He will bring a fresh perspective to the study of Catholicism in the United States, which increasingly is understood to be inseparable from the history and experience of Catholicism in the Americas as a whole.

I have thoroughly enjoyed my eight years, seven months and 27 days (but who's counting?) as director of the Cushwa Center. Highlights of those years included the conference that evaluated the intellectual legacy of Jay Dolan, and the conference on Engendering American Catholicism, which brought together more than seventy national scholars from various disciplines, who found in Catholic studies fresh resources and insights for their work on American cultural, social, and intellectual history.

Perhaps the high mark was the multiyear exploration of the previously underexplored Catholic contributions to civic culture and political identity; to labor unions and social ethics; to education, health care and other enterprises led by Catholic women; and to American spirituality and religious practice in the 20th century. The project is producing several excellent studies to be published by Cornell University Press. When that series is completed — probably early in the next decade — the Cushwa Center will have contributed a substantial body of scholarly literature to the field of American history.

The Seminar in American Religion, which brings prominent authors to campus twice yearly to discuss a groundbreaking work in American religion, continues to be the flagship of the many fine annual academic programs sponsored and organized by the Cushwa Center.

There are many people to thank, beginning with Jay Dolan, who is a second mentor to me and has always provided an encouraging word and wise counsel, as well as cherished friendship. Dozens of outstanding scholars from various colleges and universities, too numerous to name here, are the secret to the success of the Cushwa Center: Their love for and copious knowledge of Catholic history and American

history is our stock in trade. Our friends at the Lilly Endowment — Craig Dykstra, Jeanne Knoerle, Fred Hofheinz, and Chris Cobles — understand well the significance of American Catholicism and have been invaluable collaborators as well as sponsors.

On campus I have relied especially on the talents and generosity of John McGreevy, Bob Sullivan, Phil Gleason and Charlotte Ames. John Haas and Christopher Shannon made us all look good by writing or editing this newsletter so expertly. During the 2001-2002 academic year Associate Director Kathy Sprows Cummings filled in graciously and efficiently for a mostly absentee landlord. I had the honor of meeting Mrs. Margaret Hall Cushwa, and have been fortunate to get to know some members of her wonderful family, including Charlie Cushwa, and Bill and Anna Jean Cushwa. Nothing could have been accomplished these eight-plus years without the dedication and consummate professionalism of the infinitely patient Barbara Lockwood.

I look forward to working closely with Tim, Kathy and our colleagues on campus and around the country as the Cushwa Center enters a new and exciting phase of its life.

— Scott Appleby

ANNOUNCEMENTS



• The **Louisville Institute**, a Lilly Endowment program for the study of American religion based at Louisville Seminary, offers funding through six specialized grant programs designed to address different issues and to assist different groups of institutions and individuals. The Sabbatical Grants for Pastoral Leaders program provides pastors and other religious leaders with periods of one, two, or three months for reflective engagement with their life and work and issues related to contemporary religious leadership; the deadline for submissions is **September 16, 2002**.

The Summer Stipends program supports faculty summer research projects in the area of American Christianity; the deadline for submissions is **November 1, 2002**. The Christian Faith and Life Sabbatical Grants program supports faculty research projects designed to make more accessible to religious believers the themes of Christian faith in relation to the realities of their contemporary lives; the deadline for submissions is **December 1, 2002**. The Religious Institutions Sabbatical Grants program supports faculty research projects designed to encourage reflection on the

nature of and challenges to religious institutions in the contemporary world; the deadline for submissions is **December 15, 2002**.

The Dissertation Fellowship program supports the final year of Ph.D. or Th.D. dissertation writing for students engaged in research on American religion; the deadline for submissions is **January 31, 2003**. A new award, the First Book Grant Program for Minority Scholars, seeks to assist junior, non-tenured religion scholars of color to complete a major research and book project focusing on some aspect of

Christianity in North America; the deadline for submissions is **February 1, 2003**.

The Louisville Institute also offers a modest General Grant Program that supports a limited number of individual and collaborative grants for the support of religious research and the enhancement of church life; the deadlines for these awards are **July 19** and **November 11, 2002**.

To receive further information about The Louisville Institute's grant programs or conferences, please contact: The Louisville Institute; 1044 Alta Vista Road; Louisville, KY 40205. E-mail: info@louisville-institute.org. Web site: louisville-institute.org.

Call for Papers

• *American Catholic Studies* (formerly *Records of the American Catholic Historical Association*) invites the submission of manuscripts in the area of American Catholic history. Interested scholars should send two copies of a proposed manuscript to: Rodger Van Allen; Department of Theology and Religious Studies; Villanova University; Villanova, PA 19085. For further information, contact Margaret McGuinness via e-mail at Margaret.McGuinness@Cabrini.edu.

Recent Research

• **Christine Baker, R.N., Ph.D.**, is conducting a grounded theory study on women religious and health care. Her study will examine women's understanding of the meaning of health, the strategies they develop to promote and maintain health, and the barriers they encounter both within and outside the formal health-care system in America. She may be reached at: Christine Baker, R.N.; St. Mary's Hospital Medical Center; Madison, WI 53715. E-mail: Christine_Baker@ssmhc.com.

• **Regina Coll, C.S.J.**, is studying the creation of new ministries based on recognition of unmet needs. She intends to explore the influence of the distinct charism and history of various congregations on decisions to initiate new ministries. Interested scholars may contact Sister Coll at: Regina Coll, C.S.J.; University of Notre Dame; Notre Dame, IN 46556.

