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Cover: Descendants of persons enslaved by the Society of the Sacred Heart gathered in Grand Coteau, Louisiana, in September 2018 for a ceremony of reconciliation. Original photo by Linda Behrens for the Society of the Sacred Heart, United States-Canada Province; used with permission.

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I assume there will come a day when COVID-19 does not merit mention in my biannual missive. Alas, that day has not yet arrived, as the pandemic remains very much on my mind. These days I have been remembering a promise I made to myself in March 2020. I had been scheduled to deliver eight talks that month; Women's History Month is always frantically busy for scholars in my field. After the onset of the pandemic led to the cancellation of each one, I vowed never to grumble again about my traditional March overload. And indeed I won't.

On the contrary, I have been eagerly anticipating Women's History Month 2022, in part because it brings the gradual return of in-person talks, but mostly because I am finding this an especially exciting time to study women's history on both the local and national level.

First, the local: as I have written in this space before, celebrating the 40th anniversary of undergraduate coeducation at Notre Dame in 2012 precipitated a meaningful personal encounter with Father Ted Hesburgh. Ten years later, this milestone is proving to be professionally rewarding. Not long ago I started to teach a course called "Notre Dame & America," and I have since learned a great deal about the monumental role that hundreds of Sisters of the Holy Cross played in sustaining and developing Notre Dame in its early years and beyond. As a result, when Kerry Temple, the editor of *Notre Dame Magazine*, asked me to write an article for an issue commemorating the 50th anniversary of coeducation, I told him what I really wanted to do was write about the women who arrived here in 1843, about whom so little is known, let alone celebrated. He graciously agreed and published "The Women of Past Presence" in the magazine's winter 2021–22 issue. The article opens with a query I received from a Notre Dame undergraduate who wondered why, apart

—continued on following page

The University of Notre Dame's 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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from the Blessed Virgin, so few women are represented on our campus landscape. Subsequent research revealed one man's reasoning: In 1916, Notre Dame President John W. Cavanaugh, C.S.C., speaking at the funeral of a Holy Cross sister who had worked on campus for over 40 years, explained that there was simply no need to build monuments to women because "every great man that has ever lived is himself a monument to some good woman." Cavanaugh, of course, had no problem building monuments honoring Notre Dame's great men: The statues of Edward Sorin and William Corby were erected during his presidency, and he was instrumental in raising money to build the Rockne Memorial.

Cavanaugh's perspective was hardly unique, either at Notre Dame or in America. Philadelphia's Monument Lab, working in partnership with the Mellon Foundation, recently conducted an audit that showed that only six percent of the top 50 individuals represented in America's public monuments are women. Efforts to make America's public landscapes less male and less white are underway, through Mellon and other foundations. Former U.S. Treasurer Rosie Rios, who led the effort to place a portrait of a woman on the front of U.S. currency, is now spearheading a multi-pronged initiative to ensure a more equitable representation of American women in public spaces and in history classrooms. After she read my article, Treasurer Rios told me how excited she was to learn of our shared passion: "If I thought that Notre Dame could take a leadership position in giving life to these women as they deserve," she wrote, "what a great example you would serve for the rest of the country and for our Catholic community." Inspired by Rios' proposition, I think the best way for Notre Dame to mark the 50th anniversary of the direct admission of undergraduate women would be to recognize the rich history of the hundreds of women who lived, studied, and taught at Notre Dame before 1972. Notre Dame should find ways to commemorate the pioneering sisters who worked closely with Father Sorin, the first two women to receive undergraduate degrees from Notre Dame (in 1917!), the Saint Mary's students who participated in the groundbreaking co-education program of the 1960s—the list goes on.

I have heard it said that Mary's ubiquity on our campus more than compensates for the absence of other women. As a rejoinder, I'll simply quote my colleague Professor Meghan Sullivan, who responded to my article with words of encouragement: "One thing I know about Our Lady," she wrote, "is that she loves to see the light shine into new places!"

Kathleen Sprows Cummings

Fall 2021 at the Cushwa Center

BY JAMES BREEN & PHILIP BYERS

The Cushwa Center hosted both online and in-person events during fall 2021. Many of the Cushwa Center's public events from recent semesters are available to view on the center's YouTube channel.

Seminar in American Religion: Kristin Kobes Du Mez

On October 9 at the newly opened McKenna Hall, the Cushwa Center hosted its first in-person event in more than 18 months, a Seminar in American Religion dedicated to *Jesus and John Wayne: How White Evangelicals Corrupted a Faith and Fractured a Nation* (Liveright, 2020) by Kristin Kobes Du Mez, professor of history at Calvin University. Kathleen Sprows Cummings commenced the morning session with a greeting to all attendees and recognition of the event's unprecedented nature: never before had a seminar title attained the status of *New York Times* Best Seller, a distinction Du Mez's book received in the summer of 2021 when it reached #4 in the Paperback Nonfiction Books category. After a quick explanation of the morning's format, Cummings introduced the two commentators who would start the seminar's discussion, Emily Remus (University of Notre Dame) and Matthew Avery Sutton (Washington State University).

Remus began by noting that as a scholar of typically "secular" topics like gender and consumer capitalism, she was initially surprised to receive an invitation to comment at a seminar on religious history, only to realize that much of the book's content was familiar. Du Mez's insights on manhood and masculinity, for example, descend from the work of scholars such as Notre Dame's Gail Bederman, one of Du Mez's graduate school mentors. Like Bederman's classic *Manliness and Civilization*, Du Mez's *Jesus and John Wayne* reveals what Remus called "the dynamism of masculine constructs," in which notions of manhood are not fixed and transhistorical but rather in

continuous flux. "Power," Remus observed, "not particular beliefs or constructs, mattered most." *Jesus and John Wayne* also reminded Remus of debates between scholars of gender concerning the relative importance of rhetoric and social practices. While Du Mez's research excels with regard to the former by reconstructing top-down evangelical notions of manhood and womanhood, Remus left the text wondering whether future scholars might complement the book with a more "grubby social analysis" that could reveal the experiences of ordinary women. Attention to consumer culture left Remus with a similar sense of both appreciation and curiosity, as *Jesus and John Wayne* illuminates the interests of the market's *sellers* while leaving the experiences of buyers for other scholars to analyze. Noting how patterns of consumption have changed in recent years, Remus closed with a suggestive question: "What does evangelical masculinity look like in the age of TikTok?"

Sutton opened by recapping *Jesus and John Wayne*'s basic arguments and themes before posing several questions that remained for him after the book's conclusion. First, could Du Mez define with more specificity what an evangelical is? While Sutton agreed with her in rejecting the long-popular, theology-centric definition known within academic circles as the "Bebbington Quadrilateral," he remained curious whether theology played a bigger role in the story than the book acknowledges. He similarly agreed that patriarchy has been a defining feature of American evangelicalism, but he doubted that patriarchy alone could explain every feature of evangelical politics; though he appreciated the way Du Mez's narrative foregrounded factors

that have not always featured in other accounts, he still left the book with questions about some of those more standard narrative components, such as abortion, that Du Mez spent less time addressing. Finally, Sutton offered compliments that doubled as questions. He loved Du Mez's prose and narrative style, including her use of catchy chapter titles, and he admired Du Mez's efforts to disseminate the book's arguments via social media, all of which made him wonder more about the book's audience—whom had Du Mez intended to reach with the book, whom did the book end up reaching, and what kind of reactions had she received?



Kristin Kobes Du Mez

In brief remarks before the mid-session coffee break, Du Mez offered follow-up comments to several of the points raised by Remus and Sutton. She agreed with Remus on the importance of learning more about the bottom-up story, a conviction driven home to her by the reaction her book has inspired—Du Mez described the hundreds of letters readers have sent recounting how their life stories match the narrative in *Jesus and John Wayne*. Much of that engagement has been inseparable from the influence of social media, a democratizing force that helped Du Mez reach beyond her intended audience (all Americans) and into evangelical spaces that were formerly policed by gatekeepers like Christian bookselling associations. Du Mez agreed with

Sutton that theology has played some kind of role in the movement but insisted that role has been minor. If abortion disappeared overnight, Du Mez surmised, it would not change evangelical voting patterns, which flow from a broader cultural orientation.

The question-and-answer session demonstrated how absorbed the seminar's attendees were with Du Mez's work. Several questioners wanted to know what Du Mez's research suggested for the future: Ian Van Dyke (Notre Dame) queried how Christian patriarchy might continue to influence anti-democratic coalitions, Jana Riess (Religion News Service) was eager for Du Mez's comments on the potential implications of the recent "ChurchToo" movement, and Tom Kselman (Notre Dame) questioned whether Du Mez believed an alternative branch of evangelicals might yet be able to alter the broader tradition's course. While *Jesus and John Wayne* concludes with Du Mez's hope that "What was once done might also be undone," she admitted to the seminar audience that her expectation is less sanguine—the entire story, she insisted, is about the preservation of authority, and she agreed with Elesha Coffman (Baylor University) that theological formulations have often been post hoc justifications for desired social outcomes. Other attendees hoped to press Du Mez for greater specificity, with Tim Gloege (independent scholar) asking how markets (seemingly diffuse) and authoritarianism (seemingly top-down) co-exist and Tom Tweed (Notre Dame) coaxing Du Mez to pick one hinge point in the story; she ultimately settled for three, highlighting the election of Ronald Reagan in 1980, the FCC's decision in 1987 to abolish the Fairness Doctrine, and the 9/11 terrorist attacks. With the conversation lasting nearly until noon, seminar participants proved their enthusiasm to hear Du Mez's extended reflections, and Cummings concluded the gathering by thanking the panelists and attendees and inviting everyone to return to the seminar next spring.

Founders' Day

In the late 19th century, Rev. John A. Zahm, C.S.C., was committed not only to making Notre Dame a “home of saints and scholars” but also to reconciling faith and science. He wrote, “[T]here is nothing in evolution, properly understood, which is contrary to Church Doctrine.” As such, it was fitting that the Founders' Day keynote speaker, Sister Damien Marie Savino, F.S.E., Ph.D., used her October 12 address to mark the centenary of Father Zahm's passing, applying his ideas about the relationship between faith and science to the environmental challenges of the 21st century.

Sister Damien Marie, who serves as the dean of Science and Sustainability at Aquinas College, began by quoting Father Zahm's *Evolution and Dogma*. In that 1896 book Father Zahm argued that Charles Darwin's controversial theory of evolution had much that was “ennobling and inspiring” and that evolution made the world more reflective of God's greatness. Sister Damien Marie explained that Father Zahm made sharp distinctions between creation and nature. Additionally, since science is the study of secondary causes, Darwin's theory was related to the evolution of the human body but not the soul.



Sister Damien Marie Savino, F.S.E.

Sister Damien Marie then argued that the mutual “ennobling” of faith and science could be found

in Pope Francis's recent encyclical on the climate crisis, *Laudato Si'*. In what Sister Damien Marie called the “keystone” chapter of the encyclical, Pope Francis advocated for an “integral ecology,” which is one that brings together natural and human ecology. “I think the pope's message of integral ecology in *Laudato Si'*,” she said, “is an invitation to make our love for God show in how we care for others and how we care for the earth.” Sister Damien Marie also stressed that humans have a unique charge in fighting the climate crisis: humans must cooperate with God in the work of Creation. She closed by advocating for regenerative farming as a promising way to practice integral ecology.

The following afternoon, the Cushwa Center co-sponsored a panel that explored Father Zahm's influence on American Catholicism, Notre Dame, and the faith-science dialogue. R. Scott Appleby, who is the Marilyn Keough Dean of the Keough School of Global Affairs and a professor of history at Notre Dame, first spoke about Father Zahm's role in the heated debates about evolution and religion in late 19th-century America. Appleby argued that Father Zahm, through his voluminous writings and numerous public lectures, played a prominent role in “the process by which the American Catholic community came to know the modern world.” At his summer school lectures, Father Zahm told lay Catholics that science was not something to fear. And despite the papacy placing *Evolution and Dogma* on the Index of Forbidden Books, Appleby concluded that Father Zahm remained confident that he—and, more importantly, science—would win in the end.

Cushwa Center director Kathleen Sprows Cummings then described how Father Zahm intentionally cultivated ties between himself, Notre Dame, and Rome. Although American newspapers criticized Notre Dame's relationship to the papacy, Father Zahm doubled down and pursued connections to Rome more zealously.

He did this in part through Roman architecture, as well as medals and statues that were modeled after Roman art. Father Zahm, Cummings argued, ultimately helped to construct a distinct American Catholic identity by strengthening ties with Rome, rather than by severing them. Cummings also emphasized that Father Zahm recognized the importance of women religious, such as Mother Mary Ascension (Mathurin) Salou, C.S.C., in keeping Notre Dame afloat in its early decades.

The three-person panel concluded with Elsa Barron, a Notre Dame alumna and community organizer with Hoosier Interfaith Power and Light. An evangelical, Barron recounted how she perceived evolution to be a threat to her faith as an incoming undergraduate student. She first encountered Father Zahm's ideas at Notre Dame, and Barron credits Zahm with helping her bring science together with her faith. This ideological marriage still inspires Barron's advocacy work as she battles the climate crisis. She insisted that we, as humans, are failing to live up to our religious principles—which, she pointed out, Pope Francis also admitted in *Laudato Si'*. To meaningfully address the climate crisis, Barron argued, humanity must embrace its dual religious calling: to care for creation and for our neighbors.

Hibernian Lecture: Declan Kiberd

A little more than a year after the pandemic disrupted plans for a gathering in Ireland, the Cushwa Center hosted its annual Hibernian Lecture featuring Declan Kiberd, the Donald and Marilyn Keough Professor of Irish Studies and professor of English and Irish language and literature emeritus. The session's virtual format permitted Kiberd to present his talk from O'Connell House, home of Notre Dame's Dublin Global Gateway, while also allowing participants to join from across Europe and North America. After a greeting from Kevin Whelan (Michael Smurfit Director of the Notre Dame Dublin Global Gateway), Kathleen Sprows Cummings introduced Kiberd and the subject of his lecture, "Ireland Now: Excavating the Present."

Most people living in the 21st century, Kiberd began, suffer from what might be called "provincialism in space and provincialism of time," the lack of an appreciation for our placement within a flow of events. In contrast, the richest moments in Irish history—like the late 19th-century Irish Revival—have been simultaneously "archaic" and "avant-garde." In his view, the Irish story has been most enlivened by the presence of "critical traditionalists."

To illustrate the claim, Kiberd performed the kind of textured cultural exegesis that has marked his celebrated career. For example, he described the paradox in which the seemingly backward-looking Revival actually relied on the "idea of modern advertising." The founding leaders of Sinn Féin likewise "presented something very new as a revival of something reassuringly old and familiar," and in *Ulysses* (1922), James Joyce would "giftwrap one of Europe's oldest books" but in the service of conveying a "radical modern narrative." Even the famed Easter Rising of 1916, frequently depicted as an irruption of nostalgia, in fact worked to advance "modernity . . . in disguised forms."



Declan Kiberd

For Kiberd, the key to understanding the last century of Irish history thus lies less in the Rising than in the fact that the Republicans lost the subsequent Irish Civil War. National industry never grew as figures like Joyce and Patrick Pearse had anticipated, partially because so many Republicans departed for North America and

took their entrepreneurial energy with them. The experience of civil war sapped revolutionary fervor, and the following decades too often involved an Irish people “bending over backwards to become like those they had extirpated.” Whenever the positive forces of critical traditionalism ebbed, a merely negative identity—as “not-England”—could prove alluring.

Kiberd’s interpretive frame lent new meaning even to the Celtic Tiger, as he divided that economic boom into two phases. The earlier period, lasting from 1995–2002, witnessed a “genuine fusion of traditions” in which migrants who arrived in Ireland brought both pride in their cultures of origin and also an eagerness to experience Irish customs. Yet once word of Ireland’s prosperity spread, the second phase included many people focused only on a payoff. “The culture that produced the Tiger,” he rued, “led to the loss of many traditions,” a clear example of which emerges in the gradual disappearance of the Irish pub. Insensitive to the pub’s vital function as a site of public space, property developers have found it more profitable to tear down old builds and construct anew.

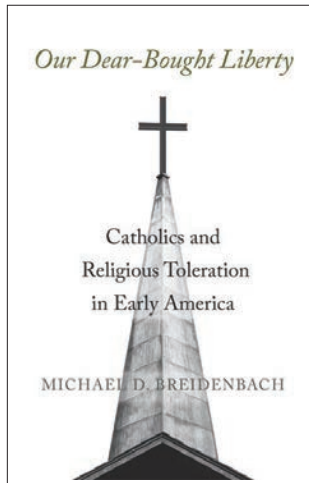
Kiberd opened the brief Q&A by responding to a question regarding what policy suggestions he might make to current Irish leaders. As a model, he cited the May 2015 referendum on same-sex marriage as another instance of critical

traditionalism. In that plebiscite, Irish voters affirmed something genuinely new but they did so upon a familiar basis, namely the traditional identification of the family’s role as a force for social stability. Any leader seeking progress should start first by asking which extant features of Irish society can be augmented.

Kiberd then used a question from Cummings to reflect on the challenge of atomization within academic disciplines, claiming that specialization “is just a form of self-love.” In contrast, he contended that all humans benefit from the insights of the greatest works of literature across the millennia: “People . . . need to be nurtured by the humanities.” Kiberd’s answer to the day’s final question, regarding the future of Catholicism in Ireland, also identified continuity over time in the human desire for meaning. Religion “doesn’t really” vanish, he stipulated, it “transmogrifies.” If religion has taken new institutional forms, it remains a vibrant presence in Ireland through outgrowths of Celtic-derived spirituality. Over an hour of insights like these, Kiberd provided the lecture’s attendees with extensive material for continued reflection.

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The Cushwa Center in Rome: Virtual Discussion of *Our Dear-Bought Liberty*

BY ROSE LUMINIELLO

Many of liberal democracy's most influential political theorists, including those behind the Constitution of the United States, considered Catholics untrustworthy members of the political community. The Enlightenment philosopher John Locke maintained that "no government could allow Catholics to be citizens." Yet John Carroll, a great American Catholic hero, helped to form the very core of the Constitution and of early American political society itself—but how?

On Tuesday, November 16, the Cushwa Center and Notre Dame's Rome Global Gateway convened a book launch discussion for Michael Breidenbach's new monograph, *Our Dear-*

Bought Liberty: Catholics and Religious Toleration in Early America (Harvard, 2021). Hosted by Luca Codignola-Bo (senior fellow at the Cushwa Center), the virtual event opened with discussant John McGreevy (Francis McAnaney Professor of History, Notre Dame) asking the question above and explaining that until reading Breidenbach's book, he had not possessed a clear answer. For the first time in American historiography, Breidenbach has sought to address the question of Catholic allegiance in the colonial and early foundational periods of the United States. In asking these questions, Breidenbach has proffered a wealth of new knowledge on the Carroll family and the role of Catholics in the founding of the United States.

