

# AMERICAN CATHOLIC STUDIES NEWSLETTER

#### CUSHWA CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF AMERICAN CATHOLICISM

# U.S. Catholicism in One América

n his keynote address at the Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Catholic Heritage conference sponsored by the Cushwa Center and Notre Dame's Institute for Latino Studies last April, Bishop Ricardo Ramírez, C.S.B., of Las Cruces, New Mexico, expressed his hope that "someday a group of historians from the north and the south of this hemisphere can come together to write a common history of the church in America." Echoing the emphasis Pope John Paul II places on the interconnectedness of the hemisphere - the political, economic, and social links that the pope says cry out for a common faith and a common evangelization in a united America - Ramírez challenged historians to recognize the Hispanic origins of Catholicism in what is now the United States, as well as the significant influences of the growing Latino presence in U.S. Catholicism. More importantly, he called on historians and pastoral leaders alike "to contextualize

U.S. Catholicism in America," not just by including Hispanics in the U.S. Catholic story and the contemporary pastoral life of the church, but by conceptualizing U.S. Catholicism within the wider currents of American (hemispheric) history.

Bishop Ramírez's challenge reflects the work of the so-called U.S. Borderlands historians, who set out during the early decades of the twentieth century to highlight the contributions of Hispanic Catholics in what is now the Southwest United States. At least one of those historians, Herbert Eugene Bolton, even offered an early version of what Ramírez advocates in his presentation. In his 1932 Presidential Address to the American Historical Association, in the Pan-American spirit so prevalent at the time, Bolton spoke of the need for a more integrated vision of the Americas. Entitled "The Epic of Greater America," Bolton argued in his address that "There is a need of a broader treatment of American history, to supplement the purely nationalistic

presentation to which we are accustomed." He pointed out the many shared historical themes in the history of the western hemisphere, including European exploration, colonialism, slavery, immigration, and economic development, to name but a few.

Though in his day Bolton's broad Americanist vision did not significantly alter the way many scholars render U.S. history and the history of U.S. Catholicism, today the notion is gaining greater acceptance. One group of historians taking up this work are those who examine the transnational dimensions of U.S. Latino Catholicism, that is, crossnational experiences that situate Latino Catholics between two worlds created by the intersection of United States and Latin American history. This history has been characterized by North American political and economic expansionism that conquered half of Mexico's national territory in the first half of the nineteenth century; consolidated United States occupation of Puerto Rico some five decades later; helped create the economic conditions for the origins of early twentieth-century immigration from Mexico, Puerto Rico, and Cuba; resulted in a United States presence throughout the Caribbean and Central America during the first half of the twentieth century; and has driven the globalization process that fed an

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# CUSHWA CENTER ACTIVITIES



## Cushwa Center Conference

On April 12-13, the Cushwa Center hosted a public conference, "Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Catholic Heritage." Over seventy-five scholars gathered to explore critical issues for the ongoing development and enhancement of U.S. Hispanic Catholic historical studies. Notre Dame's Institute for Latino Studies co-sponsored the conference.

Scott Appleby, director of the Cushwa Center, and Gilberto Cárdenas. director of the Institute for Latino Studies, welcomed scholars to the conference on Friday morning, April 12. Kenneth Davis of Saint Meinrad Seminary chaired the opening session on "Transnationalism and Catholic Identities." In the first paper, María Alonso of Interamerican University (Puerto Rico) explored church-state relations during Puerto Rico's 1960 elections, when leaders of the Puerto Rican Catholic Church attempted to form their own political party to challenge the established government. Anthony Stevens-Arroyo of the City University of New York delivered his paper on the Catholic worldview of the Puerto Rican orator and nationalist Pedro Albizu Campos. Stevens-Arroyo argued that the years Albizu Campos spent as a student at Harvard contributed to his Catholic nationalistic philosophy by exposing him to the influence of Irish nationalism.

David Badillo of the University of Illinois at Chicago presented his study of "Ideology, Religiosity, and the Cuban-American Search for Independent Nationhood, 1959-1980," in which he argued that their sense of exile insulated Cubans from the liberal movements of the 1960s and '70s, which in turn resulted in their detachment from the Latino experience in all of its political and cultural manifestations. Anne Martínez, a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Minnesota and an Erasmus Fellow at the University of Notre Dame, presented her work on Montezuma Seminary in New Mexico,

an interdiocesan institution that existed from 1937 to 1972. By establishing Montezuma Seminary, both Mexican and United States clergy acknowledged that Mexican immigrants constituted a permanent presence in the United States. Martínez argued that the seminary could offer a model for future cooperative ventures between the U.S. and Mexican Catholic clergy and leadership.

Session Two of the conference, moderated by Alberto López Pulido of Arizona State University, explored "The Diocesan Church: Parishes, Organizations, and Historiography." Bob Wright, O.M.I., of the Oblate School of Theology presented his study of the diocesan church in Texas under Spain and Mexico. In marked contrast to the attention given to Spanish missions in the Southwest, Catholic historians have ignored the churches established by the Hispanic colonists themselves. Through his analysis of enduring parish communities in Texas, Wright challenged the assumption that Catholics in the English colonies were the only ones who succeeded in establishing permanent church foundations in what would become the United States. María Eva Flores, C.D.P.,



Bishop Ricardo Ramírez, C.S.B.

of Our Lady of the Lake University, San Antonio, presented her study of Mexican Catholic identity in St. Joseph's Parish in Fort Stockton, Texas, between 1875 and 1925.

José Hernández, professor emeritus at Georgetown University, delivered his paper on the Agrupación Católica Universitaria (ACU), the only Catholic lay association that has continued to function on American soil since the Cuban exodus to the United States in the 1960s. Hernández argued that the ACU's transplantation to south Florida represented not so much assimilation to American Catholicism but an adaptation of Cuban Catholicism to a new environment. Gerald Poyo of Saint Mary's University and a visiting professor at the University of Notre Dame, presented his research on faith, community, and national identity among Cuban Catholics in Miami from the 1960s to the 1980s. Poyo argued that by developing an exile mentality, Cubans achieved "integration without assimilation" and maintained a distinct identity and culture on American soil.

At Friday evening's banquet, Bishop Ricardo Ramírez, C.S.B., bishop of Las Cruces, New Mexico, delivered the keynote address "Toward a History of the Church in America: A Reflection on the Work of CEHILA." Ramírez began with a brief history of the establishment of La Comisión para el Estudio de la Historia de la Iglesia en Latinoamérica, (CEHILA; the Commission for the Study of the Church in Latin America) at the Second General Conference of Latin American Bishops held in Medellín, Colombia, in 1968. Describing the powerful influence CEHILA has had on his own work, Ramírez suggested that historians of U.S. Catholicism could follow the example of CEHILA in developing a comprehensive history of the church among Latinos. Encouraged by the work presented at the conference, Ramírez observed that Notre Dame could be the place where a methodology for this comprehensive history could develop and where the coordinating effort for such an endeavor could begin.

Antonia Castañeda of Saint Mary's University chaired Saturday morning's session on "Latina Faith, Evangelization, and Leadership." Ana María Díaz-Stevens of Union Theological Seminary presented her research on three congregations of women religious who worked as missionaries in Puerto Rico: the Amityville Dominicans, the Missionary Servants of the Most Blessed Trinity, and the Sisters of St. Joseph of Brentwood. Between 1910 and 1960. members of these three communities were sent to Puerto Rico to develop a Catholic school system and various outreach ministries in order to resist the evangelization of Protestant missionaries who established public schools with a U.S. curriculum and English as the primary language of instruction.

AnnaMaría Padilla, a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Notre Dame, presented her study of women and spirituality among the Penitentes of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado. Padilla challenged the perception that the spirituality of these confraternities is exclusively maledominated. Although she admitted that the activities of the male Penitentes are much better documented, her research suggests that women do indeed participate fully in Penitente spirituality.

Anita de Luna, M.C.D.P., of the Mexican American Cultural Center presented her study of the Missionary Catechists of Divine Providence, the first and only religious congregation of Mexican-American women founded in the United States. Founded in Houston as a filial adjunct to the Congregation of Divine Providence, the congregation became self-governing in 1967 and became independent in 1989.

The final conference session, moderated by Gilberto Hinojosa of the University of the Incarnate Word, San Antonio, was devoted to strategies for recovering the U.S. Hispanic Heritage in the United States. Moises Sandoval, director of CEHILA-USA since 1983, described the ongoing efforts of CEHILA members to write their own history. He observed that the history of U.S. Catholicism begins in 1513, when the first Mass was celebrated in St. Augustine. Sandoval described his edited volume Fronteras, published by the Mexican-American Cultural Center in 1983, as the first study of the Hispanic church that was not written from the



AnnaMaría Padilla, Antonia Castañeda, Ana María Díaz-Stevens and Anita de Luna, M.C.D.P.

perspective of the conquerors. Sandoval, who will be succeeded as director by Bob Wright, expressed his hope that future leaders of CEHILA-USA can recover the sense of mission of earlier generations.

Nicolas Kanellos, director of the Recovery Project at the University of Houston, was the final conference speaker. According to Kanellos, the Recovery Project has already scanned and made accessible a quarter of a million documents pertaining to the history of Hispanic religious thought in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The project funds Grants-in-Aid fellowships for scholars, sponsors conferences for the dissemination of information, and aids in publication efforts.

To close the conference, presenters and audience members were asked to consider crucial issues and themes for historians of Hispanic Catholicism. Much of the discussion focused on the need for historians of Hispanic Catholicism to engage other groups of scholars, not only historians of U.S. Catholicism but also Chicana historians, historians of American religion, and historians of the United States in general. Some participants argued that, given the paucity of research on the subject, scholars should make uncovering the history of Hispanic Catholics a priority. Others countered that unless this research engages a wider audience, it will have very little lasting impact. The group concluded

that historians of Hispanic Catholicism ultimately must conduct research and attempt to become integrated into more general histories at the same time.

Conference papers will be published in two forthcoming issues of the U.S. Catholic Historian.

# Seminar in American Religion

The Spring Seminar in American Religion met on Saturday, April 6, to discuss Grant Wacker's book, Heaven Below: Early Pentecostals and American Culture (Harvard University Press, 2001). Wacker is associate professor of the history of religion in America at Duke Divinity School. William L. Svelmoe, assistant professor of history at Saint Mary's College, and Douglas Jacobsen, distinguished professor of Church history and theology at Messiah College, served as commentators.

At the dawn of the twentieth century, an itinerant Methodist healer named Charles Fox Parham led a small group of radical evangelicals in Topeka, Kansas, on a spiritual quest to recover the charisms of the first-century church. Parham was particularly fascinated by the gift of tongues bestowed on the apostles at Pentecost. He soon became convinced that this foundational Holy Ghost baptism was the distinguishing mark of the elect.

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Parham and his disciples carried this message, unique even within radical evangelical circles, across the United States. In Houston, an African-American preacher named William J. Seymour embraced Parham's message and brought it to Los Angeles, spurring the famed Azusa Street revival of 1906. By the early 1920s, a woman, Aimee Semple McPherson, had established herself as the most popular preacher of the movement. Her revival meetings packed the largest arenas in America, while even outside of pentecostal circles she proved to be a celebrity with a public presence on par with Mary Pickford, Babe Ruth, and Charles Lindbergh.

Wacker sees such racial mixing and inversion of gender hierarchies as a reflection of a belief in the Holy Ghost as a power that transcended the arbitrary rules of mere human institutions. In their quest to restore Christianity to its primitive, first-century purity, early pentecostals were willing to call into question every established convention of church and society.

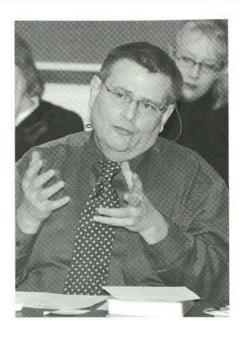
The desire for an immediate and direct experience of the Holy Ghost seemed to work against all efforts to establish pentecostalism as a separate church or distinct denomination within Protestantism. Wacker traces the eventual success of the movement to the ability of pentecostals to balance their primitivism with a pragmatism capable of adapting their message to the social realities of modern America. Early pentecostals' world-renouncing spirituality rendered the issue of social justice irrelevant and political loyalty suspect; still, when the United States entered the First World War, pentecostals abandoned their earlier pacifism and embraced the cause of patriotism. Conversely, Aimee Semple McPherson proved remarkably adept at exploiting modern techniques of mass communication, in particular the radio, yet used this new technology to preach the primitivist doctrine of Holy Ghost baptism. Her exceptional leadership never led pentecostals to question female subordination as the rule for normal family life.

