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Cover: The June 2, 2022, "Golden Is Thy Fame" gala dinner ended with a candlelight walk to the Grotto. Photo by Matt Cashore/University of Notre Dame.

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From 1996 until 1998, while writing my dissertation, I lived in Notre Dame's Farley Hall, where I worked as an assistant rector. That experience brought many gifts into my life; having 250 undergraduate women as neighbors, for example, taught me more about how to be a college professor than any of my doctoral seminars ever did. Another neighbor was Sister Jean Lenz, O.S.F., a long-time Farley resident. Like so many women of Notre Dame, I learned a great deal from Sister Jean's wisdom and example. After Sister Jean died in 2012, I was afraid she would be forgotten too quickly, as women often are. I was therefore thrilled to learn that Marianne Zarzana was producing a documentary about Sister Jean's life and legacy, and I am grateful to Marianne for agreeing to tell us more about her project in this issue's lead article.

Thanks also to Dr. Shannen Dee Williams for responding to Jacqueline Willy Romero's questions about her long-anticipated book, *Subversive Habits*. Williams' impressive work of scholarly research shows how including the voices and experience of Black sisters disrupts long-held assumptions about race and religion in the American Catholic past. Williams' work, of course, has already effected remarkable transformations, including one that Sister Sally Witt recently brought to my attention. Attending Williams' 2015 presentation at the Cushwa Center's "The Nun in the World" conference in London, Sister Sally learned that her congregation, the Sisters of St. Joseph of Baden, Pennsylvania, had denied entrance 55 years before to an African American woman named Patricia Grey. Refusing Black women was never a written policy for the Sisters of St. Joseph, but it was nonetheless their standard practice, as it was for many white sisterhoods. With Dr. Williams' help, Sister Sally's community re-established contact with Ms. Grey, who had entered the Sisters of Mercy and helped to establish the National Black Sisters' Conference before leaving religious life. The congregation asked Ms. Grey for forgiveness, which she bestowed with uncommon grace. On June 11, 2022, the Sisters of St. Joseph hosted a book launch for *Subversive Habits* that featured both a presentation by Dr. Williams and the Sisters' own account of their racist past and their reconciliation with Ms. Grey. As Sister Sally observed in an earlier edition of the community

—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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Left to right: Shannen Dee Williams, Patricia Grey, and Sister Sylvia Thibodeaux, S.S.F., at the Sisters of St. Joseph book launch for *Subversive Habits*, June 11, 2022. Used with permission.

newsletter, *Dear Neighbor*, Dr. Williams’ painstaking and patient research compelled the congregation to confront their prejudice and white privilege and called them “to be open to finding other ways we have acted unjustly and to repent.” As we congratulate Dr. Williams on the publication of *Subversive Habits* and anticipate the many ways it will challenge and change historical narratives, I’d also like to thank her for the timely reminder that the research we do, especially on the most painful aspects of our history, can inspire us to imagine a new and more just future.

Speaking of painful histories and their potential impact, our “Gender, Sex, and Power” (GSP) project on clergy sex abuse in the Catholic Church officially came to an end with our March symposium. GSP was simultaneously the most difficult and the most exhilarating scholarly endeavor I have ever led. I agree wholeheartedly with Grace Doerfler, the project’s undergraduate fellow and a class of 2022 graduate, who told me she learned from participating in the project how essential it is to be part of a supportive community when you are researching and writing about difficult topics. (Kudos to Grace, by the way; her thesis, “Finding the Voices of Catholic Sisters in the Clergy Sexual Abuse Crisis,” won the history department’s Senior Honors Thesis Award.) I will miss the formal meetings of our working group, but I take heart that the project will continue to bear fruit through our ongoing collaborations and forthcoming publications. We subtitled our project “Towards a History of Clergy Sex Abuse in the U.S. Catholic Church” for good reason, and it was a privilege to walk in the right direction in the company of such thoughtful and generous interlocutors.

