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Cover image: Early map of New France, circa 1632. Courtesy of Toronto Public Library Special Collections.

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Among the many endeavors early this summer that seemed to presage a return to “normal” was my in-person visit to Notre Dame’s University Archives. It had been well over a year since I had sat in the sixth-floor reading room, a site many of our subscribers know well, paging through folders and taking assiduous notes. The inaccessibility of archives throughout the pandemic has forced most scholars to delay or retool our

historical research projects. More than ever, we are humbled by how much our work depends on the kindness of archivists! On that note, I’d like to give a special word of thanks to Joe Smith and Elizabeth Hogan from Notre Dame, and Sister Timothea Kingston, C.S.C., and Cindy Hamill of the Archives and Records of the Sisters of the Holy Cross, each of whom has gone above and beyond in supplying me with digital scans of requested material. And I cannot fail to mention Terry McKiernan of BishopAccountability.org, who has been unfailingly generous and creative in providing documents to the members of our Gender, Sex, and Power working group as we continue to move forward virtually. For related comments on Terry’s vital work and a profile of one of the working group’s members, see our interview with James O’Toole on page 30.

As we live in hope that our manuscripts-in-progress WILL be published eventually despite the constraints imposed by the pandemic, we can rejoice with colleagues whose published books have recently appeared. In this space in our spring 2018 issue, I boasted that “current postdoctoral fellows Peter Cajka and Ben Wetzel are rising to the high standards set by Catherine [Osborne]; they are both revising

—continued on following page

The University of Notre Dame’s Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism seeks to promote and encourage the scholarly study of the American Catholic tradition through instruction, research, publication, and the collection of historical materials. Named for its benefactors, Charles and Margaret Hall Cushwa of Youngstown, Ohio, the center strives to deepen understanding of the historical role and contemporary expressions of the Catholic religious tradition in the United States.

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manuscripts that are under consideration at top university presses. We look forward to the day when the Cushwa Center can take at least partial credit for their books, too!" I am delighted to announce that day has arrived. Pete's *Follow Your Conscience* was published in May by the University of Chicago Press (the recap of our virtual book launch begins on page 6), and Ben's religious biography of Theodore Roosevelt appeared in June from Oxford. Ben also has a second book, *American Crusade: Christianity, Warfare, and National Identity, 1860–1920*, coming soon from Cornell University Press. Speaking of Cornell publications, we are beyond excited that the capstone book in the Cushwa Center's Studies of Catholicism in 20th Century America series appeared last March. You can read Paula Kane's review of Mary J. Oates' *Pursuing Truth: How Gender Shaped Catholic Education at the College of Notre Dame of Maryland* on page 39.

We will soon have two more exciting publications to add to the list of Cushwa-affiliated scholars. Sarah Shortall, my colleague in history who served on our "Global History and Catholicism" conference planning committee, will be publishing *Soldiers of God in a Secular World: Catholic Theology and Twentieth-Century French Politics* with Harvard in October. Maggie Elmore, who served as postdoctoral fellow at the Cushwa Center in 2018–19 and is now an assistant professor at Sam Houston State University, is a co-editor of *Faith and Power: Latino Religious Politics Since 1945*, due out from New York University Press in February 2022.

Happy reading, everybody! And to all the scholars out there, especially current Cushwa postdocs Philip Byers, Stephen Koeth, C.S.C., Rose Luminiello, and Jacqueline Willy Romero, keep writing! I'm eager to celebrate your published books before too long.

Kathleen Sprows Cummings

Spring 2021 at the Cushwa Center

BY PHILIP BYERS

In spring 2021, the Cushwa Center hosted events online in keeping with ongoing pandemic restrictions. Each of the public events reviewed here is available to view on the center's YouTube channel.

The Biden Presidency in Historical Context

On the eve of a new semester after an extended winter break, the Cushwa Center commenced its spring 2021 programming on Tuesday afternoon, February 2, with a webinar moderated by center director Kathleen Sprows Cummings and featuring a panel of historians. Sixty years after the election and inauguration of the first Catholic president of the United States, Cummings led a conversation that contextualized the nascent administration of the country's second Catholic president, Joseph R. Biden. What historical factors, Cummings queried her colleagues, help explain the significance of Biden's presidency?



Peter Cajka, Theresa Keeley, Cecilia Moore, and Rev. Stephen M. Koeth, C.S.C. (clockwise from top left)

Peter Cajka (Notre Dame) opened the proceedings by framing President Biden's ascent as part of a long trend among U.S. liberal Catholics: a growing "refusal to impose" one's personal religious beliefs. This "major program of liberal Catholicism" hinges on the compromise between a public rhetoric of democracy and a private piety. The strength of this tradition, in Cajka's account, has been its pragmatism in a pluralistic polity,

but its weakness has involved an inconsistency of moral witness. The willingness to live-and-let-live on certain moral issues pairs poorly with a prophetic voice on others, and Biden faces a challenge that Cajka called a "central question of American history"—determining whether Catholicism can be made "liberal."

Next, Theresa Keeley (University of Louisville) focused on continuity and change related to Catholicism and U.S. foreign policy. Where Cold War anxieties meant that most U.S. Catholics in 1960 were dependable anti-communists, developments in subsequent years created fissures in the Church. By the 1970s, some Catholic critics doubted whether communism was truly the greatest present threat to human dignity. The war in Vietnam helped to seed these divisions, while Reagan-era interventions in (predominantly Catholic) Central American countries and the rise of liberation theology in the 1980s both helped to exacerbate them. By 2021, then, the president's Catholicism matters less than does the question of "what *kind* of Catholic Joe Biden is," Keeley said.

Rev. Stephen M. Koeth, C.S.C. (Notre Dame), began with attention to similarities between 1961 and 2021. Divisions within the bishops' conference, for example, are not unique to recent months, as Cold War-era U.S. prelates disagreed vehemently regarding Kennedy's anti-communist bona fides. Yet Koeth mainly drew upon his award-winning dissertation to explain how suburbanization helped to transform Catholic prospects—and their resulting politics. Over several decades, changes in socioeconomic status and residential patterns diminished the longstanding centrality of what Koeth called "the urban ethnic enclave" and heightened standard

suburban concerns such as schooling and property taxes. Long before abortion entered national politics, the elevation of pocketbook issues had thus already begun to split Catholics.

The afternoon's final panelist, Cecilia Moore (University of Dayton), assessed continuity and change in Black Catholics' reception of presidents Kennedy and Biden. In Moore's recounting, Kennedy's show of support for Martin Luther King Jr. in 1960 first persuaded many Black voters to back the Democratic challenger. Six decades later, Black Catholics have assumed positions of both executive and symbolic power in the new administration: the "heavily Catholic" cabinet, for example, includes lifelong Catholic Lloyd Austin, the first African American to serve as U.S. Secretary of Defense, and the poet Amanda Gorman's Catholic convictions marked her much-lauded recitation of "The Hill We Climb" at President Biden's inauguration. Moore made clear, however, that achievement must follow representation—"the wounds are deep and ancient," she reflected, and Black Catholics hold high expectations for the Biden-Harris years.

After their initial observations, panelists spent most of the hour engaging questions submitted by the more than 200 virtual participants. Many of the questions involved changes over the past 60 years. Edgar Guzmán (St. Paul Catholic Newman Center at CSU-Fresno) asked about evolution within the bishops' conference. Koeth acknowledged substantial change over time in the bishops' influence, stemming in part from their diminished public standing in the wake of the clergy sex abuse crisis but also because political polarization among U.S. Catholics has diminished the bishops' capacity to speak as representatives of a cohesive voting bloc. Yet Koeth identified reasons for optimism, noting that despite the controversy surrounding a pre-inauguration USCCB statement penned by Archbishop José H. Gomez of Los Angeles, the document included numerous areas of agreement with the incoming president. William Cossen (Gwinnett School of Mathematics, Science, and Technology) wondered whether anti-Catholicism still matters. Compared to the 1960s, is it a salient force in U.S. society? While several

panelists agreed that anti-Catholicism has not been eradicated, they described its changing contours. Cajka contended that Biden's election seemed less remarkable because Catholics in other prominent positions—such as Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi and numerous members of the Supreme Court—had all "anticipated" the election of another Catholic president.

Participants also sought the panelists' insights regarding what Biden's Catholicism might mean for the administration's future. Thomas Kselman (Notre Dame) referenced Catholic identity on the Supreme Court while noting a wide variation in how these Catholics approach the faith. How might Biden handle that difference? Cajka acknowledged the real theological distinctions while still identifying fruitful possibilities: Biden and a Supreme Court Justice such as Amy Coney Barrett both possess "serious Catholic minds" that will coalesce and diverge at various points. Cummings channelled the many religious sisters who had joined the virtual gathering to ask the panelists how Biden's Catholic schooling and his "relationship with American women religious" might influence his approaches to religion and politics. In response Keeley argued that observers should not underestimate Biden's formation in a system that taught him to respect and obey nuns. His pre-existing relationship with Sister Simone Campbell, for example, may facilitate collaboration on a range of social justice issues and will likely afford him a "different perspective than he might typically get from the average government worker." Keeley identified the prominence of women religious—their role standing in as representatives of the Church in 2021—as a major change from Kennedy's era to Biden's.

On a hopeful note, Maura Jane Farrelly (Brandeis University) wondered whether Biden's administration could offer onlookers hope: might the relatively "unremarkable" nature of this Catholic's ascent to the nation's highest office encourage others who are presently marginalized? Moore responded with both expectation and caution. While Kennedy's administration had indeed inspired numerous Black supporters, recent years have placed a kernel of doubt in many minds. Will Biden be *allowed* to succeed, Moore

asked, or will partisan opposition derail his policy agenda? Loath as historians generally are to project the future, the panel refrained from proffering a firm answer to that question. Their rich, contextualized reflections, however, had afforded all who joined the conversation with a greatly enhanced grasp of the path this Catholic president has taken to Pennsylvania Avenue.

God and Black Gold in Modern America

The Cushwa Center hosted its semiannual Seminar in American Religion on Saturday, March 20, 2021, nearly a year after the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic had delayed the original gathering. Participants from multiple continents joined a virtual session devoted to *Anointed with Oil: How Christianity and Crude Made Modern America* (Basic, 2019) by Darren Dochuk, the Andrew V. Tackes College Professor of History at the University of Notre Dame.

Kathleen Cummings opened the proceedings with a welcome to all participants and brief introductions of the session's two commentators, Andrew Preston (Clare College, University of Cambridge) and Melani McAlister (George Washington University).

Preston began with a personal anecdote, describing how his own research into a major 20th-century fundamentalist preacher had required him to visit the Hagley Museum and Library in Wilmington, Delaware, to consult the private papers of J. Howard Pew. Why, Preston had wondered,



Darren Dochuk

would the personal papers of an oil baron contain essential holdings about a Protestant minister? In Preston's analysis, *Anointed with Oil* answers that question in a "highly original, ingenious way," providing insights for historians of business, the environment, foreign relations, and religion—indeed, offering all readers a type of "skeleton key . . . to understanding modern America itself." Preston commended Dochuk for teaching historians a valuable methodological lesson, namely that zeroing in on a topic can counter-intuitively expand a scholar's range of vision. At first glance, *Anointed with Oil* might appear to tackle a narrower set of questions and actors than Dochuk's first book, but in fact that focus broadened Dochuk's scope spatially, religiously, and historiographically. Preston also congratulated Dochuk on avoiding unresolvable philosophical questions regarding the relationship between culture and religion. By prioritizing storytelling, *Anointed with Oil* foregrounds the complexity and contingency of religion in modern American life. Along with all these merits in content, the book also stands out for its prose, which Preston called "an absolute pleasure," citing favorite turns of phrase from the text. Together, these analytical insights and compositional feats qualify the final product as "terrific history, wonderfully told"; it represents a "landmark book" for the field.

McAlister began by affirming some of Preston's remarks. She, too, prized the book's writing, and she extolled the archival research, the breadth and scale of which were "hard to do justice to" in a brief comment. McAlister also appreciated Dochuk's success in expanding the narrative's range of characters. While few sectors of American life have been as gendered and racialized as Big Oil, Dochuk demonstrated the centrality of figures such as the Black oilman Jake Simmons and the major petro-critic Ida Tarbell, revealing them "not only as victims but . . . as complex agents." McAlister framed her only regrets as the outgrowth of publishing realities: major trade presses like Basic, she noted, are uncomfortable with "theory talk," but McAlister wished Dochuk could have devoted more time to the concept of the "Anthropocene." Was oil not only the medium through which humans acted but an "actant"

in its own right? Unresolved questions such as these informed McAlister's opinion that rather than moving onto a new subject, Dochuk should continue to explore oil and religion, perhaps in another historical context, such as Nigeria.

Dochuk followed with brief reactions, including an explanation of how his Notre Dame colleague Thomas Tweed and Tweed's concept of "sacrosapes" had helped him to imagine the formative power of an oil field. He encouraged any scholars interested in the history of oil to expand their language capacities and comparative methodologies, two skills that will prove essential for future scholarship. He then engaged questions submitted by participants and moderated by Cummings. Dennis Coday asked the question on most admiring readers' minds: how did Dochuk do it? Was there a single source that opened his eyes and helped him make sense of this flood of material? Dochuk—a native of Alberta—reflected on his surprise at finding extensive files on the Great Canadian Oil Sands project among the Pew papers, and he also described the payoff for the months of effort it required to gain access to the corporate records of BP, an archive that illuminated the global story of 20th-century oil. When Janine Giordano Drake (Indiana University Bloomington) asked how Big Oil shifted the meaning of the Social Gospel, Dochuk remarked on that theological tradition's complexity. In one sense, oil had been constitutive, with Rockefeller money propelling certain liberal Protestant actors such as John Mott. But Big Oil had also been the target of Social Gospels such as Washington Gladden, not to mention Ida Tarbell. Cummings then formulated a composite question drawing on input from many participants, wondering whether Dochuk could comment on climate change, religion, and the politics of energy. Does interest in the "transcendent" still mark environmental debates in the 21st century? Like any good historian, Dochuk avoided specific predictions, but he made a bold case for understanding energy sources as inherently "existential and . . . theological." Today's pipeline fights are waged on the terrain of values, and wind and solar both possess an entrepreneurial air

that somewhat evokes the spirit of the "wildcatters" in *Anointed with Oil*. The politics of energy, he suspects, will remain "morally charged."

The virtual session concluded with final remarks from Preston and McAlister, both of whom doubled down on their admiration for Dochuk's achievement. The text, in McAlister's estimation, promises to "reorient" the history of U.S. empire. Though the coronavirus pandemic forced nearly a year-long delay, remarks by Preston, McAlister, and other virtual participants proved that the wait had not dimmed appreciation for this remarkable scholarly accomplishment.

Peter Cajka on the Catholic Roots of Conscience-Talk

On Thursday, May 13, the Cushwa Center convened its final public event of the 2020–21 academic year. Co-sponsored by the Department of American Studies, the online gathering was equal parts scholarly and celebratory. Following a formal introduction by Kathleen Cummings and remarks by Jason Ruiz (American Studies, Notre Dame), Cushwa postdoctoral fellow Rev. Stephen M. Koeth, C.S.C., engaged in a Q&A with Peter Cajka, a former Cushwa Center postdoc and current teaching professor and director of undergraduate studies for the American Studies department.

The conversation revolved around Cajka's recently published book, *Follow Your Conscience: The Catholic Church and the Spirit of the Sixties* (University of Chicago Press, 2021). Koeth invited Cajka to open with an explanation of the book's counterintuitive premise: how an era renowned for its "modern" and "secular" protest movements actually drew much of its intellectual support from a 13th-century Catholic theologian, Thomas Aquinas. As the war in Vietnam escalated in the 1960s and selective service required more and more young men to register for the draft, American Catholics overturned commonplace assumptions. Protestants had long accused the Catholic Church of violating conscience and requiring mindless obedience, but lay people drew upon their catechisms and their Catholic schooling to create groups such as the Catholic



Peter Cajka

Peace Fellowship, advocating for a distinctly Catholic tradition of conscientious objection.

Cajka's narrative highlights the critical role that priests played in these developments, a realization that emerged only late in his research process and that initially surprised him. In Cajka's view, the midcentury context helps explain this in part. In the 1950s and 1960s, priests still exerted great influence in American life. Seminary enrollments were booming, and their training in Thomistic thought immersed these seminarians in Aquinas' ideas about conscience. Vatican II also influenced priests in this moment, especially a cohort of younger priests who perceived their calling as advocating for lay families. They were "willing," Cajka explained, "to stand up for the laity's rights" to follow conscience on matters such as reproduction.

One of Cajka's main historiographical takeaways, in fact, flowed from all these insights: "If you look at priests," he argued, "they take American history to places that we don't normally take it." This focus, for example, revealed to Cajka the influence of Thomistic ideas on Martin Luther King Jr.'s renowned "Letter from Birmingham Jail." Using the cases of prelates such as Archbishop Patrick Aloysius O'Boyle, Cajka also shed new light on the constant "interplay" between law and conscience, the conflict over whether conscience rights applied equally in political and ecclesial domains. If some critics have accused priests of inconsistency by defending the rights of conscience in conflicts with the state while diminishing those rights in conflicts with the Church, Cajka insisted that priestly proponents of conscience displayed a type of internal continuity. "You're never going to close the

debate," Cajka predicted. Conscience will always have a "split personality," emancipating some and binding others.

In the event's closing minutes, the on-screen audience—nearly 100 of the author's family, friends, colleagues, and students, from multiple continents—offered Cajka their congratulations and their questions. Cushwa Center research associate Rose Luminiello invited Cajka to comment on international factors that helped inform American Catholics, and he demonstrated the breadth of his research, discussing examples including the German priest Bernard Häring and the influential, best-selling Dutch Catechism of 1967. In response to questions from Patrick Hayes (Redemptorist Archives, Baltimore Province) and Peter Berard, Cajka described some of the Catholic antecedents to his story. Though conscription during the 1960s mainstreamed the rhetoric of conscience, saturation bombing and the military's distribution of contraceptives during World War II had catalyzed some of the first comprehensive conscience arguments from American priests such as John C. Ford, S.J. Comments from Shaun Blanchard (Franciscan Missionaries of Our Lady University) and Amie Cajka prompted Cajka to attend to conscience language within contemporary Catholic politics: he quoted, for example, from Pope Francis' commentary on conscience and divorce in *Amoris Laetitia*.

On the hour mark, the event ended with a presentation of a framed print of the book's cover art from the Department of American Studies. After a long year that involved many challenges, the Cushwa Center happily concluded its programming with a celebration of this achievement by one of its own.

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Philip Byers is a postdoctoral research associate at the University of Notre Dame's Cushwa Center.



