



AMERICAN CATHOLIC STUDIES NEWSLETTER

CUSHWA CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF AMERICAN CATHOLICISM

Roman Sources for the History of American Catholicism, 19th-20th Century

Over the last decade, historians of American Catholicism have become increasingly aware that the Church in the United States cannot be properly understood without reference to its international character. One result of this trend is that scholars have become much more attentive to the relationship between the Roman Curia and the American Church.¹ Still, much beneficial work remains to be done by delving into Roman archives and into the biographies of the American priests who studied at the Collegio Urbano and the North American College in Rome.² These priests were well represented in the American Church, working in parishes, missions, colleges, and seminaries, and a

number of them went on to become bishops.³ Roman archives contain letters written between these priests and their alma maters, as well as their correspondence with Vatican officials on matters of local pastoral concern. These sources offer enticing opportunities for scholars of North American Catholicism who wish to consider more fully the church's transatlantic context.

Patrick Francis McSweeney (1838-1907) provides an example of an American priest who studied for ordination in a Roman seminary and regularly wrote to Rome regarding his ministry in the United States. An immigrant from Ireland and an alumnus of Propaganda Fide's Collegio Urbano in Rome, McSweeney served as the parish priest of St. Brigid's in the Archdiocese of New York. In 1884, he wrote a report for Michael Augustine

Corrigan, coadjutor of Archbishop John McCloskey, giving his personal assessment of Italian-American immigrants in the archdiocese.⁴ McSweeney wrote the report in Italian, correctly assuming that it would have to be transmitted to Rome and knowing that Corrigan was proficient in Italian. In fact, the coadjutor was also an alumnus of a Roman seminary, having been one of the first 12 students of the Pontifical North American College, which had been erected in Rome in 1859.

McSweeney described the composition of the Italian-American community and gave his evaluation of their practice of the faith. He complained about immigrants from southern Italy because they accepted the worst jobs, saved all their money in anticipation of a return to Italy, and rarely set foot in a church. McSweeney reported that in St. James' parish, for example, only 24 Italians out of 5,000 went to Mass on the Sunday before he wrote his report, and no more than 200 Italians had attended Easter celebrations in the parishes of New York. Italian immigrants were hardly renouncing their Catholic upbringing — on July 10 immigrants from Salerno organized a large procession for the Feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel — but, even on that occa-

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Seminar in American Religion

On September 12, the fall Seminar in American religion discussed Curtis J. Evans' *The Burden of Black Religion* (Oxford, 2008), which examines the shifting alliances between ideas about race and African-American religion from the antebellum period to the mid-20th century. Evans, an assistant professor of the history of christianity at the University of Chicago Divinity School, argues that the notion that blacks were "naturally" religious served at first as a sign of their humanity and as an indication of what they might contribute to American culture. As Americans began to embrace reason and science over religious piety, however, the idea of an innate black religiosity came to justify their inferiority in the minds of many whites. Only later did social scientists try to reverse the harmful effects of these racist ideas, proving that blacks could fully assimilate into white American culture. Milton Sernett, professor emeritus of African-American studies and history at Syracuse University, and Anthea Butler, associate professor of religion at the University of Pennsylvania, commented on the book.

Sernett's critique of Evans' work included praise for a "courageous, complex, and thought-provoking" analysis that contributes significantly to "American intellectual history." He noted that Evans' book shows the particularly heavy burden that rural churches, in their attempts to be "all-comprehending institutions," shouldered on behalf of their communities. While Sernett largely agreed with the analysis, he questioned whether Evans was writing a "descriptive" account for academics, or a "prescriptive" account for the black church. If his audience was the former, Sernett wondered how Evans' book might speak to churchgoers "whose notion of mission is not 'the burden' but 'the mission.'"

Butler also acclaimed Evans' work, particularly for successfully reclaiming

blacks' lost voices, even as it models "how to write African American religious history when we don't have the [archival] pieces in place." Her criticism of Evans arose from her view of the book as a story about the unspeakable "pain" whites inflicted on African Americans. She felt that Evans had not gone far enough, stating, "You can't tell me all this racist stuff and then not tell me where I need to go." Butler applauded Evans' descriptive analysis but suggested that he prescribe, or at least suggest, a future course, particularly for scholars of black religion. Butler's critique of Evans' analysis suggested, first, that if he had started with the Enlightenment "idea that if you're religious you need to be logical," he might have further nuanced his discussion of what black religious felt they had to prove to whites. Second, Evans could have attended more to theology, which "indicates how those who are religious choose to act out their beliefs," to show the underlying logic of the progression Evans so expertly traces. Butler ended by questioning whether Evans' chapter on *The Green Pastures* belonged in an intellectual history.

Evans began his response by noting that, as a graduate student, he became convinced that he should treat not just intellectuals' ideas about innate black religiosity, but "the broader question" of the "cultural image of African-American religion." Because African-American leaders themselves respond to images like those in *The Green Pastures*, Evans insisted that this chapter was "absolutely significant" for his project. Evans acknowledged that perhaps he could have included 18th-century Enlightenment arguments, but he noted that George Fredrickson, Winthrop Jordan, and others had already covered this ground. Evans addressed the question of his audience saying that he wrote for "newer scholars in the field." He concluded that he did "not know how," nor desire to "speak to the African-American church," largely because he was reacting to the prescriptive literature of the 1970s.

Sam Thomas opened the broader dis-

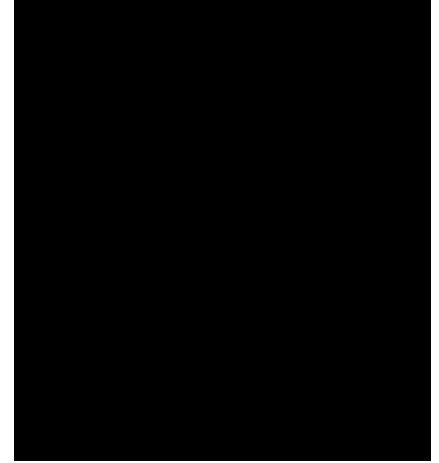


Photo and caption/*Green Pastures*

ussion with a question about the relationship between Henry Hugh Proctor, who argued for blacks' positive contribution to Christianity, and W.E.B. Du Bois, who took a more critical tone. Evans did not know if Du Bois "had a specific, identifiable influence" on Proctor, but said that Thomas' question pointed to a striking disjuncture "between public rhetoric and actual practice." He noted that, despite Proctor's pro-black rhetoric, his church was one of the first to "suppress the singing of spirituals and ecstatic forms of worship."

Mark Noll then asked to what extent "the notion of an innate black religiosity is the result of outsiders' perceptions of black music or black worship practices." Evans did not think music was the "central reason" why they argued for the "distinctiveness of African-American religion," but he agreed that it might have offered what Noll called "strong affective support" for "essentializing" black religion. The ensuing discussion concerned "performativity," Butler's term for white ideas of "blackness" based solely on their observations of black worship.

After a brief conversation about the salience of race in the *The Green Pastures*, John McGreevy asked why, in a book on black religion, Martin Luther King Jr., was not mentioned until page 275. He also asked why Evans disregarded the idea that

“black leaders like King brought a basis for solidarity and self-sacrifice rooted in a religious tradition and a prophetic realism that made possible a cultural revolution in America.” Evans answered that he wanted to eschew historians’ focus on King and the Civil Rights movement which “solidified the [mistaken] notion” that the black church stood unified against racism. In fact, he argued, prior to the 1950s, black religion was not seen as a tool for political engagement, nor was there a “collective African-American church” to be mobilized. After Evans responded to a question by W. Clark Gilpin (U. of Chicago) regarding the implications of his narrative “for current circumstances,” Butler argued that historians of black religion who seek to address these circumstances need to engage the civil rights that Evans explicitly de-emphasizes, lest they reduce the study of black religion to a “purely intellectual enterprise.”

The seminar concluded with questions by Sernett and Catherine Brekus (U. of Chicago). Sernett asked whether historians will still use the phrase “black religion” 30 years from now. Evans answered that historians should replace the language of the “black church” with an emphasis on “the diversity of African-American religious life” and how “agency” functions within that diversity. In response to a question about how to interpret survey data that suggest a categorical difference between white and black religion, Butler suggested that these data have been and still are used as “a convenient way to box [blacks] together.” Evans acknowledged that blacks draw from a shared history and thus share key aspects of religious life. He further pointed to diversity within that shared history that the notion of the “black church” does not capture. Brekus noted the “amount of disquiet” aroused by Evans’ book, even among seminar participants. She then asked the broader question of the historian’s craft itself: Should historians “contribute to politically emancipatory projects? Or do we do other things as well?” Her unanswered question fittingly concluded an intellectually engaging seminar.

Cushwa Center Lecture

On September 23, Michael E. Lee, assistant professor of theology at Fordham University, presented the fall 2009 Cushwa Center Lecture, “Ignació Ellacuría, Martyred Professor: A Catholic University Confronts El Salvador’s Reality.” Lee analyzed the martyr’s ecclesiology in dialogue with post-modern “Radical Orthodoxy” in his first book, *Bearing the Weight of Salvation: The Soteriology of Ignació Ellacuría, S.J.* His current research includes editing a translated volume of Ellacuría’s major theological essays, as well as an examination of the life and theology of Archbishop Oscar Romero from the perspective of U.S. Latino/a theology. Lee’s presentation served to “remember” Ignació Ellacuría, Ignació Martin-Baro, and Segundo Montes, three Jesuit professors at the University of Central America (UCA) who were assassinated by the El Salvadoran military during that nation’s brutal civil wars in the 1980s.

In his lecture Lee maintained that remembering the three martyrs allows people in the U.S., particularly those “committed to studying the effects of Catholics on U.S. history,” to ward off indifference to the poor of El Salvador. According to Lee, the indifference that threatens to make us “irrelevant” in a needy world has three possible sources: first, the blind acceptance of the Reagan administration’s “ideology of anticommunism” which dismisses as mere Soviet pawns those Salvadorans, including the UCA martyrs, who revolted against their government; second, the “marginalization” of the UCA’s mission to “focus its

efforts on serving the poor majority of El Salvador”; and third, the failure to live in a way that recalls the praxis of the martyrs, such that Christ is the “embodied Word of good news to the majority of the world’s population that suffers the effects of poverty and injustice.”

In order to prevent “ideological indifference,” Lee’s first goal was to highlight the philosophical chasm that existed between the UCA and the Reagan administration during the civil wars of the 1980s. As rector of the UCA and one of its most prominent spokespersons, Ellacuría believed that negotiations between the government and revolutionaries were the only way to achieve lasting peace. Thus he sought “a real and desirable revolution” on behalf of the poor through a negotiated settlement. The Reagan administration, however, backed El Salvador’s military government and therefore opposed any negotiations with the revolutionaries. According to the administration’s philosophy, totalitarian regimes were “less repressive, more susceptible to liberalization, and more compatible with U.S. interests than revolutionary autocracies.” Lee suggested that U.S. policy was not motivated by a concern for the people of El Salvador, but by a fierce anticommunism that saw the hand of Soviet Russia in every revolutionary movement. While UCA assessments in 1984 showed 5,000 combat casualties, 50,000 civilian murders, and 1.2 million displaced since the beginning of the hostilities, the Reagan administration merely maintained that the war against “communist” revolutionaries needed to continue. The administration’s moral compromise, in the name of anticommunism, allowed the war to continue for another seven years.