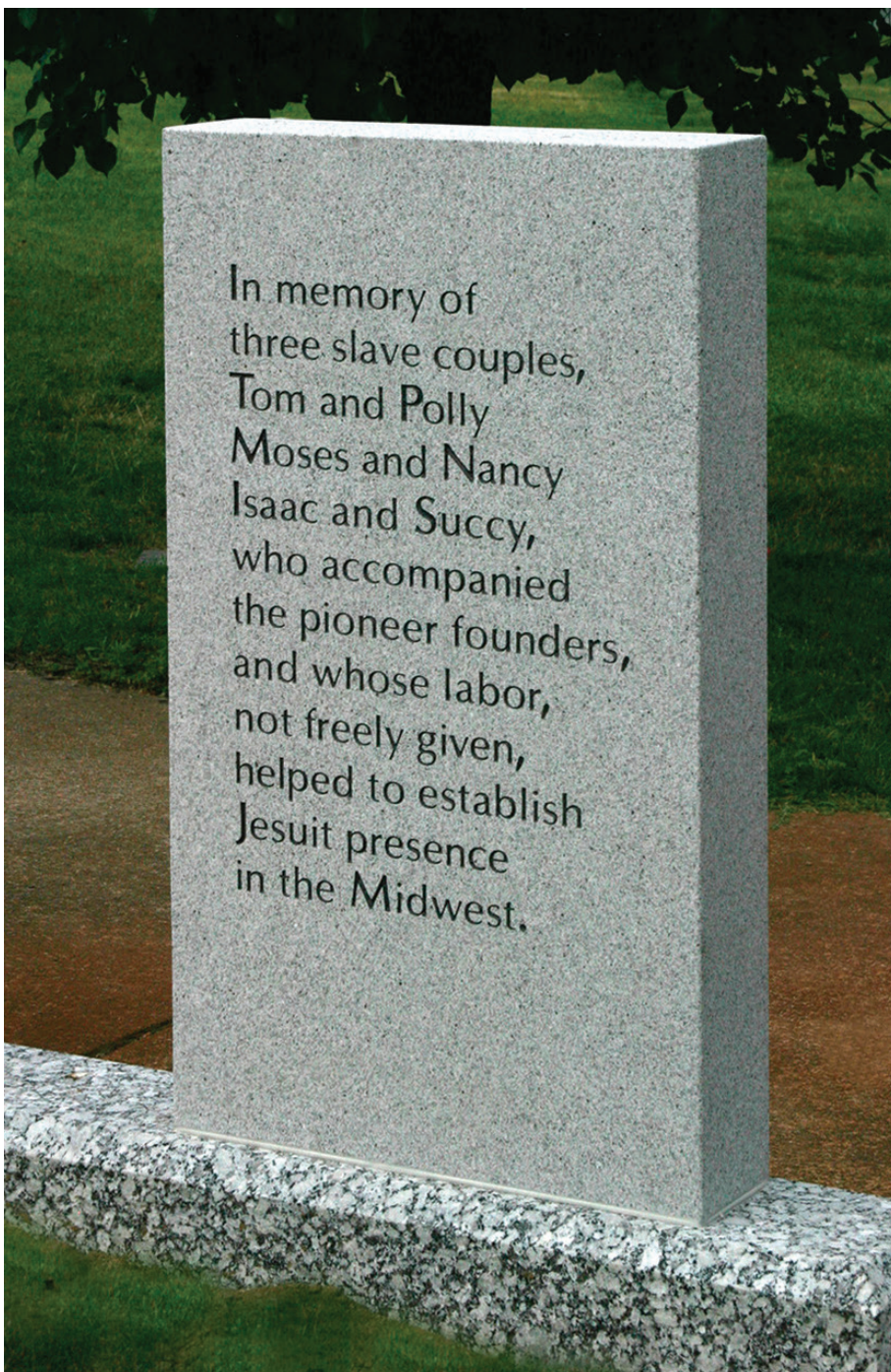
McGreevy noted that *Our Dear-Bought Liberty* has delivered a number of great contributions to the study of American Catholicism. Breidenbach has reconstructed a new history that integrates the Maryland colony and its founders, the Catholic Calvert family, into English history. In doing so, he has brought colonial American and Canadian Catholics into Western political thought and illuminated ideas of representation and the origins of “small ‘r’ republicanism,” while simultaneously engaging the story of Charles and John Carroll into the history of international, conciliar, and ultramontane Catholicism. These new approaches, McGreevy noted, represent the first time a scholar has answered the question of how Catholics like the Carrolls could be considered good citizens of the early American republic and integrated into a nominally anti-Catholic community. Breidenbach’s answer to the question is “loyalty before liberty”—Catholics demonstrated loyalty to the new American project and, in doing so, gained liberty.

During the conversation, McGreevy raised a number of questions for Breidenbach. He asked whether the Carroll family were a conciliar, republican exception amongst Catholics, or whether there were parallel individuals and

movements occurring across the globe during this same period. Breidenbach thoughtfully answered that the conciliarist moment did not dictate movement on the ground and that the ecclesiastical framework of conciliarism refracted very differently in places like France and Mexico. A second question raised by McGreevy was how historians have received *Our Dear-Bought Liberty*’s argument that conciliarism is one of the languages of American Catholicism and constitution-making; additionally, he asked how far this idea of conciliar Catholicism really extended into the post-Second Vatican Council era. He noted that there is much future research to be done on such questions for a number of other scholars and that American Catholic historiography itself faces a great opportunity to understand conciliar Catholicism in the United States more thoroughly.

McGreevy summed up the richness of the discussion and of Breidenbach’s volume: “I consider Michael Breidenbach’s *Our Dear-Bought Liberty* unequivocally excellent . . . one of the most important recent books in modern Catholic history.”

Rose Luminiello is a research associate at the University of Notre Dame’s Cushwa Center.



Memorial stone in Jesuit plot, Calvary Cemetery, north St. Louis. Original photo by Michael Harter, S.J., Slavery, History, Memory, and Reconciliation Project; used with permission.

The Pervasive Institution

Slavery and Its Legacies in U.S. Catholicism

BY KELLY L. SCHMIDT

Over the past decade, several dioceses and religious orders have begun to examine more closely their histories of slaveholding. Yet most—especially white—Catholics are not aware that, as historian Shannen Dee Williams has often emphasized, the Catholic Church was the largest corporate slaveholder in the United States. Many Catholics express shock and disbelief upon learning that, while some readily justify the Church’s slaveholding: “But Catholics were good to the people they owned”; “Their owners taught them Catholicism, which was good, right?”; “But only a few Catholics held people in slavery”; “Catholics didn’t want to be slaveholders, but they had to conform to society”; “But lots of Catholics were against slavery, right?”

Previous historical scholarship on U.S. Catholicism and slavery—what little there is—has often perpetuated these myths, claiming enslavement to Catholics was minimal and more benign than among Protestant counterparts; that enslaved people were contented; that Catholic bondpeople rarely resisted. While some defend the Church's slaveholding by repeating slaveholders' justifications that they brought the faith to enslaved people, others claim that Catholicism left no lasting impact upon people in bondage. New scholarship, however, is taking a more critical look at slavery and the Catholic Church. An increasing trend to view this history through enslaved people's experience is revealing new insights about the nature of enslavement among Church members. There is much more to learn as we comb through religious archives and new scholars pave the path forward.

Rooted in Slavery

Slavery in the U.S. Catholic Church was pervasive, and before abolition it was a greater anomaly for a religious order not to hold people in slavery. Indeed, as Mary Ewens, Barbara Misner, and Joseph Mannard all demonstrate, the earliest women's religious orders in North America that survived—namely the Carmelites, Loretto Sisters, Visitandines, Sisters of Charity of Emmitsburg (Maryland), Sisters of Charity of Nazareth (Kentucky), Dominican Sisters, Religious of the Sacred Heart (RSCJs), and Ursulines—did so due to reliance on enslaved people acquired through dowries, inheritances, gifts, and purchases. Ewens notes that none of the orders that failed to establish themselves permanently in North America seemed to have held people in slavery.

Before 1830, the most concentrated groups of Catholics lived in slaveholding regions: Maryland, Kentucky, Louisiana, and Missouri. When the Church established the first U.S. dioceses, those sites were immersed in slaveholding, as were the religious orders, educational institutions, and charitable works within them. Slavery made possible the expansion of new dioceses across the United States, carrying their slaveholding practices with them. Indeed, as Maura Jane Farrelly argues, by growing from Maryland, American Catholic identity “was born in a slaveholding context,” while Robert Emmett Curran declares that prior to 1840, U.S. Catholicism “was largely a Southern phenomenon, and the ‘peculiar institution’ was an integral part of it.”

Before abolition it was a greater anomaly for a religious order not to hold people in slavery.

The diocese of Bardstown, Kentucky, which grew out of the Baltimore diocese, exemplifies this trend—most of its colleges, seminaries, churches, priests, and lay Catholics held people in slavery, and its bishops were some of the largest slaveholders in the region. When Bishop Benedict Joseph Flaget bequeathed his enslaved people to Martin John Spalding, his successor, he listed those “whose names I now recollect . . . as well as all others whom I may not at this moment remember.” In Kentucky’s “Catholic Holy Land” in what was first the Bardstown diocese and later the Louisville diocese, enslaved people built St. Joseph Proto-Cathedral and labored at the neighboring St. Joseph’s College, run by diocesan clergy until Jesuits assumed administration in 1848. People likewise labored in bondage at St. Mary’s College (the site of a minimum-security private prison today), run successively by diocesan clergy, the Jesuits, and later again by diocesan priests and Congregation of Holy Cross brothers. Edward Fenwick established the Dominicans in the U.S. at St. Rose Priory in Kentucky, providing the order with enslaved laborers. People were enslaved at St. Thomas Seminary, founded by Sulpicians Flaget and John Baptist Mary David, and at the Trappists’ Gethsemani Abbey. The number of people the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth, Dominican sisters, and Loretines held in bondage in the region grew exponentially in the decades following their establishment.

Even where we have not yet found evidence that an order held people in slavery, they participated in a slave society. The Sisters of Mercy, for instance, may not have been slaveholders, but in Missouri the Jesuits assigned them to supervise and catechize the women they enslaved. Likewise, the De La Salle Christian Brothers taught at schools supported by slaveholding dioceses and religious orders. Even Catholics who were not slaveholders generally accepted slavery, with few Catholic leaders condemning it.

Labor, Living Conditions, Abuse

No less than any other enslaved person, people enslaved to members of the Catholic Church endured abysmal conditions and abuse. Records about people enslaved to the Jesuits, for example, detail strict rationing of food and clothing and calculations for maximizing enslaved people's labor time. They further document that large families were crammed into small, one-room cabins, often doubling as spaces for cooking and other labor. Smaller families and single people were crowded into more cramped spaces or in the lofts of outbuildings. In Missouri, even as enslaved families grew, maintenance of their existing quarters and construction of new buildings were both deferred for years, leading one Jesuit to remark, "The people are far from being happy and satisfied: no appearance yet of getting their cabins." Housing conditions for Thomas and Molly Brown, enslaved at Saint Louis University, were so dangerous that Thomas declared to Jesuit leadership, "I have not a doubt but cold will Kill both me and my wife here."

Catholic religious showed a cruel disregard for enslaved people and assumed their ignorance, as Jacqueline Willy Romero documents in several cases among the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth. Mother Frances Gardiner said of the bondswoman Matilda, "[O]ur Matilda has lately lost both her children—a good thing, you know, for them," and in the same letter described Emily, an enslaved child, as "about as smart as a cow with a broken leg." Catholics further monitored and manipulated enslaved people to extract obedience and labor. Nazareth religious superiors frequently warned enslaved girls Martha and Isabel to "be a good girl," and one admonished Martha that her former owners "would be very sorry to hear Martha was a bad girl."

Catholic religious regularly inflicted physical violence on enslaved people. After an enslaved child, George Clements, upset a miller to whom the Loretines in Kentucky sold corn, the Mother Superior sent Clements with a note directing the miller to "give George a good flogging and make him behave himself." And although Jesuit regulations limited beatings of enslaved people, designated who could perform them, and prohibited Jesuits from beating bondswomen, they frequently ignored their own dictates. On the St. Inigoes plantation in Maryland, a girl named Sucky heard rumors among fellow bondpeople that one of her Jesuit owners used an old barn on the property to take his discipline. To see if this was true, Sucky followed him and observed him baring his shoulders for self-flagellation. "She immediately screamed aloud, & running to the barn door, begged her good master not to be so cruel to himself," a Jesuit account later reported. Upset that Sucky had spied upon and interrupted his penance, the Jesuit "gave her so sound a thrashing, that she was determined never to care much about his self-cruelties in the future."

Despite ecclesial regulations against separating enslaved families, religious orders regularly sold people away for economic motives, as punishment, or without justification at all. The Jesuits infamously sold more than 300 people to the Deep South in 1838 while some of their enslaved brethren remained in Maryland, were relocated to Missouri and other parts of the country, or were sold in smaller sales. Just as the 1838 sale relieved debts for building projects at Georgetown University, Susan Nalezty has shown that the Georgetown Visitation sisters had sold at least 21 people in the 1820s to ease debts from their own expansion.

Few things revealed the hypocrisy of slaveholding Catholics more than their arbitrary treatment of families. When it served their economic interests, slaveholders sold and separated families with few qualms. But in other moments, Catholic slaveholders demonstrated selective concern about religious morality, often coupled with motives of social control. The Ursulines routinely sold women who bore children out of wedlock, and Emily Clark shows that the Capuchins were keen to legitimate marriages among their bondspeople. Clark recounts one especially egregious case in which the Ursulines separated their bondswoman Teresa from her husband Estevan for at least six years while they sought to substantiate reports that her first husband Mathurin, who had been missing and presumed dead, had been sighted in Havana.

Bondspeople were also subjected to sexual abuse from their Catholic enslavers, including religious. In most cases, records alluding to these incidents are vague. Jesuit regulations confined the spaces enslaved women could enter and forbade Jesuits from receiving women in their bedrooms for confession, blaming the women's supposed lack of chastity rather than the moral failings of their religious enslavers. People who suffered sexual assault while enslaved to Catholic religious and laypeople coped in the same ways as other bondspeople. Some may have used these encounters to negotiate better conditions, or freedom, for themselves and their children. This is likely what Susanna Queen, a woman enslaved to Jesuit Father John Ashton, did to take care of herself and her mixed-race children, whom scholars believe Ashton fathered by coercing her into a sexual relationship as a teenager. William Thomas details how Queen won her freedom suit in 1796 but returned to Ashton's plantation in 1800 after marrying a man enslaved to the Jesuits, ultimately convincing Ashton to let her build a cabin for her family. She continued to serve Ashton, and one of her sons acted as his personal valet. As Thomas writes, "Whatever the nature of her relationship with the priest, she knew that her freedom, her children's freedom, and her marriage to an enslaved man depended in no small measure on John Ashton's approval, perhaps on his position as manager, on his standing within the Jesuit order, and even more precariously on his whim."

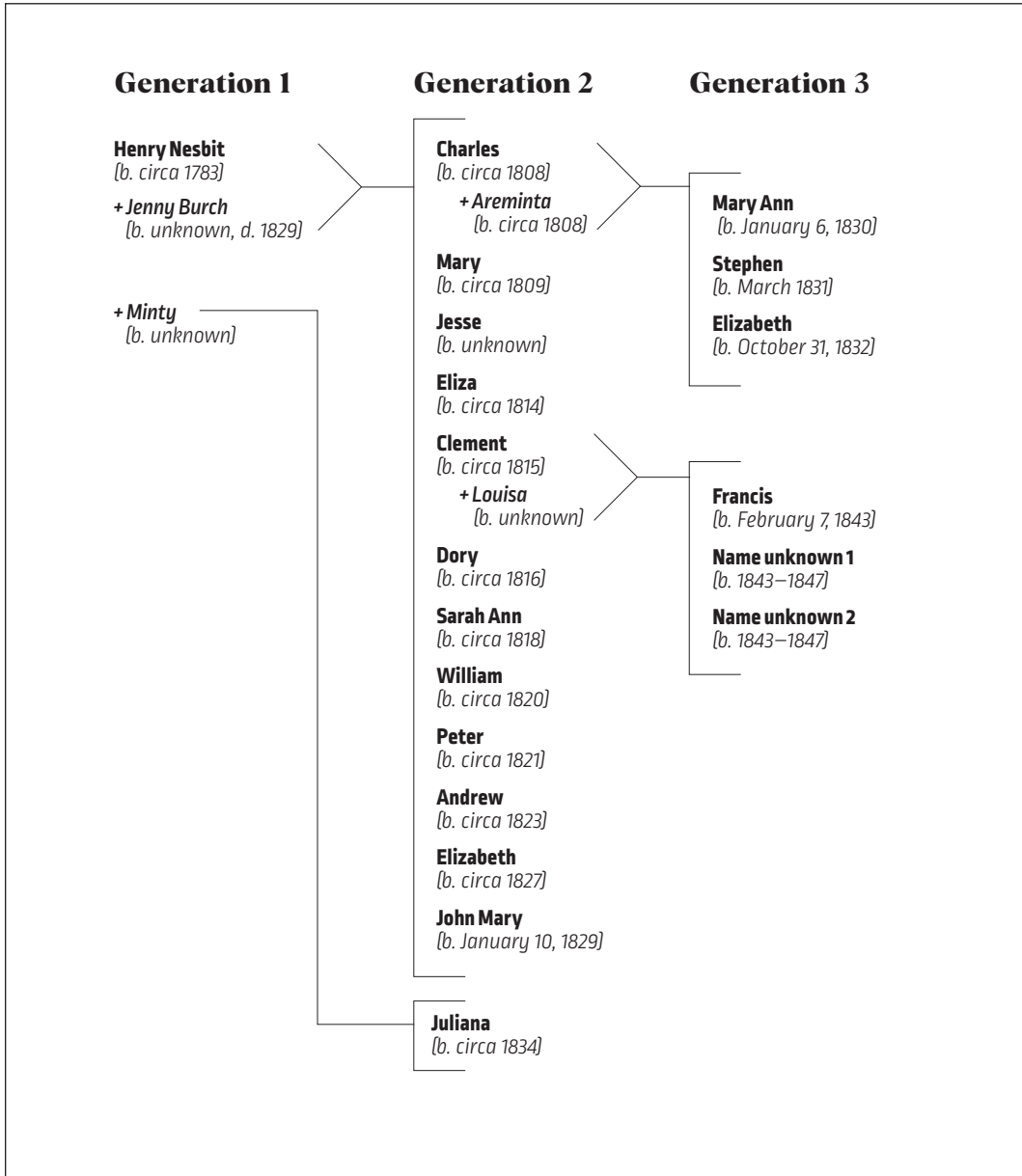
Catholic religious also manipulated their own rules and withheld information from bondspeople to keep them in bondage. Edmond, enslaved to the RSCJs in Missouri, was retained by the sisters because he was a "good person" while the religious petitioned the bishop for permission to sell his wife to the Deep South because they feared she would set their house on fire. When a contingent of RSCJs later joined the Jesuits in 1841 at a mission to the Potawatomi in Sugar Creek, Kansas, they brought Edmond with them, despite slavery's prohibition in that part of the territory. The superior, Lucile Mathevon, wrote, "I don't tell [Edmond] he's free in Kansas, even though he would probably stay. I am being very careful not to let him learn that he is free here, for even though he is content and perhaps too pious to take advantage of [his free status], he is nonetheless more certain (if that is possible) to leave it alone, if he remains ignorant of it."

A Network of Enslavement

Dioceses and religious orders cultivated a system of exchanging and sharing enslaved people among themselves, a process exemplified by the experience of the Nesbit family. Across several generations, the Nesbits were separated for the service of clerics and religious orders in the dioceses of St. Louis and New Orleans. When Catholic religious shared the labor of enslaved people, they tore families apart.

The record begins in 1822, when Bishop Louis DuBourg purchased Henry and Jenny Burch Nesbit and their nine children, a number that would grow in the years to come. DuBourg initially planned to send the family to labor for the recently established Jesuit mission in Florissant, Missouri. Instead, DuBourg diverted the Nesbits to Perryville, Missouri, to toil at the Vincentian seminary. Over the coming years, DuBourg and his successor, Joseph Rosati, capriciously moved members of the Nesbit family to other religious in the diocese.

The Nesbit Family



On October 7, 1822, Bishop Louis DuBourg purchased the Henry and Jenny Nesbit family and sent them to the Vincentian seminary in Perryville, Missouri. In the decades to come, the Nesbits were exchanged, shared, and sold among numerous dioceses and religious orders. While the family tree above excludes certain details in the interest of clarity, it charts the relationships of some of those enslaved persons whose ties were severed by the decisions of clerics. For a more complete tree, contact the author.

Charles Nesbit, Henry and Jenny's eldest child, was regularly sent between Perryville and the bishop's residence in St. Louis, where he served as the prelate's cook and personal attendant, accompanying him on trips through Missouri and Louisiana. In Perryville, Charles married Areminta, and together they had Mary Ann, Stephen, and Elizabeth. Charles continued to be forced to make the approximately 80-mile trek between Perryville and St. Louis, sometimes with his family and sometimes separated; their nomadic life meant that Mary Ann and Stephen were baptized in Perryville, Elizabeth in St. Louis. In 1831, Rosati exchanged Charles' sister Mary and her two infant children, then in St. Louis, with Areminta, Mary Ann, and Stephen, presumably to unite most of Charles Nesbit's family in St. Louis. Any time together in St. Louis, however, was short-lived, for in March 1836 Rosati loaned Charles to Cahokia, Illinois, to paint, plaster, and whitewash a house Rosati bought to serve as a convent for the Sisters of Saint Joseph. By July 1837, Rosati had placed Charles under the charge of Reverend Joseph Anthony Lutz, who tried to pass him on to the Jesuits but instead hired him as a cook to a Mr. Leonard for a year. Charles attempted to escape three months later, but Leonard sent the constable after Charles, who was captured and imprisoned for three days. His escape unsuccessful, Charles sued for freedom in 1840 on the basis of having been sent to labor in Illinois, a free state. Shortly after Charles filed suit, Rosati left town and appointed Jesuit Peter Verhaegen to supervise Charles, forcing him to withdraw his suit against Rosati and re-file against Verhaegen. As the suit dragged on, Verhaegen and Rosati impeded it by attempting to sell Charles, hiring him out to cook on a steamboat on the Mississippi (removing him from the court's jurisdiction and preventing him from meeting with counsel), and pressuring key witnesses to evade court and to change their testimony. While Charles appears to have won his freedom, what became of him and his family remains unknown.