The Duchesse d'Aiguillon (1602–74) as pictured in *Portrait of Marie Madeleine de Vignerot* by Philippe de Champaigne, circa 1633–40. Courtesy of Franco Maria Ricci Collection, Labirinto della Masone (Parma).

The ‘Priestly’ Duchess

AND THE LAY FOUNDATIONS

of the

American Church

BY BRONWEN MCSHEA

On April 17, 1675, an elderly Frenchwoman died from breast cancer in her grand home in Paris. Her name was Marie de Vignerot, but she was known best by her title, *la duchesse d’Aiguillon*. Several days later, a priest named Jacques-Charles de Brisacier eulogized her at the church of the Séminaire des Missions Étrangères de Paris, a seminary she had helped to found. In front of many clergymen gathered there that day, Brisacier lauded the powerful Duchesse d’Aiguillon as more like a bishop than like a typical aristocratic lady. He also said she was “priestly” (*sacerdotale*) in her zeal for the Catholic Church’s apostolic labors in the Americas and other parts of the world.

Such language sounds strange to our modern ears. We assume that Catholic churchmen in eras long before Vatican II did not talk about laypersons, and certainly not *laywomen*, in such terms. But this is due to our general lack of awareness of traditional forms of lay patronage and leadership in the Church that were largely overthrown, abolished, or reformed into very different things decades before most of us were born.

That larger story is for another day. Here, I want to say more about this “priestly” duchess, whose dramatic life I will present more fully in a forthcoming book. Specifically, I will highlight D’Aiguillon’s contributions to the colonial-era foundations of the American church while clarifying her role in spreading French Catholicism elsewhere in the world.

For these and other achievements, D’Aiguillon was known and admired by kings, statesmen, archbishops, and popes in her time. Yet she is all but forgotten in ours. This is partly due to a longstanding historiographical tendency, where the Church’s missionary past is concerned, to relegate lay patrons to an inert backdrop—to regard their deep pockets merely as banks, so to speak—while focusing almost exclusively on the priests and religious engaged directly in evangelization. Not unrelatedly, the history of Catholic missions traditionally has been studied on a mission-by-mission and institute-by-institute basis, resulting in superiors of particular missions or religious orders, or sometimes bishops of missionary dioceses, appearing to be the primary or only ecclesial leaders involved.

By shifting our focus to lay patrons who assisted the launch and development of overseas missions, we begin to notice unexpected things. D’Aiguillon, for one, emerges as a *leader*, not just a passive underwriter, of the French church’s early modern global expansion. And she emerges as one who pursued a diversified, entrepreneurial strategy, encouraging and informally directing both spiritual and socially oriented missionary activities of a range of actors: bishops and secular priests, Jesuits, hospital nuns, members of other congregations including St. Vincent de Paul’s Congregation of the Mission (also known as Vincentians or Lazarists), and sometimes other laypersons.

The duchess’ story, in short, encourages us to reconsider what we know of—and how we talk about—the laity’s role in early American Catholic history and in the Church’s missionary history broadly.

Who Was the Duchesse d’Aiguillon?

D’Aiguillon was able to become a lay leader in the Church of her time, and to extend her influence to many lands, partly because of the family she was born into. She was the beloved niece, protégée, and heiress of Armand-Jean du Plessis, the Cardinal-Duc de Richelieu, who was as King Louis XIII’s prime minister one of the most powerful and wealthy men of his age.

Marie-Madeleine de Vignerot du Pontcourlay was born in 1604. Her mother, Françoise du Plessis, was the eldest sister of the future cardinal and statesman. Her father, René de Vignerot, was a nobleman who had distinguished himself in battle and been rewarded by King Henry IV with a position at court. When Marie was a girl, Richelieu was an ambitious young bishop who was rising to political power with the help of Queen Marie de Médici, Henry’s widow and mother of the boy-king Louis XIII. In 1620, he used his niece as a bargaining chip in negotiations with nobles who were resisting the queen mother’s rule. Richelieu had his niece marry a marquis she barely knew, Antoine de Combalet, to seal a peace deal. She was 16 years old. In return, Richelieu was promised a cardinal’s hat by the groom’s own uncle, the Duc de Luynes, who had sway in the matter.

The marriage was short-lived. Combalet died in combat against French Protestants when Marie was only 18. Afterwards, Marie went on retreat with Carmelite nuns in Paris who followed the primitive



The Cardinal-Duc de Richelieu, circa 1642. Public domain.

rule favored by the newly canonized reformer and mystic Teresa of Avila. Among them, she soon desired to take vows and stay permanently in the cloister. However, Marie's father having died, Richelieu asserted patriarchal authority over his niece and forbade her from becoming a nun. He took her into his home and had her serve as the second-ranking lady-in-waiting to the queen mother, who had a major hand in her son's reign until she went into exile in 1630.

In this prestigious courtly position, Marie deftly assisted Richelieu's further rise to power. The cardinal hoped she would do so most effectively by marrying again—with a great nobleman, perhaps even the king's brother, Gaston d'Orléans. However, Marie resisted matchmaking efforts and remained a widow the rest of her life. This was a mixed blessing. It allowed her exceptional independence for a woman, especially as her wealth increased to monumental proportions together with Richelieu's. But the unconventionality of it made her vulnerable to malicious speculation about the precise nature of her closest relationships, including with Richelieu.

With her exceptional intelligence and discretion, along with the work she put into becoming one of the great hostesses of the age, Marie became indispensable to her uncle in ways he had not envisioned. Indeed, by the time Richelieu reached the pinnacle of his control of the French state, Marie was one of the only people he truly trusted and cared for. She counseled him, spied for him, and sometimes stayed his hand against political enemies he might have jailed or executed. When he was busy with matters of state, she often acted on his behalf, meeting with clergymen, political officials, writers, artists, and others who could be useful to him. She helped choose beneficiaries of his patronage—including candidates for the French episcopate. She was known throughout Europe as a central actor in the political chess games going on in France during the fraught time of the Thirty Years War. And she learned from Richelieu and other prominent figures how to employ her position and wealth on behalf of talented individuals, institutions, and projects she favored for her own reasons.

In 1638, Richelieu had the king make Marie the Duchesse d'Aiguillon and a Peer of France, both in her own right and with the freedom to choose her own successor, male or female. This was unheard of in the Ancien Régime. It gave her powers very few noblemen then wielded, let alone women apart from the queen and several princesses of royal blood. Furthermore, Richelieu at his death in 1642 entrusted her with the major portion of his vast estates and fortune, which was one of the largest in Europe. He asked her to act in the place of a young nephew, the new Duc de Richelieu, in a range of capacities, including as the governor of the Norman port of Le Havre, which had strategic wartime value and was connected commercially to the New World. This all angered several relatives, including Marie's spendthrift brother, François de Vignerot, whom Richelieu veritably wrote out of the will, and an ambitious uncle-in-law, Urbain de Maillé-Brézé, who (possibly because she had spurned his own advances) spread some of the ugliest rumors about Marie.

Marie was sued many times by relatives and others with grievances against her and the deceased cardinal. Some of the bad blood was due to her political alignment during the Fronde civil wars with the queen regent Anne of Austria, Louis XIII's widow, and later with the "absolutist" administration of Anne's son, Louis XIV. At the same time, some relatives were frustrated by how much wealth and attention Marie gave to Catholic apostolic and charitable endeavors—going far beyond what was socially expected of a courtly widow of the era.

The duchess' interests in this regard initially were focused on North America.

Early Contributions to the French American Church

D'Aiguillon's initial involvements in French colonial America developed in tandem with Richelieu's. After his death, she became more creative and ambitious with respect to establishing French Catholic ministries abroad. This eventually earned her formal recognition from Pope Alexander VII for all she was doing for the Church's apostolic expansion.

Marie's early interest in America stemmed from her privileged knowledge of French activities there since the days she was a lady-in-waiting. Antoinette de Pons, who was the Marquise de Guercheville and the queen mother's highest-ranking lady, was an investor in early French mercantile and missionary activity in Acadie, a colony that included parts of present-day Maine and Canada's Maritime provinces. And in 1627, Richelieu established a merchant company for Québec and other French settlements and trading posts in the Saint Lawrence River Valley. Investors in this *Compagnie de la Nouvelle-France* were interested in the fur trade, agriculture, and lumber and minerals, but they also sponsored Catholic missions among the Hurons, Algonquins, and other native peoples of the region, favoring the Jesuits, especially, to staff them.

Marie was communicating with the Jesuit superior in Québec, Paul Le Jeune, by 1634. Le Jeune shared some of their letters with readers of his *Relations de la Nouvelle-France*, which were best-selling books published annually in Paris on French engagements with Native Americans. Utilizing the *Relations* to raise interest in what she herself was up to, Marie by early 1636 had wheels in motion for an innovative charitable hospital project for Québec. By the following year, Marie was the foundress of the Hôtel-Dieu du Précieux-Sang, a charitable hospital staffed by members of a new women's religious congregation she favored, the Canonesses of Saint Augustine of the Mercy of Jesus.

Marie insisted that the hospital cater to sick and infirm Native Americans more than to the local French colonial population. It was the first hospital in the continent north of Spanish Mexico. The Augustinian canonesses who staffed it, known sometimes as *Hospitalières*, were some of the first women ever sent from Europe as missionaries. They were, furthermore, capable nurses, informed about the latest medical practices and committed to orderly and sanitary conditions for their patients—something not yet standard in European hospitals. They were also deeply prayerful and serious about the transcendent purposes of their work among the poor: communicating Christ's love to patients, they were interested in the health of souls as well as bodies.

All of these things appealed to their founding patroness. As the project moved from vision to reality, Marie laid out considerable sums of cash and raised more cash from others for various aspects of the project she specified and monitored. She also chose the nuns who would be sent to America, negotiating with the Archbishop of Rouen, François de Harlay de Champvallon, who authorized their release from their original community in Dieppe. When a ship that had some of her cash as well as several nuns and medical supplies on board was threatened by Spanish vessels when departing France, she had Richelieu order the entire French naval fleet parked at Le Havre to escort it into safe Atlantic waters.



View of French colonial Québec, 1755, with Hôtel-Dieu du Précieux-Sang labeled "G" on the right. Public domain.

And she directed, as much as was possible from Paris, activities of the Hospitales and the Jesuits who served as the hospital's chaplains. One thing she insisted upon, for example—at a time when Jansenists in France were promoting a pessimistic soteriology—was that the priests and nuns should emphasize Christ's desire to save all human beings. This was a message she communicated in her correspondence, in the plaque she required to be hung over the hospital door, and in the artwork she commissioned and shipped to the Hospitales—especially a large-format Crucifixion (later lost in a fire) depicting her, her uncle, the Blessed Mother, Saint John, and a group of Native Americans all together in humble postures at Christ's feet.

The Hôtel-Dieu de Québec was run by the Augustinian women until the time of Vatican II. It remains in operation today as a teaching hospital affiliated with the Université Laval. Local memory of D'Aiguillon's role as its foundress persists, so where the duchess' legacy in the Americas is remembered at all, it is typically in connection to the hospital, which she supported, assisting its expansion, for the rest of her life. But her involvements were more extensive than that.

I will clarify these involvements in detail in my book on D'Aiguillon, which is forthcoming from Pegasus Books. They include support of the Jesuits' missionary labors, partly by facilitating their relationships with Richelieu and other metropolitan patrons of evangelistic and charitable projects in North America. Marie was also a major patroness of Father Jean-Jacques Olier in Paris at the time of the establishment of a seminary at the parish of Saint-Sulpice and an organization for missionary and charitable works in New France, the Société de Notre-Dame de Montréal, with which other

prominent laypersons were involved. Sulpician missionaries would begin work in Canada in 1657. Marie appears also to have been involved with a later decision by Louis XIV to resurrect a Franciscan Récollet mission in New France that Richelieu had not favored.

Also, in this same period, Marie took part in the organization of early French missionary activity in the Caribbean. In 1635, she and Richelieu together chose a Dominican priest in Paris, Raymond Breton, who later authored a Carib catechism and Carib grammar, to lead a mission among natives of Dominica, Martinique, Saint-Christophe (St. Kitts), and the islands of Guadeloupe. Later, as the acting governor of Le Havre and a major shareholder in a new merchant company, the *Compagnie de la France Équinoxiale*, Marie had a say in the choice of clergymen and the kind of missionary labors they would engage in a colonial effort in French Guiana. Her patronage was acknowledged publicly in the *Relation du Voyage des François fait au Cap du Nord en Amérique*, which appeared in Paris in 1654 and was authored by the merchant company captain Jean de Laon, the *Sieur d'Aigremont*.

Establishing the Diocese of Québec and the MEP Seminary

Marie's most significant contribution to the foundations of the Church in America unfolded behind closed doors and at the highest levels of ecclesiastical politics. Although she was not formally a member, the duchess was a driving figure in the activities of a secret society, the *Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement*—a fraternity of elite laymen and clergymen in France dedicated to the reform and renewal of the Church, sometimes in cooperation with particular French bishops and Crown officials, and sometimes in opposition to others. Marie with several members of this society, who held some of their planning sessions in the duchess' homes, were behind the establishment of the *Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris*, its affiliated seminary (known for short as the MEP seminary) that would eventually send missionaries to many parts of the world, and a sister seminary in Québec that would train diocesan clergymen for assignments throughout French America. In another display of her influence, Marie furthermore played a decisive role in lengthy negotiations that led to Pope Alexander VII's decision to allow the French to establish four missionary dioceses—including one in Canada—and thereby break up the longstanding monopoly on ecclesiastical, territorial map-drawing beyond the borders of old Christendom that the crowns of Spain and Portugal had enjoyed since 1493, the year of the famous papal bull on the matter, *Inter Caetera*.

Leading the effort in the 1650s to have Rome authorize these French missionary bishoprics was one of Marie's most remarkable accomplishments as a non-royal layperson. Alexander VII praised her for it in a brief he issued in her honor in 1658. By the early 1660s, three such bishoprics were set up for Asia and a fourth for North America. They were under *de facto* French political control and bankrolled by Marie and, to a lesser extent, her friends in Paris. According to a plan proposed to Marie and her friends by a Jesuit missionary to Vietnam, Alexandre de Rhodes, several Frenchmen would, if Rome permitted, be consecrated as bishops of long-vacant, ancient episcopal sees in what had centuries before become part of the Muslim world—bishops *in partibus infidelium*—while in actuality serving as bishops, each with the title vicar apostolic, for mission lands newly accessed by European Christians.

Even many historically informed American Catholics today may be unaware that the first Catholic episcopal see established north of Mexico was that of Québec. It had jurisdiction, even up to the time of Bishop John Carroll of Baltimore, over vast regions that would become part of the midwestern and southern United States. It was erected first in 1658 by Alexander VII as the Apostolic Vicariate of New France. In 1674, as Marie lived to see, it was elevated as the Diocese of Québec—the diocese that contained French Louisiana until New Orleans became its own see in 1793.

Not coincidentally, the first bishop in Québec was an associate of D'Aiguillon and her friends. François-Xavier de Montmorency-Laval (whom Pope Francis canonized in 2014) was 36 when chosen for New France. He was one of the first French churchman to be appointed as a bishop *in partibus infidelium*. This occurred in the summer of 1658, when he was at the same time made vicar apostolic of Québec. Like several of his compatriots who would soon venture off to the Far East, Montmorency-Laval was formally appointed in Rome but consecrated as a bishop by the papal nuncio in Paris, in the presence of the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, her friends, and French officialdom. The Mass of Consecration took place at the abbey church of Saint-Germain-des-Prés on December 8, 1658. Montmorency-Laval also at this time took an oath of loyalty to the French monarch—something Marie approved of highly—before sailing to Canada, which he reached in mid-June 1659.

Marie's role in Montmorency-Laval's appointment was more behind-the-scenes than the one she played in the case of her protégé François Pallu, the first Vicar Apostolic of Tonkin, Laos, and parts of southwestern China, and the other clergymen who were chosen for missionary bishoprics in Asia. But her role was well known enough at the time of her death that Father Brisacier underscored it in his funeral oration:

She advanced by her negotiations in the courts of France and Rome the sending of an . . . vicar apostolic [to Canada] who today is a titular bishop . . . This worthy prelate had the joy to see the secular and regular clergy of his diocese . . . holily united. But all those who agreeably enjoy those two fruits perhaps do not know that Madame d'Aiguillon was in part the tree which bore them, by the role she played in this episcopal mission. It is quite right to render back into her hands . . . public witness to this.



François-Xavier de Montmorency-Laval, first bishop of Québec, circa 1672. Public domain.

Of Marie's persistence generally in pushing forward the project of the four French apostolic vicariates, Brisacier declared, "She rose like an eagle above all obstacles."

Connected to the establishment of the French missionary bishoprics was that of the MEP seminary on the Rue de Bac, close to Marie's Parisian residence. Still active today, this MEP seminary is most famously associated with 19th-century missions in Vietnam and Korea aligned with the imperialistic French Third Republic. First recognized by Louis XIV in 1663 and by the Holy See a year later, it was and remains a project of an association of Catholic laypersons and secular clergymen.

Marie's financial gifts to the MEP seminary were relatively modest, but she assisted the seminary's development far beyond this. She convinced women and men of her acquaintance to donate funds and material support, such as library books, sacred artwork, and various necessities for the classrooms, chapel, and dormitories. She also directed Pallu, before he was nominated as a bishop for one of the new French posts in Asia, in his advocacy in Rome

for the seminary project along with the new missionary dioceses. By this point, a number of clergymen were committed to the seminary project, all of them vetted by Marie and high-ranking members of the Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement. These clergymen included Vincent de Meur, a priest of strong anti-Jansenist leanings; Michel Gazil de La Bernardière, an archdeacon of the Diocese of Évreux who was especially vigilant about Catholic doctrinal orthodoxy; and an expatriated Scottish priest named William Lesley, a former librarian of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide in Rome.

Alongside such clergymen, Marie led early planning meetings and fundraising efforts for the seminary. Brisacier, who eventually served as the seminary's superior, even credited her with the founding vision of the seminary, which he claims she articulated to several churchmen and laymen sometime in the 1650s. Marie leveraged her position at court to obtain by 1663 Louis XIV's approval of the seminary project and the Parlement de Paris' registration of royal *lettres patentes* for the new institution.

These developments constituted the seminary's official birth under French law. It would not be for another year that Cardinal Flavio Chigi, Alexander VII's legate and nephew, would confirm the seminary's existence in the eyes of the Holy See. He did so faster than expected, however, in August 1664. This was no accident. His approval came immediately following a state visit to France in which Marie hosted him at her magnificent Château de Rueil, while the cardinal-nephew was en route to visit the king at Versailles. The duchess impressed Chigi to no end as a hostess while she spoke effectively with him about the seminary project.