Kathleen Sprows Cummings

Spring 2022 at the Cushwa Center

BY PHILIP BYERS, STEPHEN M. KOETH, C.S.C.,
& JACQUELINE WILLY ROMERO

Cushwa Center Lecture: Rebecca Davis

Five years after winning a Research Travel Grant from the Cushwa Center and visiting Notre Dame to work in the University Archives, historian Rebecca Davis (University of Delaware) returned to campus to speak on some of the material she found. Her 2022 Cushwa Center Lecture, titled “The Woman: Clare Boothe Luce and the Politics of Religious Conversion,” expanded upon themes from her recent book *Public Confessions: The Religious Conversions That Changed American Politics* (UNC, 2021). Before a crowd gathered at the Morris Inn on the afternoon of February 8, Davis argued that Luce’s conversion to Catholicism in early 1946 provided the model for subsequent “religiously political converts” in Cold War America. The public nature of Luce’s conversion created a stir, prompting commentary in homilies and the Catholic press as well as in national radio broadcasts and outlets including the *New York Times*. More significantly, it advanced an argument for Catholicism’s unique ideological potential. Luce’s example suggested that fidelity to the Roman Catholic Church was not simply compatible with loyalty to the United States, it was the ideal faith for the flourishing of anti-communism.

Davis began by recapping Luce’s extraordinary path to conversion. Beginning with her 1923 marriage to the millionaire George Brokaw and continuing through her emergence as a celebrated periodical writer and playwright in the 1930s, her public image conveyed all confidence and glamor. Her 1942 election as one of only seven women in Congress cemented that standing, with the *New Republic* identifying her as part of the “vanguard” of a new type of Republican. Prominence afforded numerous opportunities, including a major address at the 1944 Republican National Convention, but it also inspired frenzied—and often demeaning—attention in the national press.

Yet all that success masked significant misery, and by the mid-1940s Luce had begun a search for religious meaning. Life in Washington introduced her to a person with answers, the Catholic University of America professor and priest Msgr. Fulton J. Sheen. Dialogue with Sheen and copious reading of the material he recommended soon persuaded Luce that Catholicism offered “the most reasonable” solution not only to her questions about suffering but also to the threat of Soviet communism, which Luce believed to be the “religion of the Antichrist.” Her advocacy proved just as effective in faith as it had in politics. From February to April of 1947, she published a three-part series in *McCall’s*, titled “The Real Reason.” In it, she made a painstaking defense of her conversion. Interested readers reached out in droves, and she spent much of the years ahead in correspondence, speaking engagements, and continued writing, including articles such as “The Catholic Mind and the Protestant Heart.” Davis demonstrated how these accounts were selective, for example making no mention of Clare’s troubled marriage to the publishing magnate Henry Luce. In conversion as in politics and culture, Luce constructed a public image that belied certain private realities.



Kathleen Sprows Cummings and Rebecca Davis

Davis took special pains to explain how gender informed Luce's conversion. In the Virgin Mary, Luce discovered a model of "redemptive suffering" that could speak to challenges facing modern women. From her mother's apparent suicide and her daughter Ann Clare Brokaw's death at the age of 19 to her two unhappy marriages and the suicides of several close friends, Luce's life had been marked by suffering. One letter to Henry described their relationship as "at best, a fruitful friendship . . . at worst, an excellent discipline in the humiliation of my ego." So while Luce rejected the contemporary notion of feminine submission, she embraced the model of subordination and virtue in suffering that she found in Mary's "sanctified femininity." In response to a question from Kathleen Sprows Cummings, Davis noted that this high view of Catholic womanhood did not seem to apply to the actual Catholic women Luce encountered. Her closest Catholic friends and confidantes were priests, not nuns, and Davis surmised that this reflected Luce's general attitude toward other women, whom she typically found boring. She was attracted to power, and in Cold War America power generally resided with men.

For Luce, conversion boiled down to obedience—when interlocutors asked why she had abandoned her Protestant upbringing, her response was simply "because Catholicism is true." But along with narrating the personal significance of this conversion, Davis reminded lecture attendees of its public ramifications. Clare Boothe Luce "helped create the public language of religious conversion," a vernacular that persists even in the 2020s.