• **David Heisser**, associate professor and reference/documents librarian at The Citadel, published "Bishop Lynch's People: Slaveholding by a South Carolina Prelate," in the July 2001 issue of *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*. He is currently working on a study of Bishop Patrick Lynch's contributions to learning, especially in the area of science.

• **Mary E. Seematter** is researching the history of lay associate programs in women's religious congregations. Ideas on resources and contacts may be forwarded to her at: Mary E. Seematter; 3763 Upton St.; St. Louis, MO 63116. E-mail: seematter@yahoo.com.

• **Patricia Wittberg** is writing a chapter summarizing sociological, organizational, and historical research on U.S. religious orders and their colleges, for inclusion in a forthcoming reference book, *A Handbook of Research on Catholic Higher Education*. Wittberg invites suggestions of books, journal articles, dissertations, and other works to be included in this bibliographic essay. She may be contacted at: Sociology Department; IUPUI; 425 University Boulevard; Indianapolis, IN 46202. E-mail: pwittber@iupui.edu.

Personals

• **Rev. Dr. William F. Brosend II** has been named associate director of the Louisville Institute, effective November 1, 2001.

• **James J. Divita** received a Certificate of Achievement from the Indiana Religious History Association for his study entitled *Splendor of the South Side: A History of Sacred Heart of Jesus Catholic Parish in Indianapolis, 1875-2000*.

• **James T. Fisher**, Danforth Chair in Humanities and Professor of History and Theological Studies at St. Louis University, delivered a lecture, "Labor Priests, Longshoremen, and the Battle for the Soul of the Waterfront," at the Center for American Catholic Studies at Fordham University on February 20, 2002.

• **Stephanie Morris, Ph.D.**, has been named director of the archives for the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament.

• **Mary J. Oates, C.S.J.**, received the Distinguished Historian Award for her lifetime achievement in the field of the history of women religious at the fifth triennial History of Women Religious conference held at Marquette University, June 17-20, 2001.

• Msgr. Francis J. Weber announces that **Sister Joanne Wittenberg, S.N.D.**, has been appointed by Roger Cardinal Mahony as the cathedral archivist for the Archdiocese of Los Angeles for a three-year term beginning February 1, 2002. The newly established Cathedral Archives will be located at Mission Hills in the recently opened Annex to the Archival Center for the Archdiocese of Los Angeles. A published historian and accomplished researcher for the Archdiocesan Catholic Center, Sister Joanne will also serve on the staff of the soon-to-be-completed Cathedral of Our Lady of the Angels.



Staging Catholicism

Despite the repeated calls of scholars such as R. Laurence Moore and James T. Fisher, the study of popular culture and the performing arts remains a low priority among the leading scholars of American Catholic history.

The twenty years following the ignominious defeat of Irish Catholic candidate Al Smith in the presidential election of 1928 saw the ascendancy of Catholics to a position of power and influence in the popular arts unmatched by any religious group in America. The dark side of this story — the role of the Church in Hollywood film censorship — had emerged as something of a cottage industry both inside and outside the field of Catholic history. The brighter side — the achievements of lay Catholics such as Bing Crosby, John Ford, Spencer Tracy and Jackie Gleason — remains a largely untold story, hidden in mammoth biographies concerned less with Catholicism than with the star quality of their subjects.

Mary Jo Santo Pietro's *Father Hartke: His Life and Legacy to the American Theater* continues in this biographical mode yet makes a solid contribution to a body of literature gradually coalescing into something like a collective biography of a generation of performing Catholics.

Founder of the Department of Speech and Drama at the Catholic University of America, Rev. Gilbert V. Hartke served as mentor and confidant to dozens of award-winning actors, directors, and playwrights. Decades before the National Endowment for the Arts transformed Washington, D.C., into a vibrant center for the performing arts, Hartke made Catholic University the driving force behind theater in the nation's capitol. Hartke's story illuminates the religious dimension of a broader story of the triumph of urban

ethnic performative cultures as a national culture of America in the middle decades of the 20th century.

Gilbert Hartke was born in 1907 in the Rogers Park neighborhood of Chicago, the eighth and final child of a second-generation German Lutheran father and a first-generation Irish-Catholic mother. Hartke's father, Emil Hartke, converted to Catholicism to marry his mother Lillian Fagan Ward; his grandfather, John B. Hartke, a prominent Chicago Mason, refused to attend the wedding and pulled down his window shade in protest as the bridal carriage passed his home. The arrival of children, including the early death of Emil and Lillian's first child, eventually mended the ethno-religious rift.

The son of a fairly prosperous pharmacist, Hartke grew up at a bit of a remove from the rough and tumble working class neighborhoods that spawned so many of the Catholic and Jewish entertainers of the early 20th century. Still, in the early years of American cinema, Rogers Park was home to a film colony and Hartke's father's pharmacy was located near the Essanay film studios. During a brief period during Hartke's youth, Essanay was the home studio of Charlie Chaplin. Leading stars of the silent era, such as Wallace Beery and Gloria Swanson, frequented his father's drugstore. Hartke attended St. Ida's grammar school with the children of Francis X. Bushman, the future star of the 1925 biblical epic *Ben-Hur*, and lived across the street from Hal Roach Jr., who later developed the "Our Gang" series.

Hartke worked off and on at Essanay in minor child and juvenile

roles up to the age of seventeen. Looking back on those years later in life, he recalled "I don't think my movie career meant very much to my parents because these were our neighbors." A handsome youth, he also worked as a male clothing model for a local advertising agency. Attracted to sports as well as the arts, Hartke's childhood experiences speak of a time in which such aesthetic pursuits were less culturally coded as distinctly feminine activities than they are today.

