If you consumed any media in 2012—and not just Catholic media—it’s likely you encountered American Catholic sisters in more than a few headlines. The media and public responded loudly and with interest to recent conflicts between the Leadership Conference of Women Religious (LCWR) and the Vatican’s Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (CDF). The storyline of “out-of-touch Vatican authorities dropping the hammer on innocent sisters” inspired a wide range of articles, opinion pieces, blog posts, and analysis. The most common Vatican-versus-nuns storyline goes something like this: American women religious are innocent victims at the mercy of a corrupt, misogynist patriarchy in Rome. The sisters, this storyline suggests, have little recourse to refute the unjust accusations lodged against them or resist the unjust punishment meted-out by powerful men who are tone-deaf to the sisters’ mission in the modern world. This storyline, however, is incomplete.

There’s a second—less common but similarly incomplete—storyline. In this telling, the emphasis is on the total authority of the Roman hierarchy and the failure of the sisters to listen to and obey that authority. Here, the recent Apostolic Visitation of American sisters by the Vatican’s Congregation for Institutes of Consecrated Life and Societies of Apostolic Life and the negative Doctrinal Assessment of the LCWR from the CDF both are actions justly taken.

While the media, the American public, and even many Catholics understand the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith’s censure of LCWR as the Vatican “dropping the hammer” on sisters—an interpretive frame that either renders sisters victims or, conversely, implies that, like disobedient children, “they had it coming”—a more accurate understanding of the censure would reflect that both parties in the conflict claim to possess legitimate authority, both operate from a relatively coherent set of principles and assumptions, and both have acted with strategic precision in defense of their perceived interests.

The problem with interpretations that portray sisters as powerless in the face of Vatican authority is not just that these narratives present a profound misreading of the history of American women religious and the Second Vatican Council, or that they oversimplify the institutional and juridical structure of the Catholic Church and misunderstand the position of women religious in that structure (though all these are true). The more critical error of narratives that emphasize sisters’ powerlessness in the face of hierarchical power is that they undervalue the considerable theological, canonical, and procedural resources that sisters possess, and underestimate sisters’ ability to utilize those resources to shape and defend their institutions. American sisters may face powerful interlocutors in the
Cushwa Center Activities

Seminar in American Religion

On April 14, the Seminar in American Religion discussed John Fea’s *Was America Founded as a Christian Nation? A Historical Introduction* (Westminster John Knox, 2011). Fea is associate professor of history and chair of the department at Messiah College. He also probes “the intersection of American history, Christianity, politics, and the academic life” through his column at patheos.com. Among his numerous publications for both academic and popular audiences, Fea has authored *The Way of Improvement Leads Home: Philip Vickers Fithian and the Rural Enlightenment of Early America* (University of Pennsylvania, 2008), and *Confessing History: Explorations of Christian Faith and the Historian’s Vocation* (Notre Dame, 2010), which he co-edited with Jay Green and Eric Miller. *The Way of Improvement Leads Home* won two awards. It was named Non-Fiction Book of the Year by the New Jersey Studies Academic Alliance, and an Honor Book by the New Jersey Council for the Humanities.

In *Was America Founded as a Christian Nation?*, Fea approaches the title’s question from a historical perspective, helping readers see past the emotional rhetoric on both sides of the issue. Through illuminating case studies of the Founding Fathers, he shows that three (John Jay, John Witherspoon, and Samuel Adams) were devout, while the other four (George Washington, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and Benjamin Franklin) were more ambivalent toward orthodoxy. The book was a finalist for the 2012 George Washington Book Prize in American History. Lauren Winner, associate professor of history at Duke Divinity School, and Mark Noll, professor of history at Notre Dame, responded to the book. As Winner could not attend due to illness, Jana Riess, acquisitions editor at Westminster John Knox Press, read a transcript of her comments.

Winner began by praising Fea for his contribution to our understanding of the past. As a scholar of colonial Anglicanism, she appreciated that Fea treated Anglicans “on the terms of liturgical piety, and not the terms of evangelical profession and performance.” And as a historian of colonial religion more broadly, she was impressed by his “nuanced discussion” of the tension between Christian and enlightenment currents in the Declaration of Independence; his “elegant consideration” of Jefferson’s failure to live up to Jesus’ moral teachings; and his “simple, also elegant observation” that Jefferson, as a slaveowner, had a convenient way of setting aside his belief that God was angry about the institution of slavery. The only drawback to Fea’s story, Winner thought, was its lack of women.

For all its historical acumen, Winner argued, the true import of the book lies in its capacity to engage general readers. Winner related how, in her own state of North Carolina at the time of the seminar, people were debating a constitutional amendment to define marriage as between one man and one woman. Since much of the debate revolved around whether America was founded on Christian principles, she suggested, *Was America Founded as a Christian Nation?* would serve as an excellent guide for people on both sides of the issue.

Mark Noll was also impressed by Fea’s work. Noting the author’s talent for “bringing together disparate concerns into coherent individual texts,” Noll said, “Fea does an unusually good job addressing several of the sub-questions that lurk beneath the central question posed by his title.” Noll then assessed Fea’s account in light of four of these questions.

First, what did or did not happen during the founding years? In speaking to this question, Noll said, Fea “succeeds admirably.” Noll’s only “semi-serious issue” was that Fea sometimes adduces primary-source quotations from secondary sources, “which in the all-too-serious debates about the character of American Christian origins is probably a tactical mistake.”

Second, what is the meaning of what happened? Here, Noll lauded Fea’s decision to not offer a definitive answer to the question his title poses. Any effort to do so, Noll said, “is fraught with extraordinary ethical, historical, religious, and even theological difficulty.”

Third, what difference should historical conclusions about America’s founding make in terms of present legislative and judicial decisions? After mentioning that Fea also refrains from addressing this question, Noll communicated
his own view on the matter, which is that “bad history breeds bad history. . . . Statesmen who can read American history to support the notion of a ‘new American Israel,’” he said, “are statesmen who deserve judges who assert that the founders erected ‘a wall of separation’ between religion and society.” Indeed, Noll continued, even if these politicians were to read Fea and form an accurate understanding of American history, they would have difficulties applying that understanding to a nation that is now very different than it was during the eighteenth century.

Fourth, why have debates over the Christian character of America’s founding been so important, and why do Americans continue to see them as important today? In responding to this query, Noll posited a historical tendency among Americans to embrace “ideological liberalism and basic Protestantism” at the same time. This “amalgamation” has meant that some communities have interpreted “liberal principles” such as “democracy, market-orientation, individualism, anti-traditionalism, republican government, and the separation of church and state” as also “Christian principles.” It follows, Noll argued, that when other Americans use these principles to oppose Christian beliefs it appears they are attacking America as well as Christianity. Noll concluded his comments by saying that although Fea tends to stay away from such “grand explanations,” his story “is essential for understanding the historical validity of some aspects of the Christian America idea,” and also why that idea “represents such badly misguided historical over-reach and why it compromises so seriously the goals that many of its advocates seek.”

After thanking Timothy Matovina and Kathleen Cummings for inviting him to participate, Fea briefly addressed Winner’s and Noll’s comments. He thought Winner’s point about the absence of women “a fair criticism,” and said that he might have strengthened the book by including a chapter on how female abolitionists, suffragists, and others often “promoted their ideas out of a Christian understanding of the nation.” In addressing Noll’s comments, Fea noted that the title of his book poses “a bad historical question,” which (he argues in the book) is ultimately impossible to answer. Indeed, Fea wondered if presenting this argument to both conservative and liberal non-historians amounts to “tilting at windmills.” Will the book make a difference in how people think about America, he asked, particularly since most come to his book talks with their minds already made up on the issue?

A lively and wide-ranging discussion ensued, which centered on the historical origins and nature of the question, “Was America founded as a Christian nation?” George Marsden pointed out that the people who thus frame the question are often biblicists, and that their attempts to return to a primitive text are shaping the question posed by Fea’s title. Darryl Hart asked whether those who viewed America as a Christian nation also tended to view history as founded upon Christian principles. Mark Noll offered an incisive response, arguing that just as strong claims about a “Christian America” preclude the ability to remain objective about what may or may not have happened in the past, so does an allegiance to providentialism preclude sober historical reasoning—and that the two tendencies are often linked. A loose consensus emerged around the idea that, as John McGreevy put it, peoples’ use of the Founding Fathers to further personal agendas emerged out of the “anti-historicism” and “individualism” of the 1960s and 1970s. Fea agreed with this assessment, adding that many of the people whom he has encountered study the past to promote rather than to de-center their worldviews, a move both anti-historical and individualist. Other participants noted specific ways in which the 1960s and 1970s were a watershed in this regard, or compared what was happening in the U.S. at that time to similar shifts in Mexico (Timothy Matovina), Europe (Thomas Kselman), and Quebec (Mark Noll). The discussion closed with a consideration of the difficulties in writing for a public audience, particularly on so incendiary topic as the faith of the Founding Fathers. In a reflection of generational differences among modern evangelicals, Fea related how students at Messiah are open to the book while their parents in many cases are not.