Research Symposium: Gender, Sex, and Power

In recent decades, the prevalence and handling of sexual abuse in the Catholic Church have emerged as significant topics of discussion among scholars of religion as well as among Catholics themselves. Until recently, little scholarly research had focused on the history of this topic. In late 2019, Cushwa Center director Kathleen Sprows Cummings received a grant through 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" (GSP). The project, which facilitated the work of 11 outside scholars and included a partnership with BishopAccountability.org for access to source materials, concluded with a research symposium on March 27–29, 2022.

Opening remarks were given Sunday evening by Kathleen Sprows Cummings, who welcomed the participants and thanked them for their research on such a difficult topic. With Robert Orsi (Northwestern University) serving as chair, the symposium's first panel began with R. Marie Griffith (Washington University in St. Louis) presenting on the topic of female sexual abuse survivors of all ages, emphasizing the lack of data available on female survivors and the gap between what is known about men and women survivors. Terence McKiernan (BishopAccountability.org) presented on the role of the sacrament of confession and the space of the confessional as an integral aspect of understanding clergy sex abuse. To conclude the evening, Cummings spoke on the life and work of Catherine Mulkerrin, C.S.J., who in 1989 was asked to work as assistant director of the Boston Archdiocesan Office for Victims of Abuse. Cummings emphasized the importance of Mulkerrin performing her duties with the utmost sensitivity and noted that many survivors preferred disclosing to a sister due to their distrust of clergy or other men.

Monday morning began with a panel featuring the GSP program director, Peter Cajka (Notre Dame). Focusing on a priest perpetrator in the Archdiocese of Louisville, Cajka explored the significance of this priest's "internal life" and the reconstruction of his image as a diligent worker. Doris Reisinger (Goethe University), in her paper on reproductive coercion, called attention to scholars overlooking race, class, and gender in the sex abuse crisis. Pointing out that most clergy sexual abuse involves adult victims, not children, she called for further work concerning pregnancy as a result of clergy sexual abuse. Jennifer Beste (College of Saint Benedict and Saint John's



Gender, Sex, and Power research team

University) analyzed a case from Minnesota in which the recovery of a priest perpetrator was emphasized over the welfare of his victims; by equating abuse with other types of sin, these Catholics depicted the priest perpetrator as a type of Christ figure who had suffered at the hands of the legal system.

The second panel of the day opened with Jack Downey (University of Rochester), whose focus on the priest Jim Poole demonstrated the significance of priests embodying “the new Catholic cool” as a way to attract potential victims. Downey also connected with McKiernan’s points on confession, noting that Poole was known for “terrorizing” girls in the confessional. Next, Kathleen Holscher (University of New Mexico) analyzed the “new Catholic missions” of the post-boarding school era, highlighting the issue of access to personnel files. Her research argues persuasively that sexual abuse of Native individuals was “particularly immune from scandal,” necessitating a closer look at additional sites of abuse. Concluding the panel was John Seitz (Fordham University), who analyzed the ways in which clericalism contributed to and shaped clergy abuse dynamics. His emphasis on power and the social production of the priesthood suggests that a re-orienting of the Church hierarchy may minimize this historical tendency towards clericalism.

The final panel of the symposium began Monday afternoon with Kara French (Salisbury University). Her research focused on the manipulation of the definition of celibacy used by many perpetrator priests to commit abuse. French argued that the vow of celibacy is more complicated than canon law implies and its position as “unstable” contributes to the perpetuation of sexual abuse. French also emphasized the culpability of seminaries and the education of priests as a vehicle through which the manipulation of celibacy can begin. Christiaan Jacobs-Vandeger (Australian Catholic University) next analyzed Catholic theology’s role in the abuse crisis, arguing that “theology is mobile” and therefore cannot fix the crisis alone. He identified scholars’ role as “mapping” the crisis and pointed to the multitude of obstacles in doing so when attempting to acknowledge the trauma of abuse victims.

Next, Colleen McDannell (University of Utah) presented her scholarly model of the abuse crisis that shifts from the question of systemic factors to the role of the nuclear family. A key aspect of understanding the involvement of families, McDannell argued, is how many parents considered it an honor to invite their local priest into the home for a meal. This idea of a “good Catholic home” involved regarding priests as a “sanctifying presence” in the home while assigning children

to the bottom tier of the domestic hierarchy. This hierarchy, then, contributed to a lack of belief in victims if they tried to come forward with the abuse they experienced. Finally, James O'Toole (Boston College) completed the symposium with another link back to the concept of clericalism through a case study of sex abuse in the Archdiocese of Boston. To explore what clericalism might have been to both survivors and perpetrators, he focused on the role of seminaries—not just their academics, but the ways in which they shaped priests' thoughts and action through the process of priestly formation. O'Toole pointed out that since Saint John's Seminary in Boston formed many abusers, particularly pre-Vatican II, scholars should aim to uncover patterns in the formation process that might foster abusive priests.

