



# AMERICAN CATHOLIC STUDIES NEWSLETTER

VOLUME 46 | NUMBER 1 | SPRING 2019

THE CUSHWA CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF AMERICAN CATHOLICISM

## Upcoming Events

### INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

April 4–6, 2019

Global History and Catholicism  
Notre Dame Conference Center

### CONFERENCE ON THE HISTORY OF WOMEN RELIGIOUS

June 23–26, 2019

Commemoration, Preservation, Celebration  
Saint Mary's College, Notre Dame, Indiana

### SEMINAR IN AMERICAN RELIGION

Saturday, September 7, 2019

*A Saint of Our Own: How the Quest for a Holy Hero Helped Catholics Become American*

Kathleen Sprows Cummings,  
University of Notre Dame

Commentators:

Christine Heyrman, University of Delaware  
Kevin M. Schultz, University of Illinois at Chicago

### HIBERNIAN LECTURE

Friday, September 20, 2019

"A Century of Suffrage: Catholic Activism, Class Consciousness, and the Contributions of Irish American Women"

Tara McCarthy, Central Michigan University

### PUBLIC LECTURE

Monday, November 4, 2019

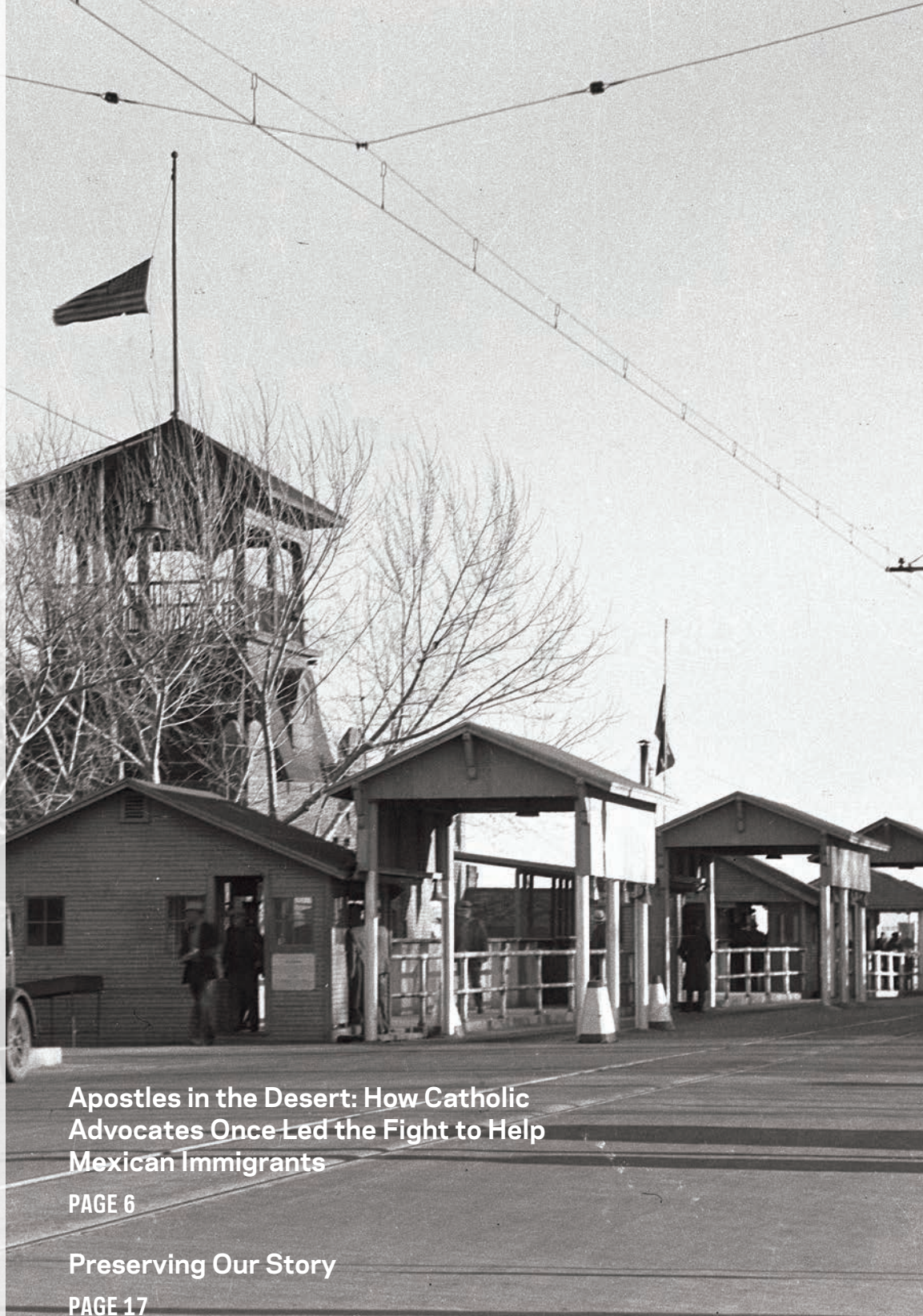
"Sacred Protests: Politics and Faith after Clergy Sexual Abuse"

Brian Clites, Case Western Reserve University

more information at  
[cushwa.nd.edu/events](http://cushwa.nd.edu/events)

### Inside:

Cushwa Center Events .....	1
News and Announcements .....	13
Grants and Awards .....	14
History of Women Religious .....	17
Archives Report .....	33
Travel Grant Interview .....	34
Book Review .....	36
Recent Publications of Interest .....	37

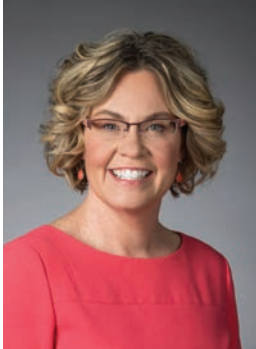


**Apostles in the Desert: How Catholic Advocates Once Led the Fight to Help Mexican Immigrants**

PAGE 6

**Preserving Our Story**

PAGE 17



I don't typically write about the same subject in consecutive director's notes, but these are not typical times for Catholics. The multi-faceted clergy sex abuse crisis has continued to dominate the news cycle and therefore much of my work at Cushwa and beyond in recent months. I have listened to and learned a great deal from survivors and others who have more intimate knowledge and expertise than I do on the crisis and its root causes.

In December, I had a particularly illuminating meeting with Rev. Hans Zollner, S.J., of the Pontifical Gregorian University in Rome. He has served on the Pontifical Commission for the Protection of Minors since its creation in 2014, as well as on the organizing committee for February's Vatican summit on the issue. We hope he will visit Notre Dame soon to share his recommendations about how scholars can help the church identify a way forward. In February, Cushwa hosted John O'Malley, former special counsel for the Archdiocese of Chicago, and three of his colleagues who currently work for the Archdiocese, for an informative session in which we learned how their offices have worked assiduously since 1992 to ensure the protection of children. Like Peter Steinfelds' January 2019 article in *Commonweal*, their presentation reminded us that it is important that our analyses be based on solid historical evidence rather than news reports, and that it is essential to differentiate among historical periods when assessing patterns of abuse and church officials' responses. Historians have a great deal of work to do before we can understand the scope of the scandal and the myriad factors that enabled it.

As I mentioned last issue, Rev. John I. Jenkins, C.S.C., appointed me to co-chair a task force on Notre Dame's scholarly response to the scandal. Father John recently published his response to our report and announced that his office will provide up to \$1 million over the next three years for research projects addressing issues emerging from the crisis (read his letter at [ntrda.me/2UIthk8](http://ntrda.me/2UIthk8)). I am hopeful that the Cushwa Center will secure a grant. To that end, I welcome readers' ideas about possible projects.

Meanwhile, I am grateful to Robert Orsi and Brian Clites for agreeing to share their research on clergy sex abuse in Cushwa-sponsored lectures (upcoming in April and November, respectively). Having given several talks about this crisis over the last few months, I can attest that it is heart-wrenching to immerse oneself in this subject, and that it is impossible to maintain the usual scholarly detachment in the face of the raw anger and pain inevitably on display among members of the audience. The more I learn, the more sickened I am. But I am also ever more convinced that scholars of American Catholicism must commit themselves to uncovering the truth.

Kathleen Sprows Cummings

**Kathleen Sprows Cummings**  
Director

**Shane Ulbrich**  
Assistant Director

**MaDonna Noak**  
Administrative Coordinator

**Peter Cajka**  
Postdoctoral Research Associate

**Luca Codignola**  
Senior Fellow (Rome)

**Maggie Elmore**  
Postdoctoral Research Associate

Cushwa Center  
University of Notre Dame  
407 Geddes Hall  
Notre Dame, Indiana 46556

**Email** [cushwa@nd.edu](mailto:cushwa@nd.edu)

**Website** [cushwa.nd.edu](http://cushwa.nd.edu)

**Facebook** [facebook.com/cushwacenter](https://facebook.com/cushwacenter)

**Twitter** [@cushwacenter](https://twitter.com/cushwacenter)

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

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Cover Image: International Bridge between El Paso, Texas, and Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua. Undated. Courtesy of the El Paso Public Library.



Ruán O'Donnell

The 2018 Hibernian Lecture, delivered Friday, September 21 by historian Ruán O'Donnell, traced the productive friendship between America and Ireland from the 19th century to the end of World War I. O'Donnell's presentation recounted a range of transatlantic connections, ideological affinities, and social networks that created strong bonds between members of the two nations, with important consequences for the 1916 Easter Rising and the political future imagined by the Irish in the wake of World War I.

O'Donnell, senior lecturer at the University of Limerick, is no stranger to the University of Notre Dame. In 2010–2011, he held the Patrick B. O'Donnell Visiting Chair of Irish Studies at Notre Dame's Keough-Naughton Institute. He has published on a wide range of topics such as prisoner transportation, the social history of Wicklow, the Irish Republican Army, Irish nationalist Robert Emmet, and the 1916 Easter Rising. O'Donnell earned his doctorate at Australian National University, and the wide reach of his lectures and scholarship reflects his global training.

September's Hibernian Lecture marked the 40th anniversary of the relationship between the Cushwa Center and the Ancient Order of Hibernians. Since 1978 the Cushwa Center has administered a variety of programs, including the *Hibernian Research Award*, promoting the study of the Irish experience in



Standing left to right, Harry Boland, Liam Mellows (leader of the 1916 exiles), Éamon de Valera, Diarmuid Lynch (secretary of the Friends of Irish Freedom), Patrick McCartan (Irish envoy to Washington), and seated, John Devoy (leader of Clan na Gael), at New York City's Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in 1919. UCD Archives, reproduced courtesy of UCD-OFM Partnership.

## Ruán O'Donnell on America and the Irish Revolution, 1916-1922

By Peter Cajka

Ireland and America. Each year, the center invites a distinguished scholar or author to deliver the Hibernian Lecture at Notre Dame on some aspect of the Irish experience.

O'Donnell began by sharing observations about the legacy of Irish immigration in America. The influx of Irish in the 19th century, driven by famine and war, shaped the modern United States in significant ways. Irish laborers dug canals and laid thousands of miles of railroad tracks. They built communities in Boston, New York City, San Francisco, and Cleveland. The Irish joined the ranks of business owners, political bosses, and elected officials in local and national arenas. Importantly, they possessed a flair for forming organizations, clubs, and political fellowships that defined the nation's civic life. Organizations such as the Irish Friends of Freedom and the Ancient Order of Hibernians in particular would facilitate connections with Ireland.

These American networks offered crucial support to Irish efforts to create a republic and gain home rule from the British in 1916. O'Donnell's lecture traced a series of material connections. Crowds of thousands would greet the Irish writers and journalists who visited American cities. Irish politicians frequently visited the United States in the 1910s to drum up support for the Irish cause and solicit donations. Union organizers from the Emerald Isle tapped into a network of supporters that stretched from New York City to Chicago. The American Irish were happy to oblige: they contributed financially and sent shipments of arms back home. O'Donnell presented compelling evidence that a wide range of American Irish and their transatlantic connections shaped the trajectory of the 1916 Easter Rising.

O'Donnell made the case that Ireland and America shared ideological commitments to a moderate form of republicanism that was also in favor of a strong nation-state. The Irish wanted to model their revolution on America's, rather than the French Revolution of 1789. This was due in part to the important role that religion, particularly Catholicism, played in Irish society. Many Irish priests both in Ireland and America were trained at Maynooth Seminary, just north of Dublin. Religion might be kept at arm's length from the political system by separation

see *Hibernian Lecture* on page 47

# Protestant Missionaries and the Transformation of American Public Life: A Seminar with David Hollinger

By Maggie Elmore

The Seminar in American Religion met at Notre Dame on Saturday, October 27, 2018, to discuss David Hollinger's newest book, *Protestants Abroad: How Missionaries Tried to Change the World but Changed America* (Princeton University Press, 2017). At the heart of Hollinger's book is a story about how missionaries and missionary-connected individuals profoundly shaped public life in 20th-century America.

David Hollinger is the Preston Hotchkis Professor of American History (emeritus) at the University of California, Berkeley. Well-known for his studies of U.S. intellectual history and religion, Hollinger served as the president of the Organization of American Historians (2010–2011), is an elected fellow of the American Academy of Arts, and has served as trustee for the National Endowment for the Humanities. He is also a past Guggenheim Fellow, a Fellow of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, a Member of the Institute for Advanced Study, and has served as the Harmsworth Visiting Professor of American History at the University of Oxford.

More than 60 people turned out to discuss Hollinger's book. The Saturday morning seminar began with a panel discussion that included Hollinger, R. Marie Griffith, and Rebecca Tinio McKenna. Griffith is the John C. Danforth Distinguished



Rebecca Tinio McKenna

Professor of Religious Studies at Washington University in St. Louis, where she directs the John C. Danforth Center on Religion and Politics. Tinio McKenna is assistant professor of history at Notre Dame and the author of *American Imperial Pastoral: The Architecture of U.S. Colonialism in the Philippines* (Chicago University Press, 2017).

Tinio McKenna opened the morning with commentary focused on *Protestants Abroad's* contributions to U.S. social and cultural history, as well as the U.S. in the world. She began with one of the central concerns of these fields: the extent to which “the foreign and the domestic have shaped each other.” She noted that Hollinger’s “account gives us new approaches to old problems” and unites periods of history that those studying



David Hollinger

the U.S. in the world or diplomatic history often treat as separate. The book also provides new direction in the history of 20th-century development and modernization. Perhaps surprisingly to many readers, white, mainline Protestant missionaries “came to act on a set of commitments to anti-imperialism and anti-racism.” Such a finding, Tinio McKenna said, reminds us that “Protestants have not always been a party to Christian nationalism,” a worldview often associated with Cold War figures such as John Foster Dulles. Dulles’ Protestant



R. Marie Griffith

worldview, as Hollinger notes and as Tinio McKenna pointed out, was not the only brand of Protestant internationalism. Tinio McKenna concluded her remarks by applauding Hollinger’s work for opening new avenues of historical exploration and by calling for greater attention to non-elites, indigenous peoples, and those on the receiving end of missionary endeavors.

Griffith opened her comments saying, “*Protestants Abroad* is an absolutely stunning book. Full stop.” Griffith praised the book both for its scope and its astonishing story. Across professions ranging from government to academia to the arts, leader after leader that Hollinger considers either served as part of a missionary project or was the child of missionaries. The story of how missionary endeavors impacted 20th-century luminaries such as John Hersey and Pearl Buck will be, for most readers, a revelation. In addition to her overwhelming praise for the book, Griffith observed several notable absences from *Protestants Abroad*, including former missionary and celebrated academic, Houston Smith. She also challenged Hollinger on the subject of Catholic missions. “What about Catholics?” Griffith asked, “Where do Catholic missionaries and Catholic children fit into this story?” One of the book’s most discussed claims was that evangelicals did not develop the same type of cosmopolitanism that their ecumenical peers did. Griffith and others encouraged Hollinger and those historians who will follow in his footsteps to consider further the complex case of evangelicals.

Griffith concluded her comments with a personal anecdote that demonstrates the continuing impact of the lives at the center of the stories in *Protestants Abroad*. David Hackett, a close friend to Griffith, is a professor of American religious history at the University of Florida, and the son of one of the missionary children in Hollinger's book. In a recent email exchange with Griffith, Hackett noted that at a class reunion, many of those gathered had read *Protestants Abroad*. "Though not quite their story, we had quite a few conversations reflecting on its resonance of what we knew of the earlier generations." Although Hackett's father "shed the religious language and rituals," like many of those in Hollinger's book he continued to demonstrate a "strong moral integrity and serious engagement with ideas." "It is so fulfilling," Hackett wrote, "to see what was family history become connected with the larger American and global history." Hackett's personal encounter with Hollinger's book echoed many of the experiences shared by the audience.

Hollinger began his response to Tino McKenna and Griffith by noting that he hoped that the book would provide "all sorts of openings for new things." He welcomed and encouraged future scholars to pick up the things his book left out. Hollinger also observed that many editors might think of his book as one for people interested in missionaries, when in truth, it "is a book for people who are not interested in missionaries but should be." Hollinger acknowledged that he might have done more with individuals such as Houston Smith, as Griffith suggested. He also responded to her call to recognize the complexity of evangelicals. Hollinger shared that early in his research, he expected to find more evangelicals making their way toward the type of cosmopolitanism embraced by many ecumenicals. Overwhelmingly, however, Hollinger did not find many cases. He agreed with Griffith that more research needs to be done on evangelical cosmopolitanism and challenged those in the audience to take the lead in this area of research.

Lively audience engagement with the author and panel is a trademark of the Seminar in American Religion, and October's gathering did not disappoint. Numerous audience members raised important questions and reflected on their own encounters with the missionary experience. Thomas Tweed (Notre Dame) asked members of the audience to consider the boundaries of public life. Hollinger responded that he understands public life fairly straightforwardly—in terms of churches, ecclesiastical organizations, universities, and other such institutions. Andy Mack (Notre Dame) asked Hollinger what he hoped nonacademic readers would take from the book. Hollinger responded that he hopes readers will be reminded of the need to engage "as much of the world as possible."

Thomas Kselman (Notre Dame) asked about the religious evolution of the individuals in Hollinger's book. Hollinger answered that often an individual's religious evolution depended on where they began with regard to education. Many



experienced a "turn" after they began their first missionary encounter. Education, Hollinger found, played a key role for many former missionaries and missionary children. For individuals such as Kenneth Landon and John Hersey, secular humanism, combined with their experiences abroad, ruptured their faith. What emerged was a sort of moral compass deeply influenced by their earlier religious identity.

Heather Curtis (Tufts University) added consideration of chronology to the question of evangelical cosmopolitanism. Would evangelical cosmopolitanism look different if historians were to look later in the 20th century? By the late 20th century, Curtis noted, evangelicals had begun to assume positions of power in the public arena. Hollinger concurred with Curtis and agreed that more attention needs to be paid to the complexity of evangelical history.

Much of Hollinger's career has centered on the importance of reinserting the study of religious history into the historical profession. *Protestants Abroad* is the culmination of those efforts. The book has, as Griffith noted, been almost universally celebrated by religious groups and historians alike. It is a book that, in Griffith's words, "will be generating conversation and contemplation for years to come." But it also challenges us to rise above our own provincialism, to continue to try to answer, as Hollinger puts it "the morally developmental question of just what conditions have promoted and enabled the diminution" of racism, sexism, imperialism, and xenophobia. Hollinger's achievement here, then, is not just an academic one, it is also a moral one.

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**Maggie Elmore is a postdoctoral research associate at the Cushwa Center.**

## Cushwa Center Lecture Examines How Sex and Religion Fractured American Society

By Maggie Elmore

There is perhaps no more contentious topic in American culture than the intersection of sex, gender, religion, and politics. R. Marie Griffith contends that we've not yet fully come to terms with the ways that sex, gender, and religion have fractured American society since the 1920s. While other contemporary issues have also gained traction and caused polarization, none has captivated Americans to the same degree as sexual politics. The historian, Griffith says, must ask why this is the case.

On October 25, Griffith delivered the 2018 Cushwa Center Lecture, "Sex and American Christianity: The Religious Divides that Fractured a Nation." Griffith is the John C. Danforth Distinguished Professor of Religious Studies at Washington University in St. Louis, where she directs the John C. Danforth Center on Religion and Politics.