Clergymen involved in the MEP project credited Marie for her leadership. Lesley, for example, wrote, "I praise Madame d'Aiguillon's zeal in extending the faith, but even more so her wise conduct in taking steps so conducive to [the seminary's] success . . . She has very wisely weighed the matter of establishing solid and durable means of sustaining ministers who propagate the faith."

By the mid-1660s, the seminary was training clergymen who would eventually labor overseas under the direction of the new French vicars apostolic. Some of them would join Bishop Montmorency-Laval in Québec, and over time MEP missionaries would become active throughout North America. Although scholarly work has been done on the MEP seminary and its affiliated missions, the MEP clergymen's activities concerning North America remain understudied. Less familiar than the MEP seminary in Paris, for example, is its sister seminary established at the very same time under Laval's direction in Québec. Until 1760, it was closely tied to the seminary in Paris. Priests formed in it served French and Native American congregations in Canada, the Great Lakes region, parts of the present-day U.S. states of Maine and Massachusetts, and eventually in the Louisiana territory. These missionaries' ties to the Duchesse d'Aiguillon and other lay patrons in both France and North America are ripe for research.

Reconsidering the Lay Foundations of the American Church

The Duchesse d'Aiguillon was not the only important lay founder of Catholic ministries in French North America. There were a number of such figures, including the already-mentioned Marquise de Guercheville, the nobleman Jérôme Le Royer de La Dauversière and others involved with the Société de Notre-Dame de Montréal, and the noblewoman Marie-Madeleine de Chauvigny de La Peltrie, who founded and also joined the Ursuline community of early colonial Québec. French colonial governors, as well as families that settled in colonial Canada, were also involved in the build-up of the Church in New France. And the *Relations* and other sources from the time present to us an array of other, less familiar laypersons—male and female, French, French colonial, and Native American—who collaborated with, and were not only led by, members of the clergy and religious orders in the



The Séminaire des Missions Étrangères de Paris today. Photo by Peter Potrowl via Creative Commons.

establishment of mission communities, schools that instructed indigenous and French colonial children in the Catholic faith, and medical missions.

Lay patronage and other forms of lay leadership in the establishment and development of Catholic missions and institutional life were crucial, too, in Spanish and Portuguese America and still await the modern scholarly attention that they merit. The contributions of lay elites to the development of the Church in English colonial Maryland and in the young American republic are a bit more familiar. Families such as the Calverts and Carrolls have long enjoyed a canonical place in the historiography of early American Catholicism, and the story of lay trusteeism in the Church in the young United States is also a relatively well-known, if controversial, subject.

At the same time, the very focus on themes such as lay trusteeism and the eventual eradication of it by episcopal authorities closely tied to Rome has had the effect of blunting open-ended inquiry into lay patronage and leadership more broadly in the early American church. Because the bishops came out victorious in the trusteeism battle and the 19th-century Church in America came to be led by many charismatic and influential churchmen and consecrated women and men, we tend to look back on the earlier period of American Catholic history through lenses colored by that teleology. We may be overlooking, as a result, the stories of unfamiliar lay Catholic leaders of the early American church who are as interesting, if not necessarily as powerful and wide-ranging in their activities, as D'Aiguillon.

The range and scale of Marie's overseas projects were exceptional, to be sure, especially for a non-royal laywoman of her era. Because of the perspective on French and world affairs she had as Richelieu's niece and as a fabulously wealthy and powerful French noble close to several reigning monarchs, she at times took leads from the Crown, which was accustomed—like the crowns of Spain and Portugal—to sponsoring a diversity of religious and charitable projects at home and overseas. Yet it is also clear that, over time, she influenced French royal sponsorship of overseas missions in the middle decades of the 17th century. Various missions she helped to conceive, establish, fund, and informally direct all benefited from royal funds she secured as well as donations from other private persons.

Exceptional though she was, D'Aiguillon reminds us that in centuries distant from our own, bishops and other clergy, along with consecrated men and women, were far from being the only primary, creative, and authoritative actors in the Church's missionary expansion into the Americas and other lands. Her story shows that a shift toward the perspective of lay patrons and other lay leaders in researching and telling that history can reveal aspects of it that focused attention on a single religious order or missionary setting cannot. For example, one of the most striking features of D'Aiguillon's foundational patronage of the Church in America was its diversification. She patronized a mixture of regular clergy and secular clergy, male and female religious, and institutions devoted to evangelistic and social-charitable works.

This was consistent with her approach in France itself, where she was a founding patroness of a wide variety of institutions, including many of the early ministries of Saint Vincent de Paul and the Congregation of the Mission, and in other overseas contexts, including Tunis and Algiers in North Africa, Aleppo in Syria, the island of Madagascar, and parts of East and South Asia. Over time, in these regions, she supported from Paris—and sometimes informally directed—a variety of French missionary, mercantile, and charitable actors, including Vincentians, secular clergymen affiliated with the MEP seminary, Jesuits, Discalced Carmelites, and laypersons who served the interests of both France and the Catholic Church as Marie (ever Richelieu's niece in this regard) and other French patrons wished them to do.

Such diversification was part of a broader, entrepreneurial-ecclesial strategy Marie developed—a strategy that only a powerful, wealthy layperson, and not a bishop or religious superior, could conceive and pursue as freely as she did. She believed, not unlike investors who back a number of different ventures in order to spread out risk, that greater, longer-term spiritual and civilizational benefits would accrue if she nurtured different kinds of French Catholic institutions—innovative, experimental ones alongside tried and tested ones—some of which, she understood well especially after years of experience, would encounter unforeseen setbacks or even fail altogether. Where her overseas interests and investments were concerned, the risk of failure was omnipresent given the lack of ready and reliable information about conditions on the ground and ongoing conflicts with a range of actors—some of them playing out at sea, of course, between the French and their European rivals (Catholic and Protestant) for imperial expansion.

In sum, the lay patroness D'Aiguillon helps us to look freshly upon a period in Church history about which we have assumed we knew most of what is important to know. We find in the story of Catholicism in New France, and can find in other early missionary contexts of the Church's history, a richer tapestry to examine than we thought was there—one featuring an array of ecclesial, apostolic actors and leaders who were not all churchmen and religious.

Thus it is that we 21st-century scholars and students of the past, more than the 17th-century churchmen who heard him in person, are surprised that Father Brisacier eulogized a laywoman in 1675 as “priestly” and like a bishop. We tend to look backward on the Church of past times with a modern conceit: that, at least in the Catholic world, lay leadership and appreciation of it were the discovery of 20th-century reformers such as the Vatican II authors of *Apostolicam Actuositatem*. Yet Brisacier thought nothing of referring to a French duchess as “another Saint Paul.” There are surely, then, other important lay leaders, female and male, of the Church of distant centuries still for us to discover and from whom we can learn.

Bronwen McShea is a visiting assistant professor of history at the Augustine Institute Graduate School, a writing fellow at the Institute on Religion and Public Life, and the author of *Apostles of Empire: The Jesuits and New France* (Nebraska 2019). Her biography of the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, *Peer of Princes*, is forthcoming from Pegasus Books and draws from research she did as a 2018 recipient of the Cushwa Center's Mother Theodore M. Guerin Research Travel Grant.

The ‘Gender, Sex, and Power’ Project to Host Public Symposium March 27–29, 2022

Building on two years of collaboration, the Cushwa Center project “Gender, Sex, and Power: Towards a History of Clergy Sex Abuse in the U.S. Catholic Church” (hereafter GSP) will host a public symposium March 27–29, 2022.

Upon winning a grant in December 2019 from the University of Notre Dame’s Church Sexual Abuse Crisis Research Grant Program, Cushwa Center director Kathleen Sprows Cummings worked with Peter Cajka (Notre Dame), Terence McKiernan (BishopAccountability.org), and Robert Orsi (Northwestern University) to form a working group of 12 scholars from outside Notre Dame. Through cross-disciplinary collaboration and the members’ individual writing projects, GSP has advanced new research on the crisis and its causes while also illuminating new understandings of modern Catholicism.

Between October 2020 and April 2021, the working group as a whole met remotely nine times. Thirteen members of the project presented summaries of their research or drafts of their writing projects for discussion and feedback. Following the publication of the Vatican’s report on the handling of sexual misconduct allegations against Theodore McCarrick, GSP was mentioned and Cummings was quoted in a *New York Times* opinion piece by Elizabeth Bruenig. The project also won commendation from 2020 Laetare Medal awardee Kathleen McChesney. On April 8, 2021, Orsi presented portions of his book project “Give Us Boys” on sexual abuse and Jesuit high schools to an online gathering that included the project team, fellows of Notre Dame’s Institute for Advanced Study, and other invited guests, with comments offered by project members Kara French (Salisbury University) and John Seitz (Fordham University). GSP participants will gather for an internal workshop November 7–9, 2021, before hosting the public event next March.

In preparation for the symposium, project members are presently engaged in the following individual research projects:

Jennifer Beste (College of Saint Benedict and Saint John’s University), “Clericalism, Charisma, and the Prodigal Son: An Analysis of Father Gilbert Gustafson”

Peter Cajka, “Clergy Abuse in America’s Holy Land: Father Louis Miller and the Archdiocese of Louisville, 1956–2003”

Jack Downey (University of Rochester), “Arid Bodies in the Last Frontier: Abuse in Alaskan Missions”

Kara French, “A Flawed Jewel: Celibacy and the Clerical Sex Abuse Crisis”

R. Marie Griffith (Washington University in St. Louis), “Theologies of Gender and the Abuse of Girls: Two Clergy Cases from Southern California”

Ramón Gutiérrez (University of Chicago), “‘Bless me Father for I Have Sinned’: Clerical Abuse in New Mexico’s Archdiocese of Santa Fe, 1960–2020”

Kathleen Holscher (University of New Mexico), “Redemption and Rehabilitation: The Servants of the Paraclete and the Treatment of Sexual Abuse in New Mexico”

Christiaan Jacobs-Vandegeer (Australian Catholic University), “Theology and Life in an Abusive Church”

Colleen McDannell (University of Utah), “‘I Confided in my Mother and She Called the Archdiocese’: Parents and Clergy Sex Abuse”

Terence McKiernan, “Confession and the Abuse Crisis”

James O’Toole (Boston College), “The Historical Origins of Clerical Culture”

Doris Reisinger (Goethe University), “Reframing the Abuse Crisis: Reproductive Violence and Coerced Abortions as Part of Clerical Sexual Abuse of Minors”

John Seitz, “The Enslaver and the Seducer: Two Stories of Jesuit Sex Abuse”

Diversity and Dignity Across Time and Place

The Twelfth Triennial Conference on the History of Women Religious

UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME | JUNE 26–29, 2022

The conference's keynote speaker will be Diane Batts Morrow, associate professor emerita at the University of Georgia. She is the author of *Persons of Color and Religious at the Same Time: The Oblate Sisters of Providence, 1828–1860*, which received the Distinguished Book Award from CHWR in 2004. Professor Batts Morrow will address the conference themes of diversity and dignity through her research on the Oblate Sisters, the first religious community for Black Catholic women in the United States.

Another highlight of the conference will be a presentation by Margot Fassler, the Keough-Hesburgh Professor of Music History and Liturgy at the University of Notre Dame. For the past seven years, Fassler has been working on a digital model of the 12th-century Benedictine abbess Hildegard of Bingen's vision of the cosmos, the so-called "Cosmic Egg," which she recorded in her first mystical-theological treatise, *Scivias*. Professor Fassler recently finished the model and set it to Hildegard's music. She is now preparing to take the model on exhibition to planetaria across the world. This exhibition will coincide with the publication of her monograph on Hildegard's cosmology.

The conference seeks nominations for the following awards:

❖ **DISTINGUISHED HISTORIAN AWARD:** Nominations (500 words) should include, in addition to the name of the nominee, specific testimony concerning the individual's merits as a scholar and/or a promoter of the history of women religious (examples include teaching, scholarship, and professional experience in archives or libraries).

❖ **DISTINGUISHED BOOK AWARD:** Nominations for this award may be made by submitting one hard copy of the book via regular mail to the committee chair, along with a brief statement on the book's significance for the study of women religious. Books published between January 1, 2019, and December 31, 2021, are eligible for consideration.

❖ **LIFETIME ACHIEVEMENT:** Nominations (500 words) should include, in addition to the name of the nominee, specific testimony concerning the individual's merits as a scholar and/or promoter of the history of women religious (examples include teaching, scholarship, and professional experience in archives or libraries). Note that this award is not offered on a regular basis and is reserved for those with a demonstrated significant history of work in and dedication to the history of women religious.

Please send nominations for all awards by February 15, 2022 to committee chair Jim Carroll at jcarroll@iona.edu. Hard copies of books for nomination should be sent to: James Carroll, Ph.D., Department of History, Iona College, 715 North Avenue, New Rochelle, NY 10801. Awards will be announced at the CHWR banquet on June 29, 2022.

REGISTRATION AND ACCOMMODATION DETAILS WILL BE POSTED IN EARLY 2022.

Research Funding: Apply by December 31

The Cushwa Center administers the following funding opportunities to support scholarly research in a variety of subject areas. Apply at cushwa.nd.edu by December 31, 2021.

RESEARCH TRAVEL GRANTS assist scholars who wish to visit the University Archives or other collections at the Hesburgh Libraries at Notre Dame for research relating to the study of Catholics in America.

PETER D'AGOSTINO RESEARCH TRAVEL GRANTS, offered in conjunction with Italian Studies at Notre Dame and designed to facilitate the study of the American past from an international perspective, support research in Roman archives for projects on U.S. Catholic history.

THE CYPRIAN DAVIS, O.S.B., PRIZE, established in partnership with the American Catholic Historical Association, recognizes outstanding research on the Black Catholic experience in North America and the Caribbean from the colonial period to the 20th century.

MOTHER THEODORE GUERIN RESEARCH TRAVEL GRANTS support scholars whose research projects seek to feature Catholic women more prominently in modern history. Grants are made to scholars seeking to visit any repository in or outside the United States, or traveling to conduct oral history interviews, especially of women religious.

HIBERNIAN RESEARCH AWARDS, funded by an endowment from the Ancient Order of Hibernians and Ladies Ancient Order of Hibernians, support the scholarly study of Irish and Irish American history.

Postdoctoral Fellows for 2021–22

Four postdoctoral fellows will work in-residence at the Cushwa Center during the 2021–22 academic year. In addition to pursuing their own research projects, planning and directing select events, and assisting in daily operations, the fellows will also represent the center in several ways both across the university and within the broader scholarly community.

PHILIP BYERS will assume primary editing responsibilities for the semiannual *American Catholic Studies Newsletter*.

REV. STEPHEN M. KOETH, C.S.C., will teach the undergraduate course “Cities and Suburbs in Postwar America” in Notre Dame’s Department of History. He will continue in his role as priest-in-residence in Stanford Hall.

ROSE LUMINIELLO will continue her work on global networks of women religious in education, healthcare, and social work, and will workshop her manuscript *Modernizing Catholicism: “Rerum Novarum” and Moral Legitimacy in the Church* with the Cushwa Center and the Keough-Naughton Institute for Irish Studies.

JACQUELINE WILLY ROMERO will sit on the program committee for the Twelfth Triennial Conference on the History of Women Religious, to be hosted at Notre Dame in June 2022, and will take a lead in organizing panel topics.

Friends of Cushwa News and Notes

THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION (ACHA) has approved the creation of the Christopher J. Kauffman Prize in U.S. Catholic History, to be awarded to authors of monographs that provide new and challenging insights to the study of U.S. Catholic history. A gifted scholar, Kauffman (d. 2018) tirelessly advocated for the field of U.S. Catholic history. Over the course of his long and distinguished career, he authored 10 books and over 100 articles. He served as editor of *U.S. Catholic Historian* and as general editor for two series, *Makers of the Catholic Community: Historical Studies of the Catholic People in America, 1789–1989* and *American Catholic Identities: A Documentary History*. The ACHA has not set a date to begin awarding the prize but aims to establish sufficient financial backing to fund the prize within two to three years. Visit achahistory.org to learn more.

PAOLO L. BERNARDINI (University of Insubria) will begin an appointment in November 2021 as a fellow of the Hamburg Institute for Advanced Study. He will complete a research project on the *veritas filia temporis* idea in the Renaissance and Baroque.

SHAUN BLANCHARD is senior research fellow at the National Institute for Newman Studies in Pittsburgh, where he will research ecclesiology in the English-speaking Catholic world ca. 1770–1870.

MATTHEW CASEY-PARISEAULT (Arizona State University) has joined the board of directors of the Women's Ordination Conference (womensordination.org). A historian of religion in the Americas, Matt is especially interested in digging deeper into the histories of ordination equality struggles. Reach out (mpcasey1@asu.edu) if you would like to brainstorm a project.

VALENTINA CICILIO (Ca' Foscari University of Venice) recently published "The Origins of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal in the United States: The Experience at the University of Notre Dame and South Bend (Indiana), 1967–1985," in the volume *Transatlantic Charismatic Renewal* (Brill 2021).

MAUREEN K. DAY (Franciscan School of Theology) earned honorable mention (category: Catholic Social Teaching) in the 2021 Catholic Media Awards for her book *Catholic Activism Today* (NYU 2020).

TIM DULLE JR. (Fordham University) defended his dissertation, "'A Question Making Time': Corita Kent, the White Catholic Imagination, and American Catholicism," in April 2021.

MAGGIE ELMORE (Sam Houston State University) will spend the 2021–22 academic year as a Bill and Rita Clements Fellow for the Study of Southwestern America at Southern Methodist University's Clements Center for Southwest Studies. NYU Press will release her co-edited volume, *Faith and Power: Latino Religious Politics Since 1945*, in February 2022.

FR. DAVID ENDRES (Mount St. Mary's Seminary, Cincinnati) recently published *A Bicentennial History of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati: The Catholic Church in Southwest Ohio, 1821–2021*. The book illuminates the rich story of Catholicism's foundations and expansion from the Great Lakes to the Ohio River over the past 200 years.

VIRGINIA GARRARD (University of Texas, Austin) published a new book, *New Faces of God in Latin America*, with Oxford University Press in December 2020.

SR. MARY AGNES GREIFFENDORF, O.P. (The Catholic University of America) successfully defended her dissertation, “Preparing American Women Religious for the Teaching Apostolate in the 21st Century: Factors Influencing Programs of Study for Sisters and Their Experiences in the Teaching Apostolate,” and graduated with a Ph.D. in Catholic educational leadership from the Catholic University of America in May 2021. The qualitative study explores the ways the leaders of three American congregations of women religious have prepared their sisters for the teaching apostolate both in the past and the present.

BILL ISSEL (San Francisco State University) has published the second book in his “The War at Home” series of WWII novels. In the new book, *Traitors* (Carleton Street 2021), Irish and Italian detectives team up with a Jewish FBI agent to investigate the murder of a prominent German American who had been a leading San Francisco supporter of Father Charles Coughlin’s National Union of Social Justice. Bill has also published a memoir, *Baptized on the Fourth of July: A Catholic Boyhood in San Francisco* (Carleton Street 2021).