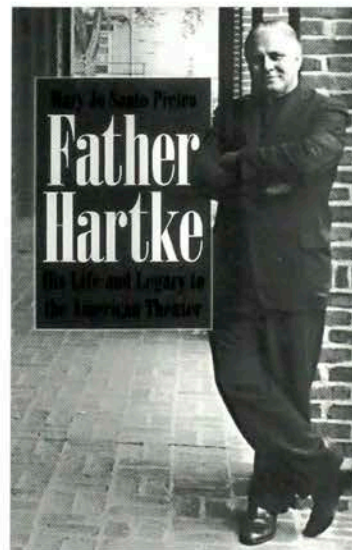
Through his school years at St. Ida's and later at Loyola Academy, Hartke also attended the Mary Synon School of Drama, a leading Chicago drama school. At one point, the Jolly Prospector Club,

a tough street gang from the "back-of-the-yards" section on Chicago's South Side, asked the Synon school for assistance in staging a play called *The Hoodoo*. Hartke embarked on his first directorial assignment, working with the gang on the play. Apparently the hoodlum choir boys of sentimental Hollywood movies have some basis in reality.

Hartke's decision to join the priesthood entailed no dark night

of the soul. Popular with men and women, he spent his high school years enjoying the life of a country club playboy made possible by his father's success as a pharmacist. At some point in his senior year at Loyola, he simply decided he wanted to become a priest. His Irish mother was very religious. She had a sister who was a nun and a brother who was a priest. His faith "wasn't a bolt out of the emotional sky," it "was just there," a "gift," a part of his everyday life.

Struggling with his two loves, the theater and the priesthood, Hartke



abandoned his plans for a religious vocation, until he attended a Dominican mission at his childhood parish, St. Ida's. Impressed by the Dominicans' oratory as much as their religious message, he decided he could pursue both his loves in the Dominican order.

The choice proved wise beyond Hartke's wildest imaginings. In 1931, two newly ordained Dominicans, Fathers Urban Nagle and Fabian Carey, founded the Blackfriars Guild. Originally conceived as a local Catholic theater group in Washington, D.C., the national headquarters of the American Dominicans, the Blackfriars eventually spread to twenty-two cities and maintained an off-Broadway theater in New York for thirty years. The Blackfriars Guild is best understood in the context of the larger effort to bring the world back to the Church through Catholic Action. Nagle felt the dramatic instinct to be natural and good, yet believed that there was a distinctly Catholic expression of this instinct that was superior to its secular alternatives. As Catholic social scientists spoke of a Catholic sociology, so Nagle argued for a Catholic theater.

Nagle's efforts drew Hartke to the Washington area to work at the Blackfriars' Institute of Dramatic Arts recently established at Catholic University. Hartke considered Nagle, along with Fulton Sheen, to be a model of eloquence and dramatic style, but soon came to dissent from his vision of an exclusively Catholic theater. As Blackfriars shifted their geographic center to New York, Hartke transformed their Washington institute into the Department of Speech and Drama at Catholic University. Under the influence of Chicago acting coach Josephine Callan and playwright and critic Walter Kerr, Hartke abandoned what he came to see as Nagle's narrowly Catholic vision of the theater. His department would provide a Christian setting for writers and actors, but it would train them as artists of the one universal theater.

Committed to producing original plays rather than the standard repertoire of college drama departments, Hartke soon found himself with the most sought after original property of the late 1930s, the life story of George M. Cohan. During the first quarter of the 20th century, Cohan had been the "First Gentleman of the American stage." He

was also an Irish Catholic, whose father had been a founding member of the Catholic Actors Guild. Sensitive to the issue of his failed first marriage, Cohan was reticent to release the rights to his life story to a regular commercial theater company. Hartke convinced him that the production would handle his personal life with discretion, and Cohan approved a script written by Walter Kerr and Leo Brady, another stalwart of the early years of the drama program.

The play, *Yankee Doodle Boy*, was a smash success, and attracted the attention of leading producers from both Broadway and Hollywood. It virtually invented the genre of musical biography that proved such a staple of Hollywood cinema in the 1940s and 1950s — a film genre inaugurated by none other than *Yankee Doodle Dandy*, for which James Cagney won a Best Actor Oscar for his portrayal of Cohan.

Hartke hoped to parlay the success of *Yankee Doodle Boy* into a formal relationship with Hollywood. Despite his connections to prominent Hollywood Catholics such as Alfred Hitchcock and Irene Dunne, he never realized his vision of making the drama department at Catholic University into a prime recruiting school for the film industry. Indeed, from San Pietro's account it would seem as if most of Hartke's grandiose plans ended in failure. Hartke emerges as less an artistic visionary than a mid-level, but significant, artistic entrepreneur.

Artistically provincial in the 1940s, Washington was nonetheless the nation's political and military capital. Hartke took full advantage of his location, becoming something like a theatrical chaplain to the military and the state department. During World War II, he played the title role in an RKO training film *Army Chaplain*. In the years following the war, he took his Catholic University players on State Department tours of Europe, and brought Shakespeare to servicemen around the world through tours sponsored by the USO and the Department of Defense.

On the home front, Hartke brought Catholic University to America through Players, Incorporated, established in 1949 and now the oldest classical repertory touring company in the United States. In addition to their own national tours, Players, Incorporated also managed two distinguished summer theaters, St. Michael's Playhouse in Winneski, Vermont, and the Olney Theater in Olney, Maryland.