Griffith opened her talk by referencing the June 2015 Supreme Court decision in *Obergefell v. Hodges* that established equal rights to civil marriage for same-sex couples. At the time, many conservative religious leaders condemned the court's decision, while progressive religious leaders heralded the decision as a new dawn for equal rights. Anger over the decision remains between progressive and conservative Christians. These conflicts stem from a longer culture war over sexuality. Such conflicts, Griffith said, are heightened by the entrenched notion that Christian values ought to shape American politics and values.

The breakdown in consensus about sexuality and gender roles, Griffith argued, began in the early 20th century. Up to that point, Americans largely agreed to a sexual order in which men served as heads of households, women submitted to their husbands, and monogamous, heterosexual marriage was the only sanctionable form of marriage. That changed in 1920, when women won the right to vote in all state and federal elections.

The push for women's suffrage "prompted a crisis in American Christianity," Griffith said. Those who opposed women's suffrage claimed that it would threaten women's roles as mothers, possibly harm their reproductive organs, and diminish their desire for families. While opposition could be found among both men and women, the greatest hostility came from the Jim Crow South, where many feared that black



R. Marie Griffith

women would also gain the right to vote. The battle over suffrage unleashed new arguments about motherhood, sex, and women's roles in the family and society. Anti-suffrage activists framed these debates as an attack on religious rights.

The clashes over suffrage, Griffith explained, shifted debates about gender roles and sex to the center of American politics and split American Christians. Griffith offered three well-documented examples of how disputes about sex have divided American Christians since the 1920s: controversy over birth control in the 1920s and 1930s, the battle over sex education in public schools in the 1960s, and most recently, the highly polarized debates over sexual harassment.

The birth control movement began in 19th-century New York, but the suffrage movement helped it to gain "some notion of acceptability by 1920s." By the early 1930s, the Christian consensus on sex had fractured. Ecumenical Protestants began to advocate for contraception in the context of marriage as morally acceptable and "in harmony with American liberty." Advocacy for birth control was led, most famously, by Margaret Sanger. Sanger was "galvanized" by her early public health work in New York as a midwife and nurse, Griffith noted. Sanger used coalitions to build broad support for the movement, especially with liberal Protestant clergy. Soon, leading publications throughout the country, including *Harper's Weekly*, began publishing sympathetic pieces that discussed birth control as a scientific revolution. The movement faced formidable opposition, most notably from Catholic leaders such as John Ryan. Ryan and other like-minded leaders argued against birth control as a violation of moral law. Ryan, a noted advocate for social justice and a living wage, believed that birth control would overturn the divine order. In response, Sanger appealed to American anti-Catholicism against those who opposed birth control. At stake, both sides believed, were issues such as women's rights, eugenics, immigration politics, and ideas about human liberty and freedom.

The tensions that shaped debates about birth control in the 1930s exploded in the 1960s, when a number of public schools began implementing sexual education programs. By the early 1960s, a number of Protestant groups began working to produce

see *Cushwa Center Lecture* on page 48



Father Clarence Williams, C.P.P.S.

Father Clarence Williams became involved in the Black Catholic Movement as a seminarian in the 1970s. He experienced a “moment of consciousness,” he says, when he first read the manifesto of the National Black Catholic Clergy Caucus drafted in 1968. “The Catholic Church in the United States, primarily a white racist institution,” the statement read, “has addressed itself primarily to white society and is definitely a part of that society.” Deeply shaped by this revelation, Williams launched a career as a priest, civil rights activist, and administrator, and would play a significant role in the Black Catholic Movement. Significantly, Williams has led several important initiatives in Catholic communications, producing seven documentaries that have appeared on NBC, ABC, and cable television. His documentary work on the African presence in civilization, the Bible, and the early church has been distributed by the Vatican in English and French.

On November 7, 2018, Williams gave a talk at Rare Books and Special Collections in Notre Dame’s Hesburgh Library, reflecting on the 50th anniversary of the National Black Catholic Clergy Caucus, an organization Williams has served as archivist and vice president. He drew from his unique perspective as a scholar-activist and analyst-participant. As a seminarian, he attended early meetings of the National Black Catholic Clergy Caucus, including a gathering that took place at Notre Dame in 1970. He took his final vows as a member of the Missionaries of the Precious Blood in 1978 and became the first black priest ordained in the diocese of Cleveland. His November lecture traced the organization’s broad arc, as well as that of the broader Black Catholic Movement, and reflected critically on their successes and limitations.

Williams finds the roots of the Black Catholic Movement in the turn toward “self-identity” that took place in the 1970s. In the wake of the Second Vatican Council and the Civil Rights Movement, and in response to the notion that the Catholic Church was a “white racist institution,” black Catholics in the United States entered a period of reflection on their positionality. What did it mean to be both black and Catholic? How should black Catholics express their identity? Black Catholics, Williams recounted, suddenly found a “source of power” in their religion. They began to craft a specific group identity as black and Catholic, revolutionizing their self-image and, they hoped,

## The National Black Catholic Clergy Caucus at 50

By Peter Cajka

their place in the institutional church. Black Catholic priests began to integrate objects and dances from Africa into the Roman Catholic liturgy.

Williams first traced a story of growth and extension. The Black Catholic Movement enjoyed a number of institutional victories: The National Black Clergy Caucus began in 1968; the National Black Sisters’ Conference started the same year; the National Black Lay Caucus launched in 1971; the Association of Black Catholic Administrators was born in 1976; in 1992 the movement achieved global interconnections with the founding of the Pan African Roman Catholic Clergy Conference; and by 1993 black Catholic deacons also formed their own association. The institutionalization of the movement can be seen on Williams’ own resume: after serving as a pastor of St. Anthony Church in Detroit—a parish engaging the black community and urban affairs—he served as Director of Black Catholic Affairs in the Archdiocese of Detroit from 1995 to 2007. Williams argued that bishops took organizations like these seriously and managed to include some of their platforms in official diocesan policies.

Williams contended that the Black Catholic Movement was more interested in inclusion in the church than protesting and denouncing injustice. The goal of the movement has always been to “share the gifts of black Catholics” with the church and the world. The Black Catholic Movement shifted its efforts, he argued, from “the outside to the inside.” They aimed to shape the institutional church itself—members of the movement could be seen at the forefront of official organizations and behind desks in the ecclesiastical bureaucracy.

Williams also reflected on what he called the “unexpected outcomes” of the movement. He raised questions about the Black Catholic Movement’s early decision to focus so intensely on identity. This move, he argued, led to a fissure between black and white activists, with the movement recruiting black activists almost exclusively. As a result, an unanticipated consequence has been a lack of integration in the movement itself; black Catholics are the only ones present at contemporary civil rights marches and in the movement’s associations. Rather than seeking grassroots integration, the movement focused

*see Public Lecture on page 48*



International Bridge between El Paso, Texas, and Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua. Undated. Courtesy of the El Paso Public Library.



# Apostles in the Desert:

## *How Catholic Advocates Once Led the Fight to Help Mexican Immigrants*

By Maggie Elmore

In recent years, debates about the U.S.-Mexico border have dominated news headlines. These debates reached a fever pitch when the Department of Homeland Security began separating families who crossed the U.S.-Mexico border without proper documentation in the spring of 2018. The United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, Catholic Charities, and Catholic Social Services immediately protested the separation of families at the border. The bishops called for the Trump administration to end family separation and child detention. Catholic Charities and Catholic Social Services sent numerous volunteers to help with the crisis.

Both of those agencies were well-equipped to provide advocacy services to families seeking to enter the United States and those impacted by the zero-tolerance policy of 2018. This is largely because Catholic agencies have been providing such services at the border for nearly a century. Catholic advocacy at the U.S.-Mexico border has long focused on family unification and resistance to immigration policies that target racial minorities for removal. This legacy makes Catholic agencies uniquely positioned to assist vulnerable immigrants.

Before continuing, it is worth making a quick note about terminology. In this piece, “Mexican” refers to an individual with Mexican citizenship, while “Mexican American” refers to a U.S. citizen of Mexican-descent. “Mexican-descent community,” or “people of Mexican-descent” is a way of referencing a community with mixed citizenship status. It is important to make these distinctions because for many years, individuals have used the term Mexican as a catchall to imply that Mexican Americans are not American.

### **It Happened Once Before**

The Catholic Church has been working with immigrants at the U.S.-Mexico border since the 1920s, when the National Catholic Welfare Conference (an earlier incarnation of the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops), established an immigration office in El Paso, Texas. Throughout much of the 20th century, El Paso was the “gateway” between the United States and Mexico. It was the largest city between Denver, Los Angeles, San Antonio, and Mexico City, where all the major railroads converged. The Church’s immigration office was designed to assist those crossing the border, most of whom were Catholic. The office was small, staffed by a director, a few case workers, and an administrative assistant. But by the time the office closed in 1967, it had processed some 1.75 million family cases.

Perhaps the most important episode of Catholic advocacy at the southern border took place during the Great Depression. Popularly, we remember the Depression as a difficult moment



Staff at the Border Office of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. Courtesy of the C. L. Sonnichsen Special Collections Department, University of Texas at El Paso.

in U.S. history. Families lost their homes and many people faced financial ruin and starvation. Images of the Dust Bowl, Okies, or Dorothea Lange’s “Migrant Mother” predominate. We talk about the period as a moment of solidarity. But the Great Depression had other dimensions as well. Between 1929 and 1939, an estimated 400,000 to 2,000,000 Mexicans and Mexican Americans were expelled from the United States.

Historians are not sure exactly how many people were forced out of the U.S. during the Depression. Both U.S. and Mexican officials kept fairly inconsistent records during the period. Figures vary dramatically by scholar and source. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights estimated in 1980 that federal officials expelled approximately 500,000 people of Mexican-descent, over half of whom held U.S. citizenship. The state of California issued a bill of apology in 2006, noting that “In California alone, approximately 400,000 American citizens and legal residents of Mexican ancestry were forced to go to Mexico.” These numbers were based largely on research conducted by historians Francisco Balderrama and Raymond Rodríguez, who argue that close to 2 million Mexicans and Mexican Americans were expelled from the United States between 1929 and 1939. Other historians suggest that the total number of people expelled is closer to 400,000. The N.C.W.C.’s figures suggest that close to 500,000 people passed through El Paso - over 80 percent of whom were U.S. citizens or permanent residents - as a result of repatriation.<sup>[i]</sup>

As the world sunk into deep economic stagnation in the 1930s, welfare agencies throughout the United States began relocating Mexicans and Mexican Americans to Mexico. To justify their actions, welfare agents appealed to racialized stereotypes of Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans as diseased and un-American. Newspapers reported these mass

departures in celebratory tones. Many believed that Mexican-descent workers took jobs from deserving white Americans.

Throughout most of the 1930s, welfare agencies across the nation, including a Catholic Charities office in Los Angeles, applauded efforts to remove people of Mexican-descent. Many refused to register Mexican or Mexican American clients on their rolls. Instead, they offered transportation to Mexico. Other agencies invited immigration officials to welfare offices, encouraging them to investigate their clients’ immigration status. On the advice of welfare agents, immigration officers conducted raids in neighborhoods home to residents of Mexican-descent.

Historians often refer to the coordinated removal of Mexicans and Mexican Americans during the Depression as “Mexican repatriation.” Between 1929 and 1935 alone, the United States lost roughly one-fifth of its total Mexican-descent population. Countless families were torn apart. In some instances, U.S.-born children never saw or heard from their parents again. Mexican repatriation became one of the largest racial expulsions in U.S. history, second only to the American Indian campaigns of the 19th century.<sup>[ii]</sup>

Few groups protested the mass expulsion. Through the work of its border agent, Cleofás Calleros, the Catholic Church’s immigration office mounted the most significant resistance to repatriation. During the early 1930s, at the height of Mexican repatriation, Calleros traveled throughout the West and Southwest, speaking to local groups such as the Knights of Columbus and the National Council of Catholic Men. He warned that the damage caused by repatriation would discourage Mexican immigrants from seeking naturalization, tear families apart, worsen relations with Mexico, and cause generations of Americans to live in fear of the federal government.

## Apostle of the Border



Cleofás Calleros. Courtesy of UTEP Special Collections.

Known as “the Apostle of the Border,” Cleofás Calleros dedicated most of his life to working on behalf of Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans. Calleros immigrated to the U.S. with his family at age six. He attended Sacred Heart Academy in El Paso and eventually earned a teaching certificate. In 1918, he joined the U.S. Army, and soon became a naturalized citizen. While serving in Germany, he was injured and received the Purple Heart. After the war, Calleros returned to El Paso and in short order married Benita Blanco. He spent much of his spare time volunteering at his local church. When the Catholic immigration office lost its director in 1926, the El Paso bishop recommended Calleros for the job. He would spend the next 41 years directing the El Paso office.<sup>[iii]</sup>

Calleros’ contemporaries described him as “stubborn” and “pushy,” but noted “there wasn’t anything mean about him.” The cantankerous border agent drew upon his personal experience and devout Catholicism to aid his work. His own successful immigration experience made him a champion to poor immigrants. With Calleros’ help, more than 30,000 individuals gained citizenship. When immigration officials attempted to separate children from their parents, Calleros’ famous temper flared. On more than one occasion, he stormed into immigration headquarters, demanding that families remain unified. More often than not, immigration officials gave way to Calleros’ insistence.<sup>[iv]</sup>

In truth, Calleros’ efforts met with heartbreak and failure more often than success, as in the case of Angela Hernández de Sánchez. After a week of visiting family in Carrizal, Chihuahua, Hernández was anxious to return home to her three children in El Paso. She began crossing the bridge between El Paso and Juárez and then paused, the echo of her footsteps growing silent. She turned and watched a line of cars moving in the opposite direction, weighed down with entire families and their belongings.

Dread filled the young mother. She tried to remind herself that she had no reason to worry. Despite recent rumors of many Texas and California families forced out of the United States, Hernández reassured herself that her situation was different. She was a legal U.S. resident. She had a job. Two of her children were U.S. citizens. For 15 years, Hernández had visited family in Mexico and returned to El Paso without incident.

That night was different. Instead of waving her through the checkpoint, U.S. immigration officers pulled Hernández aside. For the first time in 15 years, they demanded she turn

over proof of residence and proper medical clearance. Crossing the border was a different experience in the 1930s than it is today. At the time, border agents rarely requested much in the way of documentation. When Hernández was unable to provide the requested documents, they arrested her.

The following day, a U.S. public health doctor subjected her to an invasive medical exam. Convinced that Hernández suffered from venereal disease, the doctor refused to issue medical clearance. He recommended that immigration officials immediately deport her. Later that day, immigration officials released the young woman into the custody of Calleros’ office.<sup>[v]</sup>

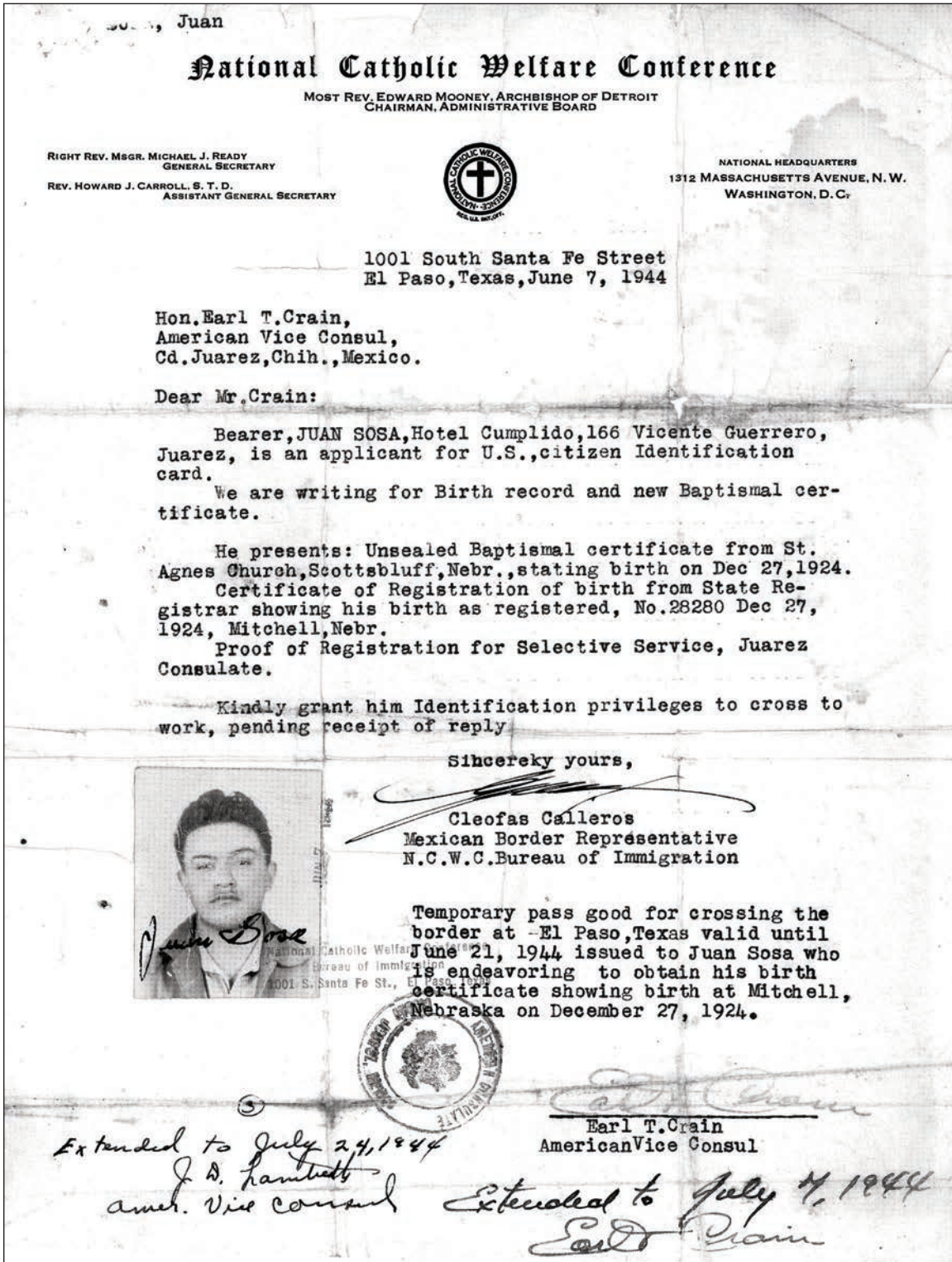
As Hernández awaited the results of the blood test that would prove she did not have a venereal disease, immigration officials drew up a warrant of deportation. Working with Calleros’ office, Hernández provided proof of her status as a U.S. resident and her children’s citizenship. Her efforts were to no avail. Cloaking his racism with the veneer of medical science, the examining doctor insisted that Hernández carried a undetectable strain of syphilis. Despite the clean blood test, he refused to issue clearance. She appealed the decision but immigration officials denied her request and issued a deportation warrant on March 12.

Sobbing and in a panic, Hernández begged Calleros and his supervisor to intervene. They reached out to contacts in Washington, but were unable to prevent her deportation. Six weeks after attempting to return home from what she believed was an ordinary family visit, immigration officials deported Hernández and her three children on charges that she was a menace to public health. Crying, Hernández crossed the border into Mexico.<sup>[vi]</sup>

Hernández and her three children were just four of an estimated 400,000 to 2,000,000 people of Mexican-descent expelled from the U.S. between 1929 and 1939. Her story is



Cleofás Calleros in front of La Misión de San Antonio de Ysleta del Sur in El Paso, Texas. Courtesy of UTEP Special Collections.



Juan Sosa's identification letter. Courtesy of the Center for Migration Studies. Calleros worked with the American Consul at Juárez and U.S. Immigration Service officials to create identification documents that allowed people of Mexican-descent to cross the U.S.-Mexico border for a variety of purposes. In addition, his office tracked down birth certificates, baptismal records, and property records that could be used to help establish U.S. citizenship or prior residency. These documents were nearly always on N.C.W.C. letterhead, and included the client's photo, basic biographical information, and a signature from the American consulate.

both remarkable in its extralegality—Hernández was a legal U.S. resident, not subject to deportation under any contemporary immigration law—and unremarkable in its common recurrence across the Southwest during the 1930s. Calleros would assist thousands of individuals in similar situations.