THERESA KEELEY (University of Louisville) received the 2020 Juan E. Méndez Award for Human Rights in Latin America from Duke University’s Human Rights Center for her first book, *Reagan’s Gun-Toting Nuns: The Catholic Conflict over Cold War Human Rights Policy in Central America* (Cornell 2020).

MARY GRACE KOSTA, archivist for the Sisters of St. Joseph in Canada, won two awards this year: the James J. Talman Award from the Archives Association of Ontario and the Sister M. Claude Lane, O.P., Memorial Award from the Society of American Archivists. The congregation also launched a new website (www.csjarchive.org) for their consolidated archives earlier this year.

It contains downloadable publications of interest to other archives, such as a policy manual and processing manual, photographs, videos, oral history recordings, finding aids, a timeline, and other resources concerning the history of the congregation.

SUZANNE MARIE KREBSBACH has published “Anne Rossignol, Madame Dumont, and Dr. John Schmidt Junior: Community and Accommodation in Charleston, 1790–1840,” in *Select Papers of the Consortium on the Revolutionary Era*, and “The Assassin Limolean: Political and Religious Conflict in South Carolina,” in *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*.

ROSE LUMINIELLO will publish the co-edited volume *Engaging Authority: Citizenship and Political Community* with Rowman & Littlefield in December 2021.

ELSA B. MENDOZA recently joined Middlebury College as an assistant professor of history and in spring 2022 will be a faculty fellow at the Charles Warren Center for Studies in American History at Harvard University. With Adam Rothman, she recently published the co-edited book *Facing Georgetown’s History*, a volume that examines the complex entanglement of American higher education and religious institutions with slavery.

PATRICK D. MILHOAN became head archivist for the Hesburgh Libraries in April 2021. Prior to arriving at Hesburgh Libraries in 2017, Patrick had completed stints with the Smithsonian Institution Archives, the archives of the Society of the Cincinnati, and the Ford’s Theatre Society.

RYAN P. MURPHY recently joined the faculty of Chestnut Hill College’s Center for Education, Advocacy, and Social Justice as an assistant professor of sociology.

TODD REAM (Taylor University) recently published *Hesburgh of Notre Dame: An Introduction to His Life and Work* (Lexington 2021), a volume collecting the most important public addresses of Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C. (1917–2015).

JONATHAN RIDDLE concluded three years at Wheaton College (Illinois) and will begin this fall as Visiting Professor of History and Great Books at Pepperdine University.

MATTEO SANFILIPPO (Scalabrinian Historical Institute) announces the release of the second volume in the institute's series. The new volume contains numerous letters about New York in the late 19th century. Like all the institute's publications, it is available free of charge at www.scalabriniani.org/istituto-storico/.

THE SISTERS OF CHARITY OF SETON HILL announce the launch of an interactive, searchable online digital archive featuring oral histories of federation sisters. "Charity Speaks" pulls together more than 60 oral history entries from nine congregations in thematic categories (Women of the World, Nursing & Healthcare Heroes, Angels of Education, The Modern Nun, and Witness to History) to unite the charity charism.

The following women religious archives contributed to the project: Sisters of Charity of Seton Hill; Sisters of Charity of New York; Sisters of Charity of Cincinnati; Sisters of Charity of Leavenworth; Sisters of Charity of Nazareth; Sisters of Charity of New Jersey; Sisters of Charity of Halifax; Daughters of Charity, Province of St. Louise (Emmitsburg); Daughters of Charity, Province of St. Elizabeth Ann (Los Altos Hills). The website is accessible at www.scfederationarchives.org.

BR. STANLEY ROTHER WAGNER, O.S.B. (Saint Meinrad Archabbey) began an oral history project entitled "Counted as One: A History of the Brothers of Saint Meinrad Archabbey."

CHARLES K. WILBER (University of Notre Dame) recently published two books: *Life as a Pilgrimage: Faith, Economics, and Social Justice* (Corby 2021) and *Was the Good Samaritan a Bad Economist?* (Lexington 2021).

DEANNA WITKOWSKI (University of Pittsburgh) recently published *Mary Lou Williams: Music for the Soul* (Liturgical Press 2021), a biography that explores the renowned jazz composer and pianist's spiritual journey and eventual conversion to Catholicism.

A Conversation with Postdoctoral Fellow Jacqueline Willy Romero

Jacqueline Willy Romero has joined the University of Notre Dame's Cushwa Center as a postdoctoral research associate for the 2021–22 academic year. Romero earned her Ph.D. in history at Arizona State University in 2019, and her research interests include antebellum Catholicism, the history of women religious, trans-Atlantic migration, and the influence of gender in social institutions. In July, Cushwa Center assistant director Shane Ulbrich caught up with Romero to discuss her journey to Notre Dame, her research, and her role in the upcoming Twelfth Triennial Conference on the History of Women Religious.



Jacqueline Willy Romero

SHANE ULBRICH: You last visited Notre Dame for the Cushwa Center’s Conference on the History of Women Religious in June 2019, shortly after completing your doctorate at ASU. A few months after that conference, you applied for a fellowship with Cushwa and were among those invited to join us as postdoctoral research associates in 2020. Long story short, a global pandemic disrupted those plans, as Cushwa needed to pause a lot of its offerings, including our fellowships. Now, a year later, you’re finally joining us. Tell us a bit more about the past two years since you completed the Ph.D.

JACQUELINE WILLY ROMERO: I am more excited than ever to join Cushwa after the past year! My time since completing my Ph.D. has been spent balancing teaching and continuing my research for my book project.

My time in the classroom (both online and in-person) has reminded me of how important it is to continue to remain engaged in scholarship and to continue having conversations with both students and colleagues that promote understanding the complexity of history and historical actors. Gendered and racial dynamics continue to shape current events, and understanding how these dynamics can express themselves in different contexts is a key part of what I hope my students take away from my classes. I also make a point to expose my students to more “hidden narratives” in American history—after all, women religious were largely absent from historical research a few decades ago!

I have also been brainstorming ways to connect Catholic history as a subfield to broader scholarly audiences. Stephanie Jones-Rogers’ book *They Were Her Property* was published soon after I defended my dissertation; when I read it, I realized that it gave Catholic women’s history a powerful way to examine slaveholding. Since then, I have been expanding my research on sisters and slavery to

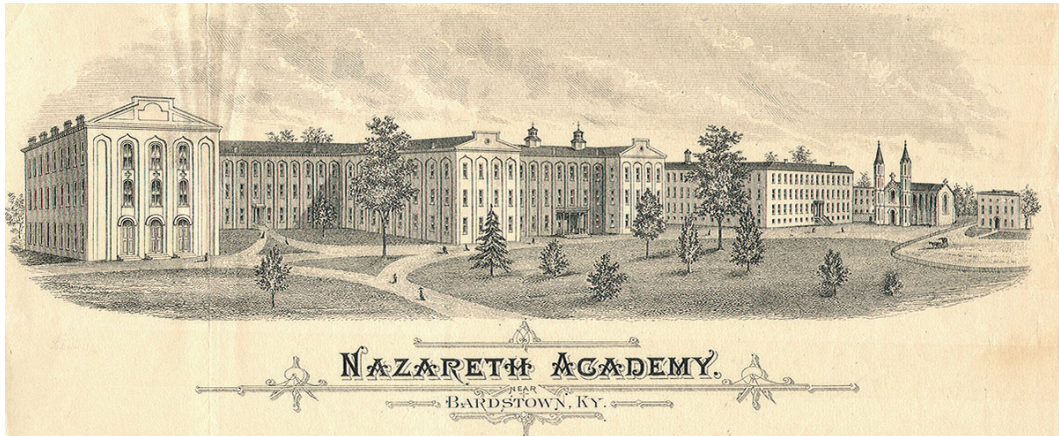
bridge the gap between the two topics. My second article is currently in preparation and uses the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth as a case study to examine the relationship between white women, Catholicism, and slaveholding in antebellum Kentucky. I argue that slavery was not simply a passive background at Nazareth, but rather actively shaped the community’s actions and its relationships.

SU: Stepping back a bit—tell us more about your dissertation. How’d you arrive at the topic, what were some broader takeaways, and what’s your perspective on it two years later?

JWR: I began graduate school knowing that I wanted to pursue American Catholic history after I completed an undergraduate thesis on Catholic identity after the American Revolution. During my graduate seminars, I was introduced to women’s history and became certain I also wanted to incorporate that methodology into my research. Through conversations with my advisor, Catherine O’Donnell, I learned that many communities of women religious kept extensive archives that were not always well known to scholars, and that brought me to the two communities I focused on for my dissertation.

One main takeaway from my research is that communities of women religious produce a tension for historians to analyze: as celibate, educated women who used their skills for lifelong public service, they were clearly exceptional figures among 19th-century women. Yet they did not challenge the gendered hierarchies of their church. The nature of their agency does not fit neatly into the dichotomies of public and private power. I analyzed the relationship between obedience and autonomy to then connect that relationship back to gender.

Another aspect that is essential to both the dissertation and my book project is the importance of highlighting sisters’ interior lives. The history of women religious often focuses on their visible accomplishments—the institutions they



Nazareth Academy near Bardstown, Kentucky, 1871. Courtesy of the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth Archives.

established. Understandably so—they of course created and ran so many orphanages, hospitals, and schools. Such analyses often highlight the sisters’ achievements rather than their personal lives, and consequently lack clear attention to the role of spirituality. Although intangible in itself, religious faith produced tangible and material developments throughout the 19th century. Studying the intangible is challenging, but my research highlights the value of examining sisters’ personal letters and reflections to understand how they understood their relationship to Catholicism and how their faith shaped them.

Two years later, I am still struck by how dominant clerical sources remain in Catholic history. My primary goal was to prioritize and center sisters’ sources and voices themselves whenever possible, and I still often caught myself relying on a priest or bishop’s perspective without challenging their assumptions or digging into what might have been left out.

I am also always fascinated by how wonderfully human sisters can be, and how their personalities can shine through in their records.

SU: Can you give a few examples of sisters’ personalities that you found in the archives?

JWR: It’s hard to narrow my favorite examples down, especially because so many sisters had fantastic senses of humor, even (perhaps especially) in difficult circumstances. However, I think these (below) are particularly indicative of how even brief excerpts of sisters’ sources can reveal their personalities.

From a correspondence between a sister at the Nazareth Motherhouse and one of their branch missions: “We have so many new Sisters since you left you would hardly know old N. All-most all New-Yorks, you might suppose coming from such a distance, they were real beauties, but I declare, some of them make the big rats run.” When I first read this, it took me a moment to realize what that sister was implying!

A letter from Mother Catherine Spalding to another sister that gives such touching insight into the role of friendship within communities: “I wish I could give you gumelastick [sic] legs or some kind with which you could step even back to Nazareth for I assure you, I never did miss one so much in my life, & if the thing were to do over again, I believe I would not consent to it.”

Apparently not all sisters were able to keep up with their correspondences, as Mother Frances

dryly remarks in one of her letters: “I had to open my eyes wide before I could believe I was really reading a letter from you, and sure enough it was a reality. Well, strange things will happen once in awhile.”

With those kinds of remarks in letters, I found it much easier to see sisters as unique individuals with their own personalities. It is also a reminder that so many personalities living together in community could not have been easy!

SU: You’ve also published an article in *American Catholic Studies* in 2019, “Scheming and Turbulent’: An Analysis of Obedience and Authority in the Founding of the Sisters of Charity of Cincinnati.” Where do you see your research and writing moving in the year ahead (and beyond)?

JWR: In many ways, my article for *American Catholic Studies* highlighted how sisters like Margaret George decided to make moral choices in the face of conflicts with their superiors. Ultimately, Margaret decides that leaving her community to create a new one is a more moral choice than remaining in her original community under a new superior and new expectations. My most recent research puts increased focus on the sisters’ choices in the context of slaveholding. When communities owned enslaved labor, sisters actually became “superiors” in a sense. And they did not see owning human beings as immoral. Their mission of charity and benevolence did not extend to enslaved men, women, and children.

As mentioned above, I am currently preparing an article that utilizes the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth and analyzes how sisters owning slaves complicates and contradicts the image of their benevolence. This image grew from their dedication to serving anyone in need of assistance, from providing an education to poor girls, caring for an entire family of orphans, and even giving their lives in the course of nursing the sick during

epidemics. However, much of this public service was possible only because sisters exploited enslaved labor for farming and domestic work.

The centrality of slaveholding to American Catholic history is an essential aspect of my book project as well. My goal is to examine a larger number of communities of women religious in the South, analyze their slaveholding history, and begin to address significant gaps in the historiographies of both Catholic and broader women’s history.

SU: We’re excited to finally have you with us at Notre Dame. The coming year will offer an opportunity to turn from teaching more to research. You’re on the program committee for the Twelfth Triennial Conference on the History of Women Religious and will be taking a lead in the planning for that. What are you most looking forward to in the year ahead?

JWR: I attended my first CHWR conference in 2019, and it was truly an eye-opening experience for me in the best way. Coming from a graduate program where I was the only student researching Catholicism, it was a completely new experience to be around so many other scholars who were interested in the same topics I was. Being a part of organizing and planning the next CHWR is high on my list of what I am looking forward to!

After the long year of COVID isolation, I am more excited than ever for an in-person CHWR in 2022. In general, I am certainly looking forward to once again being able to talk in person with colleagues to brainstorm research, learn about new developments in the field, and just generally enjoy academic and social interaction again!

Overall, I am really looking forward to immersing myself in a place that embodies American Catholic history the way Cushwa does. I have benefited immensely from its grants, conferences, and lectures, and am very excited to be a part of that mission.

The ‘Gender, Sex, and Power’ Project: A Closer Look with James O’Toole

James O’Toole is the Charles I. Clough Millennium Professor of History Emeritus and University Historian at Boston College. A scholar of Boston history and an expert on American religion and American Catholicism, especially the history of religious practice and popular devotional life, O’Toole was selected in summer 2020 to serve as one of the core researchers for the Cushwa Center project “Gender, Sex, and Power: Towards a History of Clergy Sex Abuse in the U.S. Catholic Church.” In August, Cushwa Center postdoctoral fellow Rev. Stephen M. Koeth, C.S.C., corresponded with O’Toole to discuss clericalism, priestly formation, Boston, and the place of clergy sex abuse within surveys of U.S. Catholicism.



James O’Toole

STEPHEN KOETH: Since June 2020 you've been participating in the Cushwa Center's "Gender, Sex, and Power" project (hereafter GSP), a group of 12 scholars researching various aspects of clergy sexual abuse in the U.S. Catholic Church. Tell us a little about the particular focus of your research.

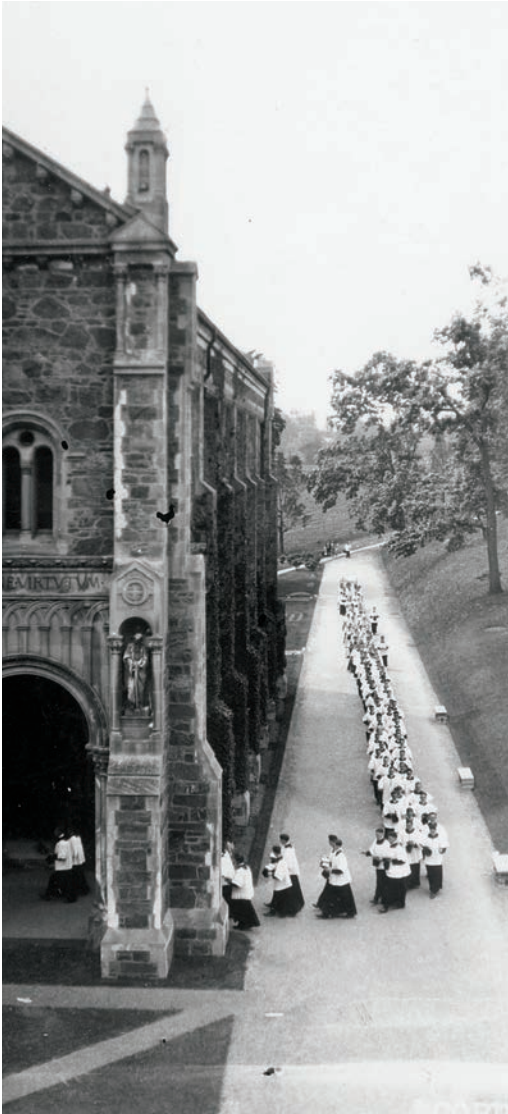
JAMES O'TOOLE: From the beginning of wide public awareness of clergy sexual abuse, many observers have identified "clericalism" as an underlying cause of the problem. Why had bishops and other Church officials been more intent on protecting abusers than victims? They seemed more focused on looking after the interests of fellow members of a kind of priestly club than on bringing justice to victims and bringing abusers to justice. A culture of clericalism was at the heart of the matter. No one could define clericalism, exactly, though many (myself included) thought they knew it when they saw it.

My project tries to get a handle on this by looking at clericalism in the specific case of the Archdiocese of Boston, home to some of the most egregious abusers. How had they been formed as priests? What definition of their role had been instilled in them? What sense of their own standing and privilege had they been encouraged to adopt, and how was that connected to their later abuses? My project is a case study of the clericalism produced in priests who had gone to Saint John's, the archdiocesan seminary in Boston: How had they been initiated into this self-contained clerical culture?

SK: In a preliminary report on your research, you discussed how seminary manuals and a seminary's rule of daily life were concerned with the character formation of seminarians. What qualities were the rector and seminary staff looking to inculcate in seminarians?

JO: Since the Council of Trent, seminaries have been conducted on what is fundamentally a monastic model. Strict separation from the outside world has been thought the best way to prepare priests to serve that world. Stating the matter this way sounds very odd, but that was the model. Seminaries are of course educational institutions (they have classes, exams, grades, academic degrees, and all the rest), but they are really more interested in producing—in "forming"—a certain kind of person. Their more important job, as they see it, is to instill attitudes, values, and ways of behaving as much as it is to impart knowledge. In Boston's seminary throughout the first half of the 20th century, when the more serious abusers were there, these values included some of the following:

- **Reserve:** Strict outward control of the emotions and a stance of not letting other people, particularly lay people, get too close.
- **Gentlemanly bearing:** Maintaining a public face of distance and propriety at all times, regardless of one's background or inner inclinations.
- **Docility:** Unquestioning obedience to superiors and Church authorities, even if that contradicted one's own sense of self and duty.



Corpus Christi procession entering the chapel at Saint John's Seminary, Boston, 1923. Courtesy of Archive, Archdiocese of Boston, photograph collection P-1831.

- **Serviceability:** A willingness to go wherever sent, to do whatever assigned, and to suppress one's own personality as needed in the process. Church leaders wanted to know, "Can we put this priest anywhere we need him?"

