



AMERICAN CATHOLIC STUDIES NEWSLETTER

CUSHWA CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF AMERICAN CATHOLICISM

Faith, Hope and Charitable Choice

The bitterness of the Florida recount that followed the 2000 presidential election is in danger of obscuring a remarkable consensus that emerged during the campaign itself. Religion, long a dialect of one segment of the Republican Party, once again became something like a common political language.

For the first time since candidate Jimmy Carter declared himself to be a born-again Christian, the Democratic Party attempted to claim the religious high ground in a national election. Self-proclaimed born-again Christian Al Gore chose an Orthodox Jew, Senator Joseph Lieberman, as his running mate. With a non-partisan moral authority earned by his early condemnation of President Clinton's behavior during the Monica Lewinsky scandal, Senator Lieberman, the first Jewish candidate on a major party's presidential ticket, took to the campaign trail preaching civil

religion and moral reform (including a stop at the University of Notre Dame on October 24, 2000).

The old rhetoric, however, belied a significant new development in the institutional relations between church and state in America. Throughout the campaign, both George W. Bush and Al Gore voiced strong support for "faith-based organizations" (FBOs) as a new institutional strategy for delivering social services. Section 104 of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act—the 1996 welfare reform bill—prohibits discrimination against private social service agencies competing for government contracts on the basis of an organization's religious nature and protects faith-based organizations from pressure to alter their religious character to secure government contracts.

This provision, popularly known as "charitable choice," represents a dramatic break with the general secularization of social services since the New Deal. For its most enthusiastic support-

ers, it represents a wedge by which religious groups might enter the public fray and counterbalance the secularization of public life that has occurred in the last 30 years. For its critics, charitable choice threatens to violate the constitutional separation of church and state and return American public life to dominance by a semi-established Christian orthodoxy.

The contemporary battle lines over charitable choice tend to follow those established in the broader culture wars. According to script, evangelicals have taken the lead in the push for government support for faith-based social service organizations.

Still, Richard Cizik, director of the Washington office of the National Association of Evangelicals, notes that his institution's endorsement of charitable choice marks a 180-degree turn in evangelical attitudes toward church-state relations. Baptists, the largest single evangelical denomination, traditionally have been wary of government involvement in education and welfare, particularly the notion of state aid to religious schools. Derek Davis, director of the J.M. Dawson Institute of Church-State Studies at Baylor University (a Baptist institution), acknowledges that this strict separationist position was fueled not only by Baptists' fear of government corrupting religious purity, but also by concern about the possibility of Catholic

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American Catholic Studies Seminar

On Thursday, September 7, the Cushwa Center hosted a seminar discussion of Evelyn S. Sterne's paper, "'To Protect Their Citizenship': Constructing a Catholic Electorate in 1920s Providence." An assistant professor of history at the University of Rhode Island, Dr. Sterne is a 2000-2001 junior fellow of the Institute for the Advanced Study of Religion at Yale University, where she is revising her doctoral dissertation, "All Americans: The Politics of Citizenship in Providence, 1840-1940," for publication. Jane Hannon of the history department of Notre Dame served as commentator.

The First World War fueled a revival of American nativism yet also provided immigrant and ethnic Americans an unprecedented opportunity to prove their loyalty through support for the war effort. Sterne argued that during the 1920s, the Irish, Italian and French-Canadian communities of Providence, Rhode Island, rejected assimilation to pure Anglo-Saxon cultural norms and sought to integrate themselves into public life by redefining American national identity in more ethnically inclusive terms. The persistence of property restrictions on voting rights within Providence and the gerrymandering of state electoral districts in favor of sparsely populated rural areas of Rhode Island presented formal legal obstacles to working-class urban Catholics' full representation in the official realm of politics. In this setting, ethnic Catholics turned to their parishes as alternative political sites where they exchanged information, formed solidarities and raised challenges to existing institutions.

Sterne noted that the united front seemingly required for such a crusade initially foundered on the persistence of ethnic and class divisions within the church. Ethnic tensions extended from the well-documented clash between an Americanizing Irish-American hierarchy and various ethnic "national" churches,

to intra-ethnic battles as well. Sterne recounted an incident in July of 1920 in which police were called to the Church of the Holy Ghost to prevent a group of 100 Italian-American women from forcibly removing their parish priest, Father Belliotti, from the church. Parishioners argued that Belliotti was driving thousands of Italians away from the church by his contempt for the congregation's traditional devotions, and demanded the return of a popular Father Vincezo Vicari, ousted for his support of the people.

The Holy Ghost revolt revealed the important place that religion held in the lives of Italian-Americans in the years following the war. Through the 1920s, church leaders sought to channel this energy through new lay organizations capable of breaking down boundaries between ethnic groups and parishes and a new civics campaign designed to encourage Catholics to become active in community affairs. The centralizing organizational developments of World War I gave birth to the National Catholic Welfare Conference (NCWC), and by 1923 almost every parish in the diocese of Providence could boast a local chapter. Parish councils reinforced the strong localism of working class and ethnic Catholics, but diocesan-wide meetings of these councils provided opportunities for forging bonds across lines of class and ethnicity.

Church leaders also encouraged Catholics to become more involved in political life. The NCWC distributed a pamphlet, "Fundamentals of Citizenship," in 14 languages and worked to implement a civics course in every Catholic grammar school in the nation. Following wartime efforts, the NCWC continued a nationwide push for immigrant naturalization and voter registration; at the local level, parish councils promoted debating clubs, political study groups and lecture series.

Perhaps most dramatically of all, the church embraced the dramatic transformation the war had brought in gender relations. Traditionally hostile to feminism and suspicious of women who sought to participate in public life,

church leaders nonetheless saw the 19th Amendment granting women the right to vote as an opportunity for Catholics to exert greater influence in American politics. In 1920, no less an authority than the Vatican proclaimed that it was the duty of Catholic women to exercise their newfound political responsibility. Church leaders in Providence were particularly eager to enlist Catholic women as a counter to the "radical suffragists" of the largely Protestant Rhode Island League of Women Voters (RILWV), whom they believed to be committed to an anti-family political agenda. Catholic women directed church-based Americanization programs designed as an alternative to the RILWV's "Free Non-Partisan Citizenship School for Women."

According to Sterne, the ideal of female citizenship promoted by Catholic women's organizations may be seen as a Catholic version of 19th-century "domestic feminism." Catholic women were to assume nontraditional roles as activists in order to preserve traditional gender roles and family structures. Political activism enabled Catholic women to experience a new degree of personal freedom, but Sterne conceded that this activism never extended much beyond the demographic confines of middle-class Irish-American Catholics.

Professor Sterne's account of the church's effort to take control of the Americanization process led Jane Hannon to wonder about the specific content of Catholic civic education programs. Did Catholic civics courses differ at all from Protestant programs? What precisely was the Catholic political agenda to be advanced through these new organizational efforts? Did political organization ultimately triumph over ethnic ties?

Sterne conceded many parallels between Catholic and Protestant conceptions of civic education. The church's growing insistence that Catholics were the best Americans reflected the acceptance of a great many American values as consistent with Catholicism. The distinctly Catholic element of the political agenda promoted through

these programs resided in the promotion of a Victorian moral code that many Protestants may have accepted as their own.

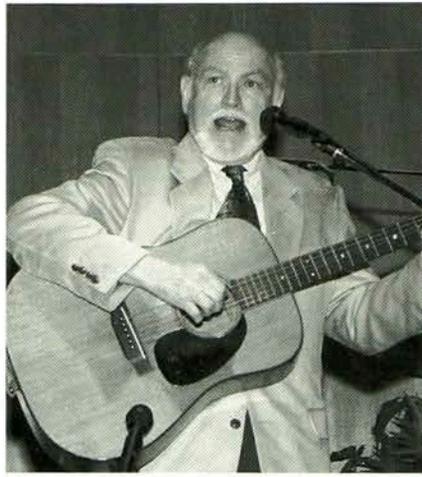
Still, this consensus had its limits. The church accepted the legitimacy of state-funded widow's pensions, but opposed "hygiene" programs in the public schools for fear they would lead to sex education. Against the drive for 100 percent Americanism, Catholic civics programs continued to include foreign language instruction; moreover, the church setting for civic education spoke to the Catholic insistence on institutional autonomy that found its most confrontational manifestation in the church's commitment to parochial school education.

Church efforts at cross-ethnic political education achieved mixed results. Not surprisingly, Irish-Americans took to it most readily, while Italians and French Canadians, with much higher patterns of re-migration, showed decidedly less interest in politics. Sterne argued that despite the church's positive efforts at Americanization and civic education, external pressures of anti-Catholicism, particularly in the revival of the Ku Klux Klan and a renewed assault on the parochial school system, proved to be the decisive factor that forged a shared religious identity across class and ethnic lines.

Hibernian Lecture

On Friday, October 6, Professor William H. A. Williams of the Union Institute in Cincinnati, Ohio, presented the annual Hibernian lecture sponsored by the Ancient Order of Hibernians. Professor Williams served as a consultant for the 1996 PBS series on Irish America, *The Long Journey Home*, and is the author of *'Twas Only an Irishman's Dream: The Image of Ireland and the Irish in American Popular Song Lyrics, 1800-1920*, which received the 1997 ASCAP-Deems Taylor Award in Music History. Drawing on material from his landmark study of Irish-American popular culture, Professor Williams mixed musical history and performance to explore the rise and fall of the stage Irishman during the golden age of vaudeville.

Williams began his presentation by tracing the lineage of the stage Irishman back to the Elizabethan era. One need



William H. A. Williams

look no further than the character of Captain MacMorris in Shakespeare's *Henry V* to find the essential shape of a stereotype that would endure for the next three centuries: a pugnacious, short-tempered patriot willing to fight at the slightest provocation. By the early 19th century, the Irish image on the British stage began to move away from the stereotype of the braggart-warrior to that of the comic peasant. Along the way, "Paddy" acquired his now-famous voracious taste for whiskey and assumed his position as a kind of fault line for the culture wars of the 19th century: as a comic figure, the profligate, drunken, lazy Irishman reinforced the essential virtue of the thrifty, sober and industrious Victorian Englishman.

In the years before the Civil War, these stereotypes crossed the Atlantic and shaped the image of the Irish in an American theatrical world still largely derivative of Europe. The post-Civil War years saw a significant shift in the dominant stage image of Paddy from that of a rural Irish peasant to a decidedly urban Irish-American. Still drinking and fighting, this new Paddy did so in the context of theatrical representations of a new urban world largely of his own making. Traits once looked down upon as uncivilized now appeared as points of pride, and occasions for popular comedy. The new image allowed immigrants and first- and second-generation Irish Americans to laugh at their foibles while still celebrating their achievements in the new world.

Professor Williams recalled how he found the key to this lost world of Irish-American popular culture in the Starr Collection of sheet music at the Lilly

Library of Indiana University. He had initially approached this collection in search of traces of traditional Irish music in the commercial popular culture represented by the explosion of the sheet music industry in the late 19th century; he found instead a treasury of hundreds of Tin Pan Alley songs with Irish names and themes.

Scholars of traditional Irish music have generally dismissed these songs as commercial pabulum, but Williams argued that songs such as "When Irish Eyes Are Smiling" and "Mother Machree" are significant cultural documents that help historians understand how the Irish and other immigrant groups have negotiated ethnic identity in the polyglot mix of urban America. Song lyrics told stories of comic, romantic and sometimes violent interaction among the Irish and Germans, Italians, Jews, Asians and African-Americans, while the sheet music reinforced the distinct ethnic iconography of sham-rocks and harps.