When John F.

Kennedy became the first Catholic president of the United States in 1960, Hartke's players became a semi-official White House theatrical troupe, performing Shakespeare regularly in the East Room for both the Kennedy and the Johnson families. Hartke served two terms on Johnson's National Council on the Arts, and served as a semi-official escort, advisor and confidant of Nancy Hanks through her eight

years as director of the National Endowment for the Arts. In 1981, *Washingtonian* magazine named him "one of the five most powerful men in Washington."

Catholic University never seriously challenged Broadway or Hollywood as a center of the dramatic arts in America, but Hartke had an uncanny ability to elicit the support of the leaders of both these centers for his work in Washington. In 1937, Hartke had barely found performance space for his fledgling department when he managed to convince a young Orson Welles, already famous for his work at the Mercury Theater, to lecture his students on the possibilities of adapting Shakespeare to various forms of modern staging. Helen Hayes, a practicing Irish Catholic and the "First Lady of the American Stage" in the middle decades of the 20th century, was a long time patron, and gave her final stage performance playing the role of Mary in Eugene O'Neill's *Long Day's Journey into Night* to close the first season at Catholic University's newly inaugurated Hartke Theater.

The lists of writers and performers who actually passed through Harke's program is respectable: John McGiver,

Hartke emerges as less an artistic visionary than a mid-level, but significant, artistic entrepreneur.

Henry Gibson, Pat Carrol, Roy Schieder, John Heard, and Olympia Dukakis, to name but a few. Ed McMahon, Johnny Carson's sidekick on the *Tonight Show*, turned down an offer from the Yale School of Drama to study at Catholic University in the late 1940s. Unfortunately, two of Hartke's most illustrious protégés, Jon Voigt and Susan Sarandon, receive very little attention.

As is often the case with biography, broader cultural issues are subsumed under the main story of an individual. Hartke, however, was not a particularly introspective person. San Pietro cannot be faulted for failing to render a deep psychology that would have not been true to the spirit of her subject. Still, drawing heavily on personal interviews

with Hartke soon before his death in 1986, she writes a biography that reads almost like an autobiography as Hartke would have written it. Long bloc quotes appear without critical comment. Little effort is made to connect Hartke's story to broader developments in Catholicism and the arts.

As the first major study of Hartke's career, San Pietro's book does, however, serve to push the story of the phenomenon of the "show biz priest" beyond its conventional end point of Fulton Sheen's *Life is Worth Living* television series in the 1950s. Hartke's commitment to one universal theater certainly fits into the broader frame of Americanism and assimilation through which the public performances of these priests has

been interpreted. We still await a comprehensive examination of the significance of these priests as priests, and of the willingness of non-Catholics to accept the cultural authority of figures marked by the ancient icon of priestcraft, the Roman collar.

— Christopher Shannon

Other recent publications of interest include:

Daniel D. Arreola, *Tejano South Texas: A Mexican American Cultural Province* (University of Texas Press, 2002), provides a cultural geography of what is perhaps the largest ethnic region in the United States, Tejano South Texas. Arreola charts the many ways in which Texans of Mexican ancestry on the plains between the San Antonio River and the Rio Grande have established a cultural province that is unlike any other Mexican-American region. Exploring the Mexican regional origins of Tejanos and their reasons for migration, Arreola then examines the many factors that make Tejano South Texas distinct from other Mexican-American regions: The physical spaces of ranchos, plazas, barrios and colonias; the cultural life of the small towns and the cities of San Antonio and Laredo; and the foods, public celebrations, and political attitudes that characterize the region.

Will Bagley, ed., *The Pioneer Camp of the Saints: The 1846 and 1847 Mormon Trail Journals of Thomas Bullock* (Utah State University Press, 2001). The arrival of Latter Day Saints in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake is one of the major events in the history of the LDS

church and the West. Thomas Bullock was the official journal keeper of that party of pioneers and is perhaps more than any other person responsible for the vast documentary record of the LDS church in the mid-19th century. His original journal is made available in print for the first time in this book. Documenting the journey from Nauvoo to Salt Lake and back to the Missouri River, Bullock's journals provide detailed accounts of buffalo hunts, dances and celebrations and defining moments in Mormon history such as the "miracle of the Quail" at the Poor Camp on the Mississippi River.

Stuart Banner, *The Death Penalty: An American History* (Harvard University Press, 2002), tells the story of how, over four centuries, dramatic changes have taken place in the ways capital punishment has been administered and experienced. In the 17th and 18th centuries, the penalty was standard for a wide range of crimes — from adultery to murder, from arson to stealing horses. Hangings were public events, staged before audiences numbering in the thousands, for the explicitly religious purposes: replete with sermons,

confessions, and last-minute penitence, they were designed to promote the salvation of both the condemned and the crowd. Banner then shows how changes in capital punishment over the last two centuries reflect broader changes in the secularization and privatization of death. He concludes that efforts to sanitize the death penalty as a neutral, technological procedure have failed to diminish the controversies surrounding the practice as a tool of justice.