In the end, these and other values meant that priests were being formed to be of service to the Church's people, but to do so from a position that was separate from and superior to them.

SK: You noted in your report how "the dynamics of supply and demand" apply to the priesthood as much as they apply to the business world. How, if at all, do you see surpluses or deficits in the supply of priestly laborers relating to the problem of clericalism and thus to the sexual abuse crisis?

JO: Until the 1960s, in Boston and elsewhere, there was a surplus of priests. In the 1930s, one archbishop in Boston dismissed 20 members of the seminary graduating class prior to ordination because he simply had no parish work for them to do. In the 1950s, another archbishop actively encouraged some of his priests to volunteer for work outside the diocese, particularly in Latin America, again because they would be underutilized at home. (In other dioceses, I know, bishops were deliberately sending their "problem" priests to work with racial and ethnic minorities in other parts of the country. Particular cases aside, Boston does not seem to have done this systematically.) As the number of vocations has fallen steadily since the 1970s, there has perhaps been a temptation on the part of some diocesan officials to be less choosy in whom they accept as seminary candidates. My own view is that, as numbers continue to decline, dioceses should become more exacting in selecting seminarians, not less.

SK: Thanks to the celebrated work of the *Boston Globe's* “Spotlight” team, people often think of Boston first whenever clerical sex abuse is discussed. In what ways is the Archdiocese of Boston unique in the history of clerical sex abuse and in what ways is it representative? How should scholars think about the similarities and differences between dioceses as they research clerical sex abuse?

JO: In 2002, Boston emerged as the public face of clergy sex abuse in the United States. There were many examples of particularly appalling behavior by abusers and of particularly bad leadership by archdiocesan officials there. But one of the things I have learned over and over in working with the other scholars who are part of this project is just how widespread these phenomena were. There were different local conditions and personalities from place to place, but offenders and bad leaders were everywhere. My project is a case study of how these clericalist attitudes and behaviors operated in Boston, but we also need to continue exploring cases from elsewhere. The more cases we study, the more we'll know. The GSP project is doing just that.

SK: As part of the GSP project, the Cushwa Center has partnered with BishopAccountability.org to provide participating scholars with access to its previously unavailable archival sources on clerical abuse cases. Have any of these sources, and conversations with other participants, shaped your research?

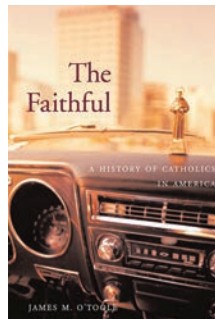
JO: Working closely with BishopAccountability.org has been crucial for all of us in this project. As a former archivist myself, I am in awe of what BishopAccountability.org has accomplished in assembling and organizing documentation from around the country that would not otherwise

be so readily accessible for study—or, indeed, accessible at all. In my own work, I am using those records to explore how the general phenomenon of clericalism operated in the cases of several of the worst abusers in Boston.

Our Zoom meetings over the course of the last year and a half have been crucial to our work as well. At times, we have (like the rest of the country) suffered from bouts of “Zoom fatigue,” but our discussions—both in the full group and in the several smaller sub-groups that formed—have always been stimulating and helpful. This has helped keep the project moving, and I am looking forward to our meeting in November.

SK: Your splendid survey, *The Faithful: A History of Catholics in America*, was published by Harvard University Press in 2010. How, if at all, would you update or revise that work in light of your current research on clericalism and sex abuse?

JO: *The Faithful* was written in the immediate aftermath of the exposure of widespread sexual abuse, and it was intended to provide historical context for understanding how Catholicism in America had gotten to that point. In particular, at a time when the voices of lay people in the Church, demanding accountability and change, were so insistent, it seemed useful to try to reimagine American Catholic history. What would the history of the Church look like if we approached it as a story not of bishops and institutions, but of ordinary Catholic lay people—the people who filled the churches on Sunday mornings; the people who sent their kids to parish schools; the people who were helped by Church-affiliated social service agencies?



The full dimensions of clergy sex abuse were still emerging at the time I was writing the book and now, almost 20 years later, there would be more detail, more reflection on the relative significance of particular factors. The ongoing work of scholarship, as embodied in the GSP effort, will help move us toward those deeper understandings. And that, we can hope, will also bring us to greater care for victims and more effective means of preventing abuse in the first place.

SK: You've also been working on a project exploring the practice of confession in America. Are you seeing any connections between that project and your work with GSP?

JO: For the last several years, I have been working on what I call a social history of the practice of confession. For generations, American Catholics went to confession in huge numbers; they didn't always like to do so, but they did it anyway as a marker of their religious identity. And then, in the 1960s and 1970s, the practice of confession simply collapsed. Even those who continued to identify as faithful Catholics went to confession seldom or not at all. The central question I'm exploring is why that happened, and there are many reasons, both internal to the Church and external from larger changes in American society.

As for the specific relationship between confession and sexual abuse, several links have become clear. First of all, we know that many abusers used confession to groom potential victims, and we know that some abuse actually occurred in the confessional itself. It is also noteworthy that

many abusers took advantage of the "seal" of the confessional to cover up their crimes, deliberately misleading victims into thinking that the requirement of secrecy in confession applied to them rather than to the priest-abuser. Terry McKiernan of BishopAccountability.org is working specifically on confession as part of the GSP project, and he and I have had many fruitful conversations.

SK: What are the next steps for your own GSP research? Do you see any promising avenues of inquiry that future scholars might want to explore further?

JO: As I've said, my paper will focus on the development of clericalism in Boston and how those attitudes played out in the lives of several of the serial abusers, and I plan to submit this paper for publication in an appropriate journal. I also look forward to the presentations and discussions of the conference at Notre Dame, which will help sharpen the analysis. More broadly, I hope that examination of this topic will spark more interest in studying the history of the American Catholic priesthood. Curiously, priests have been largely overlooked in existing scholarship. We know a great deal about bishops and increasingly about women religious and about lay people. We need to know much more about priests: their backgrounds, their daily and weekly working lives, their successes and failures, their impact on the Church and its people.

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Rev. Stephen M. Koeth, C.S.C., is a postdoctoral fellow at the University of Notre Dame's Cushwa Center.

Archives in Neutral: What Should We Preserve?

BY WM. KEVIN CAWLEY

Do archives exist for the glory of the people whose records they preserve? Should archivists save what they find agreeable and destroy what they find disagreeable? After all, the victors write the history books, so why preserve records of the losers?

Historians may reject such ideas without a second thought, but the popular understanding of archives and historical collections often seems more in harmony with the 1973 Woody Allen movie *Sleeper*. In the film, Miles Monroe wakes up after 200 years of cryogenic sleep. Miles answers questions about strange artifacts from the late 20th century. Nothing about Richard Nixon has survived except a single clip from a television appearance. Who was this man? He must have done something terrible for all records of him to have been destroyed. Miles agrees with this interpretation.

An exhibit at Notre Dame inspired a graduate student to write an article in the February 1996 issue of the conservative student newspaper *Right Reason*. The exhibit showed the range of material in the Notre Dame Libraries' Catholic Americana Collection. Both the Eternal Word Television Network (EWTN) and Catholics for a Free Choice (CFFC) appeared in the exhibit. The student had no objection to the inclusion of EWTN, but objected strongly to CFFC. In his article, "Catholics for a Free Choice Do Not Exist," he explained that CFFC did not qualify as Catholic because it rejected Catholic teaching about abortion. It represented the opinion of one person, the founder, and had a membership of only a few hundred people. Near the end of the article, he reported that he had given the librarian in charge of the exhibit an opportunity to mend her ways, but she had failed to do so.

Should bishops refuse communion to Catholic Democrats who follow the party line on abortion? Can we even agree to call President Biden Catholic? We cannot agree. But we should nevertheless, whatever our opinions, recognize the importance of preserving records representing all sides of any controversy.

Consider the ambitions of a young Catholic who feels called to defend traditional views against dissenters. What would such a writer need to support his arguments? Could he make a convincing case by quoting others who agreed with him? Would the EWTN documents in the Catholic Americana Collection suffice? Or could he perhaps make a better case by studying the documents generated by the dissenters themselves?

The Notre Dame Archives, strictly defined, includes only the records of Notre Dame itself, which accumulate during the daily transaction of university business. If Notre Dame invites President Obama to speak at commencement, related documents will eventually come to the archives. This will not mean that everybody at Notre Dame approves of the invitation, and records of protests will also come to the archives.



Portrait of James Farnham Edwards, circa 1870s. Courtesy of University of Notre Dame Archives.

Beyond the strict definition, the archives at Notre Dame has for a century and a half collected and preserved records of Catholicism in the United States. In the 1870s, Notre Dame librarian and history professor James F. Edwards admired the early missionary bishops and began what he called the Catholic Archives of America to celebrate his heroes by collecting their correspondence. As a better understanding of archival collections developed, the archives came to represent a wide range of Catholic convictions, some of them extreme and no doubt questionable.

In fact, the archives has also preserved anti-Catholic documents along with Catholic rebuttals. The diversity of Catholic opinion undermines one anti-Catholic accusation: that Catholics don't think for themselves, that they only believe what the pope tells them to believe.

In the Notre Dame Archives, you can find records of the Leadership Conference of Women Religious, but also of Consortium Perfectae Caritatis; of the *National Catholic Reporter* and of *Our Sunday Visitor*. You can find papers of Father Richard McBrien, but also of Father Paul Marx; of Eugene Kennedy and Ralph McInerny; of Elizabeth Johnson, C.S.J., and Rose Eileen Masterman, C.S.C. Those who do research in the archives can weigh the evidence before they weigh in with their own interpretations.

In the Catholic Church as in the nation, we have trouble listening to people who disagree with us. We can engage in ecumenical dialog with people of other faiths, but not with Catholics of other opinions. The internet helps to foster the illusion that all right-thinking people agree and that we don't need to hear from those who disagree. Search engines perpetuate this division by feeding us information in harmony with what we have chosen to read in the past and filtering out information that challenges our views. We have our information and they have theirs.

During the 20th century the word "information" acquired a golden halo. As digital computers developed and applications went beyond calculations to storage and retrieval of data, we began to call the associated discipline "information technology." Library schools became schools of information science.

The Wikipedia article on information reveals that information reduces uncertainty. It includes a section on recordkeeping that repeats the traditional wisdom: records have value as information and as evidence. In court or in scholarly writings, records can settle disputed questions. But the recent glory of information tends to obscure the evidential value of records.

Archivists keep records that have ongoing importance for our cultural memory. With the popularity of digital images, a question arises as to whether we need to keep records in their original form. After all, the digital images of texts can yield, through optical character recognition, information far more useful once Google has gobbled it up. Why preserve the record itself when we have all the information we need in the digital version?

We can begin to answer this question with the help of television shows about crime scene investigation. In such shows, the criminal unwittingly leaves behind evidence that the crime scene investigators can discover as long as the scene remains intact. Photographs still have their role, but obviously can't preserve all the evidence—the microscopic traces, DNA in the blood, blowfly larvae. The crime scene investigators and their colleagues in the labs proceed with absolute neutrality in their analysis of the evidence. The homicide detectives may have a favorite suspect, but evidence eventually identifies the real killer.

Images of documents preserve only a fraction of the evidence in the original. Leaving criminal tendencies aside for the moment, the technology to capture all the evidence in digital form does not exist. Visible characteristics don't all come through, even with digital photography at the highest resolution. And, obviously, invisible characteristics don't appear in digital images.

Imagine a 19th-century Holy Cross brother at Notre Dame keeping student accounts in huge ledger books. His pen sometimes skips, so that an 8 might look like a 6 or a 5 or a 3 in the digital image he never imagines. On paper, though, the pen makes enough of a scratch to eliminate uncertainty.

The ink in old documents can fade away. Ultraviolet or infrared light can sometimes make the writing legible again—but only if the original documents still exist. Who knows what other technology might make lost writing reappear in the future?

As a 21-year-old man in 1824, the disaffected Presbyterian Orestes Brownson kept a notebook in which he wrote observations that, a dozen years later, the Transcendentalist Orestes Brownson decided to obliterate with clippings from *The Boston Reformer*. In 1844 Brownson converted to Catholicism. His papers came to Notre Dame; the archives preserved the scrapbook and microfilmed the papers. Why not throw away the scrapbook? Archives always need more space. Instead the archivist, having preserved images of the clippings, removed them so as to make the writing underneath accessible again. (“What is worse than prejudice?” asked the young Brownson.)

A few paragraphs back we put criminal tendencies aside. But Catholic doctrine reminds us of the universal human tendency to sin. Some among us falsify records. The law allows police to lie in their pursuit of truth and justice. Governments make disinformation a tactical tool. Lately we have been reading news about fake news.

When uncertainty arises as to the authenticity of a record, it helps to have the original document and not a digital derivative. With techniques not unlike those in the television programs, experts can determine the age of paper and ink, analyze handwriting and detect forgeries. And the technology will improve as time goes by.

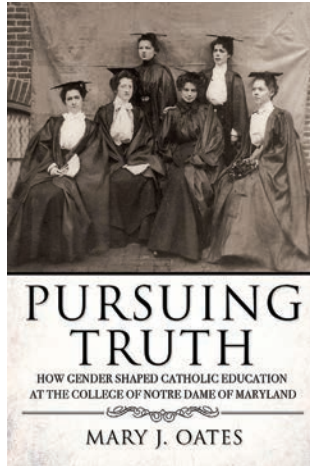
On September 6, 1866, James F. Edwards, age 18, registered at Notre Dame. On September 3, 1867, James F. Edwards, age 17, registered for another year. And on September 1, 1868, he registered again, having turned 18, apparently for the second time. These facts appear in Volume II of a series of ledgers known as “Student Daybooks.”

If you go to the archives and look at the original records, you will discover, as I did, that the record for 1866 clearly says 18, not 16. Bad information, but nevertheless evidence—in this case evidence of human imperfection.

Those who generate records during the normal course of business intend to provide reliable information. But in this information, scholars in the future may see evidence of evils or of virtues that the recordkeepers never recognized. Catholic priests kept records of the slaves that they owned. The cause for canonization of any saint relies on routine records.

According to its website, “The Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum is home to approximately 46 million pages of documents, and 3,700 hours of recorded Presidential conversations known as the ‘White House Tapes,’ 4,000 separate recordings of broadcast video, nearly 4,500 audio recordings, 300,000 still photographs, 2 million feet of film, and more than 35,000 State and Public Gifts.” Whatever we might think of President Nixon, we need to preserve the records of his administration.

Kevin Cawley retired in 2019 from his role as senior archivist and curator of manuscripts at the Archives of the University of Notre Dame, after 36 years of service.



Pursuing Truth: How Gender Shaped Catholic Education at the College of Notre Dame of Maryland

Mary J. Oates (Cornell University Press, 2021)

REVIEW BY PAULA M. KANE

The current entry in Wikipedia for Notre Dame of Maryland University indicates a total of 563 full-time undergraduate students and a greater than 60% acceptance rate. Its recent enrollment increases come from part-time and graduate students who bring the total enrollment to 2,233, similar to that of many small liberal arts institutions. The path to Notre Dame's current situation lies in its 126-year history, ably told here by Mary J. Oates. We are indebted to Oates for *The Catholic Philanthropic Tradition in America* (1995), her edited anthology *Higher Education for Women* (1987), and her numerous well-crafted and deeply researched articles on the history of Catholic women's higher education and the financial dimensions of American Catholic life.

Her new publication, *Pursuing Truth*, is the final volume in a Cushwa Center series that was inaugurated in 1998 in collaboration with Cornell University Press and one to which many readers of this newsletter have contributed. Thanks to generous support from Cushwa, the e-book is available on open access repositories.

As part of the very history that she explores, Oates pursued her M.A. and Ph.D. in economics at Yale University wearing the religious habit of a Sister of St. Joseph. Finishing her doctorate in 1969, by which time most of her community had abandoned traditional garb, she did likewise, and began her appointment in the economics department at Regis College in 1970. She now serves there as research professor emerita.

The College of Notre Dame, Maryland (since 2011 named Notre Dame of Maryland University) was founded by the School Sisters of Notre Dame (hereafter SSNDs) in 1895. By 1892 the SSNDs were the largest women's congregation in North America, and Notre Dame was followed by the founding of at least 13 more Catholic women's colleges by 1910, a total that rose to 120 in 1967. The SSNDs had been re-established in Bavaria in 1833 following suppression in France during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic decades. Launched in Maryland in 1864, the SSNDs saw some of their earliest American leaders having to straddle the competing claims of ethnicity and nationalism. Despite the German motherhouse, many of the SSND sisters were Irish-born. Oates presents the history of the college in six chapters treating distinct topics that defined the institution, including its Catholic identity, class and racial issues, and the impact of the 1960s on campus mores and religious life. The approach is generally chronological within each chapter, while the topical sectioning allows Oates to marshal the relevant sources that best speak to each issue.

In the first two chapters, Oates helpfully places Notre Dame in the context of other elite women's colleges such as the well-known Seven Sisters and shows how gender inflected most of the decisions and choices made at the college. But her volume also redresses the imbalance of the invisibility of Catholic schools, and especially women's colleges, in the standard surveys of American higher education. Even Catholic studies of higher education (e.g., Gallin, 1996 and 2000; Gleason, 1995; Perko, ed., 1988) have not focused exclusively on colleges founded by women religious, while they do highlight the impact of the shift in governance to largely lay boards of trustees. A 2006 study by Melanie M. Morey and John J. Piderit is subtitled "A Culture in Crisis" because the very nature of Catholic institutions as transformational rather than transactional is up for grabs due to the competitive marketplace of higher education and the declining numbers of priests and nuns. The contemporary situation often makes discussions about Catholic mission and identity intramural luxuries, and certainly Notre Dame has also faced these issues.

It's a matter of debate which institution can claim the title of first Catholic women's college in the United States: Saint Mary's College (Indiana), Notre Dame of Maryland University, or Trinity Washington University. Notre Dame claims to be the first Catholic college in the nation to award four-year degrees to women (its first graduating class in 1899 had six students, whose commencement address was delivered by Napoleon Bonaparte's grandnephew), but Trinity regarded Notre Dame as a lesser "collegiate institute." Oates doesn't get entangled in this debate but instead presents relevant archival materials about Notre Dame's self-perception to show how the archbishops of Baltimore, then overseeing the District of Columbia, played a role in minimizing Notre Dame's existence to favor Trinity College. Other scholars of Catholic education, notably Philip Gleason, have pointed to the generally murky and ambiguous parameters of the term "college" circa 1900, while still acknowledging Notre Dame's upgrade from academy to college.