Not all of Calleros' attempts to help ended in failure. In 1944, a young man named Juan Sosa arrived at the border. His family had fled the U.S. at the height of Mexican repatriation in 1931, when Sosa was seven years old. Thirteen years later, in 1944, he found a job in El Paso. When he attempted to enter the U.S., immigration officials detained him. Sosa was in fact at U.S. citizen, but like so many impoverished families in the 1930s, Sosa's family had never applied for U.S. passports (a relatively new invention at the time) for their children. All that he had to prove his U.S. citizenship were the tattered remains of a baptismal certificate.

Calleros traced Sosa's baptismal certificate to a church in Scottsbluff, Nebraska. At first, immigration officials threatened to remove Sosa from the country, but after careful negotiations, Calleros convinced them to allow Sosa to remain. Calleros issued an identification letter, which immigration officials then certified. This letter served as proof of Sosa's U.S. citizenship, while he awaited his U.S. passport.<sup>[vii]</sup>

There are countless stories like Sosa's. It is because of stories like these that Cleofás Calleros remains one of the most important, though least known, Catholics to have fought for Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans during the 20th century. In addition to his work with immigrants, Calleros served on the boards of 14 charitable organizations. His advocacy during a dark chapter of American history serves to remind us of the deep history of Catholic activism at the border.

Later in his life, Calleros estimated that the United States had deported, repatriated, or otherwise expelled more than 750,000 Mexicans and Mexican Americans during Mexican repatriation. He estimated that more than 85 percent of those expelled during the 1930s held U.S. citizenship. In a speech to Catholic social workers in 1960, he remarked, "we [sent] people back to a country that was not their country, back to homes that they had never lived in, that had never existed ... because [they] had no jobs."<sup>[viii]</sup> Calleros' words are as stirring now as they were in 1960. Decades after his death, the El Paso community and numerous families remain indebted to Calleros, and many long-time El Pasoans remember his legacy today.

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**Maggie Elmore is a postdoctoral research associate at the Cushwa Center.**

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[i] Pablo Yankelevich and Kelly Lytle Hernández, "An Introduction to el Archivo Histórico del Instituto Nacional de Migración," *Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies* 4, no. 1 (Spring 2009), 219–239; Paul Taylor, "Critique of the Official Statistics of Mexican Migration to and from the United States" in *International Migrations, Volume II: Interpretations*, Walter F. Willcox, editor (Washington, DC: Bureau of Economic Research, Government Printing Office, 1931), 581–590; Mae Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton University Press, 2004); Ian Haney-López, *White By Law: The Legal Construction of Race* (New York University Press, 2006); Francisco Balderrama and Raymond Rodríguez, *Decade of Betrayal: Mexican Repatriation in the 1930s* (University of New Mexico Press, 2006); Camilla Guérin-Gonzales, *Mexican Workers and American Dreams: Immigration, Repatriation, and California Farm Labor, 1900–1939* (Rutgers University Press, 1994); Abraham Hoffman, *Unwanted Mexican Americans: Repatriation Pressures, 1929–1939* (Arizona University Press, 1976); Vicky Ruiz, "Nuestra América: Latino History as United States History," *Journal of American History* 93, no. 3 (2006), 655–728.

[ii] Ngai, *Impossible Subjects*, 75.

[iii] Bruce Mohler to Thomas Mulholland, April 11, 1929, Box 3, Cleofás Calleros Papers, University of Texas at El

Paso; Cleofás Calleros to Bruce Mohler, June 29, 1926; Bruce Mohler to Father John Burke, July 10, 1926; Bruce Mohler to Thomas Mulholland, August 17, 1926, Box 16, Folder 162, CMS 023.


[iv] As quoted in Marjorie Sánchez-Walker, "Migration Quicksand: Immigration Law and Immigration Advocates at the El Paso-Ciudad Juárez Border Crossing, 1933–1941," 28–29; Mario T. García, *Católicos: Resistance and Affirmation in Chicano Catholic History* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008), 59.

[v] Adenitis is a glandular swelling that physicians at the time typically associated with venereal disease. Prof. Dr. Franz Mracek, *Atlas of Syphilis and the Venereal Diseases Including a Brief Treatise on the Pathology and Treatment* (Philadelphia: WB Saunders & Company, 1900), 93.

[vi] As recounted in R. Reynolds McKay, "Texas Mexican Repatriation During the Great Depression" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Oklahoma, 1982), 98–100; Cleofás Calleros to Bruce Mohler, January 25, 1934, Box 14, no identifiable folder, Calleros Papers.

[vii] Cleofás Calleros to Bruce Mohler, July 28, 1944; Cleofás Calleros to Earl T. Crain, June 7, 1944, in folder: Mexican Border Documents in Use, Box 54, 023 CMS.

[viii] Cleofás Calleros, "New Mexican Immigrants Into the United States," Box 6, Folder: BCSS, CMS 023.



INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

# Global History and Catholicism

April 4 – 6, 2019

Notre Dame Conference Center | McKenna Hall

With more than 70 presentations among 23 sessions, this conference explores the ways in which globalization has shaped the Catholic Church, while also considering the impact of Catholic actors and entities on global history from the late 18th century to the present.

**For the full conference schedule, visit [cushwa.nd.edu/events/ghc2019](http://cushwa.nd.edu/events/ghc2019).**

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## Friends of Cushwa News and Notes

**Shaun Blanchard** (Franciscan Missionaries of Our Lady University) published an article in the summer 2018 issue of the *U.S. Catholic Historian*, “Neither Cisalpine nor Ultramontane: John Carroll’s Ambivalent Relationship with English Catholicism, 1780–1800.”

**Michael Breidenbach** (Ave Maria University; Corpus Christi College, Oxford) published an essay, “Jacques Maritain and Leo XIII on the Problem of Church-State Relations,” in *The Things that Matter: Essays Inspired by the Later Work of Jacques Maritain*, edited by Heidi M. Giebel (Catholic University of America Press, 2018).

**Donna Whitson Brett** and **Edward T. Brett** (La Roche College) have published a new book, *Martyrs of Hope: Seven U.S. Missioners in Central America* (Orbis Books, 2018).

**Valentina Ciciliot** (Ca’ Foscari University, Venice, Italy) has published an essay, “John Paul II’s Canonisation Policy,” in *The Papacy in the Contemporary Age*, edited by Giovanni Vian (Edizioni Ca’ Foscari, 2018).

**Katherine Dugan** (Springfield College) announces the release of *Millennial Missionaries: How a Group of Young Catholics is Trying to Make Catholicism Cool*, published by Oxford University Press in January 2019. Research Travel Grant funds from the Cushwa Center supported archival research that contributed particularly to the book’s first chapter on the history of the Fellowship of Catholic University Students (FOCUS).

**Elizabeth Foster** (Tufts University) is pleased to announce her new book, *African Catholic: Decolonization and the Transformation of the Church*, appearing in March 2019 with Harvard University Press.

**David Givens** (University of Pittsburgh) successfully defended his dissertation, “Digital Devotions: Constructing Sexual and Spiritual Identities through Queer Saint Narratives Online,” on November 15, 2018.

**Theresa Keeley** (University of Louisville) has published an article, “Not Above the Fray: Religious and Political Divides’ Impact on U.S. Missionary Sisters in 1980s Nicaragua,” in the Winter 2019 issue of the *U.S. Catholic Historian*. The article grew out of a paper from the Cushwa Center’s 2017 conference, Too Small a World: Catholic Sisters as Global Missionaries, and was based on research from the Notre Dame Archives using a Cushwa Center Research Travel Grant.

**Christopher Korten** (Adam Mickiewicz University) relays that he has finished a book entitled *Half-Truths: the Irish College, Rome, and a select history of the Catholic Church, 1772–1826*, published in 2018 by Adam Mickiewicz University Press (Poznań, Poland).

**Maximilian Longley** (independent scholar; 2018 Hibernian Award recipient) published an article in the fall 2018 issue of the *U.S. Catholic Historian*, “The Radicalization of James

McMaster: The ‘Puritan’ North as an Enemy of Peace, the Constitution, and the Catholic Church.”

**Carmen M. Mangion** (Birkbeck, University of London) has published “‘Tolerable Intolerance’: Protestantism, Sectarianism and Voluntary Hospitals in Late-nineteenth-century London” in the October 2018 issue of *Medical History*.

**Timothy Matovina** (University of Notre Dame) has published *Theologies of Guadalupe: From the Era of Conquest to Pope Francis* with Oxford University Press (2018).

**Bronwen McShea** (Princeton University) writes to share an update on research supported by the Cushwa Center: “Using funds from the Mother Theodore Guerin Research Travel Grant that I was honored to receive in 2018, I spent several weeks in late November and early December in the city of Valence, France. I was able to consult extensive archival materials in the Archives Départementales de Drôme which relate to the life of Marie-Madeleine de Vignerot, the Duchesse d’Aiguillon (1604–1675), whose biography I am writing. D’Aiguillon, who was Cardinal Richelieu’s niece and heiress, was the patroness of numerous Catholic religious institutions and charities in France. She was also a pioneering figure in the history of the Church’s missionary expansion into North America, Southeast Asia, North Africa, and the Levant. My findings so far suggest that she played a more leaderly role in post-Tridentine, French Catholic ecclesial and political life than we expect to see for a laywoman of the era. I am now back at Princeton making progress with my manuscript, which I hope to see published as my second book.”

**Mary Christine Morkovsky, C.D.P.**, has published *Pilgrims in Providence: A History of the Texas Congregation of Divine Providence in Mexico* (Xlibris, 2018). The book will appear in English and in Spanish and is the author’s third history of a religious congregation.

**Michael Skaggs** (Ph.D., University of Notre Dame, 2017) became executive director of the Chaplaincy Innovation Lab, based at Brandeis University, upon its launch in November. This year he will also begin working on the NEH-funded project “Boston’s Hidden Sacred Spaces,” for which James O’Toole (Boston College) serves as an advisor. Michael has also begun a three-year term as co-chair of a new unit in the American Academy of Religion, “Innovation in Chaplaincy and Spiritual Care.” Most importantly, he and his wife, Caroline, welcomed their third child, Jane, in December.

**David W. Stowe** (Michigan State University) published “Religion and Race in American Music” in *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and Race in American History*, co-edited by Paul Harvey and Kathryn Gin Lum (Oxford University Press, 2018).

## Cushwa Center announces research funding recipients for 2019

In 2019, the Cushwa Center is providing funding to 19 scholars for a variety of research projects. Learn more about Cushwa research funding programs at [cushwa.nd.edu/grant-opportunities](http://cushwa.nd.edu/grant-opportunities). The next application deadline will be December 31, 2019.

### MOTHER THEODORE GUERIN RESEARCH TRAVEL GRANTS

The Cushwa Center recently launched Guerin Research Travel Grants for scholars whose research projects feature Catholic women more prominently in modern history, supporting research travel both in and outside the United States.



**Christine Croxall**  
Cornell University  
“The Limits of Sisterhood: Gender and Black Catholicism in the Mississippi River Valley”



**Monica Mercado**  
Colgate University  
“The Young Catholic: Girlhood and the Making of American Catholicism, 1836–1911”



**Joseph Mannard**  
Indiana University of Pennsylvania  
“America’s First Runaway Nun: The Two Lives of Sr. Ann Gertrude Wightt, 1799–1867”



**Bronagh Ann McShane**  
National University of Ireland, Galway  
“Irish Women Religious, c. 1530–1756: Suppression, Migration and Reintegration”



**Gemma Betros**  
The Australian National University  
“Sacred Liberty: the Nuns of Paris, the French Revolution, and Napoleon”



**HIBERNIAN  
RESEARCH  
AWARDS**

Funded by an endowment from the Ancient Order of Hibernians, Hibernian Research Awards support the scholarly study of Irish and Irish American history. The following scholars have received awards for 2019:



**Christopher M.B. Allison**  
University of Chicago  
“Jane McCrea: Martyr for a New Nation”



**Conor Donnan**  
University of Pennsylvania  
“An ‘Empire for Liberty?’ Irish Immigrants, Native Americans, and American Imperialism in the trans-Mississippi West between 1841 and 1924”



**Eileen Markey**  
Lehman College  
“When Markievicz, Skeffington and Kearns Came to Butte: Irish Radical Women in the International Struggle”

**HESBURGH  
RESEARCH  
TRAVEL GRANTS**

These grants support research projects that consider the life and work of the late Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C., president of the University of Notre Dame from 1952 to 1987.



**Edward P. Hahnenberg**  
John Carroll University  
“Theodore Hesburgh: Priest for a Priestly People”

**RESEARCH TRAVEL GRANTS**

Research Travel Grants assist scholars from a variety of academic disciplines who wish to visit the University of Notre Dame Archives or collections elsewhere at Notre Dame's Hesburgh Libraries for research relating to the study of Catholics in America. The following scholars received grants for 2019:



**William S. Cossen**  
The Gwinnett School of Mathematics, Science, and Technology  
"Soldiers and Sacraments: The Lived Catholic Civil War"



**Elisabeth Davis**  
University at Buffalo  
"The Centralization Controversy: Nuns, Bishops, and the Development of the American Catholic Church, 1800–1865"



**M.A. Davis**  
Hampton University  
"Faith in Flight: Albert Zahm and the Wright Brothers"



**Elsa B. Mendoza**  
Georgetown University  
"Maryland Slaveholding and the Expansion of Jesuit Higher Education, 1789–1865"



**Nicholas Rademacher**  
Cabrini University  
"Catholic Women and Race in the United States, 1931–1965"



**Mitchell Edward Oxford**  
William & Mary  
"Monarchal Bishops, Jacobinized Trustees, and Unruly Sisters: The French Revolution and the Making of an American Catholicism"



**Kelly Schmidt**  
Loyola University Chicago  
"‘We heard sometimes their earnest desire to be free in a free country’: Enslaved People, Jesuit Masters, and Negotiations for Freedom on American Borderlands"



**Ryan G. Tobler**  
Harvard University  
"American Worship: Religion and the Politics of Worship in the Early United States"



**Andrew Walker-Cornetta**  
Princeton University  
"The Little Brothers of the Good Shepherd and the Religious History of Intellectual Disability in Postwar America"



**Tisa Wenger**  
Yale University  
"Settler Secularism: The Production of American Religion"



A group of sisters outside the Westminster Library opposite the Church House in Victoria, London, June 24, 1970 (photo by Evening Standard/Getty Images)

# HISTORY *of* WOMEN RELIGIOUS

## in this issue:

Preserving Our Story .....	18
Why I Study Women Religious .....	22
Conference Program: Commemoration Preservation, Celebration.....	24

The Conference on the History of Women Religious was established in 1988 both to assist historians in discovering and preserving the historical record of vowed women from the Middle Ages to the present, and to integrate their stories into the larger narratives of their times and places. Today, the CHWR is a group of approximately 400 scholars and archivists from the fields of history, religious studies, women's studies, and sociology. Since 2012, the CHWR and its newsletter have been housed at Notre Dame's Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism. Visit [chwr.org](http://chwr.org) for more information.

## Preserving Our Story

By Patricia Wittberg, S.C.



Patricia Wittberg, S.C., speaks to more than 150 participants at the July 2018 conference *Envisioning the Future of Catholic Religious Archives*.

*The following article is adapted from a lecture delivered at *Envisioning the Future of Catholic Religious Archives*, a working conference hosted by Boston College, July 11–13, 2018. More than 150 archivists, religious, and scholars convened to discuss the management and preservation of various religious communities’ archival collections. Patricia Wittberg, S.C., offers a sociologist’s perspective on the situation facing many congregations and their sponsored institutions as they look ahead to ongoing downsizing, mergers, or completion.*

As numerous historians have noted, the history of religious institutes in Western Catholicism has been cyclical, with extensive and rapid initial growth followed by a century or more of stability and subsequent decay.

The foundation and decline phases of each cycle pose particular challenges for historians and archivists. During the foundation period, the charismatic leader and the first members of a new religious order are often too preoccupied with issues of spreading the message to new recruits, dealing with often

suspicious Church leaders, and simply surviving financially to worry about preserving an archive of their activities. In the decline period, there may not be sufficient personnel or funds to maintain existing archives. And if an order disintegrates completely, its records may simply be discarded.

We are in a decline period today in North America and Western Europe. In the United States, the number of sisters has declined by almost three-fourths from its peak of 180,000 in 1966; the number of brothers has declined by more than

three-fourths, and the number of religious priests by half.<sup>1</sup> Since the number of religious orders or congregations has declined more slowly than the number of individual religious, the average size of each order has shrunk—often drastically.

In addition, religious have largely withdrawn from their educational, healthcare, and social work institutions. Each of these organizations may have its own archives, but its current administrator may not think to share the contents with a former community sponsor. These organizations may also be in danger of dissolving or merging with another institution: as a result of the declining U.S. birth rate, for example, Catholic colleges will compete for a smaller pool of potential students in the future, and many will have to close. Hospitals are joining large, multi-state systems. What happens to the archives of a Mercy college or a Franciscan hospital when it no longer exists as a separate entity?

Still another change is the ethnic composition of religious orders today. International orders report that the majority of their newer members come from their African or South Asian provinces; U.S.-based orders which had established small missions overseas now find that their members from these areas outnumber the Americans. Eventually, religious from these other cultures will move into the leadership of their communities, and they may not share Western priorities in terms of organizing or preserving archives. In addition, the archives of religious institutes headquartered in Asia, Latin America, or Africa will be less accessible to Western scholars.

All of this, of course, has implications for historians. Finances for training a religious sister or brother archivist to modern standards—not to mention for hiring a professional lay archivist—may not be available to a small and declining community. When formerly separate provinces or religious communities merge, it is often difficult to bring together and systematize their archives—especially if each of the former provinces' archivists had different ways of cataloging things. Merging archives and systematizing their contents requires a considerable investment of time and money—neither of which may be available in the long term. Unsustainable merging projects may end up being abandoned halfway through, rendering entire collections

inaccessible. Finally, the archives of communities that completely disappear may be deposited with the local diocese or sent to a central repository. Due to the shortages of personnel and finances that possibly accompanied the last years of these communities, their archives may not be in a very organized condition when they arrive.

Still another issue arises at the *beginning* of an institute's life cycle. Since 1965, at least 200 new religious communities have been founded in the United States, and over 40 in Canada (Rocca 2010; Van Lier 1996). Of the U.S. ones, close to half of those that were present in 1998 now no longer exist, and many others probably disintegrated in the 1970s and 1980s before CARA began tracking them (Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate 2017). Most of the new religious communities that remain are quite small: the median number of their full members is ten, and only five have more than sixty full members. Few, if any, operate any institutions which they themselves own or sponsor.

Again, this has implications for any archives these communities may have or develop. With half of them having a membership of ten or fewer, it is unlikely that they have made any provision for the collection and preservation of a coherent archive. Since almost one-half of new foundations disband within a few years, some new communities' founding material may not be saved at all.

The story of religious life is important for both the Church and the larger society to know, and the preservation of community archives is essential to telling this story. This is especially important in the case of women religious. In recent decades, the mainstream media has largely depicted women religious inaccurately (Sabine 2013), and neither Catholics nor the public at large see many sisters in real life to counteract this image. *If we do not tell our own story, we will lose control of it.* Without the stories of women religious in professional and Church leadership positions, the only ecclesial leadership role in Catholicism which is visible to the general public is the ordained priesthood—restricted to males. Outside observers thus assume that the Church allows only subservient roles for half of its members. This has already had profoundly negative results. Young adult women in North America, Western

<sup>1</sup> According to the Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate, the number of sisters in the U. S. in 1965 was 179,954, the number of brothers was 12,271, and the number of religious order priests was 22,707. Today, there are 45,605 sisters, 4,007 brothers, and 11,424 religious order priests. <https://cara.georgetown.edu/frequently-requested-church-statistics/>

Europe, and Australia who were raised Catholic are less likely than young adult males to remain in the Church, less likely to attend Mass regularly, and less likely to be doctrinally orthodox (D'Antonio, Dillon, and Gautier 2013:90–92; Wittberg 2012). Fewer women want a Church wedding or baptism for their babies (Gray 2018). This is the first time in centuries that this has been true—and it is not true for young adult women in other Christian denominations, or in other parts of the Catholic world. Similarly, religious life and the priesthood was once the main way that working class and immigrant male Catholics could attain a professional career. If the story of male religious orders is not told, the Church may be less appealing to the new generation of working class immigrants from Africa and Latin America.

