



AMERICAN CATHOLIC STUDIES NEWSLETTER

CUSHWA CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF AMERICAN CATHOLICISM

1968 Revisited

“**A**merican history is converging on 1968,” or so it seemed early that summer to the editors of the newly launched conservative monthly *Triumph*. The nation was caught in a “wild torrent that is sweeping the System away.” Likewise, *Triumph* saw disturbing “signs of demoralization in the Roman Catholic Church in America.” At the other end of the spectrum of Catholic opinion, *The Critic* believed the events of that year, particularly the controversial encyclical *Humanae Vitae*, marked “the change of an era. The decisions made at this critical juncture will determine in great part the history of the epoch.”

Indeed, as we approach the end of the 20th century, the marks of the cultural revolution that occurred some

30 years ago are everywhere. Popular entertainments, sexual mores, habits of speaking and thinking, even religious belief and practice, all seem to have been deeply affected by the '60s in important but little understood ways. As Mark Lilla observes, “although we know *something* happened then, we still don't know what it was or even when it began.”

For American Catholics the convocation of the Second Vatican Council in October 1962 opened the decade with the exciting promise of renewal, and by the council's close in 1965, Catholics possessed a supremely authoritative mandate for change. “Today,” *Gaudium et Spes* announced, “the human race is passing through a new stage of its history.” The Church must meet the challenge posed by “a true social and cultural transformation” in the world, one “triggered by the intelligence and creative energies of man.” The knowl-

edge unlocked was ushering humanity from a “static concept of reality to a more dynamic, evolutionary one.” *Gaudium et Spes* contrasted a remarkable technical progress with deepening spiritual impoverishment, but it granted the modern, progressive view of history a tentative imprimatur.

Confidence that efforts for change were congruent with the broader, ineluctable course of history permeated the mix of perceptions, motives and ideologies that made the '60s what they were. A shared optimism concerning the immediate future bound progressive Catholics, other believers, and the rest of liberal America together for a time during the '60s, but the sources of that optimism were often peculiar to each tradition. Catholicism's signal contribution to the cosmic optimism of the decade came with a sudden explosion of popular interest in the writings of a French Jesuit and paleontologist, Pierre Teilhard de Chardin.

Like John Courtney Murray, Teilhard had labored for years under curial suspicions and many of his writings were only published posthumously. By the mid-'60s, however, works such as *The Phenomenon of Man* were easily available in inexpensive paperback editions, and a *Commonweal* symposium on “The Cool Generation and the Church” found Teilhard the only

see *Revisited*, page 7

I N S I D E

<i>Cushwa Center Activities</i>	2-7
<i>Research Report</i>	6
<i>Announcements</i>	11-13
<i>Publications: Seek and Ye Shall Virtually Find</i>	13-23



Seminar in American Religion

The Seminar in American Religion on September 19 featured Professor Jon Gjerde, author of the award-winning book, *The Minds of the West: Ethno-cultural Evolution in the Rural Middle West, 1830–1917* (University of North Carolina Press, 1997). Gjerde is professor of history at the University of California, Berkeley. Walter T. K. Nugent, Andrew V. Tackes professor of American history at the University of Notre Dame, and Thomas W. Spalding, C.F.X., professor of American history at Spalding University in Louisville, Kentucky, served as commentators.

Gjerde's 1985 study of Norwegian immigration to the upper middle west, *From Peasants to Farmers*, placed him among the most innovative of contemporary immigration historians, Nugent observed. *The Minds of the West* builds upon and goes beyond Gjerde's earlier volume, viewing the middle west over the course of the 19th century as an "ethnic quilt," made up of two large,

composite immigrant groups: Yankee Protestants originally from the New England-New York culture hearth, and Catholic and Lutheran European immigrants from Sweden, Norway and Germany.

Gjerde examines the tensions that surfaced between — and within — these immigrant groups under the broad headings of community, family and society, and treats religion throughout his analysis as a constituent element of each of these facets of immigrant life. The middle west "was an environment where cultural differences both interacted and were contested," says Gjerde. Differences in styles of land tenure, domestic relations and politics "manifested a cultural signature stemming from the minds carried westward" by these two immigrant groups.

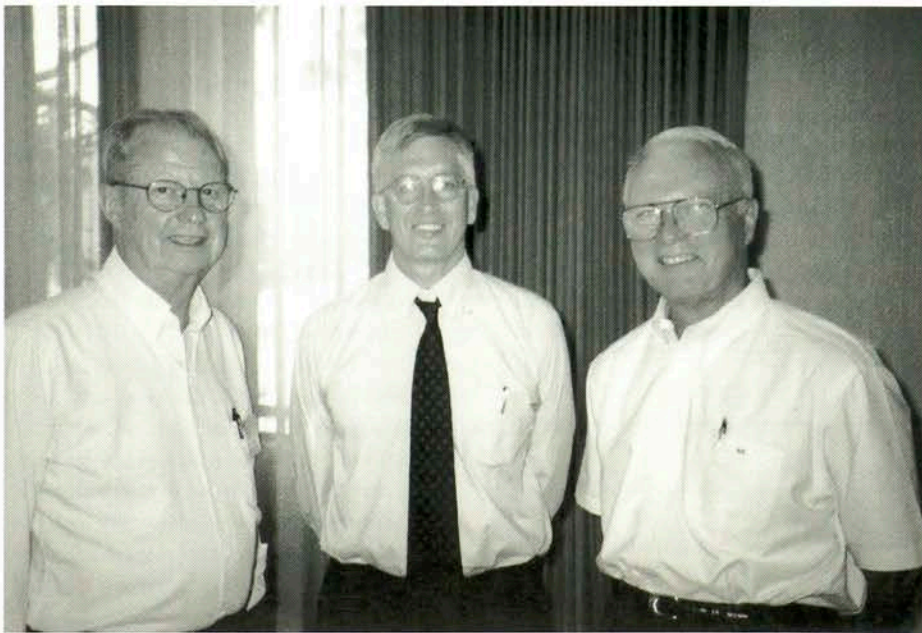
At the same time, immigrant minds were transformed by the experience of the new environment. Attracted by the opportunity of re-creating "nucleated settlements" where traditional culture patterns could be preserved, immigrants struggled with "the centrifugal forces of new social patterns" that emerged in the

"open environment" of the farming frontier.

Central to many of the differences observable between Yankee and European immigrants were corporatist assumptions woven throughout the religious, social and political thinking of European groups, particularly Catholics and German Lutherans. Corporatism, which went hand in hand with a revival of confessionalism in continental Christianity after the French Revolution, promoted "organic conceptions of state and society" informed by analogies with the human body. Worldviews constructed on natural law, for example, "assigned every being a place in the whole and every link was based on a divine decree."

Older American groups gradually drifted away from corporatist ideas ever since Puritan theology began losing its hold late in the 17th century. A more rapid erosion ensued after the American Revolution, culminating in a near-wholesale embrace of individualism by the 1840s. When immigrant communities re-imported corporatist conceptions of family and community to the middle west later in the century, tensions were bound to appear. Gjerde finds contrasting philosophical outlooks behind political clashes over education and prohibition later in the century, when "political movements seeking to merge local communities into a larger whole" raised crucial questions concerning "the relative influence of family, community, and an increasingly powerful state."

Immigrants found the west attractive because it promised what was impossible in Europe or the more settled eastern United States, the freedom to establish communities along corporatist lines. Once established, however, ethnic communities were far from impervious to intra-group tensions. Dissidents exploited the rhetoric of freedom for their own ends. This occurred repeatedly and in numerous contexts, from splits among congregations or parishes to a son's or daughter's assertion of independence in choosing a marriage partner.



Thomas W. Spalding, Jon Gjerde, Walter Nugent

One of the most fascinating questions raised by Gjerde's research is the degree to which ethnicity is dependent upon a corporatist religio-philosophical scheme. Scott Appleby wondered what holds ethnic consciousness in place when religiously legitimated communities are no longer imaginable. More work is needed to answer this question, but *The Minds of the West* is conspicuous, Thomas Spalding noted, for its attention to religion in the cultural and political fabric of the 19th-century middle west. Religion was the cement binding otherwise disparate activities together in the rural middle west, from domestic arrangements to farming practices to electoral behavior.

Whether ecclesiastical and theological dissension loosened the ties of domestic and communal authority, or if the complexities and difficulties of maintaining traditional ways in a modernizing social environment called religious belief and sanctions into question, remains an important question that may have more than one answer for different situations. Whatever future scholars may propose in the way of answers, this book shows that any attempt to separate the history of ethnicity from religion is unwise. Sandra Mize applauded Gjerde for including not only religion but theology among his topics of analysis, something rarely done by immigration historians. Gjerde indicated why that might be: understanding the theological dimensions of the history of the midwest was, along with tracking demographic changes within the region, the most difficult part of writing the book, he confessed.

As with any study ambitious enough to take an entire region for its subject matter, some topics were necessarily neglected, and questions arose during the seminar that may point the way for future research by interested scholars. As Professor Spalding pointed out, the Irish receive relatively little

attention, yet it was they who were "the real cutting-edge Catholic pioneers." Professor Nugent noted that recent research has revealed the presence of Russian, Jewish and even Arab farmers

on the midwestern frontier. It will be interesting to see whether these groups conform to Gjerde's analysis. Nugent also looks forward to studies that will extend Gjerde's questions into the more recent history of the west.

Responding to a question from James Bratt inquiring whether it is possible to use gender in the analysis of the farming frontier, Gjerde pointed out that there are fewer primary sources written by women during this period than a historian would wish. Even so, said Gail Bederman, Gjerde's work offers important nuance to our understanding of conservative opposition to

women's suffrage; perhaps future research will uncover what women belonging to conservative, corporatist religious communities thought of these debates.

Tracing the contours of an emerging pluralism in that and other debates over temperance, education and "Americanism," and the role of religion in these debates is crucial to an understanding of the midwest, and *The Minds of the West* provides an attractive model for historians working on the intersection of religion and ethnicity in other times and places.

Cushwa Center Lecture

On October 6, the Cushwa Center sponsored a lecture by theologian, author and former U.S. ambassador Michael Novak. Mr. Novak holds the George Frederick Jewett Chair in Religion and Public Policy at the American Enterprise Institute. Borrowing the title for his talk from Cardinal Newman, Novak presented an "Apologia Pro Vita

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Sua" in response to the American Catholic Studies Seminar offered by Eugene McCarragher last spring, which looked at Novak's social, economic and religious thought during the 1960s and 1970s. Professor McCarragher, who teaches history at the University of Delaware, provided a rejoinder to Novak's lecture.

Novak reviewed a career that spans almost four decades of public Catholicism, includes some 25 books and more than 500 articles and reviews, and encompasses a controversial change of mind that saw Novak rejecting the Catholic liberalism he had once championed and embarking on a vigorous defense of democratic capitalism and the American way of life.

McCarragher's spring lecture stressed the continuities in Novak's thought that persist over the course of his career and partially explain his ideological reversal. McCarragher focused on Novak's concern to find a way of uniting Catholic intellectuals and the people in a viable alternative to mainstream, secularized culture. His lecture criticized Novak's turn toward American civil religion for neglecting key aspects of Catholic social teaching.

Novak thanked McCarragher for pointing out the fact of continuities in his work, though "he doesn't discern them accurately"; indeed, said Novak, "he seriously misstates them." Novak presented what he considered six significant continuities in his thinking over the years: the need to offer an intellectually defensible response to "the challenge of nihilism"; the presence of divine love or *caritas* in creation; the deep human need to question and understand the world, what he calls "the eros of inquiry"; an emphasis on the incarnational dimension in theology, as opposed to an eschatological witness; the importance of the body, flesh and senses to Christian — particularly Catholic — theology; and, finally, "intelligent subjectivity," the role of "the tacit, the inarticulable, the well-ordered senses and passions and emotions and heart, at the very center of our acts of insight and judgment." Guided by these concerns, Novak adhered to "the economic and social thought of the left." The one discontinuity in his thought came, said Novak, when he realized that these policies were in fact "injurious to the poor of



Eugene McCarragher, Michael Novak

the world," including the working-class community of Johnstown, Pennsylvania, where he had grown up.