Before the era of the phonograph, sheet music was the driving medium for the commercial mass distribution of music. The making of a sheet music "hit" depended on the performance of songs by the popular vaudeville entertainers of the day. One such tune whose stage popularity translated into sheet music success was "Throw Him Down, M'Closkey" (1890), by John W. Kelly. The song lyrics tell the story of a prize fight arranged between an African-American fighter and the Irish champion M'Closkey. The African-American fighter pulls out of the match when he learns that the fight is to take place in an Irish ward where he fears he will not get fair treatment from the officials. An Irishman named McCracken volunteers, assured that M'Closkey will fight clean. M'Closkey does not, and the resulting mayhem provides the inspiration for the song's chorus, "'Throw him down M'Closkey' was to be the battle cry, / 'Throw him down M'Closkey' you can lick him if you try." The famous female baritone Maggie Cline made the song the center piece of her act, accompanied by stage hands throwing down bricks and sandbags on the cue of the chorus; when she sang the song in bars, patrons ritualistically threw down their mugs and glasses at the chorus.

Williams noted that the persistence of these older stereotypes was

nonetheless accompanied by an increased softening of the Irish image. This is particularly evident in the work of the theatrical team of Edward Harrigan and Tony Hart. The duo's series of plays about the Mulligan family explored the rich sense of community that persisted through the poverty of New York tenement life. Songs such as "Maggie Murphy's Home," from their 1890 production *Reilly and the Four Hundred*, celebrated the gentler pleasures of waltzing in the parlor. Harrigan and Hart's innovative blending of story and song laid the groundwork for that most middle class of popular entertainments, the Broadway musical.

This more refined image of the Irish broadened their appeal to a wider middle-class audience. By the end of the decade, the inclusion of Irish names in song lyrics was obligatory for conjuring up an image of city life even in songs, such as "The Band Played On" and "The Sidewalks of New York," which otherwise had no Irish theme.

The comic and sentimental Irish songs of Tin Pan Alley remained popular through the first two decades of the 20th century, but the moment of Irish dominance had passed. The American Irish, like the Irish in Ireland, largely rejected the modernist drama of Yeats' Abbey Theater, but failed to produce an alternative image distinct from the general middle-class ideals of Anglo-American popular culture. George M. Cohan, the leading popular Irish-American entertainer of this period, memorialized the earlier generation with the song "Harrigan," but his theatrical success rested in his ability to transform the stage Paddy into the exemplary Yankee Doodle Dandy. Williams argued that the explosion of jazz in the 1920s, which brought African-American musical traditions to the center of American popular culture, effectively pushed Irish-American songs back into the category of ethnic music, no longer representative of the broader American urban experience.

Seminar in American Religion

On November 4, the Fall Seminar in American Religion met to discuss Ann Taves' book, *Fits, Trances, & Visions: Experiencing Religion and Explaining Experience from Wesley to James* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999). Dr. Taves is professor of the history of Christianity and American religion at the Claremont School of Theology and Claremont Graduate University. James D. Bratt, professor of history at Calvin College, and Clark Gilpin, professor of the history of Christianity and professor of theology at the Divinity School of the University of Chicago, served as discussants.

The Puritans introduced the word "experience" into the vocabulary of Christian thought as a way of talking about a spiritual inwardness distinct from the external forms of public observance. Privileging the internal over the external, Puritan ministers denounced the absence of experience as mere "formalism" and made the ability to give an account of one's personal conversion experience a requirement for church membership.

The highly emotional conversion experiences at the heart of the Great Awakening spurred intense debate among ministers as to the true nature of religious experience. On the one hand, ministers feared that lay assertion of direct encounter with the Holy Spirit would undermine their authority and church unity in general; on the other, they feared that dismissing the possibility

of the authentic working of the spirit would lend support to the Enlightenment critique of religion as superstition.

In her book, Taves argues that the effort to distinguish true religion from mere "enthusiasm" led ministers to adopt increasingly naturalistic explanations for the extreme behavior often associated with spiritual conversion. Charles Chauncey, the leading anti-revivalist Congregationalist minister, dismissed the swooning and shrieking of some conversion experiences as the product of an overactive imagination; he accused revivalists of inducing fear in the masses and charged enthusiasts with mistaking their own uncontrolled terror for divine revelation. Chauncey saw enthusiasm as a physical response to an extreme situation induced by preaching, much like the uncontrollable terror induced by natural phenomena such as earthquakes. Ultimately, he saw enthusiasm as evidence of false religion.

Jonathan Edwards, a moderate defender of the revivals, accepted much of Chauncey's naturalistic explanation, but still held out for the possibility of this extreme behavior as at least an indirect consequence of the authentic movement of the Spirit. John Wesley followed Edwards in defending a middle ground between formalism and enthusiasm; however, he was less concerned than Edwards with distinguishing natural from supernatural causation and looked to lay-led small groups rather than clerical supervision as a regulating mechanism. Through the 19th century, the "shouting Methodists" of the popular Wesleyan tradition continued to be open to involuntary experiences dismissed by Calvinists adopting a more positive conception of the role of human agency in salvation.

Still concerned to explain religious experience, many popular religious commentators turned to the theory of animal magnetism, or the exertion of controlling mental energy from one person to another. The figure of the enthusiast gave way to the clairvoyant somnabule as the locus of fits, trances and visions, yet the theory of animal magnetism could accommodate both naturalism and supernaturalism. For La Roy Sunderland, a Methodist reformer in the shout tradition, magnetism



Ann Taves

proved to be a way station on his journey from Methodism to even more naturalistic explanations of religious experience rooted in human psychology; for Ellen G. White, founder of the Seventh Day Adventists, mesmerism was the work of Satan and its presence confirmed her own end time prophecies.

The dynamic interaction between natural and supernatural understandings of trance-like experiences continued through the second half of the 19th century. Andrew Jackson Davis and other leaders of the new spiritualist movement saw in animal magnetism a psychological grounding for the empirical study of the connection between the ordinary world of human beings and the world of the spirits. Spiritualists insisted that spirits are actually matter, though a refined sort of matter that could only be seen by those in an altered mental state such as clairvoyance.

This material understanding of spirits marked a decisive break from the supernaturalism of Edwards and Wesley, but Taves argues against any simple linear process of secularization. The late 19th century saw a revival of the belief in faith healing as well as the rise of the new scientific study of the psychology of religion. In the 1880s, Methodists such as James Monroe Buckley began to incorporate the psychology of the apostate La Roy Sunderland into their understanding of religious experience even as they sought to safeguard revelation and biblical miracles from naturalistic reductionism.

Clark Gilpin praised Taves for her sensitivity to the continued interaction of natural and supernatural, elite and popular understandings of religious experience. Careful to distinguish distinct historical periods of this interaction, Taves nonetheless discovers continuity in the persistence of a mediating tradition, culminating in William James' *Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902). Against secular skeptics such as George Albert Coe, James employed the psychological concept of the subconscious to explain religion without explaining it away. For those in this mediating tradition, explanation itself functioned as a religious activity.

Gilpin also commended the book for its conceptualization. Surveying a staggering array of behaviors, Taves

uncovers a common concern with the involuntary as opposed to the noetic or rational dimension of experience. The classic Reformation understanding of free grace raised the question of whether individuals could do anything to prepare for the reception of such a free gift. The ring shout of the Methodist camp meeting was but one of many elaborate rituals devised to address this question, a compromise between the desire to induce conversion and the need to preserve the privileged cultural position of spontaneity over the imposition of external institutional forms. Overall, Gilpin judged Taves' book a groundbreaking study of the history of the involuntary as a marker of authentic experience.

James Bratt, however, suggested that the book's strength as a work of cultural history raises questions about its contribution to the history of American Protestantism. Taves convincingly shows the influence of Wesleyanism on American culture, but never addresses how other Protestant traditions responded to Wesleyanism at the level of piety. The focus on liminal experiences such as the Methodist camp meeting leaves unexamined the structural consequences of these emotional conversion experiences for the social organization of the church. What happened after the camp meetings? Were Methodist efforts to contain the fits, trances and visions of conversion successful, or did the camp meetings bequeath schism? Did converts generally remain faithful, or backslide into sin as so many critics of the revivals charged?

Taves conceded that she did not properly address the ecclesiological consequences of the study of ecstatic experience. The rise of the Holiness and Pentecostal movements suggests that the emphasis on spontaneous conversion did indeed induce schism, but confessional denominations with more rigid organizational structures tended to be suspicious of visions and miracles, and thus fell outside the scope of her study. Taves stressed, moreover, that she chose to focus on how people understood and explained experience, not experience itself. The trance state assumed many cultural forms over time, and her aim was to understand the different meanings assigned to involuntary experience, not to assess the relative truth value of these various forms.

Much of the discussion following the formal presentations focused on the theological implications of this kind of scholarly detachment. Taves acknowledged that she sees her own scholarship as part of the mediating tradition best represented by the work of William James. Wary of essentialist definitions of religion, she focused on involuntary experience as a strategy for recreating the historical dialogue between the natural and the supernatural modes of explanation. Taves insisted her duty as a historian lay in the accurate rendering of the multiple voices participating in this dialogue, not the adjudication of these voices; far from detachment, this faithful rendering is itself a mode of participation in these debates.

Cushwa Center Lecture

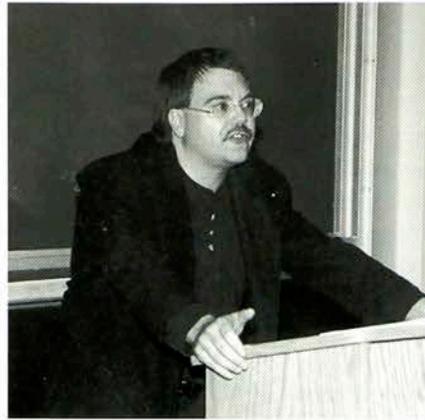
On Thursday, November 16, Kenneth Heineman delivered a lecture on "A Catholic New Deal? Some Historical Heresies from the Great Depression." A professor of history at Ohio University, Lancaster Campus, Professor Heineman is the author of several books, including *Campus Wars: The Peace Movement at American State Universities in the Vietnam Era* in 1993 and *God is a Conservative: Religion, Politics and Morality in Contemporary America* in 1998, both with New York University Press. Professor Heineman's lecture drew from his most recent book, *A Catholic New Deal: Religion and Reform in Depression Pittsburgh* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999). Insisting on the importance of Catholicism in the formation of the New Deal coalition, Heineman's work challenges the historical consensus that has viewed the 1930s as a period in which social ties based on religion and ethnicity gave way to new institutional loyalties to labor unions and the state.

Professor Heineman opened his revisionist account with a critique of one of the foundational stories of New Deal mythology, the arrival of Labor Secretary Frances Perkins at the mill town of Homestead in 1933. The myth, which received its classic account in Arthur Schlesinger Jr.'s *The Coming of the New Deal*, presents Perkins as a crusading federal reformer engaged in a lone battle against corrupt local politicians controlled by U.S. Steel. When city police broke up a labor meeting, Perkins and local workers found refuge

in a post office building under federal control, and the New Deal labor movement was born. Heineman noted that this story neglects to mention that Perkins' first meeting with Homestead workers actually took place at St. Anne's Catholic Church, which would later open its doors to the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee (SWOC) and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). From Fr. James Cox's 1932 March on Washington (at the time the largest protest march in American history) to Philip Murray's presidency of the CIO, Catholics played a major role in bringing the labor movement into the New Deal coalition.

Murray in particular drew direct inspiration from the papal encyclicals *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno*, which he kept on his desk for guidance. One of 12 children born into an Irish-Catholic family in Scotland, Murray emigrated to Western Pennsylvania in 1902, at the age of 16. A devout Catholic and solid union man, Murray settled in a working-class neighborhood in Pittsburgh and steadily worked his way up the organizational ladder of the SWOC. In line with Catholic social teaching, Murray preferred industrial harmony to class confrontation; still, he recognized that workers could only achieve social justice by negotiating from a position of strength rooted in independent labor unions. Along with Dorothy Day, Murray endorsed a 1935 statement by the National Catholic Welfare Conference, "Organized Social Justice," which advocated a national minimum wage and a 40-hour work week; praising the defunct National Recovery Administration, the statement also reasserted the need for the basic regulation of industry.