Lee continued to use the example of the UCA to guard against the second source of indifference, “marginalizing the voices of the poor.” Specifically, he pointed to the UCA’s commitment to “social projection,” in which the University is not an end in itself, but “projects its knowledge beyond the campus into the wider society.” Ellacuría, Martin-Baro, and Montes were three of the most conspicuous advocates of social projection. Each headed institutes that studied and published data on how hostilities affected the poor, fueling a

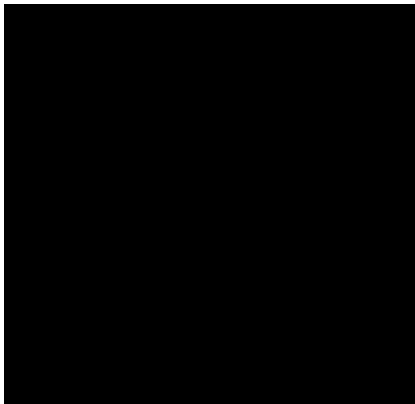


Photo caption/Michael Lee lecture

national conversation about how best to remedy the problems in El Salvador. In particular, Lee pointed to Ellacuría's Forum on National Reality as an exceptional space where "highly visible lectures and debates" provided honest assessments of the situation of the country. Lee said that the "forum, along with radio and television debates, and his numerous editorials, put Ellacuría and the UCA at the forefront of the national debate." Far from marginalization, the forum reflected the UCA's views of itself as "a social force" in the world, guided by "ethical imperatives" to ameliorate the plight of the poor and displaced.

Lee concluded by remembering the "theological inspiration" of the UCA martyrs, according to which Christians are called to serve the poor "as part of the salvific process." Recalling their liberation theology, he hoped, might spur Catholics, Christians, and all universities to remember their own mission to engage, rather than retreat, from the world — and so to avoid becoming irrelevant.

In response to a question about the role of the university in the context of contemporary U.S. politics, Lee suggested that universities should seek to "identify those actors who are often silent, or in the middle," and provide a "rational voice" that can "overcome" what often passes for news on "talk radio, TV, etc." Lee said that universities should be concerned with society's most vulnerable. In response to a query about Notre Dame's acknowledged involvement in the El Salvadoran civil war, Lee admitted that he had not researched Notre Dame's "unique relationship" to El Salvador. Noting that competing voices agitated for different policies even within the Reagan administration, he cautioned against portraying any one institution's response as "monolithic." Felipe Fernández-Armesto inquired about how the UCA was funded. Lee answered that the UCA lost their government funding in 1985, shortly after Ellacuría became rector and "wrote a scathing editorial" about the failure of agrarian reform. From that point on, funding was "very precarious, and the

source of tension within the University." The Cushwa Lecture concluded with a discussion of how much the U.S. has learned from its mistakes in El Salvador, with particular reference to recent U.S. interference in Honduran politics.

American Catholic Studies Seminar

On November 10, the participants in the American Catholic Studies Seminar discussed Kelly Baker's paper, "Rome's Reputation is Stained with Protestant Blood: The Klan-Notre Dame Riot of May 1924." Baker, who recently received her Ph.D. in religion from Florida State University, explores how Ku Klux Klan members' ideology shaped their interpretation of their conflict with Notre Dame students in 1924. Baker argues that, because Catholics did not fit the Klan's definition of American-ness, the riot evolved into a battle over American ideals, in which each side questioned the other's patriotism. Shaping the debate was a K.K.K. ideology that envisioned an army of white Protestant males defending America against an onslaught of interlopers — Catholic, black, or otherwise. According to Baker, "Protestantism, whiteness, gender, and nationalism coalesce[d]" in Klan print culture, thus allowing us to see how these interrelated characteristics functioned to define the order." Baker's paper was drawn from her dissertation, "The Gospel According to the Klan: The Second Ku Klux Klan's Vision of White Protestant America." Soon to be published as a monograph in the University of Kansas Culture America series, Baker's study, illuminates how faith and nation were fused within the Second K.K.K. (1915-1930), and explores the exclusionary nature of nationalism.

Situating the paper in the context of her larger study, Baker observed that she had originally planned to study the riot simply as a case study of the collision of nationalism and conspiracy within the

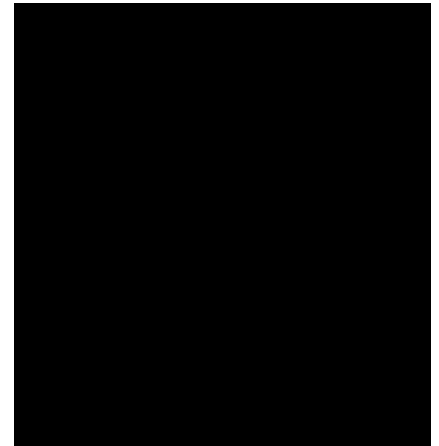


Photo caption/Rome's Reputation

Klan. After researching the incident more thoroughly, though, she became more interested in understanding how the Klan used the incident to reinforce its suspicion of Catholics and as the basis for exaggerating its claims about them.

Mark Noll, professor of history at the University of Notre Dame, served as respondent in the seminar. Praising the paper's historical merit, he noted that it vividly illustrated "the logic of K.K.K. antagonism, fear, and animus directed at Roman Catholics in the 1920s." By seeking to present the Klan as they saw themselves, and in "taking seriously the Klan's view of history, Baker offered an important corrective to modern perceptions of the Klan as an almost exclusively anti-black movement." He suggested that Baker might have elaborated on two particular issues: the Klan's "defense of Protestant marriage" against Catholics, and "the role of religion *per se*, or theology *per se*, in the Klan's view of history."

Noll raised three more substantive issues for further consideration. First, he suggested that Baker could have reinforced her argument by emphasizing the timing of the riot. From a political perspective, it was significant that the incident took place immediately before the U.S. Congress passed the National Origins Act, which restricted immigration at a time when Catholic immigrants were arriving in the

country. In this context, it would become clear that the Klan's nervousness about immigration was hardly an imaginary feature of American life, but an extreme expression of the anti-immigrant sentiment that the U.S. Congress would ratify in its own legislation." Noll also emphasized the significance of the fact that the riot took place before the Depression. Given that historiography on the Depression has sidelined religion as a major factor in the organization of American political life, he argued that Baker's study could potentially highlight how relevant religious belief and practice were to political choices. This argument would have also underscored Baker's insistence that "the Klan's views were not hugely eccentric in 1924." In his last comment on chronology, Noll also urged Baker to include more of the Notre Dame context. According to conventional wisdom, Notre Dame's acceptance of an invitation to the 1925 Rose Bowl represented an attempt on the part of the administration to blunt negative publicity surrounding the riot. Did Baker find any evidence that would confirm that assumption?

Turning to his second major critique, Noll urged Baker to provide more context for Klan periodicals such as *The Fiery Cross* and *The Imperial Night-Hawk*. Learning more about the editors would help Baker's readers understand more fully who was driving the Klan. The same would hold true about the secondary account of the incident, *The Truth about the Notre Dame Riot*. Who was the author of that account, and what was the purpose behind it? Finally, Noll inquired about the story's "Midwestern angle." Did a distinctively Midwestern approach to nationalism, gender, hierarchy, or public schools render the Klan in Northern Indiana substantially different from the Klan in Mississippi, Alabama, or Georgia? The answer to that question, he suggested, could potentially reinforce the ordinariness of the Klan's ideology.

In response to the question of editorship of the Klan periodicals, Baker emphasized that the secrecy surrounding the K.K.K. meant that Klansmen published their pieces anonymously. While this proved to be an effective strategy for

inflating their membership, it created problems for subsequent researchers. Acknowledging the usefulness of Noll's points about the significance of the year 1924, she added that a chronological analysis may also help explain the emergence of the many fascist movements that erupted in the 1930s, often in the very "places where the Klan had secure groups and a local presence." As for the "Midwestern angle," Baker said that, in fact, "the Indiana Klan is very different" from its southern expressions. In Texas, she noted, the K.K.K. was "concerned about Hispanic Catholics," in Georgia about Jews, and in Florida lynchings were more common than anywhere else.

Affirming one of Noll's earlier comments, Scott Appleby opened general discussion by observing how closely the Klan's fears mirrored the general nativism of the 1920s. Baker agreed, noting that while most studies of hate groups stress their "fringe" status, the Klan should be understood as drawing many of their ideas from the larger 1920s milieu. Thomas Kselman questioned whether Baker's paper, by seemingly accepting at "face value" the Klan's innocent desire to have a parade in South Bend, overlooked the fact that the riot represented a deliberately provocative act. Baker explained that in presenting the Klan as they saw themselves, she was attempting to provide a counter-perspective to Todd Tucker's one-sided *Notre Dame vs. the Klan*, which interprets the Klan solely as a manipulator of events. Kirk Farney asked Baker whether it was Valparaiso University's proximity to Notre Dame that had inspired the K.K.K.'s bid to purchase it in 1925. In response, Baker observed that, while she had no definitive evidence to support that claim, it was very likely the case, as the Klan of the 1920s had a penchant for setting up Protestant schools near Catholic ones to "combat" Catholic influence on young Americans.

Responding to a question posed by Kathleen Sprows Cummings, Baker insisted that the Klan was less fearful of continued Catholic immigration than it was of Catholics already present in the United States. Immigrants were, after all, much more "abstract" for Klan members, who perceived in Catholic elected officials and

in Catholic parochial schools an immediate threat to American ideals.

The seminar concluded with a discussion about the often-surprising intellectual sophistication and middle-class status of the 1920s Klan, and a consideration of the Klan's national and/or local "heroes." Baker explained that while Klan members claimed Jesus and Martin Luther as their primary sources of inspiration, they also glorified the Puritans, Jonathan Edwards, Nathan Bedford Forrest, and Abraham Lincoln, whom they "whitewashed" as a non-emancipator.

Hibernian Lecture

This fall's Hibernian Lecture, held on October 9, featured Maurice Bric's presentation, "Squaring Circles: Daniel O'Connell and Public Protest, 1823-1843." An associate professor of history at the University of Dublin and a member of several national and international boards on research policy, Bric has written extensively on the history and culture of the U.S. before 1840, and the history of Ireland from 1760-1845. Bric's *Ireland, Philadelphia, and the Reinvention of America, 1760-1800* (Four Courts Press, 2008) was awarded the Irish Historical Research Prize for 2009. Building on his current research on Ireland and America in the age of Daniel O'Connell, Bric's lecture suggested that the "complexities of Irish history," and the difficulties historians encounter in grappling with such complexities, can be illustrated aptly through the "paradoxes" of O'Connell.

In order to "square the circles," or resolve the paradoxes, of the Irish political leader, Bric began with a list of O'Connell's main contradictions. O'Connell was the leader of a national cause, yet a well-known Universalist; a liberal, yet the great champion of conservative Catholicism; a Catholic, but "unlike many of his co-religionists, an ardent abolitionist." O'Connell believed in a "deferential and even caste-based economic system," and he upheld the "integrity and status" of Parliament. On the other hand, he established "a new type of popular politics and popular democracy" when the majority of his constituents did

not “recognize or relate to” their Parliament. Above all, Bric argued, O’Connell was a revolutionary who insisted that an “effective and durable” revolution need not resort to violence.

Situating O’Connell in a larger context, Bric emphasized that the majority in Ireland rejected Parliament. Most expected Parliament to be “honorable, moral, and the virtuous arbiter of the good of all the people,” yet they deemed it to be exactly the opposite. Parliament only spoke for the rich and powerful, so unless they could vote or belong to the upper strata of society, Parliament was irrelevant as a means to “address and redress grievances” for the common good. As Parliament became “increasingly irrelevant” to most Irish during the 1820s and 1830s, Bric continued, the majority began to agitate for an alternative system of morality — in the form of “protest societies,” or “Whiteboy societies” — whose main objective was to advance the most pressing issue for the common people at that time: the regulation of tithes and rents.