The productive tension between primitivism and pragmatism serves as the organizing principle for fifteen topical

chapters that each focus on particular aspects of pentecostal culture, such as temperament, authority, tongues, and worship. Acknowledging the prickly or angular temperament fostered by the pentecostal quest for spiritual purity, Wacker nonetheless challenges the stereotypes of early pentecostals as predominantly poor, rural, backward bumpkins seeking religious compensation for their social marginality. A significant minority of pentecostals may have fit this profile, but overall Wacker finds that "the typical convert paralleled the demographic and biographical profile of the typical American in most though not quite all respects." Much of the book is an effort to put pentecostal flesh on these statistical bones through a close description of the everyday life and lived religion of early pentecostals.

William Svelmoe opened his response with an account of his own childhood experiences growing up as the son of penetecostal missionaries. Sharing Wacker's insider perspective on the movement, he appreciated Wacker's concern to present pentecostalism in its own terms, with little authorial intrusion. Still, Svelmoe suggested that Wacker's concern to avoid judging the truth value of pentecostal claims regarding miraculous healings and speaking in tongues may have inhibited his efforts to render the full experience of pentecostal worship. Most fundamentalist and evangelical groups experienced some form of the tension between primitivism and pragmatism, between Mary and Martha. Pentecostals set themselves apart from these groups by insisting on tongues as a sign of Holy Ghost baptism. Svelmoe wished Wacker had presented more of Mary than Martha. Where aspects of pentecostalism strain the conventions of historical objectivity, perhaps a more literary approach is needed, something akin to the new journalism of Tom Wolfe in his classic study of the 1960s counterculture, The Electric Cool Aid Acid Test.

Wacker conceded his own reticence in dealing with the supernatural aspects of pentecostalism. He confessed that after struggling with how to render the experience of tongues and healing, he finally concluded it was simply too



Grant Wacker

holy, too sacred for him to approach with academic objectivity. These were the experiences that most gave meaning to his subjects' lives, and he did not want to violate that meaning through overexamination.

Douglas Jacobsen raised the broader issue of whether it is possible to speak of pentecostalism in terms of a culture. The Puritans of Perry Miller's classic work were a people seeking coherence, but Wacker's penetecostals clearly were not. How did they define their group boundaries? At times Wacker seems to suggest a move from primitivism to pragmatism, or in more sociological terminology, from sect to church, while at other times he suggests that both tendencies were present at the start. Is the history of early pentecostalism a story of accommodation to mainstream American Protestant religiosity?

Wacker responded that he may at times have drawn the distinction between primitivism and pragmatism too sharply, but he intended the terms to serve primarily as heuristic devices. Academics impose categories on experience, but people do not live their lives in terms of discrete analytic categories. Wacker stated that he wished to introduce the category of pragmatism as a corrective to previous studies that focused on pentecostalism's supernatural,

otherworldly aspects. The spiritual appeal of primitive Christianity does not explain how the movement proved so successful at negotiating the social world of modern America.

James Turner followed up Jacobsen's questions concerning the distinctiveness of pentecostal culture and the issue of accommodation. If pentecostals are so distinctive, then why study them through an analytic device such as the tension between primitivism and pragmatism, which Wacker himself concedes could be applied to any group?

Wacker replied that he chose the categories as a way of addressing both the similarities and the differences between pentecostals and other religious groups. Pentecostals are distinct in the peculiar intensity of both their pragmatism and their primitivism. To cite but one example, televangelist Pat Robertson used the first privately owned satellite to pray away a hurricane from the coast of Virginia. It landed in New Haven, Connecticut.

Alan Shreck and Gail Bederman raised the more pointed issue of the personal character of pentecostals. After reading the book, why would any thinking person be sympathetic to these people? How can we understand them as anything more than, at best, innocently self-deceived Christian extremists? Wacker noted that several published reviews, including those in the Los Angeles Times and The New Republic, have asked the same question. Reviewers have criticized the book for being too sympathetic to its subjects; some have even charged that the book would have been better if he had explicitly condemned pentecostalism. On the other hand, Wacker stated that a pentecostal friend of his said, in effect, "You made us look like the idiots and hypocrites we are!"

Ultimately, Wacker defended the intentions he expressed in the opening pages of his book. Wishing neither to celebrate nor debunk, he sought merely to examine the complex relationship between the spiritual experience of pentecostals and the dramatic social changes of early twentieth-century America.

#### Cushwa Center Lecture

On Friday, March 1, the Cushwa Center sponsored a panel discussion of religion and ethnicity in Nancy Savoca's Household Saints (1992). Savoca, an independent filmmaker based in New York City, was present for the event. Cyril O'Regan of the Department of Theology and John P. Welle of the Department of Romance Languages and Literatures joined Savoca on the panel.

To help the audience prepare for the discussion, the Cushwa Center held a screening of Household Saints on the previous evening. Based on the novel by Francine Prose, the film tells the story of religious transition in the lives of three generations of women in New York's Little Italy during the 1950s and 1960s: the heavily superstitious immigrant grandmother, Carmela Santangelo, who recites the rosary as she makes the sausage for the family's butcher shop; her daughter-in-law Catherine (played by Tracey Ullman), who abandons her faith along with other Old World traditions; and her granddaughter Teresa (Lili Taylor), an extraordinarily pious child who attempts to live her life in imitation of the Little Flower, St. Therese of Lisieux. Forbidden by her father to enter a convent, Teresa Santangelo dedicates herself to emulating the saint's "little way" by envisioning household tasks such as ironing and cleaning as part of her quest for spiritual perfection. Like the Little Flower, Teresa dies young, not in a convent but in a psychiatric institution which is, ironically, staffed by Catholic sisters.

Professor Welle noted that Household Saints displayed characteristics of the Italian comedic style, which is known for considering very serious issues in surprising and inventive ways. Miracle in Milan, released in the 1950s and, more recently, Roberto Benigni's Life is Beautiful (1998), which treats the Holocaust in a fable-like manner, are examples of this genre. Savoca, the daughter of Italian and Argentine immigrants, acknowledged the influence of both Italian and Argentinian comedy in her work, particularly the undercurrent of pain that runs through comedies.

Welle also discussed the "markers of ethnicity" in *Household Saints*, such as the rapid switching between English and Italian, clearly defined gender roles, and the prominence of food and wine. Welle suggested that religion is perhaps the most recognizable symbol of Italian-American ethnicity in the film. He noted the significance of the family name, Santangelo, and how the image of the crucifix travels throughout the film. Conspicuous in the beginning, it disappears entirely after Carmela's death, only to figure prominently again during Teresa's childhood and adolescence.

Professor O'Regan focused on a question at the heart of the film: Was Teresa indeed a saint, or was she insane? He observed that Savoca never provides a conclusive answer to this question; instead, she offers conflicting evidence. On the one hand, Teresa's own mother believes she is "crazy," and a psychiatrist (who is also a religious sister) diagnoses Teresa's visions as symptoms of hallucinatory psychosis. Yet hagiographical signs of sainthood are present: Teresa has the stigmata, and after her death the fragrance of roses emanates from her body, which has been transfigured from homeliness to beauty. O'Regan noted the paradox Teresa presents as "the saint of the house": By subsuming her identity in mundane domestic tasks, Teresa symbolizes powerlessness; at the same time, by overcoming worldly desire, it might also be said that she has achieved true autonomy and power. In this respect, Teresa's "death of self" not only parallels the Little Flower's but also prefigures her own physical demise. O'Regan observed that Savoca refuses to dismiss religion, even as she displays its sentimentality and exposes its secrets. He argued that it is this refusal to discount religion, rather than the unresolved question of Teresa's sainthood, that ultimately represents the most compelling aspect of the film.

In response to a question from an audience member, Savoca explained that all of the symbols in the movie were carefully plotted. When making the film, she was very conscious of both the ordinariness of the sacred and the sacredness of the ordinary, and deliberately tried to treat miraculous events in realistic ways and realistic events in miraculous ways. As for her interpretation of religious transition among the three women, she believed that each embraced different forms of prayer. Carmela asked, "what can God do for me?" Catherine's communication with



Nancy Savoca

God was characterized by both distance and skepticism. Teresa, reversing her grandmother's question, asks, "What can I do for God?"

When asked whether her characters were influenced by the changes in the Church as a result of the Second Vatican Council, Savoca responded that the reforms of Vatican II loomed in the background of the film (the psychologist/sister is perhaps the most explicit reference). She discussed the difficulties she had in adapting the novel to the film version, and her relationship with the novel's author, Francine Prose. Marketing the movie posed additional challenges, especially for an independent filmmaker. Savoca recalled that American film companies initially preferred the first half of the film, a story of ethnic assimilation which centers on the love affair between Catherine and Joseph. European companies, by contrast, were more enthusiastic about the more ambiguous second half, which focused on Teresa and her visions.

Savoca's other films include: *True Love* (1989), *Dog Fight* (1991), and *The 24 Hour Woman* (1999).

## American Catholic Studies Seminar

On Tuesday, March 19, Jason Duncan presented a paper, "The Great Chain of National Union': Catholics and the Republican Triumph," at the spring American Catholic Studies Seminar. A visiting professor in the history department at Coe College, Duncan drew his paper from a larger work in progress, "A Most Democratic Class": New York Catholics and the Early American Republic, forthcoming from Fordham University Press. John Fea, a Lilly Fellow in the humanities and the arts at Valparaiso University, served as respondent.

Duncan's larger project challenges the notion that there has always been a natural link between Catholics and the Democratic Party or its institutional antecedents. John Carroll was a Federalist, and the anticlerical, Jacobin elements among the Jeffersonian Republicans led to mutual suspicion between Catholics and the first party of the people. Duncan sees the political identity of the immigrant, ethnic Catholic voter of the nineteenth century as the end result of a long historical process, beginning with the anti-Catholic Leisler's Rebellion of 1688 and culminating in the interfaith alliance against Britain in the War of 1812. New York provides an interesting test case by virtue of its particularly restrictive laws. Loyalty oaths renouncing allegiance to foreign powers including the pope - rendered many Catholics unable to vote or hold public office well into the first decade of the nineteenth century.

During the Revolution, New York Catholics were somewhat divided in their allegiances to Patriots and Tories. By the War of 1812, Catholics saw themselves as unambiguously in support of the Patriot cause. Three decades of Irish immigration had primed American Catholics to be among the most enthusiastic supporters of a second war against England. The former colonies cited impressment of American sailors by British naval ships as a key factor in their declaration of war. Given their ambiguous status as British subjects, immigrant

Irish sailors had proven especially vulnerable to impressment. Irish Catholics viewed the war as a defense of their religious and political freedoms, as well as an opportunity to establish their patriotic credentials as loyal Americans. During the 1790s, New York Governor John Jay had refused to certify an Irish militia; by the War of 1812, both New York City and Albany had formed militia units called "Republican Green Rifle Companies."

Solidifying hard won gains in the field of cultural citizenship, the war marked a turning point in the party affiliation of American Catholics. During the previous decades the Democratic Republicans had proved successful in weaning Catholics away from their earlier Federalist loyalties. Still, the party of Jefferson was itself divided between pro-immigrant, "Atlantic" Republicans and anti-immigrant, "Nationalist" Republicans, the latter group controlling the most powerful political club of New York City, Tammany Hall. Catholic support for the War of 1812 neutralized Nationalist suspicion of Catholic loyalty and inspired Tammany to woo Catholic voters away from their Atlantic rivals.

Both factions vied for the Catholic vote. In 1813, Atlantic Republicans came to the defense of Father Anthony Kohlman, a New York City priest on trial for refusing to break the seal of confession in order to assist authorities in their investigation of a robbery case. Nationalist Republicans in turn made efforts to celebrate the contributions of Catholics to American freedom. At the ceremonies accompanying Evacuation Day in 1814, Tammany honored Commodore Thomas McDonough, a Catholic, for his role in the American victory over the British at Plattsburgh, New York. The Tammany Republican mayor John Ferguson attended the 1815 dedication of St. Patrick's Cathedral, marking an unprecedented acceptance of Catholics by New York City's political and social leaders.

The shift to Tammany was by no means a settled affair by the end of the war. De Witt Clinton, the Atlantic Republican mayor who had supported the Catholic cause during the Father Kohlman trial, retained a strong following among New York Catholics. Opposition to Clinton's gubernatorial candidacy led Tammany politicians to lapse back into their old anti-immigrant rhetoric. With Catholic support, Clinton won the governorship in 1817.