**American Catholic Studies Seminar**

On February 21, participants in the American Catholic Studies Seminar discussed Monica L. Mercado’s paper, “‘What a Blessing It Is to be Fond of Reading Good Books’: Catholic Women and the Reading Circle Movement in Turn-of-the-Century America.” Mercado is a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Chicago, a 2011–2012 Fellow at Chicago’s Center for the Study of Gender and Sexuality, and winner of numerous research awards. Among her publications, Mercado has authored (with Katherine Turk) “‘On Equal Terms: Educating Women at the University of Chicago’ (Chicago Library, 2009). Her paper traced the rise of Catholic “reading circles,” a national network of book clubs that aimed to organize Catholic women’s readership as an extension of the Church’s educational mission. Mercado argues that because reading circles during the 1880s through the early 1900s focused on ‘good books’ and lacked a strong devotional component, they “created spaces where laywomen could choose to access a broader world of ideas, still with a defiantly Catholic emphasis, individually and in conversation with each other, in both single-sex and coed environments.” Thus, turn-of-the-century Catholic laywomen did not shy away from interacting with literature or current events. Rather, joining this particular movement enabled them to view themselves as both Catholic and cultured. Mercado’s paper is a chapter from her dissertation, “Women and the Word: Gender, Print, and Catholic...”
Identity in Nineteenth-Century America,” which she is completing under the direction of Catherine Brekus and Kathleen Conzen. Her larger study argues that “discourses surrounding the reading of ‘good books’ are an important avenue for conceptualizing laywomen’s attempts to live their faith in the context of the hierarchical Roman Catholic Church and the larger religious worlds of late nineteenth-century America.” Kathleen Cummings, associate professor of American Studies at Notre Dame, served as respondent in the seminar.

Mercado opened the session by thanking the Cushwa Center for the invitation to present, and by introducing the project as a whole. Following the introduction, Cummings began her comments with praise for the paper. In particular, she was impressed by Mercado’s use of two sources: the Catholic Reading Circle Review (a journal that followed the growth of reading circles, and published their local news and reports), and monthly reports from the Columbian Reading Union (a body that created reading lists). Both, Cummings said, represent “unmined and potentially . . . rich sources in American religious history.”

Then, in the interest of strengthening the study, Cummings suggested that Mercado expand her discussion of four points. First, Mercado hints that her dissertation will use cultures of reading to broaden the definition of religious practice. With this idea in mind, Cummings pressed Mercado to make this intention more explicit and to extend it in new directions. “Can we understand reading circles as another kind of sacred space,” Cummings inquired, “and what might be some other examples of spaces and places where Catholics have sought to, as she writes in her introduction, promote the application of a Catholic worldview to every aspect of American life?” Second, Mercado notes that both the Catholic Reading Circle Review and the Columbian Reading Union were supposed to indicate “appropriate materials of study,” and that members were encouraged to “speak with [a priest] first to seek his blessing and council.” But, Cummings asked, how did these lay organizations operate vis-à-vis priests and other church officials? Who decided what was “Catholic” and what was not? And to what extent was reading material “prescribed or proscribed”? Third, although Mercado discusses the issue of class in the paper, Cummings suggested that she foreground it more than she currently does. Along these same lines, Cummings was curious as to how Mercado deals with class elsewhere in her dissertation, and how her treatment of it there relates to her treatment of it in this chapter. Fourth, and despite Mercado’s claim that Catholic reading circles were more than just “a short-lived bridge to more extensive and more formal American Catholic ventures into women’s history education,” Cummings had “trouble seeing them as anything else.” Cummings concluded her comments by thanking Mercado for a thought-provoking paper.

In responding, Mercado expressed gratitude for Cummings’ comments about extending the meaning of religious practice and recovering “Catholic spaces.” These, she indicated, are two issues that she would like to explore more in-depth as she continues to write, as is the issue of class. On the question of what makes something “Catholic,” Mercado said that marketing played a major role. Families might view as Catholic any number of materials, including novels or runs of almanacs. Much depended on how these materials were advertised. Regarding the disappearance of reading circles, Mercado acknowledged that she perhaps “too cleanly” dealt with the matter. Motivating her narrative on this point is the idea that when the Catholic Reading Circle Review and Columbian Reading Union disappear, so do the reading circles. But, Mercado said, they do continue in cities, albeit to a lesser extent, even after the collapse of these large umbrella organizations. She hoped this insight could shed light on lay women’s desire for fellowship outside of family and church during the early twentieth century.

Opening the general discussion, Valerie Sayers asked how reading-circle texts functioned to console and/or disturb participants. She asked the question with particular reference to Chaucer’s Canterbury Tales, which women in one of the circles read. Mercado responded that if such books upset women they also empowered them. Classics like Canterbury Tales gave women the “intellectual and cultural chops” they needed to navigate middle- and upper-middle-class American culture. To the extent these classics were
A related question centered on objectionable material, this time with reference to the women who read Dante’s *Divine Comedy* and Homer’s *Iliad*. To what extent were such “racy” texts “performative acts”? Did reading them foster community within the circle, or help the women to articulate dissent? While Mercado’s evidence has not revealed how particular books shaped readers, she affirmed that she considers reading a performative act and tries to discern when it builds community or expresses dissent.

Mark Noll then asked if Catholic reading circles imitated Protestant ones, or perhaps existed alongside similar “aspirational” Protestant groups. Mercado responded that while Protestant reading groups existed, they were not at all similar to Catholic reading circles in terms of structure and (unlike the Catholic groups) showed no evidence of having tried to organize at the national level.

Turning to the matter of nineteenth-century religious feminization, Martina Cucchiara asked whether reading-circle women were truly asserting themselves apart from clergy, or whether clergy were containing women in these groups. In answering this question, Mercado acknowledged that the reports do show a tension between these two alternatives. Yet they also allow her to argue that women created their own free spaces, which were “driven by women’s desires and interests.” Official instructions, for example, specified that reading circles should meet in parish buildings. While many did meet in parish buildings, Mercado noted, most met in women’s homes. Other topics of discussion included the types of materials that women in reading circles read; how “Catholic” materials were defined; and what these groups tell us about the tension between being Catholic and being middle-class at the turn of the century.

### Lived History of Vatican II Project

As Catholics and scholars of Catholicism alike begin to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965), the Cushwa Center began its *Lived History of Vatican II* project with a gathering of contributing scholars in early March.

Under the guidance of Kathleen Cummings and Timothy Matovina of the University of Notre Dame and Robert Orsi of Northwestern University, sixteen scholars from a variety of fields have started research on fifteen Catholic dioceses around the globe. While each diocese bears its own historical experience of Vatican II, the *Lived History* project ultimately will draw them all together to form a coherent study of Vatican II as it played out in the lives of individual Catholics the world over. By doing so, this diverse array of historians, theologians, anthropologists, and sociologists will shed new light on a field of Catholic studies that has long been treated in isolation from wider contexts, an area which has often restricted itself to high-level theological or intellectual shifts within the Church at the expense of understanding changes experienced by the laity in everyday life.

The global significance of the *Lived History* project is seen in the scholars’ areas of focus: dioceses in Angola, India, Australia, Canada, Italy, England, the Netherlands, Mexico, Chile, and the United States will all come under comprehensive examination in an effort to understand threads of similarity and moments of differentiation as Vatican II unfolded for Catholics around the world. Such a geographically wide-ranging exploration will allow the *Lived History* project to understand how decisions made at the Council for the universal Church were received, understood, and implemented at the local level across a wide spectrum of geographic locations.

A glance through the bibliography of works published by contributing scholars illuminates the broad-ranging potential of the *Lived History* project. They have worked on a number of different Catholic themes, greatly diversifying the methods used to arrive at a narrative of the Council’s reception. Paul Pullikan studied the presence of Indian bishops at the Second Vatican Council itself in *Indian Church at Vatican II: A Historico-Theological Study of the Indian Participation in the Second Vatican Council*. Josephine Laffin’s *Matthew Beovich: A Biography* examines the man who served as archbishop of Adelaide, Australia during the Second Vatican Council. Massimo Faggioli (recipient of the Cushwa Center’s 2012 Peter R. D’Agostino Research Travel Grant) has published several books on the interpretation and perceived meaning of Vatican II, including *Vatican II: Battle for Meaning and True Reform: Liturgy and Ecclesiology in Sacrosanctum Concilium*. Alana Harris’ *Faith in the Family: Transformations in English Catholic Spirituality and Popular Religion, 1945-82* looks at post-war English Catholicism.

In *Biography of a Mexican Crucifix: Lived Religion and Local Faith from the Conquest to the Present*, Jennifer Scherer font packs Mexican Catholicism as it has changed over the centuries since European arrival. Sol Serrano Pérez has published widely on Chilean history and the nature of the Chilean state, including her “La Definición de lo Público en un Estado Católico: El Caso Chileno, 1810-1885.” Jeffrey Burns’ *Disturbing the Peace: A History of the Christian Family Movement, 1949-1974* chronicles the early years of the lay-focused movement. Finally, Kathleen Holscher has studied women religious extensively, with publications including her forthcoming *Religious Lessons: Catholic Sisters and the Captured School Crisis in New Mexico*.

These works represent the vast array of methodologies utilized by the scholars who will contribute to the *Lived History* project. By examining the Council and its subsequent effects on local Catholic life through a variety...
hierarchy, but they have never been and certainly are not now powerless in their interactions with Vatican authorities.