Ronald O. Barney, *One Side by Himself: The Life and Times of Lewis Barney, 1808-1894* (Utah State University Press, 2002), provides a participant's view of Mormonism's first six decades of controversy, hardship and triumph, viewed from the bottom of the social hierarchy. By focusing on "a worker in the Mormon vineyard" rather than one of "the princes of the Kingdom of God," this study provides a necessary corrective to the existing literature of 19th-century LDS biography. Tracing Lewis Barney's personal odyssey from his birth in upstate New York in 1808 to his death in Mancos, Colorado, in 1894, the book evokes some of the most

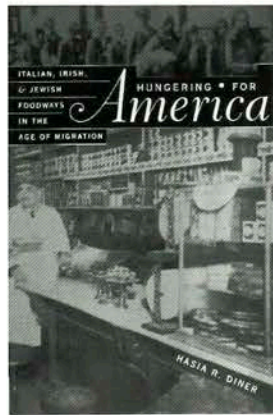
significant themes in American history while presenting a thorough account of the real impact of the westering experience on a man and his family.

Alain Boureau, *The Myth of Pope Joan* (University of Chicago Press, 2001). Translated by Lydia G. Cochrane. This book examines the legend of a ninth-century woman who, disguising herself as a man, ascended the ranks of the Catholic hierarchy to become pope. Bourreau traces this story to the 13th century and investigates the historical and ecclesiastical circumstances under which the myth of Pope Joan was constructed and the different uses to which it was put over the centuries. Catholic clerics justified the exclusion of women from the papacy and the priesthood by employing the myth in misogynist moral tales. Ultimately, the popess they had created turned against them in anti-Catholic propaganda during the Reformation.

John P. Burris, *Exhibiting Religion: Colonialism and Spectacle at International Expositions, 1851-1893* (University Press of Virginia, 2002), chronicles the emergence and development of religion as a field of intellectual inquiry through an extensive survey of world's fairs from the inaugural Great Exhibition in London to the Chicago Columbian Exposition and World's Parliament of Religions. As the first broad gatherings of people from across the world, these fairs were pivotal as forums in which the central elements of a field of religion came into contact with one another. The World's Parliament of Religions at the Chicago exposition of 1893 did as much as any other single event to introduce the idea that religion could be viewed as simply one concern among many within the rapidly diversifying modern lifestyle. Burris argues that comparative religion was the focal point for early attempts at comparative culture and that both were defined more by the intercultural politics and material exchanges of colonialism than by the spirit of objective intellectual inquiry.

Darryl V. Catherine, *Conservative Catholicism and the Carmelites: Identity, Ethnicity, and Tradition in the Modern Church* (Indiana University Press, 2001). This book explores the historical transformation after Vatican II of one Carmelite community into a neotraditionalist order defending Catholic teaching and spearheading a movement among women to define Catholicism. The Carmelite case suggests that battle between conservative and liberal Catholics centers on a debate over the desirability of a theological and ecclesiological model for the church drawn primarily from Anglo-Protestant culture. Catherine focuses on the appeal of the order to Latino/a communities in the United States. He argues that neotraditionalist Catholicism helps maintain and articulate ethnocultural identities and concludes that the transnational Catholic community from emanating from Spanish New World cultures constitutes a third force beyond the conventional dichotomy of liberal and conservative Catholicism.

Hasia R. Diner, *Hungering for America: Italian, Irish, and Jewish Foodways in the Age of Migration* (Harvard University Press, 2001),



examines how old world deprivations shaped the ways in which three ethnic groups experienced the realities of American abundance. Italian immigrants transformed the food of their upper classes and of sacred days into a generic "Italian" food that inspired community pride and cohesion. Irish immigrants, refusing to mimic the foodways of the Protestant British elite, downplayed the role of food as a marker of ethnicity. East European Jews, who venerated food as the vital center of family and religious practice, struggled to reconcile traditional dietary restrictions with America's boundless choices. Diner draws on old and new world stories to demonstrate the role of hunger in driving migration and the significance of food in cementing ethnic identity and community.

E.J. Dionne Jr. and Ming Hsu Chen, eds., *Sacred Places, Civic Purposes: Should Government Help Faith-Based Charity?* (Brookings Institution, 2001). Before the rise of the welfare state, religious congregations took the lead in organizing society's efforts to alleviate poverty. Those efforts continued even after the establishment of government programs to help the poor, but the Bush administration's new proposal to broaden support for "faith-based" social programs has raised new questions about the proper nature of church-state cooperation. This book focuses not simply on abstract questions of the promise and potential dangers of church-state partnerships, but also on concrete issues where religious organizations are leading problem solvers. The authors examine the record of faith-based organizations in preventing teen pregnancy, reducing crime and substance abuse, fostering community development, bolstering child care, and assisting parents and children on education issues. They offer conclusions about what congregations are currently doing, how government could help, and how government could usefully get out of the way.

Lawrence Foster, ed., *Free Love in Utopia: John Humphrey Noyes and the Origin of the Oneida Community* (University of Illinois Press, 2001). The "free love" Oneida Community practiced an extraordinary system of "complex marriage." For more than thirty years, two hundred adult members considered themselves heterosexually married to the entire community rather than to a single monogamous partner. This book provides the first in-depth account of how complex marriage was introduced among previously monogamous or single Oneida Community members. Foster has edited key selections from a large collection of primary documents detailing Oneida's early years, originally compiled by George Wallingford Noyes, nephew of the founder. Bringing together vivid, first-hand writings by members of the community, Foster shows how a deep religious commitment permeated every aspect of the daily life of the Oneida community.

Philip Hamburger, *Separation of Church and State* (Harvard University Press, 2002), argues that the separation of church and state has no historical

foundation in the First Amendment. Hamburger shows that separation became a constitutional freedom largely through fear and prejudice. Jefferson supported separation out of hostility to the Federalist clergy of New England. Nativist Protestants adopted the principle of separation to restrict the role of Catholics in public life. Gradually, these Protestants were joined by theologically liberal, anti-Christian secularists, who hoped that separation would limit Christianity and all other distinct religions. Hamburger concludes that in this process of redefining American religious liberty, the First Amendment has often been used as an instrument of intolerance and discrimination.