This victory proved to be the last hurrah for a fading political alliance. Despite losing the governor's office, Tammany gained control of the state assembly. Led by Cornelius Heeney, the first Irish Catholic candidate ever nominated by the Nationalist Republicans, Tammany easily defeated Atlantic Republican assembly candidates, even in heavily Irish immigrant wards. By 1819 Tammany finally threw its support behind the Erie Canal, a public works project originally championed by Clinton, which held tremendous appeal to immigrant voters in search of employment opportunities.

Deprived of its exclusive support for the canal and sensing the drift of Catholics to Tammany, Atlantic Republicans began to court members of the disintegrating Federalist Party. The strategy proved successful in the short run, with Clinton winning re-election as governor in 1820. Clinton's Republicans nominated no Catholics for assembly seats, and identified its base of support as a "yeomanry triumphant," a code word for Protestantism in the ethno-cultural political language of the day.

Clinton's abandonment left Tammany with a virtual lock on the Catholic vote in New York. More significantly, the intra-Republican fight over the Catholic vote established Catholics as full citizens for whom religion could provide no barrier to participation in New York politics. Having overcome its hostility to immigrants, Tammany used its control of the state legislature to call a constitutional convention in order to solidify the developments made in the opening of the political process to Catholics and immigrants. The convention ratified early legislative rulings barring loyalty oaths that might restrict Catholic political participation and expanded the suffrage for higher offices that previously restricted property requirements.

John Fea praised Duncan for integrating religious analysis into political history. For all of their attention to culture, practitioners of the "new political history" continue to ignore religion as itself a part of political culture. Fea acknowledged that Duncan's paper addresses a neglected chapter in the history of voting rights in America, but he wondered if Duncan may have overestimated the significance of the War of 1812 in opening up popular politics to Catholics. Duncan himself notes that the state legislature modified the oath of office in 1806, revoking the requirement that state officials renounce foreign ecclesiastical authority. Did the war significantly add anything to this ruling?

Fea also asked for greater clarification on the relation between religion and ethnicity in the partisan political struggles that accompanied the war. At times Duncan's account reads like a Catholic story, at other times an Irish story. Is it one or the other, or both?

Duncan responded that the issues of chronology and culture are best understood in terms of a continuum. The restrictive oath of office may have fallen in 1806, but Catholics still faced legal barriers to political participation well into the first years of the war. As late as 1813, election inspectors could still require potential voters to take an oath at the polls equivalent to the old oath of office. Nationalist Republicans in the



Jason Duncan

state legislature voted to eliminate this voting oath in a clear effort to court a Catholic electorate that had proven its loyalty through support for the war.

The relation between religion and ethnicity must similarly be understood in terms of a developing process. If Nationalist Republicans initially questioned Irish Catholics due to their loyalty to Rome, they also questioned Irish Protestants, many of whom were refugees from the failed Irish Rebellion of 1798, for their loyalty to Ireland. The Irish, Catholics and Protestants alike, supported Clinton in 1817 due to his history of support for immigrants. Class divisions as much as confessional divides pushed Irish Catholics toward Tammany, rapidly establishing itself as the party of the people as against the more aristocratic Clintonian Republicans. Prior to 1806, economic and religious factors kept Irish Catholics at the margins of New York politics. Following the constitutional convention of 1821, this legacy of discrimination would bequeath to them a position on the ground floor of the emerging mass democracy of Jacksonian America.

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immigration explosion from Latin America since World War II.

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integrated Hispanics and the larger hemispheric context into that story? To begin with, not only would the narrative of U.S. Catholicism begin with an account of Hispanics as the first Catholics in territories now part of the United States, but also focus on the influence of Spanish officials, missionaries, and indigenous neophytes on the formation of Catholic communities in Florida and what is now the Southwest. For example, as the current research of renowned Southwest historian David Weber demonstrates, many scholars of the Spanish missions in Florida, New Mexico, Texas, California, and elsewhere have drawn generalizations about the Spanish mission enter-

prise from their case studies of local or regional mission experience. This tendency toward generalization glosses over the differences in the day-to-day operations of Spanish missions, divergences which the various indigenous populations shaped, as well as the alterations in Spanish mission policy over time. A more adequate treatment of the Spanish missions in what is now the United States requires not only attention to the influence of the crown and colonial officials on mission policy, but also more comparative analysis on community development and how mission policies were enacted in the Southwest and elsewhere in the Americas.

Another way the incorporation of Hispanics and their places of origin would alter the way we tell U.S. Catholic history is a re-examination of the Americanization paradigm — the notion

that Catholics in the United States are immigrants on the assimilatory road to becoming U.S. Americans. Mexican Catholics in the Southwest during the mid-nineteenth century were not immigrants but enduring communities of

> faith that survived the U.S. takeover of northern Mexico following the war between the two nations (1846-1848). In the wake of their incorporation into the United States, an activist Mexican laity, at times accompanied by clergy, asserted their Mexican Catholic heritage through collective efforts like the persistent celebration of their long-standing public rituals and devotions. In many cases segregation and isolation contributed to the preservation of their religious traditions. From Texas to California, various Mexican Catholic communities continued to enthusiastically celebrate established local traditions such as pilgrimages, Our Lady of Guadalupe, los pastores (a festive proclamation of

the shepherds who worshiped the newborn infant Jesus), Holy Week, Corpus Christi, and established patronal feast days. While the saga of nineteenthcentury European Catholic émigrés is one of seeking an immigrant haven in a new land, the story of the first Hispanic Catholics in the United States is in large part a tale of faith, struggle, and endurance within their ancestral homeland.

Of course, most Latina and Latino Catholics in the United States are either émigrés or the descendants of émigrés. Like European immigrants, a number of Hispanic Catholics learn English, move to the middle class and "mainstream" U.S. society, and, in many cases, subsequently practice their faith in more heterogeneous, English-speaking parishes. Often a decline in their practice of Hispanic Catholic traditions accompanies their participation in these parishes.

However, in a number of ways the Hispanic experience diverges from that of European Catholic émigrés of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The most obvious difference is that Hispanic immigrants began to arrive in large numbers during the first half of the twentieth century, precisely the decades when new legislation restricted European immigration and accelerated the process whereby European immigrants were purportedly on their way to becoming Americans. Though there was some previous immigration, particularly from 1890 to 1910, massive Mexican immigration began only after the outbreak of the Mexican Revolution in 1910. Increased immigration over the following decades strengthened the religious traditions of many enduring faith communities in the Southwest, but also led to the establishment of new Hispanic communities and to the expansion of the Mexican-descent population to other regions, especially the Midwest. Following the U.S. occupation of Puerto Rico in 1898, Puerto Rican migration to the mainland increased steadily and reached unprecedented levels after World War II, largely because of a U.S. effort to foster an industrialization strategy on the island known as Operation Bootstrap. Cuban exiles began arriving in greater numbers after the Cuban Revolution of 1959, along with increasing numbers of immigrants and refugees from the Dominican Republic, Central America, and South America. Today Hispanic immigration still shows no sign of diminishment. Besides ongoing immigration and more consistent contact with their homeland than European émigrés who crossed the ocean, contemporary Hispanic Catholics in the United States tend to live in urban clusters and frequently exert efforts to retain their language and culture. All of these factors increase the chances that, despite transformations in their religious traditions as they adapt to the U.S. context, for the foreseeable future a significant number of Hispanic Catholics will continue to pray in Spanish and celebrate those religious traditions. Understanding this new Latino wave of immigration necessitates a more profound analysis of Latino Catholic

history in the Americas, a history infused with transnational concerns, political activism, and identity transformation, reflecting the determination of Latinos to protect their cultures, religion, and general way of life, whether in their land of origin, in the territorial United States, or both.

Moreover, the timing of Hispanic immigration illuminates that the U.S. Catholic Church is no longer an overwhelmingly immigrant church, as it was a century ago, but nor is it solely an "Americanized" church. Rather, it is a

church largely run by middle-class, Europeandescent Catholics with growing numbers of Hispanic, Asian, and some African immigrants, along with sizeable contingents of native-born Latino and African American Catholics and some Native Americans. Depictions of U.S. Catholicism as an immigrant church that has come of age do not adequately account for the seismic shift in the demographic profile of contemporary U.S. Catholicism. The late Jesuit sociologist Joseph Fitzpatrick aptly deemed this state of affairs "the Hispanic poor in a middle class church," underscoring that the complexities of U.S. Catholicism cannot be fully understood through analyses of ethnic conflict and cohesion, but must also consider social dv-

namics like the arrival of contemporary poor immigrants to a church with a sizeable middle-class membership.

The growing contact between U.S. and Latin American Catholics in recent decades further reveals the blurring of national boundaries in the western hemisphere. Catholics from the United States have received ministerial training at centers such as the Institute of Intercultural Communication, which Father Ivan Illich founded in Puerto Rico in 1957; during its fifteen years in operation institute staff trained numerous priests, seminarians, and other pastoral

workers for the Archdiocese of New York. Women religious, priests, and lay missioners have also established significant and vital links between the United States and the rest of the Americas through missionary institutes, most notably Maryknoll. The number of Spanish-speaking priests, women religious, and lay leaders from Latin America who serve in the United States continues to rise. Other Latin American links with U.S. Catholicism include U.S. Catholics' awareness and involvement with Cuban resettlement; the

influence of liberation theology; the civil wars in Central America during the 1970s and 1980s and well-known incidents like the 1980 murder of four U.S. women serving in El Salvador; the numerous delegations of students. scholars, and church leaders who have visited and established contacts in Central and South America; the Latin American Episcopal conferences at Medellín, Puebla, and Santo Domingo; and the Synod on America.

Historians of U.S. Catholicism will increasingly have to pay attention to Latin American history, the region of origin for nearly 40 percent of U.S. Catholics, a percentage that continues to grow.

While Latino Catholic history must certainly fall

within the interpretative folds of U.S. ethnic and immigration historiography and be linked to U.S. Catholic history generally, an understanding of the Latin American context is essential. Latin American Catholics who became part of the United States did so in diverse ways and within the context of their particular histories, and many remained closely related to their cultures and nations of origin. At the same time, native-born U.S. Catholics have both shaped and been shaped by their numerous connections to Catholics elsewhere in the western hemisphere (and beyond). As

the Latino population increases in the United States, the traditionally drawn, hard and fast boundaries between United States and Latin American history are weakening. Identifying a body of historical writing that contributes to a comprehensive and broadly defined U.S. Latino history requires crossing a variety of historiographic borders, including within U.S. national historiography and across regional and other national historiographies in the Americas.

#### Timothy Matovina

I gratefully acknowledge Gerald E. Poyo, whose insights from our collaboration on the Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Catholic Heritage conference are reflected in this essay.

Depictions of U.S.

Catholicism as an immigrant church that has come of age do not adequately account for the seismic shift in the demographic profile of contemporary U.S.

Catholicism.

# **ANNOUNCEMENTS**



## American Catholic History Courses Offered On-line

- · Dr. Jay Dolan, founder of the Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism and the director from 1975 to 1993, has expanded his classroom to include the Internet. Through an affiliation with Notre Dame's Satellite Theological Education Program (STEP), Dr. Dolan offers an annual sixweek course on American Catholic History, which began this year on October 21. This course introduces students to the history of American Catholicism from the age of John Carroll to the present (1780-2000). It focuses on immigrant groups that have made up the Catholic mosaic, and touches on topics of democracy, ethnicity, and religion. Enrollment is capped at thirty students in order to ensure contact with the professor during scheduled on-line chat sessions and virtual "office hours." The demand for the Dolan course, in particular, and for on-line educational resources, in general, has driven the development of future STEP courses. STEP currently offers ten distinct courses and is working with Dolan to create another course on American Catholic History. Enrollment and other information is available at http://step.nd.edu.
- · The John Nicholas Brown Center offers research fellowships supporting scholarship (research and writing) in American topics. Areas of specialization include but are not restricted to history, the history of art and architecture, literature, religion, material culture studies, music, historic preservation and urban planning. Preference is given to scholars working with Rhode Island materials or requiring access to New England resources. Open to advanced graduate students, junior or senior faculty, independent scholars, and humanities professionals. We offer office space in the historic Nightingale-Brown House, access to Brown University resources, and a stipend of up to \$2,500