Indeed, the history of women religious in the U.S. through the long (and ongoing) period of conciliar reception and implementation has been characterized by recurrent skirmishes and intensifying tension between sisters and the Vatican over the scope the apostolate, the proper form of congregational governance, communal-versus-individual living arrangements for religious, and the extent to which the norms of religious life should emphasize separation from the world as a component of religious consecration. The recent action by the CDF is simply the latest chapter of a long, unfolding story of conflict between American women religious and the male hierarchy. Other well known chapters include the confrontation between the Los Angeles IHM community and James Cardinal McIntyre in the late 1960s, curial opposition to the Conference of Major Superiors to the Leadership Conference of Women Religious in 1971, the plea for women’s inclusion in all ministries of the Church made by Sister Theresa Kane, RSM, to Pope John Paul II at the National Shrine in 1979, the case of Sister Agnes Mary Mansour, RSM, who resigned her vows in order to remain as the Michigan Director of Social Services in 1983, the Vatican dispute with sister-signatories of 1984 New York Times ad by Catholics For a Free Choice, to name just a few. The conflict

should not surprise observers: Vowed religious inhabit a unique place in the structure of the Catholic Church where the autonomy of religious institutes in managing their internal affairs intersects with the larger hierarchy that governs the Church as a whole. There is tension inherent in sisters’ position between autonomy and authority, to be sure, but this is not entirely negative or regrettable. The structurally determined tension between sisters and the hierarchy has been the source of innovation and creativity as much as it has produced contention and disagreement. Sisters in the U.S. have used this unfolding pattern of perennial discord to hone skills in advocacy and (sometimes) diplomacy, to build networks for sharing information and coordinating efforts, and to refine their strategies for communicating with the Roman curia and American bishops. As we consider this history of conflict as the backdrop for recent interactions between the LCWR and the Sacred Congregation, one chapter from the 1980s is especially instructive about the resources that American women religious possess and the rhetorical and juridical strategies they pursue in contentious dealings with the Vatican.

On May 31, 1983, Pope John Paul II wrote to American bishops inviting them to “render a special pastoral service” to religious in the United States by encouraging them in renewal, admonishing those who had departed from the norms of religious life, and exploring the reason for a decline in religious vocations. This papal initiative came at an important moment in the post-conciliar renewal of congregations of religious. The revised Code of Canon Law, reflecting the theological changes of the Second Vatican Council, had been promulgated earlier in the year. Religious congregations had been experimenting with new forms of apostolate, living arrangements, dress, and governance since 1966. They had held general chapter meetings, extraordinary chapter meetings and, often, had conducted countless surveys and self-studies to determine new patterns of religious life. As the new canonical regulations took effect, vowed religious were charged with rewriting their constitutions to reflect the new norms they were living and at the same time bring the constitutions into compliance with the revised code. The preceding years had brought tumult and uncertainty for women religious, but it also had introduced new forms of vitality into religious communities. Some American sisters had enjoyed important and sustaining partnerships with local bishops, but others had clashed with diocesan authorities over the scope of institutional renewal and the new forms of religious life sisters had adopted.

To aid the bishops in advising, encouraging, and admonishing religious in their diocese, the pope called for a Pontifical Commission to study religious life in the U.S. (often casually called “the Quinn Commission” after its head, Archbishop John R. Quinn of San Francisco), John Paul II also included with his letter a document prepared by the Sacred Congregation for Religious and Secular Institutes titled Essential Elements in the Church’s Teaching on Religious Life as Applied to Institutes Dedicated to Works of the Apostolate. Essential Elements described itself as a response to superiors and bishops who had requested guidance as religious congregations moved into a final stage of conciliar adaptation. “Religious superiors and chapters have asked this Sacred Congregation for directives as they assess the recent past and look toward the future,” Essential Elements states. “Bishops, too, because of their special responsibility for fostering religious life, have asked for counsel.” Framing the document’s raison d’être in pastoral terms, the Sacred Congregation stated that Essential Elements presented “a clear statement of the Church’s teaching regarding religious life at a moment which is particularly significant and opportune.” The document argued that, although religious congregations were in the process of adapting external facets to the circumstances of the modern world, the spiritual purpose and sacramental nature of religious life rendered its core principles eternal and independent of the whims of temporal change: “Historical and cultural changes bring about evolution in the lived reality, but the forms and direction that the evolution takes are determined by the essential elements without which religious life loses its identity.” The real purpose of Essential Elements, in other words, was to identify those constant elements of religious
life that in the purview of the Sacred Congregation were not open to revision by religious institutes in their renewal efforts.

Most American congregations had not, in fact, asked for this kind of guidance and clarification about renewal from the Vatican, and they certainly did not want bishops to be empowered to “admonish” them about matters that were internal to congregational renewal. Some sisters saw the intervention of the Vatican in renewing their community life, a topic that in the purview of the Sacred Congregation was reserved to religious congregations themselves. And the Vatican’s authority does it have as teaching, since it is not a directum or an instructio officially promulgated by SCRIS. Is it a simple working paper? Almost immediately after the papal letter to the bishops about the renewal of apostolic congregations became public knowledge, the LCWR encouraged religious to “develop a comparative critique of Essential Elements” and to study ecclesiology of religious life.... and validate the evolutionary developments in religious life as historical, theological realities. In a lengthy article comparing Essential Elements with the 1983 Code of Canon Law, Sharon Holland, IHM, voiced the conclusion that many sisters ultimately reached about the document, that it was “a synthesis of existing teaching; it does not propose new doctrine or law” and thus has no juridical authority in and of itself. John Lozano, CMF, writing for the CMSM asked, “Is it not a directum or an instructio officially promulgated by SCRIS? Is it a simple working paper?” Another commentator stated more directly, “Whether authority does it have as teaching, since it has none as legislation? Since it purports to be a summary, it has the authority of the documents it summarizes.... Like any summary, it is uneven and bears the mark and theology of those who selected its components and gave them their order.”

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As a well-intentioned effort to address the dramatic decline in religious vocations, but a larger number of sisters quietly (and not so quietly in private) expressed concern that Essential Elements and the Quinn Commission represented Roman interventionism in processes and domains that properly were reserved to religious congregations themselves. Many congregations and the LCWR that represented them greeted the Quinn Commission and Essential Elements—which in their view had appeared without warning—with surprise and mild alarm, worrying that both were efforts by the Vatican to de-legitimate conciliar adaptations that American congregations had already put in place. Some noted that the Sacred Congregation had already put in place. Some noted that the Sacred Congregation had issued Essential Elements before the Quinn Commission had begun to consult with American sisters, a reversal of usual procedure that suggested that the Vatican had preemptively determined the problems and solutions with American religious.

While Essential Elements did not signal a marked departure from documents that guided religious in their renewal efforts at the time, it did introduce a uniquely univocal interpretation of the parameters of congregational reform. Taken together, the conciliar documents Lumen Gentium and Perfectae Caritatis as well as the motu proprio Eclesiae Sanctae and the papal document Evangelica Testificatio, located apostolic religious life within a sophisticated (and sometimes confusing) matrix of concepts, principles, and ecclesiology. Essential Elements, in contrast, narrowed this vision, asserting simply, “Consecration is the basis of religious life.” Essential Elements emphasized that the other features of religious life—the vows, congregational mission, apostolic activity, community life, formation, governance, etc.—were secondary characteristics that should flow from the central principle of personal sanctification. Any reform to these components of religious life in revised constitutions must affirm the centrality of sanctification, recognizing that “consecration is lived according to specific provisions which manifest and deepen a distinctive identity.” That distinctive identity, Essential Elements continued, should be manifest in nine central “characteristics” which are “common to all forms of religious life and which the Church regards as essential.” The document concluded with a list of forty-nine additional “fundamental norms” that congregations of religious should observe. From the perspective of American women religious, the “essential elements” of religious life delineated in the document included provisions that by 1983 had been revised or eliminated from many American women’s communities, such as distinctive dress, regularized prayer, community proximity in living accommodations, and hierarchical authority housed in a single superior.

Presented with a pontifical commission and a statement of “essential elements” that contradicted the new norms congregations were writing into revised constitutions, American sisters responded to this unexpected intervention with the kind of careful, coordinated, and deliberate action that is characteristic of their strategy for dealing with conflict with the Vatican even in the present moment. Congregations consulted with each other through the Leadership Conference of Women Religious, sharing information and resources as they determined whether a response was needed and, if so, what shape it would take. They also maintained a robust conversation with individual brothers from diverse orders and with the Conference of Major Superiors of Men (CMSM). Sisters consulted with experts in theology, ecclesiology, history, and canon law to determine the status and authority of Essential Elements. And they maintained a steady posture of self-possession (rather than submission) while stating again and again that they were willing to dialogue with the Sacred Congregation about points of tension.
subsumed by the monastic tradition” if *Essential Elements* “becomes the criteria for the evaluation of contemporary religious life. Not only does the document not define the monastic in its full scope and variety but, moreover, it focuses on some characteristics commonly associated with monasticism and makes them normative for all religious orders.” Many sisters objected that the document presented religious life as a static, structure-bound institution rather than as a prophetic, dynamic, and constantly unfolding witness to the incarnation. As such, *Essential Elements* seemed to contradict the central principles of ecclesiology that emerged in the Second Vatican Council. Still others pointed out that the document’s focus on apostolic congregations meant that its content did not apply to religious orders that considered themselves monastic or, more recently, as with members of the Franciscan family, evangelical.