Hans G. Kippenberg, *Discovering Religious History in the Modern Age* (Princeton University Press, 2002), analyzes the rise of comparative religion as a particular response to modernization. In the mid-19th and early-20th century, Western scholars began to draw on prehistorical evidence, recently deciphered texts, and ethnographic reports to interpret the history of religion. Belief systems that had been rejected as irrational by Enlightenment philosophers were now studied with enthusiasm. Kippenberg argues that thinkers such as E.B. Tylor, Max Weber, and William James believed a history of religion could speak to questions about morality and identity that Enlightened thinkers or theologians could no longer answer. Ultimately, these thinkers looked to the study of ancient and non-Western religions in the hope of establishing awareness of a genuine human culture they felt to be threatened by an increasingly mechanized world.

Elizabeth McAlister, *Rara! Vodou, Power, and Performance in Haiti and Its Diaspora* (University of California Press, 2002). Rara is a vibrant annual street festival in Haiti, when followers of the Afro-Creole religion called Vodou march loudly into public space to take an active role in politics. Working deftly with highly original ethnographic material, Elizabeth McAlister shows how Rara bands harness the power of Vodou

spirits and the recently dead to broadcast coded points of view with historical, gendered, and transnational dimensions.

Peter McDonough and Eugene C. Bianchi, *Passionate Uncertainty: Inside the American Jesuits* (University of California Press, 2002). Since the 1960s, Jesuits in the United States have lost more than half of their members and experienced a massive upheaval in what they believe, how they work, and how they live. In this book, the authors draw on interviews and statements gathered from more than four hundred Jesuits and former Jesuits to provide an intimate look at turmoil among Catholicism's legendary best-and-brightest. Priests and former priests speak candidly about issues ranging from celibacy to the ordination of women, homosexuality, the rationale of the priesthood, the challenges of community life, and the divinity of Jesus. The interviews reflect the transformation of the order from its role as a traditional subculture during the days of immigrant Catholicism, into an amalgam of countercultures shaped around social mission, sexual identity, and an eclectic spirituality.

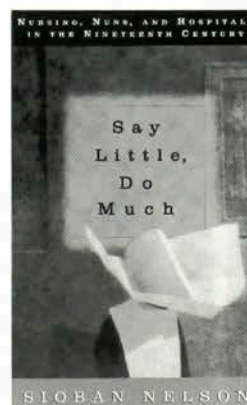
Jeffrey Marlett, *Saving the Heartland: Catholic Missionaries in Rural America* (Northern Illinois University Press, 2002). Primarily an urban phenomenon, Catholicism in America also produced a significant agrarian movement during the golden age of the immigrant church. Traveling on "motor missions" with mobile altars and folding pews, Catholic rural missionaries brought religious services to areas without local priests. These missionaries saw agriculture as an antidote to modernism and a saving grace for the entire nation. Catholic agrarians joined with other groups, both secular and religious, to improve farming practices so as to make rural life a viable alternative to living in the overcrowded metropolitan centers of America. Evangelizing side by side with their Protestant counterparts at country crossroads and county fairs, rural missionaries played an important role in the development of the American

Midwest and the 20th-century Catholic Church.

Ronald J. Morgan, *Spanish American Saints and the Rhetoric of Identity, 1600-1810* (University of Arizona Press, 2002). Like their European forebears, *criollos* — descendants of Spanish immigrants who called the New World home — preserved the memory of persons of extraordinary Roman Catholic piety in a centuries-old literary form known as the saint's Life. This book examines the collective function of the saint's Life from 1600 to the end of the colonial period, arguing that this literary form served not only to prove the protagonist's sanctity and move the faithful to veneration but also to reinforce sentiments of group pride and solidarity. When *criollos* praised Americano saints, they also called attention to their own virtues and achievements. Morgan analyzes this phenomenon through close readings of the printed hagiographies of five New World holy persons: Blessed Sebastián de Aparicio (Mexico), St. Rosa de Lima (Peru), St. Mariana de Jesús (Ecuador), Catarina de San Juan (Mexico), and St. Felipe de Jesús (Mexico).

Sioban Nelson, *Say Little, Do Much: Nursing, Nuns, and Hospitals in the Nineteenth Century* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001). In the 19th century, more than a third of American hospitals were created and run by women with religious vocations. A half a century before Florence Nightingale,

women religious organized and administered home, hospital, epidemic and military nursing in America as well as Britain and Australia. In this work, Nelson examines how modern nursing developed from the complex interplay of Catholic emancipation in Britain and Ireland, the resurgence of the Irish Church, the Irish diaspora, and the mass migrations of German, Italian, and



Polish communities to the previously Protestant strongholds of North America and mainland Britain. Locating the roots of serious and skilled nursing in the work of Vincent de Paul's Daughters of Charity in 17th-century France, Nelson traces the history of the order through the 19th century and shows how partnerships with the Irish Catholic Church enabled the Daughters to exert a major influence on the development of nursing in the English-speaking world.