- for a term of residence between one and six months during one of our two award cycles each year: January through June; July through December. Housing may be available for visiting scholars. Application deadlines are: **November 1** for residence between January and June; and **April 15** for residence between July and December. To request an application, contact: Joyce M. Botelho, Director, The John Nicholas Brown Center, Box 1880, Brown University, Providence, RI 02912. Phone: (401) 272-0357 E-mail: Joyce\_Botelho@Brown.edu
- Jeffrey M. Burns has been appointed the new director of the Academy of American Franciscan History in Berkeley. The academy is well known for its publications in Latin American history and U.S. mission history. It currently publishes *The Americas: A Quarterly Review of Inter-American Cultural History*, as well as a monograph and documents series. For more information contact Dr. Jeffrey M. Burns, 1712 Euclid Avenue, Berkeley, CA 94709-1208. (510) 548-1755. acadafh@aol.com or acadafh@fst.edu.
- Volume 12 of the UNITED STATES DOCUMENTS IN THE PROPAGANDA FIDE ARCHIVES: A CALENDAR, compiled by Anton Debevec and edited by William Short, O.F.M., is now available. \$50. Contact the academy at the address above. Volumes 1-11 are also available.
- · The Catholic University of America will hold a conference titled "Decline and Fall? Catholicism Since 1950 in the United States, the Republic of Ireland, and the Province of Quebec." It takes place on Friday, March 21, and Saturday, March 22, at Catholic University in Washington, D.C. Those wishing more information should contact Leslie Tentler, Department of History, Catholic University, Washington, DC 20064; (202) 319-5484 or tentler@cua.edu. Panelists for the conference include: Scott Appleby (History/Notre Dame) and James Davidson (Sociology/Purdue)

- on the United States; Dermott Keogh (History/National University of Ireland, Cork) and Lawrence Taylor (Anthropology/NUI Maynooth) on Ireland; Kevin Christiano (Sociology/Notre Dame) and Michael Gauvreau (History/McMaster) on Quebec; and Michael Dillon (Sociologist/New Hampshire) and Gregory Baum (Religious Studies/McGill) on the comparative overview.
- · Joseph Claude Harris, an independent research analyst, and Mary Gautier, senior research associate, Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate (CARA), Georgetown University, recently completed estimates of the regional and national fiscal structure of 18,524 Catholic parishes in the United States. Their report, Financing Catholic Parishes in the United States: A National and Regional Comparison, found that larger Catholic parishes can provide programs and services at a lower perhousehold cost than that required of much smaller non-Catholic congregations. The report is based on results from NPI, the National Parish Inventory conducted by CARA in 2001

A registered Catholic population of 45.4 million probably donated the bulk of total parish revenue that amounted to \$7.6 billion in 18,524 parishes in 50 states and the District of Columbia for the year 2000. The sum collected by parishes included \$5.6 billion in the Sunday collection and \$2 billion from all other program-related fund-raising efforts. Parish managers spent a total of \$6.6 billion to pay for professional and support staffing and plant operation expenses. Funds not used to pay for direct parish program expenses amounted to approximately \$982 million or 12.9 percent of total parish revenue. Parish leaders likely used much of this additional sum to pay for about 23 percent of the total cost of operating parish elementary schools.

Certainly the central finding of this research is the estimate that Catholic households donated an average of \$438 to their parish in the Sunday collection and to their fund-raising efforts. In

addition, parish managers spent an average per-household of \$381 to staff parishes and maintain and operate churches and other parish facilities.

The fact that Catholics give less than members of most other denominations seems at least partially related to the structure of the Catholic Church in America. Research results show levels of Catholic giving decline as the number of registered households in a parish increases. It is interesting to note that, while Catholics give less to their parish than non-Catholics to their respective congregation, this fact does not seem to unduly hamper the continued operation of Catholic parishes. There has been no evidence of widespread closures of Catholic parishes than can be related to the low level of average Catholic donations.

For information contact Joseph Claude Harris at sharris 7@earthlink.net.

# Academy of American Franciscan History Dissertation Fellowships

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

Projects may deal with any aspect of the history of the Franciscan family, including any of the branches of the family: male, female, tertiary, Capuchin, etc. The projects will be evaluated by a select group of scholars who will make recommendations to the Board of Directors of the Academy. The fellowships may be used for any valid purpose relating to the conducting of research and may be used in conjunction with other awards and grants. The recipient must be engaged in full-time research

during the period of the fellowship. Proposals may be submitted in English, Spanish, French, or Portuguese. The applicant must be a doctoral candidate at a university in the Americas, and the bulk of the research should be conducted in the Americas. The board reserves the right to refuse to award any fellowships should the proposals be deemed not suitable.

To apply for a fellowship, please provide a ten-page abstract of the proposed research. This abstract should include the title and principal arguments of the dissertation, a research plan, listing repositories where the research will be conducted, and a timetable outlining all phases of the research up to and including the conclusion and successful defense of the dissertation. The applicant must also provide three letters of support for the project, one of which must be from the chairman of the dissertation committee/major advisor. The deadline for applications is February 15, 2003. Awards will be announced in April, and may begin as early as May.

As a condition of the fellowship award, the academy will reserve the right of first refusal to publish any work funded under the provision of this program. The academy has a fifty-year history of publishing works dealing with the history of the Franciscan family in the Americas. Any royalties or other considerations resulting from publication will be separate and distinct from the dissertation fellowship.

To apply, or for further information, please address all materials to: Dr. Jeffrey M. Burns, Director Academy of American Franciscan

History 1712 Euclid Avenue Berkeley, CA 94709-1208 acadafh@aol.com or acadafh@fst.edu jmburns@concentric.net

# Call for Papers

• American Catholic Studies (formerly Records of the American Catholic Historical Association) invites the submission of manuscripts in the area of American Catholic history. Interested scholars should send two copies of a proposed manuscript to: Rodger Van Allen, Department of Theology and Religious Studies, Villanova University, Villanova, PA 19085. For further information, contact Margaret McGuinness via e-mail at: Margaret.McGuiness@cabrini.edu.

#### Recent Research

- Barbra M. Wall, assistant professor in Nursing at Purdue University, is studying Catholic sisters and hospital development. She can be reached at bwall@nursing.purdue.edu.
- Joanna K. Harmon, director of archives at the Diocese of Las Cruces, is researching the social history of converts to Catholicism in the twentieth century in the western United States. She can be reached at <code>jharmon@dioceseoflascruces.org</code>.

### Hibernian Research Award

• Funded by an endowment from the Ancient Order of Hibernians to further the scholarly study of Irish America. Applications must be postmarked no later than December 31. Please contact the Cushwa Center at cushwa. 1@nd.edu.

#### Research Travel Grant

• Grants to help defray travel and lodging costs to use the library and archives of the University of Notre Dame. Applications must be postmarked no later than December 31. Please contact the Cushwa Center at cushwa. 1@nd.edu.

## Contact Information

• 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!

#### Personals

#### A Message from the New Director

My first contact with the Cushwa Center was as a graduate student at the Catholic University of America during the late 1980s. Bill Dinges, my professor and eventual dissertation director, introduced me to the American Catholic Studies Newsletter, which I soon found was a great resource for the work I was envisioning on Hispanic Catholics and U.S. Catholicism generally. In 1992 Jay Dolan awarded me a Cushwa dissertation fellowship in the History of U.S. Hispanic Catholics. That fellowship launched my academic career, as it gave me the freedom to take a full year to polish my dissertation and prepare it for publication. Despite the distance I have lived from Notre Dame, residing first in San Antonio during a postdoctoral fellowship and then in Los Angeles while on the faculty at Loyola Marymount University, I have been involved in every major conference at the Cushwa Center since receiving that dissertation fellowship.

When I received the Cushwa fellowship in my wildest dreams I never imagined that one day I would have the honor and privilege to take up the work that Jay had begun and later Scott Appleby admirably continued and expanded. I am deeply grateful to Scott, Jay, and other colleagues at Notre Dame who entrusted me with this position; to the Cushwa family for having generously endowed the center and enabled its significant contribution to the study and advancement of U.S. Catholicism: to the various collaborators of the Cushwa Center from around the country who have sent me kind letters of support and encouragement; and to John Cavadini, chair of Notre Dame's theology department, and my fellow faculty members in the department who have graciously allowed me to accept the Cushwa directorship as part of my responsibilities at the University.

In conjunction with Professor Kathleen Sprows Cummings, associate director of the center, and Paula Brach, the new senior administrative assistant, my hope is to continue the Cushwa Center's record of excellence in organizing scholarly conferences, seminars, research projects, and publications, as well as the center's public role of

providing resources and critical commentary for media coverage of U.S. Catholicism and collaborating with church leaders and pastoral workers to enhance the vitality of Catholic life in the United States. An important first step in furthering the center's work is the dissemination of the "Catholicism in Twentieth Century America" project, begun in 1997 under Scott Appleby's leadership. As Cushwa collaborators well know, this project seeks to integrate the experiences and contributions of Catholics more fully into the narratives of American history, to enhance collaboration between historians of Catholicism and other scholars, and to promote the study of American Catholicism by graduate students and by established scholars working outside the field. The Cushwa Center Studies of Catholicism in Twentieth-Century America book series, recently launched with Cornell University Press, along with other books, dissertations, and conferences emanating from this project are creating a body of scholarship that informs the research of other scholars of American religion, women's history, labor history, intellectual and cultural history, social movements, popular culture, race and ethnicity, and other topics in American history. Scott Appleby will continue on as general editor of the Catholicism in Twentieth-Century America series and our hope at the Center is to collaborate with him and give this project the wide dissemination and national attention that its scholarly achievements merit.

Forthcoming Cushwa events include a March 14-15, 2003, conference entitled "Rethinking U.S. Catholicism: International and Comparative Frameworks" (see the program and announcement for this conference on page 26 of this newsletter). Given Catholicism's international structures and membership, scholars of U.S. Catholicism potentially have much to offer the current trend among U.S. historians to, as the title of Thomas Bender's recent edited work puts it, "rethink American history in a global age." While various works have examined international influences on U.S. Catholicism through analysis of topics like Vatican relations and the preimmigration experience and homeland context of Catholic émigrés, much more work could be done to transcend the boundaries of the continental United States and rethink U.S. Catholic history

within international and comparative frameworks. This conference will foster a conversation that enhances scholarship addressing these concerns.

A Cushwa conference set for March 11-14, 2004, will focus on African American Catholics. This conference will gather historians, theologians, bishops, young scholars, diocesan and parish leaders, and other interested parties to present the latest scholarship on African-American Catholics in history, theology, and the social sciences. Conference participants will explore critical issues for the ongoing development of African-American Catholic studies, while also seeking to celebrate and enhance the vitality of Black Catholic life in the United States. Sister LaReine-Marie Mosely, a Ph.D. student in Notre Dame's Department of Theology and a graduate of Xavier University's Institute for Black Catholic Studies, will work with the Cushwa Center as conference convener. Other key collaborators for this conference from the Notre Dame campus include nationally-recognized Black Catholic leader Ms. Chandra Johnson from the Office of the President and Campus Ministry and Drs. Hugh Page and Richard Pierce from the African and African-American Studies program.

Other potential Cushwa Center initiatives are in various stages of development. One possibility is to secure funds for a summer institute at Notre Dame that enables Catholic high school teachers to enrich their theological and/ or religious studies curricula with offerings on the history and significance of U.S. Catholicism. The goal for this effort is both to work with faculties from individual Catholic institutions and, in collaboration with them, promote the development of model educational materials and curricula for high school courses and programs. Jay Dolan has prepared a course on U.S. Catholic history for Notre Dame's Satellite Theological Education Program (STEP) that will provide an Internet academic course resource to assist us in this effort.

I look forward to working with colleagues associated with the Cushwa Center and welcome any suggestions and comments you might have on the center and its future projects and endeavors.

— Timothy Matovina matovina, 1@nd.edu

# STAFF NOTES

Last July, Mrs. Paula Brach joined the Cushwa Center as senior administrative assistant. Paula has recently moved to South Bend from the Detroit area with her husband, Matt, and her three children, Elizabeth, Olivia, and Daniel. She has been a director of religious education for the last five years, most recently at the parish of St. James the Greater in Novi, Michigan. Paula's responsibilities include helping to coordinate the Cushwa Center's academic events and conferences, assisting with the preparation of the *Newsletter*, and running the central office. An extremely competent administrator, Paula has very quickly become an invaluable part of the work of the center. Other staff members deeply appreciate her enthusiasm and dedication, and we hope all of our readers will stop in to say hello on their next visit to campus.



Paula Brach

# Appleby Addresses Dallas Meeting of U.S. Catholic Bishops

The Cushwa Center's role as a media resource was never clearer than during this past spring and summer as then center director Scott Appleby conducted countless interviews with major media outlets regarding the sexual abuse crisis in U.S. Catholicism. Though such a painful tragedy was, sadly, the cause of this media attention, Scott's balanced and insightful analysis provided an important and informed voice in the midst of great misinformation and confusion, culminating in his superb keynote address to the U.S. Catholic bishops at their June meeting in Dallas. In service to our readership, the full text of Scott's address is printed below.