Notre Dame modeled itself on other elite women's liberal arts colleges in the eastern United States. It added a professional curriculum only in the 1970s as an outgrowth of its Weekend College program, when it also allowed men to take courses. The college's conscious choice to maintain its liberal arts focus had unfortunately curtailed its enrollment and endowment, which remain undersized. The newer careerist focus included programs in biology, communications, education, economics, and business management. Now, Notre Dame's enrollment is less than a third of that at Smith College, which has about 2,500 students and an enormous endowment of \$1.9 billion. Bryn Mawr, founded ten years before Notre Dame, has about 1,900 students. As feared by the sisters and some faculty, Notre Dame's original mission was diluted by its professional courses, leading to a decline in liberal arts majors, notably English and history. Like every college, it had to make hard choices between financial solvency and the purity of its founding ideals.

Even though Catholic women's colleges looked to Protestant or secular institutions as templates, their religious character set them apart. Thus, the comparison between Notre Dame and Trinity

College remains a useful motif throughout. Trinity was dedicated in 1900 and staffed by the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur. Both colleges faced challenges in securing the proper education of their own faculty and of sisters slated to become elementary school teachers to fulfill state requirements. Trinity College could send sisters to courses at neighboring Catholic University. In Baltimore, Notre Dame was near Johns Hopkins University, but nuns were not allowed to seek degrees at secular colleges. (The Jesuit clergy from Loyola College supplied occasional religion and philosophy courses, but these did not receive degree credit.) This policy was ultimately challenged in the 1950s by the Sister Formation Movement, which sought to reform the outmoded ways in which sisters pursued their own professional degrees. Lacking a nearby Catholic campus, some sisters had been forced to make arbitrary changes to their degree plans and even subject areas. While bishops and sometimes women superiors expressed their fears of the baneful influence of secular schools, they did little to promote financing of Catholic universities where nuns could complete their degrees. Additionally, cloister rules governing women's orders were slow to relax, making it doubly difficult for women religious to attend non-Catholic institutions.

Oates finds that Catholic women's colleges faced challenges from at least four fronts: the local bishop, insufficient endowments, the congregation's superior, and the state accreditation agency. Some bishops were helpful allies of the colleges and their administrators. Others were not: Archbishop Michael Curley of Baltimore even refused Notre Dame's request to launch a fund-raising drive in 1944, only relenting in 1947 under pressure from laymen on the college's advisory board.

The search to improve the endowment led Notre Dame to make choices. As an all-residential college, it had from its early decades included a few "parlor boarders," non-degree students who paid higher tuition and had posh housing. This strategy helped augment revenues if not academic respectability. Once the college agreed to admit day students in the 1920s, however, residential students fell to half of the full-time enrollment by the end of the decade. Finances were determinative

in Notre Dame's history: like most Catholic women's colleges, without cash endowments, it had to rely on tuition revenues to fund every aspect of college life. Most of this funding came in the form of "gifts" from the founding religious order, which was itself usually strapped for resources. As noted already, bishops did not prioritize securing wealthy donors for Catholic women's higher education. Over time, the lack of endowment led to lower salaries and benefits for faculty. When the number of sisters available to teach declined, the college had to hire more lay faculty at greater cost, increasing budget woes.

The chain of command at Notre Dame was complicated by the fact that a superior of a women's order was also its official college president, making the sitting president's powers somewhat unclear, while the oversight exercised by the bishop further diluted women's authority. The arrival of lay advisory boards came only later since religious orders had resisted further loss of control.

Following the first two chapters, which engaged these many issues in women's higher education, chapter 3 tackles the meaty topics of class and race in religious life and within the student body. On the racial front, the congregation admitted only white women in 1895, and in terms of classism, the sisters preserved among themselves the ancient distinction between choir sisters and lay sisters. Despite the 1917 revision to canon law that required a single membership in religious communities, most sisterhoods still observed the separation, some even as late as Vatican II. In student life, sororities were a mark of class privilege and were banned after 1917 in favor of a campus social club for residential students, which unfortunately excluded day students. Nevertheless, Oates paints a portrait of a vibrant campus culture with singing clubs and musical performances that were widely enjoyed. The Great Depression resulted in declining enrollment and fewer boarders at the college, but the campus participated in volunteer efforts during World War II. Notre Dame's peak decades may have been the 1940s and 1950s, for which Oates credits the groundwork of its earlier leadership. "Characteristically southern" racial attitudes prevailed at Notre Dame before the 1960s (75).

One exception included the permission to the Oblate Sisters of Providence to attend summer extension courses at the campus in the 1930s, when the students were gone. Like other Catholic colleges, Notre Dame was slow to integrate, admitting its first black students in 1950.

Chapter 4 engages debates around the college's choice to emphasize the liberal versus practical arts and the consequences. Broadening its boundaries to certain vocations and opening admissions to men and to working-class women increased racial and economic diversity but also stretched the limits of the founding mission, or maybe overhauled it altogether.

The college figured as a defendant in two signature court cases that tested the college's identity and church-state separation in Maryland (chapter 5). In the 1950s, federal and state monies became available to public and private higher education, leading the college to apply for a low-interest federal loan in 1957 for several campus building projects. Similarly, it applied for a state matching grant for a new science center. Legal challenges to these applications, as Oates explains, obliged Notre Dame to admit its Catholic nature while at the same time appearing to be no different from other independent institutions seeking state and federal grants. The details of the *Horace Mann* case and *Roemer v. Board of Public Works of Maryland* are unpacked with clarity, demonstrating the irony of the need for church-related colleges to deny their religious identity in order to compete for government programs designed to aid them.

Chapter 6 treats social changes as the impetus for challenges to sexual norms facing the college at midcentury. As numerous studies have found, Catholic girls and women had been traditionally raised to value respectability and virginity. Oates found that in general Catholic schools retained rules that restricted women's movements and socializing longer than secular schools. Three examples from Notre Dame are the prohibition against male actors in campus theatricals until 1958, the requirement that students wear skirts in class and the dining hall until 1971, and the school's refusal to change parietal hours for male visitors until several years of student complaints and demonstrations.

There are numerous surprises in this seemingly straightforward institutional history. Primarily, the work benefits from Oates' decision to use the college as paradigmatic of broader changes in Catholic higher education and culture, but the details are significant as well. For example, Cardinal James Gibbons, lauded in American Catholic history for his defense of the working class, rather ignored Notre Dame in his haste to promote the establishment of Trinity College to safeguard Catholic gentlewomen from attending Vassar "and other anti-Catholic colleges" (32). Gibbons is one source of the perception that Notre Dame was merely a collegiate institute or a normal school. Another surprise concerned the notable production of prize-winning poets among students and faculty and a superior art faculty which included artist and art professor Sister Noreen Gormley and sacred art promoter Marie-Alain Couturier, O.P., who arrived in the early 1940s from occupied France. Finally, it was interesting to learn that one-third of Notre Dame students in the 1940s and 1950s were science majors, despite clerical emphasis in previous decades on women's cooking, sewing, mending, child-bearing, and child-rearing.

The volume succeeds on many fronts, opening our eyes to the multitude of factors that hampered the expansion of small colleges founded by women religious and rightly pointing to their successes against these odds. Like at most colleges, the College of Notre Dame's archives house collections of the student yearbook, literary magazine, and newspaper which reveal the institutional or official version of its history, nonetheless I longed to be able to hear how individual students reacted to their campus experience in various decades. Did single-sex liberal arts Catholic education make a genuine difference in their lives? In Oates' account, both pluses and minuses are considered. For further details that enliven this thorough history, such as the Poverty Party of 1938 or the Blazer Girl walkout of 1945, read this engaging book.

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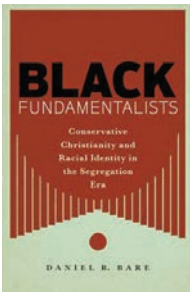
Randall Balmer

Bad Faith: Race and the Rise of the Religious Right

EERDMANS 2021

There is a commonly accepted story about the rise of the religious right in the United States: American evangelicals entered the political arena as a unified front after the

Supreme Court's 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision. In *Bad Faith*, Randall Balmer argues that evangelical leaders were in fact first mobilized by *Green v. Connally*, a lesser-known court decision in 1971 that threatened the tax-exempt status of racially discriminatory institutions—of which there were several in the world of Christian education at the time. Only later was the moral crusade against abortion made the central issue of the movement, as a more palatable issue to cover for an increasingly unpopular position.



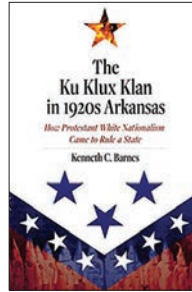
Daniel R. Bare

Black Fundamentalists: Conservative Christianity and Racial Identity in the Segregation Era

NYU 2021

Black Fundamentalists challenges the idea that fundamentalism was an exclusively white

phenomenon. The volume uncovers voices from the Black community that embraced the doctrinal tenets of the movement and, in many cases, explicitly self-identified as fundamentalists. Fundamentalists of the early 20th century felt the pressing need to defend the “fundamental” doctrines of their conservative Christian faith—doctrines like biblical inerrancy, the divinity of Christ, and the virgin birth—against what they saw as the predations of modernists who represented a threat to true Christianity. Such concerns, attitudes, and arguments emerged among Black Christians as well as white, even as the oppressive hand of Jim Crow excluded African Americans from the most prominent white-controlled fundamentalist institutions and social crusades.



Kenneth C. Barnes

The Ku Klux Klan in 1920s Arkansas: How Protestant White Nationalism Came to Rule a State

ARKANSAS 2021

The Ku Klux Klan established a significant foothold in Arkansas in the 1920s, boasting more than

150 state chapters and tens of thousands of members at its zenith. In *The Ku Klux Klan in 1920s Arkansas*, Kenneth C. Barnes traces this explosion of white nationalism and its impact on the state's development. Barnes shows that the Klan seemed to wield power everywhere in 1920s Arkansas, leading businesses, winning elections, and holding prominent roles in legal, medical, and religious institutions. Inside their organization, Klan members bonded over shared religious traditions; outside of it, they united to direct armed threats and merciless physical brutality.



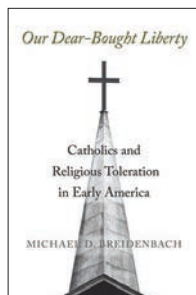
Edward J. Blum & John H. Matsui

War Is All Hell: The Nature of Evil and the Civil War

PENN 2021

War Is All Hell peers into the world of devils, demons, Satan, and hell during the era of the American Civil War. It charts

how African Americans and abolitionists compared slavery to hell, how Unionists rendered Confederate secession illegal by linking it to Satan, and how many Civil War soldiers came to understand themselves as living in hellish circumstances. The book also examines how many Americans used evil to advance their own agendas. Sometimes literally, oftentimes figuratively, the agents of hell and hell itself became central means for many Americans to understand themselves and those around them.



Michael D. Breidenbach

Our Dear-Bought Liberty: Catholics and Religious Toleration in Early America

HARVARD 2021

In colonial America, Catholics were presumed dangerous until proven loyal. Yet Catholics went on to sign the Declaration of Independence and helped to finalize the First Amendment. What explains this transformation? Michael Breidenbach shows how Catholic leaders emphasized their church's own traditions—rather than Enlightenment liberalism—to secure the religious liberty that enabled their incorporation in American life. Drawing on new archival material, Breidenbach finds that early American Catholics, including Maryland founder Cecil Calvert and members of the prominent Carroll family, relied on the conciliarist tradition to help institute toleration. *Our Dear-Bought Liberty* suggests that religious liberty was not bestowed by liberal consensus but partly defined through the ingenuity of a persecuted minority.

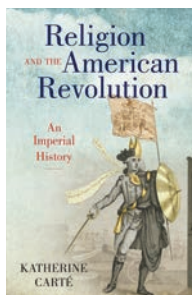


Peter Cajka

Follow Your Conscience: The Catholic Church and the Spirit of the Sixties

CHICAGO 2021

What is your conscience? Going back to at least the 13th century, Catholics viewed their personal conscience as a powerful and meaningful guide to align one's conduct with worldly laws. But as Peter Cajka shows in *Follow Your Conscience*, during the national cultural tumult of the 1960s, the divide between demands of conscience and the demands of law, society, and even the Church itself grew increasingly perilous. As growing numbers of Catholics started to consider formerly stout institutions to be morally hollow, they increasingly turned to their own consciences as road maps for action and belief. This abandonment of higher authority had radical effects on American society, influencing not only the broader world of Christianity, but also such disparate arenas as government, law, health care, and the very vocabulary of American culture.



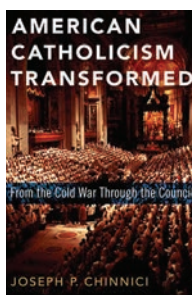
Katherine Carté

Religion and the American Revolution: An Imperial History

NORTH CAROLINA 2021

For most of the 18th century, British Protestantism was driven neither by the primacy of denominations nor by fundamental discord between them.

Instead, it thrived as part of a complex transatlantic system that bound religious institutions to imperial politics. As Katherine Carté argues, British imperial Protestantism proved remarkably effective in advancing both the interests of empire and the cause of religion until the war for American independence disrupted it. *Religion and the American Revolution* demonstrates that if religion helped set the terms through which Anglo-Americans encountered the imperial crisis and the violence of war, it likewise set the terms through which both nations could imagine the possibilities of a new world.



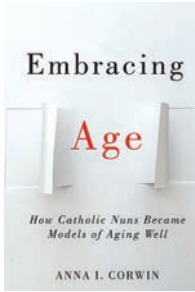
Joseph P. Chinnici

American Catholicism Transformed: From the Cold War Through the Council

OXFORD 2021

Situating the Church within the context of post-World War II globalization and the Cold War, *American Catholicism*

Transformed draws on previously untapped archival sources to provide deep background to developments within the American Catholic Church in relation to American society at large. Shaped by anti-communist sentiment and responsive to American cultural trends, the Catholic community stressed the close unity between the Church and the “American way of life.” However, the emphasis on American values mainstreamed into the community the political values of personal rights, equality, and acceptance of the arms race, and it muted the Church's inherited social vision. The result was a deep ambivalence over the forces of secularization.



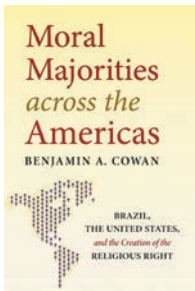
Anna I. Corwin

Embracing Age: How Catholic Nuns Became Models of Aging Well

RUTGERS 2021

Embracing Age examines a community of individuals whose aging trajectories contrast mainstream American experiences.

In mainstream American society, aging is presented as a “problem,” a state to be avoided as long as possible, a state that threatens one’s ability to maintain independence. *Embracing Age* provides a window into the everyday lives of American Catholic nuns who experience longevity and remarkable health and well-being at the end of life. Corwin shows readers how Catholic nuns create a cultural community that provides a model for how to grow old, decline, and die.



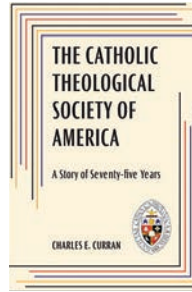
Benjamin A. Cowan

Moral Majorities across the Americas: Brazil, the United States, and the Creation of the Religious Right

NORTH CAROLINA 2021

This new history of the Christian right does not stop at national or religious boundaries. Benjamin

A. Cowan chronicles the advent of a hemispheric religious movement whose current power and influence make headlines in Brazil and the United States. These two countries, Cowan argues, played host to the principal activists and institutions who collaboratively fashioned the ascendant religious conservatism of the late 20th century. Cowan not only unearths the deep historical connections between Brazilian and U.S. religious conservatives but also proves just how essential Brazilian thinkers, activists, and institutions were to engendering right-wing political power in the Americas.



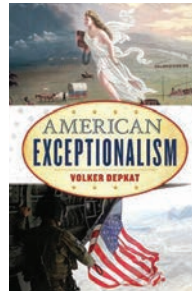
Charles E. Curran

The Catholic Theological Society of America: A Story of Seventy-Five Years

PAULIST 2021

More than an organizational history, Charles Curran provides in this volume an account of the evolution of North American

Catholic theology since 1945. Curran relates key moments in the CTSA’s transition from a white, male, clerical, insular enclave into a lay-dominated, multiracial, gender-inclusive project concerned not only about the life of the Church but even more the shape of global society.



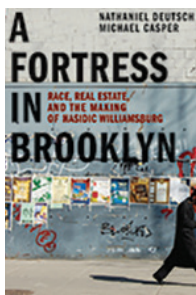
Volker Depkat

American Exceptionalism

ROWMAN & LITTLEFIELD 2021

The idea that America is exceptional, whether because of its founding creed, natural abundance, or Protestant origins, has been the subject of fierce debate going back to the

founding. Rather than argue for one side or the other, Volker Depkat explores the diverse ways in which Americans have described their country as exceptional. Describing how narratives of exceptionalism have never been a purely American affair, Depkat shows how immigrants projected their own dreams and nightmares onto the American screen, contributing to the intellectual construction of America. What has unified the disparate exceptionalist narratives, Depkat explains, is their insistence on America’s universalist and future-oriented way of life.



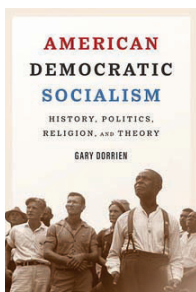
Nathaniel Deutsch & Michael Casper

A Fortress in Brooklyn: Race, Real Estate, and the Making of Hasidic Williamsburg

YALE 2021

Nathaniel Deutsch and Michael Casper unravel the fascinating history of how a community

of determined Holocaust survivors encountered, shaped, and sometimes fiercely resisted the urban processes that transformed their gritty neighborhood, from white flight and the construction of public housing to rising crime, divestment of city services, and, ultimately, extreme gentrification. By showing how Williamsburg's Hasidim avoided assimilation, Deutsch and Casper present both a provocative counter-history of American Jewry and a novel look at how race, real estate, and religion intersected in the creation of a quintessential, and yet deeply misunderstood, New York neighborhood.



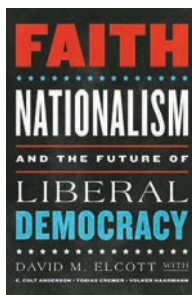
Gary Dorrien

American Democratic Socialism: History, Politics, Religion, and Theory

YALE 2021

Democratic socialism is ascending in the United States as a consequence of a widespread recognition that global capitalism

works only for a minority and is harming the planet's ecology. This history of American democratic socialism from its beginning to the present day interprets the efforts of American socialists to address and transform multiple intersecting sites of injustice and harm. *American Democratic Socialism* offers a synthesis of secular and religious socialisms, detailing both their intellectual and their organizational histories.