Heineman emphasized that support for many of Roosevelt's policies should not obscure important ideological differences between Catholic social teaching and the New Deal. The *Pittsburgh Catholic* spoke out against the economic exploitation practiced by U.S. Steel, but was just as concerned with the debilitating effects of the thriving vice trade controlled by none other than Homestead's mayor, John Cavanaugh. Whereas Francis Perkins saw social justice primarily in terms of better wages



Kenneth Heineman

and working conditions, Catholic leaders such as Pittsburgh's Bishop Hugh Boyle feared that giving people more money without addressing the broader moral corruption of Cavanaugh's vice empire would only serve to subsidize self-destructive behavior. Similarly, while Boyle supported government intervention in the economy, he feared that public welfare would undermine personal responsibility. On issues such as these, Catholic social teaching during the 1930s combined liberal politics with conservative morality in a manner that still confounds the standard left/right dichotomies of American politics.

For labor historians, Catholic anticommunism has been the most troubling aspect of the church's social teaching. Gary Gerstle and others have presented Catholic anticommunism as the key factor in the failure of the American working class to develop authentic class consciousness. Heineman challenged the notion that Catholic anticommunism inhibited the growth of labor organization. Catholic leaders such as Murray were indeed anticommunist, but so too was much of the Catholic working class. Murray never lost touch with his working-class Catholic roots. He realized that Slavic Catholics, for example, would never join a union if they believed that it favored state-mandated atheism.

As president of the SWOC, Murray preferred to send Catholic organizers to mill towns; he encouraged his men to approach priests and the leaders of local fraternal organizations to host union meetings. Churches and fraternal lodges were not only the most affordable sites,

but also the least likely to be attacked by the security forces of the local steel companies. During the New Deal era, priests such as Monsignor Joseph Altany of Aliquippa and Father Clement Hrtanek of Homestead encouraged tens of thousands of ethnic Catholics to join unions. According to Heineman, the history of these priests has largely been lost to historians of American Catholicism and labor alike.

Part of this amnesia lies in the east coast focus of much of American Catholic history for this period. Heinemann noted that prelates such as Boston's Cardinal William O'Connell were indeed hostile to the social encyclicals, but eastern cities were not particularly strong centers for CIO organizing. Father Charles Coughlin's red-baiting of the CIO cost him much of his following in the Midwest even while he retained a strong following in the east. Midwestern Catholics also proved less accepting of Coughlin's notorious anti-Semitism. The ethnic diversity of industrial cities in the heartland precluded the tribalism of the East coast. Lacking a dominant numerical presence, Irish Catholic labor leaders and politicians in Pittsburgh proved much more willing than their counterparts in New York to distribute patronage among Italians, Eastern European Catholics, Jews and African Americans.

More provocatively, Heineman blamed this amnesia on nothing short of a willful misreading of sources by labor historians hostile to religion. Heineman cited Lizbeth Cohen's influential *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919-1939* for basic errors in fact and uncritical use of sources; in particular, he noted how Cohen cites Communist Party activists when arguing for the popularity of the Communist Party among workers and transcripts of interviews with juvenile delinquents as proof of general disaffection with the Catholic Church. John McGreevy took issue with this critique and defended Cohen's work against what he felt to be Heineman's overly tendentious reading of her book.

Heineman concluded his talk with the suggestion that such historiographical problems may reflect the tendency for history to be written, not by the

winners, but by the dissenters. For example, though studies such as Alan Ehrenhalt's *The Lost City* show that most working-class Catholics did not resent clerical authority in the years leading up to Vatican II, Catholic historians still tend to read this period through the lens of the heroic emergence of lay autonomy.

Research Travel Grants

These grants help defray the expenses of travel to Notre Dame's library and archival collections for research on American Catholicism. Recipients of awards in 2001 include:

Mary J. Henold, a Ph.D. candidate in American history at the University of Rochester, for her research on "Strong in Our Knowing: The American Catholic Feminist Movement in the

Postconciliar Era, 1965-1980." Blending narrative history and the history of ideas, this project explores how American Catholic women negotiated their dual identities as Catholic and feminist.

Patricia Jean Manion, S.L., for her work on "Magdalen Hayden, Santa Fe, New Mexico, 1852-1894." This project examines the career of an Irish immigrant woman who established Catholic schools for the Sisters of Loretto in the Territory of New Mexico in the second half of the 19th century.

Kevin Sherlock, an independent researcher, for a book project titled, "Many Peoples. . . One Nation?" This study will focus on the Catholic dimension of immigration to the United States over the course of the 19th and 20th centuries.

Hibernian Research Award

This annual research award, funded by an endowment from the Ancient Order of Hibernians, is designed to further the scholarly study of the Irish in America. The recipient of the 2001 award is:

Marion R. Casey, assistant professor of history and faculty fellow in Irish American Studies at New York University, for her project, "Ireland, New York and the Irish Image in American Popular Culture." Ranging across stage, music, dance, cinema, journalism and tourism, Professor Casey's study will examine the interaction of Ireland, America and Irish America in the construction of Irishness as a commodity in the culture industry of the 20th century.

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schools undermining American democracy. The secularization of political life since the 1960s—what Richard John Neuhaus has called the creation of a "naked public square"—has shifted the battle lines from Catholic vs. Protestant to religious vs. secular, or perhaps more accurately conservative religious groups (Catholic, Protestant and Jewish) vs. secularism and its allies among self-identified religious liberals.

The shift in alliances has left intact an enduring story of separationists vs. integrationists that distorts the historical record. When one considers welfare rather than education, history offers a variety of alternatives to the extremes of rabid secularism and the state promotion of religion. Disestablishment aside, evangelical Protestantism served as an official public religion through much of American history up until the 1960s; the Protestant ethos that suffused the public schools also shaped many of the early public responses to urban poverty in the 19th century. With welfare as with education, Catholics responded first by calling not for neutrality but for equality of funding; holding the line on education, Protestant reformers nonetheless eventually conceded a legitimate place

for the public funding of Catholic welfare institutions.

This acceptance of a Catholic public presence reflected in no small part the local context of 19th century public assistance. Catholics dominated city governments just as they constituted most of the urban poor in need of public assistance. Protestants bowed to the political power of Catholics and the undeniably excellent track record of Catholic charity organizations and often supported subsidies to Catholic religious orders and lay voluntary associations engaged in welfare work.

In their important work, *The Poor Belong to Us: Catholic Charities and American Welfare*, Dorothy Brown and Elizabeth McKeown have examined the distribution of public welfare funds in New York City. Though not representative of urban welfare across America, the New York experience of the 19th century would prove influential in the development of federal welfare policy in the 20th century. The "New York system" of disbursing public funds through private agencies took shape largely in the context of battles over child care. Protestant "child savers," led by Charles Loring Brace, sought to rescue city children from their debilitating urban environment and place them

in foster homes in the West, where clean air, hard work and the Protestant religion would transform them into self-reliant democratic citizens. That these children were mostly Catholic was not lost on the women religious and Catholic lay volunteers who also recognized the need to provide some assistance for the children.

The Sisters of Charity took the lead in the Catholic response. In the years prior to the Civil War, they succeeded in receiving a city land grant to establish a Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum; aided by the rise of Irish dominance in city politics after the war, they fought for and received per capita payments from the city for the children. With funding from public and private sources, the sisters went on to establish the New York Foundling Hospital in 1869; by 1872, it had become the city's largest institution serving poor infants.

The history of social welfare policy presents a sort of two-edged sword for advocates of charitable choice. On the one hand it offers a usable past from which to construct new, more cooperative models of church-state relations; on the other, it offers a cautionary tale of the co-optation of religion by secularism. By the early 20th century, lay and religious Catholics working in the field

of social welfare were increasingly speaking the language of the new secular social sciences. This intellectual shift found its institutional embodiment in the Archdiocese of New York's reorganization of Catholic charity under new bureaucratic models that took control of charity work out of the hands of women religious and lay volunteers and placed it into those of male clerics and professional social workers. The 1935 Social Security Act marked the decisive turning point in the move away from religiously based social welfare. Indeed, in designing the federal government's ADC program for the Social Security Administration, Jane Hoey, a lay Catholic who had served on New York City's Board of Child Welfare, explicitly rejected the New York model and insisted that public funds be distributed by public institutions.

In theory, the New York model lives on to some degree in those local charities gathered under the umbrella of Catholic Charities, U.S.A. With the thinning of religious orders and the general adoption of secular social work models for case work, advocates of charitable choice argue that these charities remain Catholic in name only. On this issue, Catholic-Protestant tensions have re-emerged in a new form. Ironically, whereas 19th-century evangelicals attacked Catholic charities for being too Catholic, many 20th-century evangelicals criticize them for not being Catholic enough.

These charges reflect similar soul searching that has gone within the Catholic institutions themselves. The papal encyclical *Ex Corde Ecclesiae* has brought the issue of Catholic identity to the top of the agenda for Catholic educational institutions; charitable choice has induced a similar re-examination of Catholic institutions of health

and welfare.

Clarke E. Cochran's recent *Commonweal* article on Catholic hospitals, "Another Identity Crisis: Catholic Hospitals Face Hard Choices," provides some of the most fruitful thinking on the present state and possible future character of noneducational Catholic institutions. Cochran notes that by offering free or low-cost medical treatment Catholic hospitals once served as the primary health-care provider for many low-income Americans. Catholic hospitals still provide roughly 15 percent of all community hospital beds, but the crisis in health care funding has long since forced them to abandon older charity models of organization for newer business models more attuned to the dynamics of the capitalist marketplace. Despite these efforts, Catholic hospital systems find themselves in much the same dire financial straits as their secular counterparts.

The parallels go beyond economics. Cochran sees it increasingly difficult for Catholic hospitals to maintain spiritual solvency in a field in which the understanding of healing has shifted from spiritual care to technological cure. Catholic identity has further suffered from the near disappearance of the women religious who founded many of these institutions and gave them their Catholic character. Much like Catholic universities, these hospitals hire lay and non-Catholic administrators shaped by their secular professional development rather than any distinct Catholic ethos. For most of these institutions, all that remains is some crucifixes, a few statues of Mary and the saints, and a chapel. Cochran observes that should they prove able to weather the economic crisis in health care, Catholic hospitals might still be in serious danger of surviving "merely as

When one considers welfare rather than education, history offers a variety of alternatives to the extremes of rabid secularism and the state promotion of religion.

Catholic shells surrounding essentially secular medical institutions."

Avoiding this fate will require a fundamental reorientation in health-care priorities. Cochran argues that Catholic hospitals must directly confront the idols—and ideology—of modern medical technology: "the illusion of life without suffering, the denial of death, the pipe dream of pharmacological or surgical solutions to aging." Technological progress has unintended consequences; in terms of human suffering, treatments often rival the diseases they seek to cure.

There is no denying the many positive achievements of modern medical science, but these need not exclusively structure the institutional priorities of Catholic health care. Catholic hospitals must certainly take their cues from the principles of Catholic social teaching, such as justice, freedom, respect for life, human dignity and the common good. At a deeper level, they must also embody what Cochran calls the sacramental and incarnational aspects of Catholic life. The hospice movement best embodies this Catholic approach; the relatively low tech areas of physical therapy, rehabilitation and elder care offer the most fruitful areas for a redirection of institutional energies.