Bric used this pressing issue to illustrate the experience, and paradox, of Daniel O’Connell in greater depth. Bric noted that O’Connell viewed the Whiteboys alternative as a threat to both Parliament and the established leadership of Ireland. Despite being a popular leader, O’Connell “was very much a member of that establishment.” Taking the middle road, his response to the crisis of authority reflected his two sides: on the one hand, affirming Ireland’s “natural leadership” and, on the other hand, addressing its very real social problems. Rather than risk a violent confrontation with the Whiteboys, O’Connell convinced them to be “absorbed into his movement” for Catholic emancipation. O’Connell successfully affirmed natural leadership (because priests were part of the establishment); addressed the issue of tithes (because priests, who did not like paying tithes to the Anglican Church, could fight against the practice once they were allowed to sit in Parliament); and averted a violent confrontation with the Whiteboys.



Photo caption/Hibernian lecture

Indeed, Bric regarded the shrewd resolution of these problems as “O’Connell’s great achievement.”

O’Connell’s success, however, led to more difficulty after 1829 (the year of Catholic emancipation). Bric recounted how peasants brought their particular grievances, primarily involving tithes and rents) to O’Connell. True to his principles, O’Connell neither squelched nor joined them, preferring to “control” the popular movement he had created. Otherwise, Bric contended, “the very means for bringing about Catholic emancipation could be used to unravel his other major accomplishment, which was to push through a raft of reform during the 1830s and 1840s.”

Bolstering his larger argument that the Irish political leader cannot be described in simple terms, Bric recounted rather heated exchanges between O’Connell and the Catholic Bishop James Doyle. During the 1830s, Bric related, Doyle argued with the lower classes against the moral basis for tithes and rents. Although O’Connell shared Doyle’s “strong reputation” among beggars, he maintained that the landlord still “had a role to perform.” He “faced down” those who refused to pay tithes at the Battle of Carrickshock, yet successfully defended several of the men who participated in the battle, thus becoming a “great hero” in the eyes of the common people. Bric concluded his presentation with the suggestion that O’Connell’s “greatness” was rooted precisely in his ability to look at both sides

of an issue, and from there to forge compromises.

In the question period, Patrick Griffin noted Bric’s suggestion that “we ‘square the circle’ of O’Connell by finding the middle ground he occupied.” Yet, Griffin observed, this suggestion does not take into account the fact that Americans perceived no “middle ground” in O’Connell, but saw him only as a “staunch abolitionist.” Griffin asked why a difference exists between Irish and American perceptions. Bric responded that, in fact, little difference existed between these perceptions, particularly if we “look at how O’Connell was seen before abolitionism.” At that time “he was seen as an icon by Catholic bishops,” yet American Catholics still questioned his views. For example, Bric said, “Americans didn’t think that the Irish Diaspora in America should accept the leadership in Ireland. The two parts were joined, they thought, but didn’t need to defer to one leader.” Americans, like the Irish, could both accept and reject O’Connell. Bric concluded by positing that the main story of O’Connell in America “isn’t about slavery, but about the development of an Irish-American identity.”



Research Travel Grants

These grants are used to defray expenses for travel to Notre Dame's library and archival collections for research on American Catholicism. The following scholars received awards for 2010:

Jacob Michael Betz, University of Chicago "Race, Missions, and the Construction of an American Catholic Identity, 1865-1910."

Janine Giordano, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign "Between Religion and Politics: the Working Class Religious Left, 1886-1936."

Stephanie Jacobs, American University "Thomas Fortune Ryan: An American Catholic."

Monica Mercado, University of Chicago "Women and the Word: Gender, Print, and Mission in Nineteenth-Century American Catholicism."

Shannen Williams, Rutgers University, New Brunswick "Subversive Habits: Black Nuns and the Struggle to Desegregate Catholic America after World War I."

Hibernian Research Awards

Funded by an endowment from the Ancient Order of Hibernians, these annual awards provide travel funds to support the scholarly study of the Irish in America.

Hidetaka Hirota, Boston College for "Nativism, Citizenship, and the Deportation of Paupers in Massachusetts, 1848-1877."

William Kurtz, University of Virginia for "Midwestern Catholicism in the Era of the American Civil War."

Publications

Karen M. Kennelly, C.S.J., *The Religious Formation Conference, 1954-2004* (Silver Spring, MD: Religious Formation Conference, 2009).

Florian Michel, a winner of a 2004 recipient of a Cushwa Center Research Travel Grant has recently published *La pensée catholique en Amérique du Nord: Réseaux intellectuels et échanges culturels entre l'Europe, le Canada et les États-Unis (années 1920 - 1960)* (Desclée de Brouwer, 2010) John T. McGreevy, Dean of the College of Arts and Letters, University of Notre Dame wrote the introduction.



Conference

Pius XI and America International Conference
October 28-30, 2010, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, USA

The Vatican's opening in 2006 of its archives for the period of the papacy of Pius XI (1922-1939) has prompted a burst of historical research that is not only shedding new light on the role of the Holy See and the Church in this period of extraordinary political and social turmoil, but also on some of the major world events of this period. In an effort to bring scholars from the many different countries who are working in these archives together and to highlight this emerging work to the broader scholarly community, a number of institutions have come together to create a research network. The principal sponsors of this initiative are the Fondazione per le Scienze Religiose Giovanni XIII in

Bologna; the University of Münster; the École Française de Rome; the Biblioteca Ambrosiana of Milan; and Brown University (USA). Following a June 2009 conference in Milan and a March 2010 conference in Münster, a conference is planned for October 28-30, 2010, at Brown University.

A major theme of the Brown conference is the relationship between the Holy See and the Roman Catholic Church in the Americas during the papacy of Pius XI. However, other topics will also be treated, including a concluding debate focusing on the relationship between the Church and Italian Fascism.

Conference Organizing Committee:

- David Kertzer, Brown University, USA, chair (David_Kertzer@Brown.edu)
- Charles R. Gallagher, S.J., Geneva School of Diplomacy and International Relations, Switzerland
- Alberto Melloni, Fondazione per le Scienze Religiose Giovanni XXIII, Bologna, Italy
- John O'Malley, S.J., Georgetown University, USA
- Hubert Wolf, University of Münster, Germany

Catholic Research Resources Alliance (CRRA)

In November, 2009, the Council on Library and Information Resources (CLIR) awarded a grant of \$149,000 to the "Catholic Social Action Access Project," a collaborative effort among the CRRA and member institutions. With funding from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, CLIR's "Cataloging Hidden Special Collections and Archives" initiative supports cataloging of special collections at each institution. The award-winning project was one of only 14

ected from a total of 91 applications. Archivists and catalogers will create records to expose three previously “hidden” collections related to the theme U. S. Catholic Social Action in the 20th Century. St. Catherine’s Ade Bethune Collection includes the archives of the liturgical artist and social activist; Catholic University holds the Catholic Charities, DC records; and Marquette’s more than 700 audio recordings within the vast Dorothy Day-Catholic Worker Collection document the faith-based movement of Dorothy Day and Peter Maurin.

The three collaborating institutions are members of the Catholic Research Resources Alliance (CRRRA). The CRRRA maintains the “Catholic portal,” which provides easy, effective, and global discovery to rare, unique, and uncommon Catholic research resources in libraries, seminaries, special collections, and archives. The records from the grant-funded project will be collocated within the Catholic portal, thereby enabling discovery of local resources far beyond the participating institutions. Project activities began January 2010 and will be completed by December 2011.

For more information about the CRRRA and to search the Catholic portal, visit <http://www.catholicresearch.net>.

New Web Site

The Cushwa Center is pleased to announce the release of our newly designed web site! Visitors to our old URL (www.nd.edu/~cushwa) will be directed to our new site but please note that going forward, our new address is <http://cushwa.nd.edu/> and we hope you will mark us in your favorite browser.



ROMAN SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN CATHOLICISM

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sion, only eight received the sacrament of Confession. McSweeney suggested that the archdiocese appeal to New York’s Italian immigrant priests for assistance in incorporating other southern Italian Catholic immigrants into parish life.⁵

On July 29, 1884, McSweeney also sent a status report, or “*lettera di stato*,” to Cardinal Giovanni Simeoni, prefect of Propaganda Fide. His letter comprised the biennial report that former students of the Collegio Urbano were required to write to inform Propaganda of their whereabouts and ministries. The priest liberally quoted his report on the Italians in New York and added significant details, including his assessment of the Italian priests of the archdiocese as “greedy” and “of dubious moral character.”⁶

McSweeney’s letters are but one representative example of the significant sources on immigration and American Catholic dioceses that can be found in the archives of the Holy See.⁷ These sources typically fall into one of two categories. The first consists of letters answering a routine call for diocesan status reports, the aforementioned “*lettere di stato*.” The other consists of letters reacting to a particular local crisis. Undoubtedly, both kinds of documents are written from a subjective point of view, and tend to privilege a diocesan or personal perspective. More often than not, they address exceptional circumstances rather than the details of daily life in parishes and institutions. Nevertheless, they are tremendously valuable in illuminating the issues the

American church faced at the time, and how Roman officials came to understand the church in America.

Material in the Roman archives makes clear that by the mid-19th century the Holy See had not yet grasped the peculiarity of Catholicism in the U.S. It seems that Roman officials were not only discovering America at the time, but they were also trying to assess its problems, and deciding which Vatican dicastery had competency to address the American questions.⁸ At the same time, the archives also indicate how quickly the Holy See realized that American Catholicism was defined by the troubled relationship among immigrant groups and their clergy.⁹ It was this realization that gave rise to Americans studying in Roman seminaries, and specifi-

cally gave birth to the North American College in Rome. Vatican officials hoped that Roman trained priests in America would keep immigrants safe from Protestant influences, help squelch conflicts between immigrant groups, and provide valuable information on the American scene for Roman officials.

In 1852 the man ultimately destined to found the North American College, Mgr. Gaetano Bedini (1806-64), was sent by the Roman Curia to visit New York and Washington on his way to South America. His visit was a nightmare: not only was he harassed by nativists who feared a Catholic invasion of America, but by Italian and German Catholic exiles who considered him the enemy of Forty-Eighters.¹⁰ Despite the troubles associated with his visit, the nuncio was impressed by America's economic, technological, and political innovation. Bedini's observations convinced him that the U.S. would soon be the dominant force in the Americas (he even predicted its clash with Spain and the conquest of Cuba). He also projected that only a huge Catholic immigration would prevent the U.S. from becoming a powerful anti-Catholic stronghold.

Bedini was convinced that to catholicize America, the church needed priests to protect the faith of Catholic immigrants. But he didn't support the recruitment of more European clergy, feeling that there were already too many immigrant priests in the U.S. and that their presence perpetuated old linguistic barriers, which led to clashes between immigrant Catholic communities. The nuncio believed that the shared language of Catholics in the U.S. should be English. He suggested, therefore, that a Pontifical North American College in Rome could prepare new American-born priests, teaching them how to support immigrants without ceding to nationalistic approaches that could divide and weaken the American Church.¹¹

At first, Bedini could not find support in the Roman Curia. Many Roman officers sided with the American bishops who blamed the nuncio himself for the clamor surrounding his American travels. Moreover, many cardinals remained unconvinced that Catholicism's future lay in the United States. Bedini eventually

found a supporter in Pope Pius IX, who hailed from the same hometown. In 1856 Bedini was named Secretary of Propaganda, and three years later he founded the North American College.¹²

The cherished hope of Gaetano Bedini (and, for that matter, priests such as Patrick Francis McSweeney) was that American seminarians studying at the North American College or at the Collegio Urbano in Rome — or even the American College of Louvain, the Collegio Brignole-Sale of Genoa (Italy), the All Hallows College of Dublin, or the seminaries of France or Quebec — would acquire a more universal understanding of Catholicity invoked by McSweeney as "*una carità più ampia*."¹³ They would also learn as many languages as possible beyond their native English. This meant that American-born priests would be able to serve in "national parishes," better prepared to attend to the spiritual salvation of immigrants even though they themselves were not part of the same ethno-linguistic group. This initiative, in other words, represented an attempt to alleviate, rather than exacerbate, inter-ethnic tensions.