Clifford Putney, *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880-1920* (Harvard University Press, 2001), details how Protestant leaders promoted competitive sports and physical education to create an ideal of Christian manliness. Though rooted in the new culture of manhood, muscular Christianity was conceived to reinvigorate Protestantism itself, which in the minds of many was increasingly failing to create masculine, forceful natures capable of withstanding an influx of Catholic immigrants. Putney analyzes the role of such dynamic organizations as the Boy Scouts and the Young Men's Christian Association in making Protestant Christianity a religion that attracted boys and men to the vigorous life. He also portrays the muscular Christian movement's vivid personalities, including evangelist Dwight L. Moody, psychologist G. Stanley Hall, and Theodore Roosevelt, the rough-riding, safari-going advocate of the Strenuous Life.

Jacinto Quirarte, *The Art and Architecture of the Texas Missions* (University of Texas Press, 2002). Subjected to centuries of decay and restoration, the 17th- and 18th-century mission churches of the northern frontier of New Spain today only hint at their colonial-era glory. Quirarte draws on decades of on-site and archival research to offer the most comprehensive reconstruction and description of the original art and architecture of the six remaining Texas missions — San Antonio de Valero (the Alamo), San José y San Miguel de Aguayo, Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción, San Juan Capistrano, San Francisco de la Espada in San Antonio and Nuestra Señora del Espíritu Santo in Goliad. Using church records and other historical accounts, as well as old photographs, drawings, and paintings,

Quirarte describes and analyzes the mission churches and related buildings, their decorated surfaces, and the (now missing) altarpieces.

Alice Ramos and Marie I. George eds., *Faith, Scholarship, and Culture in the 21st Century* (Catholic University of America Press, 2002). Drawing on Pope John Paul II's encyclical *Fides et Ratio*, the essays in this volume hold that the Christian faith provides definite cognitive advantages in the teaching and research pursued in the modern university. When modern culture severed its ties with the sacred it turned its back on humanity. Committed to a fruitful dialogue between science and religion, the essays nonetheless proceed from a shared belief that contemporary culture in the West stands in need of transformation. Scholars, including Mariano Artigas, Alfred J. Freddoso, Jeanne M. Heffernan, and Robert Royal argue that a faith-based research and teaching will effect a transformation not only in themselves and their students, but eventually in society as well.

Anne C. Rose, *Beloved Strangers: Interfaith Families in Nineteenth Century America* (Harvard University Press, 2001). The first historical study of religious diversity in the home, this book shows how mixed-faith families became agents of change in a culture moving toward pluralism. Drawing on personal letters, journals, and memoirs, Rose tracks the experiences of twenty-six interfaith families over the course of several generations. Examining the decisions husbands and wives made about religious commitment, their relationships with the extended families on both sides, and their convictions, she concludes that these couples — who came from strong Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish backgrounds — did not turn away from religion but made personalized adjustments in religious observance.

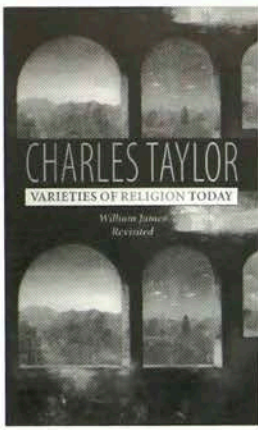
Myra Rutherdale, *Women and the White Man's God: Gender and Race in the Canadian Mission Field* (University of British Columbia Press, 2002). Between 1860 and 1940, Anglican missionaries were very active in northern British Columbia, Yukon, and the Northwest Territories. To date, histories of this mission work have largely focused on men, while the activities of

women — either as missionary wives or as missionaries in their own right — have been seen as peripheral at best, if not completely overlooked. Based on diaries, letters, and mission correspondence, this book provides the first comprehensive examination of women's roles in northern domestic missions. Rutherdale examines the status of women in the Anglican Church, gender relations in the mission field, and encounters between Aboriginals and missionaries. She concludes that the mission encounter ultimately challenged colonial hierarchies.

Eileen Hallet Stone, *A Homeland in the West: Utah Jews Remember* (University of Utah Press, 2002), collects the stories and the voices of immigrants, explorers, artists and merchants who made their way west and earned their living in an often alien, occasionally hostile, culture. Stone has gathered reminiscences from hours of oral histories that tell of life in Utah from a seldom-heard perspective. These stories — supplemented with photographs, traditional recipes, and a Yiddish glossary — speak to the dichotomy of Jews living as "gentiles" in Mormon "Zion"; they testify to the ways in which memory and tradition, lifestyles and legacies layer together to integrate the life of individuals into the life of a community.

Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco and Mariela Páez, eds., *Latinos Remaking America* (University of California Press, 2002). Latinos are the fastest growing ethnic group in the United States and will comprise a quarter of the country's population by mid-century. This collection of original essays brings together some of the leading scholars now studying the social, cultural, and economic changes wrought by the Latinization of the United States, the biggest migration flow in the history of the Americas. Social scientists, humanities scholars, and policy experts examine the full range Latino experience, covering issues from historical continuities and changes to immigration, race, labor, health, language, education, and politics.

Charles Taylor, *Varieties of Religion Today: William James Revisited* (Harvard University Press, 2002). In this book, the Catholic philosopher Taylor returns to the questions posed a hundred



years ago in William James' classic text *The Varieties of Religious Experience*. Mixing philosophy and the sociology of religion, Taylor interprets James' work in light of its historical

and cultural contexts, while examining its continued significance for the

understanding of religion in the present day. First evaluating James' treatment of the ethics of belief as a philosophical position, he then goes on to consider the public and cultural conditions in which questions of belief or unbelief are perceived to be personal, individual questions.