Seminar in American Religion: Kristy Nabhan-Warren

On Saturday, April 2, 2022, the Cushwa Center hosted its Seminar in American Religion to discuss *Meatpacking America: How Migration, Work, and Faith Unite and Divide the Heartland* (UNC Press, 2021) by Kristy Nabhan-Warren, professor and V.O. and Elizabeth Kahl Figge Chair in Catholic Studies at the University of Iowa.

Kathleen Sprows Cummings welcomed participants and introduced the seminar's two commentators, Elizabeth Pérez (University of California, Santa Barbara) and Daniel Graff (Notre Dame). Pérez began by commending Nabhan-Warren's ethnographic method and writing style, and called *Meatpacking America* a powerful work of advocacy on behalf of migrants and working people. While not an exposé treatment of the protein industry or a railing against meat culture, *Meatpacking America* serves as a window into agribusiness which, even at its most ethical, degrades the environment, treats workers as expendable, and benefits from the chain migration it helps set in motion.

Pérez assessed that Nabhan-Warren elucidates the divergence between the interests of workers and

owners not through an explication of Marxist theory but through a close-grained exploration of workers' lives. This is especially evident in her unflinching attention to the act of killing. Highlighting parallels she saw between meatpacking labor and religious butchering in Santería, Pérez suggested that Nabhan-Warren has broken a path for scholars to explore themes of ritual sacrifice without sensationalizing violence.

By way of critique, Pérez said she was uncomfortable with the subjects' frequent descriptions of Iowa as a "safe place," which she felt is coded language for a place without Black people. Pérez lamented that this reveals how Latino immigrants are encouraged to see Black people as "other" and therefore do not seek solidarity with them.

Graff commended Nabhan-Warren for rejecting caricatures of heartland residents and insisting on the humanity of her diverse subjects. Stories of aging white Catholics negotiating parish spaces with newcomers made Graff long for even more exploration of the ways whiteness works to claim space. Stories revealing refugees' overlapping fear, gratitude, and hope made Graff wonder if they weren't still holding back some stories of suffering because they couldn't resolve their paradoxical emotions.

Graff argued, however, that there is a silence around worker resilience and resistance in *Meatpacking America*. Nabhan-Warren focuses on employers' evangelical values and on workers' resistance to their attempts to sacralize the workplace, but Graff wondered about other forms of worker resistance over pay, the pace of work, and other labor issues. While the plants that Nabhan-Warren details have not been unionized, other plants in Iowa have been. Graff asked what these unions have to say about these particular plants and what the Church has to say about labor in this particular setting. He suggested that Nabhan-Warren's analysis would benefit from being contextualized within the history of the multi-ethnic labor movement that brought some justice and reform to the meatpacking industry between the era of *The Jungle* and today. The



Kristy Nabhan-Warren

laborers in *Meatpacking America*, Graff insisted, are part not only of the revitalization of heartland towns but also of American labor.

Thanking both commentators, Nabhan-Warren noted that her research was done before the outbreak of COVID-19 and that in its wake unionization efforts have been revived through a focus on workplace safety. She agreed that a revised version of the book, with an epilogue on the post-COVID period, would include greater focus on worker resistance.

During a period of question-and-answer, Thomas Kselman (Notre Dame) noted that the chaplains hired by the meatpacking plants came from a military background and wondered if exploring these two realms more closely would reveal new insights into the social function of religion. In both settings, chaplaincy is meant to provide resilience and social control in order to facilitate killing. Nabhan-Warren added that one of the chaplains she interviewed has since moved on to hospital chaplaincy because he began to feel complicit in the dehumanizing conditions of the plant. Both Jacqueline Willy Romero (Notre Dame) and Valerie Sayers (Notre Dame) asked questions about what might make white residents

more welcoming of immigrants and the role the Church can play in that transformation. Nabhan-Warren answered that as much as activists talk about grassroots organizing, it is also clear that making change from within institutions such as the Church requires clergy leadership. She highlighted the progress achieved by priests who challenge and encourage white parishioners to learn Spanish or to attend Our Lady of Guadalupe celebrations as a way of bringing white and Latino parishioners together.