Once back in America, these priests often found that their Roman training put them in difficult positions relative to their congregations, other priests, and bishops. Propaganda Fide was convinced that many of these priests were discriminated against in their home dioceses because they were perceived as being excessively "Roman."¹⁴ Moreover, they were often caught in the middle of fights among bishops, or between bishops, clergy, and immigrant faithful. Indeed, American seminarians in Rome, former students writing Propaganda from the U.S., and American

professors and administrators at the North American College (particularly the rector), often served as mediators in Roman debates over reports on events in the American church.¹⁵ Sometimes, these American mediators collaborated with one another, but mostly they represented opposing factions. As they worked to advocate for the positions held by their bishops and friends, they had to play the Roman game, and use Roman institutions to advance their cause.

A case in point involves the controversy in the American church over labor unions and the Knights of Labor. While this history is well known to historians of U.S. Catholicism, further examination of

Roman archives and closer attention to the tactics that both sides adopted in attempting to convince the Holy See illuminates yet another dimension of that history.¹⁶ On November 13, 1883, when the American bishops met in Rome to discuss their upcoming Baltimore council with Propaganda's officers, Francis Silas Chatard (1834-1918), the bishop of Indianapolis, a former student of the Collegio Urbano and rector of the North American College (1868-76),

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and Charles J. Seghers (1839-86), Archbishop of Oregon City, born at Gand in Belgium, and a former student of the American College in Louvain, asked for a condemnation of labor unions as equivalent to secret societies.¹⁷ Archbishop James Gibbons of Baltimore and Patrick A. Feehan (1829-1902), Archbishop of Chicago, took the opposite view, maintaining that a relationship with the labor movement was necessary in integrating Catholic immigrants.¹⁸

While Bishop Chatard was well known in Rome, he was not necessarily

well liked in the Eternal City. In 1884 officials at Propaganda wrote an assessment of the North American College where Chatard had recently presided as rector. The final report noted that Chatard had asked for extraordinary independence for his institution, a request that was intolerable to the Vatican. This report would undoubtedly have been on the mind of Cardinal Giovanni Simeoni, the Prefect of Propaganda, when he received a letter from Chatard, dated February 5, 1885, attacking the Ancient Order of Hibernians and accusing them of violent tendencies, and of being a cover for former members of the “Molly Maguires.”¹⁹

From the opposing side, Archbishop James Gibbons also wrote Simeoni, on February 20, 1885, and asked for a careful evaluation of the condemnation of the Knights of Labor.²⁰ Noting that many of the Knights’ hundreds of thousands of members were Catholic, Gibbons suggested that it was unwise to alienate this number of faithful just to please a few bishops. Gibbons wasn’t as well known in Rome, but he had his supporters there. In that same year Gibbons made a report to Rome on the Archdiocese of Baltimore, and the document was translated by Bernard Smith (1812-92), a consultant for Propaganda, and former vice-rector of the Irish College in Rome and abbot of St. Paul-outside-the-walls.²¹ Smith added his analysis of the report, stating that Propaganda owed Gibbons thanks for the precision of his report and for his work in Baltimore.²² The praise may have been deserved, but what makes it most interesting is that Smith was essentially asking for an official *imprimatur* of Gibbons’ activity. Smith was likely willing to make this gambit knowing that Chatard was not well

liked at Propaganda.

This episode highlights how Roman offices, particularly Propaganda Fide and the Holy Office, were continually called upon to evaluate the Knights of Labor and other associations.²³ The Roman archives containing the correspondences of the opposing American factions reveal important information about the arguments and tactics each side used to advance their respective aims. In the end, the prolonged

American debate over labor unions convinced Rome of the importance of the social question, and Gibbons ultimately won the day when *Rerum Novarum* was promulgated on May 15, 1891.²⁴

For another example of how American graduates of Roman seminarians provided Rome with reports on America, and used

these letters to advance their own perspectives, we might return to Michael Corrigan and Patrick McSweeney. Corrigan, once Archbishop of New York, wrote critiques of former students of Collegio Urbano working in his diocese and told Roman officials that Francis McSweeney was the youngest and the laziest (“*non vuole lavorare molto*”) of three brothers, all priests who had studied in the Eternal City.²⁵ Corrigan’s letters to Italian bishops Geremia Bonomelli (Cremona) and Giovanni Battista Scalabrini (Piacenza) reveal his disdain for McSweeney’s complaints.²⁶ But in his evaluation of McSweeney we can also sense his intense dislike of graduates of the Collegio Urbano.

Tension among the clergy of New York at the end of the 19th century is well known and usually explained as a “political” conflict: Corrigan’s conservatism versus Edward McGlynn’s social reformism. But perhaps we should also

take into account the conflicting visions of former students of the Collegio Urbano and of former students of the North American College. Corrigan wrote at least once to Propaganda complaining that all his priests who graduated from Collegio Urbano were against him.²⁷ And Joseph O’Connell, another former student of Propaganda who served as parish priest at St. Michael’s (Brooklyn), made similar claims.²⁸

While it is undeniable that there is a distinctly Roman touch to the *lettera di stato* these priest-alumni wrote to their alma maters, it is also difficult to assess the degree to which their experiences in Roman colleges influenced the perceptions, political standing, or activities of American priests.²⁹ Still, it is hardly a stretch to assume that former students in Rome became members of different priestly networks in America, and that the Roman institutes where they studied could have had an important impact on the subsequent choices they made.

In marked contrast to historians of Canadian Catholicism, U.S. historians have not, in any sustained way, dealt with this crucial aspect of the American church’s international-and particularly Roman-character.³⁰ Research on the history of the Canadian Catholic Church has taught us that the Vatican deemed the Roman education of North American seminarians, particularly at the Collegio Urbano di Propaganda Fide, the best tool to form priests “*romani d’intelletto e di cuore*.”³¹ Further research into Roman archives by American historians will certainly shed light on how the Roman education of American priests had shaped the history of American Catholicism.

The Roman archives of Propaganda Fide, the Holy Office, and the Vatican Archives show how Vatican officials obtained and made use of reports from American priests, and built dossiers on the church in the United States. They also testify to the depth and complexity of these reports, even if Roman officials of the time did not always pay adequate attention to this wealth of information.

According to Propaganda’s own

According to Propaganda’s own dossier on the North American College, the American Church was one of the most important and vigorous in the world.

dossier on the North American College, the American church was one of the most important and vigorous in the world.³² This made it imperative for Rome to better marshal the information contained in its archives, and made finding a more rational system of classifying archival resources on the U.S. church a pressing concern. The erection of an Apostolic Delegation in Washington (1893), and the advancement of the American church to the rank of national church, under the direct control of the Cardinal Secretary of State (1908), were both essential steps towards addressing this archival deficiency.

In particular, the erection of an Apostolic Delegation was the first step in improving the classification of documents pertaining to the American church. The new secretary of the Delegation needed to organize his archives, and in doing so, decided to classify them according to new criteria. The archives of Washington's Delegation were divided into sections, and coded by Roman numerals. By the time of the Second World War, they totaled 22 sections. While not all of the sections are yet declassified, the sections cover: I. Apostolic Delegation; II. United States; III. United Nations; IV. Episcopal Lists; V. Foreign Affairs; VI. Canada; VII. Philippines; VIII. Mexico; IX. Dioceses; X. Varia 1; XI. Varia 2; XII. Secret Societies; XIII. Associations; XIV. Catholic Associations; XV. Greeks (ie., Catholics of the Greek Rite); XVI. Eccentrics (ie., Priests causing scandal); XVII. Catholic Universities; XVIII. Ruthenians; XIX. Religious Institutes; XX. Budget; XXI. Josephine College; XXIII.

The first section contains all the documents about the institution itself and its correspondence to and from Rome. The second section covers the social, political and religious dimensions of the United States. Here, we can find documents addressing ethnic complaints, such as those made by French Canadians, Germans, Poles, Slovaks and Ruthenians; discussions about the schools question; and discussions about missions for Native Americans, Afro-Americans and Latino-Americans.

In the fourth section, we find debates about the designation of new bishops,

which often revolved around the ethnic or political clashes in various dioceses. In the ninth, we find dossiers about individual dioceses. The fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth sections point out that the geographical proximity of countries like Canada and Mexico, and the presence of immigrants from Europe and Asia, forced the American Church to address its international context and to finance religious and rescue missions around the world. For example, many groups from Central-East Europe asked the American church and Woodrow Wilson's administration to help subdivide the Austrian Empire after World War I. Other groups, from the same area, asked for help against the Nazis in the 1930s, or the communists after World War II.

The 12th, 13th, and 14th sections contain the analysis about associations. And finally, the 15th and 18th sections present the relationship among Catholics of the Greek and Latin Rites, and between the Catholic and the Orthodox Church.

At the same time, the documentary series in the Roman archives were also reorganized.^{33,34} The archives of the Cardinal Secretary of State were already based on geographical and/or content-based rubrics, while the Holy Offices had a series for decisions (*Decreta*), a series for specific arguments (*Dispensations*), and a kind of general repository (*Rerum Variarum*). The archivists at Propaganda opted for maintaining the old series of *Acta* (or decisions) along with a new series (*Nuova Serie*), where all documents were classified according to argument and geography (thus, there was a rubric n° 154 for United States, but you have also to check under n° 7 for "*lettere di stato*"). When the United States lost its designation as a mission territory and became a national church in 1908, all of Propaganda's materials on the U.S. (except those concerning missions in Alaska, for example) were sent to the Cardinal Secretary of State, and all reports by American bishops were sent to the Concistorial Congregation and can now be read in the Vatican Archives in the series, *Congregazione Concistoriale, Relationes Dioecesium*.

This archival effort by the Washington Delegation and Roman dicasteries helped Roman officials to better

understand the United States. But at the same time, the archives were themselves a product of a better understanding of the U.S.: the fruit of correspondence with American priests and bishops who had been trained in Roman seminaries. Today, this archival effort offers a treasury of resources in the form of diocesan reports, letters from Roman educated priests, and dossiers on major issues in the American church. Researchers, who want to study the Catholic Church in America, and especially those who appreciate the importance of incorporating a Roman perspective, will find these largely untapped resources essential to their scholarly work.

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FOOTNOTES

¹Gearld P. Fogarty, *The Vatican and the American Hierarchy from 1870 to 1965*, Stuttgart, Hiersemann, 1982; Peter D'Agostino, *Rome in America: Transnational Catholic Ideology from the Risorgimento to Facism*, Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 2004; Matteo Sanfilippo, *L'affermazione del cattolicesimo nel Nord America. Elite, emigranti e chiesa cattolica negli Stati Uniti e in Canada, 1750-1920*, Viterbo, Sette Città, 2003. On the Vatican Archives, see also Francis X. Blouin Jr., Elizabeth Yakel, and Leonard A. Coombs, "Vatican Archives: An Inventory and Guide to Historical Documents of the Holy See. A Ten Year Retrospective," *The American Archivist*, 71 (2008), pp. 433-455.

²American dioceses could send students to the North American College and the Collegio Urbano in Rome or to other European institutes. For example, in his report of 1886 on the diocese of Cincinnati, Bishop William H. Elder, a former student of Propaganda, stated that he had a priest from the Collegio Urbano, six from the North American College and three from All Hallows College in Dublin: Archivio Storico di Propaganda Fide, Vatican City (APF), Congressi, America Centrale 44 (1886, part I), ff. 304-322.

³See the letter of James Loughlin, teaching at St. Charles Borromeo Seminary in Overbrook, in the diocese of Philadelphia: APF, Congressi, America Centrale, 45 (1886, part II), ff. 47.