I thank Archbishop Flynn and Monsignor Maniscalco for inviting me to speak to you and with you today. For the past five months I, along with other lay Catholics, have attempted to speak to you, and occasionally with you, through the media. I far prefer the present forum, where one's words cannot be edited to support a pre-existing story line with invisible headlines that read: "New Evidence of Catholic Church Decadence," "Church Cannot Do Anything Right" or "See —

We Told You So." Certainly in the court of public opinion the Church is now guilty until proven otherwise. Nor should we be surprised: We live in a culture that permits everything, and forgives nothing.

The painful truth, of course, is that the media did not create this scandal: We created it. Indeed, the mainstream media has done the Church a service by exposing that which was shrouded in darkness. Only in the light can truth prevail and healing and repentance begin.

That the media has focused with such intensity on the scandal is a kind of testimony, odd though it may be, to the fact that American society rightly expects more of the Church — more purity, more fidelity to the gospel, more compassion, more holiness. In a way that is not always balanced or fair, and certainly painful, the people are none-theless calling the Church to purify itself and to be its best self — the image of the compassionate God in the midst of the world.

Did I say WE created this crisis? I speak only for myself, not for the 60 million-plus laity, many of whom may protest: "We" did not create this scandal! — the pedophile priests created it; the bishops who reassigned them and deceived not only the unsuspecting parishioners but also, incredibly, their fellow pastors and bishops, created it. Surely the laity is innocent and has every right to be outraged.

And of course they are right: The laity did not create this crisis. Indeed, some of the laity are the direct victims of the crisis, while many, many others, including the disadvantaged and those most in need of social and pastoral assistance, are threatened with the reduction of services provided by the Church as assets get re-routed to cover the legal costs of the abuse.

What did create this crisis? The root of the problem is the lack of accountability on the part of the bishops, which allowed a severe moral failure on the part of some priests and bishops to put the legacy, reputation, and good work of the Church in peril. The lack of accountability, in turn, was fostered by a closed clerical culture that infects the

#### Appleby Addresses Dallas Meeting of U.S. Catholic Bishops

priesthood, isolating some priests and bishops from the faithful and from one another.

No one can safely generalize about a group as huge, complex, and amorphous as "the laity." It is also wrong to generalize about "you," the bishops. Indeed, many of "you" are not only blameless in the current scandal - you have acted honorably in the incredibly difficult balancing act you are called upon to perform. You did not protect abusive priests, nor have you attempted to circle the wagons or clamp down on lay "dissent," when outraged parishioners and priests in recent months demanded accountability for episcopal misdeeds. Other bishops, however, have behaved atrociously, angering fellow bishops and priests, whose reputations have been tarnished by those whose actions have been marked by arrogance, lack of repentance, and repeated failure to be collegial and consultative, except in an upward direction.

Archbishop Flynn and Monsignor Maniscalco asked Peggy [Steinfels] and me to address the question: What's at stake in the present crisis? What's at stake is the viability of the Church's moral and pastoral mission in the United States on the scale of its historic legacy; at stake is the reputation of the priesthood; at risk is the moral and pastoral authority of the bishops, and the Church's credibility on social justice as well as sexual teaching. Whether the Catholic Church as currently governed and managed can proclaim the gospel effectively in this milieu is an open question.

The laity must always be receptive to frank talk from our bishops about our own failings. And in that same spirit of candor, borne not of spite, but of love for the Church and respect for your office, we must reproach you for your attitudes and behavior that have given scandal to the faithful, especially to the young. A good friend of mine, hearing I would be addressing you, sent the following message:

"You and I are the fathers of teenagers who are experiencing all that teenagers experience. Our children struggle with the whole concept of Church, the nature of God, the tradition into which they've been born. I am confident that God will speak to each of them at some point in their lives, perhaps when they are ready to listen. Sooner better than later. But you and I both know that, above all else, teenagers hate hypocrisy. Like Holden Caufield in *The Catcher in the Rye*, they will spot a phony from miles away. And right now they are thinking that if this is what is going on with the Church, I want no part of it."

When Jesus withdrew temporarily from the crowds and led his apostles to Caesarea Phillippi, he posed two questions to them: What are the people saying about me? And who do you say that I am?

Today, after five months of unrelenting revelations of clerical and episcopal misdeeds, one is compelled to ask: What are they saying about you, the successors to the apostles? I don't think the suspense will be broken if we admit that at this particular moment in American history, they are notcomparing you to Christ and his apostles.

They are saying, rather, that this scandal is only incidentally about the terrible sin and crime of the sexual abuse of minors by a small minority of priests; that the underlying scandal is the behavior and attitudes of the Catholic bishops - not just then - ten or fifteen or twenty years ago, when the abusive priests were reassigned, but even now, after all the sorry revelations to date! They are saying that the bishops, even now, have not yet engaged the victims in a way that conveys that the Church begins to comprehend the profoundly devastating effect of sexual abuse at the hands of a priest, one whose hands also consecrate the Eucharist, baptize the infant and forgive the sinner. If a bishop had any idea how soul-shattering the loss of self-esteem, how deep the wounds of betrayal, the people are saying, he could never have contemplated, even for a moment, putting other children in jeopardy by relinquishing his moral authority to a therapist, or by bowing to the pressure of the pastoral need for active priests or, what is worse, by being governed by a misguided sense

of sympathy for brother priests.

They are saying, most distressingly, that the seminaries and the priesthood have been made vulnerable to the unstable and to the immoral; and that (some of) you bishops are complicit in this development.

They are saying what months ago would have been unthinkable - that the Church is not safe for the innocent. the young, the vulnerable — that it is morally bankrupt. Astonishingly, they are saying this of the Church whose priests and religious have nurtured the weak, fed the hungry, educated and formed generations of immigrants and their children and grandchildren. They are saying this about the bishops, who have spoken the truth before the political powers of this nation and who continue to testify on behalf of the marginalized, the weak, the unborn, and the other defenseless ones in American society - they are saying this of the priests and women religious and lay ministers who built vast expanses of the social service infrastructure of this nation and who contributed to some of its most glorious achievements as a democratic society!

They are saying that the failures of the hierarchy extend to your arrogation of unchecked authority over finances and legal strategies, extending to coverups and fiscal malfeasance.

They are saying that some members of the hierarchy, including those at the center of the storm, remain unrepentant and even defiant, blaming the culture, the media or their ecclesial opponents for the disgrace that has been visited upon them.

They are saying that you are divided among yourselves, and that some of you even take pleasure or comfort in the travails of rival bishops.

I am saddened to report, from our perch here at the Texan equivalent of Caesarea Philippi, that they are saying all of these things. And let us not even consider what our *enemies* are saying!

And what are your priests saying? Not much; they are reeling, suffering untold pain; and they would be in hiding, shamefaced and feeling abandoned, were it not for some of you and for their parishioners. The people to whom these more than 40,000 priests daily minister, knowing that their priests are good, heroic, and often holy men, refuse to hold them accountable for the egregious sins of the few. In their collective wisdom, the faithful hold priests accountable for their behavior — no more no less. They want to know if the priest keeps his promises and vows, if he remains celibate whatever his sexual orientation, and if he is kind and filled with the spirit of self-denying love.

On this matter of reassigning predator priests, the apologies issuing from bishops and cardinals will not be heard unless and until they go beyond the rhetoric of "mistakes and errors" and name the protection of abusive priests for what it is — a sin, born of the arrogance of power. The bitter fruit of clericalism is the often unreflected upon assumption that by virtue of ordination alone a priest is spiritually and morally superior to the laity.

This is difficult for some of you to hear, and some of you will refuse, even now, to listen to it. But I remind you that a remarkable, and to my mind encouraging, development in response to the danger we now face is the fact that Catholics on the right, and the left, and in the "deep middle" all are in basic agreement as to the causes of this scandal: a betrayal of fidelity enabled by the arrogance that comes with unchecked power. Karl Rahner said that one of the most devastating effects of sin is the sinner's inability to recognize his behavior as sinful. Sin's cloaking of its presence occurs whenever a bishop, archbishop, or cardinal assumes quietly, that he is accountable to no one but God and the Holy Father - that only he, as successor to the apostles, knows what is best for the Church. This is an outrageous assumption, and it is the deepest source of the anger currently being unleashed upon all of you, including, unfairly, those of you who have overcome the temptation to the sin of clericalism in your own ministries.

The role of women in the church is a topic that deserves full and separate consideration; but the marginalization of women, wherever it exists in the Church, counts among the most devastating effects of clericalism on the morale and vitality of the people of God. Women are outsiders on two counts, being neither male nor ordained, and so are among the most frequent recipients

of the aloofness and disregard that is a sign of clericalism. Given that women religious and lay women not only helped build the Church in this country but have been the primary formers of faith in children from birth to adulthood, we cannot afford to lose credibility on questions of sex and gender. But that credibility has been shattered by the current crisis.

Faced with this litany of accusations, the world wants to know one thing: Why would anyone in his right mind want to be a Catholic bishop today?

My concluding remarks proceed upon the assumption that each of you has a compelling answer to that question, and is prepared to defend the Church and the episcopacy with all your heart and mind and will.

Where is the path out of this disaster? I do not envy you the enormously difficult decisions before you, and I will not presume to suggest how you should vote on the controversial provisions of the draft document prepared by the *ad hoc* committee. But allow me to make three general points that I ask you to consider as you deliberate.

1. The crisis is primarily a moral crisis. It is also, now, a pastoral crisis and an institutional crisis, the latter entailing complex financial and legal considerations. These three dimensions of the Church's presence in U.S. society are interrelated. Loss of confidence in the moral judgment of some of the priests and bishops places the Church in a vulnerable position vis-a-vis the legal system and the civil authorities, who will no longer give the Church a wide berth when it comes to the conduct of its "employees."

These various dimensions of the crisis are addressed in a document entitled "Challenges and Opportunities Arising from the Current Crisis," which Father Edward Malloy, C.S.C., president of the University of Notre Dame, sent to all the U.S. Catholic bishops on May 22. The document was prepared by a Church Study Committee appointed by Father Malloy. We have grouped our reflections under three headings: restoring trust, exercising stewardship, and seeking wisdom. In my full text I summarize our recommendations, but I urge you to consider the report carefully.

2. The Church, institutionally, is a unique presence in American history. It is not a public trust in the legal sense, but it clearly has a public face and acts as a public trust in the moral sense. The current crisis has removed any doubt that the Church in the United States must understand itself as a national body and act accordingly. This will not diminish but enhance fidelity to the local and universal Church. There is no threat of a Gallican model, one that privileges national over Roman, that is, universal jurisdiction. But has it ever been clearer to us that what occurs in the church in Boston, New York, or Los Angeles can have immediate repercussions for the church in Iowa, Ohio, or Washington? And yet the crisis has also revealed that the present procedures and structure of the USCCB are inadequate to address the governance of the Church on this

It may be helpful if you explain to the nonspecialists, that is most all of us, at least in general terms, the relationship between the Vatican and the USCCB, and between canon law and civil law in this particular case. Rome has been very cautious, to say the least, in granting authority to the national episcopal conferences, and I believe that the laity have or will have difficulty understanding what appears to be a counterproductive level of oversight. Please pardon the question but it is a natural one: Are you not trusted by the Vatican? It seems incredible to the interested outsider that on matters of faith and morals you would veer one millimeter from orthodoxy.

Those of you who are canon lawyers know the challenge of applying canon law within a specific local and national environment. The state and civil society in, say, Honduras, or Poland, present different challenges to the Church than does the U.S. government and legal system. To the extent possible, then, I urge you to formulate the policies that make the most sense for this environment, without anticipating how the Vatican might respond. Let Rome be Rome; it will be, in any case. Thinking and acting nationally as well as locally and universally will enhance the Church's effectiveness and thus bolster its authority. Everyone is relieved that a national policy will be deliberated and adopted at this meeting; but will that policy have teeth? Will it be enforceable

#### Appleby Addresses Dallas Meeting of U.S. Catholic Bishops

and enforced? In the current climate it will not be enough to claim that no bishop would refuse to implement the new policies. Each bishop must be held directly accountable and his diocese evaluated for compliance on a regular basis.

3. A new attitude toward lay leadership, supported by new or renewed structures, is necessary.

Although the laity is not to blame in the current crisis, our own consciences have not been entirely clear on other matters. A significant portion of Catholics in the pews have been selectively ignoring you for many years now. Indeed, next month it will be thirtyfour years since the events of July 1968. At that fateful moment the majority of American Catholic laity openly disobeyed authoritative Church teaching; and the bishops, in turn, failed to persuade the majority of Catholics, including some priests and religious, of the compelling truth of the Church's position. The laity practiced artificial birth control, had sex outside of marriage, and endured abortions at about the same rate as other Americans.