A story of North American Catholicism that does not include—and prominently highlight—all the varieties of leadership in Catholicism is partial and incomplete, and a danger to the Church's very survival here and now. The archives of women's and men's religious orders are essential for telling this story, and we are in grave danger of losing them to decay, disorganization, and sheer indifference.

We must therefore encourage more professional historians and social scientists to study religious life. This means that the archives have to be accessible and easy to use—and that academics have to be aware of the rich data they contain. I do not have the knowledge or the background to discuss how this might be done. What I have been asked to do here is to summarize the results of three questionnaires—of archivists, of the leaders of various religious orders, and of historians or other scholars—conducted in October 2017 for this conference of Catholic religious archivists convening in the summer of 2018. These included both open-ended and fixed-choice questions on the problems and opportunities currently faced by the respondents.

In all three surveys, the most frequent issues raised concerned managing and digitizing collections. Digitization issues were the most frequently mentioned by both the archivists and the leaders, and the third most commonly mentioned by the scholars.

- We have started digitizing the collection to preserve the information, but also making some available online. I think people underestimate the cost in time and money that are involved in these types of projects. (archivist)
- The major issue facing all archival repositories is digitization. Increasingly, research is being done remotely. Can religious archival repositories afford the time and expense of digitization? (historian)

The second-most important issue for the archivists and the leadership was the merging of archives or their removal to a centralized location. Linked to this issue was a concern, voiced by approximately 10 percent of all three groups, about what would happen if a religious community ceased to exist, or declined to such an extent that they could no longer maintain their archives.

- We would like more information about storing archives after completion, or after the majority of present members are deceased and the newer members are so few in numbers that archives may not be meaningful as they regroup around the charism. (leader)
- We are one province of an international congregation; our U.S. Province is in the “autumn” of its existence. We need to determine what to keep of our present archival material; documentation and artifacts; how and where these will be preserved, stored, managed, etc. as our numbers and properties face diminishment. (archivist)

Some 70 percent of the leadership and archivist respondents said that their communities were facing downsizing, merger, or completion, but barely half said that their communities had a management plan that anticipated these changes.

Another important issue involved the dilemmas researchers face in trying to access the archival holdings. The scholars and the archivists mentioned the need to have guides or maps that could be useful in locating information, while the leadership was more likely to be concerned over how to preserve confidentiality.

- As monasteries and communities “die in place,” how will scholars find where resources/deposits are located? How will they make sense of the deposits? We need a ROAD MAP for future scholars. (archivist)
- Confidentiality, planned and regular removal of certain types of confidential documents. (leader)

Less commonly raised, but still important, was how to recruit and update professional archivists and how to recruit, train and supervise volunteers. Also mentioned was the dilemma of whether to hire a professional lay archivist, who might not be familiar with the history of the community, as compared with assigning a sister or brother, who might be less professionally trained and already over-committed with other responsibilities, to the task.

- Many archivists for religious congregations have little to no training and are not able to master

the technological savvy required for today's work and for the future. Many are in their seventh, eighth, or ninth decade of life and, although they hold the institutional memory, they are not going to be able to master an electronic content management system or capitalize on other technological advancements in the field. (archivist)

- I am early in my work in the archives. I offered to get into this work as the sister in charge is 95 years of age but a walking encyclopedia of archivist knowledge. I have a part-time job with the university and another job in the community in addition to my archivist work. Keeping our heads above water as we strive to continue our community archives is an important issue. (archivist)

Many of the archivists and historians also complained of a shortage of space and insufficient staffing, as well as obtaining sufficient leadership support. The issue of engaging leadership seems unlikely to ameliorate in the future, since several respondents also mentioned the difficulty of getting younger, newer members interested in preserving archival material:

- I would like to have younger members of the community be more interested in learning our history and being more involved in contributing materials voluntarily to the archives. (archivist)
- Leadership needs to not only be familiar with what archives do and how they function, they have to provide a mandate to make the archive integral to the institute's government. So much is lost without the backing of superiors. (historian)

## Conclusions

The story of the Catholic Church is complex, with multiple voices and perspectives. In numerous times and places, Catholicism, through its religious orders, has:

- *offered opportunities* otherwise unavailable for women (or for working class men) to use their talents and exercise leadership in the larger society;
- *served as the voice* of those who had none, speaking out against the maltreatment of oppressed groups;
- *discovered and highlighted new social needs*, often living and working among the poor or working-class and establishing institutions and services to meet their needs;
- *created breathtaking works of art and music*; and
- *discovered new horizons*, both scientifically and geographically.

*And it continues to do so today.* To allow Catholicism to be reduced by a less informed and frequently unsympathetic popular media to a caricature—misogynistic, hide-bound, scientifically ignorant, and intolerant—is a betrayal of its mission to preach the Good News, yet this is the image many people have of the Church. Who would want to join—or remain in—such an organization? Most Millennials are therefore either former or cultural Catholics, unlikely to pass Catholicism on to their children.

I believe this is literally an existential crisis for Catholicism in North America. If we lose our ability to tell our story, if we allow the history of Catholicism to be forgotten as these archives molder in dusty or mildewed boxes, then something very precious will be lost. I am not an archivist, but I am a sociologist, and I say that what you are here to discuss *and act upon* is quite simply the most important issue facing Catholicism today.

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**Patricia Wittberg, S.C., Ph.D., is a research associate at the Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate (CARA) in Washington, D.C.**

## Why I Study Women Religious

By Ryan P. Murphy

In the fall of 2012, I was in my second year of graduate school at Temple University and enrolled in a social inequality course. Prior to this, most of my research interests were in the area of urban poverty and inequality, so this seemed like a logical place to start. However, that semester I was also taking an elective course in feminist theory, so I thought this might be a good opportunity to research a sociological topic outside of my primary area.



Ryan P. Murphy

At the same time, I was working at Chestnut Hill College in Philadelphia, a sponsored ministry of the Sisters of St. Joseph, where I still work today. The Motherhouse for the Sisters of St. Joseph of Philadelphia is adjacent to Chestnut Hill College, and nearly 40 sisters still teach or work at the College, so the sisters' guiding presence on campus animates the College's mission and identity. I quickly became attracted to their spirituality and charisma, and the more I learned about the congregation's commitment to social justice and education, the more invested I became. That summer and fall, there was a palpable frustration among the sisters on campus, stemming from the April 2012 doctrinal assessment of the Leadership Conference of Women Religious (LCWR) from the Vatican's Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith. They—along with countless other sisters, Catholics, and non-Catholics alike—felt this assessment was unfairly harsh, and neglected to acknowledge their decades of service to poor and marginalized communities.

As I joined others in solidarity with women religious in the United States, I realized that this was a perfect topic to write about for my social inequality course. What I didn't realize though, was how that first paper would totally change my trajectory in graduate school. With each course and research project, I shifted further away from my original focus and more toward studying the lives of women religious. My faculty mentors at Temple were

incredibly encouraging; it also wasn't lost on me that my insider connection to this congregation afforded me access to data that other researchers might not have. I attended conferences on the history of women religious, and connected with the generous and supportive community of scholars doing this work. A few years later, I celebrated my first academic publication—a reworked version of the term paper I first wrote in fall 2012.

My current work expands on my dissertation—a case study of the renewal period for the Sisters of St. Joseph after the Second Vatican Council. As a sociologist, I study social structures—and how these structures both influence and constrain individual choices. For women religious, these structures can be as large as the institutional Church and the glass ceiling for women in the workplace, or as small as individual convents and academic departments. But structures aren't monolithic or immutable. Individuals and communities have the power to challenge them, exercising agency and changing the course of history. Like all women, women religious are affected by social movements—from the civil rights and feminist movements of the 1960s and 1970s, to Black Lives Matter and #MeToo in recent years. It is inspiring to hear that women religious marched on Selma, and continue to work for universal healthcare and comprehensive immigration reform.

My students are often surprised to learn some of this, and I take great pride in showing them how as students in a sponsored ministry of a women's religious community, they are part of that legacy. For many of my students, attending Chestnut Hill College brings their first experience meeting a religious sister.



They must reconcile the often one-dimensional images of nuns they see in the media with the capable group of educated women in their classrooms or the selfless, dedicated sisters in ministry throughout the Philadelphia area. With every example of a nun cheering on a sports team or wearing a habit while cleaning up after a natural disaster that goes viral on social media, I challenge my students to dig deeper to see their lives lived in service, and more importantly—their *humanity*. Reducing women religious to caricatures denies their agency and independence, and reproduces the notion that nuns are a homogenous group of meek or frail women who might amuse us by doing everyday things. Similarly, holding them up on pedestals ignores the reality of their lives, which, like all of ours, occasionally include disappointments and missteps. These are real women—who do extraordinary work, for sure—but who are shaped by the society and time in which they live.

One of my favorite stories about the foundress of the Philadelphia community illustrates this point. Born in France, Mother St. John Fournier led a small delegation of sisters to Philadelphia in 1847 by way of Carondelet, near St. Louis, Missouri. Under Mother St. John's leadership, the congregation grew to become one of the largest communities of women religious in Philadelphia. Nearly 100 years after her death, on the first floor of its motherhouse, the congregation opened the doors to the Heritage Rooms, a small museum with artifacts and archival materials dating back to its founding in Le Puy, France, in 1650. Naturally, Mother St. John Fournier features prominently in the display cases, including one with an extensive collection of her personal belongings. A woman of her time in mid-19th century America, Mother St. John used snuff tobacco—a habit that she carried through to the end of her life, and one that some her fellow sisters presumably found repugnant. At the time of her



Mother St. John Fournier's snuff box

death, the community labeled one of her belongings “Stamp Box,” an innocuous misnomer designed to conceal her snuff habit. As congregational historians discovered more about her life, it became clear that this item was indeed Mother St. John's snuff box—a story that my students find fascinating.

Mother St. John Fournier undoubtedly led an extraordinary life, but she was human. She was shaped by Philadelphia's Nativist Riots and anti-Immigrant sentiment, but also by sisters in her community and the local support of Bishop (now Saint) John Neumann—a storied friendship that enriched both of their lives. I'm sure all scholars of women religious have their own favorite anecdotes, all of them entertaining. I study women religious because despite gendered constraints in the Catholic Church and secular society, sisters take courageous risks and challenge unjust structures that perpetuate inequality. Yet at the same time, their lives can often also be refreshingly imperfect. As a sociologist, I study women religious to identify patterns of behavior from guiding, principled leaders that may inspire Catholics to find a path forward at a time when many of us feel overwhelming alienation from the institutional Church.

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**Ryan P. Murphy, Ph.D., is director of experiential learning and adjunct instructor of sociology at Chestnut Hill College in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.**

## COMMEMORATION, PRESERVATION, CELEBRATION



A group of sisters outside the Westminster Library opposite the Church House in Victoria, London, June 24, 1970 (photo by Evening Standard/Getty Images)

## Commemoration, Preservation, Celebration

The Eleventh Triennial Conference on the History of Women Religious  
 Saint Mary's College, Notre Dame, Indiana | June 23–26, 2019

The 11th triennial Conference on the History of Women Religious will bring historians and archivists of women religious together at Saint Mary's College in Notre Dame, Indiana, to discuss current and future work. The conference begins at noon on Sunday, June 23, and concludes with lunch at noon on Wednesday, June 26.

Ann M. Little, professor of history at Colorado State University and author of *The Many Captivities of Esther Wheelwright* (Yale, 2016), will deliver the conference's keynote address on Sunday evening. From Sunday to Wednesday, participants will give more than 100 presentations over the course of more than 30 sessions. Wednesday morning will include sessions with researchers from the Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate (CARA).

Preview the conference schedule on the following pages. For more information and to register for the conference by May 1, 2019, visit [cushwa.nd.edu/events/chwr2019](http://cushwa.nd.edu/events/chwr2019).

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 COMMEMORATION, PRESERVATION, CELEBRATION
 

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**Sunday, June 23, 2019**

11:30 a.m. - 8:00 p.m. | Check-In

12:30 - 2:00 p.m. | Lunch

2:00 - 4:15 p.m. | Panels

**Session 1 | Canonized American Sisters: How Congregations Commemorate, Preserve, and Celebrate Sainted Sisters' Legacies in the Twenty-First Century (Roundtable) | 210 Madeleva Hall***Chair: James Carroll, Iona College*Regina Bechtle, S.C., Sisters of Charity of New York  
*St. Elizabeth Ann Seton*Jan Craven, S.P., Shrine of Saint Mother Theodore Guerin and the National Shrine of Our Lady of Providence  
*St. Theodora Guérin*Jane Nesmith, S.B.S., Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament  
*St. Katharine Drexel*Carolyn Osiek, R.S.C.J., Society of the Sacred Heart of Jesus  
*St. Philippine Duchesne*Margaret Susan Thompson, Syracuse University  
*St. Marianne Cope***Session 2 | Preserving Stories of American Sisters Working for Racial Justice | 211 Madeleva Hall***Chair: Carol Coburn, Avila University*Kim R. Harris, Loyola Marymount University  
*"The Ritual Gifts of Sr. Thea Bowman to Historic and Contemporary Black Catholics"*Sr. Barbara Lum, S.S.J., Sisters of St. Joseph  
*"Sisters of St. Joseph of Rochester, New York, in Selma, Alabama"*Paul T. Murray, Siena College  
*"Sister Margaret Ellen Traxler: Fighting for Racial Justice"*Sr. Janet Welsh, O.P., Dominican University  
*"Swept up and Embracing the Struggle: Transformative Experiences of Two Dominicans in the Jim Crow South"***Session 3 | Preserving and Telling Our Stories | 254 Madeleva Hall***Chair: Mary Ewens, O.P., Sinsinawa Dominican Research Center*Rebecca Abel, O.S.B., Catholic Distance University  
*"Preserving Sisters' Records: The International Benedictine Experience"*Nan Cano, I.H.M., Immaculate Heart Community of California  
*"The Immaculate Heart Community: Ensuring the History of two Communities Becomes a Living Archive"*Kathryn Oosterhuis, Mercy Heritage Center  
*"Sisters of Mercy of the Americas: A Case Study in Consolidating and Preserving Women's Religious Community History"*Ellen Pierce, Archival Consultant  
*"Lifting the Veil on Women Religious Archives: Uncovering Hidden American History"*

COMMEMORATION, PRESERVATION, CELEBRATION

4:30 – 5:00 p.m. | Vespers | Church of Our Lady of Loretto

5:00 – 5:45 p.m. | Reception | O’Grady Center

6:00 – 7:00 p.m. | Dinner | Noble Family Dining Hall (Student Center)

7:30 – 9:00 p.m. | Keynote Address | Carroll Auditorium (Madeleva Hall)

Ann Little, Colorado State University  
*“Open, Vast, and Inclusive: Catholic Women’s History is Early North American History”*

**Monday, June 24**

8:00 – 9:00 a.m. | Breakfast | Noble Family Dining Hall (Student Center)

9:00 – 10:30 a.m. | Panels

**Session 4 | New York’s Women Religious and their Archives | 210 Madeleva Hall**

*Chair: Carolyn Osiek, R.S.C.J., Society of the Sacred Heart of Jesus*

Kate Feighery, Archives of the Archdiocese of New York  
*“Preserving the Ministry of Religious Women in the Archdiocese of New York”*

Mindy Gordon, Sisters of Charity of New York Archives  
*“The Archives of the Sisters of Charity of New York”*

Jennifer Halloran, Maryknoll Mission Archives  
*“The Maryknoll Sisters Collection in the Maryknoll Mission Archives: Preserving the Evidence of How They Made God’s Love Visible in the World”*

**Session 5 | Vatican II and Beyond, the Changing Mission and Identity of Canadian Women Religious | 211 Madeleva Hall**

*Chair: Maria Patricia Williams, University College London*

Rosa Bruno-Jofré, Queen’s University of Canada  
*“The Missionary Oblate Sisters: Renewal and the Tortuous Journey of the Prophetic Feminist Vision of Alice Trudeau”*

Heidi MacDonald, University of Lethbridge  
*“Smaller Numbers, Stronger Voices: Women Religious Reposition Themselves through the Canadian Religious Conference, 1960s–80s”*

Elizabeth Smyth, University of Toronto  
*“We are not ladies in waiting. We are women for peace’: Living Vatican II as Activism”*

**Session 6 | Sisters in Time of War | 254 Madeleva Hall**

*Chair: Kathleen Riley, Ohio Dominican University*

Moira Egan, Queens College, City University of New York  
*“Commemorating Cultural Transformation: Crimean War Nurses Recall Their Service”*

Eileen Lyon, State University of New York at Fredonia  
*“Advent Wreaths and Azaleas from Dachau: ‘Tarcisia’ and the Ordination of Bl. Karl Leisner”*

Andrew Mach, University of Notre Dame  
*“Angels in Arlington: Memorializing Civil War Nun-Nurses on the Eve of Women’s Suffrage”*

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**COMMEMORATION, PRESERVATION, CELEBRATION**


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**10:30 - 11:00 a.m. | Morning break**

**11:00 a.m. - 12:30 p.m. | Panels**

**Session 7 | Revisiting the Boston College Conference: Lessons Learned from a Collaborative Approach to Preservation | 210 Madeleva Hall**

*Chair: Patricia Wittberg, S.C., Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate, Georgetown University*

Jennifer Head, Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin Mary  
 Malachy McCarthy, Claretian Missionaries USA-Canada Archives  
 Margaret McGuinness, La Salle University

**Session 8 | Sisters in First and Second Wave Feminism | 211 Madeleva Hall**

*Chair: Margaret Susan Thompson, Syracuse University*

Carmen Mangion, Birkbeck, University of London  
*"The World in Cloister and Nuns in the World: Post-War British Religious Life"*  
 Jillian Plummer, University of Notre Dame  
*"Sister Elizabeth Carroll, RSM, Sister Rose Dalle Tezze, RSM, and the Rise of an International Catholic Feminist Discourse"*

**Session 9 | The Role of the Sisters and Daughters of Charity in Settling the West | 254 Madeleva Hall**

*Chair: Regina Bechtle, Sisters of Charity of New York*

Judith Metz, S.C., Sisters of Charity of Cincinnati  
*"Onward to New Mexico and Colorado"*  
 Margaret Ann Gainey, D.C., Daughters of Charity Province of the West  
*"Onward to California and Nevada"*  
 Denise Patricia Gallo, Religious of Jesus and Mary  
*"What is fifteen hundred miles to God?": Charity Ventures West to St. Louis"*  
 Elizabeth McGahan, University of New Brunswick  
*"Charity in the West: Eastern Canadian Sisters Go West"*

**12:30 - 2:00 p.m. | Lunch | Noble Family Dining Hall (Student Center)**

**2:00 - 3:30 p.m. | Panels**

**Session 10 | Legacy of Sister Formation and Renewal | 210 Madeleva Hall**

*Chair: Fernanda Perrone, Rutgers University*

Maureen Abbott, S.P., Sisters of Providence of Saint Mary-of-the-Woods  
*"Sixties Seedbed" (presented by Janet Gilligan, S.P., Sisters of Providence of Saint Mary-of-the-Woods)*  
 Christine Hernandez, Independent Scholar  
*"Comparative Reception: Post-Vatican II Assemblies among Women Religious"*  
 Edelquine Shivachi, University of Notre Dame  
*"Education of Religious Nuns as a Legacy of Mother Anne Nasimiyyu Wasike: A Response to the Globalization of Catholic History"*

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 COMMEMORATION, PRESERVATION, CELEBRATION
 

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**Session 11 | Labor and Activism | 211 Madeleva Hall***Chair: Monica Mercado, Colgate University*

John Buchkoski, University of Oklahoma

*“Because We Wore the Habits of the Church: Catholic Nuns and the United Farm Workers Movement”*

Thomas Rzeznik, Seton Hall University

*“What Should Sister Do...When the Union Representative Calls: Catholic Hospitals and Labor Activism in 1960s New York City”*

Kathleen M. Washy, Sisters of St. Joseph of Baden

*“The Persevering Social Activist Work by Women Religious in the 1960s–1970s as Embodied by Sister Mary Dennis Donovan”***Session 12 | Art and Literary Legacies | 254 Madeleva Hall***Chair: Bren Ortega Murphy, Loyola University, Chicago*