Could Catholic hospitals take this sacramental turn and still receive public funding without violating the First Amendment? Defenders of charitable choice answer yes. In their essay "No Aid to Religion? Charitable Choice and the First Amendment," Ronald J. Sider and Heidi Rolland Unruh position faith-based organizations in a pluralistic spectrum of social service providers: (1) purely secular institutions; (2) religiously affiliated organizations with little religious content in their work; (3) exclusively faith-based organizations that conduct inherently religious activities such as prayer support groups; and (4) holistic faith-based organizations that integrate secular medical services and social scientific case work with prayer and worship. Sider and Unruh acknowledge that government funds should not be directed to support exclusively religious organizations or sectarian religious activities within faith-based social service providers, and that no one should

be forced to receive faith-based social services.

Beyond these minimum guidelines, however, the constitution allows a great deal of leeway for faith-based organizations to receive government funding. *Everson v. Board of Education*, the 1947 court ruling that established the “no aid to religion” rule which dominated postwar thinking about religion and social welfare, is itself unclear about what counts as a “pervasively sectarian” organization. Even during the reign of high secularism, this ruling was inconsistently enforced; some organizations were denied funds for displaying religious symbols, while others received funds despite openly praying with clients. Two recent decisions, *Widmar v. Vincent* (1981) and *Rosenberger v. Rector* (1995), shifted legal interpretation in the direction of equal treatment for religious organizations in the competition for public funding, thus establishing the constitutional basis for the welfare reform bill of 1996.

Sider and Unruh see this shift as a reflection of not only a dissatisfaction with current welfare programs, but also “an increasingly widespread view that the nation’s acute social problems have moral and spiritual roots.” Denying religious charitable organizations equal access to government funding is itself a violation of the first amendment in that it establishes a morally and spiritually biased secular world view as the official belief system of the United States.

Objections to this understanding of charitable choice have been raised within the community of religious political activists. Melissa Rogers of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs has been vocal in maintaining the traditional Baptist line against church-state partnerships. At the practical level, Rogers points to the difficulties in distinguishing direct proselytizing from general social service. Many faith-based drug and alcohol rehabilitation programs claim success because of their integration of religious conversion and behavior modification—would such programs be required to alter their methods in order to receive government funding? Rogers sees government funding as being inextricably linked to government regulations that would compromise the religious identity of private charitable programs, thus expanding rather than contracting secular dominance of social

services. At the level of principle, government funding would mute religion’s prophetic witness as an outside critic of politics.

Ultimately judging charitable choice “the wrong way to do right,” Rogers would restrict church-state partnerships to the sharing of information and cooperation in the coordination of volunteer programs. Beyond this, government can assist religion best by raising tax incentives for charitable giving, while religion can serve the social good by spinning off affiliates that are not explicitly religious, such as Catholic Charities and Lutheran Services in America.

Rogers in effect argues for the maintenance of a status quo that defenders of charitable choice see as inadequate for dealing with the failure of secular welfare policy since the 1960s. No sooner did Lyndon Johnson launch his war on poverty than conservative critics revived the old 19th-century fears of public relief fostering a permanent class of paupers. In the language of a still newer social science, welfare was seen to foster a “culture of poverty” that trapped the poor in a “cycle of dependency.” Conservative Christians were especially sensitive to government’s seeming blindness to the moral and behavioral roots of poverty in favor of structural economic factors—particularly when programs such as Aid to Families with Dependent Children seemed to reward women having illegitimate children with higher welfare payments. The Christian Right that helped usher Ronald Reagan to power seemed to reject welfare altogether in favor of a classical 19th-century ideal of laissez-faire economics and moral self-reliance.

Historians and sociologists have noted how evangelicals as a group have been moving away from the shrill conservatism of the Reagan era. Tolerant, suburban evangelicals have found in the “compassionate conservatism” of George W. Bush an appealing alternative to the older strident moralism of Jerry Falwell. Call for Renewal, a national coalition of religious organizations, embodies this shift to a more constructive response to the moral deficiencies of secular welfare. Formed in 1995, Call for Renewal has organized an annual “Christian Roundtable on Poverty and Welfare Reform.” In February of 1999, it hosted a “National

Summit on the Churches and Welfare Reform.” Representatives of nearly 500 faith-based organizations from more than 40 states and 29 denominations met in Washington, D.C., to share insights from the field and forge a common agenda for the future.

Despite the legal wedge provided by the welfare reform bill of 1996, there remains much skepticism, even hostility, to the very idea of faith-based organizations receiving government funding. Consequently, much of the energy expended at the seemingly endless round of roundtables has been directed toward making the case for FBOs’ distinct contribution to social welfare policy. In general, supporters of charitable choice point to the need to recover what Stanley Carlson-Theis, director of social policy studies at the Center for Public Justice, has called “the normative, personal, and holistic dimensions of faith-based help.”

More specifically, Jim Wallis, who initiated Call for Renewal, has identified three characteristics that set FBOs apart from their secular counterparts. First, at the level of message and motivation, faith communities provide a sense of meaning and purpose that transcends the market values that currently shape provider-client welfare relations. Grounded in theology rather than sentiment, religious understandings of compassion, community and solidarity have a special power to instill personal responsibility and commitment to social action.

Second, in an age of secularism, religious organizations are uniquely positioned to cultivate the countercultural, prophetic voice essential to a healthy democracy. Faith communities have the moral authority to make justice a priority, and the “symbols and rituals of the faith community can become powerful educators and mobilizers for committed and even risky action.” Wallis cites the civil rights movement, which at the popular level grew out of organizing efforts within the black church, as the best example of the countercultural potential of faith-based social action.

Finally, Wallis notes that churches are the institutions closest to the constituencies served by welfare. Even secular welfare reformers have long acknowledged the dehumanizing effects of impersonal bureaucratic public

assistance. The best efforts at developing more sensitive social work techniques and recruiting staff from the communities being served have failed to overcome the general perception of government agencies as outsiders. This is particularly the case for African-Americans, who remain at the center of debates about welfare policy.

John J. DiIulio, one of the foremost academic proponents of charitable choice, notes how the role of the black church in community has been ignored by many of the leading advocates for the African-American community. DiIulio notes that even Andrew Billingsley, the dean of black family studies, devoted less than two pages of his 1968 rebuttal to the Moynihan Report, *Black Families in White*.

Billingsley himself has commented that he felt serious attention to religion would compromise the objectivity of his study in the eyes of the sociological profession, a bias that persists today among opponents of charitable choice. Yet church membership among African-Americans stands at 82 percent, as opposed to only 67 percent among white Americans. If welfare reformers can agree on the value of indigenous institutions, they must acknowledge the primacy of the churches.

The Front Porch Alliance (FPA) of the city of Indianapolis stands as one early success story that seems to bear out the claims that FBOs foster special ties that make a difference to poor communities. The FPA was founded in 1997 as part of Mayor Stephen Goldsmith's larger push to reform city finances through the privatization of social services. Goldsmith initially sought to offset the burdens of privatization by funding a full-time staff position to help private community organizations coor-

dinate their services. When it became apparent that neighborhoods could not provide all of the needed services on their own, Goldsmith formed the FPA to enhance public-private partnership and provide funding where needed. Explicitly directed toward value-shaping, though not necessarily religious, non-profit organizations, the FPA soon found itself working primarily with faith-based organizations.

Goldsmith sees the FPA as a "civic switchboard" that helps to connect various community groups with each other and wade through the government rules and regulations that accompany any public funding. FPA helped Pastor Jay Height of the Shepherd Community Ministries, a center serving poor families on Indianapolis' east side, transform a crack alley into a park. The effort required the navigation of some 50 separate city contracts involving building codes, landscaping and utilities. The park design and construction were completed by a private nonprofit group and two nearby businesses agreed to serve as the park's nominal owners.

Isaac Randolph, director of the FPA, sees it as an example of a new social service paradigm that transcends the old dichotomies of liberal and conservative. He acknowledges that government has a core responsibility for social welfare, but sees a greater role for local private organizations to replace the

bloated federal programs that have failed to address the needs of America's cities.

Opinion remains divided, but real change is taking place. Shortly after his inauguration, George W. Bush made good on his campaign pledges and appointed John DiIulio to head the first federal office for promoting the integration of religious organizations into federally funded social services. Bush also appointed Stephen Goldsmith as head of a national advisory board to complement the work of the new federal office. Rarely have social scientists had the opportunity to move from theory to practice so quickly. The record of welfare reform in the 20th century should, however, give those in

power some pause for concern. Reformers who secure positions of power under the banner of concrete effectiveness soon find themselves appealing to abstract principles of justice. Charitable choice may have its most lasting impact on the interpretation of the disestablishment clause of the constitution, not on the intractable problems of welfare reform.

— Christopher Shannon

Historians and sociologists have noted how evangelicals as a group have been moving away from the shrill conservatism of the Reagan era.

ANNOUNCEMENTS



• The **Aquinas Center of Theology** at Emory University is accepting applications for its Dominican Scholar Position for the years 2002-2003, 2003-2004, 2004-2005. Ecumenical in nature,

the center provides a Catholic presence at Emory and for the region. The Dominican Scholar will teach one graduate course, most likely in the Candler School of Theology, and be involved in

community outreach through seminars and lectures. For more information, contact: Dr. Victor A. Kramer; Aquinas Center of Theology; 1703 Clifton Road; Suite F-5; Atlanta, GA 30322.

Phone: (404) 727-8861. E-mail: aquinasc@emory.edu.

• The **John Nicholas Brown Center for the Study of American Civilization** is accepting applications for its Research Fellowship Program. The center supports scholarship (research and writing) in American topics. Preference is given to scholars working with Rhode Island materials or requiring access to New England resources. Fellowships are open to advanced graduate students, junior or senior faculty, independent scholars and humanities professionals. The center provides office space in the historic Nightingale-Brown House, access to Brown University resources and a stipend of up to \$2,000 for a term of residence between one and six months. Fellowships are awarded for two cycles each year: January through June and July through December. Housing may be available for visiting scholars. Application deadlines are: **November 1** for residence between January and June; **April 15** for residence between July and December. To request an application, contact: Joyce M. Botelho, Director; The John Nicholas Brown Center; Box 1880; Providence, RI 02912. Phone: (401) 272-0357. Fax: (401) 272-1930. E-mail: Joyce_Botelho@brown.edu

• **Project OPUS**, a collaborative research program sponsored by the Dominican Leadership Conference, announces the publication of *Dominicans at Home in a New Nation, 1786-1865*, the first volume of a series entitled "The Order of Preachers in the United States: A Family History." Published by Editions du Signe of Strasbourg, the volumes in the series draw on primary source documents of the friars, sisters, cloistered nuns and laity of the American Dominican family. For more information, write: Editions du Signe; 1 rue Alfred Kastler; BP 94 Eckbolsheim; 67038 Strasbourg Cedex 2; France.

• The Australian Catholic University has established the **Project for Research in Women's History, Theology and Spirituality** (WHTS) as a first step toward a Centre for Women's History. Those wishing to subscribe to a biannual newsletter should send a check for \$10.00, payable to

WHTS Research Project, to: Dr. Sophie McGrath, RSM; Australian Catholic University; Mount St. Mary's Campus; 179 Albert Road; Strathfield, NSW 2135; Australia.

Archives

• The **Glenmary Research Center** announces the opening to scholars of the Natchez Project, a collection of materials on the first African-American Catholic parish in Mississippi. The collection contains taped interviews and transcriptions of 40 attendees of the parish school in the 1950s and 1960s as well as a variety of documents relating to the pre-1950 period, such as a map of the Mississippi counties of 1890, the Richard M. Tristano manuscript of the relationship between southerners and the Catholic Church through the 1890s, and a 1924 souvenir program from the parish school for African-American Catholics. A finding aid for the materials will be available in spring 2001. For research related issues, contact: Dr. Kenneth Sanchagrin; Director, Glenmary Research Center. E-mail: ksanchagrin@glenmary.org. For general information about the center or the materials, contact: Jim Johnson; Administrator; 1312 Fifth Avenue North; Nashville, TN 37208. Phone: (615) 256-1905. E-mail: grc@glenmary.org.