Like Charles and his sister Mary, many of their other siblings—including Jesse, Eliza, Sarah Ann, Andrew, William, Peter, Elizabeth, and Clement—were similarly wrenched from their family to serve the region's expanding Catholic institutions. When DuBourg told Reverend Edmund Saulnier in St. Louis to send Charles to him in New Orleans in 1823, he requested that Jesse be sent too. DuBourg then mortgaged Jesse to his nephew-in-law. In 1826, DuBourg expressed his intention to buy Jesse back and attempted to do so over the next four years. It is not known whether Jesse ever returned to Missouri. DuBourg gave Eliza to the RSCJs in Missouri shortly after purchasing her, and the sisters brought Eliza with them when they founded Saint Michael's Convent in Louisiana. In 1831, Rosati sold Sarah Ann to Father Charles de la Croix in St. James Parish, Louisiana, and attempted to sell Andrew to de la Croix as well, but Andrew intentionally or unintentionally missed the steamboat that would ship him down river. Negotiations over the price for Andrew then dragged his sale out for two years, before Andrew was eventually passed among several clerics in Louisiana. William was in Bishop Rosati's household as early as 1831 and remained until Rosati's death in 1844, substituting as cook in Charles' absence. In 1832, Rosati sold Peter to Rev. John Boullier. Elizabeth is believed to be the young girl recalled in 1835 from her hire out to a local stonemason in Perryville so that Rosati could pay off a debt by selling her to layman Hugh O'Neil in St. Louis; when O'Neil died in 1843, his executors sold 14-year old Elizabeth again. Clement and his wife Louisa refused to let themselves and their children be sold to a Catholic slaveholder in Louisiana in 1843, but were subsequently forced to Galveston, Texas, to serve the new bishop, Vincentian Jean-Marie Odin.

As Church leaders scattered their descendants across the United States, Henry and Jenny remained susceptible as well. Around a year after Jenny died in 1829, Henry remarried to Minty, enslaved to Walter Wilkinson in Perryville. Minty was soon purchased by the seminary, and in 1836 the Vincentians sent Henry, Minty, their daughter Juliana, and Henry's son Dory to their

church at Cape Girardeau to help prepare a farm. They all remained in Cape Girardeau until at least 1850, when Henry died after a tornado swept through southeast Missouri. These patterns of sale and exchange shattered families; many of the Nesbits were never able to reunite. But because they were transferred within Catholic circles, they built a wider network where they could rely on kinship bonds and receive word of family when forced transfers impeded their interaction.

Resistance

“It was a happiness for these colored people to have all the means necessary to work out their salvation, and I do not doubt, that all those that emigrated with us from Maryland blessed God now for his wonderful Providence over them,” wrote Jesuit Felix Verreydt of the enslaved people he and his peers had forced from Maryland to Missouri. But even Verreydt was obliged to recognize “though we heard sometimes their earnest desire to be free in a free country, it was difficult not to say almost impossible to convince them of their happiness.” Verreydt’s words expose the reality of enslavement within the Catholic Church and the myths used then and since to rationalize it: though their enslavers justified their actions by claiming they were providing the faith and were more lenient than other slaveholders, bondspople were not contented. They repeatedly resisted their enslavement.

Some appealed to their owners’ Catholic moral values and emphasized their own Catholic devotion to argue for their freedom. Thomas Brown described himself as a “faithful servant in the Society [of Jesus]” who promised to pray for the Jesuit Superior “while I live” if only the superior would let him buy his and his wife’s freedom to prevent certain death in their derelict living quarters that winter. Peter Hawkins used his perceived piety to keep his family together and to convince the Jesuits to let him buy his freedom.

Several sought their freedom on foot, as did men enslaved to the Ursulines who escaped to the woods. Theodore and his children Honoré and Adelaide, André and Clementine and their children Josephine, Justine, and André, as well as Clementine’s sister Leocardee, all enslaved to the Ursulines, sought refuge among the federal troops occupying New Orleans during the Civil War. Theodore Tilghman and Joseph Dixon, enslaved to the Visitation Sisters, fled their enslavement to fight for freedom in the Civil War. People enslaved to the Jesuits such as Abraham, Peter Queen, and Henry, sought freedom by blending into local communities or going farther north.

Few Catholic religious outright emancipated their enslaved people. Most bondspople were only able to secure freedom by negotiating to purchase it, as did people enslaved to the Ursulines, Visitandines, and Jesuits. Several networks of families, claiming they were already free, initiated freedom suits against their Catholic enslavers in Missouri and Washington, D.C. One of them, Louisa Mahoney, was forced away from her kin network in Maryland when in 1836 Mount St. Mary’s College in Emmitsburg gave her to Reverend Francis B. Jamison, who proceeded to help establish a contingent of the Sisters of Charity in St. Louis. Mahoney sued for her freedom in St. Louis in 1854,



Peter Hawkins, circa 1905. Courtesy of the Jesuit Archives & Research Center.

demonstrating that Jamison had ignored the college's stipulation that she be freed after five years, only to learn from the Sisters of Charity and officers of Mount St. Mary's College that the records validating her claims had been tampered with and destroyed.

Still others turned to violence. Scholars such as John Thornton, Mark Smith, and William Thomas have identified enslaved Catholics within the Stono Rebellion, in another reported uprising near the Jesuits' St. Inigoes plantation in Maryland, and in several attempted revolts in Louisiana. Attempted organized rebellions heightened slaveholders' fears and led to anticipation of further revolts and acts of violent resistance, as when Ignatius Gough, enslaved to the Jesuits, was arrested and tortured in 1840 for suspected involvement in a plot, or, as Romero relates, when the Nazareth Sisters sold a woman for fear that she had poisoned buttermilk. In Missouri, several people enslaved to the Jesuits threatened or carried out violence against their owners in response to severe cruelties. Women especially stood up for their kin, knowing that Jesuits were forbidden from beating enslaved women. Some threatened to throw stones at a man assigned to beat one of their kin. And two women became so furious with Jesuit Superior Charles Van Quickenborne that they had an altercation with him, into which another Jesuit intervened to prevent injury to his superior.

Religious Agency Denied

Although Catholicism claimed to offer spiritual equality, bondspople were inhibited from exerting agency over their faith and regularly faced temporal denial of their equality within the Church. Enslaved people encountered constant messages of obedience in sermons, the confessional, and catechesis. They were relegated to back pews and, increasingly, to segregated galleries or separate chapels. Furthermore, many lay Catholic enslavers in rural areas neglected enslaved people's religious formation altogether.

Enslaved people were routinely denied vocations of religious life. Mother Rose Philippine Duchesne briefly considered accepting girls of color into the RSCJs as coadjutrices who would labor for the order and rank below the white sisters, to which her superior in France responded, "Do not make the foolish



Eliza Nesbit, circa 1885. Courtesy of the Archives of the Society of the Sacred Heart, United States-Canada Province.

mistake of mixing the whites with the blacks . . . you will have no more pupils. The same for your novices, no one would join you if you were to receive black novices." When Eliza Nesbit wished to join the order, she was denied. Near the end of her life and once free, however, Nesbit won permission to dedicate herself "each Pentecost Sunday by a vow of Charity as a Sister of Charity of the Sacred Heart." The public ceremony, with the profession of a vow to serve the sick and needy, took place in front of the assembled community and concluded with the singing of the Magnificat.

Hagar Beatrix Hoods claimed that she had "joined" the Visitation Sisters, whom she served as a domestic servant, but although some records refer to her as "sister," the Visitandines never formally admitted her. In 1824, the Sisters of Loretto ultimately agreed to admit three women enslaved to their order below the status of full members, requiring that they labor separately from the white sisters, follow the order's rules along with rules established specifically for them, and don habits that

distinguished them from the white Loretines. The women were not permitted to take perpetual vows until they had served for 12 years. But the new sisterhood did not last a year. According to an 1898 *Colored Harvest* article, the Loretines' new ecclesiastical supervisor determined "that the time had not come for Afro-American religious" and "released the five negro novices from their convent obligations and sent them back to their former homes."

At most, enslaved women were only admitted into secondary orders of religious societies of white women or into segregated orders exclusively for Black women. Both the Oblate Sisters of Providence and the Sisters of the Holy Family (who simultaneously held people in slavery while ministering to enslaved people during the antebellum period) admitted free women of color, but Shannen Dee Williams reveals that before the Civil War, the Oblate Sisters of Providence admitted one enslaved woman who obtained her freedom while a novice and at least eight women who had been born into slavery. Meanwhile, the rare religious orders that considered admitting Black men never followed through. Enslaved and free Black men stood no chance of being admitted into religious orders unless they passed for white.

Religious Agency Exerted

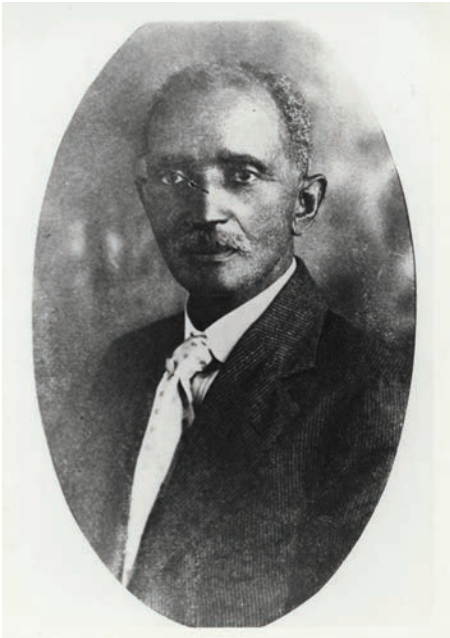
Pressured to practice the faith of their enslavers yet denied equal participation within the Church, enslaved people nevertheless exerted agency over their faith.

Some did so by wresting influence from their enslavers over their reception of sacraments, as Romero explains using the examples of Matilda and Jane. Matilda, enslaved to the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth, took control over the sisters' expectation that all enslaved people receive the sacraments by determining to delay her baptism until Easter. Matilda's decision shows not only how enslaved people exercised choice over when they received sacraments but "could also imply a reluctance . . . to receive the sacrament at all." And when Jane, also enslaved to the Sisters of Charity, gave birth to her eighth child, she withstood the sisters' persuasions to name him Paul because he was born on St. Paul's feast. While marking the feast day in this way was important to the sisters, it did not bear the same weight for Jane, whose son was baptized William Pius.

Others wielded agency by removing themselves from the Church. Lorendo Goodwin, born an enslaved Creole Catholic in Louisiana, recounted later in her life that she told "the priest everything I did wicked" in confession. But after Goodwin's cousin confessed he wanted to become free and asked the priest to pray to God to set him free, the priest informed her cousin's owner. "[T]hey were talking strong about hanging my cousin. They had my cousin up, and made him tell who had told him anything about freedom," said Goodwin. The experience led Goodwin to abandon her Catholic faith: "[F]rom that day on I could not follow my Catholic religion like I had."

Others took advantage of the rituals and regulations of Catholicism . . . to build, strengthen, and protect faith and kinship communities.

Still others took advantage of the rituals and regulations of Catholicism to find meaning beyond their enslavement and to build, strengthen, and protect faith and kinship communities. Emily Clark's scholarship on people enslaved to the Ursulines in New Orleans, Mary Beth Corrigan's work on enslaved Catholics in Washington, D.C., and my own research on enslaved Catholic networks in the central and southern United States reveal that enslaved communities used sponsorships at baptisms and marriages to cultivate robust communities through which bondspeople helped one another survive the travails of enslavement and separation from family.



Daniel Rudd, circa 1915. Public domain.

As Catholic enslaved people transitioned to freedom, these communities remained strong. Across the central and southern United States, many newly free communities congregated together in the same neighborhoods and made segregated worship spaces their own, urging the formation of Black Catholic churches separate from white congregations where they could worship free from prejudice. Descendants of people enslaved to the Jesuits—including Matilda Tyler, whose family freed themselves from Saint Louis University through self-purchase—were among those who funded the formation of Saint Elizabeth Parish, the first Black Catholic parish in St. Louis. These church communities were centers for political action and mutual aid. Tyler’s youngest son, Charles, advocated for the rights of Black St. Louisans in his political career while joining the parish in supporting his cousins, the Chauvins, in pursuing success in athletics, arts, and entertainment. Daniel Arthur Rudd, born into an enslaved family who served as sextons in St. Joseph’s Pro-Cathedral in Kentucky, grew up to establish the *American Catholic Tribune*, the first Black Catholic newspaper, and to found the Colored Catholic Congress, the forerunner to today’s National Black Catholic Congress. Their stories

reveal how Black Catholics in freedom shaped their communities and churches, despite the ways their once-enslavers splintered those communities and denied them full ecclesial inclusion.

Legacy

The legacy of Catholic slaveholding still lives with us, and it is why several religious institutions are beginning to address their histories. In 2000, the Sisters of Loretto, Sisters of Charity of Nazareth, and Dominicans of Saint Catharine hosted a joint prayer service and apology and began erecting markers memorializing enslaved people at sites where the people their orders enslaved had labored and were buried. Momentum among religious orders to acknowledge their slaveholding pasts did not escalate until 2015, when Georgetown University publicly committed to making amends for its history of having survived through the sale of approximately 300 enslaved people from Jesuits of the Maryland Province in 1838. Georgetown issued a report that offered a series of recommendations for how the university should address the legacies of this history in the present, which included an apology, descendant-engaged plans for public monuments, memorialization, and historical interpretation and preservation; consideration of preferential admissions and financial aid options for descendant communities; and commitment to addressing issues of inequity stemming from slavery at Georgetown and nationally. Georgetown’s response prompted other Jesuit colleges and universities—including Saint Louis University, John Carroll University, the College of the Holy Cross, Boston College, and Xavier University—to examine their ties to slavery. By 2016, Jesuits of the Central and Southern Province and Saint Louis University had partnered to form the Slavery, History, Memory, and Reconciliation Project (SHMR), which by 2019 grew into an initiative of the Jesuits of Canada and the United States. The same year, Georgetown Visitation Monastery and Preparatory School partnered in researching the history of people enslaved to the Visitandines in Maryland. The RSCJs also formed their Committee on Slavery, Accountability,

and Reconciliation in 2016 and were led by descendants of people enslaved at the Academy of the Sacred Heart in Grand Coteau, Louisiana, to organize a “We Speak Your Names” ceremony which included rituals honoring their ancestors, an apology from the sisters, the dedication of a memorial naming enslaved people, a plaque marking the still-extant slave quarters, and an announcement of a scholarship fund for descendants to attend Sacred Heart schools.

Since then, a growing number of Catholic institutions have joined in examining their historical entanglements with slavery and their lasting legacies. In 2020, the Archdiocese of Louisville hosted a discussion exploring reparations. Later that year, Loras College announced that because its namesake, Bishop Mathias Loras, had enslaved a woman named Mary Louisa, the college had committed to establishing a scholarship fund in Mary Louisa’s name and another in honor of Fr. Norman Dukette, Loras’ first Black graduate and the fifth Black priest ordained in the United States. The college also removed Bishop Loras’ statue from campus pending a community conversation about “whether and in what context the statue could or should be displayed.”

Significant efforts are underway among other orders, dioceses, and schools, among them the Society of the Holy Child Jesus and Rosemont College, Loyola University Maryland, and the Archdiocese of St. Louis. As more efforts proliferate, the realization that many of these institutions’ entanglements with slavery are shared has led Catholic institutions to turn to one another to learn how to effectively respond. Recognizing the need for more unified efforts across Church institutions, SHMR and the Archdiocese of St. Louis recently partnered to organize a consortium to support Catholic institutions examining their historical ties to slavery.



On April 25, 2000, the Loretto Community established a memorial to honor persons enslaved at Loretto locations across the United States. Sculpted by Roberta Hudlow, S.L., the memorial stone incorporated the research of Joan Campbell, S.L. Courtesy of Sisters of Loretto Heritage Center Archives.



Participants in the "We Speak Your Names" gathering held in Grand Coteau, Louisiana, standing in front of former slave quarters. Original photo by Linda Behrens for the Society of the Sacred Heart, United States-Canada Province; used with permission.

As scholarship and religious institutional efforts seeking reconciliation and repair continue to grow, we will see even more clearly how deeply slavery has shaped the Church and how the ramifications of this evil continue to manifest themselves today. Much of the fuller story of enslavement and the U.S. Catholic Church still lies buried in religious archives or remains with families descended from the people Church members enslaved. Resurfacing a more accurate and comprehensive history from beneath the layers of structural racism that have obscured it will require collaboration and innovative methodologies, and what we find will change our understanding of the history of the Catholic Church and lead to new insights about Black Catholic experience in the United States. But what we discover must compel us to act. We are called to listen to and learn from descendant communities about how the morphing vestiges of slavery, which endure in overt and systemic racism, continue to shape our Church in ways that harm the communities it has historically most exploited. Black Catholic churches often suffer from diocesan neglect and face greater risk of closure than do predominately white parishes, all-too-frequent manifestations of slavery's enduring legacies in racism. This is a history and legacy that not only Church hierarchy and institutions are responsible for; it is a history and legacy that all Catholics have inherited, regardless of our own personal backgrounds. We are called to right the wrongs that have stemmed from the sins of slavery and racism together.

Kelly L. Schmidt is a postdoctoral research associate for the WashU & Slavery Project at Washington University in St. Louis, where she specializes in the history of slavery in the United States and how institutions—particularly the Catholic Church—are responding to their historical entanglements with slavery. She previously served as research coordinator for the Jesuits' Slavery, History, Memory, and Reconciliation project and worked with SHMR and the Archdiocese of St. Louis to found Catholic Religious Organizations Studying Slavery. In 2019, she won a Research Travel Grant from the Cushwa Center in support of archival research on these projects.



Diversity and Dignity Across Time and Place

The Twelfth Triennial Conference on the History of Women Religious

UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME | JUNE 26–29, 2022

The Twelfth Triennial Conference on the History of Women Religious will bring together historians and archivists of women religious at the University of Notre Dame in South Bend, Indiana, to discuss current and future work. The conference will begin Sunday evening, June 26, and conclude with lunch at noon on Wednesday, June 29. Diane Batts Morrow, associate professor of history emerita at the University of Georgia and author of *Persons of Color and Religious at the Same Time: The Oblate Sisters of Providence, 1828–1860* (UNC, 2003), will deliver the conference's keynote address on Sunday evening. Participants will give more than 90 presentations over the course of more than 30 sessions. To learn more, preview the conference schedule, or register (deadline May 1) visit cushwa.nd.edu/events/chwr2022.

Image: Statue dedicated to the five members of the Adorers of the Blood of Christ killed in Liberia on October 20 and 23, 1992, and to all women who have worked for justice. The sculpture is the work of St. Louis artist Rudolph (Rudy) Torrini. It was dedicated in Ruma, Illinois, on June 24, 1994.

Recent Awards Recognize Work of Cushwa Center and Its Director

The fall semester brought news of major awards for the Cushwa Center and for director Kathleen Sprows Cummings.

In October, Notre Dame's College of Arts and Letters announced Cummings as the recipient of the 2021 Sheedy Excellence in Teaching Award—the highest teaching honor in the 20 departments that constitute the college. Colleagues, current students, and alumni wrote in support of her nomination. Established in 1970 in honor of Rev. Charles E. Sheedy, C.S.C. (who served as college dean from 1951–1969), the prestigious award recognizes a faculty member who has “sustained excellence in research and instruction over a wide range of courses” and who has been shown to “motivate and enrich students using innovative and creative teaching methods while influencing teaching and learning within the department, college, and university.”