Timothy Dulle, Fordham University

*“An Irradiant Irregularity: Making (non)Sense of the Immaculate Heart College Art Department”*

Farrell O’Gorman, Belmont Abbey College

*“Writing Rose Hawthorne: Images of Mother Mary Alphonsa in American Literary History”*

Mary C. Sullivan, R.S.M., Rochester Institute of Technology (professor emerita)

*“The Poetry of Catherine McAuley (1778–1841), Founder of the Sisters of Mercy”***3:30 – 4:00 p.m. | Afternoon break****4:00 – 5:30 p.m. | Panels****Session 13 | Authority and Influences: Reconsidering the Dynamics of Antebellum Women Religious | 210 Madeleva Hall***Chair: Kathleen Sprows Cummings, University of Notre Dame*

Elisabeth Davis, University at Buffalo

*“Torn Between the World and the Cloister: The Americanization of the Oblates and the Dominican Sisters”*

Gabrielle Guillerm, Northwestern University

*“Beyond Erasure: French Missionary Nuns in America in Nineteenth-Century Public and Private Memory”*

Jacqueline Willy Romero, Arizona State University

*“Bishop John Baptist Mary David and his ‘Dear Daughters’: Approaches and Problems to Analyzing Relationships between Superiors and Sisters”*

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**COMMEMORATION, PRESERVATION, CELEBRATION**


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**Session 14 | 1,000 Words in a Picture, I | 211 Madeleva Hall***Chair: Deirdre Raftery, University College Dublin*

Arlene Bachanov, Adrian Dominican Sisters

*"Remembering and 'Re-Membering': When One Religious Community Honored its Past and Committed to its Future"*

Mary Ewens, O.P., Sinsinawa Dominican Research Center

*"The Kelly Sculpture of Mother Catharine Sacred White Buffalo"*

Kara French, Salisbury University

*"Catholic Ritual, Protestant Spectacle: Robert Weil's Taking the Veil (1863)"*

Barbra Mann Wall, University of Virginia School of Nursing

*"Medical Missionaries, Politics, and Conflict"*

Mitchell Oxford, The College of William and Mary

*"Power in Portraiture: Catherine Spalding and the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth"*

Judith Sutera, O.S.B., Mount St. Scholastica

*"Flowers of the Desert: A Monastic Microcosm"***Session 15 | Accessing Sisters' Stories: Research and Teaching Applications for the History of Women Religious | 254 Madeleva Hall***Chair: M. Christine Anderson, Xavier University*

Mary Beth Fraser Connolly, Purdue University Northwest

*"Teaching Digitally: Or How Sr. Blandina and Sr. Justina Segale Will Save My Teaching"*

Kristine Ashton Gunnell, University of California, Los Angeles

*"Stewardship and Oral History: Preserving the History of the Daughters of Charity Foundation"*

Betty Ann McNeil, D.C., DePaul University

*"Memory Matters: The Journals of Cecilia Maria O'Conway and Rose Landry White"***5:30 - 7:30 p.m. | Dinner | Noble Family Dining Hall (Student Center)****Tuesday, June 25****8:00 - 9:00 a.m. | Breakfast****9:00 - 10:30 a.m. | Panels****Session 16 | Sisters in Higher Education: Leadership and Charism | 210 Madeleva Hall***Chair: Elizabeth Smyth, University of Toronto*

Kevin Glauber Ahern, Manhattan College

*"Institutional Identity: Crisis, Charism and Adaptation"*

Peggy Delmas, University of South Alabama

*"Parallel, Converge, Separate: Documenting the Work of Catholic Sisters in U.S. Public Higher Education Against the Backdrop of Women's History"*

Katherine Greiner, Carroll College

*"Rooted in Story, Oriented towards the Future: A Dynamic Theology of Charism"*

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**COMMEMORATION, PRESERVATION, CELEBRATION**


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**Session 17 | Global Perspectives | 211 Madeleva Hall***Chair: Moira Egan, Queens College, City University of New York*

Deirdre Bennett, University College Dublin

*"Preserving the Records of How Convent Schools Were Financed: Account Books in Nineteenth-Century Congregational Archives"*

Riccardo Semeraro and Giovanni Gregorini, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milan and Brescia

*"The History of Women Religious in Late Modern and Contemporary Italy: From Self-Celebration to Social Quantification"*

Maria Patricia Williams, University College London

*"Commemoration, Preservation, Celebration: The 1914 Silver Jubilee Booklet and the History of Progressive Education"***Session 18 | Early and Late Modern Religious Life | 254 Madeleva Hall***Chair: Peter Cajka, University of Notre Dame*

Jessica Lauren Criales, Rutgers University

*"Holy Indian Women: The Indigenous Nuns of the Siete Príncipes Convent, Oaxaca, Mexico, 1782–1870"*

Elissa Cutter, Loyola Marymount University

*"The Voices of Women Religious in Controversy: Mother Angélique Arnauld's Theology of History in Light of Seventeenth-Century French Jansenism"*

Brian Heffernan

*"Remembering Sacrificial Suffering in the History of Women Religious: The Case of Discalced Carmelite Nuns in the Netherlands, 1870–present"***10:30 – 11:00 a.m. | Break****11:00 a.m. – 12:30 p.m. | Panels****Session 19 | Research with Women Religious | 210 Madeleva Hall***Chair: Kate Feighery, Archives of the Archdiocese of New York*

Katie Gordon, Harvard Divinity School

*"Learning and Stewarding Sisters' Stories for a New Generation"*

Kathleen Riley, Ohio Dominican University

*"For the Sake of the Mission: Giving Birth to the 'DOMINICAN SISTERS OF PEACE'"*

Barbara Wolf Shousha, University of Nebraska, Lincoln

*"Triangulation and Listening Between the Lines: Writing History with Women Religious"*



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**COMMEMORATION, PRESERVATION, CELEBRATION**


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**Session 20 | 1,000 Words in a Picture, II | 211 Madeleva Hall***Chair: Thomas Rzesnik, Seton Hall University*

Edel Robinson, Independent Artist

*"WOMAN (Religious) with a MOVIE CAMERA"*

Kelsey Salvesen, University of Pennsylvania

*"Chez Les Dames Ursulines: Julie Painchaud and Stitched Identity"*

Evelyn Spratt, Notre Dame of Maryland University

*"From Mistresses to Bachelors"*

Sara Bolten, McKendree University

Mary Ann Thompson, McKendree University

*"Women Religious in the 1918 Flu Pandemic"*

Kathleen M. Washy, Sisters of St. Joseph of Baden

*"The Napkin Ring: A Symbol of Community Life"***Session 21 | Transnational Relocation and Adjustment | 254 Madeleva Hall***Chair: Heidi MacDonald, University of Lethbridge*

Edward Brett and Donna Brett, La Roche College

*"Maura, Ita, Dorothy, Jean, and Carla: The Spiritual Transformation of Five American Missionaries in Post-Vatican II Central America"*

James Carroll, Iona College

*"Abrupt Americanization: Dominican Sisters in New York"*

Tuan Hoang, Pepperdine University

*"The Resettlement of Vietnamese Refugee Women Religious in the United States, 1975-1977"***12:30 - 2:00 p.m. | Lunch | Noble Family Dining Hall (Student Center)****2:00 - 3:30 p.m. | Panels****Session 22 | New Perspectives on Catholic Women's Education in 19th Century America | 210 Madeleva Hall***Chair: Mary Beth Fraser Connolly, Purdue University Northwest*

Joseph G. Mannard, Indiana University of Pennsylvania

*"Raising the Academy to the Highest Standard of the Times: Ann Gertrude Wightt as Directress of Georgetown Visitation Academy, 1826-1831"*

Monica L. Mercado, Colgate University

*"Playing Catholic: Sister-Writers and Plays for Young Women in the Convent School"*

Catherine O'Donnell, Arizona State University

*"Teach Poor Children as Much as You Can': Daughters of Charity, Jesuits, and Education in the United States, 1809-1900"*

## COMMEMORATION, PRESERVATION, CELEBRATION

**Session 23 | Sisters Crossing Borders at Home and Abroad | 211 Madeleva Hall***Chair: Barbra Mann Wall, University of Virginia*

Barbara Mattick

*"Dreams Realized in the Midst of Adversity: The Sisters of St. Joseph of St. Augustine and Early 20th-Century Florida Anti-Catholicism"*

Margaret Mary Ibeh, H.H.C.J., Central Eastern Province of the Handmaids of the Holy Child Jesus

Caroline Mbonu, H.H.C.J., University of Port Harcourt

*"Dancing in the Africa Spirit Lush Land: Mother M. Charles Walker, R.S.C., Reverberating in African Sisterhood"*

Margaret McGuinness, La Salle University

*"Staying Local: The Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament in Philadelphia"***Session 24 | Commemoration Efforts | 254 Madeleva Hall***Chair: Betty Ann McNeil, D.C., DePaul University*

Ruth Ferris, University College Dublin

*"Commemoration versus Heritage: Challenges Experienced by Mother Michael Corcoran I.B.V.M., Superior General (1888–1918)"*

Alison Fitchett Climenhaga, University of Notre Dame

*"Sanctuary of Sorrows: Material Culture, Congregational Memory, and the Rwandan Genocide"*

Dennis Gunn, C.F.C., Iona College

*"Commemorating Grief and Hope: Marking the Bicentennial of the Sisters of Charity of New York at a Time of Decline for Catholic Education"***3:30 – 4:00 p.m. | Afternoon break****4:00 – 5:30 p.m. | Panels****Session 25 | 1,000 Words in a Picture, III | 210 Madeleva Hall***Chair: Ellen Pierce, Archival Consultant*

M. C. Havey, Sisters of Service

*"Sisters in the Wilderness"*

Bren Ortega Murphy, Loyola University Chicago

*"Sister Jean and the 2018 NCAA Men's Final Four"*

Fernanda Perrone, Rutgers University

*"Sister J: Secret Weapon"*

Amy Rosenkrans, Notre Dame of Maryland University

*"The Golden Jubilee of Saint Elizabeth's Home—Children, Friends, and Benefactors"*

COMMEMORATION, PRESERVATION, CELEBRATION

**Session 26 | Roundtable on Research Projects | 211 Madeleva Hall**

*Chair: Ryan Murphy, Chestnut Hill College*

Rosa Bruno-Jofré, Queen's University

Ana Jofré, SUNY Polytechnic

*"Commemorating, Preserving, and Celebrating Women Religious in the Digital Domain"*

Katie Bugyis, Harvard University (Radcliffe Institute)

Ann David, University of the Incarnate Word

*"No one ever told me these stories!": Sharing the Histories of Women Religious with Today's Adolescents"*

Christine Gervais, University of Ottawa

*"Inclusivity and Inspiration: An Ethic of Methodological Sensibility in Prioritizing Women Religious' Experiences"*

Agata Mirek, John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin

*"Intermonastic Team Researching the History of Female Convents in Poland (1971–2018)"*

**Session 27 | Sister-Teachers In Ireland and the United States | 254 Madeleva Hall**

*Chair: Mary Henold, Roanoke College*

Catriona Delaney, University College Dublin

*"We must prefer the schools to all others': Preserving the Legacy of the Presentation Sisters' Contribution to Second-Level Education in Ireland, 1850–1950"*

Reba Drey Luiken, University of Minnesota

*"Sister Scientists: Catholic Sisters as Biological Investigators and Educators"*

Cecilia Venable, University of Texas at El Paso

*"Sisters of the Holy Spirit and Mary Immaculate Pioneers of African American Education"*

**6:00 – 6:30 p.m. | Reception**

**6:30 p.m. | Banquet**

Eileen Markey

*"Finding What's True in the Stories of Women Religious"*

Presentation of CHWR Awards

**Wednesday, June 26**

**7:30 – 8:30 a.m. | Breakfast | Noble Family Dining Hall (Student Center)**

**8:30 – 10:00 a.m. | Panels**

**Session 28 | CARA Session I | Culture and Ethnicity in Vocations to Religious Life: A Critical Discussion | Carroll Auditorium**

*Chairs: Thu Do, L.H.C., and Jonathon Wiggins, CARA @ Georgetown University*

Presentation of Current Research

Critical Reviewers of the Research:

Deborah Borneman, SS.C.M., National Religious Vocation Conference

Ralph O'Donnell, United States Conference of Catholic Bishops

Elizabeth Ann Vasquez, S.S.C.J., Archdiocese of San Antonio

Discussion with Participants

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**COMMEMORATION, PRESERVATION, CELEBRATION**


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**Session 29 | Women Religious Relations with Lay Persons | 210 Madeleva Hall***Chair: Arlene Montevecchio, Saint Mary's College*

Mary Henold, Roanoke College

*"The Theresian (Mostly True) Story: Remembering the Apostolate to Promote Sisterhood Vocations"*

Alison More, University of St. Michael's College

*"Tradition and Transformation: The Changing Face of Tertiaries in Later Medieval Europe"*

Ryan Murphy, Chestnut Hill College

*"Partners in Ministry and Mission: Women Religious and Associates"*

Joshua Wopata, University of Dayton

*"Consecrated Religious Women Forming and Inspiring American Lay Saints: The Hagiographical Record of the Impact of American Religious Women on Current Causes of Laity in the United States"***10:00 - 10:30 a.m. | Morning break****10:30 a.m. - 12:00 noon | Panels****Session 30 | CARA Study Session II | International Religious Institutes in the United States since 1965: Changing the Cultural Context | Carroll Auditorium***Chair: Thu Do, L.H.C., and Thomas Gaunt, S.J., CARA @ Georgetown University*

Presentation of Current Research

Critical Reviewers of the Research:

Mary Johnson, S.N.D. de N., Trinity Washington University

Kevin Karimi, L.S.O.S.F., Marywood University

Teresa Maya, C.C.V.I., Sisters of Charity of the Incarnate Word

Patricia Wittberg, S.C., University of Indiana – Purdue in Indianapolis emeritus

Discussion with Participants

**Session 31 | Biographies: How Sisters Tell Their Stories | 210 Madeleva Hall***Chair: Janet Welsh, O.P., Dominican University*

Bridget Harrison, Queen's University, Belfast

*"Biographies and Corporate Identity Formation: Ireland, 1850–1907"*

Deirdre Raftery, University College Dublin

*"Finding Nano: The Long Shadow of Hagiography and the Challenges of Writing Commemorative Biographies of Women Religious Today"*

Annie E. Stevens, Webster University

*"Hidden in Plain Sight: Loretto Histories and Herstories"***12:00 - 1:00 p.m. | Lunch | Noble Family Dining Hall (Student Center)**

## New Collections at the University of Notre Dame Archives in 2018

In March 2018, Fr John W. Michalowski, S.J., donated a new collection of charismatic renewal files amounting to 2.5 linear inches. These records, 1969–1974, document meetings of the Chicago Day of Renewal, the Immaculate Conception Prayer Group of Benet Lake and charismatic renewal at Boston College and in the Cheverus High School Jesuit community in Portland, Maine. In addition to these paper files, the collection includes fifteen audio cassette tapes, fourteen of them from the Chicago Day of Renewal and one from the Ann Arbor Eastern General Conference of 1977. The audio recordings consist mainly of talks by speakers, including presentations by Fr James Connelly, C.S.C., Fr Edward O'Connor, C.S.C., Fr James Burke, O.P., Fr George Montague, S.M., Fr James Keenan, S.S.S., Ruth Carter Stapleton, Kerry Koller and Fr John W. Michalowski, S.J.

In April, Jean Morman Unsworth, herself an artist and author, donated her video on the art of Ivan Mestrovic based on images she captured in Split, Croatia, and at Notre Dame. In 2008 she donated the papers of her husband, Tim Unsworth. Her video is especially appropriate for our archives because we also hold the papers of Ivan Mestrovic.

In September, 62 linear feet of historical records from the United States Province of the Congregation of Holy Cross came to us with the help of province archivist Fr Christopher Kuhn, C.S.C., and his assistant archivist Deborah Buzzard. They include records and papers from the career of Fr Edward Sorin 1830–1896; Fr Alexis Granger 1832–1893; Fr William Corby 1858–1897; Fr John A. Zahm 1873–1922; and from the provincial administrations of Fr Andrew Morrissey 1906–1920; Fr Charles O'Donnell 1920–1926; Fr George Finnigan 1926–1927; Fr James Burns 1927–1938; and Fr Thomas Steiner 1938–1950. The collection also contains records of the Notre Dame C.S.C. Community, 1841–1926; records of the C.S.C. Steward's Office, 1840–1982; and interrogatories and chronicles.

In October, Graymoor archivist Barbara Martire sent us a digital collection of articles written by Fr Martin J. Carter, S.A., including published papers, reports, talks and presentations on Black Catholics, African Americans in the Roman Catholic priesthood, ecumenism, canon law, equality, evangelization, liturgy, religious life, marriage, divorce, and pastoral concerns. Fr Carter is a member of the Franciscan Friars of the Atonement and was active in the National Black Catholic Clergy Caucus.

And in December, Brother Larry Lundin, S.J., sent six linear feet of records, 1982–2008, from the National Association for Treasurers of Religious Institutes with information on early NATRI history, records of NATRI conferences, correspondence, reports, handbook, publications, office leases, articles of incorporation, bylaws, and board minutes; and records of the Legal Resource Center for Religious, including bylaws, strategic planning, audit reports, brochures, legal seminar records, reports, correspondence, board minutes, and financial files. Established in 1981, the National Association for Treasurers of Religious Institutes supported treasurers of Roman Catholic religious orders or congregations. The Legal Resource Center for Religious was established as a legal office for the Conference of Major Superiors of Men and the Leadership Conference of Women Religious in the 1990s. NATRI and the Legal Resource Center had headquarters on the same floor of the building that housed the offices of CSM and LCWR. The Legal Resource Center for Religious eventually became a non-profit corporation. It aided religious institutes in civil and canon law matters and published a legal bulletin for leaders and finance officers. In 2009 it was renamed The Resource Center for Religious Institutes and NATRI merged with that entity, which continues the mission of both organizations.

For a new way to search Notre Dame's Specialized Collections, try ArchivesSpace: <https://archivesspace.library.nd.edu>.

### Wm Kevin Cawley

Senior Archivist and Curator of Manuscripts  
Archives of the University of Notre Dame  
archives@nd.edu

## Catholic Missionary Education Among the Potawatomi: Five Questions with Issac Akande



Issac Akande is a Ph.D. candidate studying the history of education and education policy in the Department of Education Policy, Organization and Leadership at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign. With support from a Cushwa Center Research Travel Grant, Akande visited the Notre Dame Archives in June 2018 for research related to his dissertation

project, “Catholic Missionary Education Among the Potawatomi of Kansas, 1840–1870.” Cushwa Center postdoctoral fellow Pete Cajka caught up with Akande after his visit to discuss his research.

### **PC: Tell us about the relationship between the Catholic Church and the Potawatomi Nation.**

IA: The Potawatomi had been in contact with Catholic missionaries since the 17th century and saw the first Catholic mission, known as Saint Francis Xavier, established among them in 1669 by Father Claude Allouez close to present-day Green Bay, Wisconsin. As the tribe migrated, another mission was noted by 1721—having been established possibly as early as 1693—on the St. Joseph River near the Indiana-Michigan border (approximately 10 miles from present-day Notre Dame). The mission work would be interrupted, but such prolonged contact nonetheless resulted in several of the surrounding Potawatomi communities converting to the Catholic faith, as evidenced by the 1817 Treaty of Fort Meigs which noted that the Potawatomi and other tribes were “attached to the Catholic religion.”

### **PC: What role did Catholics play in the relocation of the Potawatomi from the Great Lakes region to west of the Mississippi River? Could you tell us about Father Benjamin Marie Petit and why he chose to travel with the tribe?**

IA: In the 1830s, Jacksonian era government policies and pressure from a growing population of white settlers would force the removal of a majority of Potawatomi to lands west of the Mississippi River. Although some of the tribe’s village leaders, most notably Chief Menominee, had refused to sign the treaties agreeing to be relocated, he and his band, like everyone else, were given two years to move. Some Potawatomi left voluntarily, while others were forcibly relocated. The latter was the case for Menominee’s band, which was forced at gunpoint by state militias in August of 1838 to trek 660 miles from Indiana to eastern Kansas on a two-month journey that became known as the “Trail of Death.”