⁴APF, Congressi, America centrale, 40 (1884, part I), ff. 505-519; "Mgr. McSweeney Dead," *The New York Times*, February 26, 1907, p. 11

⁵In 1883, Cardinal McCloskey reported having one parish for Italians: APF, Congressi, America Centrale, 42 (1885, part I), ff. 81-101 e 130 (appendix on diocesan parishes). In 1885, Corrigan added that seven Italian secular

priests were working in New York: APF, Congressi, America Centrale, 42 (1885, part I), ff. 108-128.

⁶APF, Congressi, America Centrale, 42 (1885, part I), ff. 83-87.

⁷On these documents: Matteo Sanfilippo, ed., *Fonti ecclesiastiche per la storia dell'emigrazione e dei gruppi etnici nel Nord America: gli Stati Uniti (1893-1922)*, monographic issue of Studi Emigrazione, 120 (1995); Matteo Sanfilippo and Giovanni Pizzorusso, eds., *Fonti ecclesiastiche romane per lo studio dell'emigrazione italiano in Nord America (1642-1922)*, monographic issue of Studi Emigrazione, 124 (1996); Matteo Sanfilippo, "L'Archivio Segreto Vaticano come fonte per la storia del Nord America anglo-francese," in Matteo Sanfilippo and Giovanni Pizzorusso, eds., *Gli archivi della Santa Sede come fonte per la storia moderna e contemporanea*, Viterbo, Sette Città, 2001, pp. 237-263.

⁸The Holy Office started to gather a very large dossier on "Americanism": Archivio della Congregazione per la Difesa della Fede, Vatican City (ACDF), S. Ufficio, Rerum Variarum, 1900, pt. II, nr. 5. But on June 16, 1898 the Pope told the Holy Office that he had decided to take the question into his own hands: ACDF, S. Ufficio, Decreta, 15.6.1898.

⁹Vincent J. Fecher, *A Study of the Movement for German National Parishes in Philadelphia and Baltimore (1787-1802)*, Roma, Apud Aedes Universitatis Gregoriana, 1955; Luca Codignola, "Conflict or Consensus? Catholics in Canada and the United States, 1780-1820," *Canadian Catholic Historical Association Historical Papers*, 55 (1988), pp. 43-59.

¹⁰Matteo Sanfilippo, "Tra antipapismo e cattolicesimo: gli echi della Repubblica romana e i viaggi in Nord America di Gaetano Bedini e Alessandro Gavazzi (1853-1854)," in Sara Antonelli, Daniele Fiorentino and Giuseppe Monsagrati, eds., *Gli Americani e la Repubblica Romana nel 1849*, Roma, Gangemi, 2000, pp. 159-187.

¹¹Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Vatican City (ASV), Segr. Stato, 1854, rubr. 251, fasc. 1, ff. 9-50v.

¹²APF, Acta, 220 (1856), ff. 373-532, in particular ff. 488-532; see also APF, Congressi, America Centrale, 17 (1855-1858), f. 609rv; APF, Acta, 225 (1861), ff. 1-54, 245 (1877), ff. 39-40; APF, SOCG, 1010 (1879), ff. 23-144.

¹³Louvain: APF, Congressi Collegi Vari, 17: Collegi esteri, fasc. 7. All Hallows: *ibid.*, 18: Collegi esteri, fasc. 8. Brignole Sale: *ibid.*, 43: Collegi d'Italia, fasc. 3. For the seminary of Quebec, see the diocesan report by John Moore, bishop of St. Augustine, FL: APF, Congressi, America Centrale, 43 (1885, part II). The same prelate stated in the same text that he went to the Petit Séminaire of Combrée, after studying in Charleston, SC and

that he later did his theological formation at the Collegio Urbano.

¹⁴See APF, Acta, 252 (1883, part II), ff. 1089-1090.

¹⁵Gerald P. Fogarty, *The Vatican and the Americanist Crisis: Denis J. O'Connell, American Agent in Rome, 1885-1903*, Roma, Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 1974.

¹⁶Henry Vincent Browne, *The Catholic Church and the Knights of Labor*, Washington DC, The Catholic University of America Press, 1949; Vincent J. Falzone, *Terence V. Powderly: Middle Class Reformer*, Washington DC, University Press of America, 1978. See also *Forging Bonds of Sympathy: The Catholic Church and the Knights of Labor, in The American Catholic History Classroom* (http://libraries.cua.edu/achrcua/Knights/kol_wel.html).

¹⁶John Tracy Ellis, *The Life of Cardinal Gibbons Archbishop of Baltimore 1834-1921*, I, Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company, 1952, pp. 439-546.

¹⁸Ellis, *The Life of Cardinal Gibbons*, pp. 210-218.

¹⁹APF, Congressi, America Centrale, 42 (1885, part I), ff. 156 e 158. On the American Catholic Church, the Molly Maguires and the Ancient Order of Hibernians, see Kevin Kenny, "The Molly Maguires and the Catholic Church," *Labor History*, 36, 3 (1995), pp. 345-376; Id., *Making Sense of the Molly Maguires*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1998.

²⁰APF, Congressi, America Centrale, 42 (1885, part I), f. 200.

²¹APF, Congressi, America Centrale, 43 (1885, part II), ff. 428-459; for Smith's suggestion see f. 439.

²²M. Sanfilippo, *L'affermazione del cattolicesimo*, cit., passim.

²³See historical notes in ACDF, S. Ufficio, *Rerum Variarum*, 1894, nr. 1, vol. V: Sulle Società dell'America del Nord, and nr. 70: Stati Uniti: sulle società segrete (Odd Fellows, Knights of Pythias, Sons of Temperance).

²⁴Cfr. *Rerum Novarum. Écriture, contenu et réception d'une encyclique. Actes du colloque international*, Rome, École Française de Rome, 1997.

²⁵APF, Congressi, America Centrale, 47 (1887, part II), ff. 241-242.

²⁶The letters to Scalabrini are in Silvano M. Tomasi and Gianfausto Rosoli, eds., *For the Love of Immigrants: Migration Writings and Letters of Bishop John Baptist Scalabrini (1839-1905)*, New York, Center for Migration Studies, 2000.

²⁷See the already mentioned letter by Corrigan: APF, Congressi, America Centrale, 47 (1887, part IIe), ff. 241-242. For the historical context see: Robert Emmett Curran, *Michael Augustine Corrigan and the Shaping of Conservative Catholicism in America 1878-1902*, New York, Arno Press, 1978; Samuel J. Thomas, "Portraits of a 'Rebel' Priest: Edward McGlynn in Caricature, 1886-1893," *The Journal of American Culture*, 7, 4 (1984), pp. 19-32; Alfred Isaacson, *The Determined Doctor: The Story of Edward McGlynn*, Tarrytown NY, Vestigium Press, 1990; Anthony D. Andreassi, "The Cunning Leader of a Dangerous Clique? The Burtzell Affair and Archbishop Michael Augustine Corrigan," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 86, 4 (2000), pp. 620-639. See also John T. McGreevy, *Catholicism and American Freedom*, New York, W. W. Norton and Company, 2003.

²⁸APF, Congressi, America Centrale 46 (1887, part I), ff. 583-584.

²⁹Giovanni Pizzorusso, "Le 'Lettere di stato.' una fonte documentaria dell'Archivio della Congregazione 'de Propaganda Fide' di particolare interesse canadese (1893-1908)," *Annali Accademici Canadesi*, V (1989), pp. 101-114.

³⁰Giovanni Pizzorusso and M. Sanfilippo, *Dagli indiani agli emigranti. L'attenzione della Chiesa romana al Nuovo Mondo, 1492-1908*, Viterbo, Sette Città, 2005, part III, chapt. 3.

³¹Giovanni Pizzorusso, "Romani d'intelletto e di cuore: seminaristi canadesi del Collegio Urbano di Propaganda Fide (1829-1908)," *Il Veltro*, XXXVIII, 3-4 (1994), pp. 151-162. See also Id., "Archives du Collège Urbain de Propaganda Fide," *Annali Accademici Canadesi*, VII (1991), pp. 93-98; Id., "Una presenza ecclesiastica cosmopolita a Roma: gli allievi del Collegio Urbano di Propaganda Fide (1633-1703)," *Bollettino di Demografia Storica*, 22 (1995), pp. 129-138; Id., "Agli antipodi di Babele. Propaganda Fide tra immagine cosmopolita e orizzonti romani (XVII-XIX secolo)," in Luigi Fiorani and Adriano Properi, eds., *Roma la città del papa. Vita civile e religiosa dal Giubileo di Bonifacio VIII al Giubileo di Papa Wojtyła (Storia d'Italia, Annali, 16)*, Torino, Einaudi, 2000, pp. 476-518.

³²APF, Acta, 253 (1884), f. 522.

³³Matteo Sanfilippo, *La Santa Sede e l'emigrazione dall'Europa centro-orientale negli Stati Uniti tra Otto e Novecento*, Viterbo, Sette Città, 2010.

³⁴See Pierre Hurtubise, Luca Codignola e Fernand Harvey, eds., *L'Amérique du Nord française dans les archives religieuses de Rome 1600-1922*, Québec, PUL - Éditions de l'IQRC, 1999.



Watchmen and Gatekeepers: Native American Catholicism in the 20th Century

A Over the last 15 years, I have mined the records of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions [BCIM] in an effort to reveal how Roman Catholic missionaries contributed to Native American education. In the course of my exploration, I have had the opportunity to examine *The Indian Sentinel*, a promotional magazine of the B.C.I.M. whose circulation reached nearly 80,000. While I hoped my study would indicate missionaries' attitudes toward Indians, it was ultimately too geographically limited to do so. Mark Clatterbuck's *Demons, Saints, and Patriots: Catholic Visions of Native America Through The Indian Sentinel* (Marquette, 2009) provides a comprehensive, systematic treatment of *The Indian Sentinel*, and shows how the periodical reflected missionary attitudes towards native peoples, tensions between Protestant denominations and government officials, and the increasing triumphalism of mid-century Catholicism.

Clatterbuck opens with a broad account of relations between the BCIM and federal officials. He is able to show that, as these relations unfolded during the 20th century, missionaries and Indians used *The Indian Sentinel* as a powerful vehicle for voicing their opinions, ideas and concerns. Clatterbuck also explains his methodology in this chapter. Making a case for the historical significance of *The Sentinel*, he suggests its use as a way to measure changes in missionaries' and Indians' attitudes toward one another. He devotes the rest of the book to studying these changes.

The title of Clatterbuck's second chapter, "Bloodthirsty Animals and Feathered Spectacles," indicates the missionaries' rationale for promoting

European civilization among native peoples. Here, Clatterbuck shows how missionaries used *The Sentinel* to trumpet Indian athletic accomplishments. The feats of James Thorpe (football) and Andrew Sockalexis (long-distance running) demonstrated, for these missionaries, the progression of Catholic Indians toward "civilization." While their athletic skill derived from being "sons of the forest," their membership in Catholic fraternal organizations, devout commitment to their faith, and respect for priests and nuns made them "prime examples of Native wildness tamed by Catholic faith to produce a world-class Indian specimen" (96-7).