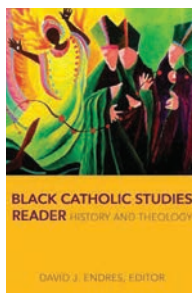
David M. Elcott, C. Colt Anderson, Tobias Cremer, Volker Haarmann

Faith, Nationalism, and the Future of Liberal Democracy

NOTRE DAME 2021

Faith, Nationalism, and the Future of Liberal Democracy presents a

pragmatic and modernist exploration of how religion engages in the public square. Elcott and his co-authors are concerned about the ways religious identity is being used to foster the exclusion of individuals and communities from citizenship, political representation, and a role in determining public policy. The authors explore what constitutes a constructive religious voice in the political arena, offering chapters showing how Catholicism, Protestantism, and Judaism can nourish liberal democracy.



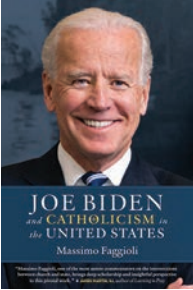
David J. Endres (ed.)

Black Catholic Studies Reader: History and Theology

CUA 2021

This first-ever *Black Catholic Studies Reader* offers an introduction to the theology and history of the Black Catholic experience from those who know

it best: Black Catholic scholars, teachers, activists, and ministers. The reader offers a multi-faceted, interdisciplinary approach that illuminates what it means to be Black and Catholic in the United States. Contributions delve into the interlocking fields of history, spirituality, liturgy, and biography. By considering their racial and religious identities, these theologians and historians add their voices to the contemporary conversation surrounding culture, race, and religion in America.



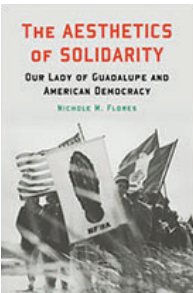
Massimo Faggioli

Joe Biden and Catholicism in the United States

BAYARD 2021

In 2021, Joe Biden became president in a very different situation than did John Fitzgerald Kennedy. Today, Catholics play a much broader

and more visible role in the public life of the country, and the triangle of relations between the White House, the Vatican, and the U.S. Catholic Church is an essential dimension for understanding the political and religious urgency of this moment. In this book, historian and theologian Massimo Faggioli provides an overview of Catholicism in U.S. politics and its place as an anchor in the life of the man elected to lead the country at a decisive crossroads.



Nichole M. Flores

The Aesthetics of Solidarity: Our Lady of Guadalupe and American Democracy

GEORGETOWN 2021

Our Lady of Guadalupe has been a symbol in democratic campaigns ranging from the Chicano movement and United

Farm Workers' movements to contemporary calls for just immigration reform. Yet from the outside, Guadalupe's symbol is illegible within a liberal political framework that seeks to protect society's basic structures from religious encroachment by relegating religious speech, practices, and symbols to the background. *The Aesthetics of Solidarity* argues for the capacity of Our Lady of Guadalupe—and similar religious symbols—to make democratic claims. Author Nichole M. Flores exposes the limitation of political liberalism's aesthetic responses to religious difference, offering an alternative framework for interpreting religious symbols in our contemporary pluralistic life.



Richard Flory & Diane Winston (eds.)

Religion in Los Angeles: Religious Activism, Innovation, and Diversity in the Global City

ROUTLEDGE 2021

Why has Los Angeles been a hot spot for religious activism, innovation, and diversity? What

makes this Southern California metropolis conducive to spiritual experimentation and new ways of believing and belonging? A center of world religions, Los Angeles is the birthplace of Pentecostalism, the site of the largest Roman Catholic diocese in the United States, the home of more Buddhists anywhere except for Asia, and home base for myriad transnational, spiritual movements. *Religion in Los Angeles* examines historical and contemporary examples of Angelenos' openness to new forms of belief and practice in congregations, communities, and civic life.



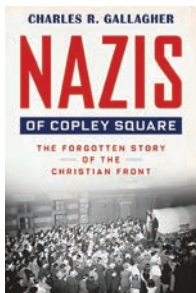
Kara M. French

Against Sex: Identities of Sexual Restraint in Early America

NORTH CAROLINA 2021

In this richly textured history, Kara French investigates ideas about, and practices of, sexual restraint to better understand

the sexual dimensions of American identity in the antebellum United States. French considers three groups of Americans—Shakers, Catholic priests and nuns, and followers of sexual reformer Sylvester Graham—whose sexual abstinence provoked almost as much social, moral, and political concern as the idea of sexual excess. Examining private diaries and letters, visual culture and material artifacts, and a range of published works, French reveals how people practicing sexual restraint became objects of fascination, ridicule, and even violence in 19th-century American culture.



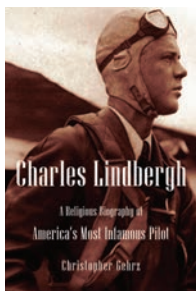
Charles R. Gallagher

Nazis of Copley Square: The Forgotten Story of the Christian Front

HARVARD 2021

In *Nazis of Copley Square*, Charles Gallagher provides a missing chapter in the history of the American far right. The

men of the Christian Front imagined themselves as crusaders fighting for the spiritual purification of the nation, under assault from godless communism. The Front traced its origins to vibrant global Catholic theological movements of the early 20th century, and its anti-Semitism was inspired by Sunday sermons and by lay leaders openly espousing fascist and Nazi beliefs. Gallagher chronicles the evolution of the Front, the transatlantic cloak-and-dagger intelligence operations that subverted it, and the mainstream political and religious leaders who shielded the Front's activities from scrutiny.



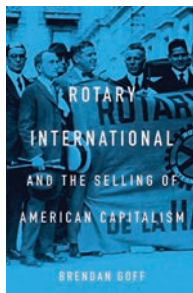
Christopher Gehrz

Charles Lindbergh: A Religious Biography of America's Most Infamous Pilot

EERDMANS 2021

The narrative surrounding Charles Lindbergh's life has been as varying and complex as the man himself. Once best known

as an aviator, he has since become increasingly identified with his sympathies for white supremacy, eugenics, and the Nazi regime in Germany. What beliefs drove the contradictory impulses of this 20th-century icon? In this short biography, Christopher Gehrz represents Lindbergh as he was, neither an adherent nor an atheist, a historical case study of an increasingly familiar contemporary phenomenon: the "spiritual but not religious."



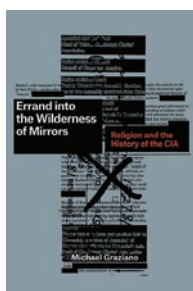
Brendan Goff

Rotary International and the Selling of American Capitalism

HARVARD 2021

Rotary International and the Selling of American Capitalism explores the meteoric rise of a local service club that brought missionary zeal to the spread of

American-style economics and civic ideals. Brendan Goff traces Rotary's ideological roots to the business progressivism and cultural internationalism of the United States in the early 20th century. Civic internationalism was the businessman's version of the Christian imperial civilizing mission, performed outside the state apparatus. Goff shows how Rotary's evangelism on behalf of market-friendly philanthropy and volunteerism reflected a genuine belief in peacemaking through the world's "parliament of businessmen" while also reinforcing American power and interests.



Michael Graziano

Errand into the Wilderness of Mirrors: Religion and the History of the CIA

CHICAGO 2021

Michael Graziano's book investigates the dangers and delusions that ensued from the religious worldview of the early

molders of the Central Intelligence Agency. Graziano argues that the religious approach to intelligence by key OSS and CIA figures like "Wild" Bill Donovan and Edward Lansdale was an essential, and overlooked, factor in establishing the agency's concerns, methods, and understandings of the world. In a practical sense, this was because the Roman Catholic Church already had global networks of people and safe places that American agents could use to their advantage. But Graziano also shows how American intelligence officers were overly inclined to view powerful religions and religious figures through the frameworks of Catholicism.

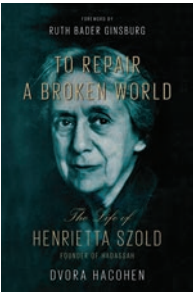


R. Marie Griffith

Making the World Over: Confronting Racism, Misogyny, and Xenophobia in U.S. History
 VIRGINIA 2021

Making the World Over is Marie Griffith’s response to an imperiled nation that has forgotten how to listen and debate productively,

at a time when it needs vigorous discourse more than ever. Griffith examines the histories behind the issues at the root of our country’s conflicts both past and present, from race and immigration to misogyny and reproductive rights. This is more than a study of the issues; it is an attempt to shed real light on how to encourage constructive dialogue and move society forward.

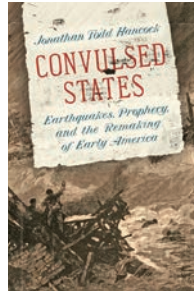


Dvora Hacoen

To Repair a Broken World: The Life of Henrietta Szold, Founder of Hadassah
 HARVARD 2021

Born in 1860, Henrietta Szold became the first woman to study at the Jewish Theological Seminary and was the first editor

for the Jewish Publication Society. In 1912, she founded Hadassah, the international women’s organization dedicated to humanitarian work and community building, part of her relentless battle for women’s place in Judaism. Long before anyone had heard of intersectionality, Szold maintained that her many political commitments were inseparable. Noted Israeli historian Dvora Hacoen captures the dramatic life of this remarkable woman.

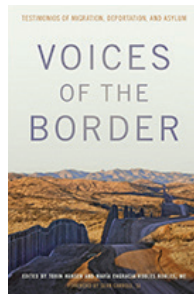


Jonathan Todd Hancock

Convulsed States: Earthquakes, Prophecy, and the Remaking of Early America
 NORTH CAROLINA 2021

The New Madrid earthquakes of 1811–12 were the strongest temblors in the North American interior in at least the past five

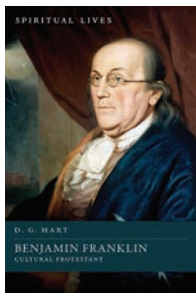
centuries, and a broad cast of thinkers struggled to explain these seemingly unprecedented natural phenomena. Drawn from extensive archival research, *Convulsed States* probes interpretations to offer insights into revivalism, nation making, and the relationship between religious and political authority across Native nations and the United States in the early 19th century. Jonathan Todd Hancock uses the earthquakes to bridge historical fields and shed new light on this pivotal era in nation remaking.



Tobin Hansen & Maria Engracia Robles Robles, M.E. (eds.)

Voices of the Border: Testimonios of Migration, Deportation, and Asylum
 GEORGETOWN 2021

Migrants, refugees, and deportees live through harrowing situations, yet their personal stories are often ignored. In the tradition of oral storytelling, *Voices of the Border* reproduces the stories migrants have told, offering a window onto both individual and shared experiences of crossing the U.S.-Mexico border. This collection emerged from interviews conducted by the Kino Border Initiative (KBI), a Jesuit organization that provides humanitarian assistance and advocates for migrants. These personal narratives, presented in the original Spanish with English translations, bring us closer to these individuals’ strength, love, and courage in the face of hardship and injustice.



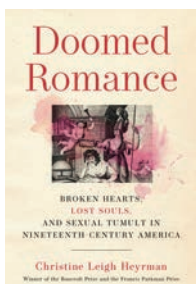
D. G. Hart

Benjamin Franklin: Cultural Protestant

OXFORD 2021

Benjamin Franklin: Cultural Protestant follows Franklin’s remarkable career through the lens of the trends and innovations that the Protestant

Reformation started (both directly and indirectly) almost two centuries earlier. His work as a printer, civic reformer, institution builder, scientist, inventor, writer, self-help dispenser, politician, and statesman was deeply rooted in the culture and outlook that Protestantism nurtured. Franklin could not assent to all of Protestantism’s doctrines or observe its worship, but for most of his life he acknowledged his debt to his creator, revelled in the natural world guided by providence, and conducted himself in a way to seek divine approval.



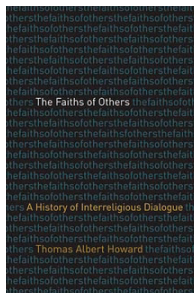
Christine Leigh Heyrman

Doomed Romance: Broken Hearts, Lost Souls, and Sexual Tumult in Nineteenth-Century America

PENGUIN 2021

In *Doomed Romance*, Christine Leigh Heyrman recounts a lost

episode rediscovered after almost 200 years: a thwarted love triangle of heartbreak that exploded in scandal and investigation. Set between America’s Revolution and its Civil War, the book reveals an age in subtle and powerful transformation, caught between the fight for women’s rights and the campaign waged by evangelical Protestants to dominate the nation’s culture and politics. Disagreement within the evangelical ranks—over matters including gender and homosexuality—ultimately threatened to destroy a foreign missions enterprise.



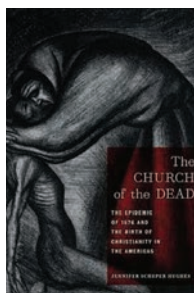
Thomas Albert Howard

The Faiths of Others: A History of Interreligious Dialogue

YALE 2021

In recent decades, organizations committed to interreligious or interfaith dialogue have proliferated, both in the Western and non-Western worlds. Why,

how so, and what exactly is interreligious dialogue? These are the touchstone questions of this book, the first major history of interreligious dialogue in the modern age. Thomas Albert Howard narrates and analyzes several key turning points in the history of interfaith dialogue before examining, in the conclusion, the contemporary landscape. The book shows how interreligious dialogue holds promise for helping people of diverse faith backgrounds to foster cooperation and knowledge of one another while contributing insight into contemporary, global religious pluralism.



Jennifer Scheper Hughes

The Church of the Dead: The Epidemic of 1576 and the Birth of Christianity in the Americas

NYU 2021

The Church of the Dead offers a counter-history of American Christian origins. It centers the

power of Indigenous Mexicans, showing how their Catholic faith remained intact even in the face of the faltering religious fervor of Spanish missionaries. While the Europeans grappled with their failure to stem the tide of death, Indigenous survivors worked to reconstruct the church. They reasserted ancestral territories as sovereign, with Indigenous Catholic states rivaling the jurisdiction of the diocese and the power of friars and bishops. Christianity in the Americas today is thus not the creation of missionaries, but rather of Indigenous Catholic survivors of the colonial *mortandad*, the founding condition of American Christianity.



Philip Jenkins

Climate, Catastrophe, and Faith: How Changes in Climate Drive Religious Upheaval

OXFORD 2021

In *Climate, Catastrophe, and Faith*, historian Philip Jenkins draws out the complex relationship between religion and climate

change. He asserts that the religious movements and ideas that emerge from climate shocks often last for many decades, and even become a familiar part of the religious landscape, even though their origins in particular moments of crisis may be increasingly consigned to remote memory. By stirring conflicts and provoking persecutions that defined themselves in religious terms, changes in climate have redrawn the world's religious maps and created the global concentrations of believers as we know them today.



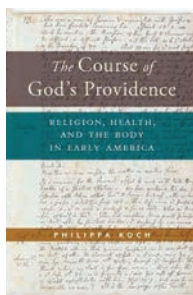
Theodore Kallman

The Kingdom of God Is at Hand: The Christian Commonwealth in Georgia, 1896–1901

GEORGIA 2021

Theodore Kallman illuminates the brief life of a Christian socialist community founded

on a cotton plantation just outside Columbus, Georgia, in 1896. Inspired by primitive Christianity, postmillennial optimism, and American democracy, its courageous, yet naive, members labored for over four years to achieve their goal, the “Kingdom of God” on earth. Radical by some perspectives, they were emulating two great traditions: the apostolic Christianity of the followers of Christ and the Puritan desire to found a “city upon a hill.” Kallman explains how Christ’s Sermon on the Mount and the anarchism of Leo Tolstoy took root in west-central Georgia and attracted worldwide attention.



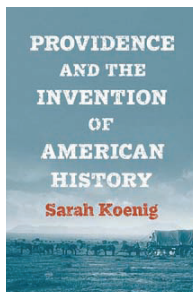
Philippa Koch

The Course of God's Providence: Religion, Health, and the Body in Early America

NYU 2021

Philippa Koch explores the doctrine of providence—a belief in a divine plan for the world—and its manifestations in

18th-century America, from its origins as a consoling response to sickness to how it informed the practices of Protestant activity in the Atlantic world. Drawing on pastoral manuals, manuscript memoirs, journals, and letters, as well as medical treatises, epidemic narratives, and midwifery manuals, Koch shows how Protestant teachings around providence shaped the lives of believers even as the Enlightenment seemed to portend a more secular approach to the world and the human body.



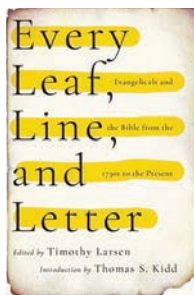
Sarah Koenig

Providence and the Invention of American History

YALE 2021

Sarah Koenig traces the rise and fall of Protestant missionary Marcus Whitman’s legend, revealing two patterns in the development of American

history. On the one hand is providential history, marked by the conviction that God is an active agent in human history and that historical work can reveal patterns of divine will. On the other hand is objective or scientific history, which arose initially in the pleas of Catholics and other racial and religious outsiders who resisted providentialists’ pejorative descriptions of non-Protestants and nonwhites.



Timothy Larsen (ed.)

Every Leaf, Line, and Letter: Evangelicals and the Bible from the 1730s to the Present

IVP ACADEMIC 2021

From its earliest days, Christians in the movement known as evangelicalism have had “a particular regard for the Bible,”

to borrow a phrase from the historian David Bebbington. But this “biblicism” has taken many different forms. How has the Bible been received across various races, age groups, genders, nations, and eras? This collection of historical studies focuses on evangelicals’ defining uses—and abuses—of Scripture, from Great Britain to the Global South, from the high pulpit to the Sunday school classroom, from private devotions to public causes.



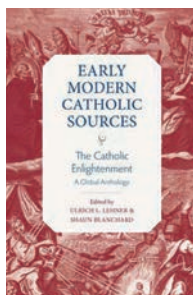
Kate Clifford Larson

Walk with Me: A Biography of Fannie Lou Hamer

OXFORD 2021

Kate Clifford Larson’s biography of Fannie Lou Hamer draws on recently declassified sources on both Hamer and the civil rights movement, including

unredacted FBI and Department of Justice files. It also makes full use of interviews with civil rights activists conducted by the Smithsonian and the Library of Congress, and Democratic National Committee archives, in addition to extensive conversations with Hamer’s family and close associates. All this combines to reveal how Hamer used what she had—her anger, her courage, her faith in the Bible, and her conviction that hearts could be won over and injustice overcome—in her quest for justice.



Ulrich L. Lehner & Shaun Blanchard (eds.)

The Catholic Enlightenment: A Global Anthology

CUA 2021

The Catholic Enlightenment: A Global Anthology presents readers with accessible, translated selections from the writings of

15 major Catholic Enlightenment authors. These early modern authors include women, priests, lay intellectuals, and bishops. The purpose of the volume is to provide students, scholars, and interested non-specialists with a single point of departure to delve into the primary sources of the Catholic Enlightenment. This anthology shows the geographical and intellectual diversity of the Catholic Enlightenment, while also demonstrating significant threads of commonality in intellectual orientation.