The historians sisters consulted also took the document to task. *Essential Elements* insisted that authority for religious congregations resided in the hierarchy, because the hierarchy possessed the role of discerning the charism and approving the constitution and rule for new institutes. Historians evaluating the document charged that this was a misreading of the actual conflict-ridden history through which many congregations were founded. "Historically, religious institutes were brought to birth when pressing needs were not being met in already established agencies," Dianne Bergant, CSA, observed. “Charismatic women and men, aflame with zeal for the gospel and with compassion for those in need, counted no price too great to pay in their service to the Church. Regrettably, these unselfish pioneers often had to struggle against member of the hierarchy. Only after undaunted commitment was approval given to their efforts. Many never lived to enjoy it. To assert, as the first statement does, that in their origins institutes depend on the hierarchy is to ignore this fact of history.” Other historians pointed out the inconsistency that some of the items listed as “essential” were not part of original or existing constitutions in some congregations because founders had ruled them out in the original founding legislation—legislation that had been given the explicit approval of the Catholic hierarchy. American Catholic historian David O’Brien pointed out that *Essential Elements*, “with its emphasis on a seemingly preconciliar image of proper church order, simply ignores the most important developments in the church and in religious life since Vatican II.”

The conclusion most experts conveyed to the LCWR and CMSM was that *Essential Elements* was a deeply flawed attempt to synthesize conciliar directives and canon law. Many argued that, while the limitations presented with a pontifical commission and a statement of “essential elements” that contradicted the new norms congregations were writing into revised constitutions, American sisters responded to this unexpected intervention with the kind of careful, coordinated, and deliberate action that is characteristic of their strategy for dealing with conflict with the Vatican even in the present moment.

and inaccuracies in *Essential Elements* were unfortunate, the document had no direct bearing on women religious themselves since it was intended to inform bishops rather than religious. Others argued that *Essential Elements* should be consulted, but always read alongside and against the revised code of canon law, with precedence given to the code itself in places of apparent conflict between the two. Others countered that sisters should simply ignore *Essential Elements* and continue to focus instead on the original documents and legislation that *Essential Elements* was attempting to summarize.

Sisters may have characterized *Essential Elements* as both inaccurate and tangential to their deliberations, but they also recognized that American bishops might view the document as a litmus test against which to judge the innovations and reforms American sisters were writing into revised constitutions. They would need to be thoughtful and effective in conversations with bishops, and strong but not overly defiant in their communications with the Sacred Congregation in Rome. Thus, even in the sharpest criticisms of *Essential Elements*, sisters were careful to signal that they welcomed further dialogue with the hierarchy about areas of mutual concern.

The emphasis on dialogue was not accidental. Sisters purposely emphasized the concept of dialogue in their posture toward the hierarchy because it evoked an ecclesiology of consultation and shared governance that many sisters believed to be the central model of authority that had been affirmed by the Second Vatican Council. This was the model of authority that was at the heart of the change when the Conference of Major Superiors of Women’s Religious Institutes renamed itself the Leadership Conference of Women Religious. It also was the issue at stake in some early conflicts between congregations and the Sacred Congregation over approval of revised constitutions. The trope of dialogue, with its conciliar resonance, conveniently signaled to the hierarchy that women religious believed that their autonomy in matters related to their institutes was fully in keeping with Council and its mandates. It signaled that religious believed they were on solid ground, juridically, when claiming autonomy in internal affairs and when instituting shared governance as the norm in constitutional revisions.

Dialogue, in the big picture, was a way of insisting on a different ecclesiology than the hierarchy was embodying at the moment. Patricia Lynch, president of the Congregation of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Peace, wrote to Archbishop Quinn in 1983 encouraging the Pontifical Commission he was heading to foster “sincere and open
Faith echoes the strategy and rhetoric it deployed nearly thirty years ago in the face of the Doctrinal Assessment of LCWR. The LCWR in 2012—as in 1983—responded to an uninvited evaluation by the hierarchy by drawing support from diverse networks of allies in and beyond the Church, by consulting with experts in history, ecclesiology, theology, and canon law about the juridical status of the evaluation, and by consistently underscoring its willingness to dialogue with members of the hierarchy.

The LCWR largely remained silent in the immediate wake of the CDF’s April 18 release of the negative assessment. In part the LCWR wanted to consult with its membership at the national assembly and proceed thoughtfully in crafting an official reply—“to respond rather than to react”—but the LCWR was able to remain silent for months because it knew that diverse individuals and groups would voluntarily rise to its defense. And, indeed, Catholic pundits went on television and radio to decry the assessment, historians published op-ed essays warning the Vatican about riling up the nuns, and the Franciscan Brothers Minor sent an open letter to Rome expressing concern “that the tone and direction set forth in the Doctrinal Assessment of LCWR are excessive, given the evidence raised.”

When the LCWR did issue a public response, it emphasized the “institutional legitimacy of canonical recognition” that the LCWR possesses, locating the LCWR and its members firmly within a conciliar ecclesiology. In its press release about its 2012 annual assembly, the LCWR countered the CDF assessment, arguing, “Religious life, as it is lived by the women religious who comprise the LCWR, is an authentic expression of this life that must not be compromised. The theology, ecclesiology, and spirituality of the Second Vatican Council serve as the foundation of this form of life—and while those who live it must always be open to conversion—this form of life should not be discounted.” And the LCWR assembly returned to the concept of dialogue, its perennial posture toward the hierarchy, instructing the LCWR officers to conduct their conversation with curial representatives “from a stance of deep prayer that values mutual respect, careful listening, and open dialogue.” The expectation, according to the assembly, is “that open and honest dialogue may lead not only to increasing understanding between the church leadership and women religious, but also to creating more possibilities for the laity and, particularly for women, to have a voice in the church.”

One of the central resources sisters in the U.S. have employed again and again in their contentious interactions with Rome has been their ability to ground themselves firmly and resolutely in the distinct ecclesiology, spirituality, sense of mission, and ideas of authority that many congregations of women religious in the U.S. developed in the wake of the Second Vatican Council. In her 2012 presidential address to the LCWR in the depths of the controversy over the CDF assessment, Pat Farrell, OSF, embodied the confidence and self-possession that American women religious draw from this foundation, asking, “what would a prophetic response to the doctrinal assessment look like? I think it would be humble, but not submissive; rooted in a solid sense of ourselves, but not self-righteous; truthful, but gentle and absolutely fearless.” As historians of American Catholicism assess the present conflict between the LCWR and Vatican authorities, let us remember that both the tension that underlies the present crisis and the resources that sisters bring to the conversation are rooted deeply in the history of American Catholicism.

The emphasis on dialogue was not accidental. Sisters purposely emphasized the concept of dialogue in their posture toward the hierarchy because it evoked an ecclesiology of consultation and shared governance that many sisters believed to be the central model of authority that had been affirmed by the Second Vatican Council.

— Amy Koehlinger
Oregon State University
The Cushwa Center is pleased to announce the publication of *Catholics in the American Century: Recasting Narratives of U.S. History*, edited by R. Scott Appleby and Kathleen Sprows Cummings (Cornell University Press, 2012). This is the latest volume in a series, Cushwa Center Studies of Catholicism in Twentieth-Century America, and it addresses the distinctive presence and agency of Catholics as Catholics, a narrative that is almost entirely absent in scholarly and popular works of history.

In this book, the editors (a former and current director of the Cushwa Center, respectively) bring together American historians of race, politics, social theory, labor, and gender who detail in cogent and wide-ranging essays how Catholics in the twentieth century negotiated gender relations, raised children, thought about war and peace, navigated the workplace and the marketplace, and imagined their place in the national myth of origins and ends. A long overdue corrective, *Catholics in the American Century* restores Catholicism to its rightful place in the American story.

Contributors include R. Scott Appleby, University of Notre Dame; Lizabeth Cohen, Harvard University; Kathleen Sprows Cummings, University of Notre Dame; R. Marie Griffith, Washington University in St. Louis; David G. Gutiérrez, University of California, San Diego; Wilfred McClay, University of Tennessee at Chattanooga; John T. McGreevy, University of Notre Dame; Robert Orsi, Northwestern University; and Thomas Sugrue, University of Pennsylvania.

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Research Travel Grant recipient William Francis Collopy has completed his dissertation, “Welfare and Conversion: The Catholic Church in African American Communities in the U.S. South, 1884-1939.”

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**Fellowships**

The Academy of American Franciscan History is accepting applications for four dissertation fellowships, each worth $10,000. As many as two of these fellowships will be awarded for projects dealing with some aspect of the history of the Franciscan Family in Latin America, including the United States Borderlands, Mexico, Central and South America. Up to another two fellowships will be awarded to support projects dealing with some aspect of the history of the Franciscan Family in the rest of the United States and Canada.

Projects may deal with any aspect of the history of the Franciscan Family, including any of the branches of the Family, male, female, tertiary, Capuchin, etc. The fellowships may be used for any valid purpose relating to the conducting of research and may be used in conjunction with other awards and grants. The recipient must be engaged in full-time research during the period of the fellowship. Proposals may be submitted in English, Spanish, French or Portuguese. The applicant must be a doctoral candidate at a university in the Americas, and the bulk of the research should be conducted in the Americas.

The deadline for applications is February 1, 2013. Awards will be announced in April 2013.