In the wake of World War I, however, these sorts of theological and cultural divisions vanished from *The Sentinel's* pages. The horror of Europeans killing Europeans, and the scale on which the killing took place, pushed missionaries to abandon their Eurocentrism, and to adopt instead a more culture-sensitive, assimilative approach to Indian missions. During these years, *The Sentinel* tended to focus on the sanctity of indigenous Catholicism, with particular attention to the saintly Kateri Tekawitha, the "lily of the Mohawks." Tekawitha was geographically balanced with Isabel Mariana, the "lily of the Pima." Emphasis turned, particularly after 1921, to learning indigenous languages, appreciating indigenous culture, and incorporating native traditions into Catholic worship and practice. In many ways, Clatterbuck argues, these post-war emphases anticipated reforms associated with the Second Vatican Council. During the 1930s and 40s, *The Sentinel* revealed a missionary cohort increasingly confident in its ability to function in both native and American cultures. Their movement from defense to triumph coincided with what *The Sentinel* called "a radical break with the European motherland and

an exuberant embrace of America as the new homeland" (192-93). Among Indians, as well, flags appeared everywhere: "They adorn Marian shrines, flank the entrances of tepees, drape the Catholic shoulders of little Indian children, and dot the grounds of Sioux Catholic Congresses" (192-93). In keeping with this mutual American triumphalism, relations between the BCIM and federal officials improved, particularly during John Collier's term as Commissioner of Indian Affairs (1933-45). Patriotism reached its apogee during World War II, when nuns and native women joined to assist the war effort, and when *Sentinel* articles emphasized the loyalty, patriotism, and steadfastness of native soldiers and Indian missionaries. Indeed, *The Sentinel* became a veritable mouthpiece for the government's war machine, promoting conscription, service, patriotism, and wartime sacrifice. "By the 1940s," Clatterbuck writes, "the make-believe colonial Indian soldier is replaced by live-ammunition Indian patriot groomed for real military service by a Catholic mission-school system now wholly devoted to making deathly loyal citizens of its Christian American Indians" (198). The move from militancy to the triumph of American-ness appeared so often in successive issues of *The Sentinel* that, by 1950, both missionaries and Indians emerged as "true-blue" American patriots.

During the 1950s *The Sentinel* evinced tensions between native Catholics and their missionaries, on the one hand, and the American Catholic hierarchy on the other. Whereas the former pushed for syncretism and religious experimentation, the latter favored homogeneity and the status-quo. Understandably, then, church officials were not pleased with missionaries' attempts to incorporate native religion into the Catholic liturgy. Nor, a decade prior to Vatican II, were they pleased with

attempts to involve laypeople in local church government. Perusing issues of *The Indian Sentinel* printed in the 1950s, Clatterbuck reveals the beginnings of changes that would shake the church a decade later. "Indeed," he writes, "long before the missiological renewal associated with Vatican II took place, the syncretic process had for centuries been a familiar trademark of Indian-missionary relations across the nation's vast frontier. Catechetical improvisation, sacramental approximation, ritual (mis)translation, and a healthy dose of theological misunderstanding have long been standard ingredients of a Catholic Indian missions program which struggled for centuries with grossly inadequate resources under little Episcopal oversight." (258-9) By 1962 the aims of *The Indian Sentinel* — promoting conversions of Native peoples, raising money for Indian missions, and combating anti-Catholic ideas in American society — diminished, and likely contributed to its discontinuation.

Clatterbuck's analysis of *The Indian Sentinel* does more than shed light upon Catholic-Indian relations in the 20th century: it highlights the historical value of periodicals. Too often, scholars of American Catholicism have overlooked periodicals in their research. Yet periodicals are valuable sources for historians. They reveal what all manner of Catholics — rich, poor, or middle-class — were thinking and doing at a particular moment in time. They often transcend geographic, socio-economic, and ethnic boundaries, and as such offer an opportunity to explore cultural, social, political, religious, and intellectual currents within the wider Catholic community. And their long his-

Upon this middle ground, both sides selective integrated Catholic or native elements to create a syncretic faith that advanced doctrine and respected tradition.

stories of publication allow for comparisons across time.

When it was first published in 1902, *The Indian Sentinel* was part of a significant generation of Catholic periodicals. *The Saint Anthony Messenger* (1893), *The Field Afar* (1907), and *America Magazine* (1909) were started at approximately the same time, enjoyed robust circulations, and helped to define Catholic character and identity. Their founding editors possessed rare journalistic talent, and eagerly

devoted themselves to their publication objectives. *The Indian Sentinel* and *The Field Afar* stressed the heroism and sacrifices of Catholic missionaries who labored in foreign lands and remote places for a single purpose: the glory of God and the conversion of souls. While many today rightly accuse these publications of

hagiography and reckless self-promotion, it is important to see that they played a major role in shaping Catholics' worldview. *The Saint Anthony Messenger* promoted a traditional Catholic piety and practical spirituality that were staples of Catholic life, while *America Magazine* appealed to elite members of the community, particularly those who attended Jesuit institutions. Although this generation of periodicals so shaped 20th-century American Catholic experience, Clatterbuck remains the first to contextualize a Catholic periodical vis-à-vis the larger Catholic story.

Clatterbuck uses *The Indian Sentinel* to mark several major turning points in American Catholic history. His broad analysis focuses on Native Catholics and missionaries, but he offsets this analysis with probing case studies that offer unique insights into 20th-century American

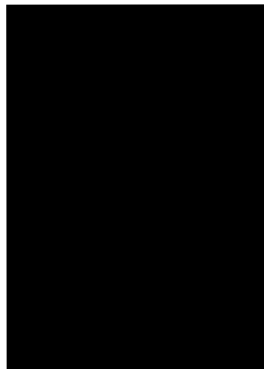
Catholicism. Even so, readers of *Demons, Saints, and Patriots* will notice how the author integrates the standard ways of analyzing American Catholicism: defensiveness and "enclave" culture, accommodation and integration, and Catholic triumphalism and patriotism are all reflected in the issues of *The Indian Sentinel*. Historians might use Clatterbuck's approach to study a wider range of early 20th-century Catholic periodicals. Doing so would allow them to evaluate Catholic thought, practice, and identity-formation not only in relation to Indians, but across the entire spectrum of 20th century American life. One thing is certain: periodicals were not lacking in Catholic homes. Norman Rockwell's painting, "The Catholic Home," portrayed a mother and father praying the rosary, while their children were surrounded by a stack of Catholic magazines depicting missionaries and popular Catholic practices.

Clatterbuck's analysis of *The Indian Sentinel* opens another avenue for future research, for it shows an emerging "middle ground" between missionaries and native peoples — a two-way frontier characterized by accommodation and compromise. Upon this middle ground, both sides selectively integrated Catholic or native elements to create a syncretic faith that advanced doctrine and respected tradition. Thus, missionaries moved closer to American and indigenous cultures while native peoples fashioned a Catholicism that reflected their values. *The Sentinel* reveals as much, for its earliest editions have Catholic missionaries embarking on a counter-offensive to save "noble savages" from the grips of Protestant America; its later, mid-century editions have missionaries questioning the wisdom of forced evangelization and celebrating a triumphal Catholicism. That is why, in this reviewer's opinion, *The Indian Sentinel* is such a valuable window into this progression, and can illumine broader developments within 20th-century American Catholicism.

Demons, Saint, and Patriots is a well written, carefully researched, and cleverly

nanced discussion of how *The Indian Sentinel* mirrored the growth and maturity of American Catholicism in the 20th century. Clatterbuck's review and analysis of almost every issue (318 issues were printed), and his ability to maintain focus and clarity throughout, are a credit to his skill as a historian. His chronological organization enables readers to see change over time. And he remains sensitive to major episodes that affected the larger Catholic community. His bibliography is expansive, and his citations point to a level of scholarly diligence that sets a high standard for incorporating Catholic periodicals into the historical narrative. Clatterbuck's book is a welcome addition to scholarship on 20th-century American Catholicism, and gives scholars of Native American Catholicism much to discuss and debate. It would have benefited, however, from an appendix that included the titles of *The Sentinel's* various thematic issues. Such a resource would have helped amplify the shifts in ideology and content visible over the course of *The Sentinel's* publication.

The history of *Die Indianer-Wache*, the German language edition of *The Indian Sentinel* that was published from



1903 to 1918, would be an excellent focus for future research. Such research might help to explain why

German-Catholics were interested in the conversion of Native Americans; whether they were reliable and generous benefactors of the BCIM; and how it happened that *Die Indianer-Wache* survived the First World War. Another potential study would compare *The Indian Sentinel* with other Catholic publications dealing with native Catholicism. A logical periodical for comparison would be *Mission Fields at Home* (which later became *Mission Magazine*), started by the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament in 1928. Did the views and attitudes promoted in this periodical differ from that of clerics, or that of the BCIM hierarchy? How did the sisters, or later editors, respond to government pres-

sure to accommodate Catholicism to native traditions? Any scholar who takes up these questions will doubtless benefit from Clatterbuck's model.

James T. Carroll
Iona College

Recent publications of interest include:

Randall Balmer, *The Making of Evangelicalism: From Revivalism to Politics and Beyond* (Baylor, 2010).

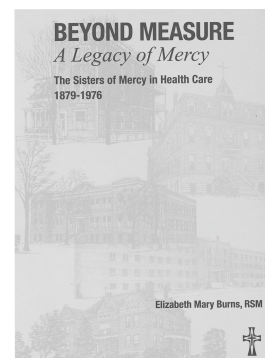
Balmer's history of evangelical Christianity in the United States situates developments in evangelicalism in their wider historical context and demonstrates the ways in which American social and cultural settings influenced the course of the evangelical tradition. By revealing the four key moments in the movement's history — the transition from Calvinist to Armenian theology in the embrace of revivalism, the shift away from post-millennialism, the retreat into a subculture, and the rise of the Religious Right — Balmer demonstrates how American evangelicalism is truly "American," and concludes with a

manifesto on where he believes evangelicalism must go from here.

Lila Corwin Berman, *Speaking of Jews: Rabbis, Intellectuals, and the Creation of an American Public Identity* (University of California, 2009). Berman asks why, over the course of the 20th century, American Jews were increasingly obsessed with explaining themselves to their non-Jewish neighbors. Investigating radio and television broadcasts, books, sociological studies, and more, she discovers that language itself became a crucial tool for Jewish group survival and integration into American life. As rabbis, intellectuals, and others created a seemingly endless array of explanations about why Jews were indis-

pensable to American life, their project of explanation became a core element of 20th-century Jewish culture.

Elizabeth Mary Burns, R.S.M., *Beyond Measure, A Legacy of Mercy: the Sisters of Mercy in Health Care, 1879-1976* (Gold Leaf Press and the Institute of the Sisters of Mercy of the Americas,



Recent publications of interest include:

West Midwest Community, 2009). Burns details the lives and works of women of the Sisters of Mercy healthcare ministry from the first hospitals in 1879 until the formation of the Sisters of Mercy Health Corporation in 1976. Beginning with their original efforts to care for injured lumbermen and Mississippi River sailors, and continuing through the World Wars, the Great Depression and the advent of technology, Burns uses the Sisters' correspondence, newspaper clippings, legal document and memorial booklets to tell the largely unknown story.

Edward E. Curtis IV, *Muslims in America: A Short History* (Oxford, 2009). Muslims are neither new nor foreign to the United States. They have been a vital presence in North America since the 16th century. Curtis unearths their history, documenting the lives of African, Middle Eastern, South Asian, European, black, white, Hispanic and other Americans who have been followers of Islam. Showing how Muslim American men and women participated in each era of U.S. history, the author explores the way they have shaped and have been shaped by larger historical trends such as the abolition movement, Gilded-Age immigration, the Great Migration of African Americans, urbanization, religious revivalism, the feminist movement, and the current war on terror. The first single-author history of Muslims in America from colonial times to the present, this book provides valuable background on one of the most poorly understood groups in the U.S.

Daniel L. Dreisbach, Mark David Hall, and Jeffrey H. Morrison, eds., *The Forgotten Founders on Religion and Public Life* (Notre Dame, 2009). This interdisciplinary volume brings together essays on 11 of the founders of the American republic — Abigail Adams, Samuel Adams, Oliver Ellsworth, Alexander Hamilton, Patrick Henry, John Jay, Thomas Paine, Edmund Randolph, Benjamin Rush, Roger Sherman, and

Mercy Otis Warren — to focus on how these men and women thought about the proper role of religion in public life, including but not limited to the question of the separation of church and state.