Cummings accepted the award at a gathering of the college faculty on December 7 at the Morris Inn. 2020 Sheedy recipient Pamela Wojcik introduced Cummings, describing her work as director of the Cushwa Center, her interventions as a scholar and public intellectual, her contributions to the American studies and history departments and the gender studies program, and especially her teaching of courses including “Faith and Feminism,” “Notre Dame and America,” and “Sanctity and Society,” all of which have earned praise from admiring students. After Cummings delivered an address, the faculty and other guests convened for a celebratory reception.

In November, the American Catholic Historical Association (ACHA) selected the Cushwa Center to receive its Distinguished Service Award. The award acknowledges exceptional achievement by those who “promote study and research of the history of Catholicism broadly conceived.” Recent recipients have included the Trappists (2016), the U.S. National Park Service (2017), and the American Catholic History Research Center and University Archives at the Catholic University of America (2018).

The ACHA prize committee called the center “the premier resource for researching and promoting the history of American Catholicism” and gave special mention to its “insightful seminars, major conferences . . . publications, and substantial research funding for scholars.” The committee also commended its three former directors—Jay Dolan, R. Scott Appleby, and Tim Matovina—as well as Cummings and celebrated recent international efforts, especially “cataloging and studying archives in Rome.” Cummings received the award on behalf of the center during a January 2022 presentation ceremony held via Zoom.

Cushwa Center Announces Research Funding Recipients for 2022

In 2022, the Cushwa Center is providing funding to 24 scholars for a variety of research projects. Funds will support research at the University of Notre Dame Archives and at other archives in a variety of U.S. cities—including Milwaukee, New Orleans, St. Louis, Santa Fe, Savannah, and Tucson—as well as Bahia, Brazil; Edmonton, Canada; and Rome, Italy. Learn more about Cushwa research funding programs at cushwa.nd.edu. The next application deadline is December 31, 2022.

Hibernian Research Awards

Funded by an endowment from the Ancient Order of Hibernians and Ladies Ancient Order of Hibernians, Hibernian Research Awards support the scholarly study of Irish and Irish American history.

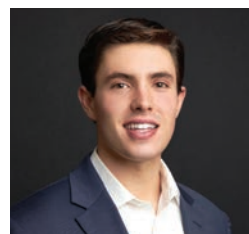
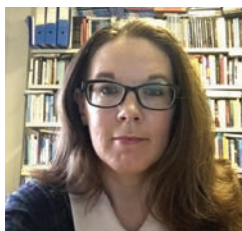
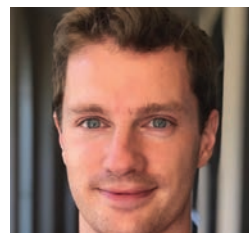
- ① **Robert Collins**
University of Limerick
“Personalities and Publicity: The Ancient Order of Hibernians during the Conflict in Northern Ireland, 1970–1994”
- ② **Jane Halloran**
Mary Immaculate College
“Bridging the Emigrant Gap: The Norwalk Catholic Club, 1897–1940”
- ③ **Eileen McMahon**
Lewis University
“Bridget Goes to War: Irish American Women and the Civil War”
- ④ **William H. Mulligan Jr.**
Murray State University
“Catholic Religious Women in the Irish Diaspora”



Research Travel Grants

Research Travel Grants assist scholars who wish to visit the University Archives and other collections at Notre Dame for research relating to the study of Catholics in America.

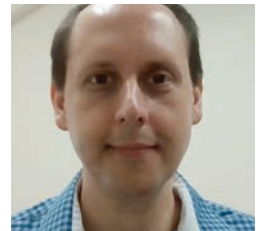
- ① **Riccardo Battiloro**
Pontifical Gregorian University
“The Genesis of the Rule of 1982 of the Third Order Regular of Saint Francis in Its Historical and Social Context”
- ② **Austin Clements**
Stanford University
“The Religious Origins of American Anticommunism”
- ③ **Sam Collings-Wells**
University of Cambridge
“From Black Power to Broken Windows: Liberalism in the Age of Backlash”
- ④ **Sean Hadley**
Faulkner University
“Saying What ‘So Badly Needs Saying’: Harry Sylvester, American Fiction, and the Catholic Imagination”
- ⑤ **Sinead Moynihan**
University of Exeter
“U.S. Catholic Magazines and the Making of Mid-Century Irish Writers”
- ⑥ **Daniela Rossini**
Università Roma Tre
“The Activity and Influence of American Red Cross Nurses in post-Caporetto Italy (1917–1919)”
- ⑦ **Jonathan Singerton**
University of Innsbruck
“The Austro-Hungarian Contribution to Catholicism in the United States, 1829–1914”
- ⑧ **Dennis Wieboldt**
Boston College
“The Natural Law in American Catholic Legal Education: Case Studies from South Bend and Chestnut Hill, 1947–1957”



Mother Theodore Guerin Research Travel Grants

This program supports scholars whose research projects seek to feature Catholic women more prominently in modern history. Grants are made to scholars seeking to visit any repository in or outside the United States, or traveling to conduct oral history interviews, especially of women religious.

- ① **Jessica Coblentz and Susan Mancino**
Saint Mary's College
"Sr. Madeleva Wolff's Contributions to the Sister Formation Conference: Lessons for Today"
- ② **Melissa Coles**
University of Notre Dame
"Sacralizing Space: Catholics and Indigenous Peoples in the North American West, 1810–1989"
- ③ **Elisabeth Davis**
The State University of New York at Fredonia
"Two by Two into Little Villages': The Sisters of St. Joseph's Missions Among the Indigenous Nations"
- ④ **Timothy Dulle**
Fordham University
"A Question-Making Time: Corita Kent's Post-Catholicism"
- ⑤ **Samantha Horton**
Indiana University Bloomington
"Hail, Mary: Black Women and Divine Femininity in the Black Atlantic World"
- ⑥ **Gavin Moulton**
University of Notre Dame
"Saints and Steelworkers: Ade Bethune and the Creation of Catholic Labor Identity"
- ⑦ **Brian Mueller**
University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee
"Guilty of Living Out the Gospel': The Government Versus Sister Darlene Nicgorski"
- ⑧ **Theresa Ryland**
Dominican House of Studies
"Hillbilly Thomism: Flannery O'Connor's Encounter with Dominican Nuns"



The Cyprian Davis, O.S.B., Prize

Established in 2020 in partnership with the American Catholic Historical Association, this prize recognizes outstanding research on the Black Catholic experience.

① **Julia Gaffield**

Georgia State University

“The Abandoned Faithful: Sovereignty, Diplomacy, and Religious Jurisdiction After the Haitian Revolution”



Peter R. D’Agostino Research Travel Grants

Offered in conjunction with Italian Studies at Notre Dame and designed to facilitate the study of the American past from an international perspective, these grants support research in Roman archives for projects on U.S. Catholic history.

① **Jethro A. E. A. Calacday**

University of Cambridge

“A Catholic Empire? American Imperialism and the Roman Catholic Church in the Philippines, 1898–1946”



② **Jason Peters**

California Polytechnic State University

“Leaving New Anglo-Land: Language Rights, Education Policy, and Cultural Shift pre-Civil Rights”



Gender, Sex, and Power: Towards a History of Clergy Sex Abuse in the U.S. Catholic Church

In December 2019, Cushwa Center director Kathleen Sprows Cummings received a grant within the University of Notre Dame's Church Sexual Abuse Crisis Research Grant Program for the project "Gender, Sex, and Power: Towards a History of Clergy Sex Abuse in the U.S. Catholic Church." After soliciting proposals, the project's leaders formed a working group that includes 11 scholars from outside Notre Dame. The centerpiece of the project is the working group's partnership with BishopAccountability.org, which has facilitated unparalleled, curated access to previously neglected sources. By fostering cross-disciplinary collaboration and supporting participants' individual studies of local stories, the project seeks to advance new research on the crisis and its causes as well as to illuminate new understandings of modern Catholicism. The group first met virtually in June 2020, and the project concluded March 27–29, 2022, with a three-day public symposium. Research papers presented at the symposium included:

PANEL 1

R. Marie Griffith *(Washington University in St. Louis)*
 "‘We All Carry This Story’:
 Girls Abused by the Church"

Terence McKiernan *(BishopAccountability.org)*
 "Secret Sin: Confession and Clergy Abuse"

Kathleen Sprows Cummings *(University of Notre Dame)*
 "Broken Records, Broken Trust: Gender and Hierarchy in the Catholic Clergy Sex Abuse Scandal"

PANEL 2

Jennifer Beste *(College of Saint Benedict and Saint John's University)*
 "Siding with a Priest-Perpetrator over Sexual Abuse Victims: The Role of Catholics' Lived Theology"

Peter Cajka *(University of Notre Dame)*
 "From Good Priest to Abuser: Father Louis Miller and Clergy Abuse in the Archdiocese of Louisville, 1956–2017"

Doris Reisinger *(Goethe University)*
 "‘There's No Way You Can Have the Baby’: Pregnancies and Reproductive Coercion in the Context of Clergy Sexual Abuse"

PANEL 3

Jack Downey *(University of Rochester)*
 "The Heretic Jim Poole: Asceticism and Abuse in the Alaskan Missions"

Kathleen Holscher *(University of New Mexico)*
 "Priest Abuse after the Boarding School: Spiritual Dialogue, Sexual Exploitation, and the Limits of Native Recognition at Vatican II Era Catholic Missions"

John Seitz *(Fordham University)*
 "‘He Talks to Me’: Exposure and Knowledge in Jesuit Sexual Abuse"

PANEL 4

Kara French *(Salisbury University)*
 "A Flawed Jewel: Celibacy and the Catholic Sexual Abuse Crisis"

Christiaan Jacobs-Vandegeer *(Australian Catholic University)*
 "On Expectations: Clergy Sexual Abuse and the Discipline of Theology"

Colleen McDannell *(University of Utah)*
 "‘I Confided in My Mother and She Called the Archdiocese’: Parents and Clergy Sex Abuse"

James O'Toole *(Boston College)*
 "Clericalism and Sexual Abuse: The Boston Case"

Friends of Cushwa News and Notes

PAOLO L. BERNARDINI (Hamburg Institute for Advanced Study) won acclaim from the *Times Literary Supplement* for his most recent book, “*Di dolore ostello*”: *pagine di storia italiana* (Ronzani, 2022). Named one of the *TLS* “Books of the Year 2021,” the collection of 37 essays in Italian history ranges from the Middle Ages (including an essay on Dante’s theory of light as studied by Martin Kemp) up to the 20th century.

KATIE BUGYIS (University of Notre Dame) won the American Society of Church History’s 2021 Jane Dempsey Douglass Prize for her essay, “Women Priests at Barking Abbey in the Late Middle Ages,” published in *Women Intellectuals and Leaders in the Middle Ages* (D. S. Brewer, 2020), which she co-edited with Kathryn Kerby-Fulton and John Van Engen. The prize’s description says it honors the best essay on women’s role in the history of Christianity published in the prior two years.

ELIZABETH KAY CHAMBERLAIN (Wayne State University) defended her Ph.D. dissertation, “Sisters of Social Justice: The Social Justice Activism of the Grand Rapids Dominican Sisters,” on December 23, 2021.

JESSICA COBLENTZ (Saint Mary’s College) published *Dust in the Blood: A Theology of Life with Depression* (Liturgical Press, 2022).

CAROL COBURN (Avila University) announced the availability of the PBS documentary *Sisters of Selma: Bearing Witness for Change* via the Martha Smith, C.S.J., Ph.D. Archives & Research Center website: avila.edu/avila-archives/sisters-of-selma. After raising \$75,000 to purchase the license, Avila University now fully owns the film and makes it freely available to educators, researchers, and the general public.

MARY E. DUNNING, O.P., recently published *We Walk by Faith: The History of the Dominican Sisters of Sparkill 1950–2020* (AuthorHouse, 2021). The book continues the work begun by

Sister Lucille Collins in her book *The Vision Is Tremendous*, which covered the history of the Dominican Congregation of Our Lady of the Rosary, Sparkill, New York, from its 1876 founding through the first half of the 20th century. *We Walk by Faith* narrates the dynamic changes that ensued beginning in the 1950s, including the ways that sisters embraced the teachings of the Second Vatican Council.

REV. MICHAEL ENGH, S.J., was appointed chancellor of Loyola Marymount University in October 2020. He is also co-chairing the Inclusive History and Images Project, which compiles resources for the university’s archives from historically underrepresented alumni of the university.

REV. JAMES L. HEFT, S.M., (University of Southern California) contributed a chapter on leadership to *Catholic Higher Education in Light of Catholic Social Thought* (Paulist, forthcoming). Heft recently published *The Future of Catholic Higher Education: The Open Circle* (Oxford, 2021) and with Jan E. Stets co-edited the volume *Empty Churches: Non-Affiliation in America* (Oxford, 2021).

ANNE KLEJMENT (University of St. Thomas) is presently working on aspects of Dorothy Day’s spirituality, with a forthcoming article in *U.S. Catholic Historian* on Day’s socially engaged devotion to St. Joseph.

ROSE LUMINIELLO will publish “An Ubiquitous Presence: Women Religious in Migrant Communities, 1840–1969” in the upcoming issue of *Studi Emigrazione*. Research for the article developed in response to the agendas set by participants at the workshop “Globalizing Profession: Women Religious in the Anglosphere, 1840–1960,” held in November 2019 at Notre Dame’s Rome Global Gateway. The gathering brought together leaders in the field of women religious in Britain and Ireland.

JOSEPH G. MANNARD (Indiana University of Pennsylvania) published the article “Wilhelmina Jones, Come Out!': Public Reaction to the Reception of Sr. Stanislaus Jones into Georgetown Visitation Monastery, 1825–1826,” in the fall 2021 issue of *U.S. Catholic Historian*. He is currently researching and writing a biography with the working title *Georgetown Nun to Washington Socialite: The Two Lives of Ann Gertrude Wightt, 1799–1867*.

THE NEW JERSEY CATHOLIC HISTORICAL COMMISSION is celebrating its 35th anniversary of operation. More information about the organization, the latest edition of its newsletter, “The Recorder,” and other resources are available at blogs.shu.edu/njchc.

THE SISTERS OF ST. JOSEPH OF BADEN collaborated with the Catholic Studies Department of Duquesne University, the Catholic Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, and the National Institute for Newman Studies to co-sponsor the Preserving Our Heritage Summit: Catholic Archives in Western Pennsylvania. Held at Duquesne University on March 26, 2021, the regional conference covered topics including sustainability, accessibility, outreach, and digital preservation. The conference keynote speaker was Thomas Rzeznik, associate professor of history at Seton Hall University.

JANE SKJOLDLI (University of Stavanger) recently published *World Youth Day: Religious Interaction at a Catholic Festival* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2021). The book applies a new theoretical framework—religious interaction—to analyze the changing meaning of pilgrimage in Catholicism. Skjoldli spent part of 2015 as a guest researcher at the Cushwa Center.

STEPHEN A. WERNER (Saint Louis University) published *The Restless Flame, Daniel Lord, S.J.: Thinking Big in a Parochial World!* (Press, Press, Pull, 2021). The book examines the life of the writer, radio broadcaster, and director of the national Sodality movement.

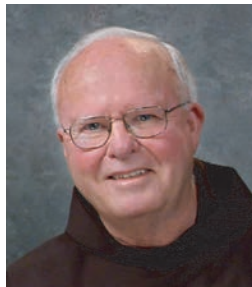
MARIA PATRICIA WILLIAMS published “The Contribution of ‘A Sister of Notre Dame’ and the ‘Nun of Calabar’ to Montessori Education in Scotland, Nigeria and Beyond,” in the special Montessori edition of *Rivista di Storia dell'Educazione*.

ELIZABETHADA WRIGHT (University of Minnesota Duluth) collaborated with co-editor Christina R. Pinkston to publish *Catholic Women's Rhetoric in the United States: Ethos, the Patriarchy, and Feminist Resistance* (Lexington, 2022).

Building on various feminist theories of ethos, the authors in the collection explore how North American Catholic women from various periods, races, ethnicities, sexualities, and classes have used elements of their group's positionality to develop *ethē* to make change. The women considered in the book range from the earliest Catholic sisters who came to the United States from Europe at the calling of male clergy only to be condemned by those same clergy for their work to women who held the Church hierarchy accountable for the clergy sexual abuse scandal as they redefined what it means to be a “good Catholic mother.”

American Catholicism Transformed: A Book Discussion with **Joseph P. Chinnici, O.F.M.**

Joseph P. Chinnici, O.F.M., is the president emeritus of the Franciscan School of Theology and a longtime professor of Church history. He served as president of the American Catholic Historical Association (2007–2008), and he was provincial minister of the Franciscan Friars of the St. Barbara Province (1988–1997). An Oxford-trained historian, Father Chinnici is widely published including *American Catholicism Transformed* (Oxford, 2021), an important new study of the United States and the Second Vatican Council. In early 2022, Jeffrey Burns corresponded with Father Chinnici about his most recent book.



Joseph P. Chinnici, O.F.M.

JEFFREY BURNS: Much of your previous work examines spirituality and its historical development in the U.S. Church. This book is much grander in scope and content. How did you come to write it?

JOSEPH CHINNICI: I was inspired by the current state of the Church. Even though the Second Vatican Council is now entrenched in many of the Church's practices, its vision of the world and Catholic identity has all but been forgotten. This has occurred on several levels, both experiential and academic. Experientially, the public Church and society have been taken over to a large extent by political advocacy, networking, and monied interests. Official public documents rarely refer to conciliar teaching. For over nine years I was in a position of leadership with the Franciscans in the United States, attended episcopal meetings as a representative of religious men for three years, dealt as best I could with the abuse crisis, and witnessed many subtle changes in the profile of parish life in the American Catholic community as it entered into the culture wars that currently mark our social divisions. Academically, as an historian and a priest who had been formed in the immediate wake of the Council, I observed the changes and noted how they either departed from or reinforced what was understood to be the vision of the Council at that time. There had been no study of American participation at the Council since Vincent Yzermans in 1967 compiled the speeches given by the bishops of the United States. I wanted to make a contribution to our understanding of the Church. It has been a long-held conviction of mine that historians have been forgotten as public resources for the Church today. I believe the Second Vatican Council is still relevant to our present situation, if we would but pick up its major themes and insights. But first, we have to recover its memory.

JB: This seems to be a very personal work. To what extent did your personal experience shape the book?

JC: A great deal. No historian can divorce his or her own questions from the course of his personal life.

I was born in 1945 and spent my formative years enmeshed in Cold War Catholicism: Soviet-American tensions, the nuclear arms race, duck and cover drills where I hid under my school desk to keep from being obliterated by the Soviet attack. Images of Bishop Sheen and *The Bells of St. Mary's* held powerful sway in our Catholic imagination. I was deeply immersed in the Catholic and American worlds which included common beliefs surrounding family life, male over female, white over black, Catholic truth over Protestant errors, a contained sexual morality, and a belief in "natural law" with the canonical precepts of the hierarchical Church holding sway. At the same time, commitment to the American way of life encouraged the assimilation of human rights language, participative governance, racial equality, and an incipient women's movement. Renewal movements in theology, liturgy, scripture, religious life, and lay participation bubbled up from below. External threats of communism and secularism kept a highly explosive mix bottled up. I knew these ambiguities in the Church of the Cold War from my own experience, but I did not know how they developed nor how they fit together.

During college, I read all of the Vatican II documents as the external threat of the Cold War gave way to a politics of détente. One of the keys of my work is chapter four on the civil rights movement and its "appeal to conscience" as dissolving the inherited linkage behind divine, natural, and positive law that made both African Americans and women in both church and state

inferior. In 1968 I moved along with our theologate from the closed seminary atmosphere of Santa Barbara to the wide open and raucous world of Berkeley. I studied for the priesthood at the Graduate Theological Union and learned from many Protestant ministers who had shaped the ecumenical movement. The social embeddedness of theology became a self-evident truth—how we explained our faith was shaped by what was happening on the street. The vision of Vatican II in *Lumen Gentium*, *Dei Verbum*, *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, *Gaudium et Spes*, and *Unitatis Redintegratio* took on real flesh in first-class professors of theology and society.