Novak recalled that his father had subscribed to the *Catholic Worker*. Dorothy Day, Michael Harrington and Paul Hanly Furfey were his early heroes. "I thought it morally more correct and religiously more satisfying to be something of a socialist and a tart critic of capitalism." At the same time, however, he was beginning to notice a subtle elitism among the leftists with whom he was associating at Harvard and Stanford. When they spoke of "power to the people," they were not thinking of the white, working-class people with whom Novak had grown up.

There are several roads to neoconservatism; Novak's was understanding economics. When you judge socialist inspired programs "by their fruits — not as dreams, but as realities — disillusion begins."

Novak's theological interests meshed with his newfound appreciation of capitalism. Early in his career he came to appreciate "the importance of thinking small and honoring the humble

things that at first I tended to despise." Theology, he was convinced, had to account for the dignity of the mundane: the laity, work and "daily institutional life."

As he journeyed away from the left, Novak found a Catholic emphasis on the dignity of everyday life opening a way to appreciate the founders' commitment to "a commercial republic." Commerce, which promotes liberty and opportunity, "depends on sound habits in private lives." Much of his work since 1980, Novak said, has been devoted to finding a way "to transform our approach to capitalism by grasping its religious possibilities."

It is impossible, he said, to construct "a realistic theology of the laity, or theology of work, without a theology of capitalism." Novak thus adopted "a more distinctively American" perspective on economic life, one that celebrates the realities within which most Christians earn their livings.

In his response, McCarragher summarized the points he made last March. He sees Novak coming of age at a time when both American society and the

Church were undergoing profound structural and intellectual changes. The rising economic status of the post-immigrant Church was represented by a new professional-managerial class of highly educated Catholics. Social scientists and economists such as Daniel Bell observed a transition to a post-industrial society, and religious observers were uncertain whether this would be a post-religious society, also.

Novak was once a trenchant critic of a society that encouraged an insatiable therapeutic consumerism to assuage the spiritual hunger of alienated moderns. Like other observers, however, Novak was ambivalent about the future, harboring hopes for a dramatic spiritual and social transformation in postindustrial society, if only the Church could command the attention of a prosperous, sophisticated laity.

As Novak grew disillusioned with the left, he was also re-evaluating the spiritual possibilities of a technopolitan society governed by the WASP elite. Skeptical of the meager religious resources remaining in the mainstream establishment, Novak turned to the "unmeltable ethnics" as a reservoir for cultural redemption.

According to McCarragher, Novak's populist turn left him susceptible to political naiveté and materialism. With an image of the Catholic intellectual as a voice for, rather than prophet to, the people, Novak became a defender of the capitalism embraced by the new, professional-managerial laity. Catholic social thought was neglected as an alternative site for political, social and cultural criticism.

McCarragher admitted that critics of capitalism need to be keenly aware of the errors of the left. The difficulties inherent in constructing a viable alternative that avoids the illusions and simplifications of the old left need not, however, force us into joining the "glad-handing, high-fiving," self-congratulatory chorus sweeping the nation. Capitalism's claims to honor creation while promoting widespread ecological depredations are only one symptom of its mendacity. Fortunately, said McCarragher, he believes in a God of second chances, so there is hope after all.

Hibernian Lecture

On October 30, Professor Timothy J. Meagher of the Center for Irish Studies at The Catholic University of America presented a lecture on "Primitive Men, Tough Women and Defenders of the Old Order: Representations of Italian and Irish Americans in Twentieth Century American Popular Culture." The lecture was made possible by a grant from the Ancient Order of Hibernians.

In what he admitted was a departure from his usual interests, Meagher's lecture compared changing representations of Italian and Irish characters in films and television since the early 1970s. Beginning with Francis Ford Coppola's first *Godfather* film, Meagher finds Italian-Americans becoming Hollywood's favorite ethnic group, while Irish-Americans are shunted to the margins and portrayed less favorably.

Changing representations of these two groups are illustrated by a scene in Coppola's movie when Michael Corleone — the "good son," college educated and being groomed for a respectable position in society — murders a rival mobster and a corrupt Irish police officer in a restaurant. The event is a rite of passage for Michael, but it also symbolizes a shift in perspective in Hollywood film: The young Mafioso is regarded sympathetically, while the Irish police officer is portrayed as a corrupt and bigoted representative of the establishment.

Meagher finds representations of Italian- and Irish-Americans reflecting broader shifts in American society during the 1960s. Several trends are evident during that decade: The Civil Rights movement punctured an assimilationist model of ethnicity; second-wave feminism raised profound suspicions about traditional family structures; the anti-war movement encouraged a re-evaluation of conventional patriotism; and the decline of devotional Catholicism saw a concomitant rise in ethnic consciousness among the children and grandchildren of European immigrants.

New attitudes associated with the youth culture altered the social environment that determined a film's reception. A suspicion of authorities, institutions and bureaucracies and a related quest for authentic community were recurrent

themes in the lively arts. The decline of the Hayes Code and the Legion of Decency opened a space for radical expressions of these attitudes. Religious and law-enforcement figures could be portrayed as foolish or corrupt; crime could pay. The old rules about what morals a film should enforce were up-ended.

In the midst of these cultural changes, Italian-Americans began receiving unprecedented amounts of screentime in the *Godfather* series, the *Rocky* movies, *Saturday Night Fever*, and the films of Martin Scorsese. The reason for this, said Meagher, was that films portrayed Italian-Americans as the embodiments of a cluster of values prized by the larger culture and synthesized in the image of the "white primitive." A hyper-masculine figure, the white primitive is simple, direct, tough and violent, but also emotional, freely expressing anger or sexual passion with few inhibitions. When that figure is also Italian-American, the image is even more fascinating, connoting the anthropological "other," an exotic culture replete with rich, elemental loyalties and colorful traditions surrounding food and family.

Such figures resonated with the aspirations and anxieties of the counter-culture. Cinematic white primitives symbolized the impetus to achieve a free, authentic and joyous existence unhampered by conventional hang-ups; at the same time, he was capable of the

violent and sexually predatory behavior that fulfilled a certain male stereotype. White primitives offered an appealing alternative to rootless, alienated moderns while meeting the challenge whites saw in African-Americans in the wake of the black power movement. The latter theme was made explicit in Sylvester Stallone's immensely popular *Rocky* movies.

The image of the white primitive can be traced to the earliest days of cinema, in westerns and gangster movies particularly, said Meagher. But why, he asked, were Irish-American characters not appropriated by Hollywood in the same way Italian-Americans were? Meagher ventured three answers: First, the Irish conveyed an air of sexual repression in contrast with warmer Mediterranean qualities. Second, by the '60s the Irish were largely assimilated, occupying positions of power and prestige in law enforcement and city government, and were identified with the old order the white primitives rejected. Third, the Irish reputation for robust patriotism was unattractive to young directors in the Vietnam and Watergate years.

An identification with the American "everyman" that Irish-Americans had achieved in Hollywood during the 1940s and 1950s became a deficit as the '60s youth culture turned against the establishment. In *Serpico*, *The Pope of Greenwich Village*, and many other films, Irish-American males appeared as symbols of official corruption. Interestingly, Meagher pointed out, Irish-American women escape this reversal of values; particularly in television shows such as "Cagney and Lacey" and "Murphy Brown," they are portrayed as unusually strong, resourceful and self-reliant figures. These images too, said Meagher, can be traced back to stereotypes present in 19th-century entertainments.

Ethnic stereotypes, said Meagher, are remarkably resilient. Despite recurrent efforts to root them out, they appear over and over again. Their meaning, however, changes as the cultural and historical environment shifts. What is admired and respected in one decade may be derided and despised in the next. Historians need to pay attention to portrayals of ethnic groups as symptoms of changes in larger themes and values, Meagher concluded.



Professor Timothy J. Meagher

Catholicism in 20th-Century America: Research Report

Religion is the neglected child of mid-20th-century political history. As John McGreevy and Leo Ribuffo have pointed out, historians of 20th-century America have too often ignored the key role played by religious beliefs in shaping personal identity and political culture.

My dissertation, "The Political Culture of Cold War Detroit, 1945-1955," illuminates the cultural underpinnings of American anticommunism and explores why opposition to communism resonated with the values of so many Americans during the early Cold War. This local study focuses on the key role Catholics played in shaping the political culture of Detroit, a city whose archdiocese counted over one million members, 70 percent of whom attended Mass at least once a week during the 1950s.

Catholic doctrine and Catholic institutions shaped the lives of many urban Northerners during the postwar era. Ignoring Catholicism is a particularly serious omission for scholars of the postwar period because Catholics made up between 20 to 70 percent of the total population of northern industrial cities in the 1940s and 1950s. Understanding the political culture of the urban North is crucial, for as Thomas Sugrue has written, northern urban whites were both the backbone and the bane of New Deal Liberalism. These urbanites limited and constrained liberal reform during the mid-20th century.

No aspect of post-war political culture more circumscribed the "possibilities of liberal reform" than did American anti-communism, and no group championed the opposition to communism more fervently than did Catholics. In order to understand why the backbone of the New Deal coalition turned against the Democratic party in the late 1970s and 1980s, we must explore Catholic anticommunism in the 1950s.

Studies of American anticommunism have hardly ignored Catholics and

Catholicism. Prominent scholars who have highlighted the key roles Catholics played in shaping American opposition to communism, including Richard Hofstadter and Donald Crosby, have often interpreted Catholic anticommunism as arising out of either an irrational status anxiety or from Catholics' perceived need to prove that they had assimilated into American society. Meanwhile, scholars such as Michael Rogin and Richard Freeland have portrayed American rejection of communism as a largely political phenomenon, part of elite strategies to use red baiting to smash unions, curb the welfare state, put women in their place and roll back the New Deal.

While social and political historians, such as Liz Cohen, have begun to recognize the importance of the Church as an institution, they have been slow to incorporate theology and piety into their analysis. In my dissertation, I argue that historians must take Catholic piety and religious practice seriously in order to understand American anti-communism. For Detroit Catholics, fighting communism was inextricably linked to long-standing fears that secularism and modernism were undermining traditional sources of moral authority, especially the patriarchal family and the Catholic Church.

The church hierarchy had long trumpeted its fear of a moral crisis brought on by the modern world's rejection of timeless, absolute values. This apprehension had little impact on American culture before the 1940s. But as anticommunism became central to the politics of the late 1940s and 1950s, Catholics infused their critique of modernity into political discourse, reshaping the anticommunist debate.

Catholics during the early Cold War not only sought to defeat Soviet communism, but fought to restore

Christian morality to all aspects of life. They attempted to create a world where moral authority would reside in the patriarchal family and the community rather than in the centralized state or an increasingly secular society.

I have chosen to use the powerful religious symbol of the Virgin Mary to gain insight into Catholic anticommunism. Marian piety opens the door to the mentality of postwar Catholicism. Marian veneration experienced a robust revival during the postwar period as hundreds of thousands of Detroit Catholics embraced Mary's message at Fatima that praying the rosary would defeat Soviet communism.