The breakdown of Christian community, in short, opened the way to crisis. In the nearly forty years since the Second Vatican Council, despite the council's call for greater participation by the laity in the mission of the Church, we allowed some of you to remain aloof from lay concerns, and to consolidate all significant decision-making in your office, including things unrelated to your teaching office in matters of faith and morals, things either beyond your competence or beyond your ability to judge in a disinterested manner. No one man can responsibly bear all burdens, perform all tasks, act with integrity and excellence as chief pastor and teacher, liturgist, confessor, administrator, financial officer, supervisor of litigation. Not even a company of men, all cut from the same cloth. (Especially, perhaps, a company of men, all cut from the same cloth.)

Despite the repeated objections of hundreds of Catholic journalists, theologians and historians, active lay participation, including shared decision-

making where appropriate, was left, like so much else in the Church, to the inclination of the local bishop or pastor. In some places lay councils and clergylay collaboration flourished, elsewhere they languished - much like the NCCB recommendations regarding sexual abuse policy a decade ago. The laity's hope, immediately following the Second Vatican Council, that collegiality would come to characterize moral and theological reflection, pastoral leadership and administrative decisions at every level of the Church, including lay-episcopal relations, diminished as we observed a steady erosion of collegiality within the hierarchy itself.

The post-conciliar era, as we all know, has been a particularly tumultu-

ous time for the Church in the United States. While parish life remains vital for practicing Catholics, the laity as a national body has experienced fragmentation, confusion, discontent, and in-fighting as the gap between church and society has widened. Might the same also be said for the priests, the religious, and the bishops?

Indeed, these have been challenging - at times, excruciating years for those who are called to teach, defend, and celebrate the Church's proclamation of God's offer and guarantee, through Jesus Christ, of redemption from sin and death. Nonetheless, the faithful are just that filled with faith! Yesterday we believed in Christ, today we believe in Christ, and long after the current storm has passed we will continue to believe in Christ, from the depths of our being. We will continue to believe in Christ, and in

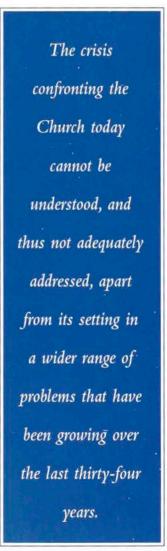
the Church, which has, in and from Christ, the words of eternal life and the model of authentic human flourishing.

Some have called for new canonical structures to facilitate lay involvement in the Church; these advocates note, correctly, that current structures such as diocesan pastoral councils representing the laity and presbyteral councils representing priests have in many cases atrophied into uselessness, whether through benign neglect or deliberate suppressions. Such calls should be taken with much more seriousness than they have been taken in the past. I do not exaggerate by saying that the future of the Church in this country depends upon your sharing authority with the laity. I commend to you especially the editorial published in the summer 2002 issue of Church magazine under the title "A

> Purification Urgently Needed." Alongside the many sound structural reforms suggested by Monsignor Murnion, he notes that finance councils, and other kinds of structures, did not prevent scandal, and new structures will not do so. either. BUT, he continues, church leadership was too narrowly conceived within those structures and "participation of the laity must be structured into the basic culture of the church through Vatican norms, bishops' procedures, and ministry formation programs - all three."

> Finally, a word about the priests: The victims rightly complain that the bishops seemed more worried about the priests than the victims. But let me speak for the laity directly to the victims of clerical sexual abuse and their families: We grieve with you for the terrible ordeal you have suffered, and we pray that you will give healthy and

holy people within the church a chance to work with you respectfully to help



heal the wounds as far as this is humanly possible. AND we also worry about the tens of thousands of priests who have never and would never abuse anyone; priests who today are afraid to show any kind of affection, priests who are paralyzed with fear, embarrassment, and grief. We sympathize, too, with these good men, the innocent, the unjustly tainted.

Academics can be obscure: I have tried to avoid that occupational hazard in these remarks. But to restate my argument in the clearest possible terms: The crisis confronting the Church today cannot be understood, and thus not adequately addressed, apart from its setting in a wider range of problems that have been growing over the last thirtyfour years. At the heart of these problems is the alienation of the hierarchy, and to a lesser degree many of the clergy, from ordinary lay women and lay men. Some commentators say that the root of this scandal is betrayal of purity and fidelity; others say it is the aloofness of the bishops and the lack of transparency and accountability. They are both right: To be faithful to the church envisioned by the council fathers of Vatican II, bishops and priests must trust the laity, appropriately share authority with them, and open their financial, legal, administrative practices, and decisions to full visibility. They must give a compelling account of the faith that is within them and address

controversial issues directly, in an open and collaborative spirit.

An enormous mistake would be to adopt prudent, courageous and enforceable policies regarding sexual abuse at this meeting, and then think that the work of reform has been accomplished. The principles underlying the policies you will implement on sexual abuse a return to strict discipline and moral oversight within the priesthood, a new regime of collaboration with laity marked by transparency and accountability, a firm resolve to pray together as a body of bishops and as individuals to root out clericalism in the priesthood and in the seminary — these principles must be extended to all aspects of the life and service of the Catholic Church in the United States. Otherwise, the next scandal will come quickly on the heels of this one.

Christ's promise that he will not allow the forces of hell to prevail against the Church is disturbingly relevant today. At such times it is worthwhile to recall the first line of the Second Vatican Council's Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World. As the bishops gazed out upon the modern world with all its deeply troubling trends for people of faith, they proclaimed that "The joys and the hopes, the griefs and the anxieties of the men of this age, especially those who are poor or in any way afflicted, these too, are the joys and hopes, the griefs and anxieties of the

followers of Christ." The preparatory commission that drafted the document gave it the working title "Luctus et Angor: On the Grief and the Anxiety." One could sympathize, perhaps, with their point of view. But when the bishops gathered in council to consider the document, they gave it the title Gaudium et Spes: On the Joy and the Hope. In the current crisis God has given us a second chance to renew the church through the kind of joyful active involvement of all Catholic women and men — not only the priests, bishops, and cardinals - in every dimension of the Church's mission on earth. The promise of Vatican II can yet be realized, if you will lead us in that endeavor. Despite the gathering storm of materialism, hedonism, and a culture of disbelief, the council fathers looked with joy and hope to the future. They did so in full awareness of their own sinfulness and failures, but in full confidence that the Lord, by his suffering, death, and rising to new life, has already overcome the world. Thus the bishops named the document Gaudium et Spes. Despite the regrettable failures of the people of God in the years since that hopeful day, I continue to believe that they were right.

> — Scott Appleby June 13, 2002

# **PUBLICATIONS**



#### Recent publications of interest include:

R. Scott Appleby, Patricia Byrne, and William L. Portier, eds., Creative Fidelity: American Catholic Intellectual Traditions (Orbis, 2002). A collection of primary documents that illustrate how Catholics in the United States entered into the life of the new nation and matured as they interacted with the growing American traditions in intellectual life. In dozens of texts that would be inaccessible if not for this compendium, figures as diverse as Thomas Merton and John Carroll, Orestes

Brownson and John Courtney Murray illustrate the landscape of American Catholic intellectual life. This book is an essential resource for courses on Catholic life and history, but it will also be fascinating for every reader who wants to understand how Catholics made themselves a richly furnished intellectual home in an often hostile land.

María Pilar Aquino, Daisy L. Machado, and Jeanette Rodríguez, eds., A Reader in Latina Feminist Theology: Religion

and Justice (University of Texas, 2002). With twelve original essays by emerging and established Latina feminist theologians, this first-of-its-kind volume adds the perspectives, realities, struggles, and spiritualities of U.S. Latinas to the larger feminist theological discourse. The editors have gathered writings from both Roman Catholics and Protestants and from various Latino/a communities. The writers address a wide array of theological concerns: popular religion, denominational presence and attraction,

methodology, lived experience, analysis of nationhood, and interpretations of life lived on a border that is not only geographic but also racial, gendered, linguistic, and religious.

Mary Christine Athans, B.V.M., "To Work for the Whole People": John Ireland's Seminary in St. Paul (Paulist Press, 2002). James J. Hill, Methodist millionaire, president of the Great Northern Railroad, and "Gilded Age" philanthropist, honored his Irish Catholic wife, Mary Theresa Mehegan Hill, by building and endowing the Saint Paul Seminary in St. Paul, Minnesota, in 1894. Hill's resources, coupled with Archbishop John Ireland's progressive vision of the American Catholic Church, provided a new approach to educating young men for the priesthood in the United States. This history analyzes the development of the seminary from 1850 to 2000 within the context of broader national, international, and ecclesiastical currents. It offers insights into the growth of the Catholic Church in the upper United States, especially in the upper Midwest. The book describes the transformation of the institution into the Saint Paul Seminary School of Divinity as a result of its affiliation with the University of St. Thomas (1986-87). This is the story of a forward-looking frontier seminary that has preserved its original charism of preparing priests and now lay ministers to fulfill the needs of a dynamic church in the upper Midwest into the twenty-first century.

James A. Bill and John Alden Williams, Roman Catholics and Shi'i Muslims: Prayer, Passion, and Politics (North Carolina, 2002). This timely work explores two influential religious traditions that might seem to have little in common: Twelver Shi'i Islam and Roman Catholicism. With the worldwide rise of religious fundamentalism, it is imperative that religious movements such as Christianity and Islam begin working harder to understand one another's history and beliefs. Myths and misunderstandings continue to prevail, and observers tend to focus on the differences between the two faith systems. Without denving these

differences, the authors of this book reveal a number of interesting linkages between Roman Catholicism and Twelver Shi'ism. They compare the histories of the two faiths, consider parallels between important figures in each, and highlight the doctrinal, structural, and sociopolitical similarities they share. Balanced in tone and carefully researched, the book helps explain the essence of both traditions while enriching our understanding of each. There are an estimated 140 million Twelver Shi'is in the world today. The highest percentages live in Persian Gulf countries, including Iran and Iraq, and in Azerbaijan, Lebanon, and Afghanistan. Sizable numbers also inhabit Pakistan, India, and Turkey. The largest Christian denomination, Roman Catholicism is present across the globe, though its population of more than one billion people is concentrated in North and South America and in Europe.

Thomas E. Buckley, S.J., *The Great Catastrophe of My Life: Divorce in the Old Dominion* (North Carolina, 2002). From the end of the Revolution until 1851, the Virginia legislature was the official body that granted most divorces

in the state. It granted divorces rarely, however, turning down two-thirds of those who petitioned for them. Men and women who sought release from unhappy marriages faced a harsh legal system buttressed by the political, religious, and communal cultures of southern life.

Through the lens of this hostile environment, Thomas Buckley explores with sympathy the lives and legal struggles of those who challenged it. Based on research in almost 500 divorce files, the book involves a wide cross-section of Virginians. Their stories expose southern attitudes and practices involving a spectrum of issues from marriage and family life to gender relations, interracial sex, adultery, desertion, and domestic violence. Although the

Catastrophe

oppressive legal regime these husbands and wives battled has passed away, the emotions behind their efforts to dissolve the bonds of marriage still resonate strongly.

Jeffrey M. Burns and Mary Carmen Batiza, We Are the Church: A History of the Diocese of Oakland (Éditions du Signe, 2001), an illustrated history of the Oakland diocese which was founded in 1962 on the eve of the Second Vatican Council. Since its founding, say Burns and Batiza, "what has distinguished the Diocese of Oakland has been its openness to, and its implementation of, the decrees of the Vatican Council." In its short history, the diocese has earned the reputation of being a "Vatican II Diocese." Though officially founded in this pivotal year, the diocese's origins reach back to 1797 and the early Catholic foundation of Mission San José. Burns and Batiza account for this early history, tracing its development through its years within the Archdiocese of San Francisco and its birth as a diocese to the present

Colleen Carroll, The New Faithful: Why Young Adults Are Embracing

Christian Orthodoxy (Loyola, 2002). Born between 1965 and 1983, the young adults of Generation X grew up in an era of unprecedented wealth and consumerism. Rebelling against the liberal family, social, and academic environments in which they were raised, some have made strengthening their faith a priority. The New Faithful is a groundbreaking book that examines the growing trend toward religious orthodoxy among many young adults today. Author

and journalist Colleen Carroll offers strong opinions on how this movement might transform an American society steeped in moral relativism and secularism. Blending investigative journalism with in-depth analysis, Carroll seeks the reasons behind the choice of orthodoxy in a society that often denigrates traditional morality and rejects organized religion.