• The Leadership Team of the **Sisters of Saint Francis**, Rochester, Minnesota, continues to seek an ABD doctoral student to write the history of the College of Saint Teresa, Winona, Minnesota. The proposed history would document all aspects of the institution from its origins in the Winona Seminary for Young Ladies, which opened in 1894, to the closing of the college in 1989; special attention would be given to the role of the Franciscan Sisters throughout this period. Rochester Franciscans believe that this history would be an appropriate study to be pursued as a dissertation. Archivists will provide access and assistance to the researcher examining archival materials stored at Assisi Heights in Rochester. A small stipend covering room, board, and limited travel will be available to the qualified doctoral candidate chosen for this project. Research should begin as early as can be arranged; it is expected

that the writing would be completed within two years of the starting date. For more information, contact: Sister M. Lonan Reilly, Archivist; Assisi Heights; 1001 14th St. NW; Rochester MN 55901; (507) 282-7441 x222.

Conferences

• The 82nd annual meeting of the **American Catholic Historical Association** will convene in San Francisco, January 4-6, 2002. For further information, contact Professor Patrick Carey of Marquette University at careyp@vms.edu. The spring 2002 meeting will be held at the University of Portland, in Portland, Oregon, March 15-16. Those wishing to present papers should send a proposal and a brief cv to: Rev. James Connelly, C.S.C.; Department of History and Political Science; University of Portland; 5000 N. Willamette Blvd.; Portland, OR 97203. E-mail: connelly@up.edu. Fax: (503) 943-7803. Deadline for submission is **October 1, 2001**.

• The 12th **Berkshire Conference of Women's History** will convene June 6-9, 2002, in Storrs, Connecticut. For further information, see w.w.w.berksconference.org.

• The **College Theology Society** will hold its annual meeting at the University of Portland, May 31-June 3. The general theme is "Theology and Sacred Scripture." Plenary sessions will feature Francis Clooney, S.J., and Fernando Segovia. For more information, contact: William P. Loewe; Department of Religion & Religious Education; Catholic University of America; Washington, D.C. 20064.

• The fifth triennial conference on the **History of Women Religious** will convene June 17-20, 2001, at Marquette University in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Scholars from North America, Western Europe and Australia will present work on a range of topics relating to lives and work of women religious, including Anglican, Roman Catholic and Buddhist nuns and sisters, over the last three centuries. For more information, contact the Conference on History of Women Religious; 1884 Randolph Ave.; St. Paul, MN 55105.

Recent Research

• **Mary Helen Beirne, S.S.J.**, has assumed general editorship of a history of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Philadelphia, focusing on the years 1944 to 1999. She may be contacted at mbeirne@archbalt.org.

• **Katherine Dawson** is writing a dissertation on the coal mining community in Gallup, New Mexico, 1900-1950. She would like information on literature and primary sources relating to the Sisters of St. Francis in Gallup, and any other religious congregations active in the area at the time. She may be reached at: P.O. Box 194; Guilford, NY 13798.

• **Rosemary Halter**, a graduate student at the University of Dayton, is researching the life of Mother Theodore Guerin, pioneer leader of the Sisters of Providence at St. Mary-of-the-Woods in Terre Haute, Indiana. She may be contacted at rosmarinus@urcengineering.com.

• **Carmen M. Mangion** of the University of London, Birkbeck College, is working on a project examining women's religious congregations and orders in Victorian Britain. She may be contacted at manwag@freeuk.com.

Personals

• **Thomas Bergler** successfully defended his dissertation, "Winning America: Christian Youth Groups and the Middle-Class Culture of Crisis, 1930-1965," for the history department of the University of Notre Dame. He is now assistant professor of educational ministries and associate director of the Link Institute for Faithful and Effective Youth Ministry at Huntington College in Huntington, Indiana.

• **Timothy Matovina**, associate professor of theology at the University of Notre Dame, was appointed to a research team investigating media coverage of the impact of religion on urban affairs and social services. Professor Matovina will report on Latino religious

groups and their approach to urban ministry and religious presence in American cities. The research project is funded by the Pew Program on Religion and the News Media and administered through the Leonard E. Greenberg Center for the Study of Religion in Public Life at Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut.

• **Earl Richard** delivered the 2000 Yamauchi Lecture at Loyola University, New Orleans, on the subject "Jesus, Mark, and the Modern Reader."

• **John A. Scanlan**, professor of law at Indiana University School of Law (Bloomington), is a scholar in residence at the Cushwa Center for the spring 2001 semester. Professor Scanlan is currently researching a project titled, "The Origins of Immigration Restriction: The Irish, the Chinese, and the American Exclusionary Tradition."

PUBLICATIONS



The Return of the Protestant Ethic

In his sweeping and powerfully argued history, *The Cousins' Wars: Religion, Politics, & the Triumph of Anglo-America*, Kevin Phillips traces the roots of modernity to the persistence of an ideological divide rooted in the wars of religion in 17th-century England. Breathing new life into Max Weber's thesis on the Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism, Phillips argues that the three "cousins' wars"—the English Civil War, the American Revolution and the American Civil War—are best understood as episodes in a long civil war between high church Anglo-Catholics and low church puritan-evangelicals

in the larger political family of Anglo-America. According to Phillips, the persistent winners in these wars have been those who sided with "political liberties, commercial progress, technological inventiveness . . . and territorial expansion." At times bordering on cultural and ideological determinism, Phillips ultimately succeeds in rendering a subtle, multicausal analysis that nonetheless holds a central place for religious ideas in the shaping of the modern world.

Taking exception to American exceptionalism, Phillips traces the roots of America's self-understanding as a redeemer nation to Tudor England. A century before John Winthrop

proclaimed his small Puritan community a "city on a hill," the Anglican church, in service to the nation building of Henry VIII, cultivated the rhetoric of the English as a chosen people modeled on the biblical Israelites. Phillips stresses, however, that despite this rather extravagant self-appraisal, England remained at best a second-class European power throughout the reigns of the Stuart kings James I and Charles I. The key to English power in Europe lay in the development of its New World holdings. More commercially attuned than their counterparts in Spain, the Stuart kings nonetheless saw the colonies as primarily a resource for royal aggrandizement in their efforts to keep

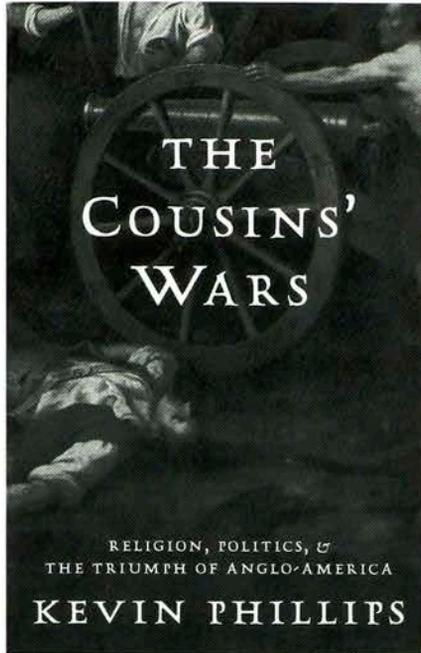
pace with the court life of the continent, particularly that of France.

The dynamic force in 17th-century Anglo-American history would come from the Old World contemporaries of Winthrop's New England Puritans. These English Puritans fit the now familiar Weberian profile: highly literate, deeply engaged with civic life and commercially ambitious. Still, the English Civil War was not a simple battle between the capitalist Puritan towns and the feudal Royalist countryside. Charles I earned the support of those of the "middling sort" who had benefited from his patronage through the granting of patents, monopolies and other commercial economic privileges.

Careful to distinguish between economics as material interest and ideology, Phillips argues that ideas were the most significant bond uniting the victorious Puritans under Cromwell. Viewing the English Civil War as a tapestry, Phillips argues that while the "embroidery was economic and constitutional...the fabric was religious: Would England become Popish or Puritan—or remain Anglican?" Fears of creeping papism were fed by the influx of thousands of Calvinist refugees—mostly tradesmen—who fled the continental Catholic Counter Reformation and settled in East Anglia, the geographical stronghold of English Puritans. Protestant refugees eventually spread across England's seaport cities, creating a kind of international freemasonry of Protestant sea-farers, not the least among them the Puritan refugees who fled East Anglia for New England. Cromwell's political victory proved short-lived in England, but Puritanism's antifeudal cultural and religious ethos blossomed in the new world.

Phillips ties these cultural continuities to demographic data. Reflecting his

earlier work in voting studies, he provides elaborate political geographies for the complex battle lines of each of the major cousins' wars. He grounds the Atlantic crossing of the Protestant ethic



in precise demographic data charting migration patterns from English villages to colonial settlements. The descendants of East Anglia Puritans continued to celebrate the memory of Cromwell long after the Restoration and the Glorious Revolution; geographic regions dominated by these descendants proved to be the strongest supporters of the American revolution; four score and seven years later, these regions, along with their

Midwestern offshoots, provided the strongest support for the North in the U.S. Civil War.

Phillips' close attention to geographical and ideological specificity tempers his overarching meta-narrative of Puritan progress. At one point Phillips provocatively compares the ethno-religious map of 19th-century America to that of the modern-day Balkans. He traces similar divisions within England itself, and reads them as a reflection of the continuing legacy of the ideological divisions of the English Civil War.

Scholars of the contemporary world are just beginning to come to grips with the decline of the nation state as the primary unit of political and economic power. Phillips' emphasis on cultural divisions and coalitions across national lines offers a provocative line of analysis for those interested in exploring the historical roots of our present day world order.

Military battle lines often obscure the fragility of political coalitions deeply divided at the level of ideology. Phillips emphasizes that the American revolution drew support from diverse constituencies, including the descendants of Puritans, Enlightenment rationalists and

those relatively nonideological land-hungry colonists, especially in the South, who wished to exploit the trans-Appalachian frontier beyond the limits set by English colonial authorities. The latter group would prove significant in the third cousins' war, as the Confederacy claimed for itself many of the English aristocratic traits that the descendants of Puritans attacked in their arguments justifying the revolution.

United States ties to England extended beyond these cultural identifications. Southern cotton fed English textile mills as well as those of the North, while England continued to export its excess labor force in significant numbers to America through the first half of the 19th century. Due to various ties of family, politics and religion, the U.S. Civil War proved to be a major factor in the domestic politics of the United Kingdom. If certain British industrialists favored the Confederacy, the working class relatives of immigrants to the industrial cities in the North and Midwest tended to join the Republican Party and favor the Union—due in no small part to the dominance of Irish Catholic immigrants in the pro-slavery Democratic Party.

Divisions prove just as significant as connections in Phillips' trans-Atlantic history of Anglo-America. The loss of the American colonies actually strengthened the British Empire. In the short term, it forced administrative and financial reforms that proved essential for England's ability to achieve victory in the Napoleonic Wars; in the long term, it shifted England's geographical orientation eastward to India, trading a thorn in the side for the jewel in the crown. British involvement in the U.S. Civil War reflected continuing ambitions in the Western Hemisphere. A Confederate victory would have enabled the British to pursue these designs to the point of a debilitating imperial overreach; more significantly, by alienating the industrial North, it would have undermined the Anglo-American alliance that proved decisive in the two world wars of the 20th century.