In the early 1950s, Detroit boasted some 3,000 block rosary clubs, while an estimated 200,000 Catholics gathered their families together and prayed along with the Radio Rosary Crusade. Thousands of Catholics flocked to churches every May 1 to say the rosary and "Make May Day Mary's Day" while even more filled the University of Detroit's football stadium every May to crown the statue of the Virgin Mary and create a living rosary on the field.

As they participated in these rituals, Detroit Catholics shaped and modified the meaning of Fatima to meet their own needs. The devout configured the image of the Virgin Mary to express their fears, not only of communism, but of modernism, secularism, and the decline of patriarchal family structure. Detroit workers, whose lives were shaped by corporations, unions, and the military, used the image of Mary both as a weapon against the modern, secular order and as a model of the ideal woman in the

traditional, hierarchical society they sought to preserve.

The 1940s and '50s were a period of political and social upheaval in the city as Detroit experienced an influx of

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African-Americans, the rise of white homeowners' associations, the beginnings of deindustrialization, and factionalism in the UAW. Catholics played key roles in the municipal battles that shaped Detroit, especially in unions and homeowners' associations, and I hope to explore the connections between these associations and rosary groups, both of which saw themselves as strengthening

family, community and parish against radical encroachment.

My research elucidates the cultural underpinnings of American anticommunism while also clarifying how and why northern Catholics moved from being the backbone of the New Deal coalition to becoming so-called Reagan Democrats. Clearly, race played a crucial role

in this political shift. However, I believe that historians cannot neglect cultural issues. I hope to show how the larger Catholic critique of culture in the early cold war illuminates the roots of Reagan-era conservatism.

— Colleen Doody
University of Virginia

1968 Revisited

continued from page 1

Catholic theologian young people admitted to reading with any enthusiasm.

Teilhard's influence extended beyond the younger generation. Some think it was behind Vatican II's nod toward "evolutionary dynamism." As Roger Shinn noted at the time, Teilhard's *sui generis* mix of science, metaphysics and poetry with its breathless talk of a "super-humanity" evolving toward "Christ as Omega Point" struck readers as either intoxicating or baffling, but his central contention that "the general ascent of life toward fuller consciousness" was fast approaching a revolutionary threshold was widely shared.

Progressive Catholics foresaw a revolutionary shift in attitudes resulting from the knowledge explosion. Woodstock theologian John Milhaven, S.J., insisted a "revolution of human experience and understanding has passed within the precincts of the Church and leaves the Catholic no choice but to rethink everything." Such a rethinking would result in fundamental changes in mentality. Catholics, *America* urged, "must be taught to look at the world in more relevant ways, to revise their values, to expand their experience and skills, and to be able to react imaginatively."

Changes in the Mass, liturgy, devotional practices, ecumenism and other forms of renewal associated with Vatican II, were for many a painful experience, but as Fr. Eugene Kennedy insisted, "We must permit many things to die if new life is to flood the institutional Church."

Just how much should be permitted to die, what was essential and what was accidental, was no easy question to answer. High hopes for the Church of tomorrow mingled with radical expectations as to what a thoroughly renewed Church might look like. Looking forward to "The Church in 1992," Bishop John Mussio of Steubenville, Ohio, foresaw a decentralized hierarchy operating in full collegiality; parish structures reorganized and even dissolved as priests dispersed among the population; ecumenism come of age, with Lutherans, Anglicans and Catholics enjoying full sacramental communion; perhaps even a televised Mass will "fulfill the Sunday obligation."

Doctrine will not go untouched, the bishop warned, as "the truths of philosophy and theology must be reworded, re-expressed and reoriented so that they fit the need of our time and by their pertinence gain the attention and support of the mind." Mussio was convinced doctrinal revision would disencumber the Church of outdated formulations that were impeding evangelization. Renewal will remove "many of the drags on the Church made by the human element."

Others saw more dramatic changes on the horizon, reaching deeper into practice and doctrine. Avery Dulles, S.J., writing in *Theological Studies*, praised the courage of the death-of-God theologians, recognizing in their work "a symptom and a challenge that cannot be ignored," one that echoed the tenor of *Gaudium et Spes*. Like Vatican II, radical theologians were facing up to the need to span the chasm separating "a religion that is churchly and archaic and a pattern of life which is secular and contemporary."

How far would the Church need to go to bridge the gap to the modern world? At a minimum, there must be "a searching reappraisal of many conventional institutions and ways of speaking," said Dulles. "Some of the superstructures of medieval and baroque Catholicism will have to be dismantled." Noting that a new generation of Catholic theologians shared many of the concerns of the death-of-God movement, Dulles expected interesting developments in theology.

Despite worries that doctrinal reform might go too far, Dulles was convinced that radical changes were needed to bring the faith "into closer relationship to our experience of life. Only by taking this risk," he concluded, "can we hope to find God's presence in our own history and to speak a liberating message to the bewildered men of our day."

Radical renewal was risky, of course, but apart from it the Church might very well face the dystopian futures envisioned in Leslie Dewart's *The Future of Belief* (1966) or Peter Berger's *The Sacred Canopy* (1967), both of which predicted a final, inevitable secularization. Where Dewart argued the philosophical untenability of traditional doctrines, Berger lent the greater prestige of social science to the same conclusion. If Berger is correct, said *Cross Currents*, we can expect "the decline and possible end," not only of religious institutions, but of "religious belief" as well.

These sobering visions galvanized many Catholics around doctrinal and structural renewal. Convinced that renewal could transform both the Church and the world, they worried the Church might lose its nerve, consigning

itself to irrelevance. Above all, the triumphal-enclave mentality of the Tridentine era had to be exchanged for the new model of a pilgrim Church. A humble, seeking, serving Church, streamlined and free of inherited impediments, could successfully meet the challenge of modernity where religion-as-usual could not.

Catholics increasingly found a useful analysis of the Church's predicament in the thought of the martyred Lutheran theologian, Dietrich Bonhoeffer. Jesuit Eugene Bianchi explained Bonhoeffer's relevance in *Theological Studies*: The Church's primary need at this critical hour is to overcome "false religiousness and debilitating dualisms," wrote Bianchi. Forged in the midst of disillusion with the ineffective German churches of the 1930s, Bonhoeffer's critique of a "nonprophetic Church" unable to speak to "a world come of age," retreating instead into a sterile religiosity, offered instructive parallels, Bianchi thought, for the Church of the 1960s.

According to Bonhoeffer, the Church is always tempted to ignore Christ's call to serve the world, and instead turn to forming *homo religiosus*: individuals anxious for their personal salvation, unconcerned with mundane questions of politics and social ethics. For Bonhoeffer, this was a prescription for the triumph of evil. As Christians busied themselves inside their churches, Jews were being shipped off to the death camps.

Despite the teachings of the social encyclicals and the urgings of John XXIII and Vatican II, Bianchi believed American Catholics, too, had subordinated "a this-worldly spirituality and

action to otherworldly and legalistic forms of religiosity."

Intent on preserving its institutional prestige, Bianchi charged, the American Church had neglected more important matters. "In the name of patriotism, we have not questioned our own bellicose self-righteousness as Church communities and American communities." We "have not opened our hearts to those of other races, classes, and creeds" and "pay little heed to the dilemma of world hunger and poverty." In sum, the Church "has too often looked like an institution whose main purpose was to constrain a compartmentalized and otherworldly deity into legitimizing the nonprophetic conduct of Bonhoeffer's 'religious people.'" Bianchi's jeremiad is a snapshot of a popular mood among renewal-minded Catholics at an emotionally volatile point in time.

Bonhoeffer's analysis led many Catholics to see a connection between the Church's predicament in an increasingly secular world and a rule-bound, authoritarian system that persisted despite efforts at Church renewal. Even conservative historian James Hitchcock admitted that the Church seemed "fixed on rules that sometimes obscured the deeper reality of the faith." By refusing "to accept the coming-of-age of modern man," the Church had unnecessarily alienated the modern world; in the 1960s it seemed to be alienating its own members, as increasingly vocal priests and women religious complained they were tired of being treated like children. Educated Catholics in particular, increasingly conscious that they, too, had come-of-age, found Bonhoeffer's critique of a religious system that "tried to put a grown man back into

adolescence" a strikingly apt description of their own experiences.

As Emeric A. Lawrence, O.S.B., observed, though many Catholics had indeed become holy within the preconiliar system, today's faithful are rightfully "asking questions and acting like liberated adults." To many, this was less a rebellion than a revival. Long taught to accept doctrinal and moral formulations on Church authority, Catholics were now searching for "positive Christian motives and norms that will make more sense" than the abstract prohibitions of the past, said Millhaven. Conscious of their adulthood, Catholics were embracing Anselm's passion for a "Christian faith seeking understanding."

Authority would need to be exercised differently in a Church made up of adults able to think for themselves. The intellectual and spiritual maturity of the faithful is currently being ignored, wrote Loyola-Chicago philosopher Richard Westley, compromising the Church's credibility. "Contemporary man is no longer subject, he is citizen. And this implies an entirely different ordering of human affairs stressing freedom and responsibility."

The prospect of jettisoning a top-down system of rules and regulations, however, raised another question: What would replace them as a guide to Christian behavior? What would prevent a rapid decline into doctrinal and moral anarchy? An influential answer was that offered by theologian Bernard Häring. Häring's experience in the German army during World War II, where he witnessed principled individuals refusing to partake in atrocities, taught him the power of individual conscience. Later, Häring would contribute to Vatican II's definition of conscience as a law written deep in one's being, "the most secret core and sanctuary of a man." Consulting his conscience, said the council, "he is alone with God, whose voice echoes in his depths."

Lecturing on "Conscience and Freedom" in March 1966 at New York University, Häring explained the relevance of conscience for a new order of freedom. Modernity has liberated men and women from a "bare conformism without interior convictions," a

Popular entertainments, sexual mores, habits of speaking and thinking, even religious belief and practice, all seem to have been deeply affected by the '60s in important but little understood ways.

liberation that is now being felt in the Church. Where authoritarianism seeks to extinguish conscience, honoring the God-given dignity of the person requires that it be respected. Echoing John Henry Newman, Häring found it unthinkable that "an earthly authority or an ecclesiastical magisterium could take away from man his own decision of conscience." Even in error conscience is inviolable, said Häring, for it is a "maximum value."

Developments in Catholic thinking such as these led Protestant theologians to admire a new Catholic Church that "has made clear its Christian humanistic commitment." "Through both its individual theologians and its official utterances the contemporary Church speaks clearly," said Shinn early in 1968. "Increasingly the non-Catholic world listens."

Catholics and non-Catholics alike, however, were also watching what the Church was doing. By 1968 attention was turning to a controversy in the archdiocese of Los Angeles where the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, a teaching order, were attempting to implement what they believed were reforms in accord with Vatican II. Their 81-year-old archbishop, Cardinal James McIntyre, ordered them to restore regulations abandoned under the spell of *aggiornamento*, or find themselves barred from diocesan schools. That 200 badly needed teachers would be fired because of their dress embarrassed many in the Catholic community.

For liberal Catholics, the controversy in Los Angeles was more than a disaster for public relations. Rather, it heralded a slowing of the momentum of renewal, the consequences of which reached far beyond the boundaries of the Catholic community. Like sociologist Thomas O'Dea, they were convinced that Catholic *aggiornamento* was the "great and indeed probably final opportunity for Christianity." The effective presence of Christian faith in the world depended on Catholics seeing renewal through.

Months prior to *Humanae Vitae*, observers were describing a Church beginning to divide over questions of doctrine and polity. Never have there existed within the same Church "poles of interpretation which share so little of what is termed 'a common faith,'" said

Rosemary Reuther at a conference that April.

At the same time, a new issue appeared, overshadowing other controversies. America's escalating involvement in Vietnam was fast becoming the premier moral dilemma in America, absorbing attention and inflaming passions. Catholics too were becoming psychologically entangled in the war, as Vietnam effected a "moral interlocking of private identity with the public policy of government," according to William Pfaff.