I returned from graduate studies at Oxford University in 1975 just as the Vietnam War was ending. The society and Church were changing. Anita Bryant's attack on gay liberation; Phyllis Schlafly's counter-gathering to the National Women's Conference of 1977; an increasingly militant Catholic opposition to *Roe v. Wade*; the birth of the evangelical right and its subsequent alliance with affinity Catholics were all "signs of the times." Then in the 1980s, these rivulets of religious and social reaction joined with the second phase of the Cold War and battled with the forces of conciliar change. Détente was over; a new Cold War emerged. John Paul II's teaching in continuity with the Council bifurcated, his social thought picked up by the left, his moral teaching prized by the right. The Council became cherry-picked. On the part of some, public Catholic identity began to be narrowed into opposition to the replacements for anti-communism: secularism, feminism, liberalism, and relativism. On the part of others, another vision aligned itself with the social movements of the 1960s. Middle positions privileging the unique Catholic identity that balanced contraries became hollowed

out. Interpretations of the Council and the conciliar generation itself battled for ascendancy and public power. Something was being lost and needed to be found. After a time in administration, I went looking. How could I get behind the culture wars to the historical record of what the Council had achieved?

JB: So how did you "get behind" or beyond the culture wars? How did you pursue your research?

JC: Oxford had taught me the importance of archival work, and I realized that to examine the Council and its American participation I needed primary sources—only the real record of the participants could cut through the ideological presuppositions about the past. The book really is a product of contact with bishops that had developed during my years in administration—Archbishop Quinn, Archbishop Weakland, Bishop Cummins, Cardinal Wuerl—and with archivists at Notre Dame, Baltimore, Duquesne, the Catholic University of America, and the Archdiocese of San Francisco. I am so dependent on all of these people and others for opening up the resources to me. The "resources" were twofold. First, I began by examining the archival records for the development of the postconciliar Church. A certain orientation emerged that would influence the structure of this volume. Second, the actual participants, bishops and theologians, who shaped the American experience at Vatican II focused my attention on the period 1940 to 1965. When I say I looked at all these papers, I mean to say it took almost 15 years of research, 10 years of writing, and a review of perhaps 10,000 manuscript pages. If you want to know how all the lives of the American conciliar generation intersected to help create the most important religious event of the 20th century, read the book.

JB: Short of reading the book, what are the main lessons you hope people take away?

JC: Based on my postconciliar research, two major themes needed explanation as to their origins: globalization and politicization. The archival information in the 1970s and 1980s gave abundant evidence that many developments in the Church in the United States needed to be interpreted from a global perspective. Issues that arose within our local church in the two decades after the Council were perceived both by Rome and other local churches as having implications for the world Church. To interpret them as local conflicts between the Church in the United States and Roman authorities anxious to clamp down on change was to fall prey to the approach of the popular press. The archives revealed something different. Issues such as women in ministry, the garb of American sisters, reception of communion in the hand, the sequencing of first communion/first confession, approaches to nuclear war, the critique of capitalism, the authority of national conferences, pastoral practices related to the divorced and separated, etc.—all of these issues garnered the attention not just of Rome but of other local churches who sensed a new type of American religious colonialism. Rome was simply in this sense the administrative center for the trends and complaints in local churches throughout the world. What were the origins of this massive shift in the influence of the Church in the United States from being the receptor of European immigration to becoming an important global player on the world stage? The historiographical implications were huge. The paradigm of an immigrant Church had diminished its public clout long before the Council began.

Second, politicization. The postconciliar archives produced a whole new sub-discipline valuable to historical interpretation: political science. We know that right after the Council, various groups in the Church at the grassroots level began to mirror the strategies and actions connected initially with the civil rights movement. This was only the beginning. Priests, religious, laity, newspapers, and professional associations received by osmosis into their practice the efficacy of direct action protest, symbolic gestures that upset the status quo, public pressure groupings of advocacy, a turn to “rights” as the operative category of social construction, the formation of “think tanks” and institutional centers supportive of positions on the right and the left, petitions published in prominent newspapers and orchestrated by newly constituted groupings of affinity adherents, direct mailing, small-group networking, personal alliances with the ecclesiastically powerful, a politics of negation designed to discredit those supporting another view, and the solicitation of monied supporters. This trend, only a seedling in the early 1960s, grew exponentially by the mid-1970s. I asked myself: What developments had set the stage for this particular entanglement between the Church and the American political process? There had been hints of the different moral and political languages present in the previous work of John McGreevy, Mark Massa, and Leslie Woodcock Tentler. In fact, the crossover between ecclesiology and the American political experiment had begun with World War II and was directly related to the geopolitical stance of the papacy and the political culture at large in its struggle against communism. The Catholicism of the 1950s was not simply a “ghetto Catholicism.”

JB: Besides redefining the contours of preconciliar Catholicism, one of the most important contributions your study makes is to take seriously the role of U.S. bishops and theologians at the Council. Popular accounts generally limit American influence to the work of John Courtney Murray, S.J., and religious liberty, but the background you lay out suggests U.S. bishops and theologians were bringing a distinct experience of church. What was the role of the U.S. bishops and theologians at the Council?

JC: Contrary to the common opinion, the American bishops were actively engaged in the Council. Through the archival collections, I had first-hand access to those who shaped the Council from the American side: John Dearden, John Wright, Ernest Primeau, Charles Helmsing, Paul Hallinan, cardinals Meyer, Ritter, Spellman, and McIntyre, and others. For many participants the Council changed their lives. I am hoping that current readers of this book may take courage from the changes U.S. bishops underwent. In addition, a host of theologians, both religious and diocesan, made significant contributions to the understanding of the liturgy, collegiality, the Church, scripture and tradition, and ecumenism. Recovering the voices of Thomas Stransky, Frederick McManus, Godfrey Diekmann, Thomas William Coyle, George Higgins, and Barnabas Ahern moves our analysis forward beyond simply the stellar work of John Courtney Murray. In fact the vision of the United States hierarchy, its acceptance of the major thrusts of the Council, and the collaborative work of the theologians hold up a clear and critical standard for the hierarchical and intellectual leadership of the Church today and the divisive polarizations marking Catholicism.

JB: Concern for contemporary divisions in the Church has become all-consuming, but your study suggests we need to place these divisions in a larger context.

JC: As I try to show in my book, the contemporary debates and struggles in the Church are not new, either in content or in intensity. They are simply more democratized through the political processes described above. Yet the basic divisions date from World War II and the impact of the Cold War. The unified 1950s are a convenient myth of consolation; the Council as a rupture from the past is a chimera. Much more enlivening is the drama of history, how the Church at all times is culturally embedded, how it deals with both unity and diversity together, how the law of continuity and the law of change live in a dialectical relationship with each other. And how this balance requires ecclesial allegiance, creativity, and a certain ascetical discipline. The work tries to illuminate how change happens in the Church, the importance of remaining communally rooted, and the patience it takes for organic development.

The different postures we associate with our divisions today—most recently manifest in the recent episcopal arguments over communion and the stances taken in pro-life positions—reflect fissures present in the community for the last 70 years. Two simple examples. The struggle at the Council was between divergent visions of what it means to be “pastoral”: Does “pastoral” refer to the duty of the hierarchy to teach the truth or is “being pastoral” the duty of the whole Church to teach its inner communal truth as it touches both the objective inheritance and the subjective experiences and difficulties of a people on pilgrimage to the fullness of truth? The struggle at the Council was between two

strands of Catholicity: Is Catholicity in a pluralistic and secular society to be determined in large part by seeing the Church in its liturgy, its doctrine, its practice, as a citadel against enemies? Or is one's Catholicity in a pluralistic and secular world to be understood as an ecclesial faith "gathering up into wholeness and fulfillment" the truths already present in the world? If in the short run a Cold War mentality and practice seem ascendant right now, they do so at the cost of a betrayal of the historical record of what happened since World War II. Perhaps the divergent definitions of "pastoral" and "Catholicity" need each other. Catholicism is a system of contraries, not contradictories.

JB: Any final thoughts?

JC: One of the difficulties facing the historian of Catholicism after the Council is to comprehend that the Council was a religious event touching the life of faith. All of its participants were believers trying to express what they considered to be the movements of the Holy Spirit both personally and collectively. The participants gathered together not as politicians—although as the book indicates there were plenty of political elements; nor did they gather as sociologists—although there is some evidence of a religious "effervescence" operative; nor as ideologues, although there are indications certainly of strongly held theological and social convictions; nor simply as representatives of a particular national identity—although despite the "internationalism" that leaps from the pages of the archival record the "American" contribution is often mistakenly narrowed to religious freedom. They gathered together, bishops and theologians, Catholics and Protestants, clerics and laity, as believers: they talked, they prayed, they listened, they disagreed; they ate together and they took breaks together; all of them labored extensively

to reach positions they considered to be helpful for the Body of Christ in the modern era. They suffered from the limitations of gender and training. But what they achieved cannot be understood unless the contemporary discipline of history takes seriously their religious convictions expressed in theological and ecclesial terminology. For myself, I approach the study of history with the presuppositions of the Franciscan spiritual, theological, and social tradition. I am hopeful that the work makes some contribution to a revival of the Council's vision of a Catholic and ecclesial faith and its relationship to the world of our times.

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Jeffrey Burns is the director of the Frances G. Harpst Center for Catholic Thought and Culture at the University of San Diego and the director of the Academy of American Franciscan History.

***Rerum novarum* in
the Anglosphere:
An interview
with
Alice Gorton**

Alice Gorton is a Ph.D. candidate at Columbia University, where she specializes in modern British social and cultural history. She won a Research Travel Grant from the Cushwa Center in 2021 for her project “Ethics and Industry: *Rerum novarum* and Catholic Social Teaching in the Anglosphere.” During her research visit to campus, Philip Byers sat down with Gorton to learn more about her project.



Alice Gorton

PHILIP BYERS: Your project, “Ethics and Industry: *Rerum novarum* and Catholic Social Teaching in the Anglosphere,” examines a cohort of Catholic journalists and lay theologians who sought to apply an encyclical’s social teachings while operating “outside of traditional governing channels.” Who were these Catholics, and why did they work on “the political fringe”?

ALICE GORTON: The project pays particular attention to English Catholics who played an instrumental role as conduits for translating and disseminating *Rerum novarum*’s core ideas in the Anglosphere. Taking a genealogical approach, I trace how a series of thinkers interpreted the broad principles of the encyclical to create specific solutions suited to their own national contexts. Looking at the English case, the place to begin is with Cardinal Henry Edward Manning, a pre-eminent convert well known for his commitment to labor issues. Manning published a brief bulletin in *The Dublin Review* heralding the publication of the encyclical in 1891, but after his death in 1892, the writers Hilaire Belloc (a mentee of Manning) G. K. Chesterton, Father Vincent McNabb, and those in the “distributist” circle became perhaps the most vocal advocates of the encyclical’s teachings. As these ideas were taken up in new ways during the Edwardian period, Catholic activists did indeed begin to work more on the political fringe than Cardinal Manning had when he was alive. Whereas Manning had been an Oxford graduate, a close friend of Prime Minister William Gladstone, and a key figure in labor politics, this later coterie of thinkers fixed on the encyclical’s criticisms of centralized and state-based solutions, emphasizing

the importance of the local community and the family over the state. Sometimes these thinkers worked on the fringe by their own design and at other times by virtue of their position as relative outsiders in a country with a large Protestant majority. As a result of this social placement, English Catholics did not yet have a robust associational life, as their co-religionists in Europe had, but their position at the edges of mainstream politics also reflected a genuine disdain, present in *Rerum novarum* as well, for centralized solutions



Lithograph of Cardinal Henry Edward Manning, featured in the supplement of *De Amsterdamer*, September 21, 1890. Public domain.

to contemporary social concerns. After exploring the English context, the dissertation turns to examine how co-operative and distributist ideas were taken up and repackaged once more by Catholic intellectuals in North America, looking at figures such as John A. Ryan, Dorothy Day, Peter Maurin, and others who sought to apply the broad parameters of Catholic social teaching to their own local circumstances.

PB: Your grant proposal describes how these Catholic activists “used and altered” the teachings in *Rerum novarum*. What were some of the ways they adapted the encyclical’s message, and what factors prompted those adaptations?

AG: The bulk of the dissertation focuses on Catholic activists’ desire to blend and implement the encyclical’s teaching in states with long-established parliamentary or liberal traditions. *Rerum novarum* opposed both laissez-faire liberalism and socialism but did not provide directives tailored specifically to any given national setting. The intellectuals that I am interested in experimented with what it would mean to introduce a platform that championed the principle of subsidiarity (localized decision-making) in countries moving ever closer toward centralized social reform. In these places where the move toward universalizing policies was strong, the encyclical lent itself best to anti-statist, decentralized, and experimental back-to-the-land movements, blending with a longer tradition of anti-modern protest represented by the Arts and Crafts movement and symbolized by craftsmen like William Morris.

We see a similar process, if not a similar outcome, of adaptation happening in a variety of predominantly Catholic states, such as Ireland,

where, as Rose Luminiello has demonstrated, the Irish laity drew upon the Thomistic philosophy present in *Rerum novarum* in ways almost entirely at odds with Pope Leo’s original intentions in the years following the Land War. My dissertation contends that the encyclical’s teachings were similarly adapted in Protestant-majority nations in the Anglosphere, though to different ends.

PB: You situate “distributism” within the context of broader resistance to 19th-century laissez-faire liberalism. What distinguished the distributists—both in the nature of their critique and in their suggested solutions—from other contemporary movements such as the Fabian Society?

AG: In some ways, all the social movements that emerged in this period resembled one another in their diagnoses of the ills of laissez-faire liberalism: things could not continue as they had been in the 19th century. Whether it was the Social Democratic Federation, the Fabian Society, or the distributists, all were keen critics of the society in which they lived, but their proposed solutions were often fiercely, even diametrically, opposed. The Fabians believed that change should be made gradually, technocratically, using educational and state-based means. Though they too were interested in how best to redistribute wealth and property, their solution was top-down and gradualist. The distributists slotted into this landscape of social reform in a slightly different way, as their aims were at once radical and conservative. In one sense, the twin poles of their program followed an intellectual genealogy back to St. Thomas Aquinas, who argued that private property was essential to securing the common good, through to Pope Leo XIII, who

made private property a key tenet of *Rerum novarum*. Evidently, this embrace of private property differentiated the distributists from contemporary “new” liberal and socialist movements, which encouraged more universalist and collectivist legislation in both housing and labor policy. By contrast, the scholar Julia Stapleton has shown that though the distributists were critics of the inequalities wrought by laissez-faire liberalism, their solution mirrored some of that ideology’s chief platforms, insofar as they advocated for private property ownership and minimal state intervention. The distributists believed that the problem with which they grappled began with the Reformation rather than the Industrial Revolution. Though they criticized and responded to industrial capitalism, they also argued that the unequal distribution of property brought about by enclosure was a root cause of many contemporary social problems.

PB: Your project aims to direct attention “beyond the borders of Christian Europe.” Why have analyses of *Rerum novarum* tended to fixate on the continent, and what benefits are there to examining the encyclical’s reception in North America?

AG: One reason why analyses of *Rerum novarum* have fixated on the continent is that often Catholic social teaching was given more space to grow as an accepted part of the political discourse in Europe, making its way into mass social movements and constitutional politics in a range of states. Analyses of *Rerum novarum* have flourished in places with large Catholic lay populations, and this makes sense. My project asks what kinds of political possibilities were available in states that lacked such an institutional

structure, places where Catholic activists had less of an entrée into politics and unions than they did elsewhere. Modern European historians agree that the end of the 19th century saw the rise of Catholic social movements all across Europe, many of which coalesced into political parties. By and large, these groups emerged to combat a similar set of issues: from the 1870s, Catholic and Christian revival movements cropped up in a bid to protect disenfranchised peasant smallholders, defined as prototypically Christian, and guard against the erosion of tradition in the face of liberal free trade and transformations in global agricultural markets, but they took on particular characteristics in each place. A handful of excellent recent analyses has shown that this was true in France, Poland, Hungary, Ireland, Germany, and elsewhere. What these studies reveal is that grassroots Catholic social movements looked remarkably different on the ground in each place, but comparatively few of these existing examples have looked in detail at what happened when Catholic social movements emerged in Protestant-majority states such as England, the United States, Canada, or in Britain’s settler empire.

One of the benefits of examining *Rerum novarum*’s reception in these places is that the most prominent English-speaking Catholic intellectuals in this period were English and American converts. Rather than growing up in the Church and writing for the Catholic community, these convert intellectuals tended to write for a more general audience, hoping to persuade others to follow their lead and convert to Catholicism. Examining Catholic social thought in these Protestant-majority states provides a unique optic for understanding the relationships between the Catholic community and the general political landscape in each place.



Cover of *The Game: A Monthly Magazine*, January 1922. Reproduced from the original held by the Department of Special Collections of the Hesburgh Libraries of Notre Dame.

PB: Tell us about a particularly revealing source you identified during your visit to the Notre Dame Archives. What did you learn from the source?

AG: The archives at Notre Dame are home to so many illuminating primary sources that it's hard to choose just one, but I've been going through some photographs I took of *The Game*, an occasional magazine helmed by Douglas Pepler and published by the Ditchling community in Sussex. I'd never been able to access this periodical material before, but what I love about this print run is just how clearly it demonstrates the bridge between Catholic social teaching and the Arts and Crafts movement, which is something I hope the dissertation will really bring out. The

set of pamphlets betrays a clear commitment to redefining work in a moment when “the social” was at the top of the political agenda. The magazines provide a clear illustration of how English Catholics had sought to redefine work and worship while emphasizing the authority of the family, the workman, and the Church over the state, which they believed should be retrenched.

The methodology that I work with attempts to reconstruct a social world. What is so useful about the collections at Notre Dame is how they provide a glimpse not only of my historical subject matter's life-worlds but also the worlds of those scholars after them who have attempted to grapple with their lives and legacy, including for example Chesterton's biographer Maisie Ward.

PB: We know that completing your dissertation is object number one, but after that, where do you imagine taking this project?

AG: It's true that, for now, I'm focusing on the dissertation, but I think part of what I want to do with the project as I move forward is to think through what sorts of relevance these thinkers have in the present. This of course includes grappling with English-speaking Catholic intellectuals' writings on gender, women, Judaism, immigration, and so on. But I am also interested in how their commitments to local and especially rural politics are again becoming relevant in an age of climate catastrophe, and how many of the themes touched on in their writings—about the nature of work, the ethics of consumption, and our responsibilities to the land—are more relevant now than ever.

A Note from the University Archives

BY PATRICK MILHOAN

I arrived at the university in the fall of 2017 and have been closely involved with managing archival collections within the Hesburgh Libraries since that time. In February 2021 I was appointed to the role of head archivist. Prior to my appointment as a member of the Hesburgh Libraries faculty, I worked for the Smithsonian Institution Archives in Washington, D.C., where it was my privilege to oversee world-class collections and learn from exceptional archivists.

In my new role, I have been working toward understanding and fostering the many relationships between the University Archives and the different groups whose records we maintain. This is no small task considering that the collecting scope for the Archives is quite large. The Archives not only manages the official records of the University of Notre Dame, but we also preserve records and papers of individuals and religious organizations from across the United States. This work has taken some time, but it has been a truly worthwhile endeavor as I have come to know and understand the history of the University Archives in relation to its many different patrons. Archives and archivists are in the customer service industry, and strong relationships with patrons are integral to our success as a repository.

The mission of any archive is to maintain records of enduring historical, legal, and evidential value, and the University Archives is no exception. In service to our patrons, we pursue a mission that involves at least three discrete goals.

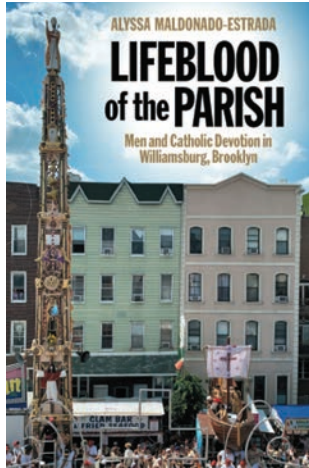
First, archives provide a trustworthy repository. To this end, archives operate in accordance with all applicable laws related to the records we manage. Further, archives also adhere to best practices and ethical standards within the field, namely the *Code of Ethics for Archivists* created by the Society of American Archivists. Records creators can therefore be confident in the repository's ability to steward the records entrusted to the archive in perpetuity.