Cummings asked about the parallels between parish closures in rural communities and in the ethnic Northeast and how clerical sexual abuse, settlements, and diocesan bankruptcies are connected to the story of parish consolidation and closure. Nabhan-Warren admitted that she did not ask her subjects about sexual abuse but noted that while no white Catholics talked about the issue, some immigrants she interviewed experienced sexual abuse not in the parish but on the refugee path. John McGreevy (Notre Dame) suggested that *Meatpacking America* provides a vision for an emerging multi-racial, multi-ethnic, labor and community solidarity that leans politically leftward, but he argued that, given the voting trends of Latinos and union households, a socially conservative multi-ethnic coalition is equally likely. Graff agreed and proposed that the formation of a nationwide working class unified across racial lines was actually the less likely possibility. Pérez lamented that the Democratic National Committee (DNC) still holds a monolithic view of Latinos as class-based DNC voters and warned that this link has to be constantly built, not just assumed. At the same time, Pérez warned that the DNC ignores anti-Blackness among Latinos at its own peril.

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Philip Byers, Stephen M. Koeth, C.S.C.,
 and **Jacqueline Willy Romero** were
 postdoctoral fellows at the University of Notre Dame's
 Cushwa Center during the 2021–2022 academic year.



Sister Jean Lenz, O.S.F., in 2002, when she was assistant vice president for student affairs. Original photo by Notre Dame Photography.

Sister Jean Lenz, O.S.F.

Golden Is Her Fame

A Reflection on 50 Years of Undergraduate Women at Notre Dame

BY MARIANNE MURPHY ZARZANA

On a steamy July afternoon 39 years ago in Notre Dame's Basilica of the Sacred Heart, Sister Jean Lenz, O.S.F., gave the homily at our wedding. She preached eloquently—and humorously—about “the mystery of love.” Three priest friends concelebrated our wedding—Monsignor Jack Egan, Father Don McNeill, C.S.C, and Father André Léveillé, C.S.C. So why did Jim Zarzana and I ask Sister Jean to be our homilist? Fast forward to May 2022. While on campus

shooting footage in front of Farley Hall for a documentary I'm creating about Sister Jean, Jon O'Sullivan, PentaVision Communications president, told me that his company films all the priests' funerals at Sacred Heart. Sister Jean's memorial service at the Basilica was the only time they'd been asked to film a nun's service, O'Sullivan said. As a Notre Dame undergrad, he had not known Sister Jean, but he noted, "She obviously meant a great deal to many people. And Notre Dame knew that."

After Sister Jean's death on January 21, 2012, I was grateful to be able to fly from Minnesota to Chicago to attend her funeral at the Franciscan motherhouse in Joliet. I was one of many Notre Dame graduates, staff, administrators, and friends to gather there with her Franciscan sisters. I was also grateful to view the livestream of her Basilica sendoff with President Emeritus Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C., presiding and giving the homily. I imagine countless others around the globe were virtually present to honor Sister Jean's passing.

On June 2, 2022, at the daylong event, "Golden Is Thy Fame: Celebrating 50 Years of Undergraduate Women" at Notre Dame, activities included: "Yoga in the Stadium," "Who Are We? Iconic Women Artists in the Collection," "Imaginative Prayer," "A Conversation with Trailblazer and Leader Judge Ann Claire Williams (Ret.) JD '75," and Mass in celebration of the 50th anniversary. I also presented a session, "Change Agent: The Sister Jean Story—A Documentary-in-progress." In the hall outside my room, the Hammes Notre Dame Bookstore sold copies of Sister Jean's book, *Loyal Sons & Daughters: A Notre Dame Memoir*. I debuted my film's promotional trailer to a standing-room-only crowd in the new McKenna Hall, the University's conference center.