As David Levy argues in *The Debate Over Vietnam* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), the war drew broad segments of the population into uncharacteristically intense reflection and discussion as the morality of the conflict was publicly debated. In dorm rooms, dining halls and teach-ins on Catholic campuses, younger Catholics were getting a crash course in moral theology as they grappled with just war theory, and attempted to formulate a conscientious response to the dilemmas posed by Vietnam.

In Catholic moral thinking, the debate over Vietnam enhanced the critical role already assigned to *conscience*. Catholics had usually been thought of as a reliable reservoir of patriotism in wartime, but an influential group of Catholic progressives stressed the responsibility of individual conscience in evaluating the justice of any war. In 1943, Paul Hanly Furfey had argued that the "morality of a particular war is always subject to review by the individual conscience." If a Catholic decides that a given war is unjust, "he is bound to refuse to fight," Furfey wrote. "One not only may, but must, be a conscientious objector."

In late fall of 1966, the American bishops had incensed Catholics opposed to or unsure about the war when they flatly stated that "our presence in Vietnam is justified." The Catholic Peace Fellowship objected, arguing that the bishops' statement illegitimately overrode "the dictates of a free conscience." Bernard Häring, Charles Curran and other Catholic ethicists increasingly emphasized the power of conscience to act as a God-implanted barometer or gyroscope when institutions became morally compromised. Moral theology had rarely been so relevant to thousands of young men and women as they were forced to make hard decisions and take

unpopular positions on the war.

In 1967, readers of Gordon Zahn's *War, Conscience and Dissent* were urged to take Furfey's thinking on war a step further. A conscientious decision to personally avoid an unjust war does not fulfill the Christian's obligation, said Zahn. Putting one's conscience into action through public displays of dissent is integral to the Church's "prophetic mission." Like Bonhoeffer, Zahn warned that "too restricted a notion of the proper scope of individual competence and responsibility" compromises the Church's witness.

Fueled in part by the extremities of wartime passions, Bonhoeffer's diagnosis of the drastic sociopolitical consequences when churches compromised their prophetic mission seemed increasingly apt. Having accepted their subordination to the war-making state, religious leaders were in

turn attempting to reduce the people's sphere of decision and action. Daniel Berrigan even spoke of "the death urge

In dorm rooms, dining halls and teach-ins on Catholic campuses, younger Catholics were getting a crash course in moral theology as they grappled with just war theory, and attempted to formulate a conscientious response to the dilemmas posed by Vietnam.

of Mother Church: her false silence, her diluting of the facts of life, and the consequent malfunctioning of religious people.” Defending the Catholic vision of the priority of conscience during “the crisis of America” was both a religious duty and a political act.

As the war dragged on, the optimism characteristic of the early '60s faded, replaced by anger and frustration. Teilhard, Philip Scharper noted early in 1968, was now considered “rather naive.” Otherwise apolitical Americans could be heard saying the war made them “feel hurt, or humiliated, or ‘unclean,’ or angrily impotent,” said Pfaff.

Walter Burghardt’s 1968 presidential address to the Catholic Theological Society of America, for example, anguished over theology’s impotence before the scandal of Vietnam. Burghardt concluded his blistering talk by confessing that the CTSA may as well close up for all the good it was doing. Similarly, a 25-year-old Catholic woman expressed the moral outrage common among youth: “We’re disgusted with this country — it’s sick, it’s wild, it’s surreal. It’s not just the Church; the whole country is mad.”

Robert Ellwood has called 1968 the beginning of “the bitter years,” when “the news was all bad” — the Tet offensive early in the year, the assassinations of King and Kennedy in April and June, the Democratic convention in August, the fall of Eugene McCarthy and the rise of George Wallace and Richard Nixon — “and seemed to portend worse to come.”

This was the context in which *Humanae Vitae* was issued late in July 1968. Emotions already rubbed raw by the war and other events seeped into reactions that August: *Commonweal* called it “a bitter disappointment” that “will plunge whole sections of the Church into gloom”; Gregory Baum said the encyclical comes as “a surprise

and a shock” to Catholics and non-Catholics alike; Fr. William Clancy of Pittsburgh saw the Church entering a time of “agony”; Daniel Callahan called the document “defective,” “immoral,” and “hypocritical,” adding that Catholics have an obligation to do “everything possible to negate and repudiate the encyclical.” “I must confess,” wrote Dan Herr, “that nothing in my religious life has so shaken me as the publication of *Humanae Vitae*.” Over 200 Catholic theologians released a statement severely criticizing the encyclical.

Several explanations have been offered for the strong reactions to the encyclical: The very fact that the pope established a commission to take a hard look at *Casti Conubii* led many Catholics to expect changes in its teaching; a personalist understanding of marriage no longer saw procreation as the only purpose of marital relations; the work of scholars such as John Noonan, who patiently displayed the doctrine’s historical development and compared the ban on artificial birth control to the Church’s longer-

standing but eventually reversed prohibition on usury; the influence of the counterculture and the sexual revolution on young Catholics already alienated from the institutional Church; the rising economic status of the Catholic population that encouraged trends toward further assimilation to middle-class lifestyles and values. But what about the war?

Deeply ingrained anti-institutional attitudes are often regarded as an enduring effect of the Vietnam era on American religion. Attending to the interactions between developments in the Catholic community and the larger American environment points to the possibility that there were other effects also. Just as Catholics had been encouraged to obey the dictates of conscience when political and ecclesial authorities

wrongly approved the war effort, so theologians and opinion leaders disappointed by the encyclical fell back upon the inviolability of conscience in their responses to *Humanae Vitae*.

An “honest conscience,” an “informed conscience,” “tested convictions,” “deep convictions,” “tested conscience,” the “demands of conscience and informed reason” — such terms arose again and again in responses to the encyclical. “Spouses may responsibly decide according to their conscience,” said the statement issued by American theologians, “that artificial contraception in some circumstances is permissible and indeed necessary.” Thomas Neill argued that “mature, educated Catholics” should be treated as adults with “mature consciences.” Toby Stein of the National Association of Laymen noted that a growing number of Catholics have read and weighed the encyclical and find that it “does not overwhelm their own formed consciences.” Daniel Callahan insisted that an “informed conscience” could only conclude that the encyclical is in error.

In the ongoing debates over Vietnam that provided the immediate context for *Humanae Vitae*, many Catholics concluded that they had a solemn duty to dissent if their consciences were persuaded that the war was unjust. Thousands of Catholic Americans had faced the question “my country or my conscience?” Now, a Holy Cross priest noted, the encyclical posed a similar question: “the Church or my conscience?” If conscience was adequate to judge the morality of the war, many in the Church concluded, it was capable of discerning the morality of lesser questions such as birth control.

We know less about the impact of the events of the 1960s on religious communities than we do for American society as a whole. The reaction of American Catholics to *Humanae Vitae* illustrates some of the excitement, and difficulty, that awaits scholars ambitious to disentangle the complex web of influence, circumstance and coincidence that were the 1960s.

— John H. Haas

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Visit the Cushwa Center web site at <http://www.nd.edu/~cushwa/>

- **Daniel Stephen Buczek** announces the publication of *People of God: The Centennial History of Sacred Heart of Jesus Parish, New Britain, Connecticut* (Sacred Heart of Jesus Church, 158 Broad Street, New Britain, CT 06053).

- **The San Fernando Mission Museum** in Mission Hills, California, is hosting an exhibit of 14 panels depicting the history of the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart and the Immaculate Heart Community. For further information call (818) 361-0186.

- **The College Theology Society** announces its 45th annual convention from June 3-6, 1999, at St. Norbert College, De Pere, Wisconsin. The theme of the convention is *Lived Christianity*. The gathering will provide scholars the opportunity to illuminate how persons live out their religious beliefs in their everyday life. Areas of study will include, but are not limited to, the role of Sacred Scripture, personal prayer and devotion, worship, family life, philosophical tenets, moral decisions, ecumenical dialogue, and educational choices. Speakers will include Roberto Goisueta, Frederic Roberts and Gary Laderman. For further information contact Elizabeth Newman; Department of Religious Studies; Saint Mary's College; Notre Dame, IN 46556.

- **The Program for the Analysis of Religion Among Latinos/as (PARAL)** has relocated to the Office of Research for Religion in Society and Culture at Brooklyn College, CUNY. Please address future correspondence to: PARAL Secretariat; RISC; Brooklyn College, CUNY; 2900 Bedford Avenue; Brooklyn, NY 11210; phone: (718) 951-3121; fax: (718) 951-4119.

Archives

- **The Catholic Archives of Texas (CAT)** in Austin announces the opening of the records of the Texas Catholic Conference (TCC). The TCC, one of 30 state conferences in the United States, is the only state conference thus far to archivally house its records and make them available for scholarly research. Archivist Kinga Perzynska, with support from the Scanlan Foundation, has published a guide to the records which is available from CAT. For further information contact: Catholic Archives of Texas; P.O. Box 13124 Capitol Station; Austin, TX 78711; phone: (512) 476-6298; e-mail: cat@onr.com.

- **The Archives of DePauw University and of the Indiana United Methodist Church** are offering training workshops to individuals responsible for the preservation of church historical records. For further information contact the DePauw Archives; 400 South College Avenue; Greencastle, IN 46153; phone: (765) 658-4406.

Call for Papers

- A collection of original essays, tentatively entitled *Doing History in Catholic*, is being edited by Steve Rosswurm of Lake Forest College and Nick Salvatore of Cornell University. They invite contributions "that will explore the manner in which historians touched in significant ways by American Catholicism construct and craft their studies of American history." Deadline for submission is January 15, 1999. For a prospectus and further information contact Steve Rosswurm; Department of History; Lake Forest College; Lake Forest, IL 60045; phone: (847) 735-5151; e-mail: rosswurm@lfc.edu.

- **The Vermont Historical Society** invites proposals for a conference on antebellum Vermont (1820-50) to be held August 2-3, 1999, in Montpelier, Vermont. Papers by senior-level or graduate students relating to Vermont's political, economic, cultural and social history between 1820 and 1850 are requested. Applications should include a 500-word proposal and one-page curriculum vitae. Deadline is January 15, 1999. For further information contact: Vermont Historical Society, 109 State Street, Montpelier, VT 05609-0901.

- **The Oral History Association** invites proposals for its 1999 annual meeting to be held October 7-10, 1999, in Anchorage, Alaska. The theme of the meeting is "Giving Voice: Oral Historians and the Shaping of Narrative." Presentations that explore the relationship of interviewers and narrators as well as papers that discuss the implications of editing decisions in subsequent writing and production are welcome; discussions of film, video and electronic uses of oral history are especially welcomed. For further information contact: Susan Armitage, Editor; *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*; Washington State University; Women's Studies Program; Pullman, WA 99164-4007;

phone: (509) 335-8569; e-mail: armitage@wsu.edu.

• **The University of Kentucky's 1999 Bluegrass Symposium** invites proposals for papers and/or panels for its seventh annual conference, "The Mind and Spirit of History: Faith, Culture, and Reason," to be held March 5-7. The program committee encourages the submission of papers or panels examining issues of intellectual thought, religion and spirituality, and culture in American and world history. Submissions are due January 8, 1999. For further information, please contact: Keri L. Manning and Erin J. Shelor; Department of History; University of Kentucky; Lexington, KY 40506-0027; phone: (606) 257-4035; fax: (606) 323-3885.

• **The New England Historical Association** welcomes proposals on any subject, period or geographical area from scholars within or outside the New England region for its meeting on April 17, 1999, at Rivier College, Nashua, New Hampshire. Deadline is January 15, 1999. For further information contact: Professor Alan Rogers; History Department; Boston College; Chestnut Hill, MA 02167-3806; e-mail: alan.rogers@bc.edu.