Visit www.aafh.org/Scholarships.html for details. To apply, or for further information, please contact:

Dr. Jeffrey M. Burns, Director
Academy of American Franciscan History
1712 Euclid Avenue
Berkeley, CA 94709-1208
acadafh@fst.edu

The Louisville Institute seeks to enrich the religious life of American Christians, and to revitalize their institutions, by bringing together those who lead religious institutions with those who study them so that the work of each might inform and strengthen the work of the other. The Institute especially seeks to support significant research projects that focus on Christian faith and life, religious institutions, and pastoral leadership. Research grant programs include the Dissertation Fellowship (Deadline: Feb. 1, 2013) and the First Book Grant Program for Minority Scholars (Deadline: January 15, 2013). Grant amounts vary. Complete details are available at: www.louisville-institute.org, via e-mail at info@louisville-institute.org, or by regular mail at Louisville Institute, 1044 Alta Vista Road, Louisville, Kentucky 40205.
The History of Women Religious began its formal association with the Cushwa Center in 2011. An informal relationship dates back to 1988, when a colloquium sponsored by the Center, “The History of Women Religious in the United States,” stimulated a small group of women to begin HWR. Networking has been facilitated primarily through History of Women Religious News and Notes and a triennial conference. Publication of the newsletter concluded with the June 2011 issue.

Past issues of the newsletter have been deposited in the History of Women Religious section of the University of Notre Dame Archives. Conference news continues to be available on its website, www.chwr.org.

History of Women Religious

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Ninth Triennial Meeting

The Conference on the History of Women Religious returns June 23-26, 2013 to St. Catherine University in St. Paul, Minnesota, site of the Conference’s first academic meeting, held in 1989. All interested persons are welcome to participate in the Conference, which attracts attendance primarily from the U.S. and Canada, but also from other countries, including England, France, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, Australia, and Japan. The three-day format regularly features scholarly papers on topics pertaining to women religious worldwide as well as an award ceremony recognizing outstanding books on the subject published since the last conference.

Award Nominations

The Conference on the History of Women Religious is seeking nominations for the Distinguished Book Award, which will be awarded at the triennial conference in June 2013. Books must have been published by a refereed press between May 1, 2010 and January 1, 2013.

Privately published books and collections of edited documents and letters will not be considered. Lists of past recipients are listed on the Conference website, www.chwr.org. Copies of nominated books should be sent to:

Dr. Margaret McGuinness
La Salle University
1900 W. Olney Ave.
Philadelphia, PA 19141
(mcguinness@lasalle.edu)

Please note that the book is to be entered into nomination.

The Conference on the History of Women Religious is seeking nominees for the Distinguished Historian Award to be presented at the 2013 triennial meeting. Please send a one-page letter of nomination to Margaret McGuinness, Chair of the Awards Committee, Conference on the History of Women Religious (mcguinness@lasalle.edu). Deadline for nominations is March 15, 2013.

Mary Ewens, O.P., is back in the U.S. after some years in Rome and has resumed research she was doing on Native Americans. She sent by regular mail information on a recently published book:

Mark G. Thiel and Christopher Vecsey, eds., Native Footsteps Along the Path of Saint Kateri Tekakwitha (Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions and Marquette University Press, 2012). Ewens contributed the chapter “Kateri’s Dream and Its Fulfillment,” which tells of Kateri’s unfulfilled desire to have an Indian community of sisters, and her influence on The American Congregation, an Indian sisterhood started in 1891 in North Dakota.

Have information or updates of interest to HWR?

Please let us know about research, publications, or other milestones by March 15, 2013. Email Margaret McGuinness at mcguinness@lasalle.edu or send your update to her at 1900 W. Olney Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19141.
This past January, while attending the American Catholic Historical Association’s annual meeting in Chicago, I joined about a dozen fellow graduate students for an impromptu evening social. Over drinks we got to know one another better, discussed our various areas of research, and laughed at one another’s classroom war stories. But we also had a serious conversation about the state of the field of American Catholic history and our place in it. As junior scholars researching and writing about the history of the Church in the United States, how might we better collaborate to ensure that our work contributed something unique to the academy, to the Church, and to the broader culture?

In *A Catholic Brain Trust* Patrick J. Hayes, the assistant archivist of the Redemptorist Archives in Brooklyn, New York, narrates the story of a similar group of Catholic scholars seeking answers to some of the very same questions more than 65 years earlier. Hayes presents the initial organization, triumphant successes, and noble failures of the Catholic Commission on Intellectual and Cultural Affairs (CCICA) from its founding in 1946 until 1965. Organized by Catholic intellectuals among the clergy and especially the laity, the CCICA grew out of a desire to ensure that the horrors of the Second World War would never again be repeated. The Commission aimed to “advance a Catholic perspective on matters of social and cultural importance” and, in turn, Hayes argues they also “helped to shape Catholic identity in America” (11-12).

In the fall of 1945 Monsignor Frederick Hochwalt, general secretary for the National Catholic Educational Association (NCEA) and executive director of the National Catholic Welfare Conference’s (NCWC) Department of Education, met with Jesuit scholar John Courtney Murray to discuss organizing a group of Catholic intellectuals to participate in the work of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). The Vatican had been shut out of the international meetings that birthed UNESCO’s constitution, but the American bishops were intent on influencing the organization’s development.

Out of this meeting Murray drafted a memo that became the “spine of the CCICA constitution” and Hochwalt began promoting the association among the bishops (20). At the same time, Murray participated in informal gatherings of Catholic scholars at Fordham and Georgetown, which discussed the role that an association of Catholic scholars could play in reconstructing intellectual life in war-torn Europe. From these gatherings, and with the approval of the NCEA executive board, an interdisciplinary group of twenty scholars was invited to become charter members of the CCICA in the spring of 1946. Over time, the membership was augmented via “grass-roots recommendations” and funding was secured from Catholic colleges and from members of the hierarchy including Francis Cardinal Spellman of New York (65-66).

The initial priorities of the CCICA were decidedly international in focus. Hayes briefly explains the connections developed between Pax Romana, an international organization of Catholic students, and American Catholic scholars, largely through European Catholic intellectuals who lived as exiles at Catholic colleges in the United States during the war (45-46). This gave rise to the Commission’s efforts as a “liaison between the NCWC’s War Relief Services (WRS) and Catholic colleges willing and able to relocate” Catholic scholars displaced by the war (74). The Displaced Scholars Program, as the project was called, sent CCICA members and Jesuit Fathers Edward Rooney and Gerald Walsh to Europe in 1947 and 1948 to interview refugee intellectuals and to create a roster of scholars who might be placed in American colleges. Hayes assesses that the program had limited success, however, as only twenty-eight colleges employed a total of thirty-seven refugee professors by the end of 1949, by which time the program had run its course (79).

The CCICA’s other principal international effort, its support for and collaboration with UNESCO, was never universally approved of by its membership. Catholic University sociologist Paul Hanley Fursey and Georgetown philosopher Louis J.A. Mercier “warned of UNESCO’s secularizing tendencies, whose underlying philosophy” they saw as “divorced from a Catholic, cosmic worldview” (64). And indeed, John Courtney Murray was asked to chair a CCICA committee charged with responding to UNESCO’s first director general, Julian Huxley, whose vision for the organization was deemed to be plagued by “materialism,” “false philosophical implications,” and an openness to eugenics (83).

Still, Hayes describes these philosophical differences as a crucial source of internal unity for the CCICA and he deems the Commission’s work with UNESCO to be an important success (85). Differing with Philip Gleason, who in *Contending with Modernity* wrote that the CCICA’s involvement with UNESCO was quite limited, Hayes asserts that since “so many CCICA members served in...
so many capacities at UNESCO over the years” the Commission’s involvement was decidedly not a minor one (82). In particular, Hayes highlights the role that a small number of CCICA members—aided by Catherine Schaefer, head of the NCWC’s Office for UN Affairs, and Elizabeth Lysnkey, professor of political science at Hunter College, and including philosopher Jacques Maritain—played in the early drafting stages of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (90-91).

Debates within the CCICA also swirled around the issue of church-state relations, a topic that animated its members from 1948 to 1959. In what may well be the best and most important section of the book, Hayes makes use of a vast but largely untapped reservoir of Commission documents to narrate these debates and to argue that they represent an attempt by CCICA scholars to “shape identities that were both American and Catholic” (112). Given the ecclesial reactions this debate aroused, and the influence that CCICA member John Courtney Murray ultimately had on *Dignitatis Humanae*—the Second Vatican Council’s Declaration on Religious Liberty—it may not be too much to suggest that this comprises the CCICA’s most significant achievement.

In the postwar period, Protestant polemists Joseph Martin Dawson and Paul Blanshard stirred America’s latent anti-Catholicism and attacked the Catholic Church’s position on the separation of church and state. Members of the CCICA saw it as “the expertise of fifteen CCICA members was collated” and distributed to the membership for comments (117). Among the most important responses was that of a group of academics and professionals who gathered at Princeton University, including Jacques Maritain. Their so-called “Princeton Statement” was a crucial contribution, offering “a philosophical way out of the controversy,” but it too aroused strong critiques from Mercier and Furfey (126).

Meanwhile Murray prepared for the St. Louis meeting by circulating his lengthiest treatment to date of the church-state issue. Later published in *Theological Studies* as “Contemporary Orientation of Catholic Thought on Church and State in the Light of History,” Murray aimed for a middle ground between an impractical “return to the medieval ideal of a papal monarchy” and “secularization or indifferentism” (130). Hayes argues that Murray’s perspective, and his well-documented contribution to the Council’s teaching on religious freedom, were shaped by the friendly and critical responses he received from fellow members of the CCICA.

Despite the fact that this ongoing discussion was intended solely for Commission members, news of the debate was “difficult to contain” and rumors circulated that “a group of Catholic scholars [was] working on a secret statement on Church-State relations” (142). Ultimately this led to complaints about Murray (largely from fellow priest faculty members at Catholic University) reaching the Roman curia, and Murray’s Jesuit superiors counseled him to refrain from publishing on the church-state question.