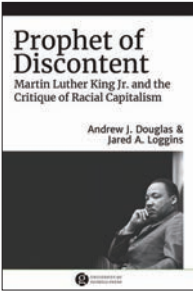
Donald M. Lewis

A Short History of Christian Zionism: From the Reformation to the Twenty-First Century

IVP ACADEMIC 2021

This book is about an idea—namely, that Scripture mandates a Jewish return to the historical region of Palestine—which in

turn morphed into a political movement, rallied around a popular slogan, and eventually contributed to the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948. Christian Zionism continues to influence global politics, especially U.S. foreign policy, and has deeply affected Jewish-Christian and Muslim-Christian relations. Donald M. Lewis seeks to provide a fair-minded, longitudinal study of this dynamic yet controversial movement, tracing its lineage from biblical sources through the Reformation to the various movements of today.

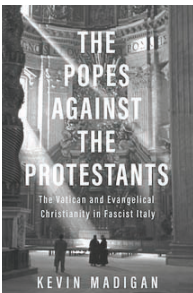


Jared A. Loggins & Andrew J. Douglas

Prophet of Discontent: Martin Luther King Jr. and the Critique of Racial Capitalism
 GEORGIA 2021

In *Prophet of Discontent*, Andrew J. Douglas and Jared A. Loggins invoke contemporary discourse

on racial capitalism in a powerful reassessment of Martin Luther King Jr.’s thinking and legacy. Like today’s organizers, King was more than a dreamer. He knew that his call for a “radical revolution of values” was complicated by the production and circulation of value under capitalism. Douglas and Loggins shine new light on King’s largely implicit economic and political theories and expand appreciation of the Black radical tradition to which he belonged.



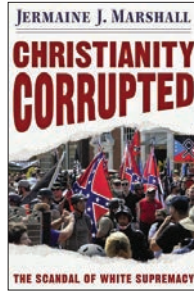
Kevin Madigan

The Popes against the Protestants: The Vatican and Evangelical Christianity in Fascist Italy

YALE 2021

Based on previously undisclosed archival materials, this book tells the untold story of an anti-Protestant campaign in Italy that lasted longer,

consumed more clerical energy and cultural space, and generated far more literature than the war against Italy’s Jewish population. Because clerical leaders in Rome were seeking to build a new Catholic world in the aftermath of the Great War, Protestants were seen as potent threats to the Catholic precepts that were the true foundations of Italian civilization, values, and culture. The pope and cardinals framed evangelical Christianity as a peril not only to the Catholic Church but to the fascist government as well.

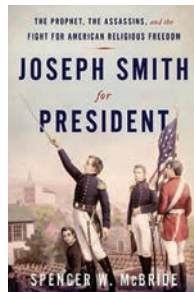


Jermaine J. Marshall

Christianity Corrupted: The Scandal of White Supremacy
 ORBIS 2021

Christianity Corrupted examines the development of oppressive Christian theologies and the normalization of white superiority and white privilege in the

United States. The book roots the theological scandal in a fusion of the Reformed notion of election with Enlightenment theories of race. It then demonstrates how enslaved Africans formulated their own brand of Christianity and cultivated a theology of spiritual resistance before tracing the scandal through the Civil War, the rise of Jim Crow, the emergence of the Moral Majority, and the election of Donald Trump.



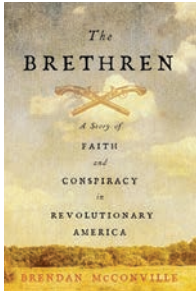
Spencer W. McBride

Joseph Smith for President: The Prophet, the Assassins, and the Fight for American Religious Freedom

OXFORD 2021

Though Joseph Smith’s run for president is now best remembered for its gruesome

end, the renegade campaign was historic in the proposals it put forward. He called for a total abolition of slavery, the closure of the country’s penitentiaries, and the reestablishment of a national bank to stabilize the economy. But most important was Smith’s call for an expansion of protections for religious minorities. In this book, Spencer W. McBride tells the story of Smith’s campaign and how his calls for religious freedom through constitutional reform are essential to understanding how the American political system evolved to what we know today.

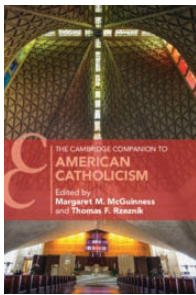


Brendan McConville

The Brethren: A Story of Faith and Conspiracy in Revolutionary America

HARVARD 2021

Less than a year into the American Revolution, a group of North Carolina farmers hatched a plot to assassinate the colony's leading patriots. The men called themselves the Brethren. They opposed patriot leaders' demand for militia volunteers and worried that "enlightened" deist principles would be enshrined in the state constitution, displacing their Protestant faith. The patriots' attempts to ally with Catholic France only exacerbated the Brethren's fears. Drawing on contemporary depositions and legal petitions, Brendan McConville gives voice to the conspirators' motivations, which make clear that the Brethren did not back the Crown but saw the patriots as a grave threat to their religion.

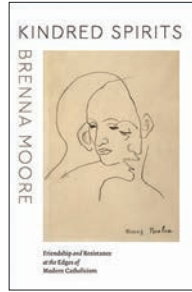


Margaret M. McGuinness & Thomas F. Rzesnik (eds.)

The Cambridge Companion to American Catholicism

CAMBRIDGE 2021

This volume provides a comprehensive overview of American Catholicism's historical development and distinctive features. The essays—all specially commissioned for this volume—highlight the inner diversity of American Catholicism and trace the impact of American Catholics on all aspects of society, including education, social welfare, politics, and intellectual life. The volume also addresses topics of contemporary concern, such as gender and sexuality, arts and culture, social activism, and the experiences of Black, Latinx, Asian American, and cultural Catholics. Taken together, the essays provide context for understanding American Catholicism as it is currently experienced.



Brenna Moore

Kindred Spirits: Friendship and Resistance at the Edges of Modern Catholicism

CHICAGO 2021

Kindred Spirits takes us inside a remarkable network of Catholic historians, theologians, poets, and activists who pushed against both the far-right surge in interwar Europe and the secularizing tendencies of the leftist movements active in the early- to mid-20th century. Brenna Moore explains how this group sought a middle way anchored in "spiritual friendship," religiously meaningful friendship understood as uniquely capable of facing social and political challenges. For these figures—which included philosopher Jacques Maritain, Nobel Prize laureate Gabriela Mistral, Islamicist Louis Massignon, and poet of the Harlem Renaissance Claude McKay—spiritual friendship was inseparable from resistance to European xenophobia and nationalism, anti-racist activism in the United States, and solidarity with Muslims during the Algerian War.

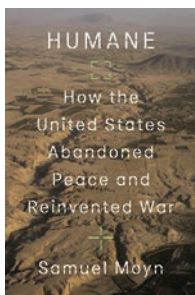


David Morgan

The Thing about Religion: An Introduction to the Material Study of Religions

NORTH CAROLINA 2021

Common views of religion typically focus on the beliefs and meanings derived from revealed scriptures, ideas, and doctrines. David Morgan has led the way in broadening that framework to encompass the understanding that religions are fundamentally embodied, material forms of practice. This concise primer shows readers how to study what has come to be termed *material religion*—the ways religious meaning is enacted in the material world. Morgan lays out a range of theories, terms, and concepts, showing how they work together to center materiality in the study of religion.



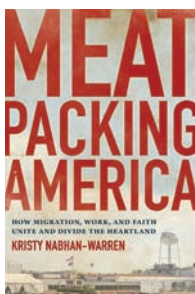
Samuel Moyn

Humane: How the United States Abandoned Peace and Reinvented War

FSG 2021

What if efforts to make war more ethical have only shored up the military enterprise and made it sturdier? In *Humane*, Samuel

Moyn looks back at a century and a half of passionate arguments about the ethics of using force. In the 19th century, the founders of the Red Cross struggled to make war less lethal even as they acknowledged its inevitability. In the 20th century, a movement associated with figures like Leo Tolstoy reasoned that war itself needed to be abolished, but eventually reformers shifted attention from opposing war to opposing war crimes. Moyn demonstrates how the post-9/11 era revealed the ramifications of that shift.



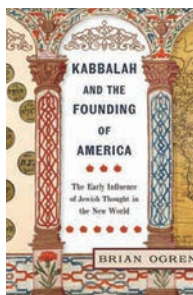
Kristy Nabhan-Warren

Meatpacking America: How Migration, Work, and Faith Unite and Divide the Heartland

UNC 2021

Whether valorized as the heartland or derided as flyover country, the Midwest became instantly notorious when COVID-19

infections skyrocketed among workers in meatpacking plants. But the Midwest is not simply the place where animals are fed corn and then butchered. Kristy Nabhan-Warren spent years interviewing Iowans who work in the meatpacking industry. In *Meatpacking America*, she digs deep below the stereotype and reveals the grit and grace of a heartland that is a major hub not only of migration and food production but also, it turns out, of religion: Protestants, Catholics, and Muslims share space every day as worshippers, employees, and employers.



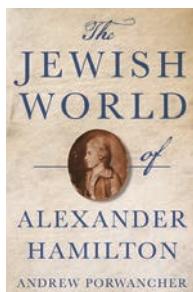
Brian Ogren

Kabbalah and the Founding of America: The Early Influence of Jewish Thought in the New World

NYU 2021

Kabbalah and the Founding of America traces the influence of Kabbalah on early Christian

Americans. It offers a new picture of Jewish-Christian intellectual exchange in pre-Revolutionary America, and illuminates how Kabbalah helped to shape early American religious sensibilities. The volume demonstrates that key figures, including the well-known Puritan ministers Cotton Mather and Increase Mather and Yale University President Ezra Stiles, developed theological ideas that were deeply influenced by Kabbalah. This book illustrates how, through fascinating and often surprising events, this unlikely inter-religious influence helped shape the United States and American identity.



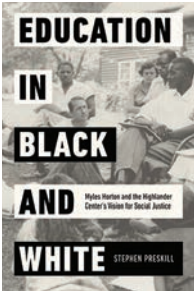
Andrew Porwancher

The Jewish World of Alexander Hamilton

PRINCETON 2021

Andrew Porwancher debunks a string of myths about the origins of this founding father to arrive at a startling conclusion: Hamilton, in all likelihood, was

born and raised Jewish. Most biographers have simply assumed he had a Christian boyhood, but Porwancher upends that assumption and sets Hamilton in the context of his Jewish world. Although he didn't identify as a Jew in America, Hamilton's relationship with the Jewish community made him unique among the founders. He advocated for Jewish citizens in court, invigorated sectors of the economy that gave Jews their greatest opportunities, and made his alma mater, Columbia, more welcoming to Jewish people.



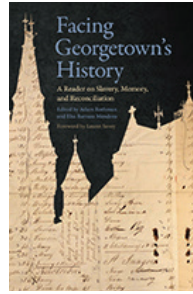
Stephen Preskill

Education in Black and White: Myles Horton and the Highlander Center's Vision for Social Justice

CALIFORNIA 2021

Education in Black and White focuses on the educational theories and strategies Myles

Horton first developed at Highlander to serve the interests of the poor, the marginalized, and the oppressed. His personal vision keenly influenced figures including Rosa Parks, Martin Luther King Jr., Eleanor Roosevelt, and Congressman John Lewis. Stephen Preskill chronicles how Horton gained influence as an advocate for organized labor, an activist for civil rights, a supporter of Appalachian self-empowerment, an architect of an international popular-education network, and a champion for direct democracy.



Adam Rothman & Elsa Barraza Mendoza (eds.)

Facing Georgetown's History: A Reader on Slavery, Memory, and Reconciliation

GEORGETOWN 2021

Georgetown University's early history, closely tied to that of the Society of Jesus in Maryland, is

a microcosm of the history of American slavery. It is also emblematic of the complex entanglement of American higher education and religious institutions with slavery. Important primary sources drawn from the university's and the Maryland Jesuits' archives document Georgetown's tangled history with slavery, and the volume also includes scholarship on Jesuit slaveholding in Maryland and at Georgetown. These essays, articles, and documents introduce readers to the history of Georgetown's involvement in slavery and recent efforts to confront this troubling past.



Nicholas T. Pruitt

Open Hearts, Closed Doors: Immigration Reform and the Waning of Mainline Protestantism

NYU 2021

Open Hearts, Closed Doors uncovers the largely overlooked role that liberal Protestants

played in fostering cultural diversity in America and pushing for new immigration laws during the 40 years following the passage of the restrictive Immigration Act of 1924. These efforts resulted in the complete reshaping of the U.S. cultural and religious landscape. Yet this activism had unintended consequences, because liberal immigration policies helped to end over three centuries of white Protestant dominance in American society. Losing their cultural supremacy, mainline Protestants reassessed their mission. They rolled back more strident forms of xenophobia and laid the foundations for their responses to today's immigration debates.



Brad Stoddard

Spiritual Entrepreneurs: Florida's Faith-Based Prisons and the American Carceral State

NORTH CAROLINA 2021

Brad Stoddard takes readers deep inside the Florida Department of Corrections' "faith and character-based correctional institutions"

(FCBIs). While claiming to be open to all religious traditions, FCBIs are almost always run by Protestants situated within the politics of the Christian right. The religious programming is typically run by the incarcerated along with volunteers from outside the prison. Stoddard analyzes the subtle meanings and difficult choices with which the incarcerated, prison administrators, staff, and chaplains grapple every day. Drawing on extensive ethnographic research and historical analysis, Stoddard argues that FCBIs build on and demonstrate the compatibility of conservative Christian politics and neoliberal economics.



Winnifred Fallers Sullivan & Elizabeth Shakman Hurd (eds.)

Theologies of American Exceptionalism

INDIANA 2021

How does viewing the American project through a theological lens complicate and enrich our understanding of America? This collection of 15 interlocking essays reflects on exceptionalist claims in and about the United States and brings together a range of historical and contemporary voices. Thinking theologically allows authors to revisit familiar themes and events with a new perspective; old and new wounds, enduring narratives, and the sacrificial violence at the heart of America are examined while avoiding the triumphalism of the exceptional and the temptations of the jeremiad.

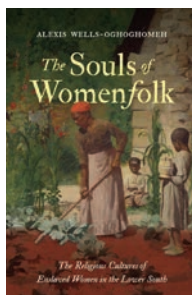


Deborah A. Symonds

Elizabeth Fox-Genovese: Paternalism's Daughters

VIRGINIA 2021

A celebrated historian and women's studies scholar, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese roiled both disciplines with her transition from Marxist-inclined feminist to conservative public intellectual. Deborah Symonds explores Fox-Genovese's enormous personal archive and traces her life from a brilliant girl in the World War II era to a woman intellectual in the later 20th century. Fox-Genovese was a French historian, Marxist feminist, literary critic, Southern historian, Red Tory, public intellectual, and conservative Catholic, and her provocative politics reveal the complexities of left and right.

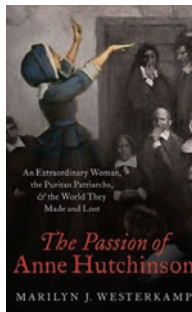


Alexis Wells-Oghoghomeh

The Souls of Womenfolk: The Religious Cultures of Enslaved Women in the Lower South

UNC 2021

Beginning on the shores of West Africa in the 16th century and ending in the U.S. Lower South on the eve of the Civil War, Alexis Wells-Oghoghomeh traces a bold history of the interior lives of bondwomen as they carved out an existence for themselves and their families amid the horrors of American slavery. With particular attention to maternity, sex, and other gendered aspects of women's lives, she documents how bondwomen crafted female-centered cultures that shaped the religious consciousness and practices of entire enslaved communities.

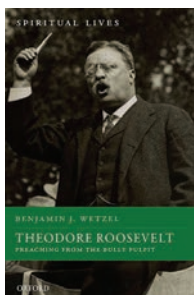


Marilyn J. Westerkamp

The Passion of Anne Hutchinson: An Extraordinary Woman, the Puritan Patriarchs, and the World They Made and Lost

OXFORD 2021

Gifted with an extraordinary mind, an intense spiritual passion, and an awesome charisma, Anne Hutchinson arrived in Massachusetts in 1634 and established herself as a leader of women. She inspired a large number of disciples who challenged the colony's political, social, and ideological foundations, and scarcely three years after her arrival, Hutchinson was recognized as the primary disruptor of consensus and order—she was then banished as a heretic. *The Passion of Anne Hutchinson* examines issues of gender, patriarchal order, and empowerment in Puritan society through the story of a woman who sought to preach, inspire, and disrupt.



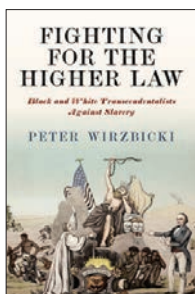
Benjamin J. Wetzel

Theodore Roosevelt: Preaching from the Bully Pulpit

OXFORD 2021

Theodore Roosevelt: Preaching from the Bully Pulpit traces Roosevelt's personal religious odyssey from youthful faith

and pious devotion to a sincere but more detached adult faith. Benjamin J. Wetzel presents the president as a champion of the separation of church and state, a defender of religious ecumenism, and a "preacher" who used his "bully pulpit" to preach morality using the language of the King James Bible. Based in large part on personal correspondence and unpublished archival materials, this book offers a new interpretation of an extremely significant historical figure.



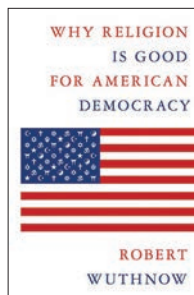
Peter Wirzbicki

Fighting for the Higher Law: Black and White Transcendentalists Against Slavery

PENN 2021

In *Fighting for the Higher Law*, Peter Wirzbicki explores how important Black abolitionists

joined famous Transcendentalists to create a political philosophy that fired the radical struggle against American slavery. In the cauldron of the antislavery movement, activists such as William C. Nell, Thomas Sidney, and Charlotte Forten, and Transcendentalist intellectuals, including Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau, developed a "Higher Law" ethos, a unique set of romantic political sensibilities—marked by moral enthusiasms, democratic idealism, and a vision of the self that could judge political questions from "higher" standards of morality and reason.



Robert Wuthnow

Why Religion Is Good for American Democracy

PRINCETON 2021

Does religion benefit democracy? Robert Wuthnow says yes. In *Why Religion Is Good for American Democracy*, Wuthnow makes his case by

moving beyond the focus on unifying values or narratives about culture wars and elections. Rather, he demonstrates that the beneficial contributions of religion are best understood through the lens of religious diversity. Wuthnow shows how American religious diversity works by closely investigating religious advocacy spanning the past century: during the Great Depression, World War II, the civil rights movement, the debates about welfare reform, the recent struggles for immigrant rights and economic equality, and concluding with responses to the coronavirus pandemic.

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Book descriptions in this section originated with the publishers. They have been edited for clarity and style.

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