• **The Public Historian**, a quarterly journal sponsored by the National Council on Public History, invites submissions on the theory, teaching and practice of public history in the United States and abroad. For further information contact: Lindsey Reed, Managing Editor; Public Historian; Department of History; University of California; Santa Barbara, CA 93106; phone: (805) 893-3667; e-mail: lreed@descartes.uscb.edu.

• **The Peace History Society** invites submissions for the Charles DeBenedetti Prize for the best article published on peace history in 1997-98. Deadline is February 1, 1999. For further information contact: Susan Zeiger; Regis College; Department of History; Weston, MA 02193.

Fellowships and Awards

• Applications are invited for **Visiting Humanities Fellowships**, tenable at the University of Windsor during the 1999-2000 academic year. Scholars with research projects in traditional humanities disciplines or in theoretical, historical or philosophical aspects of the sciences, social sciences, arts and professional studies are invited to apply. Application deadline is February 15, 1999. For further information contact: Jacqueline Murray, Director; Humanities Research Group; University of Windsor; 430 Sunset Avenue; Windsor, Ontario N9B 3P4; phone: (519) 253-3000, x3508; fax: (519) 971-3620; e-mail: hrgmail@uwindsor.ca.

• **The Louisville Institute** awarded a 1998-99 Christian Faith and Life Sabbatical Grant to Christine Firer Hinze, Marquette University, for her project entitled, "Making a Living Together: Catholics, The Living Wage and a Transformative Feminist Agenda for a New Century." For further information on the Christian Faith and Life Sabbatical Grants, please contact: The Louisville Institute; 1044 Alta Vista Road; Louisville, KY 40205-1798; phone: (502) 895-3411; fax: (502) 894-2286; e-mail: info@louisville-institute.org.

• **The Indiana Historical Society** announces graduate fellowships in history to encourage research that will contribute to an understanding of the history of Indiana or of Indiana as part of the Old Northwest and Midwest. Two grants of \$6,000 each will be awarded for the 1999-2000 academic year. Application deadline is March 12, 1999. For further information contact: Dr. Robert M. Taylor Jr., Director; Education Division; Indiana Historical Society; 315 West Ohio Street; Indianapolis, IN 46202; e-mail: rtaylor@statelib.lib.in.us.

• **The Center for the Study of New England History**, the research division of the Massachusetts Historical Society, will offer 18 short-term

research fellowships in 1999. Each grant will provide a stipend of \$1,500 for four weeks of research at the society sometime between July 1, 1999, and June 30, 2000. Awards are open to independent scholars, advanced graduate students, and holders of the Ph.D. or the equivalent. Application deadline is March 1, 1999. For further information contact: Len Travers, Assistant Director; Center for the Study of New England History; Massachusetts Historical Society; 1154 Boylston Street; Boston, MA 02215; phone: (617) 536-1608.

• **The New York Public Library** announces a new program at its Center for Scholars and Writers, with fellowships carrying stipends of \$50,000. For further information contact: Peter Gay, Director; Center for Scholars and Writers; The New York Public Library; 5th Avenue and 42nd Street; New York, NY 10018-2788.

Personals

• In August, **Dominic P. Scibilia** assumed a position as practical theologian and grant writer for the U.S. Province of the Little Sisters of the Assumption in New York City. His work will focus on the volunteer program. Scibilia will continue as co-coordinator for the Rhodes Consultations on the Future of Church-Related Colleges (a Lilly Endowment Inc. project) and will also serve as an adjunct faculty in Religious Studies in the Tri-State area.

• **William B. Prendergast** announces the forthcoming publication of his book on the Catholic voter in American politics by Georgetown University Press. It will trace changes in party allegiance and voting behavior of Catholics in national elections over the course of 150 years and explain why much of the voting bloc that supported John F. Kennedy has deserted the Democratic coalition. The title is still under discussion.

• **James T. Carroll, C.F.C.**, is conducting research on Catholic women

religious interned by the Japanese during World War II. He has identified women from 13 congregations: Maryknoll, Franciscan Missionaries of Mary, Good Shepherd, Immaculate Conception, Franciscan Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, Sisters of the Holy Cross, Sisters of the Holy Ghost, Holy Ghost Sisters of Perpetual Adoration, Benedictines, Assumption Sisters, Sisters of Charity, St. Paul of Chartres Sisters, and Missionary Canonesses of Saint Augustine. He would appreciate information on archive locations for these

groups, secondary source material and oral histories. Please contact him at: Iona College; 715 North Avenue; New Rochelle, NY 10801; phone: (914) 633-2166; e-mail: jcarroll@iona.edu.

• **Bernard Aspinwall** of the Department of History at Strathclyde University in Scotland has published an essay on “The Making of the Modern Diocese of Galloway” in *The See of Ninian: A History of the Diocese of Whithorn and the Diocese of Galloway in Modern Times*, edited by Raymond

McCluskey (Glasgow: J.S. Burns, 1997). The volume contributes to the history of the Catholic Church in the understudied southwest region of Scotland. Professor Aspinwall’s essay includes information on Polish and Lithuanian clergy and laypeople who lived in the area, many of whom emigrated to the United States.

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PUBLICATIONS

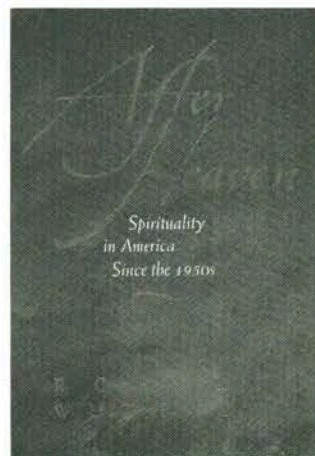


Seek and Ye Shall Virtually Find

Princeton sociologist Robert Wuthnow has over the last several years offered intriguing readings of several aspects of lived religion in contemporary America. With his latest book, *After Heaven: Spirituality in America since the 1950s* (University of California Press, 1998), Wuthnow essays to describe and interpret current trends in spirituality.

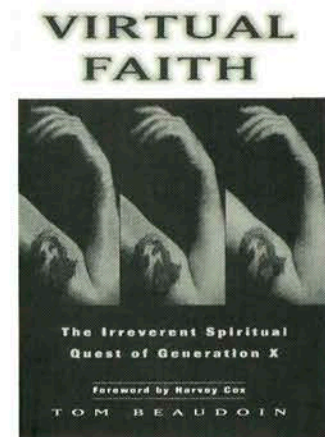
Wuthnow proposes that the spiritual landscape over the last half century has been dominated by two overarching metaphors, “dwelling” and “seeking.” These broad images have shaped the myriad forms spirituality has taken since the Second World War, cutting across traditions and denominations to give the spiritual quest in America a distinctive shape that can be identified and tracked, decade by decade.

Wuthnow finds his clues to the changing shape of American spirituality in both written and oral sources. Few readers will be surprised to learn that he sees spirituality changing over the last five decades, as an ideal of “dwelling” receded before a new model of “seeking.” This is, after all, the dominant trajectory of most aspects of modern societies, as life has become less settled,



less stable, less predictable, whether we are looking at settlement patterns, the workplace, or marriage trends. Wuthnow avoids reducing spirituality to social forces, but he does see broad trends in society and culture working to reinforce and even constrain the changing modes of spirituality he charts across the decades.

It will be interesting to see what historians will make of Wuthnow’s periodization of recent spirituality. His concerns are less with the past, however, than the future. *After Heaven* scours the past as prelude to the present. The past provides a foundation for Wuthnow’s



diagnosis of the culture’s present spiritual distress, and it leads him to point toward a third and better way of conceiving the spiritual life.

That spirituality is in a state of distress is one of Wuthnow’s presuppositions. Why distress? Because “dwelling” — understood as the fixed, secure, communal forms of spirituality that we associate with a simpler past — is no longer a possibility; and because “seeking” — the quest for individual spiritual fulfillment that has dominated the religious scene since the 1960s — too often lacks the tradition, the discipline and the social responsibility to raise it

above irrelevant, ephemeral dabbling. As models for the spiritual life, "dwelling" flirts with nostalgia, while contemporary forms of "seeking" come close to what *The Whole Earth Catalogue* used to call "dime-store mysticism."

Wuthnow describes spirituality in the '50s under a rubric taken from the 23rd Psalm, "In the House of the Lord." As it became clear that the world was not conforming to religious programs for its improvement, the local congregation and the home appeared as oases of sanity and tranquillity after World War II. The price for these idyllic spiritual homes was high, however, and included the denial of evil, concealed desperation, and a certain unreality engendered by the belief that positive thinking would conquer every hurdle, even the last. If the spirituality of home was ill-suited even to the '50s, Wuthnow implies, yearnings for its comforts in the '90s are doubly counter-productive.

The '60s was a decade of new frontiers, and Americans discovered "that God dwells not only in homes but also in the byways trod by pilgrims and sojourners." The decade left a permanent mark on American spirituality. Spiritual "freedom" was reconceived as a plethora of options, creating space for the notion "that spirituality and organized religion are different and, indeed, might run in opposite directions." The ideal of securely inhabiting a single, exclusive tradition that can guide spirituality into familiar and trustworthy channels appeared obsolete. Wuthnow might have borrowed the title for this chapter from Thomas Wolfe's novel, *You Can't Go Home Again*.

The countercultural '60s and the neoconservative '80s are often portrayed as polar opposites, but Wuthnow sees structural continuities underlying spiritual trends during these decades. A

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renewed interest in traditional morality resulted only in "a relatively soft form of discipline that permits practitioners to realize results without having to pay too high a price." Hopes for restoring social order were pinned on reviving a form of discipline that in the end proved to be simply another item in the lifestyle

boutique, rather than "an act of radical defiance against advertising, consumption, and the demands of careers."

Wuthnow extends his study to some of the most ephemeral forms of "seeking," the "spirituality lite" offered by aggressively marketed new age and therapeutic spiritualities. One might wonder if these subjects are worth the attention he pays them. But by putting these movements side-by-side with the more settled spirituality of the '50s, the more fervent quests of the '60, and neoconservative zeal for family values, the reader is forced to wonder whether these spiritual styles, too, have not

proved as ephemeral as recent enthusiasms for angels undoubtedly will.

Wuthnow's third way, a spirituality of practice, attempts to recover the sustained application of the self in relation to God that characterized the lives of Teresa of Avila, Ignatius of Loyola, Thomas Merton and Mother Teresa. Individuals can, even today, invest time and energy in "prayer, meditation, contemplation, and acts of service." Practice escapes the manipulations of the market by demanding a continued reconnaissance of the tradition, and it avoids the dilettantism of spiritual dabbling by turning the believer outward in acts of service that lift the spiritual life beyond the confines of the self.

Wuthnow's proposal demands a certain heroism. Though there are probably more heroic individuals in any given era than are usually recognized, one wonders if the sustained spiritual

practices he recommends do not depend on social and cultural structures of some kind that can encourage and support the individual in his or her journey. Conversely, one wonders if the trajectory of American culture is not toward the formation of individuals who will find it increasingly difficult to inhabit a spirituality of practice, no matter how much it may appeal to them. Tom Beaudoin's new book, *Virtual Faith: The Irreverent Spiritual Quest of Generation X* (Jossey-Bass, 1998), picks up the story where Wuthnow leaves off, and hints at the difficulties a future spirituality of practice may face.

What happens when rootless, distracted, over-worked and under-disciplined folk lost in the contemporary spiritual marketplace have children? What do *their* spiritual lives look like? Beaudoin's book provides a glimpse of the dark continent of GenX theology, such as it is.