True to his title, Phillips sees the rise of Anglo-America as inextricably bound to violence. Phillips' emphasis on war provides a much-needed corrective to most general treatments of the development of democratic ideology, but his enthusiasm for military history at times

interferes with what is, at heart, a political story. Understandably wishing to give war its due as something more than a place marker in the development of ideology, Phillips indulges in distracting details of particular battles and much “what if” speculations on alternative outcomes. These sections may have much to do with the wider audience the book is intended to reach—war is the most popular genre of history. Still, the book is overlong at 600-plus pages. The military history does not substantially enhance the development of his general argument.

The dark side of the triumph of Anglo-America appears not in the chronicles of war, but in the stories of those Phillips calls the losers of the cousins’ wars: the Irish, African-Americans and Native Americans. Phillips writes with special sympathy for the Irish, acknowledging the writing of the book as “a fascinating ‘Roots’ type of experience” that helped him to connect to his own Irish ancestors, going back eight generations to the time of a distant ancestor in Ireland who refused “to turn Protestant in order to keep some parcel of land.”

The enslavement of African-Americans and the near extermination of Native Americans have been well-chronicled by critics of American freedom, but the parallel experiences of the Irish have been largely ignored outside of a small group of post-colonial theorists in Irish studies. For U.S. historians, the Irish appear primarily as racist oppressors of minorities of color, eagerly adopting an ideology of “whiteness” almost from the point of setting foot on American soil. As a tale of conquest, however, the story of the triumph of

Anglo-America begins in Ireland. Ireland continued to serve as a laboratory for imperial domination throughout this period, from experiments in slavery during the 17th century to public education in the 19th.

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The story of the Irish in Ireland and America is especially significant for historians of religion. Of the three big losers of the cousins wars, the Irish lost primarily because of their religion. Phillips gives ample attention to the fate of Ulster Presbyterians, who certainly suffered their share of oppression as an ethnic and religious minority. Still, with appropriate caveats, Phillips insists that the group that came to be known as the “Scotch Irish” were part of the winning side from the War of Independence onward.

Irish Catholics, in both America and Ireland, generally supported the crown during the revolution, seeing less to fear in the Anglican church than in the spiritual descendants of Oliver Cromwell; furthermore, for all the mythology surrounding the “Fighting 69th,”

Irish Catholics were actually underrepresented among those who served in the Civil War. The New York draft riots reflected not only Irish racism against blacks, but also resentment toward the Irish being used as cannon fodder in the war. Up until World War I, “Irish Catholic America remained overwhelmingly Democratic in an anti-Yankee, anti-Calvinist way,” with much of their patriotic focus still on support for Ireland and hostility to Britain.

The case of German Americans reinforces Phillips’ claims for the priority of religion to ethnicity. Phillips goes so far as to claim that the Germans were

the fourth big loser of the cousins’ wars. Again drawing on extensive electoral data, Phillips argues for a remarkably consistent religious divide within German-America: quite simply, from the mid-19th century through the early 20th, German Protestants generally voted Republican and German Catholics generally voted Democratic. The German and Irish abandonment of the Democratic Party in the 1920 election reflected resentment of their party’s military commitment to an Anglo-American alliance. Phillips somewhat less convincingly traces subsequent periods of defection, up to the election of Ronald Reagan, to similar resentment. Still, his study of German Americans not only brings much needed attention to the largest and most understudied ethnic group in America, but also attests to the power of religion in directing political affiliation.

For Phillips, the defeat of Germany in the two world wars of the 20th century signaled the emergence of low-church Anglo-American Protestantism as a global ideology. Even as the percentage of English-speaking people in the world has declined, English has emerged as the dominant language of international commerce, and for Phillips, ideology follows language. In this global context, the list of losers in the cousins’ wars could certainly be expanded to many groups in the non-Western world. Still, those groups would share a general cultural and religious ethos with the various ethnic manifestations of traditional Catholicism in the West.

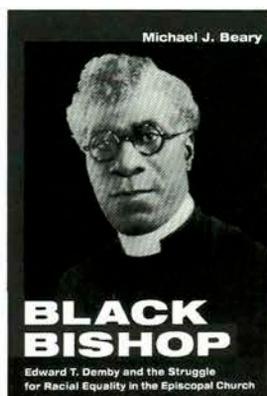
Phillips concludes his sweeping history with a call for a more concerted effort to memorialize the great battlefields of the cousins’ wars that had the effect of extirpating those Irish Catholic roots that in part inspired him to undertake his study. His triumphalism should give pause to those who remain on the losing side.

— Christopher Shannon

Catherine L. Albanese, ed., *American Spiritualities: A Reader* (Indiana University Press, 2001), traces the concept and presence of spirituality in the nation's past and explains the strong attraction to spiritual themes in the present, with attention to questions of definition, historical usage, and connection to religion. Twenty-seven selections pursue the difference and diversity among Americans in terms of their spiritual styles, understood as modes of experiential knowledge. The anthology includes selections by Daniel Berrigan, Virgilio Elizondo, Emma Goldman and Dhyani Ywahoo. Taken together, these essays make the argument that the spiritual is human-made, essentially religious and extremely diverse across time and place.

Randall Balmer, *Blessed Assurance: A History of Evangelicalism in America* (Beacon Press, 2000). A history of one of most influential religious traditions in the United States, from the Puritans to the Promise Keepers. Balmer locates the political origins of evangelicalism in the American revolution, recounts many long-forgotten religious movements and shows how the evangelical Christian movements of today were informed by history and the struggle for the American Christian soul.

Michael J. Beary, *Black Bishop: Edward T. Demby and the Struggle for Racial Equality in the Episcopal Church* (University of Illinois Press, 2001), examines the history of racial segregation in America through of the man who served as Suffragan (assistant) Bishop for Colored



Work in Arkansas and the Province of the Southwest during the 1920s and 1930s. Beary narrates the shifting alliances within the Episcopal Church and shows how race was but one aspect of a more elemental struggle for power. He demonstrates how Demby's steadiness of purpose and nonconfrontational manner gathered allies on both sides of the color

line and how, ultimately, his judgment and the weight of his experience carried the church past its segregationist experiment.

Arthur W. Biddle, ed., *When Prophecy Still Had a Voice: The Letters of Thomas Merton and Robert Lax* (University Press of Kentucky, 2000). Classmates at Columbia University in the 1930s, Merton and the *New Yorker* poet Robert Lax sustained a lively correspondence from their graduation to Merton's death in 1968. The letters collected in this volume show Merton as an irreverent critic of presidents and popes, yet also address more serious issues, such as the war in Vietnam and the dangers of nuclear holocaust. Merton and Lax's correspondence is filled with reminiscences of friends and faculty from their years at Columbia, including Mark van Doren, Lionel Trilling, Ad Reinhardt, Edward Rice and Jacques Barzun.

Anne Lee Bressler, *The Universalist Movement in America, 1770-1880* (Oxford University Press, 2001). The first cultural history of Universalism in America, this book argues that Universalism began as a radical, community-oriented faith and only later became a "comfortably established" progressive and individualistic one. Bressler distinguishes Universalist values from more liberal Unitarian values, and shows how Universalists adopted and later abandoned Calvinist beliefs.

Robert E. Burns, *Being Catholic, Being American, Volume 2: The Notre Dame Story, 1934-1952* (University of Notre Dame Press, 2001), continues the work of Burns' first volume by tracing the major events under three important university presidencies in the middle decades of the 20th

century. This volume focuses first on the successful period of academic improvement and facility expansion during the presidency of Father John F. O'Hara; then on the intrusion of pre-WWII partisanship during the time of O'Hara's successor, Father J. Hugh O'Donnell; and finally on the academic freedom crisis and the leadership of O'Donnell's successor, Father John J.

Cavanaugh. Burns also recounts inside stories on Notre Dame football under Layden and Leahy and celebrates the people who contributed to securing Notre Dame's place as a major national university in the 20th century.

Catherine Clément and Julia Kristeva, *The Feminine and the Sacred* (Columbia University Press, 2001). Translated by Jane Marie Todd. A collection of letters exchanged between the anthropologist Clément and the psychoanalyst Kristeva addressing the question: Is there anything sacred that can at the same time be considered strictly feminine? Although their dialogue is not necessarily about theology, the two writers consider the role of women and femininity in the religions of the world, from Christianity and Judaism to Confucianism and African animism. The letters address, among other topics, women's experience of belief, the relationship between faith and sexuality, and the special intensity women feel through the body and the senses.

James G. Dwyer, *Religious Schools v. Children's Rights* (Cornell University Press, 2001). Despair over the reported inadequacies of public education has lead many people to consider religious schools as an alternative. James G. Dwyer argues, however, that religious schooling is almost completely unregulated and that common pedagogical practices in fundamentalist Christian and Catholic schools may be damaging to children. Against the claim that the state must remain neutral on religious matters, Dwyer argues that states are obligated to ensure that religious schools do not engage in harmful practices and that they provide their students with the training necessary for pursuit of a broad range of careers and for full citizenship in a pluralistic, democratic society.

Eric A. Eliason, ed., *Mormons and Mormonism: An Introduction to an American World Religion* (University of Illinois Press, 2001), gathers key essays by leading scholars on the history, foundational ideas and practices, and worldwide expansion of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Contributors consider the history of persecution of the Mormons, the church's

relationship with the state of Utah, and its connection to or disjunction from other divisions of Christianity. Other essays explore ethnicity as a way of thinking about the Mormon experience and culture clashes in the church's missionary efforts.

Paul Freston, *Evangelicals and Politics in Asia, Africa and Latin America* (Cambridge University Press, 2001), presents a comparative study of the political aspects of the new mass evangelical Protestantism of sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and parts of Asia. Freston examines 27 countries from the three major continents of the Third World. The conclusion looks at the implications of evangelical politics for democracy, nationalism and globalization.

John de Gruchy, *Christianity, Art and Transformation: Theological Aesthetics in the Struggle for Justice* (Cambridge University Press, 2001), offers a historical, theological and practical exploration of the place of art in Christianity. Beginning with the life of the early church, de Gruchy traces the role of sacred art through the classic period of European Christianity to recent developments in non-Western Christianity, particularly those in southern Africa. De Gruchy explores a variety of themes, including the nature of beauty, good taste, the power of sacred images, aesthetics and ethics, and the role of art in society and the church today.

Daphne Hampson, *Christian Contradictions: The Structures of Lutheran and Catholic Thought* (Cambridge University Press, 2001), examines Roman Catholic/Lutheran ecumenism in light of the divergent conceptions of self and God that inform each tradition. Hampson traces the history of the ecumenical dialogue culminating in the 1999 "Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification," and looks to the thought of Kierkegaard as providing a model for holding together the strengths which historically have been exemplified by the two traditions.

Jean Hardisty, *Mobilizing Resentment: Conservative Resurgence from the John Birch Society to the Promise Keepers* (Beacon Press, 2000). Foreword by Wilma Mankiller. This book details the formation of right-wing movements in opposition to the struggle for the expansion of rights for women, people of color, and lesbians and gays. Hardisty draws on her own experiences spanning three decades as both an activist and observer. Deeply critical of these developments in American conservatism, she nonetheless seeks to understand the appeal that draws tens of thousands of people to charismatic events such as stadium rallies held by the Promise Keepers.

David Hein, *Noble Powell and the Episcopal Establishment in the Twentieth Century* (University of Illinois Press, 2001), tells the story of the Episcopal priest and then bishop who epitomized the cultural and ecclesiastical epoch before the tumultuous '60s. Hein traces Powell's life from his southern Baptist childhood to his confirmation in the Episcopal Church, his eventual rise to the position of dean of the National Cathedral and his appointment as bishop of the Diocese of Maryland. He shows how Powell's outlook as bishop dovetailed with the prevailing temper of his time and also discusses how Powell's leadership style, marked by patience and an aristocratic civility, diminished in effectiveness amid the upheavals of the 1960s.