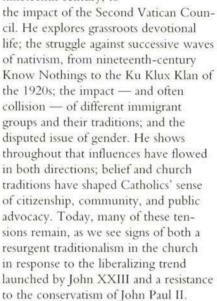
Michael Bedout Chesson and Leslie Jean Roberts, eds., Exile in Richmond: The Confederate Journal of Henri Garidel (Virginia, 2001). Expelled from occupied New Orleans by Federal forces after refusing to pledge lovalty to the Union, Henri Garidel remained in exile from his home and family from 1863 to 1865. Lonely, homesick, and alienated. the French-Catholic Garidel, a clerk in the Confederate Bureau of Ordinance. was a complete outsider in the wartime capital of Richmond. In his faithfully kept diary, Garidel relates the trials and discomforts - physical, emotional, spiritual, and professional - of life in a city entirely foreign to him. Civil War Richmonders were predominantly white, evangelical Protestants in a relatively small, insular city. His living quarters devolved from a private home shared with his family in cosmopolitan New Orleans to a cramped, cold rooming house away from everything familiar. Trapped in Richmond for the last two years of the conflict and a witness to the eventual Federal occupation of the city, Garidel made daily entries that offer a striking and realistic blend of southern domestic and political life during the Civil War. From his candid remarks about slavery and race, gender issues, military history, immigration, social class and structure, and religion, Henri Garidel's readers gain a revealing human picture of a major turning point in American history.

John Coverdale, Uncommon Faith: The Early Years of Opus Dei, 1928-1943 (Scepter Publications, 2002), gives an insider's account of the early years of Opus Dei, an institution founded by the recently canonized Father Josemaria Escriva in 1928 to spread his message about lav holiness. The author, who holds a Ph.D. in history and who has published three books about various aspects of Spain's history, puts the events in the life of Opus Dei in their broader religious, social, political, and economic context. He devotes entire chapters not only to the Spanish Civil War but also to the events that preceded and followed it.

Jay P. Dolan, In Search of an American Catholicism: A History of Religion and Culture in Tension (Oxford, 2002). Dolan explores how Catholics have met the challenges they have faced as New

World followers of an Old World faith. The ideals of democracy - and American culture in general - have deeply

shaped Catholicism in the United States even as far back as 1789, when the nation's first bishop was elected by the clergy (and the pope accepted their choice). Dolan follows the tension between American democratic values and Catholic doctrine, from the conservative reaction after the fall of Napoleon, to the modernist movement of the late nineteenth century, to



Terence J. Fay, A History of Canadian Catholics (McGill-Queens, 2002). In this history of the first 400 years of Catholic life in Canada, Fay relates Gallicanism (French spirituality), Romanism (Roman spirituality), and Canadianism — the indigenization of Catholic spirituality in the Canadian lifestyle. He begins with a detailed look at the struggle of French Catholics to settle a new land, including their encounters with the Amerindians, and analyzes the conflict caused by the arrival of the Scottish and Irish Catholics, which threatened Gallican church control. Under Bishops Bourget and Lynch, the church promoted a romantic vision of Catholic unity in Canada. By 1900, however, German, Ukrainian, Polish, and Hungarian immigrants had begun to challenge the French and Irish dominance of Catholic life and provide

the foundation of a multicultural church. With the creation of the Canadian Catholic Conference in the post-

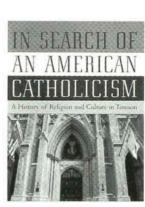
war period these disparate groups were finally drawn into a more unified Canadian church.

Donna R. Gabaccia and Fraser M. Ottanelli, eds., Italian Workers of the World: Labor Migration and the Formation of Multiethnic States (Illinois, 2001), Offering a kaleidoscopic perspective on the experiences of Italian workers on foreign soil, this book explores the complex links between

international class formation and nation building. Distinguished by an international panel of contributors, this wideranging volume examines how the countries shaped their sense of national nature of the multiethnic states in which they settled. Covering the work of America and antifascist currents among Italian migrants in France and the United States, as well as such seminal Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia, Italian Workers of the World shows how modes of incorporating (or excluding) foreign-

reception of immigrants in their new identity and helped determine the republican "Garibaldians" in South events as the 1912 textile strike in Lawrence, Massachusetts, and born workers were carried over from nineteenth-century nation-states. This volume also paves the way for new modes of collaboration across the boundaries of historical nationalism.

James Griffith, Beliefs and Holy Places: A Spiritual Geography of the Pimeria Alta (1992, second printing, Arizona, 2002). The region once known as Primería Alta — now southern Arizona and northern Sonora - has for more than three centuries been a melting pot for the beliefs of the native Tohono O'odham and immigrant Yaquis and those of colonizing Spaniards and Mexicans. One need look no further than the roadside crosses along desert highways or the diversity of local celebrations to sense the richness on this cultural commingling. Folklorist Jim Griffith has lived in the Pimeria Alta for more than thirty years, visiting holy places and



TAY P. DOLAN

attending its fiestas, and has uncovered a background of belief, tradition, and history lying beneath the surface of these cultural expressions. In *Beliefs and Holy Places*, he reveals some of the supernaturally sanctioned relationships that tie people to places within that region, describing the cultural and religious meanings of locations and showing how bonds between people and places have in turn created relationships between places, a spiritual geography undetectable on physical maps.

Dean R. Hoge, The First Five Years of Priesthood: A Study of Newly Ordained Catholic Priests (Liturgical Press, 2002). The first five years of the priesthood, like the first five years of a marriage, seem to be critical years. Hoge, professor of sociology at the Catholic University of America, has done sociological research serving American churches for thirty-one years. In this work, he explores the experience of early priesthood and bases his findings on a pilot survey of two groups - recently ordained priests active in service to the Church and those who have resigned.

Luke Timothy Johnson and William S. Kurz, S.J., The Future of Catholic Biblical Scholarship (Eerdmans, 2002). The authors, Roman Catholic New Testament scholars, argue that, despite its huge production of learning, Catholic scholarship has lost some of its soul because of its distance from the life and concerns of living faith communities. In this volume the authors open a conversation with others in the church concerning a future Catholic biblical scholarship that maintains the freedom of critical inquiry but within a living loyalty to tradition. Looking not to criticize but to strengthen, the authors model the type of dialogue that is needed today.

Christopher J. Kauffman, *Patriotism and Fraternalism in the Knights of Columbus: A History of the Fourth Degree* (Herder and Herder, 2001), a comprehensive account of how the anti-Catholicism of the early twentieth century was vigorously countered by the

Knights of Columbus' "Fourth Degree." In this study, Christopher Kauffman presents the story of the widespread attack upon Catholics' loyalty to the nation, and the explicit rendering of Catholic patriotism that arose in response to it. In competition with organizations which fostered historical memories exclusive of Catholics and immigrants, and which frequently portrayed the Knights of Columbus as the vanguard of Vatican imperialism in the United States, the Fourth Degree, Patriotism, was founded to assert a distinctively Catholic historical memory. Such symbols of "republicanism" as "the

Patriotism and Fraternalism

# KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS

A History of the Fourth Degree

Christopher J. Kauffman

little red school house," were regarded by anti-Catholic groups as emblematic of the necessary training for citizenship, as opposed to the "Vatican dominated" parochial schools with their alleged conspiracy against national institutions and the

democratic spirit. This dynamic conflict over the meaning of patriotism was symbolized by the Fourth Degree's struggle with the anti-Catholicism of the American Protective Association (ca. 1887-1910), with The Menace and the Ku Klux Klan (ca. 1912-1930), publishers of the bogus Fourth Degree Oath, and with other forms of exclusive patriotism throughout the twentieth century. This religious and cultural history is based on research in several archives, and on a vast array of secondary literature, including Kauffman's 1982 work, Faith and Fraternalism: The History of the Knights of Columbus, 1882 to the Present.

Peter C. Kent, The Lonely Cold War of Pope Pius XII: The Roman Catholic Church and the Division of Europe, 1943-1950 (McGill-Queens, 2002). The first detailed study of the international role of the papacy and the Roman Catholic Church in the shaping of post-1945 Europe and the origins of the Cold War. Peter Kent shows how the Catholic Church was able to continue to exist

on both sides of the Iron Curtain despite of the division of Europe after the Second World War. Although Christian democracy became increasingly influential in western Europe, the struggle to preserve the position and rights of the Church in the east was much more difficult. When east European governments, under Moscow's direction, began their offensive against the independence of the Church in 1948, the papacy found that it stood alone, with little assistance from the United States. Kent offers a new assessment of Pius XII, extending the study of his career and papacy beyond the Second World War. He also examines the origins of the Cold War, the European perspective on American and Soviet policies, and the diplomatic role and influence of the Roman Catholic Church.

Patricia Jean Manion, S.L., Beyond the Adobe Wall: The Sisters of Loretto in New Mexico, 1852-1894 (Two Trails, 2002). The Catholic Sisters of Loretto arrived in Santa Fe in 1852, escorted by Bishop of New Mexico Jean B. Lamy, who had been handed the task of "Americanizing" the Church and expanding its mission in the arid Southwest. Lamy intended that education in the region should be a priority, and within a short time the sisters opened Our Lady of Light Academy. In the years following they added satellite convents and schools in neighboring towns, even as far as Denver and Elizario, Texas. This book relates the history of those early, pioneering years, seen through the life of the Santa Fe convent's first superior, Irish-born Mother Magdalen Hayden.

Timothy Matovina and Gary Riebe-Estrella, S.V.D., eds., *Horizons of the Sacred: Mexican Traditions in U.S. Catholicism* (Cornell, 2002). Explores the distinctive worldview underlying the faith and lived religion of Catholics of Mexican descent living in the United States. Religious practices, including devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe, celebration of the Day of the Dead, the healing tradition of *curanderismo*, and Good Friday devotions such as the Way of the Cross (*Via Crucis*), reflect the

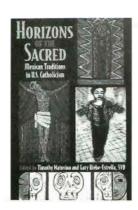
increasing influence of Mexican traditions in U.S. Catholicism, especially since Mexicans and Mexican-Americans are a growing group in most Roman Catholic congregations.

Deirdre M. Moloney, American Catholics Lay Groups and Transatlantic Social Reform in the Pro-

gressive Era (North Carolina, 2002). Tracing the development of social reform movements among American Catholics from 1880 to 1925, Deirdre Moloney reveals how Catholic gender ideologies, emerging middle-class values, and ethnic identities shaped the goals and activities of lay activists. Rather than simply appropriate American reform models, ethnic Catholics particularly Irish and German Catholics - drew extensively on European traditions as they worked to establish settlement houses, promote temperance, and aid immigrants and the poor. Catholics also differed significantly from their Protestant counterparts in defining which reform efforts were appropriate for women. The first work to highlight the wide-ranging contributions of the Catholic laity to Progressive-era reform, the book shows how lay groups competed with Protestant reformers and at times even challenged members of the Catholic hierarchy. It also explores the tension that existed between the desire to demonstrate the compatibility of Catholicism with American values and the wish to preserve the distinctiveness of Catholic life.

Diane Batts Morrow, Persons of Color and Religious at the Same Time: The Oblate Sisters of Providence, 1828-1860 (North Carolina, 2002). In 1828, Baltimore became home of the first perma-

nent community of Roman Catholic sisters of African descent in the United States, the Oblate Sisters of Providence. The order was founded by Sister Mary Elizabeth Lange, a French Caribbean emigré who faced subordinate status as a free person of color in the United States, and Father James Joubert, a white Catholic



priest who broke with widespread institutional and social attitudes to work with Lange. As committed women religious, the sisters defied the inferior social status white society ascribed to them, and successfully persevered in their mission to educate black children during the era of slavery. By 1860, the Oblate Sisters of Providence main-

tained four schools for black children, and provided an extensive support network for black Catholics. The order still exists today. By blending antebellum, religious, African-American, and women's history, Morrow uncovers and analyzes critical aspects of the relationships among the sisters, the Catholic Church, and black and white antebellum society.

George Dennis O'Brien, The Idea of a Catholic University (Chicago, 2002). Recalling George Bernard Shaw's belief that a Catholic university was a contradiction in terms — "university" represents intellectual freedom and "Catholic" represents dogmatic belief -O'Brien argues that contradiction arises both from the secular university's limited concept of academic freedom and the Church's defective notion of dogma. Truth is a central concept for both university and church, and his book is built on the idea that there are different areas of truth - scientific, artistic, and religious - each with its own proper warrant and "method." In this light, one can reverse Shaw's comparison and uncover academic dogma and Christian freedom, university "infallibility" and dogmatic "fallibility." Drawing on theology and the history of philosophy, O'Brien shows how religious truth relates to the work of a Catholic university. He then turns to the current con-

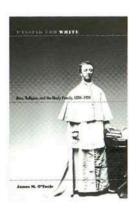
troversies over Pope John Paul II's recent statement, Ex Corde Ecclesiae, which seeks to butress the Catholic identitites of Catholic universities and link them more closely with the church's official teaching office. O'Brien rejects the conventional "institutional-juridical" model used by the Vatican as improper both to faith and academic freedom. He argues for a "sacramental"

model, one that respects the different kinds of "truth" — thus preserving the integrity of both church and university while making their combination in a Catholic university not only possible but desirable. O'Brien concludes with a practical consideration of how the ideal Catholic university might be expressed in the actual life of the contemporary curriculum.