"Boomers had kept institutional religion at arms length until midlife," Beaudoin explains. "For their children, the step from religion-as-accessory to religion-as-unnecessary was a slight shuffle, not a long leap." Yet, as with so many of their parents, Xers' disdain for organized religion did not preclude an interest in spirituality.

Beaudoin's thesis is that observers have missed GenX spirituality because they ignore popular culture, the electronic "amniotic fluid" in which Xers live and move and have their beings. Popular culture — particularly MTV — is this generation's "major meaning-making system," says Beaudoin, insofar as it has functioned "as both substitute parent and surrogate minister." Attending to it is critical if, as Beaudoin urges, churches are to improve their outreach to Generation X.

Beaudoin identifies four dominant themes in GenX theology: 1) an *anti-institutionalism* that may admire Jesus but has little respect for the Church; 2) a sense of the sacredness of *experience* (particularly sex); 3) a sense of *suffering* (dysfunctional families, anomie, economic and geopolitical distress); and 4) *ambiguity*, an unstable, irreverent way of being faithful.

If speaking with sensitivity to these concerns is a prerequisite for effective ministry to Generation X, as Beaudoin suggests, the churches should be well prepared, as each of these themes was long ago pioneered by the boomers of the '60s. But, Beaudoin adds, the churches also need to speak in the Xers' peculiar lingo, which requires utilizing their pop-culture products with the same adroitness employed by boomer-friendly mega-churches in reaching their preferred spiritual market niche.

There can be no denying that pop culture reverberates with deep spiritual hungers and anxieties. Through its very irreverence, it keeps religious symbols in circulation. But Beaudoin wants more than a recognition of these truths; he urges a fresh consideration of "pop

culture as a resource for rethinking ministry." Pop culture is easy and attractive, and churches aggressively courting boomers have used it in their sermons, music and Christian education. Beaudoin wants to see similar ministries directed at Generation X, but he ignores the possibility that this invites a recapitulation of previous mistakes.

Lowering the tension between church and society is an old strategy for church growth. Boomer-friendly churches have found these initially successful strategies problematic, however. Pastors of these churches complain, for example, that congregations often resist "graduating" from entertaining "seeker" services to the relatively more "churchy" and demanding services designed to nurture faith toward

maturity and foster the spiritual practice of post-initiates.

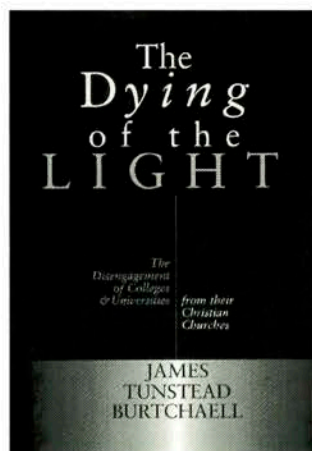
In a recent article in *America*, Beaudoin says that "searching for experiences of grace in pop culture is a very Catholic thing to do, a postmodern attempt to follow St. Ignatius' exhortation to 'find God in all things.'" But saints also struggled to draw a line against the powers of their day. They believed Christians need space where the world is silenced and where they can learn to think and pray and act in terms other than those supplied by the culture merchants. One wonders if Generation X, too, does not long for a place where they can escape the din of pop culture and search for grace in other, surely more rewarding, places.

— John H. Haas

Other publications of note include:

James Tunstead Burtchaell, *The Dying of the Light: The Disengagement of Colleges and Universities from their Christian Origins* (Eerdmans, 1998). Back in 1991, James Burtchaell authored several pieces on the history of religious identity at Vanderbilt University, and the implications of that story for Catholic institutions. These articles were provocative, thoughtful essays on a question that was just beginning to gather steam in the Christian academy. Since then both George Marsden and Philip Gleason have made magisterial contributions to the history of Protestant and Catholic higher education in this century, and numerous collections and symposia have extended the discussion.

Burtchaell's contribution looks at the history of two or three schools in seven different Christian traditions: Congregationalism through Dartmouth and Beloit Colleges; Lafayette and Davidson Colleges in the Presbyterian tradition; Millsaps College and Ohio Wesleyan University among the Methodists; Baptist schools Wake Forest, Virginia Union and Linfield; Lutheran institutions Gettysburg, St. Olaf and Concordia; Catholic schools Boston College, the College of New Rochelle, and Saint Mary's College of California; and Azusa Pacific University and Dordt College in the evangelical tradition. The entire volume, including index, comes to 868 pages.



Holding this almost overwhelming amount of detail together is Burtchaell's thesis that the decline of religious identity in these institutions is traceable to the confusion, error and failure of nerve exhibited by the leaders of higher education in America once the 19th-century tradition of reserving the presidency to ordained figures was abandoned. Over several critical decades, denominational funding for these colleges was replaced by the far more substantial sums provided by government sources. Piety and education held together as long as ministers and priests set the course; toward the end of the century, faculty and students alike began to resent mandatory religious devotions. Faculty shunted responsibilities for maintaining Christian belief and

discipline onto the administration, and the administration passed it on to professional chaplains. Having freed themselves of most or all religious influence on intellectual and campus life, college administrators began to regard the denominations that had originally founded these schools as meddling interlopers. Recent statements on Christian mission and identity Burtchaell regards as little more than death-rattles.

Some readers may come to the conclusion that Burtchaell's impressive energies as a researcher have gotten the better of him as an author. A more selective approach to his materials might have made for tighter arguments and a more sharply focused volume. Scholars will also question the almost relentlessly bleak constructions he places on the stories of these institutions. Nevertheless, all those concerned with the history and the future of Christian higher education will find the book required reading.

Ronald H. Carpenter, *Father Charles E. Coughlin: Surrogate Spokesman for the Disaffected* (Greenwood Press, 1998) provides a rhetorical analysis of the highly popular radio priest, Charles E. Coughlin (1891-1979), founder and pastor of the Shrine of the Little Flower, Royal Oak, Michigan. Coughlin has been considered by some as second only to Roosevelt as a radio orator during the

1930s. Carpenter examines Coughlin's rhetorical style, his excessive use of alliteration, and his highly controversial political views, including his violent denunciations of Roosevelt and his anti-Semitism. The second part of the volume includes several of Coughlin's speeches.

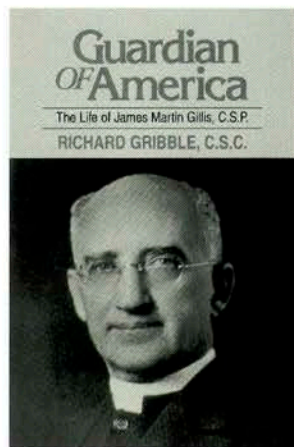
Catholic Education at the Turn of the New Century, edited by Joseph M. O'Keefe (New York: Garland, 1997), presents a series of 20 essays covering a wide range of perspectives regarding questions of accountability, identity and purpose, including pressures of internal and external accountability that Catholic colleges and universities share with their counterparts. Historical perspectives offer a detailed history of the growth of Catholic higher education in the United States from 1945 through the late 1960s, and the developments which led to the issuance of the Apostolic Constitution on Catholic Universities, *Ex Corde Ecclesiae*, in 1990. Official perspectives include selected documents which have influenced the mission and administration of Catholic higher education during the "new era." Perspectives on faith and justice examine the religious character of Catholic institutions, and questions of oppression, injustice and the common good. Contributors include William P. Leahy, S.J.; Philip Gleason; Neil G. McCluskey; Peter Steinfelds; Margaret Steinfelds; Michael J. Buckley, S.J.; David Hollenbach, S.J.; David J. O'Brien; and others.

Virgilio P. Elizondo and Timothy M. Matovina, **San Fernando Cathedral; Soul of the City** (Orbis Books, 1998), tell the story of how a church constructed nearly two and a half centuries ago remains a source of life and renewal today. This downtown San Antonio cathedral has become the spiritual home to rich and poor, homeless and refugees, business people and laborers, teachers and executives.

The Changing Face of the Church, edited by Timothy Fitzgerald and Martin Connell (Liturgy Training Publications, 1998), consists of a collection of essays from the 25th annual conference of the Notre Dame Center for Pastoral

Liturgy in 1997 which seeks to understand how the changing face of the church influences the liturgies we celebrate. Sixteen participants probe questions of how the church of the future will embrace the church of the past with regard to initiation, Eucharist, preaching, inculturation, music, liturgical space and design, conversion and the formation of the assembly and its ministers. Contributors include Donald W. Trautman, bishop of Erie; Austin Fleming; Diana L. Hays; Carolyn Osiek; and Paul J. Philibert, among others.

Virginia Meacham Gould and Charles E. Nolan, **Henriette Delille: "Servant of Slaves"** (New Orleans: Sisters of the Holy Family, 1998), documents the life and work of Henriette Delille (1812-1862), a free woman of color from New Orleans who founded the Sisters of the Holy Family in 1842. Dedicated to evangelizing slaves and organizing free women of color, Delille and two of her sisters took private vows to dedicate their lives to the service of God, the Church and the poor. The Cause for Canonization of Henriette Delille was introduced in 1989.



Richard Gribble, C.S.C., **Guardian of America: The Life of James Martin Gillis, C.S.P.** (Paulist Press, 1998), chronicles the life of James M. Gillis (1876-1957), Paulist priest and editor of the *Catholic World* from 1922 until his resignation in 1948. Gillis became one of the most influential priests of his time, writing editorials, weekly newspaper columns, essays, and books and delivering radio addresses on NBC's

"The Catholic Hour" from 1930 through 1941. In this well-researched biography of an important but overlooked figure, Gribble describes the formation of Gillis' dualistic world view based on his diaries, retreat notes, sermons and meditation books. Gillis' work as a Catholic journalist (1922-1957) reflected his strong personal commitment as a preacher called to deliver his unrelenting message of duty, moral righteousness, free choice and conversion in an era that spanned the depression, the New Deal and World War II.

Diana L. Hayes and Cyprian Davis, O.S.N., eds., **Taking Down Our Harps** (Orbis Books, 1998), is a collection of essays on liturgical renewal, worship and catechism among Black Catholics in American history, and the mission of the church among African Americans. Contributors include Jamie T. Phelps, O.P.; M. Shawn Copeland; Bryan N. Massengale; Toinette M. Eugene; Giles Conwill; Clarence Rivers; and D. Reginald Whitt, O.P.

Dale T. Irvin, **Christian Histories, Christian Traditioning: Rendering Accounts** (Orbis 1998), provides a historical, theological and constructive reading of Christian plurality. The author confronts the many traditions within the Christian tradition to illustrate how plurality bears witness to a core tradition — even as it subverts the claims of Western Christianity to be its sole normative expression.

Robert Inchausti, **Thomas Merton's American Prophecy** (State University of New York Press, 1998), attempts to evaluate Merton's place in American intellectual history as both apostle and prophet. Inchausti focuses on Merton's unique defense of individual conscience and the role that defense plays in contemporary American life. Merton's religious convictions led him to become a severe critic of both the right and the left. Merton's integration of a desert spirituality with his perception of the concerns of the New York intellectuals contributed to his eloquent defense of individual autonomy in the postwar period.

George A. Kendall, *Witness for the Truth: The Wanderer's 130 Year Adventure in Catholic Journalism* (Wanderer Press, 1997), documents the first hundred years of the *Wanderer's* journalistic life in the Catholic Church in America. Noted for its unswerving loyalty to the papacy and its fierce allegiance to official Catholic teachings, ironically, the *Wanderer* was one of the earliest supporters of liturgical reform. Alphonse J. Matt, editor and publisher, observes that "Historians will find this volume invaluable in assessing how loyalist Catholics responded to, and coped with, the challenges to their faith, to their church, and to her authority during a period of great turmoil and rebellion."