C. L. Higham, *Noble, Wretched, and Redeemable: Protestant Missionaries to the Indians in Canada and the United States, 1820-1900* (University of New Mexico Press, 2001), draws on dozens of memoirs, letters, journals, diaries, reports, newspapers, newsletters, and other primary sources to piece together a comparative history of the missionary story in Canada and the United States. Canadian and American political systems, religious institutions and frontiers developed along divergent paths, but Anglo racial attitudes transcended international boundaries and compelled Canadian and American missionaries to depict Indians in similar ways for literate white Christians in the East. Indian

stereotypes evolved from the "noble savage" to the "wretched savage" to the "redeemable savage." Responding to financial and political pressures from missionary societies, governments, and secular scholarly institutions, field missionaries became government advisors and secular authorities on Indian affairs and portrayed Indians to fulfill Eastern expectations.

Phyllis Whitman Hunter, *Purchasing Identity in the Atlantic World: Massachusetts Merchants, 1670-1780* (Cornell University Press, 2001). Despite suspicion of luxuries as a corrupting force that would foster the creation of a new aristocracy, early Americans avidly pursued consumption to shape their world and proclaim their success. Using case studies of influential merchant families, Hunter shows how the commercial gentry of 18th-century New England harbor towns led their communities into full participation in a flourishing Anglo-American consumer culture. In this process, Boston and Salem developed from Puritan towns dominated by families of English origin to Georgian provincial cities open to a diversity of religious affiliations and European ethnicities.

Robert L. Kapitzke, *Religion, Power, and Politics in Colonial St. Augustine* (University Press of Florida, 2001). This book explores the religious world of colonial St. Augustine, Florida, focusing on the daily rituals that defined Catholic life, as well as on the conflicts between religious and political leaders that defined and shaped the city's social milieu. Working with primary documents from both sides of the Atlantic, Kapitzke describes the turbulent interactions between representatives of the church and the crown. He examines inquisition cases, ecclesiastical asylum disputes, and jurisdictional battles between parish priests and their Franciscan counterparts that regularly threatened the ordered world of the colony. At the same time, Kapitzke argues that the colonists' deeply rooted religious faith brought stability to their community, which faced constant threats of destruction throughout its colonial history.

Desmond King, *Making Americans: Immigration, Race, and the Origins of the Diverse Democracy* (Harvard University Press, 2000). This book examines the role played by the dramatic restrictions placed on immigration to the United States during the 1920s in the construction of an "American" identity. The debate over desirable versus undesirable immigrants in the early decades of the 20th century cemented judgments about specific European groups and reinforced prevailing biases against groups already present in the United States, particularly African Americans. King shows how eugenic arguments were used to establish barriers and to favor an Anglo-Saxon conception of American identity, rejecting claims of other traditions.

Janice Knight, *Orthodoxies in Massachusetts: Rereading American Puritanism* (Harvard University Press, 2001). Re-examining religious culture in 17th-century New England, Knight discovers a contest of rival factions within the Puritan orthodoxy. She argues that two distinctive strains of Puritan piety, rationalism and mysticism, emerged in England prior to the migration to America. These two orientations ultimately led to the development of two main rival theologies, one based on God's command and the other on God's love.

Alan Lupo, *The Messiah Comes Tomorrow: Tales from the American Shtetl* (University of Massachusetts Press, 2000). Lupo, veteran journalist for the Boston Globe, recounts the stories of working-class Jews, both those he grew up with in Boston and those he interviewed elsewhere over four decades. In an effort to counter the common perception of American Jews as whining, mother-resenting middle-class professionals, Lupo reads the American Jewish experience through the lens of working stiffs, small-time business owners, amateur scholars, bookies and street fighters. Tracing the path from insularity to assimilation, Lupo offers a portrait of, and a tribute to, a culture gradually disappearing from the American scene.

John A. Macaulay, *Unitarianism in the Antebellum South: The Other Invisible Institution* (University of Alabama Press, 2001), challenges the prevailing belief that religion in the South developed

solely through "revivalistic emotion" and not by religious rationalism. Macaulay draws on evidence from benevolent societies, lay meetings, and other associations to show how southern Unitarians interacted with other Southerners on a daily basis; he further argues that orthodox and Unitarian theologies coexisted and intertwined to a much greater degree than has been previously recognized.

Vincent J. McNally, *The Lord's Distant Vineyard: A History of the Oblates and the Catholic Community in British Columbia* (University of Alberta Press, 2000). The Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate, along with other clergy, ventured into the far West to convert the native peoples and minister to European settlers in the mid-1800s. Rev. Dr. McNally critically examines the Oblate evangelization of the natives through residential schools, and the development of a Catholic community for Euro-Canadian settlers in British Columbia.

Timothy Matovina and Gerald E. Poyo, eds.,

¡Presente!: U. S. Latino Catholics from Colonial Origins to the Present

(Orbis Books, 2000). A volume in the American Catholic Identities series, under the general editorship of Christopher J. Kauffman. This book offers a collection of significant original documents in the history of Latino/Hispanic Catholicism from 1534 to the present. The editors have arranged these documents under six broad themes and periods, including the colonial period, enduring faith communities, the immigrant experience, the struggle for social justice and contemporary theology. The documents address a broad range of issues, including missionary work, popular religious celebrations, ethnic and national diversity within Latino Catholicism, and the place of the Spanish language in the American church,

Jeffrey F. Meyer, *Myths in Stone: Religious Dimensions of Washington, D.C.* (University of California Press, 2001), explores the symbolic significance of the architecture of Washington, D.C. Meyer argues that mythic and religious

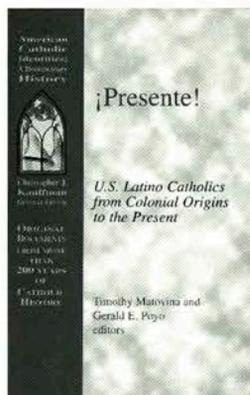
themes pervade the capital—in its original planning, in its monumental architecture, and in the ritualized events that have taken place over the 200 years the city has been the repository for the symbolism of the nation. Treating Washington, D.C., as a complex religious center, Meyer finds that the city functions as a unifying symbol in American consciousness.

David Morgan and Sally M. Promey, eds., *The Visual Culture of American Religions* (University of California Press, 2001). Despite recent clashes between contemporary artists and conservative American evangelicals, artistic images have historically played a profound role in American religious life. This collection of essays challenges the apparent tension between religion and the arts by illustrating and investigating their long-standing and intriguing relationship from the early 19th century to the present day. The essays explore such varied topics as Sioux Sun Dance artifacts and paintings, American Jewish

New Year postcards, the New Mexican santos tradition, roadside shrines, images of journey in African American pictorial traditions, the public display of religion, and the religious use of 19th-century technologies of mass reproduction.

Jim Norris, *After "The Year Eighty": The Demise of Franciscan Power in Spanish New Mexico* (University of New Mexico Press, 2001) The first detailed account of how

the Franciscans re-entered daily life in 18th century New Mexico. Franciscan efforts to suppress native religious practices they deemed idolatrous figured prominently in bringing on the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. Norris tells the less well-known story of how, following don Diego de Vargas's recolonization of New Mexico in the 1690s, the Franciscans returned to New Mexico and to missionary activity among the Indians. He argues that reforms instituted by the Spanish Crown, particularly changes in priorities in the administration of the Americas, shifted the emphasis away from missionary activity and toward political and military actions designed to hold onto this far frontier of the Empire.



Elizabeth H. Pleck, *Celebrating the Family: Ethnicity, Consumer Culture, and Family Rituals* (Harvard University Press, 2000), examines family traditions over two centuries and finds a complicated process that belies popular nostalgia for the imagined warm family gatherings of yesteryear. Pleck argues that by the early 19th century, carnivalesque celebrations outside the home were becoming sentimental occasions that used consumer culture and displays of status and wealth to celebrate the idea of home and family. She concludes that the 1960s saw the full emergence of a post-sentimental approach to holiday celebration, which takes place outside as often as inside the home, and recognizes changes in the family and women's roles, as well as the growth of ethnic group consciousness.

Amanda Porterfield, *The Transformation of American Religion: The Story of a Late-Twentieth-Century Awakening* (Oxford University Press, 2001), shows how once-Protestant America became home to an unprecedented religious diversity—from a resurgent Catholic Church and a rapidly growing Islam to different forms of Buddhism and other non-Christian religions. Porterfield argues that Protestantism itself, with its emphasis on the individual's relationship with God, the tension between spiritual life and religious institutions, and a generally egalitarian conception of spiritual life, must be seen as the single most important factor in this transformation.

Martin Rhonheimer, *Natural Law and Practical Reason: A Thomist View of Moral Autonomy* (Fordham University Press, 2001). Translated by Gerald Malsbary. This book seeks to clarify the traditional neo-Thomistic view of natural law and challenge efforts by some recent Roman Catholic moral theologians to defend autonomy understood as one's capacity of determining good in a "creative" way. Rhonheimer develops an alternative view of moral autonomy that does justice to both the human person's cognitive autonomy in grasping and establishing the fundamental standards of the human good and the dependence of these standards on

preconditions that are not of a person's own making.

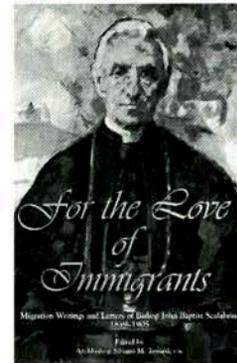
Larry Eugene Rivers and Canter Brown, Jr., *Laborers in the Vineyard of the Lord: The Beginnings of the AME Church in Florida* (University Press of Florida, 2001), examines the history of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church in Florida from the beginning of Reconstruction to the institution of Jim Crow segregation. One of the largest and most effective institutions in post-Civil War and late-19th-century Florida, the AME Church not only dedicated itself to saving lives for Christ, but also emerged as a force to be reckoned with in politics. Drawing on primary sources such as church newspapers and previously overlooked records, the authors also examine the inner dynamics of AME church life and explore the influence of charismatic personalities on its leadership.

Samuel C. Shepherd, Jr., *Avenues of Faith: Shaping the Urban Religious Culture of Richmond, Virginia, 1900-1929* (University of Alabama Press, 2001), documents how religion flourished in southern cities after the turn of the century and how a cadre of clergy and laity created a notably progressive religious culture in Richmond, the bastion of the Old South. Shepherd presents Richmond as a dynamic and growing industrial city invigorated by the social activism of its Protestants. By examining six mainline white denominations—Episcopalians, Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, Disciples of Christ and Lutherans—he emphasizes the extent to which the city fostered religious diversity, even as blind spots remained in regard to Catholics, African Americans, Mormons and Jews.

Elisa J. Sobo and Sandra Bell, eds., *Celibacy, Culture, and Society: The Anthropology of Sexual Abstinence* (University of Wisconsin Press, 2001). This book offers the first cross-cultural inquiry into the practice of celibacy around the world and through the ages, among groups as diverse as Kenyan villagers and U.S. prisoners, Mazatec Shamans and Buddhist nuns and monks,

Shaker church members and anorexic women. The contributors examine the many practices and institutions surrounding sexual abstinence and relate them to ideas about the body, gender, family, work, religion and health. They show that although celibacy is certainly sometimes a punishment or a deliberate ritual abstinence, it also serves many other social and material functions and in some cases contributes to kin-group survival and well-being.

Silvano M. Tomasi, C.S., ed., *For the Love of Immigrants: Migration Writings and Letters of Bishop John Baptist Scalabrini 1839-1905* (Center for Migration Studies, 2000). A collection of writings, translated for the first time into English, of the man called "the apostle to the immigrants." The selections reflect Bishop Scalabrini's concern to address the exploitation of newly arrived Italian immigrants as well as his insistence on the duty of the



pastor to preserve the faith of the migrants above all else. Embracing the physical and spiritual needs of the whole person, Scalabrini's social vision was expansive enough to embrace the systematic development of sociological reflection on migration and the pastoral action of the whole Church.