Douglas A. Ollivant, ed., Jacques Maritain and the Many Ways of Knowing (Catholic University of America Press, 2002). Drawing on the writings of Jacques Maritain — and by extension those of Thomas Aquinas — the essays in this volume examine the effects of theories of knowledge on individuals, culture, and entire schools of philosophical thought. The contributors challenge contemporary epistemologies, which are largely based on writings of Descartes, Locke, and Kant. They critique these theories internally and demonstrate their incompatibility with other goods, such as liberty, human dignity, and access to the transcendent. In stark contrast to modernity's dubious and fragmented opinions and belief systems, Maritain - in works like The Degrees of Knowledge and Creative Intuition in Art and Poetry - proposed a theory of knowledge that permits real, if limited, knowledge of substances, wholes. Maritain's works on human knowledge and the implicit critique of modernity contained within provide an alternative for those seeking to engage the various deficiencies of the "culture of death." These essays demonstrate the continuing relevance — and timeliness - of Maritain's thought.

James M. O'Toole, Passing for White: Race, Religion, and the Healy Family, 1820-1920 (Massachusetts, 2002). Through the prism of one family's experience, this book explores questions of racial identity, religious tolerance, and black-white "passing" in America. Spanning the century from 1820 to 1920, it tells the story of Michael Morris Healy, a white Irish immigrant planter in Georgia; his African-American slave, Eliza Clark Healy, who was also his wife; and their nine children. Legally slaves, these brothers and sisters were smuggled north before the Civil War to be educated. Despite the hardships imposed by American society on persons

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of mixed racial heritage, the Healy children achieved considerable success and defied prevailing understandings of race. Rejecting the convention that defined as black anyone with "one drop of Negro blood," they were able to

transform themselves into white Americans. Their unlikely ally in this transition was the Catholic church, as several of them became priests or nuns. By exploring the lifelong struggles of the members of the Healy family to redefine themselves in a racially polarized society, this book makes a distinctive contribution to our understanding of the enduring dilemma of race in America.

Tracy Schier and Cynthia Russett, eds., Catholic Women's Colleges in America (Johns Hopkins, 2002). More than 150 colleges in the United States were founded by sisters, and over time they have served many constituencies, setting some educational trends while reflecting others. Tracy Schier, Cynthia Russett, and their co-authors provide a comprehensive history of these institutions and how they met the challenges of broader educational change. The authors explore how and for whom the colleges were founded and the role of Catholic sisters in their founding and development. They examine the roots of the founders' spirituality and education; they discuss curricula, administration, and student life. And they describe the changes prompted by both the Church and society beginning in the 1960s, when decreasing enrollments led some colleges to opt for coeducation, while others restructured their curricula, partnered with other Catholic colleges, developed specialized programs, or sought to broaden their base of funding.

Richard A. Schoenherr, Goodbye Father: Celibacy and Patriarchy in the Catholic Church (Oxford, 2002), Edited with an introduction by David Yamane. In the last half-century, the number of

Catholic priests has plummeted by 40 percent while the number of Catholics has skyrocketed, up 65 percent. Arguing that the root cause of this priest shortage is the Church's insistence on mandatory celibacy, Schoenherr contends that accepting married priests would be the first step toward ordaining women and thus forever altering the demographics of a resolutely male religious order. Schoenherr believes that such change is not only necessary but unavoidable if the Church is to thrive.

Wilbert R. Shenk, ed., Enlarging the Story: Perspectives on Writing World Christian History (Orbis, 2002). This professor of mission history and contemporary culture at Fuller Theological Seminary in Pasadena, California, presents five foundational perspectives on how Christian historical and mission studies must change in the light of the dethronement of the West as Christianity's spiritual and political center.

Patrick Taylor, ed., Nation Dance: Religion, Identity, and Cultural Difference in the Caribbean (Indiana, 2001). Dealing with the ongoing interaction of rich and diverse cultural traditions from Cuba and Jamaica to Guvana and Surinam, Nation Dance addresses some of the major contemporary issues in the study of Caribbean religion and identity. The book's three sections move from a focus on spirituality and healing, to theology in social and political context, and on to questions of identity and diaspora. The book begins with the voices of female practitioners and then offers a broad, interdisciplinary examination of Caribbean religion and culture. Afro-Caribbean religions, Hinduism, Judaism, Islam, and Christianity are all addressed, with specific reflections on Santería, Palo Monte, Vodou, Winti, Obeah, Kali Mai, Orisha work, Spiritual Baptist faith, Spiritualism, Rastafari, Confucianism, Congregationalism, Pentecostalism, Catholicism, and liberation theology. Some essays are based on fieldwork, archival research, and textual or linguistic analysis, while others are concerned with methodological or theoretical issues. Contributors include practitioners and scholars, some very

established in the field, others with fresh, new approaches; all of them come from the region or have done extensive fieldwork or research there. In these essays the poetic vitality of the practitioner's voice meets the attentive commitment of the postcolonial scholar in a dance of "nations" across the waters.

William Thorn, Phillip Runkel, and Susan Mountin, eds, Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker Movement, Centenary Essays (Marquette, 2001). The essays and poems in this volume were presented at the Dorothy Day Centenary Conference, October 9-11, 1997. Forty-one academic scholars and Catholic Workers contributed these essays. which address various topics, including Catholic Worker pacifism, Dorothy Day's social and political thought and her spirituality, the Green Revolution of Peter Maurin, as well as the relationship of the Catholic Worker movement to the Catholic Church.

Frank Turner, John Henry Newman: The Challenge to Evangelical Religion (Yale, 2002). One of the most controversial religious figures of the nineteenth century, John Henry Newman (1801-1890) began his career as a priest in the Church of England but converted to the Roman Catholic Church in 1845. He became a cardinal in 1879. Between 1833 and 1845 Newman, now best known for his autobiographical Apologia Pro Vita Sua and The Idea of a University, was the aggressive leader of the Tractarian Movement within Oxford University. Newman, along with John Keble, Richard Hurrell Froude, and E.B. Pusey, launched an uncompromising battle against the dominance of evangelicalism in early Victorian religious life. By 1845 Newman's radically outspoken views had earned him censure from Oxford authorities and sharp criticism from the English bishops. Departing from previous interpretations, Turner portrays Newman as a disruptive and confused schismatic conducting a radical religious experiment. Turner suggests that Newman's passage to Rome largely resulted from family quarrels, thwarted university ambitions, the inability to control his followers, and his desire to live in a community of celibate males.

Pamela Voekel, Alone Before God: The Religious Origins of Modernity in Mexico (Duke, 2002). Focusing on cemetery burials in late-eighteenthcentury Mexico, Voekel provides a window onto the contested origins of modernity in Mexico. By investigating the religious and political debates surrounding the initiative to transfer the burials of prominent citizens from urban to suburban cemeteries, she challenges the characterization of Catholicism in Mexico as an intractable and monolithic institution that had to be forcibly dragged into the modern world. Drawing on the archival research of wills, public documents, and other texts from late-colonial and early-republican Mexico, Voekel describes the marked scaling-down of the pomp and display that had characterized baroque Catholic burials and the various devices through which citizens sought to safeguard their souls in the afterlife. In lieu of these baroque practices, the new enlightened Catholics, claims Voekel, expressed a spiritually and hygienically motivated preference for extremely simple burial ceremonies, for burial outside the confines of the church building, and for leaving their earthly goods to charity. Claiming that these changes mirrored a larger shift from an external, corporate Catholicism to a more interior piety, she demonstrates how this new form of Catholicism helped to initiate a cultural and epistemic shift that placed the individual at the center of knowledge. Breaking with the traditional historiography to argue that Mexican liberalism had deeply religious roots, Alone Before God will be of interest to specialists in Latin American history, modernity, and religion.

Jule DeJager Ward, La Leche League: At the Crossroads of Medicine, Feminism, and Religion (North Carolina, 2000). Offering a fascinating look inside an organization whose full history has been essentially untold, Ward explores the genesis, theological underpinnings, and development of La Leche League, founded in 1956 in response to the popular medical aversion to women breastfeeding. Though physicians of the era admitted that breastfeeding was the best method of infant feeding, they

warned of the difficulties that nursing mothers faced, and many held that successful breastfeeding required a knowledge of science and medicine that most new mothers could not claim. Started by seven Catholic women who simply wished to help their friends learn to breastfeed, La Leche League grew into an organization with several million members worldwide, known here and abroad for its pathbreaking promotion of the breastfeeding of infants. Ward demonstrates that, despite distancing itself from any overt expression of its religious roots, the organization remains a quasi-religious articulation of Catholic social thought blended with scientific ideology and feminism. In short, says Ward, the story of La Leche League provides an excellent example of how religion in practice permeates everyday

Mary Jo Weaver, Cloister and Community: Life Within a Carmelite Monastery (Indiana, 2002). This book is both a history of the Carmelite monastery of Indianapolis and an introduction to the Carmelites, a contemplative order founded in the thirteenth century and given new life as a reform movement for religious women in the sixteenth century by Teresa of Avila. A key element of the order is that its nuns live an ascetic, cloistered life, but as Mary Jo Weaver demonstrates, the view that one must "leave the world" to find sacred space apart from it has evolved to embrace the notion that the world itself is a sacred space.

Msgr. Francis J. Weber, Past is Prologue 2: Some Historical Reflections, 1992-2002 (Saint Francis Historical Society, 2002). This second collection of 115 selections, a continuation of Weber's earlier anthology of articles and essays from 1962 to 1992, relates the ideas and experiences of a priest at the center stage of ecclesial events in southern California. It includes reflections on some of the most influential individuals in and around the Archdiocese of Los Angeles. It also offers historical interpretations on the area's early mission history, including the leadership of Fray Junipero Serra. Final sections are personal reflections on the Roman Catholic Church, American Catholic historiography, and other editorials relevant to the past and present on the Catholic Church.

Garry Wills, Why I Am a Catholic (Houghton Mifflin, 2002). Wills' Papal Sin and its exposé of a fundamental dishonesty at the heart of the papacy provoked both praise and heated debate. Accused by some of harboring deep resentments against the church, Wills counters with a powerful statement of his Catholic faith. Wills begins with a reflection on his early experience of that faith as a child, and later as a Jesuit seminarian, revealing the importance of Catholicism in his own life. He goes on to challenge, in clear and forceful terms, the dogmatic claim that criticism or reform of the papacy is an assault on the faith itself. In a sweeping narrative covering two thousand years of church history, he reveals that the papacy, far from being an unchanging institution, has been transformed dramatically over the millennia and can be reimagined in the future. Wills ends with a moving meditation on the significance of the creed, the timeless core of the Catholic faith, which endures even as the institution of the church changes.

Richard L. Wood, Faith in Action: Religion, Race, and Democratic Organizing in America (Chicago, 2002). Over the past fifteen years, associations throughout the United States have organized citizens around issues of equality and social justice, often through local churches. But in contrast to President Bush's vision of faith-based activism, in which groups deliver social services to the needy, these associations do something greater. Drawing on institutions of faith, they reshape public policies that neglect the disadvantaged. To find out how this faith-based form of community organizing succeeds, Richard L. Wood spent several years working with two local groups in Oakland, California — the faith-based Pacific Institute for Community Organization and the race-based Center for Third World Organizing. Comparing their activist techniques and achievements, Wood argues that the alternative cultures and strategies of these two groups give them radically different access to community ties and social capital. Faith in Action shows how community activism and religious organizations can help build a more just and democratic future for all Americans.

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Michael E. Bailey, "The Wisdom of Serpents: Why Religious Groups Use Secular Language," *Journal of Church and State* 44, no. 2 (spring 2002): 249-70.

Polly Beckham, "A Little Cache of Green: The Saving Habits of Irish Immigrant Women in 1850 Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania History* 69, no. 2 (spring 2002): 230-65.

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Edward L. Bond, Jan L. Perkowski, and Alison P. Weber, eds., "Father Gregorio Bolivar's 1625 Report: A Vatican Source for the History of Early Virginia," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 110, no. 1 (2002): 69-86.

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