Second, archives exist to be used. As such, we facilitate access to collections. That does not necessarily mean that all archives or collections can be accessed in the same manner. There are statutes, regulations, and deposit agreements that stipulate different levels of access for different records. However, even closed records have a user group, albeit a small one, as they are made available to the records creators. In addition, after an appropriate period of time, these records will be made broadly available for research or other public use.

Third, archivists engage in outreach activities within the community we serve. Archives contain wide swaths of information in their holdings that can be relevant to a multitude of disciplines and research focuses. In order to create connections between the collections and researchers, archivists showcase content and help interpret materials to highlight their relevance. Throughout the year, the University Archives welcomes classes, local undergraduate, graduate, and faculty scholars, and researchers from around the world.

In sum, the role of the archivist is to create connections between records creators, the collections, and the users. Archivists do this by cultivating trust through meaningful relationships and engaging patrons through exceptional customer service. In the years to come, I look forward to continuing the University of Notre Dame Archives' rich history of service.

Patrick Milhoan is head archivist for the University of Notre Dame Archives.



Lifeblood of the Parish: Men and Catholic Devotion in Williamsburg, Brooklyn

Alyssa Maldonado-Estrada (New York University Press, 2020)

REVIEW BY JACQUELINE WILLY ROMERO

The annual celebration of the feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel and San Paulino of Nola (St. Paulinus) in Williamsburg is one of the most public Catholic displays in the United States, stretching over 10 days and bringing with it large crowds, vivid sights and smells, and a deep connection to the Italian American history of the parish and surrounding neighborhood. The festivities and their attendance stand in contrast to the frequent characterization of Catholicism in the United States as struggling, declining, or in crisis. Underneath the liveliness and the prominent celebrations, however, is a network of dedicated parishioners who devote significant time and effort to continuing this longstanding tradition. In

Lifeblood of the Parish: Men and Catholic Devotion in Williamsburg, Brooklyn, Alyssa Maldonado-Estrada focuses on the group of men, young and old, who carry the feast on their shoulders.

Coordinating and executing the logistics of the feast require a multitude of roles and responsibilities: managing finances, food and drink, rides, and devotional materials; monitoring and cleaning the Shrine Church of Our Lady of Mount Carmel (OLMC); and advertising the feast's presence and history. The two main events consist of the procession of Our Lady, carrying a statue of the icon, and the much-anticipated "Dance of the Giglio." Involving a massive, tiered spire and a boat carrying a victorious "Turk," the

peak of the spectacle is “the lift,” where more than 100 men take the two objects on their collective shoulders and move in coordination, directed by their chosen leader, or capo, a role exclusive to men. Maldonado-Estrada analyzes how this masculinity is constructed and maintained through preparing for the festival each year. The lift is both a culmination of a year’s preparation and a display of physical and emotional devotion that produces Catholic manhood.

As a case study, *Lifeblood of the Parish* sheds light on a group of Catholics often not visible in historiography: lay men. Her focus on masculinity, male bodies, and labor encompasses the entirety of this feast as a “public devotional spectacle,” in contrast to previous ethnographies illuminating the private devotional practices of women (39). Devotion to the feast, and the importance of lifting the Giglio in particular, is not only visible during the 10 days of its official celebration. So important are feast symbols to the men who devote their bodies to creating and carrying them that many mark them permanently through tattoos. Making the case that tattoos can be considered sacramentals just as much as statues and scapulars, Maldonado-Estrada argues that the tattoos demonstrate not just a relationship to a particular saint but also to other men. They demonstrate men’s commitment to the feast and, simultaneously, their commitment to laboring with other men to ensure the feast’s continuity. By spotlighting these homosocial relationships, *Lifeblood of the Parish* fills a clear gap in Catholic devotional historiography by demonstrating that lay men can and do have devotional lives.

The devotional lives of OLMC parishioners are often tied to family, particularly children. Research on women’s devotion also highlights the role of wives and mothers as caretakers essential to maintaining family relations. The male feast organizers see their role as one of a role model, involving their children in the feast at a young age and ensuring they are exposed to the types of labor necessary for a successful feast. The event of the children’s lift introduces young children, especially boys, to the tradition as early as possible.

This early exposure encourages the idea that lifting is innate, or “in their DNA” (68–70). Boys in particular are considered essential to the feast’s continuity; girls are “phased out” as they get older and encouraged towards more behind-the-scenes work of the feast, rather than the public displays of lifting (73). This clearly defines separate expectations for boys and girls, setting the foundation for the public and private divide between men and women’s devotions.

In *Lifeblood of the Parish*, meaning is made through process rather than any finished product: “The focus here is on production *as* a religious act rather than the use of already-complete objects in religious acts” (76–77). And outside the lift on the day of the feast itself, most of the process of meaning-making happens in the basement. Conceptualizing this space as “an ecosystem,” its containment of multiple roles and processes makes this single area ripe for multilayered analysis (43). Further characterizing this ecosystem as “subterranean,” Maldonado-Estrada argues that “the values and rules that govern interactions in the basement are different from those ‘upstairs’” (77). Her insight into these boundaries and how they are constructed is a result of her role as an immersed ethnographer.

Entrance to the basement and the process of being accepted as one of those “below” was contingent on Maldonado-Estrada’s dedication to a wide variety of labor, being willing to work at any task deemed necessary. Through undergoing this “enskillment” of painting, repairing, and constructing, she was able to observe the “tiers of deference and respect” that governed roles in the basement ecosystem (102, 89). Maldonado-Estrada is upfront about being a woman in a largely men-only environment, raising intriguing questions concerning the influence of gender in ethnographic settings. Ultimately, she concludes that she “found gendered boundaries to be strikingly more flexible than I had imagined,” with the value of her labor compensating for her outsider status. Still, gendered expectations did not disappear entirely, as she notes the men also felt that she was to be cared for as they cared

for other women involved in the feast traditions (102–104). Her transparency regarding her ethnographic methods serves as a reminder that ethnography is a dynamic process; her participation shaped her subjects and the feast, while being immersed in the feast world also influenced her perspective and her arguments.

Outside preparing the Giglio and practicing as lifters, OLMC men organize other logistics to ensure a successful feast day. What constitutes success is multifaceted, but foundationally the feast should financially support the parish for the upcoming year. Fundraising and finances are the “life and death of the parish,” a reality not only in Brooklyn but most parishes throughout the United States (107). The centrality of financial health and reliance on the feast day are what lend the book its title, as Maldonado-Estrada explains “when pastors refer to the feast as the lifeblood of the parish, it is a metaphor that not only speaks to vitality, life, and survival but also evokes families, lineage, bonds, and bloodlines” (111). Calculating the profits after a feast day is a pivotal moment; one year’s exceptional sales resulted in exclamations of “Holy shit, holy shit, this year we made \$8,158 on beer, and last year only did five grand, holy shit” (126). This enthused money counter, who holds an MBA, tells Maldonado-Estrada that he believes he got his degree so that he could be a central figure in the feast’s financial organization. His enthusiasm and feeling of fate in connection to the feast reflect the significance that OLMC men assign to their contribution in hopes of collective success.

The relationships between these men offer what Maldonado-Estrada identifies as a “ripe site of homosociality” (98). In a hierarchy fitting of a deeply structured institution like Catholicism, becoming a capo puts a man at the top of the ranks. Obtaining this title—the most honored man involved in the feast—requires decades of time, labor, and experience, especially giving one’s body to being a lifter. Although it requires great physical dedication to earn, Maldonado-Estrada argues the title is an archetype in itself, “the pinnacle of feast manhood” (143). These

relationships cannot be formed and function as necessary without the context of an assumed heterosexuality, one that permits participants to accept the embodiment and physicality of lifting the Giglio—the “proximity, touch, contact, and mutual support” required to do so (168). The cost of challenging this is high, as Maldonado-Estrada explains through the experiences of Anthony, a gay man. His story of exclusion from the feast and lifting after publicly marrying his same-sex partner shows that to lose that presumed heterosexuality is essentially to lose one’s status in the feast community, even if the previous status was highly revered.

Although the focus is on an Italian American ethnic parish, Maldonado-Estrada contributes an important addition to the historiography of race, particularly in urban Catholicism. The men of the feast make it clear that the continuity of the feast traditions is vital, encouraging passing the traditions down to their children by involving them in feast organization from a young age. However, the increasing presence and attendance of Haitian Catholics at the feast have raised questions about who the feast “belong[s]” to and what is needed for its survival in a nation where Catholicism is becoming increasingly less white (177–78).

Maldonado-Estrada is not the first to analyze the increasing number of non-white Catholics, particularly in New York City, but she does persuasively reinterpret the relationship between Haitians and Italians at the shrine. While Robert Orsi has characterized Puerto Ricans as excluded by Italians from the feast, he also argues that Haitian presence as pilgrims did not create significant anxiety for Italian organizers. Elizabeth McAlister argues that Italians were not threatened by Haitian presence at the feast largely because Italians continued to control the shrine and feast activities, while the Haitian role was only to “consume.” Maldonado-Estrada complicates these narratives by arguing for Haitians as a “discursive foil”; although devotional coexistence can be found, the feast is also a site of “racializing, territoriality, and boundary making” (172–74).

Although in many ways Italians are thankful for the Haitian dedication to the shrine and feast activities, aside from their financial contributions, they prefer to keep them at a distance.

Racist language, including “swarming,” “superstitious,” and multiple references to “voodoo,” permeates the conversations Italians have with Maldonado-Estrada when discussing Haitian devotees. These same conversations also describe Haitians’ faith as “real,” “true,” and “beautiful,” demonstrating the pervasiveness of what Matthew Cressler has identified as “romantic racialism” (178–79). One of Maldonado-Estrada’s strongest analytical contributions is making the connection between these dehumanizing, generalized statements made against Haitians to the initial criticism and distrust of Italian Catholics new to the United States in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Then, clergy members (most often Irish) were often critical of Italian feast days, characterizing them as superstitious and preferring to keep the influx of new devotees at arms’ length.

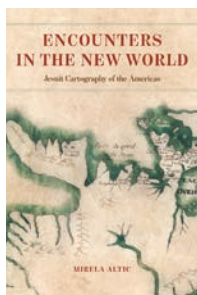
Now, as those in control of the parish and its feast, Italian parishioners and Brooklyn residents are those in position to demarcate their boundaries of accepted behavior and identify threatening outsiders. As Maldonado-Estrada and many of the parishioners acknowledge, Haitians are vital to maintaining successful feasts; they are inextricably tied to its financial success, as “they come, they people the shrine, Masses, and processions, and they spend money on candles and give offerings to the ribbon” (186). However, their presence is still considered a change that Italians did not ask for and yet are forced to grapple with. To deal with this change, they have adopted a declension narrative that Maldonado-Estrada eloquently analyzes as “constructing a past where they were not outnumbered but plentiful” (187). By characterizing the intensity of Haitians’ devotions, they are at the same time lamenting the fact that, though they still largely control the feast, they are not as devoted as they “used to” or “could be.” This struggle to regain a lost dedication to the faith reflects a broader trend in American

Catholicism as parishes face mergers and many churches struggle to maintain members.

One of the most impressive aspects of *Lifeblood of the Parish* is its ability to analyze and connect multiple complex topics such as gender, race, devotionalism, and urban spaces. Although each is treated diligently, some readers may find themselves wishing for a more in-depth treatment, perhaps even an entire monograph, of the evolution of race in urban parishes like the Shrine of Mount Carmel. The influence of an increasing Hispanic population in the United States has become a larger topic of study in American Catholicism, but further attention to other marginalized groups such as Haitians would help ensure race becomes a central point of study for the field.

As the book progresses, subsequent chapters shift away from the initial focus on masculinity and manhood towards race and intra-Catholic boundaries. This progress gives the book its impressive breadth of scholarly contribution, and Maldonado-Estrada more than meets her goal of spotlighting the OLMC men. There are still several moments, however, where women or girls are mentioned on the fringes of male activities, or “behind the scenes” (9). Their presence hints at the potential for future scholars to investigate what role women might have in reinforcing and encouraging markers of manhood, both at the feast and in other contexts. Ultimately, *Lifeblood of the Parish* provides a much-needed look into the devotional lives of Catholic men and the shifting role of ethnic parishes, two crucial topics for understanding the quickly changing contemporary American Catholic landscape.

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Jacqueline Willy Romero is a postdoctoral research associate at the University of Notre Dame’s Cushwa Center.



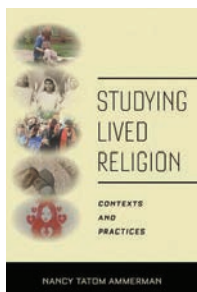
Mirela Altic

Encounters in the New World: Jesuit Cartography of the Americas

CHICAGO 2021

In *Encounters in the New World*, Mirela Altic analyzes more than 150 maps created by Jesuit cartographers, most of which

have never previously been published. She traces the Jesuit contribution to mapping and mapmaking from their arrival in the New World into the post-suppression period, placing it in the context of their worldwide undertakings in the fields of science and art. Altic's analysis shows the incorporation of indigenous knowledge into Jesuit maps, effectively making them an expression of cross-cultural communication—even as they were tools of colonial expansion. Jesuit mapping was the most important link to enable an exchange of ideas and cultural concepts between the Old World and the New.



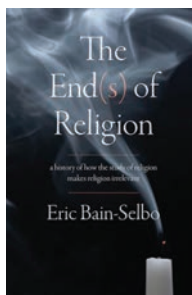
Nancy Tatom Ammerman

Studying Lived Religion: Contexts and Practices

NYU 2021

Studying Lived Religion examines religious practices wherever they happen—both within religious spaces and in

everyday life. Although the study of lived religion has been around for over two decades, there has not been an agreed-upon definition of what it encompasses. This book offers a definition that expands lived religion's geographic scope and a framework of seven dimensions around which to analyze lived religious practice. Examples from multiple traditions and disciplines show the range of methods available for such studies, offering practical tips for how to begin.



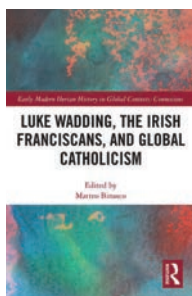
Eric Bain-Selbo

The End(s) of Religion: A History of How the Study of Religion Makes Religion Irrelevant

BLOOMSBURY 2022

Eric Bain-Selbo argues that the study of religion—from philosophers to psychologists,

from historians of religion to sociologists—has separated out the “ends” or goals of religion and thus created the conditions by which institutional religion is increasingly irrelevant in contemporary Western culture. *The End(s) of Religion* traces the way that the very study of religion has led to institutional religion being viewed as just one human institution that can address our particular “religious” needs rather than the sole institution to do so.

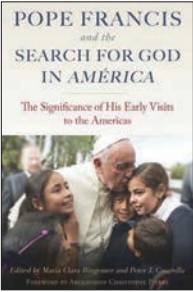


Matteo Binasco (ed.)

Luke Wadding, the Irish Franciscans, and Global Catholicism

ROUTLEDGE 2021

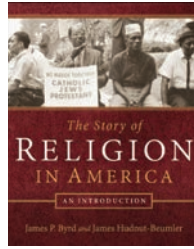
This volume explores the career and life of Luke Wadding, one of the most prominent Irishmen of the early-modern period: an outstanding theologian, a learned scholar, a diplomat, and a college founder. Bringing together a group of international scholars, this volume analyzes cultural, political, and religious facets of Wadding's life, especially the many roles he played at the Papal Curia and how he succeeded at building a network of influential and wealthy figures around him.



Maria Clara Bingemer & Peter J. Casarella (eds.)

Pope Francis and the Search for God in América: The Significance of His Early Visits to the Americas
CUA 2021

In *Fratelli Tutti*, Pope Francis has called again for a “culture of encounter.” But how should his theology, pastoral practice, and social message be understood and applied in the Church of the Americas, a single but complex reality that extends from South to North? This volume offers analyses from experts—including theologians, historians, and political scientists—looking back to the Argentine pontiff’s first fateful *encuentros* in the Americas as a help for understanding the present reality of the Church in the Western Hemisphere.



James P. Byrd & James Hudnut-Beumler

The Story of Religion in America: An Introduction
WESTMINSTER JOHN KNOX 2021

Written primarily for undergraduate classes in American religious history and organized chronologically, this new textbook presents the broad scope of the story of religion in the American colonies and the United States. While following certain central narratives, including the long shadow of Puritanism, the competition between revival and reason, and the defining role of racial and ethnic diversity, the book tells the story of American religion in all its historical and moral complexity. *The Story of Religion in America* pays careful attention to balancing the story of Christianity with the central contributions of other religions.

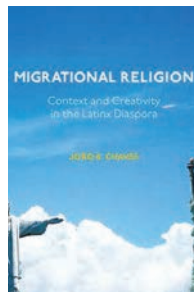


Kevin J. Burke & Adam J. Greteman

On Liking the Other: Queer Subjects and Religious Discourses
MYERS EDUCATION 2021

On Liking the Other studies the intersection of religious and queer discourses in teacher education.

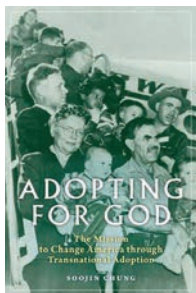
It looks at the sometimes difficult topics rooted in these two particular discourses. The text puts queer histories and logics into conversations with theologies through the concept of liking. Rejecting the antagonism that often defines the relationships between religious and queer discourses, this book looks for resonances and overlaps that might provide new habits for conducting the work of meeting in teacher education classrooms and educational worlds.



João B. Chaves

Migrational Religion: Context and Creativity in the Latinx Diaspora
BAYLOR 2021

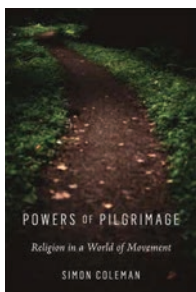
João Chaves offers an account of the dynamics that shape the role of immigrant churches in the United States. *Migrational Religion* acts as a case study of a network formed by communities of Brazilian immigrants who, although affiliated with the Southern Baptist Convention, formed a distinctive ethnic association. Their churches began to appear in the United States in the 1980s due to Brazilian Baptist missionary activity. These church communities were under constant pressure to adapt to their rapidly changing context, and the challenges of immigrant living pushed them in exciting new directions.



Soojin Chung

Adopting for God: The Mission to Change America through Transnational Adoption
NYU 2021

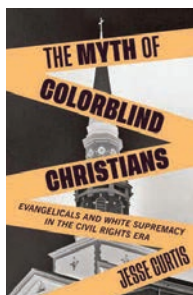
Missionaries pioneered the transnational adoption movement in America. Though their role is known, there has not yet been a full historical look at their theological motivations—which varied depending on whether they were evangelically or ecumenically focused—and what the effects were for American society, relations with Asia, and thinking about race more broadly. *Adopting for God* shows that, somewhat surprisingly, both evangelical and ecumenical Christians challenged Americans to redefine traditional familial values and rethink race matters. Questioning the perspective that equates missionary humanitarianism with unmitigated cultural imperialism, this book offers a nuanced picture of the evangelization of adoption.



Simon Coleman

Powers of Pilgrimage: Religion in a World of Movement
NYU 2022

Pious processions. Sites of miraculous healing. Journeys to far-away sacred places. These are what are usually called to mind when we think of religious pilgrimage. Yet pilgrimage can also occur in apparently mundane places. *Powers of Pilgrimage* argues that we must question the universality of Western assumptions of what religion is and where it should be located, including the notion that “genuine” pilgrimage needs to be associated with discrete, formally recognized forms of religiosity. Offering a new theoretical lexicon and framework, *Powers of Pilgrimage* presents a broad overview of how we can understand pilgrimage activity.

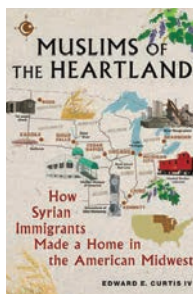


Jesse Curtis

The Myth of Colorblind Christians: Evangelicals and White Supremacy in the Civil Rights Era
NYU 2021

In *The Myth of Colorblind Christians*, Jesse Curtis shows how white evangelicals’ efforts to grow

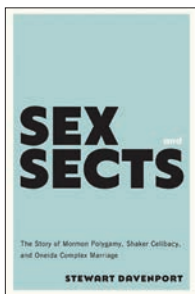
their own institutions created an evangelical form of whiteness and infused the politics of colorblindness with sacred fervor. Christian colorblindness powered the evangelical coalition to new heights of influence as it kept Black evangelicals on the outside looking in. While Black evangelicals used the rhetoric of Christian unity to challenge racism, white evangelicals used the same language to urge their Black counterparts to stop demanding racial reforms, arguing that all were equal under Christ and Christians should not talk about race. Christian colorblindness became a primary defense for the American religio-racial hierarchy.