Jeffrey Klaiber, S.J., *The Church, Dictatorships, and Democracy in Latin America* (Orbis Books, 1998), examines the role of the Church in Latin America as defender of human rights and promoter of democracy. Klaiber, who has lived in Peru for 35 years and teaches at the Catholic University of Lima, studies 11 countries, chronicling the experience of the Church over several decades of dictatorships, repression, civil war and transition to democracy. Klaiber highlights the prophetic role of the Church in denouncing dictatorships and lending legitimacy to the democratic opposition in these nations.

Christopher Owen Lynch, *Selling Catholicism: Bishop Sheen and the Power of Television* (University Press of Kentucky, 1998), examines the power of television to promote religious ecumenism by focusing on the Emmy Award-winning Bishop Fulton J. Sheen's program *Life is Worth Living* which was broadcast nationally from 1952 to 1957.

Gary MacEoin, ed., *The Papacy and the People of God* (Orbis Books, 1999), consists of 11 essays by well-known contributors from several disciplines, including Joan Chittister, Bernard Häring, Francis X. Murphy and Harvey Cox. Covering a wide range of issues, the authors explore several controversial issues, including women in the Church; the history and theology of papal primacy; infallibility; the magisterium; papal elections; the relationship of the papacy to an indigenous Church; and

the role of the papacy in an ecumenical Church of the future.

Mary Peckham Magray, *The Transforming Power of the Nuns: Women, Religion, and Cultural Change in Ireland, 1750-1900* (Oxford University Press, 1998), argues that women's religious orders were central to the religious and cultural change of the 19th century. Advocating religious reform in Ireland, they began forming new orders throughout the country long before the mid-19th century, when religious change became evident. Often women of considerable financial means, these religious used their wealth to build impressive institutional networks in Ireland. Magray profiles a number of foundresses of religious orders, including Nano Nagle and her Presentation Sisters (1775); Mary Aikenhead's Sisters of Charity (1815); and Catherine McAuley's Sisters of Mercy (1831). The extensive religious and charitable work of these and other women religious substantially affected the process of religious and cultural change in Ireland.

Sara Maitland and Wendy Mulford, *Virtuous Magic: Women Saints and Their Meanings* (Continuum, 1998), offers reflections on the lives of more than 40 women "saints," including Catherine of Siena; John of Arc; Jean Donovan and the El Salvador sisters; Dorothy Day; Hildegard of Bingen; Edith Stein; and Mary of Egypt. The authors argue that saints today are potential spiritual resources for contemporary searchers. Pilgrimage, defined as the search for the divine Other and the transformation of self, serves as an implicit metaphor for the exploration of the material and metaphorical meanings of the lives of the women portrayed.

Sister Marie Celeste, S.C., *The Church and Love: A Treatise on the Love of Christ for the People of God* (University Press of America, 1998), a translation from the French of Rev. Jean Ladame's treatise *Vatican II and the Cult of the Sacred Heart of Jesus* (Pulaski, Wisconsin: Franciscan Publishers, 1972), describes the history of devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus from its inception in the early Church through the Middle Ages, private revelations to Bernard of Clairvaux, Catherine of Siena, St. Margaret Mary and other mystics, and the

affirmation of the devotion in the documents of the Second Vatican Council.

Thomas Matus, *Nazarena: An American Anchoress* (Paulist, 1998), provides a biographical account of Julia Crotta, an American born in Glastonbury, Connecticut, in 1907. Julia Crotta studied music at Yale and Alberta Magnus College, and then recognized her call to the monastic life. As Sister Nazarena, she lived as an anchoress with the Camaldolese Benedictine nuns in Rome for 45 years until her death on February 7, 1990. Matus uses excerpts from her letters as well as interviews with those who knew her to relate her life of silence and prayer.

Mechthild of Magdeburg, *Flowing Light of the Godhead* (Paulist, 1998), translated by Frank Tobin, describes the many revelations of St. Mechthild (c.1208-c. 1294) as she experiences the longing of the human soul for the heart of God. In the mystical tradition, she renders God as human lover and beloved bridegroom. The saint's manifestation of her religious experiences employs a variety of genres, including hymns, sermons, spiritual instructions, prayer, courtly love poetry and allegorical dialogue.

Thomas Merton, *The Other Side of the Mountain: The End of the Journey* (HarperSanFrancisco, 1998), constitutes the seventh and final volume in the publication of Merton's personal journals, spanning the last years of his life, 1967-1968. Merton witnessed the turbulent events of the late 1960s, including the assassinations of Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy. He traveled extensively in the United States as well as abroad, visiting monasteries in New Mexico and Northern California. During the final months of his life, Merton traveled to the Far East. In New Delhi, he met with the Dalai Lama and Tibetan Buddhists. In Bangkok, Merton delivered a paper entitled "Marxism and Monastic Perspectives" hours before his untimely accidental death on December 10, 1968. In this, as in his previous journals, he intertwines wit and wisdom in the rendering of his spiritual journey throughout his monastic life.

Stephen V. Monsma and J. Christopher Soper, eds., *Equal Treatment of Religion*

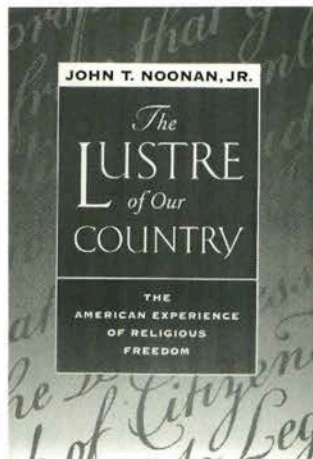
in a *Pluralistic Society* (Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1998), examines public policy and legal issues surrounding church-state relations in a pluralistic context. These essays examine the new paradigm of “equal treatment” or “neutrality” that has influenced several recent Supreme Court rulings. This idea, which allows governmental assistance to religiously based organizations as long as it is offered equally to all groups, is analyzed by eight scholars of constitutional law and political science, including Michael McConnell, James Skillen and Derek Davis.

Athanasios Moulakis, *Simone Weil and the Politics of Self-Denial* (University of Missouri Press, 1998), concentrates on Weil’s political thought, situating it within the context of the events and the intellectual climate of her time, while attempting to connect it to her epistemology, cosmology and her personal experience. Weil’s philosophical life is presented against the backdrop of the political and social conditions of the last days of the Third French Republic, the Spanish Civil War and the rise and clash of totalitarian ideologies.

Eugenia Muething, S.C.N., *Nazareth Along the Banks of the Ganges, 1947-1990* (Louisville: Harmony House, 1997), provides an account of the life of the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth in India from 1947 to 1990. The author documents the beginning and development of the original missions, the growth of an indigenous sisterhood, and the founding of institutions and missions that spread out gradually to many parts of India. The Congregation of the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth was founded in Kentucky in 1812.

Brian Murphy, *The New Men: Inside the Vatican’s Elite School for American Priests* (Grosset/Putnam, 1997), offers a former Vatican correspondent’s impressions of six American seminarians as they enter the elite North American College in Rome. Coming from very diverse backgrounds, the group includes an Air Force pilot, a lawyer, twins from Harvard, a farm boy from North Dakota and a Vietnamese refugee who witnessed the fall of Saigon. Msgr.

Timothy Dolan, rector of the North American College, shares his concerns and illuminates some of the spiritual challenges confronting these new seminarians.



John T. Noonan Jr., *The Lustre of Our Country: The American Experience of Religious Freedom* (University of California Press, 1998). In a book Martin E. Marty calls “idiosyncratic” but also “accomplished, fair-minded and creatively contentious,” John Noonan, professor emeritus of law at the University of California and a former judge, examines what he considers America’s great moral contribution to the world. Noonan describes the state of religious freedom prior to the American Revolution through a question and answer format centered on New England Puritan’s relations with Quakers. He offers an extended discussion of James Madison, the most important figure in crafting the Constitution’s understanding of the notion, arguing that his thinking was more indebted to his Christian faith than it was to the Enlightenment. He also views America, circa 1835, through the eyes of Angélique de Tocqueville, the fictional younger sister of the better-known Alexis. Other chapters consider the application of religious freedom in American history and the impact of the doctrine on other nations. Noonan concludes with a stirring discussion of the Catholic Church’s recognition of religious freedom at the Second Vatican Council.

Kathleen Norris, *The Quotidian Mysteries: Laundry, Liturgy and “Women’s Work”* (Paulist, 1998), explores the quotidian mystery that while dailiness can lead to despair, it can also be at the core of our salvation. Quoting Simone Weil and others, Norris observes that daily nourishment comes not only from food, but from the love of friends and family. Daily tasks ground us in the world, but need not grind us down. They have considerable spiritual import in the fabric of faith. It is the daily tasks, and the daily acts of love and worship which constantly remind us that religion is not strictly an intellectual pursuit.

Saul M. Olyan and Martha C. Nussbaum, eds., *Sexual Orientation and Human Rights in American Religious Discourse* (Oxford University Press, 1998), examines the intense debate within Judaism, Roman Catholicism, mainline Protestantism and the African-American churches regarding the place of bisexuals, lesbians and gay men. Catholic thinkers Sumner B. Twiss, James P. Hanigan, Charles E. Curran and Margaret A. Farley contribute essays on sexual orientation and human rights.

Robert O’Neil, *Cardinal Herbert Vaughan: Archbishop of Westminster, Bishop of Salford, Founder of the Mill Hill Missionaries* (Burns & Oates; Crossroad, 1997), documents the life and work of Cardinal Herbert Alfred Vaughan (1832-1903), founder of St. Joseph’s Missionary Society. Successor to Cardinal Manning as archbishop of Westminster in 1892, Vaughan built Westminster Cathedral, begun in 1895, founded the Catholic Missionary Society, the Crusade of Rescue, the Catholic Social Union and other organizations. He was heavily involved in debates over Irish Home Rule, voluntary schools and papal infallibility. Vaughan dedicated himself to evangelization. His great work was the founding of St. Joseph’s Missionary Society, the Mill Hill Missionaries.

Keith F. Pecklers, *The Unread Vision: The Liturgical Movement in the United States of America, 1926-1955* (Liturgical Press, 1998), explores the European

roots of the liturgical movement, tracing its early developments in France, Germany, Belgium and Austria to its foundation in the United States by Benedictine monk Virgil Michel, St. John's Abbey, in 1926. The liturgical pioneers aimed to promote full and active participation in the liturgical assembly. Pecklers explores the strong relationship between liturgical and social movements during the 1930s and 1940s, highlighting socially oriented movements such as the Catholic Worker, the Christian Family Movement, Friendship House and the Grail. The legacies of Virgil Michel, Hans A. Reinhold and Reynold Hillenbrand are examined in the context of social justice, as well as the movement's contributions to education, art, architecture and music.

Jamie T. Phelps, O.P., *Black and Catholic: The Challenge and Gift of Black Folk* (Marquette University Press, 1997), identifies a number of key issues to be considered in the integration of African-American Catholics in the curriculum. In a series of essays, five noted scholars examine the contributions and conflicts of the African-American Catholic community; the integration of the African-American experience in the teaching of church history; ethical issues and the foundations for Catholic theology in an African-American context. Two appendices include a bibliographic essay by M. Shawn Copeland and an essay by Phelps on the sources of theology relating to the African-American Catholic experience in the United States.

Allyson M. Poska, *Regulating the People: The Catholic Reformation in Seventeenth-Century Spain* (Brill, 1998), examines the content of local religion in the diocese of Ourense in northwestern Spain. The author explores the episcopate's difficulties in bringing the diocese into conformity with the behavioral and spiritual vision of the Catholic Reformation and examines the frustrations the Church experienced in its attempt to regulate religious and lay populations through regular visitations.