While a Baptist missionary serving the Potawatomi named Isaac McCoy had surveyed lands west of the Mississippi River for the government and advocated for the removal of the tribe from the negative influences of white settlers who brought alcohol and other sins, the Catholic missionaries viewed the situation differently. Although they

attempted to remain neutral so as not to run afoul of government policy, Father Benjamin Marie Petit was bothered by the injustices committed against the tribe. As a trained lawyer, he wished to intervene on their behalf, even offering to take a trip to Washington with the Potawatomi at his own expense. He is recorded as saying that “the Americans, with their hearts dry as cork and their whole thought ‘land and money,’ fail to appreciate [these Indians] and treat [them] with so much disdain and injustice.” Father Petit’s sympathetic concern for the Potawatomi and its Catholics prompted him to request permission from his superiors to accompany the tribe during their forced migration, a decision that would prove fatal as he fell sick and died during his attempted return to Indiana in early 1839.

**PC: Most historians have focused on federally administered boarding schools, but you look at religiously operated schools before 1875. Why is it important to tell the story of what happened before 1875?**

IA: The research for this dissertation is important because the period of Indian education before 1875 sets the context for the federal involvement to follow, and because it fills a void in the scholarship of American-Indian education history in three ways. First, it

focuses on American-Indian educational policy and history pertaining to religiously-operated Indian schools between 1830 and 1870, which is an under-examined period in Indian education. Second, it shifts away from national, administrative analysis and instead develops an educational history of missionary activity, and the implementation of government policy, at the schoolhouse and community levels. Third, it uses critical inquiry to interrogate primary sources in order to understand the political philosophy driving government policy at the mission station, and the points of contention that inevitably arose due to the mission station being at the forefront of cultural transformation.

**PC: Tell us about your favorite source found in the Notre Dame Archives while researching this project.**

IA: The gem from my archival work at the Notre Dame Archives this summer would definitely be the “Extracts from Correspondence of Benjamin Petit” from the 1830s. These are primary source documents that complement a separate set of his letters, previously published by the Indiana Historical Society. The extracts add depth to our understanding of his missionary work and his role among the Potawatomi. Most of the letters are addressed to Father Petit’s superiors and are written around the time of the tribe’s removal from Indiana,

making them a valuable resource that further illuminates the circumstances of that injustice.

**PC: What were the aims of the Catholic educators who taught the Potawatomi?**

IA: These missionaries worked under contract of the federal government to provide education for the tribe as stipulated under the terms of treaties, and as part of the government’s education fund which was part of its broader civilization agenda. The contractual agreement with the federal government to service the Potawatomi meant that these missionaries operated with an explicit policy understanding that the church would be allowed to “save” the souls of the Indians through religion, as long as they first and foremost followed the government’s mandate to “save” the lives of the Indians by teaching them an agricultural and vocational curriculum. What resulted was a set of dual educational aims—Christianization and civilization/assimilation—that heavily influenced the curriculum and molded the quotidian educational experiences of Potawatomi students and the reservation community in general. Furthermore, government ideas about property and policies for agricultural education tied into later land policies that would be imposed on the tribe, a key issue my research explores.

# One in Christ: Chicago Catholics and the Quest for Interracial Justice

Karen J. Johnson (Oxford University Press, 2018)

Review by Peter Cajka

One of the iconic images of the Catholic 1960s comes out of Chicago, where crowds of white Catholics jeered at the sisters and priests who marched with Martin Luther King, Jr., in summer 1966. Arms linked, the band of consecrated men and women ducked their heads and braced their bodies, ready to take blows from members of their own Church. Angry, white Catholics demanded their clergy tend only to religion and stay out of politics.

That image both illuminates and obscures the history of civil rights as it relates to American Catholics. The civil rights movement did indeed divide the Church, but the sisters and priests in the march were hardly the first Chicago Catholics to fight for African Americans' civil and economic rights. Karen Johnson's deeply researched book, *One in Christ: Chicago Catholics and the Quest for Interracial Justice*, shows that "King joined an indigenous movement" (203), as the author phrases it. Johnson uncovers a network of Catholic individuals and institutions active in Chicago since 1930 for the purpose of fostering interracial justice. By the time King demonstrated on the streets of Chicago in the mid 1960s, highly committed Catholic activists had prepared segments of their city to receive his message.

Johnson focuses on an important coterie of Catholic activists who labored for interracial justice, examining the personal relationships among them and the tensions they created, especially with members of the hierarchy. Interracial justice, as they understood it, entailed tangible economic and material gains, along with the transformation of individual persons and of Chicago itself. Johnson's approach is defined not by theological exegesis but by what she calls "the messiness of everyday life" (4). *One in Christ* offers the history of a theology put into action, with all the empowerment and contradictions that result.

The story begins with Dr. Arthur A. Falls' rejection of the Church's ethnic parish model and its missionary impulse to convert the African Americans who came to Chicago during the Great Migration. Falls, an African American doctor and a deeply committed Catholic, was active in many official ecclesial channels even as he chafed under the cautiously moderate programs of the Church. Johnson shows that the Catholic Action movement—in which white priests led

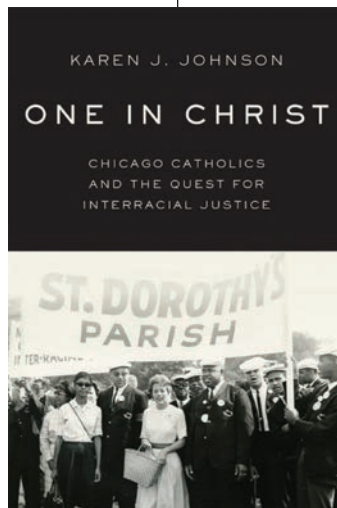
black organizations—both helped and hindered the cause of interracial justice. Catholic Action's mandate to take the Church into the world empowered these activists, but the priests set the agenda. While some of Chicago's bishops paid lip service to interracial harmony, they preferred gradualist programs. Johnson finds that activists instead favored direct action meant to convert white Catholics to their cause. The book's latter chapters shift to the national level to show how Chicago's Catholic activists had an impact on federal civil rights legislation. Johnson also contends that Catholics in and beyond Chicago helped bring Protestants and Jews into the fold of the civil rights movement.

A real strength of *One in Christ* is the cast of characters the author introduces and develops. Johnson's book moves the

history of Catholicism and race relations well beyond John LaFarge, the Jesuit priest who commands much of the historiography. Crucial to Johnson's intervention is her detailed analysis of Friendship House, a physical space where white and black Catholic Chicagoans could be transformed through social interaction. The organization's philosophy, and the Friendship Houses themselves, were modeled on Dorothy Day's Catholic Worker communities. Chapter Four profiles Catherine de Hueck, a Canadian who began the Friendship House movement in Harlem and spread it across the north; Ellen Tarry, a dedicated apostle of Friendship House who admired the organizational prowess of American communists; and Ann Harrigan, a first-generation Irish Catholic who lectured frequently on interracial justice. Johnson makes

a compelling case for the importance of these activists and the models they deployed at Friendship House: "In a small but personal way," she writes, "FH, with its simple solution of interracial relationships—contextualized by concern for economic, legal, and religious discrimination—struck a blow at segregation's stronghold" (98).

The theological world that Johnson describes is fascinating and revelatory. *One in Christ* offers an in-depth analysis of how Catholic Action worked in a specific arena, and Johnson demonstrates how Catholic theologies significantly influenced activists' behavior. The book is impressive for its rich, multilayer analysis of religious experience. Readers traverse a finely-detailed religious landscape that was shaped and



see Book Review on page 49

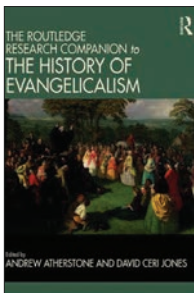




### Amy Collier Artman

*The Miracle Lady: Kathryn Kuhlman and the Transformation of Charismatic Christianity* (Eerdmans, 2019)

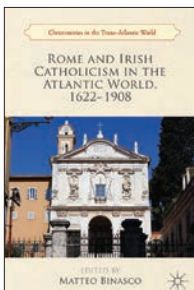
While many people today recognize Billy Graham, not many remember Kathryn Kuhlman (1907–1976), who preached faith and miracles to countless people over the 55 years of her ministry and became one of the most important figures in the rise of charismatic Christianity. Artman tells the story of Kuhlman's life and, in the process, relates the larger story of charismatic Christianity, particularly how it moved from the fringes of American society to the mainstream. Tracing her remarkable career as a media-savvy preacher and fleshing out her unconventional character, Artman also shows how Kuhlman skillfully navigated the oppressive structures, rules, and landmines that surrounded female religious leaders in her conservative circles.



### Andrew Atherstone & David Ceri Jones, eds.

*The Routledge Research Companion to the History of Evangelicalism* (Routledge, 2018)

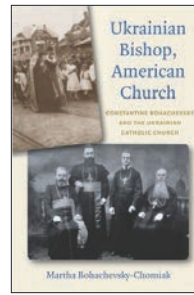
This volume brings together broad-ranging chapters on key themes in the history of evangelicalism. It reviews current scholarship and maps the territory for future research. Primary attention is paid to English-speaking evangelicalism, but the volume is transnational in scope. Arranged thematically, chapters assess evangelicalism and the Bible, the atonement, spirituality, revivals and revivalism, worldwide mission in the Atlantic North and the Global South, eschatology, race, gender, culture and the arts, money and business, interactions with Roman Catholicism, Eastern Christianity, and Islam, and globalization. It demonstrates evangelicalism's multiple and contested identities in different ages and contexts.



### Matteo Binasco, ed.

*Rome and Irish Catholicism in the Atlantic World, 1622–1908* (Palgrave, 2019)

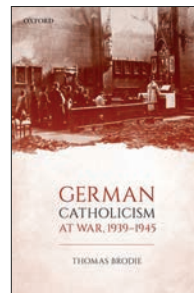
This book explores Catholicism's role in forming a global Irish identity. Complementing existing scholarship by adding a "Roman perspective," it assesses the agency of the Holy See, its role in the collective Irish imagination, and the extent of Irish influence over the Holy See's policies. Examining the Holy See's role in developing a series of missionary connections across the Atlantic world, chapters consider the formation, causes, and consequences of these networks both in Ireland and abroad. The collection shows how Irish Catholicism expanded across Europe and the Atlantic in the modern period, and offers new insights into the history of Irish migration. Contributors include Clare Lois Carroll, Liam Chambers, Luca Codignola, Cristina Bravo Lozano, Mícheál Mac Craith, Terrence Murphy, Florry O'Driscoll, Matteo Sanfilippo, and Igor Pérez Tostado.



### Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak

*Ukrainian Bishop, American Church: Constantine Bohachevsky and the Ukrainian Catholic Church* (CUA, 2018)

Based on recently opened sources from the Vatican, Ukraine and the United States, this biography tells the story of Constantine Bohachevsky. Newly ordained a bishop, he arrived in America in 1924 to a bankrupt church and a hostile clergy. He lived a simple missionary life, visiting his scattered churches and struggling to maintain the church's independence. Under his leadership, within a decade the church developed a network of parishes, schools, colleges, and eventually a seminary. In 1958, the pope erected the Ukrainian Catholic Archbishopric of Philadelphia and appointed Bohachevsky its Metropolitan. He refashioned a failing immigrant church into a self-sustaining institution that half a century after his death could help resurrect the underground Catholic Church in Ukraine.



### Thomas Brodie

*German Catholicism at War, 1939–1945* (Oxford, 2018)

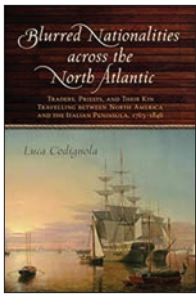
Brodie explores the mentalities and experiences of German Catholics during the Second World War. Taking the German Home Front—and most specifically the Rhineland and Westphalia—as its core focus, *German Catholicism at War* examines Catholics' responses to developments in the war, their complex relationships with the Nazi regime, and their religious practices. Drawing on a wide range of source materials stretching from personal letters and diaries to pastoral letters and Gestapo reports, Brodie breaks new ground in our understanding of the Catholic community in Germany during the Second World War.



### Elizabeth A. Clark

*The Fathers Refounded: Protestant Liberalism, Roman Catholic Modernism, and the Teaching of Ancient Christianity in Early Twentieth-Century America* (Penn, 2018)

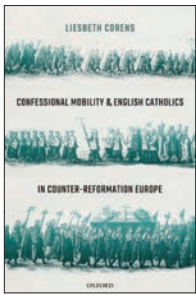
In the early 20th century, a new generation of liberal professors sought to prove Christianity's compatibility with contemporary currents in philosophy, scientific discovery, historical study, and democracy. These scholars—Arthur Cushman McGiffert at Union Theological Seminary, George LaPiana at Harvard Divinity School, and Shirley Jackson Case at the University of Chicago Divinity School—hoped to equip their students with a revisionary version of early Christianity that was embedded in its social, historical, and intellectual settings. In *The Fathers Refounded*, Elizabeth A. Clark provides the first critical analysis of these figures' lives, scholarship, and lasting contributions to the study of Christianity.



**Luca Codignola**

*Blurred Nationalities across the North Atlantic: Traders, Priests, and Their Kin Travelling between North America and the Italian Peninsula, 1763–1846* (Toronto, 2019)

Long before the mid-19th century, thousands of people were constantly moving between the United States and British North America and Leghorn, Genoa, Naples, Rome, Sicily, Piedmont, Lombardy, Venice, and Trieste. Predominantly traders, sailors, transient workers, Catholic priests, and seminarians, this group relied on the exchange of goods across the Atlantic to solidify transatlantic relations; during this period, stories about the New World passed between travellers through word of mouth and letter writing. *Blurred Nationalities* challenges the idea that national origin, for instance, Italianness, comprises the only significant feature of a group’s identity, and reveals instead the multifaceted personalities of the people involved in these exchanges.

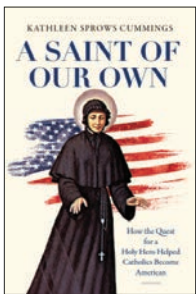


**Liesbeth Corens**

*Confessional Mobility and English Catholics in Counter-Reformation Europe* (Oxford, 2018)

In the wake of England’s break with Rome and gradual reformation, English Catholics fled to Catholic countries across Europe. Corens analyzes the continued presence of English Catholics abroad and how their community was shaped by these cross-Channel connections.

Incorporating pilgrims, grand tour travellers, students, and mobile scholars alongside exiles, Corens’ analysis shows that English Catholics on the Continent were never isolated. Rather, through correspondence and constant travel, they created a community without borders. This cross-Channel community was not defined by its status as victims of persecution, but provided the lifeblood for English Catholics for generations.

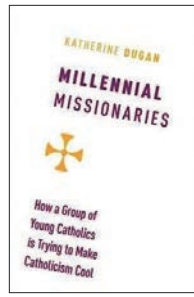


**Kathleen Sprows Cummings**

*A Saint of Our Own: How the Quest for a Holy Hero Helped Catholics Become American* (UNC, 2019)

What drove U.S. Catholics in their arduous quest to win an American saint? While canonization may be fundamentally about holiness, Catholics had an additional reason for petitioning the Vatican to acknowledge an American holy hero: a home-grown saint would not only mediate

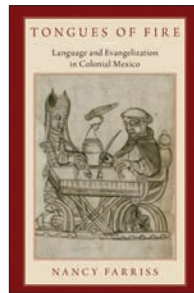
heaven and earth but also Catholicism and American culture. Throughout much of U.S. history, canonization served to affirm the Americanness of Catholics. Cummings’ vision of American sanctity shows just how much Catholics had at stake in cultivating devotion to men and women perched at the nexus of holiness and American history—until they finally felt little need to prove that they belonged.



**Katherine Dugan**

*Millennial Missionaries: How a Group of Young Catholics is Trying to Make Catholicism Cool* (Oxford, 2019)

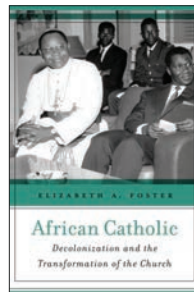
Millennials in the U.S. have been characterized as uninterested in religion and defectors from religious institutions. Amid the rise of so-called “nones,” though, there has also been a countervailing trend: an increase in religious piety among some millennial Catholics. The Fellowship of Catholic University Students (FOCUS), which began evangelizing college students on American university campuses in 1998, hires recent college graduates to evangelize college students and promote a faith that interweaves distinctly Catholic identity with outreach methods of 20th-century evangelical Protestants, sensitive to the anxieties of middle-class emerging adulthood. Illuminating the ways missionaries are reshaping American Catholic identity, Dugan explores the contemporary U.S. religious landscape from the perspective of these millennials.



**Nancy Farriss**

*Tongues of Fire: Language and Evangelization in Colonial Mexico* (Oxford, 2018)

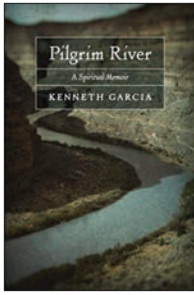
Farriss investigates the role of language and translation in the creation of Mexican Christianity during the first centuries of colonial rule. Spanish missionaries collaborated with indigenous intellectuals to communicate the gospel in dozens of unfamiliar local languages that had previously lacked grammars, dictionaries, or alphabetic script. The major challenge to translators, more serious than the absence of written aids or the great diversity of languages and their phonetic and syntactical complexity, was the vast cultural difference between the two worlds. Farriss shows that the dialogue arising from these efforts produced a new, culturally hybrid form of Christianity that had become firmly established by the end of the 17th century.



**Elizabeth A. Foster**

*African Catholic: Decolonization and the Transformation of the Church* (Harvard, 2019)

Foster examines how French imperialists and the Africans they ruled imagined the religious future of French sub-Saharan Africa in the years of decolonization. The story encompasses the transition to independence, Catholic contributions to black intellectual currents, and efforts to alter the church hierarchy to create an authentically “African” church. Foster features African missionaries and their French superiors, African Catholic students, intellectuals, clergymen, and activists—many destined to be future leaders of their home countries. All of these men and women were preoccupied with the future of France’s colonies, the place of Catholicism in a postcolonial Africa, and their personal loyalties to the Vatican, France, and the new African states.



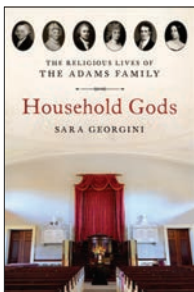
**Kenneth Garcia**  
*Pilgrim River: A Spiritual Memoir* (Angelico, 2018)  
 Pilgrim River candidly narrates one man's wandering but sincere attempt to come to terms with the overpowering experience of God—a journey from unbelief to nature mysticism in the deserts and mountains of Nevada and Utah, to sojourns through the country of marriage and the republic of letters, and finally to the Catholic Church.

The road followed is crooked, plagued by isolation, depression, a lack of spiritual guides and mentors, and a failed first marriage; but present throughout is a groping toward spiritual fulfillment alternately tortured, hopeful, and bathed in luminescence. Many spiritual seekers—including those who consider themselves “spiritual but not religious”—will benefit from the telling of this unorthodox journey to Christianity.



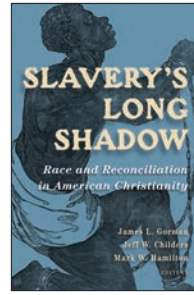
**Mario T. García**  
*Father Luis Olivares, a Biography: Faith Politics and the Origins of the Sanctuary Movement in Los Angeles* (UNC, 2018)  
 Throughout most of the 1980s, hundreds of thousands of Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees made the hazardous journey to the United States, seeking asylum from political repression and violence in their home states. Instead of being welcomed,

they were rebuffed by the Reagan administration, which supported the governments from which they fled. To counter this policy, a powerful sanctuary movement rose up to provide safe havens in churches and synagogues for thousands of refugees. Based on previously unexplored archives and over 90 oral histories, this biography traces the life of the Los Angeles sanctuary movement's champion, Father Luis Olivares (1934–1993), a Catholic priest and a charismatic, faith-driven leader for social justice.