Edward E. Curtis IV

Muslims of the Heartland: How Syrian Immigrants Made a Home in the American Midwest
NYU 2022

The American Midwest is often thought of as uniformly white and shaped exclusively by Christian values. However, this view of the region fails to consider a significant community at its very heart. *Muslims of the Heartland* uncovers the long history of Muslims in a part of the country where many readers would not expect to find them. Edward E. Curtis IV takes a story-driven approach, placing Syrian Americans at the center of key American institutions like the assembly line, the family farm, the dance hall, and the public school.

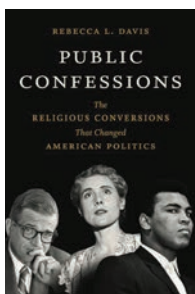


Stewart Davenport

Sex and Sects: The Story of Mormon Polygamy, Shaker Celibacy, and Oneida Complex Marriage

VIRGINIA 2022

With a revolution behind them, a continent before them, and the First Amendment protecting them, religio-sexual pioneers in antebellum America were free to strike out on their own, breaking with the orthodoxies of the past. Shakers followed the ascetic path; Oneida Perfectionists accepted sex as a gift from God; and Mormons redefined marriage in light of new religious revelations that also redefined God, humankind, spirit, and matter. Sex became a powerful way for each group to reinforce their sectarian identity as strangers in a strange land.

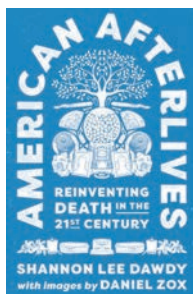


Rebecca L. Davis

Public Confessions: The Religious Conversions That Changed American Politics

UNC 2021

In the mid-20th century, certain private religious choices became lightning rods for public outrage and debate. *Public Confessions* reveals the controversial religious conversions that shaped modern America. Rebecca L. Davis explains why the new faiths of notable figures including Clare Boothe Luce, Whittaker Chambers, Sammy Davis Jr., Marilyn Monroe, Muhammad Ali, Chuck Colson, and others riveted the American public. Facing pressure to celebrate a specific vision of Americanism, these converts variously attracted and repelled members of the American public. Whether the act of changing religions was viewed as selfish, reckless, or even unpatriotic, it provoked controversies that ultimately transformed American politics.



Shannon Lee Dawdy

American Afterlives: Reinventing Death in the Twenty-First Century

PRINCETON 2021

American Afterlives is Shannon Lee Dawdy's account of changing death practices in America as people face their own mortality and search for a different kind of afterlife. Dawdy journeys across the United States, talking to funeral directors, death-care entrepreneurs, designers, cemetery owners, death doulas, and ordinary people from all walks of life. She discovers that by reinventing death, Americans are reworking their ideas about personhood, ritual, and connection across generations. She also confronts the seeming contradiction that American death is becoming at the same time more materialistic and more spiritual.



Miguel A. De La Torre (ed.)

Faith and Reckoning after Trump

ORBIS 2021

The past four years, culminating in the assault on the Capitol on January 6, 2021, brought to the surface deep divisions in our country and in faith communities. In this volume, a diverse group of religious scholars and activists reflect on the meaning of the Trump era, the future of democracy, and the challenges facing the faith community. Topics include disputes about truth, the critical role of Black women, the tension between democracy and "whiteness," environmental violence, Catholic faith in the public square, and the future of Evangelical Christianity.

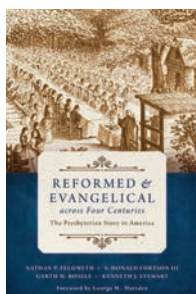


Darren Dochuk (ed.)

Religion and Politics Beyond the Culture Wars: New Directions in a Divided America
NOTRE DAME 2021

Much of the recent history of modern American religion and politics is written in a mode that takes for granted the enduring

partisan divides that can blind us to the complex and dynamic intersections of faith and politics. The contributors to *Religion and Politics Beyond the Culture Wars* argue that such narratives do not tell the whole story of religion and politics in the modern age. This collection of essays, authored by leading scholars in American religious and political history, challenges readers to look past familiar clashes over social issues to appreciate the range of ways in which faith has fueled 20th-century U.S. politics.

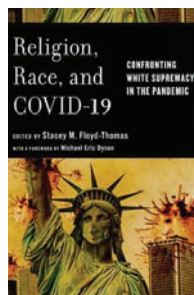


Nathan P. Feldmeth, S. Donald Fortson III, Garth M. Rosell, & Kenneth J. Stewart

Reformed and Evangelical across Four Centuries: The Presbyterian Story in America
EERDMANS 2022

Reformed and Evangelical across

Four Centuries tells the story of the Presbyterian church in the United States, beginning with its British foundations and extending to its present-day expression in multiple American Presbyterian denominations. This account emphasizes the role of the evangelical movement in shaping various Presbyterian bodies in America, especially in the 20th century amid increasing departures from traditional Calvinism, historic orthodoxy, and a focus on biblical authority. Particular attention is also given to crucial elements of diversity in the Presbyterian story, with increasing numbers of African American, Latino/a, and Korean American Presbyterians—among others—in the 21st century.

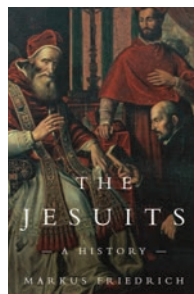


Stacey M. Floyd-Thomas (ed.)

Religion, Race, and COVID-19: Confronting White Supremacy in the Pandemic

NYU 2022

The COVID-19 pandemic upset virtually every facet of society and, in many cases, exposed gross inequality and dysfunction. This book makes the case that the pandemic was not just a medical, economic, or social phenomenon, but also a religious one. Controversies around religious freedom have been reignited, Christian white supremacists found new ways to propagate racist attacks, and some religious leaders saw the virus as an indicator of God's wrath. *Religion, Race, and COVID-19* shows how social transformation occurs when faith is both formed and informed during crises.

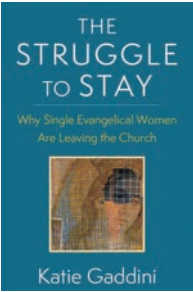


Markus Friedrich

The Jesuits: A History
PRINCETON 2022

Covering the Counter-Reformation to the ascent of Francis I as the first Jesuit pope, *The Jesuits* presents an intimate look at one of the most important religious orders not only in the

Catholic Church, but also the world. Markus Friedrich examines the Jesuits in the context of social, cultural, and world history, shedding light on how the order shaped the culture of the Counter-Reformation and participated in the establishment of European empires. He also explores the place of Jesuits in the New World and addresses the issue of Jesuit slaveholders, demonstrating that the Jesuit fathers were not a monolithic group.



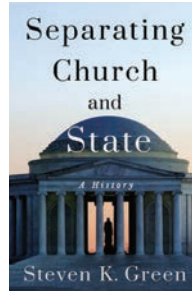
Katie Gaddini

The Struggle to Stay: Why Single Evangelical Women Are Leaving the Church

COLUMBIA 2022

Evangelical Christianity is often thought of as oppressive to women. The #MeToo era, when many women hit a breaking

point with rampant sexism, has reached evangelical communities too. Yet more than 30 million women in the United States still identify as evangelical. Why do so many women remain in male-dominated churches that marginalize them, and why do others leave? *The Struggle to Stay* is an intimate portrait of single women’s experiences in evangelical churches. Drawing on access to churches in the United States and the United Kingdom, Katie Gaddini connects personal narratives with rigorous analysis of Christianity and politics.



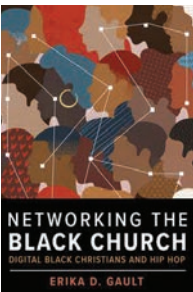
Steven K. Green

Separating Church and State: A History

CORNELL 2022

In 1802, President Thomas Jefferson wrote of a wall of separation between church and state. That metaphor has come down from Jefferson to 21st-

century Americans through a long history of jurisprudence, political contestation, and cultural influence. This book traces the development of the concept and the Supreme Court’s application of it in the law. Steven K. Green finds the history of a wall of separation is a variable index of American attitudes toward the forces of religion and the state, arguing that debates around the metaphor have often distracted from the real jurisprudential issues animating contemporary courts.



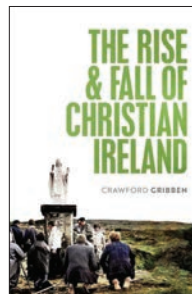
Erika D. Gault

Networking the Black Church: Digital Black Christians and Hip Hop

NYU 2022

Networking the Black Church explores how deeply embedded digital technology is in the lives of young Black Christians, offering

a first-of-its-kind digital-hip hop ethnography. Erika D. Gault argues that a new religious ethos has emerged among young adult Blacks in America. The volume examines the ways in which Christian hip hop artists have adopted Black-preaching-inspired spoken word performances, creating alternate kinds of Christian communities both inside and outside church walls. These digital Black Christians are changing churches as institutions, transforming modes of religious activism, inventing new communication practices around evangelism and Christian identity, and streamlining the accessibility of Black Church cultural practices in popular culture.



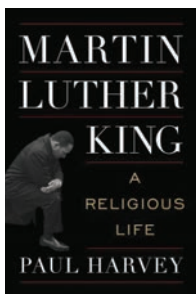
Crawford Gribben

The Rise and Fall of Christian Ireland

OXFORD 2021

Ireland has long been regarded as a “land of saints and scholars.” Yet the Irish experience of Christianity has never been simple or uncomplicated. Throughout

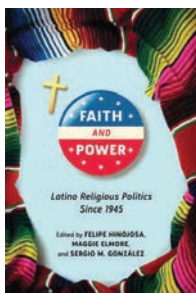
its long history, Christianity in Ireland has lurched from crisis to crisis, shaping in foundational ways how the Irish have understood themselves and their place in the world. And the Irish have shaped Christianity, too. *The Rise and Fall of Christian Ireland* describes the emergence, long dominance, sudden division, and recent decline of Ireland’s most important religion as a way of telling the history of the island and its peoples.



Paul Harvey

Martin Luther King: A Religious Life
ROWMAN & LITTLEFIELD 2021

In the first biography of Martin Luther King to look at his life through the prism of his evolving faith, Paul Harvey examines King's life through his complex, emerging, religious lives. Harvey introduces readers to the King of diverse religious and intellectual influences, of an increasingly radical cast of thought, and of a range of intellectual influences that he aligned in becoming the spokesperson for the most important social movement of 20th-century American history. Harvey's concise biography will allow readers to see King anew in the context of his time and today.

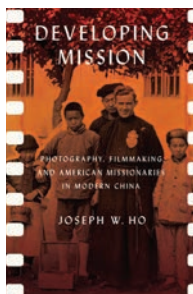


Felipe Hinojosa, Maggie Elmore, & Sergio M. González (eds.)

Faith and Power: Latino Religious Politics Since 1945
NYU 2022

Too often religious politics are considered peripheral to social movements, not central to them.

Faith and Power: Latino Religious Politics Since 1945 seeks to correct this misinterpretation, focusing on the post-World War II era. It shows that the religious politics of this period were central to secular community-building and resistance efforts. The volume traces the interplay between Latino religions and a variety of political movements, from the farm worker movement to the sanctuary movement.

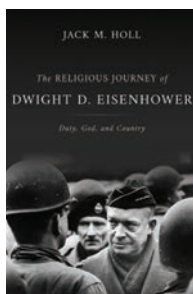


Joseph W. Ho

Developing Mission: Photography, Filmmaking, and American Missionaries in Modern China
CORNELL 2022

In *Developing Mission*, Joseph W. Ho offers a transnational cultural history of U.S. and

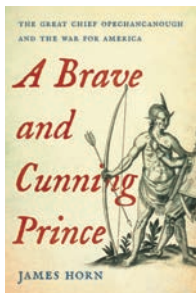
Chinese communities framed by missionary lenses through time and space—tracing the lives and afterlives of images, cameras, and visual imaginations from before the Second Sino-Japanese War through the first years of the People's Republic of China. Ho illuminates the centrality of visual practices in the American missionary enterprise in modern China, even as intersecting modernities and changing Sino-U.S. relations radically transformed lives behind and in front of those lenses. *Developing Mission* reconstructs the almost-lost histories of transnational image makers, subjects, and viewers across 20th-century China and the United States.



Jack M. Holl

The Religious Journey of Dwight D. Eisenhower: Duty, God, and Country
EERDMANS 2021

This biography tells the story of how deeply religious convictions ran through every aspect of Dwight Eisenhower's life: his decision to become a soldier, his crusade against fascism and communism, his response to the civil rights movement, and his search for nuclear peace. Having been brought up first as part of the River Brethren and later as a Jehovah's Witness, Eisenhower continued throughout his life to see the world in terms of a dialectical struggle between divine and demonic forces. This perspective shaped his public image as a general and as president, especially during the coldest years of the Cold War.

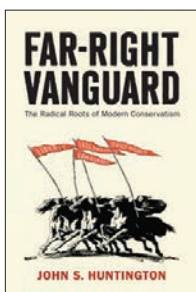


James Horn

A Brave and Cunning Prince: The Great Chief Opechancanough and the War for America

BASIC 2021

In the mid-16th century, Spanish explorers in the Chesapeake Bay kidnapped an Indian child and took him back to Spain and subsequently to Mexico. The boy converted to Catholicism and after nearly a decade was able to return to his land with a group of Jesuits to establish a mission. Shortly after arriving, he organized a war party that killed them. In the years that followed, Opechancanough helped establish the most powerful chiefdom in the mid-Atlantic region. *A Brave and Cunning Prince* is the first book to chronicle the life of this remarkable chief, exploring his experiences of European society and his long struggle to save his people from conquest.

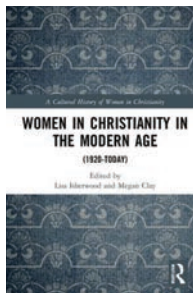


John S. Huntington

Far-Right Vanguard: The Radical Roots of Modern Conservatism

PENN 2021

In *Far-Right Vanguard*, John Huntington shows how, for almost a century, the far right has forced so-called “respectable” conservatives to grapple with their concerns, thereby intensifying right-wing thought and forecasting the trajectory of American politics. Ultraconservatives of the 20th century, working through grassroots institutions like the John Birch Society and Christian Crusade, were the vanguard of modern conservatism as it exists in the Republican Party of today. *Far-Right Vanguard* chronicles the history of this national network, its influence on Republican Party politics, and its centrality to America’s rightward turn during the second half of the 20th century.

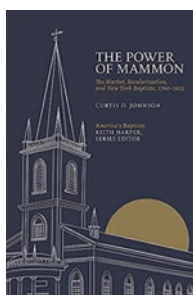


Lisa Isherwood & Megan Clay (eds.)

Women in Christianity in the Modern Age (1920–Today)

ROUTLEDGE 2021

Through contributions from eight academics, *Women in Christianity in the Modern Age* examines the role of women in Christianity in the 20th and early 21st centuries. The modern era has been an age of social and religious upheaval, and the ravages of global warfare and changes to women’s role in society have made the examination of the place of women in religion a key question in theology. This edited volume provides an overview of a tumultuous and changing era, from theological concerns to political and social debates on women’s ministry and place in society.

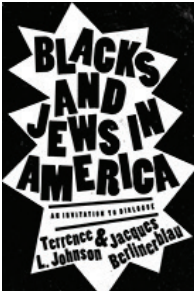


Curtis D. Johnson

The Power of Mammon: The Market, Secularization, and New York Baptists, 1790–1922

TENNESSEE 2021

In *The Power of Mammon*, Curtis D. Johnson describes how the market economy and market-related forces radically changed the nature of Baptist congregational life in New York State during three centuries. Forces including the media, politics, individualism, and consumerism all emphasized the importance of material wealth over everything else, and these values penetrated the thinking of Baptist ministers and laypeople alike. *The Power of Mammon* emphasizes congregational life, demonstrating how the professionalization of the pastorate diminished the influence of the laity.



Terrence L. Johnson & Jacques Berlinerblau

Blacks and Jews in America: An Invitation to Dialogue

GEORGETOWN 2021

In this conversational work, two scholars—one of African American politics and religion, and one of contemporary American Jewish culture—explore a mystery: Why aren't Blacks and Jews presently united in their efforts to combat white supremacy? *Blacks and Jews in America* investigates why these two groups do not presently see each other as sharing a common enemy, let alone a political alliance. The authors consider a number of angles, including the disintegration of the "Grand Alliance" between Blacks and Jews during the civil rights era, the debate over Louis Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam, and the Israel-Palestine conflict.

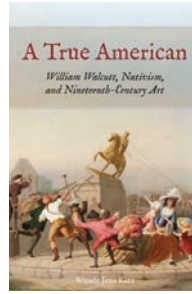


Wolfram Kaiser & Piotr H. Kosicki (eds.)

Political Exile in the Global Twentieth Century: Catholic Christian Democrats in Europe and the Americas

LEUVEN 2021

This book focuses on the political exile of Catholic Christian Democrats during the global 20th century. Transcending the common national approach, the volume puts transnational perspectives at center stage and in doing so aspires to be a genuinely global and longitudinal study. Encompassing Europe (both East and West), Latin America, and the United States, *Political Exile in the Global Twentieth Century* places the diasporas of 20th-century Christian Democracy within broader, global debates on political exile and migration.



Wendy Jean Katz

A True American: William Walcutt, Nativism, and Nineteenth-Century Art

FORDHAM 2022

This book argues that nativism, the hostility especially to Catholic immigrants that led to the organization of political parties like the Know-Nothings, affected the meaning of 19th-century American art in ways that have gone unrecognized. Movements directed toward improving the human condition, including anti-slavery and temperance, often consigned Catholicism to a repressive past, not the republican future. To demonstrate this effort to define a Protestant character for the country and its implications for 19th-century historical and narrative art, this book tracks the work and practice of artist William Walcutt, little known today but acclaimed in his own time and a case study of the era's anti-Catholic milieu.

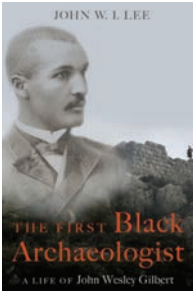


Corrina Laughlin

Redeem All: How Digital Life Is Changing Evangelical Culture

CALIFORNIA 2021

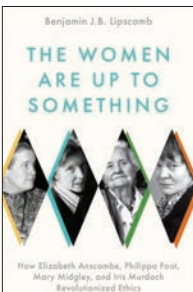
Redeem All examines the surprising intersection of American evangelicalism and tech innovation. Corrina Laughlin looks at the evangelical Christians who are invested in imagining, using, hacking, adapting, and sometimes innovating new media technologies for religious purposes. She finds that entrepreneurs, pastors, missionaries, and social media celebrities interpret the promises of Silicon Valley through the frameworks of evangelical culture and believe that digital media can help them. *Redeem All* reveals how evangelicalism has changed as it eagerly adopts the norms of the digital age.



John W. I. Lee

The First Black Archaeologist: A Life of John Wesley Gilbert
OXFORD 2022

The First Black Archaeologist reveals the untold story of a pioneering African American classical scholar, teacher, community leader, and missionary. Born into slavery in rural Georgia, John Wesley Gilbert became a nationally known figure in the early 1900s. Using evidence from archives across the United States and Europe, from contemporary newspapers and journals, and other previously unknown sources, this book invites readers to follow Gilbert's journey. In the process, readers learn about the development of African American intellectual and religious culture, and gain a better understanding of the racism, poverty, and violence that Gilbert struggled against.



Benjamin J.B. Lipscomb

The Women Are Up to Something: How Elizabeth Anscombe, Philippa Foot, Mary Midgley, and Iris Murdoch Revolutionized Ethics
OXFORD 2021

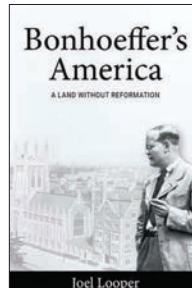
On the cusp of the Second World War, four women went to Oxford to begin their studies: a fiercely brilliant Catholic convert, a daughter of privilege longing to escape her stifling upbringing, an ardent Communist and aspiring novelist, and a quiet lover of newts and mice who would become a great public intellectual. They became lifelong friends. This book presents the first sustained engagement with the critique and the alternative these women framed. Drawing on recently opened archives and extensive correspondence, Benjamin Lipscomb traces their lives and ideas.