Pamela J. Walker, *Pulling the Devil's Kingdom Down: The Salvation Army in Victorian Britain* (University of California Press, 2001), traces the history of the Salvation Army from its roots as a neighborhood religion geared toward urban working-class geography and cultural life to its establishment as a central institution of 19th-century urban life. Walker shows how the Army forged a distinctive response to the dilemmas facing Victorian Christians by communicating their message through the techniques of popular leisure activities and institutions—their principle rivals for the attention of the masses.

Ronald W. Walker, David J. Whittaker, and James B. Allen, with a contribution by Armand Mauss, *Mormon History* (University of Illinois Press, 2001). A companion volume to the authors' massive bibliography *Studies in Mormon History, 1830-1997*, this descriptive history by a team of leading Mormon scholars examines how the writing of Mormon history has evolved since the establishment of the church. This book offers an interpretive survey of Mormon historical writings, from the partisan and often ephemeral history of the 19th century, through the shift in the first half of the 20th toward a more balanced and professional approach, to the "new Mormon history" that has emerged since World War II.

Michael Wood, *Conquistadors* (University of California Press, 2001), retraces the path of the greatest Spanish

adventurers from Amazonia to Lake Titicaca, and from the deserts of North Mexico to the heights of Machu Picchu. Wood reconstructs both sides of the conquest, drawing from sources such as Bernal Diaz's eyewitness account, Hernán Cortés's own letters and the Aztec texts recorded not long after the fall of Mexico. With the assistance of a wealth of photographic images, Wood attempts to connect the world of the 16th-century to the present-day customs, rituals, and oral traditions of the people he meets in reconstructing the journeys of the conquistadors. He grapples with the moral legacy of the European invasion and with the implications of an episode in history that swept away civilizations, religions and ways of life.

Robert Wuthnow, *Creative Spirituality: The Way of the Artist* (University of California Press, 2001), explores the link between the creative and the sacred and claims that artists have become the spiritual vanguard of our time. Wuthnow places in-depth interviews with painters, sculptors, writers, singers, dancers and actors in the context of a wider cultural ferment in which spirituality is coming increasingly to focus on the inherently ineffable character of the sacred—what artists refer to as divine mystery. He argues that contemporary spiritual artists, many of whom have been shaped by the growing ethnic, racial, and religious diversity of the United States, provide rich insights into the social and cultural problems of our time.

Recent journal articles of interest include:

Alberto Aguirre, Jr., and Manuel Barajas, "Intimate Social Contact, Cultural Proximity, and Prejudice Toward Mexican Origin Persons," *Latino Studies Journal* 11, no. 2 (Spring 2000): 67-87.

Victor Alvarez, "Preaching to *Generación X*," *Chicago Studies* 39, no. 3 (Fall/Winter 2000): 312-331.

Anthony A. Andreassi, "'The Cunning Leader of a Dangerous Clique?' The Burstell Affair and Archbishop Michael Augustine Corrigan," *The Catholic Historical Review* 86, no. 4 (October 2000): 620-639.

Robert J. Antonio, "After Postmodernism: Reactionary Tribalism," *American Journal of Sociology* 106, no. 1 (July 2000): 40-87.

Steve M. Avella, "Region and Religion in California," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 18, no. 3 (Summer 2000): 28-50.

Jon Bekken, "Negotiating Class and Ethnicity: The Polish Language Press in Chicago," *Polish American Studies* v. 57, no. 2 (Fall 2000): 5-30.

Michael Boover, "Still Sowing: The Long Journey of the Catholic Worker in Worcester County, Mass.," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 18, no. 3 (Summer 2000): 92-105.

Francis J. Bremer, "New or Old? Piety in Eighteenth-Century New England," *Reviews in American History* 28, no. 4 (December 2000): 499-505.

Sarah S. Brown, "Popular Opinion on Homosexuality: The Shared Moral Language of Opposing Views," *Sociological Inquiry* 70, no. 4 (Fall 2000): 446-461.

Richard Carwardine, "Methodists, Politics, and the Coming of the American Civil War," *Church History* 69, no. 3 (September 2000): 578-609.

David A.Y.O. Chang, "Spencer Tracy's Boyhood," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 84, no. 1 (Autumn 2000): 30-35.

James H. Cone, "Black Liberation Theology and Black Catholics: A Critical Conversation," *Theological Studies* 61, no. 4 (December 2000): 731-747.

Maryanne Confoy, "Women and the Meaning of Suffering," *Pacifica* 13, no. 3 (October 2000): 249-266.

M. Shawn Copeland, "Tradition and the Traditions of African American Catholicism," *Theological Studies* 61, no. 4 (December 2000): 632-655.

Grace Davie, "Prospects for Religion in the Modern World," *The Ecumenical Review* 52, no. 4 (October 2000): 455-464.

Cyprian Davis, O.S.B., "Black Catholic Theology: A Historical Perspective," *Theological Studies* 61, no. 4 (December 2000): 656-671.

Kenneth G. Davis, O.F.M., "Chiles in the Melting Pot," *Chicago Studies* 39, no. 3 (Fall/Winter 2000): 229-232.

Stephen J. Duffy, "Southern Baptist and Roman Catholic Soteriologies: A Comparative," *Pro Ecclesia* 9, no. 4 (Fall 2000): 434-459.

Avery Dulles, S.J., "The Catholicity of the Church and Globalization," *Seminarium* 40, no. 2 (April-June 2000): 259-268.

Mark Edwards, "Rethinking the Failure of Fundamentalist Political Antievolutionism After 1925," *Fides et Historia* 32, no. 2 (Summer/Fall 2000): 89-106.

Mary Ellison, "Circular and Cumulative: Race, Sex, Religion and Class in Urban America," *Urban History* 27, no. 2 (August 2000): 276-282.

Orlando O. Espín, "La experiencia religiosa en el contexto de la globalización," *Journal of Hispanic/Latino Theology* 7, no. 2 (November 1999): 13-29.

Orlando O. Espín, "Immigration, Territory, and Globalization: Theological Reflections," *Journal of Hispanic/Latino Theology* 7, no. 3 (February 2000): 46-58.

Catherine A. Faver, "To Run and Not Be Weary: Spirituality and Women's Activism," *Review of Religious Research* 42, no. 1 (September 2000): 61-78.

Sixto J. García, "Passionate Professionalism," *Journal of Hispanic/Latino Theology* 7, no. 2 (November 1999): 6-10.

Zipporah G. Glass, "The Language of *Mestizaje* in a Renewed Rhetoric of Black Theology," *Journal of Hispanic/Latino Theology* 7, no. 2 (November 1999): 32-41.

Philip Gleason, "Trouble in the Colonial Melting Pot," *Journal of Ethnic History* 20, no. 1 (Fall 2000): 3-17.

Fred Glennon, "Blessed Be the Ties That Bind? The Challenge of Charitable Choice to Moral Obligation," *Journal of Church and State* 42, no. 4 (Autumn 2000): 825-843.

Raúl Gómez, S.D.S., "Preaching the Ritual Masses Among Latinos," *Chicago Studies* 39, no. 3 (Fall/Winter 2000): 295-311.

Michael Gauvreau, "From Rechristianization to Contestation: Catholic Values and Quebec Society, 1931-1970," *Church History* 69, no. 4 (December 2000): 803-833.

Sarah Barringer Gordon, "Blasphemy and the Law of Religious Liberty in Nineteenth-Century America," *American Quarterly* 52, no. 4 (December 2000): 682-719.

Anna Greenberg, "The Church and the Revitalization of Politics and Community," *Political Science Quarterly* 115, no. 3 (Fall 2000): 377-394.

Richard Gribble, C.S.C., "Social Catholicism Engages the American State: The Contribution of Archbishop Edward J. Hanna," *Journal of Church and State* 42, no. 4 (Autumn 2000): 737-758.

R. Marie Griffith, "Apostles of Abstinence: Fasting and Masculinity during the Progressive Era," *American Quarterly* 52, no. 4 (December 2000): 599-638.

David G. Hackett, "The Prince Hall Masons and the African American Church: The Labors of Grand Master and Bishop James Walker Hood, 1831-1918," *Church History* 69, no. 4 (December 2000): 770-802.

Bruce W. Hall, "And the Last Shall Be First: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints in the Former East Germany," *Journal of Church and State* 42, no. 3 (Summer 2000): 485-506.

Mark David Hall, "Catherine Beecher: America's First Female Philosopher and Theologian," *Fides et Historia* 32, no. 1 (Winter/Spring 2000): 65-80.

Clarence E. Hardy III, "Imagine a World: Howard Thurman, Spiritual Perception, and American Calvinism," *The Journal of Religion* 81, no. 1 (January 2001): 78-97.

Rowena Hill, "Poured Out for You: Liturgy and Justice in the Life of Archbishop Romero," *Worship* 74, no. 5 (September 2000): 414-431.

Stephen R. Holmes, "The Justice of Hell and the Display of God's Glory in the Thought of Jonathan Edwards," *Pro Ecclesia* 9, no. 4 (Fall 2000): 389-403.

María Luisa Iglesias, S.C., "Participative Preaching: Laity as Co-Authors of the Homily," *Chicago Studies* 39, no. 3 (Fall/Winter 2000): 254-266.

Janet Liebman Jacobs, "Hidden Truths and Cultures of Secrecy: Reflections on Gender and Ethnicity in the Study of Religion," *Sociology of Religion* 61, no. 4 (Winter 2000): 433-442.

Maxwell E. Johnson, "The Role of *Worship* in the Contemporary Study of Christian Initiation: A Select Review of the Literature," *Worship* 75, no. 1 (January 2001): 20-34.

Peter Kafer, "Charles Brockden Brown and the Pleasures of 'Unsanctified Imagination,'" *William and Mary Quarterly* 58, no. 3 (July 2000): 543-568.

Susan Kellogg, "Depicting *Mestizaje*: Gendered Images of Ethnorace in Colonial Mexican Texts," *Journal of Women's History* 12, no. 3 (Fall 2000): 69-92.

Patricia O'Connell Killen, "The Geography of a Minority Religion: Roman Catholicism in the Pacific Northwest," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 18, no. 3 (Summer 2000): 51-71.

Peter Lake and Michael Questier, "Puritans, Papists, and the 'Public Sphere' in Early Modern England: The Edmund Campion Affair in Context," *The Journal of Modern History* 72, no. 3 (September 2000): 587-627.

Justus George Lawler, "Garry Wills: Deconstructing Deceit," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 18, no. 3 (Summer 2000): 106-122.

- Laurel Leff, "A Tragic 'Fight in the Family': *The New York Times*, Reform Judaism and the Holocaust," *American Jewish History* 88, no. 1 (March 2000): 3-52.
- Leslie L. Liedel, "Indominable Nuns and an Unruly Bishop: Property Rights and the Grey Nuns' Defense Against the Arbitrary Use of Diocesan Power in Nineteenth-Century Cleveland," *The Catholic Historical Review* 86, no. 3 (July 2000): 459-479.
- M.D. Litonjua, "Pentecostalism in Latin America: Scrutinizing a Sign of the Times," *Journal of Hispanic/Latino Theology* 7, no. 4 (May 2000): 26-48.
- Lawrence J. McAndrews, "Late and Never: Ronald Reagan and Tuition Tax Credits," *Journal of Church and State* 42, no. 3 (Summer 2000): 467-484.
- Michael McCarthy, "The Critical Appropriation of Tradition," *Soundings* 82, no. 3-4 (Fall/Winter 1999): 481-504.
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