Wade Clark Roof, ed., *Americans and Religions in the Twenty-First Century* (Sage, 1998), is a timely collection of essays on the current shape of American religion, published as a special issue of

The Annals. Contributors include, among others, Martin E. Marty on "Revising the Map of American Religion"; William McKinney on "Mainline Protestantism 2000"; Mark Shibley on "Contemporary Evangelicals"; Mark Juergensmeyer on "Christian Violence in America"; Michelle Dillon on "Rome and American Catholics"; Mary Johnson on "The Reweaving of Catholic Spiritual and Institutional Life"; Anthony Stevens-Arroyo on "The Latino Religious Resurgence"; and the editor on "Modernity, the Religious, and the Spiritual."

Rosemary Radford Ruether, *Women and Redemption: A Theological History* (Fortress Press, 1998), traces the evolution and shift in the foundational paradigm of the Christian understanding of the person, particularly with regard to gender and redemption. Ruether demonstrates that by the fourth century, the paradigm clearly defined women as subordinate by nature to men. In the Quaker tradition in the 17th century, original equality was reclaimed, and further developed by 19th-century feminist theology.

Patricia Ranft, *Women and Spiritual Equality in Christian Tradition* (St. Martin's Press, 1998), challenges the common assumption that Christianity is exclusively misogynist by documenting the presence of a strong tradition based on women's spiritual equality. Ranft explores references to images of women in church writings and lay culture as well as the lives of a number of women in the church, including women in early Christian communities, women in the fourth century and women of the early and later medieval monastic traditions.

Michael Robson, *St. Francis of Assisi: The Legend and the Life* (Geoffrey Chapman, 1997), presents a portrait of St. Francis of Assisi (1122-1286) and his interaction with major figures in his life, including Peter Bernardone, Bishop Guido II, Innocent III, Cardinal Ugolino, Anthony of Padua and Clare of Assisi. The study examines the Christian origins of Assisi and the way in which the martyred bishops of the city continued to play a significant part in the religious, social and civic life of Assisi by performing miracles.

William G. Rusch and Jeffrey Gros, eds., *Deepening Communion: International Eumenical Documents With Roman Catholic Participation* (United States Catholic Conference, 1998), brings together a series of texts which are the result of dialogues between Roman Catholics, Christians, Pentecostals, Baptists and Evangelicals as they endeavor to understand each other and clarify commonalities and differences. Theological formulations of these dialogues have begun to be internalized into the spiritual, educational and institutional lives of the church. Throughout the texts are common themes of justification, stages toward full communion, tradition and faith, bonds of communion, common witness and ethical dialogue.

Rev. Thomas J. Shelley, *The History of the Archdiocese of New York, Volume 2: New York Catholicism in the Mid- and Later Nineteenth Century* (Archdiocese of New York, 1998), traces the story from the advent of the first archbishop, John Hughes, to the end of the 19th century. Photographs, prints and excerpts from contemporary letters, documents and newspapers animate the text. A worthy successor to the impressive first volume.

Traditions & Transitions: Notre Dame Pastoral Liturgy Conference, edited by Eleanor Bernstein, C.S.J., and Martin F. Connell (Chicago: Liturgy Training Publications, 1998), consists of papers presented at the Notre Dame Center for Pastoral Liturgy conference and symposium held in 1995-96. Celebrating its 25th anniversary with the symposium "To Worship the Living God in Spirit and in Truth," participants addressed major issues which reflect the impact of Vatican II on liturgical and pastoral life in the Church during a time of dynamic transition. Contributors include Bishop Donald Trautman; Godfried Cardinal Danneels, Primate of Belgium; Kathleen Hughes; Mary Collins, O.S.B.; R. Scott Appleby; and John Allyn Melloh, among others.

Edward F. Terrar, *Social, Economic and Religious Beliefs Among Maryland Catholic Laboring People During the Period of the English Civil War, 1639-1660* (Catholic Scholars Press, 1998), explores the beliefs of Maryland's

Catholic laborers who were at odds with the traditional English Catholic gentry and in opposition to the crown, Parliament, clergy, and papacy, and were sympathetic to, yet not part of, the Protestants challenging the established order of church and state in Maryland.

Ronald A. Wells, editor, *History and the Christian Historian* (Eerdmans, 1998). A collection of essays, commissioned by the editor, responding to recent trends to situate the scholar and his or her personal commitments in the scholarly work, rather than pretend to a pure objectivity. What, asks Wells, does this mean for the Christian historian? No one in the academy denies that history is written from definite perspectives and presuppositions, but religion remains a controversial starting point. Wells compares the present "outsider" status of historians with religious commitments to women in the profession a generation ago, and draws an analogy between this volume and *Telling the Truth About History* by Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt and Margaret Jacob. The book is divided into sections on theory, case studies, and teaching, and includes contributions by George Marsden, D.G. Hart, Margaret Lamberts Bendroth, Mark Noll and many others.

Richard E. Wentz, *The Culture of Religious Pluralism* (Westview Press, 1998), offers an extended essay on the challenge posed by a culture of radical religious pluralism for religious identity, denominationalism and civil religion.

Setting his analysis in historical context, Wentz argues for a new model of civility and respect, grounded in a reimmersion in our own religious traditions and an exploration of the traditions of others.

Franklin C. Williams, *Lone Star Bishops: The Roman Catholic Hierarchy in Texas* is a one-volume work which includes 63 biographies of the bishops who served Texas from 1842 through 1995. (Available for \$30.06 from Franklin C. Williams Jr.; P.O. Box 96; Palestine, TX 75802-0096; phone: [903] 729-2848.)

Gregory Wolfe, *Sacred Passion: The Art of William Schickel* (University of Notre Dame Press, 1998), chronicles the life of William Schickel of Loveland, Ohio, one of the most distinguished religious artists at work today. Schickel's work is shaped by the influence of Constantin Brancusi, Jean Arp, Joan Miro, Henry Moore, Georges Rouault, Marc Chagall and Stuart Davis. Among his many works, Schickel redesigned the chapel at the Abbey of Gethsemani, emphasizing light, clarity and simplicity. Lavishly illustrated, this work highlights Schickel's works in painting, sculpture, stained glass and architectural design.

William L. Wolkovich, *Lithuanian Religious Life in America* (1998). The complete work is divided into three separate volumes. The first covers the parishes of the Eastern United States, the

second is devoted to the parishes of Pennsylvania and the third volume covers the parishes of the "Midwest and beyond." Each of the three volumes contains an introductory essay, followed by parish entries grouped by area within the larger region. Each entry contains a history of the development of the parish and a biography of clergy mentioned. The volumes cost \$150 and can be ordered from the Corporate Fulfillment System, P.O. Box 339, West Bridgewater, MA 02379-0339; phone: (800) 344-4501.

Writings of Teresa de Cartagena, translated with an introduction, notes, and an interpretive essay by Dayle Seidenspinner-Núñez (D.S. Brewer, 1998), presents two treatises by Teresa de Cartagena. Born into a powerful Jewish family in Burgos ca. 1415-1420, Teresa attended the University of Salamanca before being afflicted with deafness. This translation presents her first prose work, *Grove of the Infirm*, which takes as its theme the spiritual benefits of illness. Her second work, *Wonder at the Works of God*, was written to counter the incredulity of her detractors who contended that a handicapped woman had nothing of value to teach. Both works illuminate the intellectual, literary and social landscape of 15th-century Spain, and are compelling records of personal suffering and religious experience. Teresa's works contribute significantly to the growing canon of medieval literature of devotion, mysticism and autobiography.

Recent journal articles of interest include:

Patrick Allitt, "American Catholics and the Environment," *Catholic Historical Review* 84 (April 1998): 263-80.

Donald Bahr, "Mythologies Compared: Pima, Maricopa, and Yavapai," *Journal of the Southwest* 40 (spring 1998): 25-65.

Edward D. Berkowitz, Carol Hurd Green, Mary Oates, C.S.J., David O'Brien and Leslie Woodcock Tentler, Review Symposium on *The Poor Belong to Us: Catholic Charities and American*

Welfare by Dorothy Brown and Elizabeth McKeown, *U.S. Catholic Historian* 16 (summer 1998): 111-22.

Steve Bruce, "The Charismatic Movement and the Secularization Thesis," *Religion* 28 (July 1998): 223-32.

Daniel S. Buczek, "Equality of Right: Polish American Bishops in the American Hierarchy?" *Polish American Studies* 55, no. 1 (1998): 5-22.

Courtney S. Campbell, "Religion and the Body in Medical Research," *Kennedy Institute of Ethics Journal* 8 (September 1998): 275-306.

H.B. Cavalcanti, "God and Labor in the South: Southern Baptists and the Right to Unionize, 1930-1950," *Journal of Church and State* 40 (summer 1998): 639-60.

- James C. Cavendish, Michael R. Welch and David C. Leege; "Social Network Theory and Predictors of Religiosity for Black and White Catholics: Evidence of a 'Black Sacred Cosmos'?" *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 37 (September 1998): 397-410.
- Kelly H. Chong, "What It Means to be Christian: The Role of Religion in the Construction of Ethnic Identity and Boundary Among Second-Generation Korean Americans," *Sociology of Religion* 59 (fall 1998): 259-86.
- John A. Coleman, S.J., "Religion and Public Life: Some American Cases," *Religion* 28 (April 1998): 155-70.
- Niall Coll, "The Catholic Church in Ireland Today," *The Month* 31 (September-October 1998): 370-75.
- Daniel M. Cowdin and John F. Tuohey, "Sterilization, Catholic Health Care, and the Legitimate Autonomy of Culture," *Christian Bioethics* 4 (April 1998): 14-44.
- Julio de la Cueva, "Religious Persecution, Anticlerical Tradition and Revolution: On Atrocities against the Clergy during the Spanish Civil War," *Journal of Contemporary History* 33 (July 1998): 355-70.
- Hilary Cunningham, "Sanctuary and Sovereignty: Church and State Along the U.S.-Mexico Border," *Journal of Church and State* 40 (spring 1998): 371-87.
- Nancy A. Dallavalle, "Neither Idolatry nor Iconoclasm: A Critical Essentialism for Catholic Feminist Theology," *Horizons* 25 (spring 1998): 23-42.
- Nancy A. Dallavalle, "Toward a Theology that is Catholic and Feminist: Some Basic Issues," *Modern Theology* 14 (October 1998): 535-54.
- James D. Davidson, "Why Churches Cannot Endorse or Oppose Political Candidates," *Review of Religious Research* 40 (September 1998): 16-34.
- Marguerite van Die, "'The Marks of a Genuine Revival': Religion, Social Change, Gender, and Community in Mid-Victorian Brantford, Ontario," *Canadian Historical Review* 79 (September 1998): 524-63.
- John Patrick Diggins, John Higham, David A. Hollinger and others, "Teaching American History," *American Scholar* 67 (winter 1998): 91-106.
- Peter A. Dorsey, "Going to School with Savages: Authorship and Authority among the Jesuits of New France," *William and Mary Quarterly* 55 (July 1998): 399-420.
- Jean Bethke Elshtain, "Jane Addams: A Pilgrim's Progress," *The Journal of Religion* 78 (July 1998): 339-60.
- James L. Empeur, Patrick L. Malloy, Mark R. Francis, Keith F. Pecklers and Robert E. Wright; Special Issue on "Popular Religiosity," *Liturgical Ministry* 7 (summer 1998): 105-46.
- Mark C. Falbo, "Community Service and Social Transformation: The Contribution of Religious Education to the Health of the American Polis," *Religious Education* 93 (spring 1998): 143-55.
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