Korie Little Edwards & Michelle Oyakawa

Smart Suits, Tattered Boots: Black Ministers Mobilizing the Black Church in the Twenty-First Century
NYU 2022

Why don't we see more Black religious leadership in today's civil rights movements, such as Black Lives Matter? Drawing on 54 in-depth interviews with Black religious leaders and civic leaders in Ohio, Korie Little Edwards and Michelle Oyakawa uncover several reasons, including a move away from engagement with independent Black-led civic groups toward white-controlled faith-based organizations, religious leaders' nostalgia for and personal links to the legacy of the civil rights movement, the challenges of organizing around race-based oppression in an allegedly post-racial world, and the hierarchical structure of the Black religious leadership network.



Joel Looper

Bonhoeffer's America: A Land without Reformation
BAYLOR 2021

In the late 1930s, Dietrich Bonhoeffer came to Union Theological Seminary looking for a "cloud of witnesses." What he found instead disturbed, angered, and perplexed him: Protestantism in America was a "Protestantism without Reformation." Bonhoeffer believed that dissenting influences had taught the American church to resist critique by the word of God, ultimately giving rise to the secularization of the church in the United States. In *Bonhoeffer's America*, Joel Looper explicates these criticisms and considers what they tell us about Bonhoeffer's own theological commitments before concluding that Bonhoeffer's claims hold strong in the 21st century.



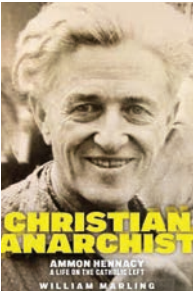
Henry Richard Maar III

Freeze! The Grassroots Movement to Halt the Arms Race and End the Cold War

CORNELL 2022

In *Freeze!*, Henry Richard Maar III chronicles the rise of the transformative and transnational Nuclear Weapons Freeze

Campaign. Amid an escalating Cold War that pitted the nuclear arsenal of the United States against that of the Soviet Union, the grassroots peace movement emerged. Drawing upon extensive archival research in recently declassified materials, Maar illuminates how the Freeze campaign demonstrated the power and importance of grassroots peace activism in all levels of society. The movement played an instrumental role in shaping public opinion and American politics, helping establish the conditions that would bring the Cold War to an end.



William Marling

Christian Anarchist: Ammon Hennacy, A Life on the Catholic Left

NYU 2022

Ammon Hennacy was arrested over 30 times for opposing U.S. entry in World War I. Later, when he refused to pay taxes

that support war, he lost his wife and daughters and then his job. In this biography, William Marling tells the story of this fascinating figure, who remains particularly important for the Catholic Left. He establishes Hennacy as an exemplar of vegetarianism, ecology, and pacifism while illuminating a broader history of political ideas now largely lost: utopian movements, grassroots socialism before World War I, and the antinuclear protests of the 1960s.



Robert Tracy McKenzie

We the Fallen People: The Founders and the Future of American Democracy

IVP ACADEMIC 2021

We the Fallen People presents a close look at the ideas of human nature to be found in the history of American democratic thought,

from the nation's Founders through the Jacksonian Era and Alexis de Tocqueville. Robert Tracy McKenzie claims there are only two reasons to believe in majority rule: because we have confidence in human nature—or because we don't. McKenzie shows how the Founders subscribed to the biblical principle that humans are fallen and their virtue always doubtful, and they wrote the U.S. Constitution to frame a republic intended to handle our weaknesses.



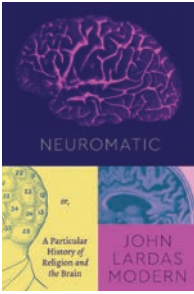
Matthew J. Milliner

The Everlasting People: G. K. Chesterton and the First Nations

IVP ACADEMIC 2021

How might the life and work of G. K. Chesterton shed light on North American indigenous art and history? This unexpected connection informs these

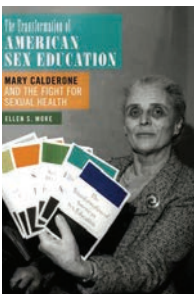
reflections by art historian Matthew Milliner. Appealing to Chesterton's life and work—including *The Everlasting Man*, his neglected poetry, his love for his native England, and his visits to America—Milliner helps readers understand Indigenous art and the complex, often tragic history of First Nation peoples, especially in the American Midwest.



John Lardas Modern

Neuromatic: Or, a Particular History of Religion and the Brain
CHICAGO 2021

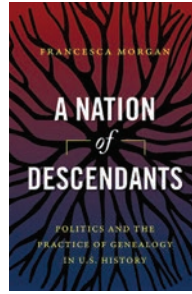
Neuromatic examines the history of the cognitive revolution and current attempts to locate all that is human in the brain, including spirituality. John Lardas Modern explores the entangled histories of science and religion that lie behind our brain-laden present: from 18th-century revivals to the origins of neurology and mystic visions of mental piety in the 19th century; from cyberneticians, Scientologists, and parapsychologists in the 20th century to contemporary claims to have discovered the neural correlates of religion. *Neuromatic* foregrounds the myths, ritual schemes, and cosmic concerns that have accompanied idealizations of neural networks and inquiries into their structure.



Ellen S. More

The Transformation of American Sex Education: Mary Calderone and the Fight for Sexual Health
NYU 2022

Part biography, part social history, *The Transformation of American Sex Education* for the first time situates Dr. Mary Calderone at the center of decades of political, cultural, and religious conflict in the fight for comprehensive sex education. Using Calderone's life and career as a touchstone, Ellen S. More traces the origins of modern sex education in the 1940s to the development of competing approaches known as "abstinence-based" and "comprehensive" sex education in the 21st century.



Francesca Morgan

A Nation of Descendants: Politics and the Practice of Genealogy in U.S. History
UNC 2021

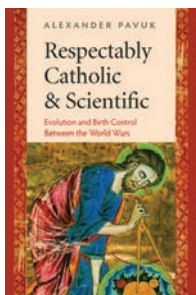
From family trees in early American bibles to birther conspiracy theories, genealogy has always mattered in the United States, whether for taking stock of kin when organizing a family reunion or drawing on membership—by blood or other means—to claim rights to land, inheritances, and more. *A Nation of Descendants* traces Americans' fascination with tracking family lineage through three centuries. Francesca Morgan examines how specific groups throughout history grappled with finding and recording their forebears, focusing on Anglo-American white, Mormon, African American, Jewish, and Native American people.



David Morris

Public Religions in the Future World: Postsecularism and Utopia
GEORGIA 2021

Public Religions in the Future World is the first book to map the utopian terrain of the political-religious movements of the past four decades. Examining a politically diverse set of utopian fictions, this book cuts across the usual right/left political divisions to show a surprising convergence: each political-religious vision imagines a revived world of care and community over and against the economization and fragmentation of neoliberalism. Understanding these religions as utopian movements in reaction to neoliberalism, *Public Religions* invites readers to rethink the bases of religious identification and practice.



Alexander Pavuk

Respectably Catholic and Scientific: Evolution and Birth Control Between the World Wars

CUA 2021

Respectably Catholic and Scientific traces the unexpected manner in which several influential liberal-

progressive Catholics tried to shape how evolution and birth control were framed and debated in the public square in the era between the world wars—and the unintended consequences of their efforts. A small but influential cadre of Catholic priests professionally trained in social sciences gained a hearing from mainline public intellectuals largely by engaging in dialogue on these topics using the lingua franca of the age, science, to the near exclusion of religious argumentation.



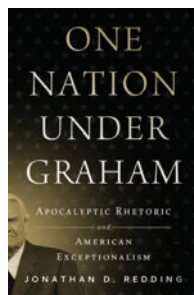
Andrew R. Polk

Faith in Freedom: Propaganda, Presidential Politics, and the Making of an American Religion

CORNELL 2021

In *Faith in Freedom*, Andrew R. Polk argues that the American civil religion so many have identified as indigenous to the

founding ideology was, in fact, the result of a strategic campaign of religious propaganda. Far from being the result of the nation's religious underpinning or the later spiritual machinations of conservative Protestants, American civil religion and the resultant “Christian nationalism” of today were crafted by secular elites in the middle of the 20th century. By assessing the ideas, policies, and actions of three U.S. Presidents and their White House staff, Polk sheds light on the origins of the ideological, religious, and partisan divides of today's American polity.



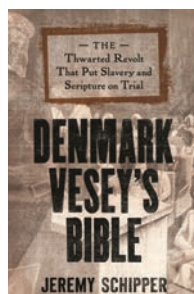
Jonathan D. Redding

One Nation under Graham: Apocalyptic Rhetoric and American Exceptionalism

BAYLOR 2021

One Nation under Graham investigates how one man's interpretation of the biblical books of Daniel and Revelation

has impacted how the United States sees itself on a global and cosmic scale. Jonathan Redding argues that Graham rode the wave of American xenophobia to rebrand evangelical patriotism as essential to national stability and cosmic balance. Graham's drive to make America a nation “under God” and his influence on President Dwight Eisenhower ensured that, with the recitation of the American pledge, his reading of Scripture would endure.



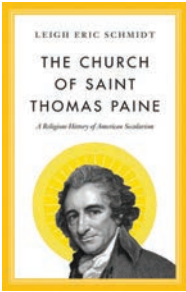
Jeremy Schipper

Denmark Vesey's Bible: The Thwarted Revolt That Put Slavery and Scripture on Trial

PRINCETON 2021

Denmark Vesey's Bible examines the role of scriptural interpretation in the deadly struggle against American white supremacy and

its brutal enforcement. Jeremy Schipper brings to life Vesey's momentous trial and its aftermath, drawing on court documents, personal letters, sermons, speeches, and editorials. He shows how Vesey compared people of African descent with enslaved Israelites in the Bible, while Vesey's accusers portrayed plantation owners as benevolent biblical patriarchs responsible for providing religious instruction to the enslaved. What emerges is a portrait of an antebellum city in the grips of racial terror, violence, and contending visions of biblical truth.



Leigh Eric Schmidt

The Church of Saint Thomas Paine: A Religious History of American Secularism

PRINCETON 2021

In *The Church of Saint Thomas Paine*, Leigh Eric Schmidt tells the surprising story of how freethinking liberals in 19th-

century America promoted a secular religion of humanity centered on the deistic revolutionary Thomas Paine and how their descendants eventually became embroiled in the culture wars of the late 20th century. Paine's disciples practiced a broad array of rites and ceremonies, and they established their own churches and congregations in which to practice their religion of secularism. All of these activities raised serious questions about the very definition of religion.



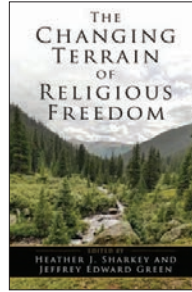
David Sehat

This Earthly Frame: The Making of American Secularism

YALE 2022

In *This Earthly Frame*, David Sehat narrates the making of American secularism through its most prominent proponents and most significant detractors.

He shows how its foundations were laid in the U.S. Constitution and how it fully emerged only in the 20th century. Religious and nonreligious Jews, liberal Protestants, apocalyptic sects like the Jehovah's Witnesses, and antireligious activists all used the courts and the constitutional language of the First Amendment to create the secular order. Avoiding both polemic and lament, Sehat offers a reinterpretation of American secularism and a framework for understanding the religiously infused conflict of the present.



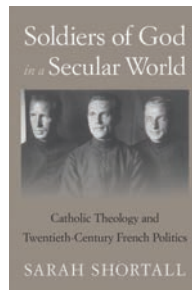
Heather J. Sharkey & Jeffrey Edward Green (eds.)

The Changing Terrain of Religious Freedom

PENN 2021

The Changing Terrain of Religious Freedom offers theoretical, historical, and legal perspectives

on religious freedom, while examining its meaning as an experience, value, and right. The volume starts from the premise that religious freedom has never been easy and smooth. Drawing on examples from the United States and around the world, and approaching the subject from the disciplines of history, law, sociology, philosophy, religious studies, and political science, the essays illustrate the challenges of compromising among multiple interests, balancing values, and wrangling with the law.



Sarah Shortall

Soldiers of God in a Secular World: Catholic Theology and Twentieth-Century French Politics

HARVARD 2021

Soldiers of God in a Secular World explores the *nouvelle théologie*, or new theology. Developed in

the interwar years by Jesuits and Dominicans, it reimagined the Church's relationship to public life, encouraging political activism, engaging with secular philosophy, and inspiring doctrinal changes eventually adopted by the Second Vatican Council. Sarah Shortall explains how the *nouveaux théologiens* charted a path between the old alliance of throne and altar and secularism's demand for the privatization of religion. The "counter-politics" of the *nouveaux théologiens* would find its highest expression during the Second World War, when they led the spiritual resistance against Nazism.



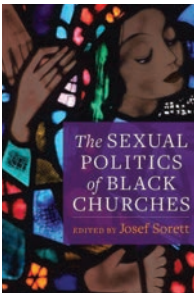
Daniel Silliman

Reading Evangelicals: How Christian Fiction Shaped a Culture and a Faith

EERDMANS 2021

Who are evangelicals? And what is evangelicalism? Those attempting to answer these questions usually speak in

terms of political and theological stances. But those stances emerge from a world with its own institutions—institutions that shape imagination as much as they shape ideology. In this exploration of evangelical subculture, Daniel Silliman shows readers how Christian fiction and the empire of Christian publishing and bookselling it helped build are key to the formation of evangelical identity. With a close look at bestselling novels such as *Left Behind* and *The Shack*, Silliman tells the story of how the Christian publishing industry marketed ideas as well as books.



Josef Sorett (ed.)

The Sexual Politics of Black Churches

COLUMBIA 2022

This book brings together an interdisciplinary roster of scholars and practitioners to analyze the politics of sexuality within Black churches and the communities

they serve. In essays and conversations, contributors reflect on how Black churches have participated in recent discussions about issues such as marriage equality, reproductive justice, and transgender visibility in American society. Individually and collectively, the pieces in *The Sexual Politics of Black Churches* shed light on the relationship between the cultural politics of Black churches and the broader cultural and political terrain of the United States.



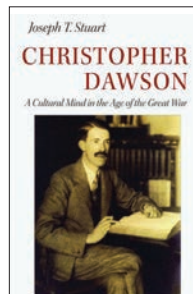
Nomi M. Stolzenberg & David N. Myers

American Shtetl: The Making of Kiryas Joel, a Hasidic Village in Upstate New York

PRINCETON 2022

Settled in the mid-1970s by a small contingent of Hasidic families, Kiryas Joel is an American

town with few parallels in Jewish history—but many precedents among religious communities in the United States. While rejecting the norms of mainstream American society, Kiryas Joel has been stunningly successful in creating a world apart by using the very instruments of secular political and legal power that it disavows. Nomi Stolzenberg and David Myers explore daily life in Kiryas Joel, including the community's guiding religious, social, and economic norms.



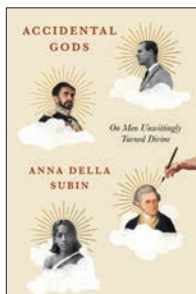
Joseph T. Stuart

Christopher Dawson: A Cultural Mind in the Age of the Great War

CUA 2022

The English historian Christopher Dawson was the first Catholic Studies professor at Harvard and has been described as one of the

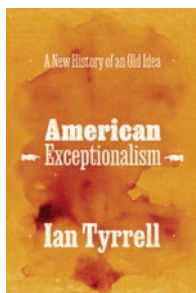
foremost Catholic thinkers of modern times. His focus on culture prefigured its importance in Catholicism since Vatican II and in the rise of mainstream cultural history in the late 20th century. Joseph T. Stuart argues that through Dawson's study of world cultures, he acquired a "cultural mind" by which he attempted to integrate knowledge according to four implicit rules: intellectual architecture, boundary thinking, intellectual asceticism, and intellectual bridges.



Anna Della Subin

Accidental Gods: On Men Unwittingly Turned Divine
METROPOLITAN 2021

From Haile Selassie, acclaimed as the Living God in Jamaica, to Britain's Prince Philip, who became the unlikely center of a new religion on a South Pacific island, men made divine—always men—have appeared on every continent. Because these deifications emerge at moments of turbulence—civil wars, imperial conquest, revolutions—they have much to teach us. In a history spanning five centuries, Anna Della Subin sheds light on the questions of how our modern concept of “religion” was invented; why religion and politics are entangled in our supposedly secular age; and how the power to call someone divine has been used and abused by both oppressors and the oppressed.

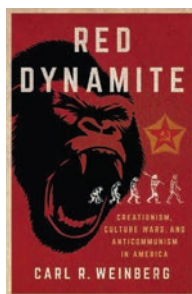


Ian Tyrrell

American Exceptionalism: A New History of an Old Idea
CHICAGO 2022

The idea that the United States is unlike every other country in world history is a surprisingly resilient one.

The notion that American identity might be exceptional emerged, Ian Tyrrell shows, from the belief that the nascent early republic was a genuinely new experiment in an imperialist world dominated by Britain. Beginning with the Puritans and touching on topics including the activism of Catherine Beecher, the rise of Manifest Destiny, and the jeremiads of the antislavery movement, Tyrrell articulates the many forces that have made American exceptionalism such a divisive and definitional concept.



Carl R. Weinberg

Red Dynamite: Creationism, Culture Wars, and Anticommunism in America
CORNELL 2021

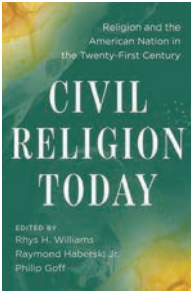
In *Red Dynamite*, Carl R. Weinberg argues that creationism's tenacious hold on American public life depended on culture-war politics inextricably embedded in religion. Many Christian conservatives were convinced that evolutionary thought promoted immoral and even bestial social, sexual, and political behavior. The “fruits” of subscribing to Darwinism were, in their minds, a dangerous rearrangement of God-given standards and the unsettling of traditional hierarchies of power. Despite claiming to focus exclusively on science and religion, creationists were practicing politics. Using the Scopes “Monkey” Trial as a starting point, *Red Dynamite* traces the politically explosive union of Darwinism and communism over the next century.



Jeffrey Andrew Weinstock & Regina M. Hansen (eds.)

Giving the Devil His Due: Satan and Cinema
FORDHAM 2021

Lucifer and cinema have been intertwined since the origins of the medium. The cinematic devil embodies our own culturally specific anxieties and desires, reflecting moviegoers' collective conceptions of good and evil, right and wrong, sin and salvation. *Giving the Devil His Due* explores how the devil is not just one monster among many, but instead a force active in our lives. Loosely organized chronologically by film, this collection studies such classic movies as *Faust*, *Rosemary's Baby*, *The Omen*, and *The Last Temptation of Christ*, as well as the devil in Disney animation.

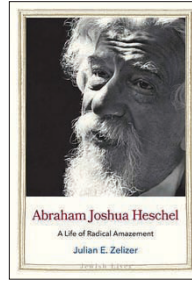


**Rhys H. Williams,
Raymond Haberski
Jr., & Philip Goff
(eds.)**

*Civil Religion Today: Religion
and the American Nation in
the Twenty-First Century*

NYU 2021

Civil religion, a term made popular by sociologist Robert Bellah a little over 50 years ago, describes how people might share in a sacred sense of their nation. While hotly debated, the idea continues to enjoy wide application among academics and journalists. *Civil Religion Today* reassesses the term to take stock of its usefulness after 50 years of engagement in the field. The book aims to push the conversation forward, considering how and in what ways the concept is helpful in our current social and political context, evaluating which parts are worth keeping and which can be reformulated.



Julian E. Zelizer

*Abraham Joshua Heschel: A
Life of Radical Amazement*

YALE 2021

In this new biography, author Julian Zelizer tracks rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel's early years and foundational influences—his childhood in

Warsaw and early education in Hasidism, his studies in late 1920s and early 1930s Berlin, and the fortuitous opportunity, which brought him to the United States and saved him from the Holocaust, to teach at Hebrew Union College and the Jewish Theological Seminary. This portrait places Heschel at the crucial intersection between religion and progressive politics in mid-20th-century America.

.....
Book descriptions in this section originated with the publishers. They have been edited for clarity and style.

TUCKER ADKINS, “New Birth, New World: Evangelical Space in Eighteenth-Century New England,” *Fides et Historia* 53, no. 1 (2021): 15–36.

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