Hayes notes that Murray’s silencing “sent a chill throughout academia” and he uses this fact to pivot his investigation toward another significant contribution made by members of the CCICA: evaluating and advancing the state of American Catholic scholarship (149). In 1955 the CCICA’s director, Father William Rooney, asked John Tracy Ellis to frankly assess the state of Catholic scholarship and report to the annual meeting (154). Despite the fact that “between 1939 and 1949 the number of doctorates conferred by Catholic universities” had doubled, this still “only amounted to about 3 percent of the total number of doctorates awarded throughout the nation” (62). It was clear that Catholics were “not contributing to the nation’s intellectual and cultural life in proportion to their numbers” (151).

Ellis’ address, later published as “American Catholics and the Intellectual Life,” called these sad statistics a betrayal of the “oldest, wisest, and most sublime tradition of learning that the world has ever known” (169). Hayes states that Ellis’ stinging critique served to rally CCICA members “more than any other single moment in the organization’s history,” but there was, again, no unanimity to the their responses (151). Hayes suggests that the way the nation’s Catholic intellectuals responded to Ellis’ address—either with support or with criticism—helped determine how they would align themselves with either the developing liberal or conservative factions within the Church (185).

Hayes outlines the short- and long-term reactions to Ellis’ address, and evaluates the overall impact of the debate. He underlines the crucial but largely unrecognized role the CCICA played in advancing discussions “on Catholic intellectual life across the nation” and notes that these discussions “continue to the present” (177 and 182). Indeed, while Hayes’ states that by 1985 a new consensus held that “the old problem of the Catholic intellectual had been resolved,” there are presently still legitimate questions about such a consensus position.

What is it that defines a Catholic scholar, and a Catholic intellectual? Were all the problems Ellis
was only once discussed at an annual meeting
become more partisan, “and that the Council
conservative, “that the “membership had
Rooney, “became reactionary and increasingly
Commission’s director, Father William
assess the legacy of the CCICA. He notes that
through its last three decades to its formal
the history of the Commission from 1965
their gatherings were simply folded into the
were experiencing a shift in outlook” and
by the spring of 1965, “the Kerby Seminars
gathered young scholars in Washington,
context that endowed them, successfully
gathered young scholars in Washington,
New York, and at Notre Dame, and spread
elsewhere throughout the early 1960s. But
by the spring of 1965, “the Kerby Seminars
were experiencing a shift in outlook” and
their gatherings were simply folded into the
local meetings of the Commission (238).

In his epilogue, Hayes briefly brings
the history of the Commission from 1965
through its last three decades to its formal
dissolution in 2007, and also attempts to
assess the legacy of the CCICA. He notes that
in the wake of the Second Vatican Council the
Commission’s director, Father William
Rooney, “became reactionary and increasingly
conservative,” that the “membership had
become more partisan,” and that the Council
was only once discussed at an annual meeting
(280-281). The Commission also terminated
its relationship with Pax Romana and became
more focused on issues internal to the Catholic
academy. Even amidst “the tumultuous years
of the Vietnam War” and the Civil Rights
Movement, the Commission rarely addressed
pressing political or moral issues (280). When
the Commission finally disbanded, its
remaining funds were “divided evenly
between two publications, Commonweal
and First Things” (283).

Citing Andrew Greeley and Philip
Gleason, Hayes evaluates the CCICA as
having played a significant and broad, if
ultimately unmeasurable, role in improvements
to Catholic higher education and intellectual
life in the early 1960s. The CCICA helped
“raise the standard of excellence in Catholic
higher education” and “create a distinct ethos
by which Catholic education would contribute
to society” (pg. 224). But as Hayes admits, this
“is a legacy that raises further questions” (268).

At the outset of the book, Hayes states
his desire to show how, through the CCICA,
Catholic intellectuals “moved from being rather
defiant of the wider culture to becoming
fully integrated and engaged with it” (4). Later,
he describes the CCICA’s conviction that
“Catholic higher education would not
simply replicate its secular counterparts. It
had to offer something different” (224).

Therefore, even though the ultimate
demise of the CCICA lies outside the time
period framing this study, it raises important
questions about the Commission’s final legacy
and about the current state of Catholic
intellectual life. Just how fully integrated
into the wider culture had American Catholic
scholars and intellectuals become? Could
it be that the CCICA became increasingly
unviable in the decades following the Second
Vatican Council precisely because Catholic
academics, who succeeded in being
accepted as serious scholars by their secular
peers, began to define themselves less and less as
Catholic scholars?

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Indeed, the growing ideological divide
within the Catholic academy—the origins of
which Hayes traces, in part, to the opposing
reactions to John Tracy Ellis’ indictment of
Catholic scholarship, and which is symbolized
by the division of CCICA funds between
Commonweal and First Things—seems to
indicate that American Catholic scholars no
longer saw themselves as sharing a common
tradition that could contribute something
unique to the secular world. Rather, it would
seem that they saw themselves as primarily
divided by secular political categories, unable
to agree upon or offer the world a particularly
Catholic worldview. One fears that William
Rooney’s commentary from the 1965 CCICA
Bulletin has proven prophetic. He wrote then:
“at moments of great cultural shift, the
Church is threatened by submergence in the
culture with which she has been related and
so threatened with being as irrelevant as the
culture which is being sloughed off” (278).

Hayes’ thorough study of the often-
overlooked history of the CCICA, and
especially his discussion of intellectual life,
helps frame a series of crucially important
questions about the Commission itself and
about what it might mean to be a Catholic
university, scholar, or intellectual in today’s
society. It is admittedly unlikely that even this
excellent book will inspire young Catholic
scholars, like those I met in Chicago, to form
a new association for Catholic intellectuals.
But it could contribute significantly to
our continued conversation about how we
might offer something unique to today’s
academy and culture and thus further
shape Catholic identity in America.
Recent publications of interest include:

Thomas E. Bergler, *The Juvenilization of American Christianity* (Eerdmans, 2012). Bergler observes that young Christians’ fascination with pop worship music, falling in love with Jesus, mission trips, wearing jeans and T-shirts to church, church-hopping, faith-based political activism, and seeker-sensitive outreach have become important parts of a spiritual ideal for all ages. In the process, Bergler argues, youth ministries during the last seventy-five years have breathed vitality into four major American church traditions—African American, Evangelical, mainline Protestant, and Roman Catholic. Yet he also suggests that the “juvenilization” of American Christianity has led to spiritual immaturity, consumerism, and self-centeredness. It has nurtured a feel-good faith while ignoring intergenerational community and theological literacy.

Diane Brady, *Fraternity* (Spiegel & Grau, 2012). On April 4, 1968, the death of Martin Luther King, Jr., shocked the nation. Later that month, the Reverend John Brooks, a professor of theology at the College of the Holy Cross who shared Dr. King’s dream of an integrated society, drove up and down the East Coast searching for African American high school students to recruit to the school. Among the twenty students he helped recruit that year were Clarence Thomas, the future Supreme Court justice; Edward P. Jones, who would go on to win a Pulitzer Prize for literature; and Theodore Wells, who would become one of the nation’s most successful defense attorneys. In *Fraternity*, Brady follows five of the men through their college years, and suggests that these young men would not have become the leaders they are today without Father Brooks’ involvement.

Edward T. Brett, *The New Orleans Sisters of the Holy Family: African American Missionaries to the Garifuna of Belize* (University of Notre Dame, 2012). The Sisters of the Holy Family, founded in New Orleans in 1842, were the first African American Catholics to serve as missionaries. Using previously unpublished archival documents along with extensive personal correspondence and interviews, Brett tells the story of the sisters’ little-known missionary efforts among the Garifuna people in Belize from 1898 to 2008. But his study examines more than just missions. He also treats the issues of racism and gender discrimination that the African American congregation encountered both within the church and in society, demonstrating how the sisters survived and even thrived by learning how to skillfully negotiate with the white, dominant power structure.

Anne M. Butler, *Across God’s Frontiers: Catholic Sisters in the American West, 1850–1920* (University of North Carolina, 2012). Catholic sisters first traveled to the American West as providers of social services, education, and medical assistance. In *Across God’s Frontiers*, Butler traces how sisters challenged and reconfigured contemporary ideas about women, work, religion, and the West. Moreover, she demonstrates how religious life became a vehicle for increasing women’s agency and power. As nuns and sisters adjusted to new circumstances and immersed themselves in rugged environments, Butler argues, the West shaped them; and through their labors and charities, the sisters in turn shaped the West. These female religious pioneers built institutions, brokered relationships between indigenous peoples and encroaching settlers, and undertook varied occupations, often without funding or direct support from the church hierarchy.

Carolyn Chen and Russell Jueng, eds., *Sustaining Faith Traditions: Race, Ethnicity, and Religion among the Latino and Asian American Second Generation* (New York University, 2012). In this comprehensive anthology, contributors draw on ethnography and in-depth interviews to examine the experiences of the new second generation: the children of Asian and Latino immigrants.

Covering a diversity of second-generation religious communities including Christians, Hindus, Buddhists, Muslims, and Jews, the contributors highlight the ways in which race, ethnicity, and religion intersect for new Americans. As the essays here suggest, the second generation of Latinos and Asian Americans will shape not only American race relations, but also the face of American religion.