Michael P. Winship, *Making Heretics: Militant Protestantism and Free Grace in Massachusetts, 1636-1641* (Princeton University Press 2002), re-examines the famous Massachusetts disputes of the late 1630s conventionally labeled the "antinomian controversy." The first

book-length treatment in forty years, this study locates its story in a variety of contexts, ranging from ministerial quarrels and negotiations over fine but bitterly contested theological points to the shadowy worlds of orthodox and unorthodox lay piety, from the transatlantic struggles over the Massachusetts Bay Company's charter to the apocalyptic geopolitics of the Reformation itself.

Recent journal articles of interest include:

Timothy R. Allan, "Regina Lanigan, O.S.F., and Her Friendly Campus with Community Service: The Problems and Conflicts of Extra-Institutional Catholic Response to Inner Urban Crisis, 1969-1976," *American Catholic Studies* 110, nos. 1-4 (Spring-Winter 1999): 71-92.

Steven M. Avella, "Chicago's Sons: George G. Higgins and Reynold Hillenbrand," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 19, no. 4 (Fall 2001): 25-32.

Jonathan R. Baer, "Redeemed Bodies: The Functions of Divine Healing in Incipient Pentecostalism," *Church History* 70, no. 4 (December 2001): 735-771.

Edward Berryman, "Medjugorje's Living Icons: Making Spirit Matter," *Social Compass* 48, no. 4 (December 2001): 593-610.

Neil Brown, "Experience and Development in Catholic Moral Theology," *Pacifica* 14, no. 3 (October 2001): 295-312.

Jeffrey M. Burns, "'Be of Love (a Little) More Careful': Sister Corita, Father Bob, Love, and Art," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 19, no. 3 (Summer 2001): 67-80.

Jon Butler, "Listening for God in America," *Reviews in American History* 29, no. 4 (December 2001): 497-501.

Bruce J. Calder, "The Role of the Catholic Church and Other Religious Institutions in the Guatemalan Peace Process, 1980-1996," *Journal of Church and State* 43, no. 4 (Autumn 2001): 773-800.

José Casanova, "Religion, the New Millennium, and Globalization," *Sociology of Religion* 62, no. 4 (Winter 2001): 415-442.

Joseph P. Chinnici, O.F.M., "Deciphering Religious Practice: Material Culture as Social Code in the Nineteenth Century," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 19, no. 3 (Summer 2001): 1-20.

Rev. Leonard F. Chrobot, "Typologies of Polish American Parishes: Changing Pastoral Structures and Methods," *Polish American Studies* 58, no. 2 (Autumn 2001): 83-94.

Michael Connolly, "The First Hurrah: James Michael Curley versus the 'Goo-Goos' in the Boston Mayoralty Election of 1914," *Historical Journal of Massachusetts* 30, no. 1 (Winter 2002): 50-74.

Kathryn Conrad, "Fetal Ireland: National Bodies and Political Agency," *Éire-Ireland* 36, nos. 3 & 4 (Fall/Winter 2001): 153-173.

Brad Creed, "John Leland and Sunday Mail Delivery: Religious Liberty, Evangelical Piety, and the Problem of a

'Christian Nation,'" *Fides et Historia* 33, no. 2 (Summer/Fall 2001): 1-12.

Xavier Costa, "Festivity: Traditional and Modern Forms of Sociability," *Social Compass* 48, no. 4 (December 2001): 541-548.

Gerald M. Costello, "The Farm Labor Movement," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 19, no. 4 (Fall 2001): 33-40.

Charles E. Curran, "George Higgins and Catholic Social Teaching," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 19, no. 4 (Fall 2001): 59-72.

Derek H. Davis, "President Bush's Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives: Boon or Boondoggle?" *Journal of Church and State* 43, no. 3 (Summer 2001): 411-422.

James Calvin Davis, "A Return to Civility: Roger Williams and Public Discourse in America," *Journal of Church and State* 43, no. 4 (Autumn 2001): 689-706.

Edna Delaney, "Political Catholicism in Post-War Ireland: The Revd Denis Fahey and *Maria Duce*, 1945-54," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 52, no. 3 (July 2001): 487-511.

William D. Dinges, "'An Army of Youth': The Sodality Movement and the Practice of Apostolic Mission," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 19, no. 3 (Summer 2001): 35-50.

Mary C. Doak, "Cornell West's Challenge to the Catholic Evasion of Black Theology," *Theological Studies* 63, no. 1 (March 2002): 87-106.

Sean F. Everton, "The Promise Keepers: Religious Revival or Third Wave of the Religious Right?" *Review of Religious Research* 43, no. 1 (September 2001): 51-69.

Eugene J. Fisher, "Catholic-Jewish Relations," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 19, no. 4 (Fall 2001): 41-50.

Ismael García, "The Future of Hispanic/Latino Theology: The Gifts Hispanics/Latinas Bring to the Table," *Journal of Hispanic/Latino Theology* 9, no. 1 (August 2001): 46-56.

James F. Garneau, "The First Inter-American Episcopal Conference, November 2-4, 1959: Canada and the United States Called to the Rescue of Latin America," *The Catholic Historical Review* 87, no. 4 (October 2001): 662-687.

Neal Garnham, "Both Praying and Playing: 'Muscular Christianity' and the YMCA in Northeast County Durham," *Journal of Social History* 35, no. 2 (Winter 2001): 397-408.

Sarah Gualtieri, "Becoming 'White': Race, Religion and the Foundations of Syrian/Lebanese Ethnicity in the United States," *Journal of Ethnic History* 20, no. 4 (Summer 2001): 29-58.

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