Their views represent a wide range of opinions, from complete isolation of church and state to tax-supported clergy. These essays present a textured and nuanced

view of the society that came to a consensus on how

religion would fit in the public life of the new nation. They reveal

that religion was more important in the lives and thinking of many of the founders than is often portrayed, and that it took the interplay of disparate and contrasting views to frame the constitutional outline that eventually emerged. Contributors are Daniel L. Dreisbach; Edith B. Gelles; Gary Scott Smith; William R. Casto; Gregg L. Frazer; Thomas E. Buckley, S.J.; Jonathan Den Hartog; David J. Voelker; Kevin R. Hardwick; Robert H. Abzug; Mark David Hall; and Rosemarie Zagarri.

Martha L. Finch, *Dissenting Bodies: Corporealities in Early New England* (Columbia, 2009). Focusing on Plymouth Colony, Finch explores the scientific, theological, and cultural conceptions of corporeality in early New England. She shows that, even as colonists were forced to interact bodily with native populations and other “new world” communities, they also fought starvation and illness; were whipped, branded, hanged, and murdered; sang, prayed, and preached; engaged in sexual relations; and were baptized according to their faith. All these corporeal activities shaped colonists' understanding of their existence and the godly principles of their young society. Merging theological,

medical, and other positions on corporeality with testimonies on colonial life, Finch brilliantly complicates our encounter with early Puritan New England.

Jonathan Freedman, *Klezmer America: Jewishness, Ethnicity, and Modernity* (Columbia, 2008). Freedman argues that terms central to the Jewish experience in America, notions like “the immigrant,” the “ethnic,” and even the “model minority,” have worked to intertwine Jewish-Americans with the experiences of Latinos, Asians, African Americans, and gays and lesbians. He traces these relationships in a number of arenas, including the crossover between jazz and klezmer (a Jewish musical tradition); the relationship between Jewishness and queer identity in Tony Kushner's *Angels in America*; and stories of “new immigrants” by Bharathi Mukherjee, Gish Jen, Lan Samantha Chang, and Gary Shteyngart. By interrogating the fraught and varied uses of Jews and Jewishness, Freedman deepens our understanding of ethnoracial complexities.

Alyshia Gálvez, *Guadalupe in New York: Devotion and the Struggle for Citizenship Rights among Mexican Immigrants* (NYU, 2009). Every December 12th, thousands of Mexican immigrants gather for the Mass at New York City's St. Patrick's Cathedral in honor of Our Lady of Guadalupe's feast day. They kiss images of the Virgin, wait for a bishop's blessing — and they also carry signs asking for immigration reform, much like political protestors. It is this juxtaposition of religion and politics that Alyshia Gálvez investigates. Through rich ethnographic research, she shows that through Guadalupan devotion many of New York's undocumented Mexicans are finding the will and language to demand rights, immigration reform, and respect. She also reveals how such devotion supports and emboldens immigrants in their struggle to provide for their families and create their lives in the city with dignity.

Francis Cardinal George O.M.I., *The Difference God Makes: A Catholic Vision of Faith, Communion, and Culture* (Crossroads, 2009). Weaving together intellectual insight and personal wisdom, George offers a Catholic vision of communion, illustrating the church's relation to numerous religions as well as the secular world. Drawing from his observations of Catholicism in cultures around the globe and theologians' perspectives — including Popes John Paul II and Benedict XVI, Thomas Aquinas, and Francis of Assisi — George seeks to show how to recognize the self-giving, liberating God who provides freedom from the competitive, oppressive gods of secular modernity.

John A. Grigg, *The Lives of David Brainerd: The Making of an American Evangelical Icon* (Oxford, 2009). Coupling archival research with the most recent work on the Great Awakening and Indian missions, Grigg argues that David Brainerd was shaped by two formative experiences. On the one hand, he was the child of a prosperous, well-respected Connecticut family that was part of the political and social establishment. On the other, he was a participant in one of the more fundamental challenges to that establishment — the religious revivals of the 1740s. Brainerd's work among the Indians, Grigg argues, was a way to combine the sense of order and tradition inherited from his family with his radical experiences in the revival movement. Grigg's scholarly biography of Brainerd, draws on everything from town records and published sermons to hand-written fragments to tell the story of his life and legend.

Amy Laura Hall, *Conceiving Parenthood: American Protestantism and the Spirit of Reproduction* (Eerdmans, 2008). Hall argues that mainline Protestantism is complicit in the history and development of reproductive biotechnology. Through analysis of nearly 150 images of the family in 20th-century mainstream media, she shows that, by downplaying the gratuity of grace, middle-class Protestants, with American culture at large, have implicitly endorsed the idea of justification through

responsibly planned procreation. According to Hall, a tradition that should have welcomed all persons equally has instead fostered a culture of racially encoded domesticity.

William Inboden, *Religion and American Foreign Policy, 1945–1960: The Soul of Containment* (Cambridge, 2008). Inboden argues that the Cold War was in many ways a religious war. Presidents Truman and Eisenhower and other American leaders believed that human rights and freedoms were endowed by God, that God had called the United States to defend liberty in the world, and that Soviet communism was especially evil because of its atheism and its enmity to religion. Meanwhile, American Protestant churches failed to seize the moment, largely due to internal differences over theology and politics. Frustrated by the churches' disputes, Truman and Eisenhower tried instead to build a new civil religion, which was used to mobilize domestic support for Cold War measures.

Dana Evan Kaplan, *Contemporary American Judaism: Transformation and Renewal* (Columbia, 2009). No longer controlled by a few institutional leaders, American Judaism is now being shaped by the spiritual decisions of tens of thousands of Jews living all across the United States. Kaplan follows this religious individualism from its postwar suburban roots to the hippie revolution of the 1960s and today's multiple postmodern identities. He shows how ordinary Jews have incorporated traditions from other ethnic groups, and argues that this reorientation has been a “bottom up” process, resisted by elites who have only reluctantly responded to the demands of the “spiritual marketplace.” For Kaplan, Jewish denominational structure is weakening while religious experimentation is rising, leading to new approaches that are supplanting existing institutions.

Joseph Kip Kosek, *Acts of Conscience: Christian Nonviolence and American Democracy* (Columbia, 2009). Beginning with World War I and ending with the rise of Martin Luther King, Jr., Kosek traces

the impact of A. J. Muste, Richard Gregg, and other radical Christian pacifists on American “acts of conscience,” such as sit-ins, boycotts, labor strikes, and conscientious objection to war. In the process, he argues that theories of Christian nonviolence were anything but fixed. For decades, followers actively reinterpreted the nonviolent tradition, keeping pace with developments in politics, technology, and culture. Kosek's research sheds new light on an interracial and transnational movement that posed a fundamental (and still relevant) challenge to the American political and religious mainstream.

Lake Lambert III, *Spirituality, Inc.: Religion in the American Workplace* (NYU, 2009) Lambert examines the workplace spirituality movement, and explores how it is both shaping and being shaped by American business culture. Situating the phenomenon in a historical context, Lambert surveys the role of spirituality in business from medieval guilds to industrial “company towns” up to current trends in the ever-changing contemporary business environment. Using case studies from specific businesses, such as Chick-fil-A and Hobby Lobby, he analyzes the enhanced benefits and support that workplace spirituality offers to employees, while exposing the conflicts it engenders, including diversity, religious freedom, and discrimination issues.

Asunción Lavrin, *Brides of Christ: Conventual Life in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford, 2008). Lavrin invites readers to follow the histories of colonial Mexican nuns inside the cloisters where they pursued a religious vocation or sought shelter from the world. She provides a complete overview of conventual life, including the early signs of vocation, the decision to enter a convent, profession, spiritual guidelines and devotional practices, governance, ceremonials, relations with male authorities and confessors, living arrangements, servants, sickness, and death rituals. In exploring these conventual experiences, Lavrin reveals the multiple paths available to nuns, as well as the extent to which they adapted themselves to colonial society.

Recent publications of interest include:

Charles H. Lippy, *Introducing American Religion* (Routledge, 2009). Lippy provides a lively and concise overview of the historical development of religion in the USA. In four parts, he traces the history of American religion from Europe, Native American and African life, through to the age of independence, and on to the late 20th century to the present day. Lippy particularly stresses the development of pluralism in American religious life, exploring the African-American experience through slavery, Roman Catholic and Jewish immigration, political and economic factors, the impact of Latino culture, and the growth of Hinduism and Buddhism.

Timothy D. Lytton, *Holding Bishops Accountable: How Lawsuits Helped the Catholic Church Confront Clergy Sexual Abuse* (Harvard, 2008). Stories of the tort system as an engine of social justice are rare. Lytton tells one such story by revealing how pleadings, discovery documents, and depositions fueled media coverage of the scandal. He shows how the litigation strategy of plaintiffs' lawyers gave rise to a widespread belief that the real problem was not the actions of individual priests, but rather the church's massive institutional failure. As Lytton demonstrates, the lessons of clergy sexual abuse litigation give us reason to reconsider the case for tort reform and to look more closely at how tort litigation can enhance the performance of public and private policymaking institutions.

John W. O'Malley, *What Happened at Vatican II* (Belknap, 2008). O'Malley captures the drama of Vatican II, depicting the colorful characters involved and their clashes with one another. He also offers a new set of interpretive categories for understanding the council's dynamics — categories that move beyond the tired "progressive" and "conservative" labels. An even-handed introduction to the council, the book is a critical resource for understanding the Catholic Church today, including the pontificate of Benedict XVI.

Nathan D. Mitchell, *The Mystery of the Rosary: Marian Devotion and the Reinvention of Catholicism* (NYU Press, 2009). Mitchell argues that to understand the rosary's resilience and adaptability, one must consider the changes Catholicism experienced in the aftermath of the Reformation. In these formative years, Mitchell shows, Catholicism became more innovative and diversified rather than retrenched and monolithic. This innovation was especially evident in the sometimes "subversive" visual representations of sacred subjects. So, the rosary was involved not only in how Catholics gave flesh to their faith, but in new ways of constructing their personal and collective identity. For Mitchell, the rosary becomes a lens through which to better see early modern Catholic history.

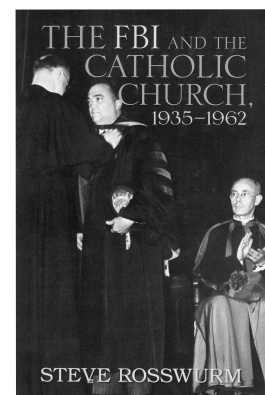
Craig R. Prentiss, *Debating God's Economy: Social Justice in America on the Eve of Vatican II* (Pennsylvania State, 2008). Prentiss has written a history of American Catholic economic debates taking place during the generation preceding Vatican II. At that time, American society was rife with sociopolitical debates over the relative merits and dangers of Marxism, capitalism, and socialism. Especially in light of the social and economic upheavals in Russia and Europe in the early 20th century, Catholics found themselves taking sides, and legitimizing diverse economic systems that were, at times, mutually exclusive. In the process, Prentiss maintains, they contributed to a common mythology that provided them with a unique vocabulary and touchstone of authority.

Marc Lee Raphael, ed. *The Columbia History of Jews and Judaism in America* (Columbia, 2008). Raphael's anthology of the history of Jews and Judaism in America opens with early Jewish settlers (1654-1820), the expansion of Jewish life in America (1820-1901), the great wave of eastern European Jewish immigrants (1880-1924), the character of American Judaism between the two world wars,

American Jewish life from the end of World War II to the Six-Day War, and the growth of Jews' influence and affluence. The second half of the book includes essays on the history of Jewish education in America, the rise of Jewish social clubs at the turn of the century, the history of southern and western Jewry, Jewish responses to Nazism and the Holocaust; and feminism's confrontation with Judaism. This collection introduces students to American Jewish history and offers new perspectives for scholars as well.