J. Spencer Fluhman, *“A Peculiar People”: Anti-Mormonism and the Making of Religion in Nineteenth-Century America* (University of North Carolina, 2012). Fluhman offers a comprehensive history of anti-Mormon thought. He argues that anti-Mormonism offers critical insight into the American psyche because Mormonism became a potent symbol around which ideas about religion and the state took shape. Fluhman documents how Mormonism was defamed, with attacks often aimed at polygamy, and shows how the new faith supplied a social enemy for a public agitated by the popular press and wracked with social and economic
instability. He also demonstrates how Mormonism’s own transformations defused the worst anti-Mormon vitriol, triggering the acceptance of Utah into the Union in 1896 and also paving the way for the dramatic, yet still grudging, acceptance of Mormonism as an American religion.

Jorge J. E. Garcia, ed., Forging People: Race, Ethnicity, and Nationality in Hispanic American and Latino/a Thought (University of Notre Dame, 2011). Contributors explore how Hispanic American thinkers in Latin America and Latino/a philosophers in the United States have approached questions of race, ethnicity, and nationality. Essays range from a consideration of Bartolomé de Las Casas on race and the rights of Amerindi ans to Simon Bolivar’s struggle with questions of how to forge a nation from disparate populations to modern and contemporary thinkers on issues of race, unity, assimilation, and diversity.

Patrick Griffin, America’s Revolution (Oxford, 2012). Griffin offers a new interpretation, narrative, and historical synthesis of America’s most formative period. Exploring the American Revolution from global, Atlantic, and continental perspectives, he focuses on how men and women in local contexts struggled to imagine new ideas of sovereignty as British authority collapsed. He examines the relationship between ideas and social tensions, the War of Independence, the roles of the founders, and the struggles and triumphs of those on the margins. Griffin illustrates how, between 1763 and 1800, Americans moved from one mythic conception of who they were to a very different one, a change that was evident in word and in image. America’s Revolution captures these dynamics by exploring origins and outcomes—as well as the violent, uncertain, and liberating process of revolution—that bridged the two.

William Issel, For Both Cross and Flag: Catholic Action, Anti-Catholicism, and National Security Politics in World War II San Francisco (Temple, 2010). Set before and during World War II, Issel’s book recounts the civil rights abuses suffered by Sylvester Andriano, an Italian American Catholic whose religious and political activism in San Francisco provoked an anti-Catholic campaign against him. Andriano, a leading figure in the Catholic Action movement, was falsely accused in state and federal un-American activities committee hearings of having Fascist sympathies. As his ordeal began, Andriano was subjected to a hostile investigation by the FBI, whose confidential informants were his political rivals. Ultimately, the U.S. Army ordered him to be relocated on the grounds that he was a security risk. In telling this story, Issel presents implications for contemporary events and issues relating to urban politics, ethnic groups, and religion in a time of war.

Jason S. Lantzer, Mainline Christianity: The Past and Future of America’s Majority Faith (New York University, 2012). Since the Revolutionary War, mainline Christianity has been comprised of the Seven Sisters of American Protestantism—the Congregational Church, the Episcopal Church, the Evangelical Lutheran Church, the Presbyterian Church, the United Methodist Church, the American Baptist Convention, and the Disciples of Christ. Today, however, the Seven Sisters no longer represent most American Christians. The mainline has shrunk while evangelical and non-denominational churches have attracted more and more members. In this book, Lantzer chronicles the rise and fall of the Seven Sisters, documenting how they stopped shaping American culture and began to be shaped by it. He argues for a reconceptualization of the mainline that recognizes the vibrancy of American Christianity.
Charles H. Lippy and Eric P. Tranby, *Religion in Contemporary America* (Routledge, 2012). The authors explore the roots of contemporary American religion from the 1950s up to the present day, looking at the major traditions including mainline Protestantism, the evangelical-Pentecostal surge, Catholicism, Judaism, African American religions and new religious movements. They ask whether Americans are becoming less religious, and how religious thought has moved from traditional systematic theology to approaches such as black and feminist theology and environmental theology. The book introduces religion and social theory, and explores key issues and themes such as religion and social change; politics; gender; sexuality; diversity; race and poverty. Readers will find the combination of historical and sociological perspectives an invaluable aid to understanding this complex field.

Alexander McGregor, *The Catholic Church and Hollywood: Censorship and Morality in 1930s Cinema* (I. B. Tauris, 2012). During the 1930s, the Catholic Church in the U.S. was engaged in a metaphorical “war” against the increasingly modern and secular values of the American public. Alexander McGregor offers a detailed account of how the Church, feeling itself to be under siege, used media—and particularly cinema—to reach out to Americans. The 1930s were the “golden age” for Hollywood, and the Church saw the film industry as an opportunity to engender a pro-Catholic social moral code among the U.S. population. McGregor examines how the American Catholic Church sought to directly influence film production through its involvement with censorship bodies such as the Legion of Decency, and through Catholics in positions of influence within Hollywood itself.

Nicholas P. Miller, *The Religious Roots of the First Amendment: Dissenting Protestants and the Separation of Church and State* (Oxford, 2012). Miller seeks to recover the cultural and religious origins of church-state separation, particularly as it was shaped by the discourse of Protestant dissent. He argues that commitments by certain dissenting Protestants to the right of private judgment in matters of biblical interpretation helped promote religious disestablishment in the early modern West. Miller examines seven key thinkers who played a major role in the movement as it came to fruition in American political and legal history: William Penn, John Locke, Elisha Williams, Isaac Backus, William Livingston, John Witherspoon, and James Madison. He shows that church-state separation represented the triumph of a particular strand of Protestant nonconformity—that which stretched back to the Puritan separatist and the Restoration sects. In so doing, he contributes powerfully to the current trend among some historians to rescue eighteenth-century clergymen and religious controversialists from the condescension of posterity.

Stephanie Muravchik, *American Protestantism in the Age of Psychology* (Cambridge, 2011). Many have worried that the ubiquitous practice of psychology and psychotherapy in America has corrupted religious faith, eroded civic virtue, and weakened community life. But an examination of the history of three major psycho-spiritual movements since World War II—Alcoholics Anonymous, the Salvation Army’s outreach to homeless men, and the clinical pastoral education movement—reveals the opposite. These groups developed a practical religious psychology that nurtured faith, fellowship, and personal responsibility. They did so by including religious traditions and spiritual activities in their definition of therapy and by putting clergy and lay believers to work as therapists. The result was to demonstrate that religion and psychology could work together to foster community, individual responsibility, and happier lives.

Reid L. Neilson, *Exhibiting Mormonism: The Latter-Day Saints and the 1893 Chicago World’s Fair* (Oxford, 2011). The 1893 Columbian Exposition, also known as the Chicago World’s Fair, presented the Latter-day Saints with their first opportunity to exhibit the best of Mormonism for a national and an international audience after the abolishment of polygamy in 1890. The Columbian Exposition also marked the reengagement of the LDS Church with the non-Mormon world after decades of seclusion. Indeed, more than seven thousand Latter-day Saints from Utah attended the international spectacle. In the first study ever written of Mormon participation at the Chicago World’s Fair, Neilson explores how Latter-day Saints tried to “exhibit” themselves to the world before, during, and after the Exposition. He argues that their doing so was a key moment in the Mormon migration to the American mainstream. After 1893, Mormon leaders sought to exhibit their faith rather than be exhibited by others.

Glenn W. Olsen, *On the Road to Emmaus: The Catholic Dialogue with America and Modernity* (Catholic University of America, 2012). Olsen seeks to clarify the meaning of American modernity for Catholics and shows the conflicts and tensions confronting the religious person today. Essays take up such questions as the possibility of a neutral public order, the desirable relation between church and state, the spiritualities suitable to contemporary America, and hopeful possibilities for the future. Olsen defines the current challenge for religious persons as how to be “in” but not “of” the world.

William O’Rourke, *The Harrisburg 7 and the New Catholic Left*. 40th Anniversary Ed. (University of Notre Dame, 2012). During the first three months of 1972, seven individuals stood trial in the middle district of Pennsylvania. They were accused of conspiring to raid federal offices, bomb government property, and kidnap presidential advisor Henry Kissinger. Six of them were Roman Catholic clergy who identified with the new “Catholic Left.” Forty years after the debut of O’Rourke’s classic account, a new edition speaks to readers interested in religious antiwar protest movements of the Vietnam era. O’Rourke includes a new afterword that presents a sketch of the evolution of protest groups from the 1960s and 1970s, including the history of the New Catholic Left for the past four decades. He concludes that “after the Harrisburg trial, the New Catholic Left became the New Catholic Right.”
burst into a draft board in suburban Baltimore, stole hundreds of Selective Service records (which they called “death certificates”), and burned the documents. The actions of the “Catonsville Nine” quickly became international news and captured headlines throughout the summer and fall of 1968 when the activists were tried in federal court. Peters offers the first comprehensive account of this key event in the history of 1960s protest. He gives readers vivid, blow-by-blow accounts of the draft raid, the trial, and the ensuing manhunt for activists. He also examines the impact of a play written by Daniel Berrigan, one of the Nine, titled The Trial of the Catonsville Nine, as well as the larger influence of this remarkable act of civil disobedience.