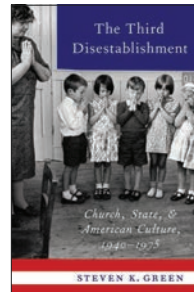
**Sara Georgini**  
*Household Gods: The Religious Lives of the Adams Family* (Oxford, 2019)  
 Reflecting on his past, President John Adams mused that it was religion that had shaped his family's fortunes and young America's future. For the 19th century's first family, the Adamses of Massachusetts, the history of how they lived religion was dynamic and well-documented. Globe-

trotters who chronicled their religious journeys extensively, the Adamses ultimately developed a cosmopolitan Christianity that blended discovery and criticism, faith and doubt. Drawing from their rich archive of art and letters, Georgini (series editor for *The Papers of John Adams*) demonstrates how pivotal Christianity—as the different generations understood it—was in shaping the family's decisions, great and small.



**James L. Gorman, Jeff W. Childers, & Mark W. Hamilton, eds.**  
*Slavery's Long Shadow: Race and Reconciliation in American Christianity* (Eerdmans, 2019)

In *Slavery's Long Shadow*, 14 scholars examine how the sobering historical realities of race relations and Christianity have created both unity and division within American churches from the 1790s into the 21st century. The book's three sections offer readers three different entry points into the conversation: major historical periods, case studies, and ways forward. Historians and any Christians interested in racial reconciliation will find that this book helpfully illuminates our Christian and national past and points us toward a more unified future.



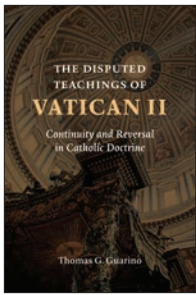
**Steven K. Green**  
*The Third Disestablishment: Church, State, and American Culture, 1940–1975* (Oxford, 2019)

In this follow-up to *The Second Disestablishment* (2010), Green examines the dominant religious-cultural conflicts of the 1930s–1950s between Protestants and Catholics. Various mid-century trends and controversies affected both judicial and popular attitudes toward church-state separation, such as anti-communism, religious revival and the rise of civil religion, and the presidential campaign of 1960. Then events of the 1960s, such as the school prayer decisions and the reforms of Vatican II, produced a rupture in the Protestant consensus over church-state separation. Green finally examines church-state cases in the late 1960s and early 1970s wherein justices applied and re-evaluated church-state separation.



**Dana Greene**  
*Elizabeth Jennings: "The Inward War"* (Oxford, 2018)

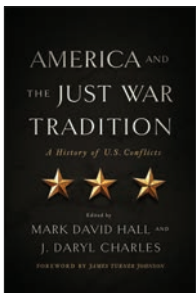
Elizabeth Jennings was one of the most popular, prolific, and widely anthologized lyric poets in the second half of the 20th century. Greene explores the “inward war” the poet experienced as a result of her gender, religion, and mental fragility. Jennings' wide-ranging poetry endeared her to a wide audience. Yet lifelong depression, poverty, and physical illness plagued her. These were exacerbated by a male-dominated literary world and an inherited Catholic worldview that initially inculcated guilt and shame. Greene explores the themes of mental illness, the importance of place, the problems associated with being an unmarried woman artist, her relationship with literary mentors and younger poets, her non-feminist feminism, and her marginality and sympathy for the outcast.



**Thomas G. Guarino**

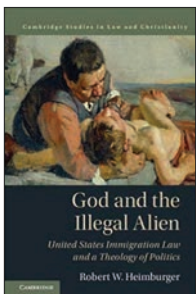
*The Disputed Teachings of Vatican II: Continuity and Reversal in Catholic Doctrine* (Eerdmans, 2018)

The Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) radically shook up many centuries of tradition in the Roman Catholic Church. Guarino investigates whether Vatican II’s highly contested teachings on religious freedom, ecumenism, and the Virgin Mary represented a harmonious development of—or a rupture with—Catholic tradition. Guarino’s careful explanations of such significant terms as continuity, discontinuity, analogy, reversal, reform, and development enhance and clarify his discussion of conciliar teaching.



**Mark David Hall and J. Daryl Charles**  
*America and the Just War Tradition: A History of U.S. Conflicts* (Notre Dame, 2019)

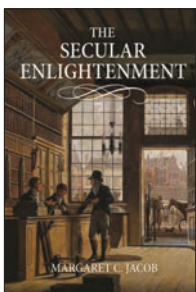
This volume examines and evaluates each of America’s major wars from a just war perspective. Each chapter explores the causes of a particular war, the degree to which the justice of the conflict was a subject of debate at the time, and the extent to which the war measured up to traditional *ad bellum* and *in bello* criteria. Where appropriate, contributors offer *post bellum* considerations, insofar as justice is concerned with helping to offer a better peace and result than what had existed prior to the conflict.



**Robert W. Heimbürger**

*God and the Illegal Alien: United States Immigration Law and a Theology of Politics* (Cambridge, 2018)

Today in the United States, millions of men, women, and children are considered “illegal aliens” under federal law. Many arrive in response to U.S. demand for cheap labor and stay to contribute to community life. This book asks where migrants stand within God’s world and how authorities can govern immigration with Christian ethics. The author tracks the emergence of the concept of the illegal alien in federal U.S. law while exploring Christian ways of understanding belonging, government, and relationships with neighbors.

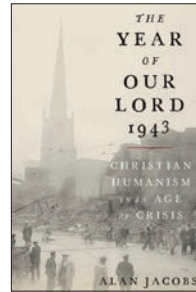


**Margaret C. Jacob**

*The Secular Enlightenment* (Princeton, 2019)

Jacob provides a panoramic account of the radical ways that life began to change for ordinary people in the age of Locke, Voltaire, and Rousseau. Drawing on rare archival materials, as well as a wide variety of hitherto unheard voices, Jacob reveals how this newly secular outlook was not a wholesale rejection of Christianity but rather a new mental space which encountered the world on its own terms. A work of intellectual and cultural history, *The*

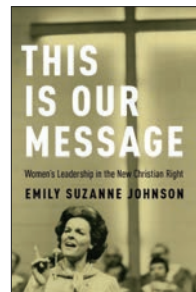
*Secular Enlightenment* demonstrates how secular values and pursuits took hold of 18th-century Europe, spilled into the American colonies, and left their lasting imprint on the Western world.



**Alan Jacobs**

*The Year of Our Lord 1943: Christian Humanism in an Age of Crisis* (Oxford, 2018)

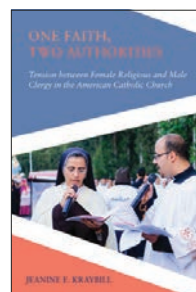
With the allies’ victory imminent, Christian intellectuals developed alternatives to the capitalistic technocracy—fast becoming regnant in the West—that threatened to become the dominant world-order. Alan Jacobs explores the poems, novels, essays, reviews, and lectures of Jacques Maritain, T. S. Eliot, C. S. Lewis, W. H. Auden, and Simone Weil, in which they presented the varied paths now set before the Western democracies. Working mostly separately and in ignorance of one another’s ideas, they argued that democratic societies could prepare for their worldwide economic and political dominance only through a renewal of education that was grounded in a Christian understanding of the power and limitations of human beings.



**Emily S. Johnson**

*This Is Our Message: Women’s Leadership in the New Christian Right* (Oxford, 2019)

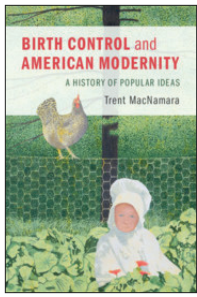
Men dominate the standard narrative of the rise of the religious right. Yet during the 1970s and 1980s, nationally prominent evangelical women played essential roles in shaping the priorities of the movement and mobilizing its supporters. In particular, they helped to formulate, articulate, and defend the traditionalist politics of gender and family that in turn made it easy to downplay the importance of their leadership roles. Johnson examines the lives and work of four well-known women—evangelical marriage advice author Marabel Morgan, singer and anti-gay-rights activist Anita Bryant, author and political lobbyist Beverly LaHaye, and televangelist Tammy Faye Bakker, examining their impact upon contemporary culture and politics.



**Jeanine E. Kraybill**

*One Faith, Two Authorities: Tension between Female Religious and Male Clergy in the American Catholic Church* (Temple, 2019)

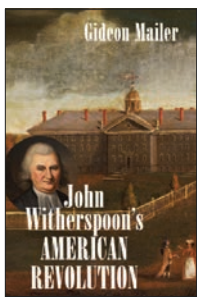
Kraybill looks at the influence of Catholic elites—specifically within the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops and the Leadership Conference of Women Religious—and their opinions on public policy and relevant gender dynamics with regard to healthcare, homosexuality, immigration, and other issues. She considers the female religious’ inclusive positions as well as their opposition to ACA for bills that would be rooted in institutional positions on procreation, contraception, or abortion. Kraybill also systematically examines the claims of the 2012 Doctrinal Assessment against the Leadership Conference of Women Religious.



**Trent MacNamara**  
*Birth Control and American Modernity: A History of Popular Ideas* (Cambridge, 2018)

By the time Margaret Sanger and other activists began campaigning for legal contraception in the 1910s, Americans had been effectively controlling fertility for a century, combining old techniques with explosive new ideas. MacNamara charts those ideas, capturing a movement

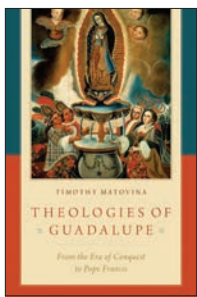
that relied less on traditional public advocacy than dispersed action of the kind that nullified Prohibition. Acting in bedrooms and gossip corners where formal power was weak and moral feeling strong, Americans of both sexes gradually normalized birth control in private, then in public.



**Gideon Mailer**  
*John Witherspoon's American Revolution* (UNC, 2019)

Although John Witherspoon—president of Princeton, mentor to James Madison, and the only founding father who was a clergyman—is often thought to be the chief conduit of moral sense philosophy in America, Mailer's comprehensive analysis of his writings demonstrates the resilience

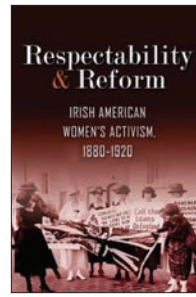
of his evangelical beliefs. In Witherspoon's mind, Americans became different from other British subjects because more of them had been awakened to the sin they shared with all people. Paradoxically, acute consciousness of their moral depravity legitimized their move to independence by making it a concerted moral action urged by the Holy Spirit.



**Timothy Matovina**  
*Theologies of Guadalupe: From the Era of Conquest to Pope Francis* (Oxford, 2018)

Matovina explores the way theologians have understood Our Lady of Guadalupe and sought to assess and foster her impact on the lives of her devotees since the 17th century. He examines core theological topics in the Guadalupe tradition, developed in response to major events in Mexican history:

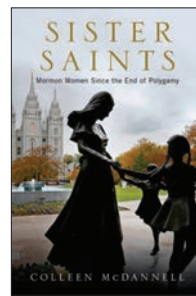
conquest, attempts to Christianize native peoples, society-building, independence, and the demands for justice for marginalized groups. This book tells how, amidst the plentiful miraculous images of Christ, Mary, and the saints that dotted the sacred landscape of colonial New Spain, the Guadalupe cult rose above all others and was transformed from a local devotion into a regional, national, and then international phenomenon.



**Tara M. McCarthy**  
*Respectability and Reform: Irish American Women's Activism, 1880-1920* (Syracuse, 2018)

In the late 19th century, as women were expanding their influence outside the home, Irish American women carved out unique opportunities to serve the needs of their communities. For many, this began with a commitment to Irish nationalism. Focusing on the Irish nationalist, labor, and suffrage

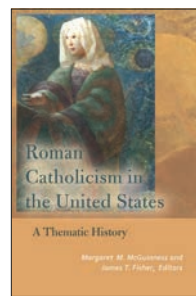
movements, McCarthy explores the contributions of a small group of Irish American women in the Gilded Age and Progressive Era who emerged as leaders, organizers, and activists. Profiles of these women suggest not only that Irish American women had a political tradition of their own but also that the diversity of the Irish American community fostered a range of priorities and approaches to activism.



**Colleen McDannell**  
*Sister Saints: Mormon Women since the End of Polygamy* (Oxford, 2018)

Many still see Mormon women as second-class citizens, oppressed by the church and their husbands, but Colleen McDannell challenges these stereotypes in her history of Mormon women in the modern era. Progressive and politically active since the 1870s—when they received the right to

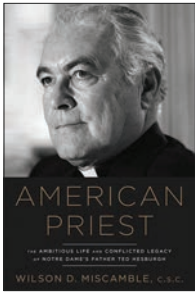
vote, 50 years before the rest of the country—Mormon women later turned inward, focusing on home and family, until the rise of Mormon feminism in the 1970s. By the 21st century more than half of all Mormons lived outside the United States, and what had once been a small community of pioneer women had grown into a diverse global sisterhood.



**Margaret M. McGuinness and James T. Fisher, eds.**  
*Roman Catholicism in the United States: A Thematic History* (Fordham, 2019)

This collection examines U.S. Catholic history from a variety of perspectives that transcend more familiar approaches. Contributors cover topics such as anti-Catholicism, rural Catholicism, Latino Catholics, and diplomatic relations between

the Vatican and the U.S. government. The book continues with discussions on popular culture (film and literature), women religious, and the work of U.S. missionaries in other countries. The final section is devoted to Catholic social teaching, tackling challenging subjects such as the relationship between African American Catholics and the Communist Party, Catholics in the civil rights movement, the abortion debate, war and peace, and Vatican II and the American Catholic Church.



**Wilson D. Miscamble, C.S.C.**

*American Priest: The Ambitious Life and Conflicted Legacy of Notre Dame's Father Ted Hesburgh* (Image, 2019)

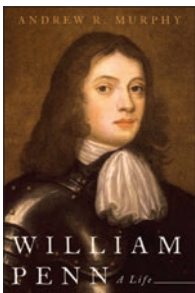
Long considered to be the most influential priest in America, Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C., played what many consider pivotal roles in higher education, the Catholic Church, and national and international affairs. *American Priest* examines his life and his many engagements—from the university he led for 35 years to his associations with the Vatican and the White House—and evaluates the extent and importance of his legacy. Understanding Hesburgh's life and work illuminates the journey that the Catholic Church traversed over the second half of the 20th century. Exploring and evaluating Hesburgh's importance, then, contributes not only to the colorful history of Notre Dame but also to comprehending the American Catholic experience.



**Paul Mojzes, ed.**

*North American Churches and the Cold War* (Eerdmans, 2018)

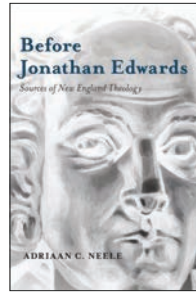
This collection offers the first systematic reflection on the diverse responses of Canadian and American churches to aspects of the Cold War that still define politics today. Here, a mix of scholars and church leaders analyze the anxieties, dilemmas, and hopes that Christian churches felt as World War II gave way to the nuclear age. As they faced either nuclear annihilation or peaceful reconciliation, Christians were forced to take stands on such issues as war, communism, and their relationship to Christians in Eastern Europe. As we continue to navigate the nuclear era, this book provides insight into Christian responses to future adversities and conflicts.



**Andrew R. Murphy**

*William Penn: A Life* (Oxford, 2018)

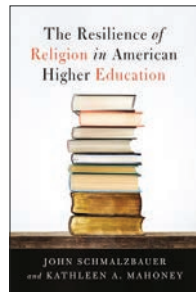
On March 4, 1681, King Charles II granted William Penn a charter for a new American colony. Despite his importance, Penn has remained an elusive character—many people know his name, but few know much more than that. Andrew R. Murphy offers the first major biography of Penn in more than forty years, and the first to make full use of Penn's private papers. The result is a complex portrait of a man whose legacy we are still grappling with today. At a time when religious freedom is hotly debated in the United States and around the world, William Penn's "Holy Experiment" serves as both a beacon and a challenge.



**Adriaan C. Neele**

*Before Jonathan Edwards: Sources of New England Theology* (Oxford, 2018)

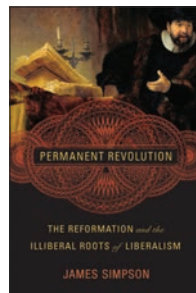
Neele presents the first comprehensive study of Edwards' use of Reformed orthodox and Protestant scholastic primary sources in terms of the challenges of orthodoxy in his day. He locates Edwards' ideas in the context of the theological and philosophical currents of his day, as well as in the pre-modern exchange of books and information during the colonial period. Despite the breadth of Edwards scholarship, his use of primary sources has been little analyzed. Yet, Edwards' thinking on the importance of these primary sources has significant implications not only for the status of the New England theology of pre-Revolutionary America but also for our understanding of Edwards today.



**John Schmalzbauer and Kathleen A. Mahoney**

*The Resilience of Religion in American Higher Education* (Baylor, 2018)

Far from irrelevant, religion matters in higher education. Schmalzbauer and Mahoney document a surprising openness to religion in collegiate communities. They develop this claim in three areas: academic scholarship, church-related higher education, and student life. They highlight growing interest in the study of religion across the disciplines, as well as a willingness to acknowledge the intellectual relevance of religious commitments. *The Resilience of Religion in American Higher Education* also reveals how church-related colleges are taking their founding traditions more seriously, even as they embrace religious pluralism. Finally, the volume chronicles the diversification of student religious life, revealing the longevity of campus spirituality.

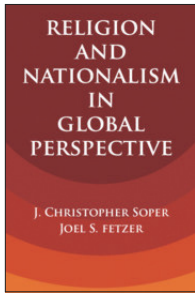


**James Simpson**

*Permanent Revolution: The Reformation and the Illiberal Roots of Liberalism* (Harvard, 2019)

Simpson provocatively uncovers liberalism's unexpected debt to evangelical religion. The English Reformation began as an evangelical movement driven by an unyielding belief in predestination, intolerance, stringent literalism, political quietism, and destructive iconoclasm. Yet by 1688, this illiberal early modern upheaval would deliver the foundations of liberalism: free will, liberty of conscience, religious toleration, readerly freedom, constitutionalism, and aesthetic liberty. Protestantism had ushered in a culture of permanent revolution, ceaselessly repudiating its own prior forms. Its rejection of tradition was divisive, violent, and unsustainable. The proto-liberalism of the later 17th century emerged as a cultural package designed to stabilize the social chaos brought about by this evangelical revolution. *Permanent Revolution* argues that far from being driven by a new strain of secular philosophy,

the British Enlightenment is a story of transformation and reversal of the Protestant tradition from within.



**J. Christopher Soper & Joel S. Fetzer**  
*Religion and Nationalism in Global Perspective* (Cambridge, 2019)

This book is the first comparative study to examine the origins and development of three distinct models: religious nationalism, secular nationalism, and civil-religious nationalism. Using multiple methods, the authors develop a new theoretical framework that can be applied across diverse countries

and religious traditions to understand the emergence, development, and stability of different church-state arrangements over time. The work combines public opinion, constitutional, and content analysis of the United States, Israel, India, Greece, Uruguay, and Malaysia, weaving together historical and contemporary illustrations.



**Giovanni Vian, ed.**  
*The Papacy in the Contemporary Age* (Edizioni Ca' Foscari, 2018)

This volume offers a historical reading of the papacy from the early 20th century to the present, deepening our knowledge of specific aspects of the pontificates from Pius X to Francis. In a period of uncertainty, resistance, and cautious openings, the papacy realized a transition from intransigent

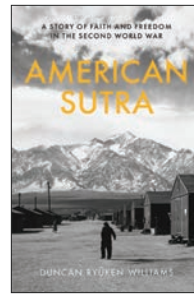
Catholicism to dialogue with modernity and its most characteristic cultural, political, and social expressions. In this regard, the presence of swings and retractions among the popes of the last decades are also an expression of the troubles that have marked the long and difficult coexistence between the papacy, the Roman Catholic Church, and modernity.



**Kevin Whelan**  
*Religion, Landscape and Settlement in Ireland: from Patrick to Present* (Four Courts Press, 2018)

This book may be read with equal profit by those who know either a little or a lot about the role of religion in Irish history. Extensively illustrated with fresh images and maps, it draws on diverse evidence in multiple languages and uses examples drawn from every county in Ireland. Whelan focuses

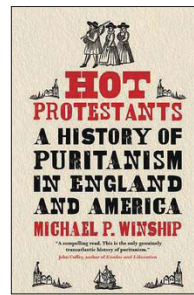
on lived experience and covers commentators writing in Arabic, Dutch, English, French, German, Greek, Icelandic, Irish, Italian, Latin and Spanish. Because religion played such a decisive role in Irish life, the book is also an oblique-angle version of Irish history, conveying a sense of how we got to be where we are, even as we leave it behind.