Marian Ronan, *Tracing the Sign of the Cross: Sexuality, Mourning, and the Future of American Catholicism* (Columbia, 2009). By the end of the 20th century, American Catholicism was in crisis, plagued by ideological divisions, a dwindling pool of clergy, and declining financial resources. Ronan asks what went wrong. She roots the crisis in American Catholics' inability to mourn various losses suffered in the last third of the 20th century. Drawing on the work of four Catholic writers — James Carroll, Mary Gordon, Donnar Haraway, and Richard Rodriguez — Ronan argues that endless battles over sexuality and gender in particular have kept American Catholics from confronting these losses, thus jeopardizing the future of Catholicism. Framed by the author's own personal experience, Ronan's book is an intimate and persuasive account of Catholic possibility in a postmodern world.

Steve Rosswurm, *The FBI and the Catholic Church, 1935-1962* (University of Massachusetts, 2009). Rosswurm explores the history of the relationship between the Catholic Church and the FBI



during the tenure of J. Edgar Hoover, who, though not a Catholic himself, shared with Catholicism a set of values and a vision of the world, grounded in certain assumptions about the way things ought to be in a well-ordered society.

Nora L. Rubel, *Doubting the Devout: The Ultra-Orthodox in the Jewish American Imagination* (Columbia, 2009). Building on the work of Allegra Goodman, Tova Mirvis, Pearl Abraham, Erich Segal, Anne Roiphe, and others, as well as television shows and films such as *A Price Above Rubies*, Rubel investigates the choices non-Haredi Jews have made as they represent the character and characters of ultra-Orthodox Jews. In these artistic and aesthetic acts, Rubel recasts the war over gender and family and the anxieties over acculturation, Americanization, and continuity. More than just a study of Jewishness and Jewish self-consciousness, Rubel's book addresses the struggle to balance religion, family, and culture.

Barbara Diane Savage, *Your Spirits Walk Beside Us: The Politics of Black Religion* (Belknap, 2008). Savage argues that black churches from the 1920s on have not been, as many historians think, the inevitable allies of progressive politics. Rather, black churches and political activists have been uneasy and contentious partners. Indeed, there was no single, unified black church but rather many churches marked by enormous intellectual, theological, and political differences. Yet, confronted by racial discrimination and poverty, churches were called upon repeatedly to come together as savior institutions for black communities. By retrieving the people, the polemics, and the power of the spiritual that animated African-American political life, Savage has demonstrated the challenge to all religious institutions seeking political change in our time.

Christopher Shannon, *Bowery to Broadway: The American Irish in Classic*

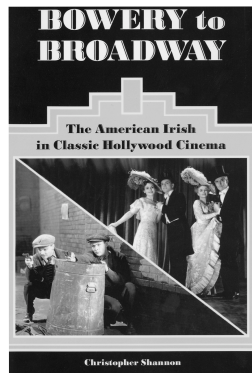
Hollywood Cinema (Marquette, 2010).

Before Jonny Depp and *Public Enemies*, there was *The Public Enemy*.

James Cagney's 1931 portrayal of the urban Irish-American gangster Tommy Powers set the standard for the Hollywood gangster, and helped launch a golden age of Irish-American cinema. Cagney's Irish gangsters shared the screen with a broad range of Irish characters, such as boxers, working girls, priests, and entertainers. Films such as *Angels with Dirty Faces*, *Gentlemen Jim*, *Kitty Foyle*, *Going My Way*, and *Yankee Doodle Dandy* presented these characters as inhabitants of an urban village, at once traditional and modern, and both Irish and American.

In his analysis of these and other Irish urban films of the Depression era, Shannon argues that these movies offered an alternative social vision that prized community and solidarity over individual advancement, and local loyalty rather than the rootless freedom of the frontier. Drinking and fighting, loving and hating, playing and praying, the Irish remained local heroes in these films, emphasizing the strength, importance, and appeal of the local urban community versus the nationalizing trends of the New Deal and nostalgia for the rural American past.

Scott Stephan, *Redeeming the Southern Family: Evangelical Women and Domestic Devotion in the Antebellum South* (University of Georgia, 2008). Examining journals and correspondence of evangelical women, Stephan argues that female Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians played a crucial role in moving evangelicalism from the fringes to the mainstream



of the antebellum American South. He does so by stressing women's domestic authority, which allowed some women to take on more public roles in the conversion and education of southern youth within churches and academies. Rather than seeing the women as entirely oppressed in a patriarchal slave society, Stephan captures their agency through their moral authority.

Randall J. Stephens, ed., *Recent Themes in American Religious History: Historians in Conversation* (University of South Carolina, 2009). Described as "the *New York Review of Books* for history," *Historically Speaking* has emerged as a distinctive historical publication, seeking contributions from a range of leading voices in historical discourse from both inside and outside academia. Stephens gathers a collection of essays and interviews from the journal to address several subjects central to religious history in the United States. The first section maps the state of American religious history as a field of study and includes interviews with award-winning senior religious studies scholars Robert Orsi and Stephen Prothero. Subsequent sections explore the challenges of assimilation faced by Jews and Catholics in the United States, the origins and historical significance of American evangelical Christianity, and the phenomenon of millennialism in America. The volume concludes with a discussion of religious experience as an indicator of the limits of historical understanding, and of the tension that exists between the two modes of knowing. Contributors include Kathleen Garces-Foley, Nicholas Guyatt, Thomas S. Kidd, Thomas Kselman, Bruce Kuklick, George Marsden, Wilfred M. McClay, John McGreevy, Robert A. Orsi, James M. O'Toole, Stephen Prothero, Leo P. Ribuffo, Jonathan D. Sarna, Christopher Shannon, Jane Shaw, Stephen J. Stein, and John G. Turner.

We welcome notes from colleagues about conferences, current research, professional advancement, or other news that will be of interest to readers of the American Catholic Studies Newsletter. Please send your latest news to Paula Brach at pbrach@nd.edu. Thank you!

Recent journal articles of interest include:

Margaret Abruzzo, "Apologetics of Harmony: Mathew Carey and the Rhetoric of Religious Liberty," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 134, no. 1 (January 2010): 5-30.

Zain Abdullah, "Sufis on Parade: The Performance of Black, African, and Muslim Identities," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 77, no. 2 (June 2009): 199-237.

Carol N. Abromaitis, "Catholicism in Maryland in the Seventeenth Century," *Recusant History* 29 (May 2009): 55-366.

Regina Bechtle, S.C., and Judith Metz, S.C., "Elizabeth Bayley Seton Writings: Current State and Future Plans," *Vincentian Heritage* 29 (2009): 24-33.

Mark A. Chancey, "The Bible, the First Amendment, and the Public Schools in Odessa, Texas," *Religion and American Culture* 19, no. 2 (summer 2009): 169-205.

Seth Dowland, "'Family Values' and the Formation of a Christian Right Agenda," *Church History* 78, no. 3 (September 2009): 606-31.

Ellin M. Kelly, "Elizabeth Bayley Seton's Commonplace Book of Poetry Archives, St. Joseph Provincial House, Rare Book 31," *Vincentian Heritage* 29 (2009): 35-131.

P. C. Kemeny, "'Banned in Boston': Moral Reform Politics and the New England Society for the Suppression of Vice," *Church History* 78, no. 4 (December 2009): 814-46.

Andrew M. Essig, and Jennifer L. Moore, "U.S.-Holy See Diplomacy: The Establishment of Formal Relations, 1984," *Catholic Historical Review* 95, no. 4 (October 2009): 741-64.

Jo Renee Formicola, "Catholic Moral Demands in American Politics," *Journal of*

Church & State 51, no. 1 (winter 2009): 4-23.

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F. Allan Hanson, "The Jurisprudence of the Christian Right: Teachings from Regent and Liberty University Law Schools," *Journal of Church & State* 51, no. 2 (spring 2009): 265-88.

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FlorenceMae Waldron, "Re-evaluating the Role of 'National' Identities in the American Catholic Church at the Turn of the Twentieth Century: The Case of Les Petites Franciscaines De Marie (PFM)," *Catholic Historical Review* 95 (July 2009): 515-45.

Grant Wacker, "Billy Graham's America," *Church History* 78, no. 3 (September 2009): 489-511.

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Avihu Zakai, "The Theological Origins of Jonathan Edwards's Philosophy of Nature," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 60, no. 4 (October 2009): 708-24.

UPCOMING EVENTS



Cushwa Center Lecture

Hearts and Stones: Material Transformations and the Staff of Christian Practice in the United States
Salley Promey, Yale University

Date: Monday, September 20, 2010
Time: To be announced.
Place: To be announced.

Seminar in American Religion

Predestination: The American Career of a Contentious Doctrine (Oxford, 2009),
Peter J. Thuesen, Indiana University-
Purdue University Indianapolis

Commentators:
Michael Winship, University of Georgia
James Turner, University of Notre Dame

Date: Saturday, September 18, 2010
Time: 9:00 A.M. - 12:00 P.M.
Place: McKenna Hall, Center for
Continuing Education

American Catholic Studies Seminar

Katherine Moran, Duke University

Date: Thursday, November 4, 2010
Time: 4:30 P.M.
Place: 1140 Flanner Hall

Archives Report

New Collections in the Archives of the University of Notre Dame, Fall 2009

In October, Michael A. Diebold gave us 26 cassette audio tapes containing interviews he conducted with teaching priests of the Archdiocese of Louisville, and transcriptions of the interviews. Sister Rose Marie Mantin, O.P., donated a collection of prayer books, missals, and hymnals used by the Dominican Sisters of Grand Rapids, Michigan, before the Second Vatican Council. The Notre Dame Center for Liturgy sent papers of Rev. Gerald Shirilla, consisting of research files having to do with the Catholic Church and its liturgy: collected material, articles, note cards, and drafts of chapters of his dissertation, amounting to approximately three linear feet.

In November, Sister Dorothy Ann Blatnica, S.C., sent 2.5 linear feet of research material gathered for her doctoral dissertation, "In Those Days": African American Catholics in Cleveland, 1922-1961 (Case Western Reserve University, 1992), published as *At the altar of their God: African American Catholics in Cleveland, 1922-1961* (New York: Garland, 1995). This collection consists of audio tapes and transcriptions of interviews; photocopies of historical documents including correspondence, reports, and newspaper clippings; photographs; releases signed by subjects of interviews; the prospectus for her dissertation, with critiques; and a copy of the dissertation itself.

In November and December, Peter Denio sent records (1983-2009) of the National Pastoral Life Center amounting to some 180 linear feet; including general office files, church magazine files, development files, pastoral services files, Roundtable files (The Roundtable Association of Diocesan Social Action Directors), New Pastors' Workshop files, Executive Director files, and files of NPLC founder and director Msgr. Philip J. Murnion, with photo albums, videos, and other audio-visual material; and some 50,000 computer files amounting to 33 gigabytes of digital data.

— *Wm. Kevin Cawley, Ph.D.*
Archivist & Curator of Manuscripts
University of Notre Dame
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- Timothy B. Neary, "Taking It to the Streets: Catholic Liberalism, Race, and Sport in Twentieth-Century Urban America" — fall 2004
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- Margaret Preston "'From the Emerald Isle to Little House on the Prairie': Ireland, Medicine and the Presentation Sisters on America's Northern Plains" — spring 2006
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- Julia Grace Darling Young, "Under the Banner of Christo Rey: Mexican Exiles in the U.S., 1926-1929." — spring 2009

News Items for Newsletter

(Current position, research interests, etc.):



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