Amanda Porterfield, Conceived in Doubt: Religion and Politics in the New American Nation (University of Chicago, 2012). Americans have long acknowledged a link between evangelical religion and democracy in the early days of the republic. Porterfield challenges this view and describes the complex relationship between religion and partisan politics that emerged in the formative era of the early republic. In the 1790s, religious doubt became common in the young republic as the culture shifted from mere skepticism toward darker expressions of suspicion and fear. But by 1800, economic instability, disruption of traditional forms of community, rampant ambition, and greed for land worked to undermine optimism about American political and religious independence. Evangelicals managed and manipulated that doubt. They also exploited the fissures of partisan politics by offering a coherent hierarchy in which God was king and governance righteous.

James Rudin, Cushing, Spellman, O’Connor: The Surprising Story of How Three American Cardinals Transformed Catholic-Jewish Relations (Eerdmans, 2011). Rudin describes how the vision and commitment of Cardinals Richard Cushing, Francis Spellman, and John O’Connor helped to transform Jewish-Catholic relations in the second half of the twentieth century. Two introductory chapters contextualize their actions and reveal the extraordinary nature of these cardinals’ actions. By exploring the lives of these men, Rudin offers case studies that will inform modern ecumenical debates.

Maria de Carvalho Soares, People of Faith: Slavery and African Catholics in Eighteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro (Duke, 2011). Soares reconstructs the everyday lives of Mina slaves transported in the eighteenth century to Rio de Janeiro from the western coast of Africa, particularly from modern-day Benin. Although Africans from the Mina Coast constituted no more than ten percent of the slave population of Rio, they were a strong presence in urban life at the time. Soares analyzes the role that Catholicism, and particularly lay brotherhoods, played in Africans’ construction of identities under slavery in colonial Brazil. As in the rest of the Portuguese empire, black lay brotherhoods in Rio engaged in expressions of imperial pomp through elaborate festivals, processions, and funerals; the election of kings and queens; and the organization of royal courts.

Adrian Chastain Weimer, Martyrs’ Mirror: Persecution and Holiness in Early New England (Oxford, 2011). Weimer examines the folklore of martyrdom among seventeenth-century New England Protestants, exploring how they imagined themselves within biblical and historical narratives of persecution. Memories of martyrdom, especially stories of the Protestants killed during the reign of Queen Mary in the mid-sixteenth century, were central to a model of holiness and political legitimacy. The colonists of early New England drew on this historical imagination in order to strengthen their authority in matters of religion during times of distress. They also did so to avoid responsibility for aggression against Algonquian tribes. This examination of the historical imagination of martyrdom contributes to our understanding of the meaning of suffering and holiness in English Protestant culture, of the significance of religious models to debates over political legitimacy, and of the cultural history of persecution and tolerance.
Recent journal articles of interest include:


Marie Gayte, “‘I Told the White House If They Give One to the Pope, I May Ask for One’: The American Reception to the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations between the United States and the Vatican in 1984,” *Journal of Church and State* 54, no. 1 (Winter 2012): 33-56.


Christopher N. Phillips, “Cotton Mather Brings Isaac Watts’s Hymns to America; Or, How to Perform a Hymn without Singing It,” *New England Quarterly* 85, no. 2 (June 2012): 203-221.


Archives Report

In January of 2012 the Notre Dame Archives received five linear feet of papers from William C. McCready. McCready served as the first program director of NORC (National Opinion Research Center) at the University of Chicago, where he worked with Rev. Andrew Greeley. McCready has also served as director of the public opinion lab at Northern Illinois University and as a member of the NIU Sociology Department, and as a past member the National Academy of Science's Committee for a National Urban Policy. He directed the Center for Disease Control's Illinois Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System and projects for the Ford Foundation, the Smithsonian Institution, and McDonald's Corporation. He presently serves as consultant for Knowledge Networks, Inc. His donation consists of papers dating from 1973 to 1992, arranged alphabetically, with files representing his work with the National Opinion Research Center, his lectures and speaking engagements, his sociological projects, his parish consultations and presentations, and his conference and commission participation.

At the end of April we received 19 linear feet of records from CRISPAZ, Christians for Peace in El Salvador, an ecumenical organization, with documents on the history of CRISPAZ; legal documents, reports and correspondence regarding the situation in El Salvador between 1980 and 2000; correspondence among CRISPAZ members; original photographs from shootings and massacres in El Salvador during the civil war; news articles concerning the civil war, injustices in El Salvador, and CRISPAZ, 1975-2001; newsletters from CRISPAZ volunteers in El Salvador; information on issues such as Salvadoran refugees during the war, immigration, and human rights violations; and information on affiliate organizations such as the Human Rights Commission of El Salvador.

In June we received the Richard J. O'Melia Collection, amounting to 102 linear feet, which until now has been preserved and maintained by Notre Dame's Hesburgh Libraries. This collection documents congressional investigations of communism and subversive activities, 1918-1956. It contains articles, committee reports, correspondence, press releases, publications, resolutions, speeches, and testimony before Congress. The collection also includes printed material concerning un-American activities, chiefly government documents representing congressional research, testimony, and committee work.


— Wm. Kevin Cawley
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In early 2013 subscribers to the "American Catholic Studies Newsletter" will receive a reader survey via email, and we encourage you to take the opportunity to share your thoughts about the publication’s content, format, and frequency. Your feedback will help us as we undertake a comprehensive redesign of the newsletter. For more information please visit our website, cushwa.nd.edu, or contact Heather Grennan Gary at hgary@nd.edu or (574) 631-4696.

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of not only historical but also theological, anthropological, and sociological approaches, the project will present a rich account of Vatican II that goes beyond historical narrative and illustrates the deep effect that the 1962-1965 Council exerted on Catholics around the world. Furthermore, this diversity of research angles further clarifies that the Church and its faithful did not simply change overnight as a result of the Council; rather, the years following Vatican II bore witness to a multilayered process of change, resistance, joy, and struggle as Catholicism underwent one of the most marked evolutions in its history. In their considerations of material, spiritual, legal, and social history, these scholars highlight the pervasive influence of the Catholic faith in the lives of believers across space and time, taking on different (and often contesting) meanings from place to place and among congregations, dioceses, and nations.

During the March 1-2 consultation on Notre Dame’s campus, the project’s contributing scholars offered a brief overview of their subject dioceses. These sessions vividly illustrated the vast diversity of experiences that could be found in various parts of the world in the years during and after Vatican II. Madalina Florescu, who is working in the Diocese of Luanda, Angola, highlighted the significant role of European expatriates, including clergy, living in Luanda along with tensions between Catholicism and traditional Angolan religion. Giles Routhier, whose work focuses on the Archdiocese of Québec, drew attention to the connection between Vatican II and Québec’s Quiet Revolution during the 1960s. Marjet Derks, in examining the Diocese of ’s-Hertogenbosch in the Netherlands, cited the overwhelming attention paid to the Dutch Church as a nucleus of progressivism in Europe while palpable tensions between chance and tradition at the local level were neglected. Closer to home, Andrew Moore pointed out the deep relationship between the Council and the civil rights movement in the Archdiocese of Atlanta, where whites and blacks experienced Vatican II in drastically different ways. John Seitz, working on the Archdiocese of Boston, suggested that research into the overlap between the years of implementing the Council and the first tragedies of the sex abuse crisis could be fruitful. Leslie Tentler’s outline of the Archdiocese of Detroit foregrounded the intersection of the enormous changes ushered in by Vatican II and existing social (and in many cases secular) shifts already underway in the area.

Significantly, the scholars all agreed on the necessity that the combined product of the Lived History project not reduce the Council to a narrative of episcopal deliberation and diocesan implementation in local churches around the world. By widening the scope of their investigation, they will help place the Lived History project well within an emerging stream of scholarship that treats the Council in its entirety, from Roman deliberations to the impact at the most local level. They strongly emphasized the urgency of exploring the Council as a specifically lay event in the life of the Church, with an enormous effect on the laity as the result of clerical decisions. The connections between Catholicism as a lived and felt faith and the broader world form another crucial component of the Lived History project; in this way, it mirrors the Council itself by opening a narrowly Catholic topic onto the world and relating the changes experienced by lay Catholics to other movements shifting those Catholics’ worlds in the years after Vatican II.

The scholars directly confronted the challenge of deciding whether the Lived History project should result in a comprehensive history of Vatican II or a more tightly focused exploration of several key issues in specific locales. Acknowledging that choosing to examine the themes most relevant to each diocese would leave out significant elements of post-conciliar change (e.g., liturgical modifications, the life of Catholic religious, the public face of the Church, or religious liberty), it was decided that this project would serve as a detailed entrée into broader threads of an evolving Catholic faith. In so doing, these scholars illustrated the enormous impact of the Second Vatican Council on Catholic life the world over, providing concrete evidence of the impossibility of generalizing pre- and post-Vatican II Catholicism.

An energetic spirit of cooperation and fellowship emerged during the consultation weekend as each scholar outlined his or her individual work and welcomed the suggestions and advice of the group. By convening to share their experience and research thus far, these contributors benefited enormously from the suggestions and critiques of their colleagues, transforming the Lived History project from a collection of individual works into a truly collaborative effort, uniting the numerous strands of thought and method into a coherent whole that will represent a markedly catholic approach to this most timely of Catholic subjects.

The generous funding provided by Notre Dame’s Office of Research through the Faculty Research Support program has furnished the long-term support of the Lived History project. The contributors will convene again in the spring of 2013 to present working drafts of their individual projects, applying collective expertise to specific studies completed over the previous year. They will then spend the following year revising those drafts, to be presented in the spring of 2014 at a public conference. Finally, the efforts of these scholars will be published in a collected volume in 2015, coinciding with the fiftieth anniversary of the Council’s end.
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