**Duncan Ryūken Williams**  
*American Sutra: A Story of Faith and Freedom in the Second World War* (Harvard, 2019)

The mass incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II is not only a tale of injustice; it is a moving story of faith. In the face of discrimination, dislocation, dispossession, and confinement, Japanese Americans turned to their faith to sustain them, whether they were behind

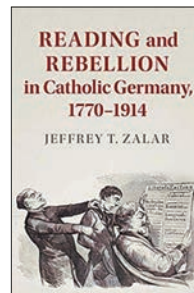
barbed wire in camps or serving in one of the most decorated combat units in the European theater. Using newly translated sources and extensive interviews with survivors of the camps and veterans of the war, *American Sutra* reveals how the Japanese American community broadened our country's conception of religious freedom and forged a new American Buddhism.



**Michael P. Winship**  
*Hot Protestants: A History of Puritanism in England and America* (Yale, 2019)

Begun in the mid-16th century by Protestant nonconformists keen to reform England's church and society while saving their own souls, the Puritan movement was a major catalyst in the great cultural changes that transformed the early modern world.

Providing a uniquely broad transatlantic perspective, this groundbreaking volume traces Puritanism's tumultuous history from its initial attempts to reshape the Church of England to its establishment of godly republics in both England and America and its demise at the end of the 17th century.



**Jeffrey T. Zalar**  
*Reading and Rebellion in Catholic Germany, 1770-1914* (Cambridge, 2018)

In this panoramic study of Catholic book culture in Germany from 1770-1914, Zalar exposes the myth of faith-based intellectual repression. Catholic readers disobeyed the book rules of their church in a vast apostasy that raised personal desire and conscience over communal responsibility and doctrine.

This disobedience sparked a dramatic contest between lay readers and their priests over proper book behavior that played out in homes, schools, libraries, parish meeting halls, even church confessionals. The clergy lost this contest in a fundamental reordering of cultural power that helped usher in contemporary Catholicism.

**Nathan Alexander**, “Unclasping the Eagle’s Talons: Mark Twain, American Freethought, and the Responses to Imperialism,” *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 17, no. 3 (2018): 524–545.

**Patricia M. Alvarez**, “Between Smith and Marx: Parochial Schools in a Progressive Society,” *U.S. Catholic Historian* 36, no. 3 (2018): 99–122.

**Lloyd Barba**, “Farmworker Frames: Apostólico Counter Narratives in California’s Valleys,” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 86, no. 3 (2018): 691–723.

**Jacob Betz**, “‘The free exercise of religion according to the Catholic faith’: Catholic Antenuptial Contracts and the Challenge to American Religious Pluralism, 1890–1960,” *U.S. Catholic Historian* 36, no. 4 (2018): 79–106.

**Shaun Blanchard**, “Neither Cisalpine nor Ultramontane: John Carroll’s Ambivalent Relationship with English Catholicism, 1780–1800,” *U.S. Catholic Historian* 36, no. 3 (2018): 1–27.

**Patrick Carey**, “History and American Catholic Understandings of the Sacrament of Penance: 1900–1960,” *American Catholic Studies* 129, no. 2 (2018): 1–37.

**Patrick Carey**, “The Confessional Seal, the Courts, and Mandatory Reporting Laws: The Historical Context for an American Catholic Dilemma,” *U.S. Catholic Historian* 36, no. 4 (2018): 107–125.

**James Cavendish**, “Why Should Social Scientists Care about Catholic Parishes Today?” *American Catholic Studies* 129, no. 1 (2018): 4–12.

**Richard Crepeau**, “Becoming More Fully American: Georgetown, Notre Dame, and the Rise of Intercollegiate Athletics in Catholic Higher Education,” *U.S. Catholic Historian* 36, no. 2 (2018): 75–100.

**Jörg Friedrichs**, “Outlandish Christendom: The Catholic Church in India and China,” *Journal of Church and State*, 60, no. 4 (2018): 681–704.

**Steve Gowler**, “Radical Orthodoxy: William Goodell and the Abolition of American Slavery,” *The New England Quarterly* 91, no. 4 (2018): 592–624.

**Richard Gribble**, “The Immigration Restriction Debate, 1917–1929: Church and State in Conflict,” *Journal of Church and State* 60, no. 3 (2018): 398–425.

**James A. Gutowski**, “Bibles, Ballots, and Bills: Political Resistance to Parochial Education in 1870s Ohio,” *U.S. Catholic Historian* 36, no. 4 (2018): 51–77.

**John C. Kerrigan**, “The Emergent Postsecular in Contemporary Irish Literature,” *New Hibernia Review* 22, no. 2 (2018): 74–92.

**Mitchell G. Klingenberg**, “The curious case of Catherine Mary Hewitt and U.S. Major General of Volunteers John Fulton Reynolds: bodies, mourning the dead, and religion in the era of the American Civil War,” *American Nineteenth Century History* 19, no. 3 (2018): 225–249.

**Suzanna Krivulskaya**, “Paths of Duty: Religion, Marriage, and the Press in a Transatlantic Scandal, 1835–1858,” *Journal of American Studies* (published online, October 2018): 1–27.

**Brian R. Larkin**, “Beyond Guadalupe: The Eucharist, the Cult of Saints, and Local Religion in Eighteenth-Century Mexico City,” *The Catholic Historical Review* 104, no. 2 (2018): 223–267.

**Maximilian Longley**, “The Radicalization of James McMaster: The ‘Puritan’ North as an Enemy of Peace, the Constitution, and the Catholic Church,” *U.S. Catholic Historian* 36, no. 4 (2018): 25–50.

**Carmen M. Mangion**, “‘Tolerable Intolerance’: Protestantism, Sectarianism and Voluntary Hospitals in Late-nineteenth-century London,” *Medical History* 62, no. 4 (2018): 468–84.

**Lawrence J. McAndrews**, “Promoting the Poor: Catholic Leaders and the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964,” *The Catholic Historical Review* 104, no. 2 (2018): 298–321.

**Nicholas P. Miller**, “‘A Second Magna Charta of Highest Liberties’: American Protestants, Religious Freedom, and the Heritage of the Magna Carta,” *Journal of Church and State* 60, no. 3 (2018): 426–448.

**Stephanie Muravchik and Jon A. Shields**, “How Catholics and Jews Remade American Politics—and Why We Slight Their Contributions,” *Journal of Church and State* 60, no. 4 (2018): 614–635.

**Kirstin Noreen**, “The Virgin of Guadalupe, Juan Diego, and the Revival of the Tilma Relic in Los Angeles,” *Church History* 87, no. 2 (2018): 487–514.

**Patrick F. O’Connell**, “Getting (to) the Message: Thomas Merton and the 1967 Synod of Bishops,” *American Catholic Studies* 129, no. 1 (2018): 27–52.

**Catherine O’Donnell**, “‘Many customs and manners’: Transatlantic Influences in the Life and Work of Elizabeth Seton,” *U.S. Catholic Historian* 36, no. 3 (2018): 29–50.

**Mitchell Edward Oxford**, “‘This very important & almost unbounded trust’: The Commission to Canada and the Place of Catholics in Revolutionary America,” *U.S. Catholic Historian* 36, no. 4 (2018): 1–24.

**Baron L. Pineda**, “‘First Hispanic Pope, First Hispanic Saint’: Whiteness, founding fathers and the canonization of Friar Junípero Serra,” *Latino Studies* 16, no. 3 (2018): 286–309.

**Federico M. Requena**, “‘Harvard and Catholic ... are not incompatible’: Father William Porras’ Chaplaincy at Harvard University, 1954–1960,” *U.S. Catholic Historian* 36, no. 3 (2018): 79–98.

**Jonathan D. Riddle**, “All Catholics Are Spiritualists: The Boundary Work of Mary Gove Nichols and Thomas Low Nichols,” *Church History* 87, no. 2 (2018): 452–486.

**Milette Shamir**, “On the Uselessness of Knowledge: William F. Lynch’s ‘Interesting’ Expedition to the Dead Sea,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 38, no. 3 (2018): 475–499.

**Krista Stevens**, “Caught Between Theology and History: The Integration of Spring Hill College,” *American Catholic Studies* 129, no. 3 (2018): 29–54.

**Stephen Werner**, “Daniel A. Lord, S.J.: A Forgotten Catholic Dynamo of the Early Twentieth Century,” *American Catholic Studies* 129, no. 2 (2018): 39–58.



**Lydia Willsky-Ciollo**, “Apostles of Wilderness: American Indians and Thoreau’s Theology of the Wild,” *The New England Quarterly* 91, no. 4 (2018): 551–591.

**Jonathan Wright**, “Transatlantic Jesuit Encounters During the Nineteenth Century,” *U.S. Catholic Historian* 36, no. 3 (2018): 51–77.

**Gene Zubovich**, “For Human Rights Abroad, against Jim Crow at Home: The Political Mobilization of American Ecumenical Protestants in the World War II Era,” *Journal of American History* 105, no. 2 (2018): 267–290.

## Cushwa News and Announcements

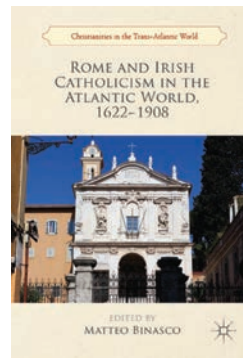
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# Cushwa in Rome: Book Panels and a New Publication



On December 10, 2018, Cushwa Center senior fellow Luca Codignola hosted a symposium at Notre Dame’s Rome Global Gateway on Cristina Rossi’s recently published book on Vatican-U.S. relations, *Santa Sede e Stati Uniti (1932–1939)* (Aracne, 2017). A roundtable discussion featured Kathleen Sprows Cummings (University of Notre Dame), Michael D. Driessen (John Cabot University), Johan Ickx (Segreteria di Stato, Archivio Storico della Sezione per i Rapporti con gli Stati, Vatican City), Matteo Sanfilippo (Università della Tuscia), Roberto Regoli (Pontificia Università Gregoriana), Cristina Rossi (Università Europea di Roma), and Massimiliano Valente (Università Europea di Roma).

Colleagues and friends of the Cushwa Center gathered at the Gateway again on January 18, 2019, to discuss Clare Lois Carroll’s recently published book, *Exiles in a Global City: The Irish and Early Modern Rome, 1609–1783* (Brill, 2017). Carroll is professor of comparative literature at Queens College, CUNY. Matteo Binasco (Università per Stranieri di Siena) moderated the panel, which included commentators Brian Mac Cuarta, S.J., (Archivium Romanum Societas Iesu, Rome) and Kevin Whelan (Notre Dame Dublin Global Gateway).



In October, Palgrave Macmillan published *Rome and Irish Catholicism in the Atlantic World, 1622–1908*, edited by Matteo Binasco. The volume originated from a Cushwa Center seminar held in April 2015, Roman Sources for Global Irish Catholicism. Contributors include Clare Lois Carroll, Liam Chambers, Luca Codignola, Cristina Bravo Lozano, Father Mícheál Mac Craith, Terrence Murphy, Florry O’Driscoll, Matteo

Sanfilippo, and Igor Pérez Tostado. See our excerpt of the publisher’s book description on page 39 of this newsletter.

## Hibernian Lecture

*continued from page 1*

of church and state, but the significant social cachet of Christianity and its embeddedness in everyday life meant it should never be uprooted. American politicians and thinkers helped the visiting Irish to conceive of their revolution as thoroughly republican in nature—but a republicanism in the American style rather than the more extreme French. It required a respect for church authority and it placed checks on popular sovereignty.

World War I marked the highpoint of American influence on the Irish. Woodrow Wilson handed the Irish a major conceptual victory with the notion of self-determination inscribed in the Treaty of Versailles. The Irish in turn offered vigorous support for the League of Nations. Wilson suggested that when the colonial order of the British and French crumbled, national independence projects should be waiting in the wings to organize a series of more ethnically organic states. Irish Republicans believed they had the right to determine their own national destiny, and they appreciated the opportunity

offered by Wilson’s Fourteen Points, which provided a political platform for rejecting British rule. When Congress failed to ratify the League of Nations, the promise proved to be an empty letter for many aspiring rebels the world over. It dealt a serious blow to the Irish movement for independence as well. The British waged a brutal war against the Irish and stood their ground. O’Donnell ultimately sees World War I as a failed opportunity to achieve home rule in a peaceful fashion.

O’Donnell’s 2018 Hibernian Lecture brought to light a series of important connections, both material and intellectual, between America and Ireland. He made the case that American support around the year 1916 was crucial for Irish freedom. Indeed, to understand Irish motivations for freedom and republicanism, the organizational infrastructure and the American landscape of ideas are good places to turn for assistance. As he mentioned throughout his talk, much good research remains to be done.

**Peter Cajka is a postdoctoral research associate at the Cushwa Center.**

## Cushwa Center Lecture

*continued from page 4*

sex ed curricula for teens and youth. These efforts were part of larger concerns in American culture about the sexual revolution. Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* and Hugh Hefner's *Playboy Magazine* were just two of numerous publications that upended ideas about sex and accelerated changes in the wider American culture. The effort to respond to the sexual revolution led many liberal Protestants to support better sex education, but it also deepened disagreements over where that education should take place and what it should look like.

Many agreed that public schools ought to play a role in this effort. They believed that schools had the means to impart information that would help prepare youth and teens to make informed decisions. Others saw public education sex ed as displacing the educational roles and rights of families. The Sex Information and Educational Council of the United States (SIECUS) made significant inroads in establishing sex education programs in public schools. The organization's founder, Mary Calderone, believed that sex ed should be used to strengthen family relationships and stable, monogamous relationships. Calderone and her supporters wanted kids to know about the consequences of "acting heedlessly on desires." The embrace of sex ed at the local level happened very quickly, and by 1965 more than half of the nation's school districts had a sex ed program. Not everyone readily accepted sex ed in public schools. Two groups, the John Birch Society and Christian Crusades, protested sex ed across local communities. They demonized Calderone as a danger to the family and the nation.

The highly-charged debate over sex ed in public schools served as a prelude to a "major issue splitting the nation today," the handling of sexual harassment allegations. 2015 and

2016 saw revelations of sexual harassment allegations against several politicians. Many hoped that this would be a moment of reckoning. Griffith suggested that in fact, the moment is less novel than many would believe. "We have been here before," she said, and have found that "efforts to address or end sexual harassment and sexual violence are overtaken by partisanism." She pointed to two examples: Anita Hill's allegations of sexual harassment against Clarence Thomas in 1991, and Paula Jones' 1993 lawsuit claiming sexual harassment and exploitation by then-Governor Bill Clinton. In each case, Griffith pointed out, Americans broke down along partisan lines in their support of women with "actionable cases against powerful men." The same was true among American Christians. Conservative Christians overwhelmingly condemned Anita Hill, while supporting Paula Jones, and progressive Christians tended to support Hill while condemning Jones.

The discussion that followed Griffith's lecture included questions from Notre Dame faculty and various members of the local community. Audience members raised questions about the centrality of women's suffrage to Griffith's findings and the impact of 1920s activism on American sexual politics.

Griffith's scholarship and lecture reflect the increasing interest in understanding the origins of conflicts that continue to divide Americans. Controversies regarding sex are hardly resolved, Griffith explained. A century on, the nation's clashes over sexual politics and gender are as real as ever. To move forward, Griffith concluded, we must "reckon with our own deepest fears and attitudes about race, gender, and sexuality."

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**Maggie Elmore is a postdoctoral research associate at the Cushwa Center.**

## Public Lecture

*continued from page 5*

on group identity and on inclusion at an institutional level. These preferences, Williams argued, "came at a price."

The future of the Black Catholic Movement is in global networks. Williams observed how immigration from Africa is diversifying both the American priesthood and the 21st-century Black Catholic Movement. Williams recounted happily

how black Catholic priests from America made connections with African priests at a series of meetings in the 1990s. In this sense, the Black Catholic Movement has at its disposal both new people and fresh ideas.

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**Peter Cajka is a postdoctoral research associate at the Cushwa Center.**

## Book Review

*continued from page 38*

reshaped by the very human lives Johnson studies. Catholic activists truly believed themselves to be parts of the Mystical Body of Christ, and they imagined African Americans as “Christs” to be welcomed into community life. The Mystical Body holds that all individuals, Catholic or not, are different but essential parts of a larger organism. The notion of a Mystical Body helped activists conceive of Chicago as a broad spiritual ecosystem in which each part was essential to the health of the urban totality.

Johnson shows that this belief in a Mystical Body had two effects on the larger movement: first, the doctrine carved out a sizable sphere of activity for lay action, creating a unique division of labor between priests and lay activists. Whereas priests imagined Catholic Action as a means for the clergy and hierarchy to direct and even control the interracial movement, a combination of the Catholic Action paradigm and the Mystical Body doctrine allowed activists like Falls to see themselves as offering Christ to others by their physical actions in the world. Priests offered Christ on the altar during Mass; the laity offered Christ to those they encountered in the streets. Second, the Mystical Body made it impossible to be Catholic without caring for African Americans as Christ in their midst. Ellen Tarry captured the second dynamic well by telling the people of Friendship House to work with African Americans rather than working for them. The crucial task for the urban Church was to develop personal relations across the barriers of segregation that could then be used to challenge the prevailing economic, social, political, and legal system. They may have been a small group, but *One in Christ* demonstrates that these activists made interracial justice an important component of Catholic social teaching in the Chicago context after 1930.

To be sure, this theology and its promoters created tensions with Chicago’s bishops—and the movement encountered significant roadblocks in the form of concern over property values and the Church’s broadly gradualist tendencies. Yet, Johnson shows that the movement for interracial justice was vibrant, even awe-inspiring, in the breadth of its theological vision.

*One in Christ* makes a valuable addition to an already rich historiography on Chicago, race, and Catholicism. Johnson introduces a new group of historical subjects—lay Catholic interracial activists—into a field of vibrant characters. Historians have already made cases for the significance of Chicago’s missionary priests, Black Power activists, power-hungry Church officials, lay people in ethnic enclaves,

neighborhood organizers, athletes, theologians, and black priests. Johnson moves the field much closer to a complete narrative. John McGreevy’s influential *Parish Boundaries* (1996) demonstrated how the overlap of faith and place helped to make ethnic Catholics particularly defensive about African Americans entering their neighborhoods. Timothy Neary’s *Crossing Parish Boundaries* (2016) complicated this picture by showing how youth sports provided opportunities for Catholics to transgress established boundaries for meaningful interactions with African Americans. Most recently, Matthew Cressler’s *Authentically Black, Truly Catholic* (2017) showed how the Black Power movement transformed Chicago’s African American Catholics, making the faith more explicitly political and leading to a great deal of liturgical experimentation. One of the interesting aspects of Cressler’s study is his focus on the missionary priests sent to black neighborhoods to win converts. To these accounts Johnson adds the programs launched by the Catholic Interracial Council and Friendship Houses. Johnson’s research offers the field new, suggestive evidence that white, Catholic activists played more than a marginal role in helping urban Catholicism confront the race question. Importantly, following historian Jacquelyn Dowd Hall’s landmark argument for a “long civil rights movement,” Johnson shows convincingly that King’s 1966 march graced an intellectual and organizational infrastructure already built by lay Catholics decades prior.

The book’s guiding lens, “the messiness of everyday life,” is at once a useful and a somewhat limiting interpretive tool. The form of the book flows from the content of the complex lived existence narrated therein. At times, the reader could benefit from a wider perspective, which only arrives in the final chapters.

This book is an important contribution to several overlapping fields: Catholic history, urban history, the civil rights movement, and the history of Chicago. In light of Johnson’s findings, many new questions can be raised about Catholics, race, and urban life in the 20th century. The civil rights movement is far richer and theologically deeper than is usually understood. As Johnson notes in one of her study’s many wonderfully turned phrases, “Catholics’ public presence in the civil rights movement’s marches—in contrast to so much white intransigence on integration—was the tip of an iceberg of Catholic interracial activism” (225). In demonstrating this, *One in Christ* proves itself an important intervention that will have lasting effects on modern American history.

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**Peter Cajka is a postdoctoral research associate at the Cushwa Center.**



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