In her memoir, Sister Jean writes that when Notre Dame pivoted to welcome female undergraduates in 1972, she received a letter "to invite [her] to come to campus and talk about the possibility of doing pastoral ministry as rector of a residence hall for some of the first women admitted to Notre Dame." She was on the University's radar because she had earned a master's degree in theology at Notre Dame in 1967 after finishing a master's degree in journalism at Marquette University in 1965. Lenz reflects, "I was happy at [the College of] St. Francis. I liked the students, the staff, and teaching classes. The more I thought of the Notre Dame invitation, the more I realized that I would never respond to an advertisement for the position of rector of a women's residence hall." Sister Jean continues:

Sister John Miriam Jones, a Sister of Charity, hired as the assistant to the provost at ND in 1972, also wrote encouraging me to come. We had met in Lewis Hall while she was completing her doctoral studies in biology. Since this invitation involved a possible ministry outside of our Franciscan community commitments, I talked at some length with my general superior, Sister Francine Zeller. She urged me to "write it out"; to list my reasons for staying at St. Francis or going to Notre Dame. We would pray about it and talk some more. She encouraged me to make a trip to South Bend.

When Sister Jean listed the pros and cons, she came up with "thirteen reasons for staying at St. Francis and two for going to Notre Dame. The two reasons were heavyweights. I was strongly committed to Catholic higher education and its mission. I also admired the university for its decision to admit women after 125 years as an all-male institution."

Of course, Sister Jean and many other women students had earned degrees at Notre Dame for decades, and women leaders had played a crucial role at Notre Dame since its founding.

Elizabeth Hogan, senior archivist for graphic materials in the University of Notre Dame Archives, reflects on women students at Notre Dame in "The Ones Who Came Before" in the summer 2022 issue of *Notre Dame Magazine*. "Overall," Hogan writes, "between 1917 and August 1971, Notre Dame



Sister Jean Lenz, O.S.F., circa early 1970s. Courtesy of University of Notre Dame Archives.

conferred 342 bachelor’s degrees, 4,128 master’s degrees, 184 doctoral degrees and two law degrees on women.” Most of these women were religious sisters, not laywomen. She notes that, in 1961, *Notre Dame: A Magazine* “declared that ‘the University salutes these “Coeds of the Cloth,” and welcomes them to the Notre Dame family.’”

In an article titled “The Women of Past Presence,” in the winter 2021–22 issue of *Notre Dame Magazine*, Cushwa Center director Kathleen Sprows Cummings brings to light the significant and “largely unknown” story of Holy Cross sisters’ contributions to Notre Dame from its beginning. The University’s founder, Rev. Edward Sorin, C.S.C., wrote a letter to Rev. Basil Moreau, C.S.C., on December 5, 1842, soon after he arrived in northern Indiana about establishing “a college at the earliest convenience . . . It will be one of the most powerful means for good in this country.” He also wrote that “once the Sisters come—whose presence is so much desired here—they must be prepared not merely for domestic work, but also for teaching; and perhaps, too, the establishment of an academy.” Cummings writes that “Within a year, four Holy Cross sisters did arrive from France.” And others followed them across the ocean, all desperately needed by Sorin as he worked hard to achieve his vision of a great Catholic university.

As Sister Jean struggled with her decision, she began to lean toward a willingness to support the University’s move to coeducation, thus joining this long line of women from Notre Dame’s past who have made Sorin’s dream possible. “However, the residence hall position remained a big question mark,” she writes, maybe even a dealbreaker. “I did a double take when I discovered that there were infamous rules in place but no job description. It all, no doubt, came naturally to Holy Cross rectors who served for decades and passed such ministry on to the next generation through oral tradition.”



Sister Jean Lenz, O.S.F., posed in front of Farley Hall, 1989. Original photo by Catherine Cook. Courtesy of University of Notre Dame Archives.

With these fears looming, Sister Jean had concerns. “What if I can’t do what you’re asking? What if I get to Christmastime and realize this isn’t going to work?” she asked. Sister Jean was promised she could “leave and we’ll find someone else to carry on.” That did the trick. “The mere thought of a ‘bailout hatch’ gave me the final bit of courage I needed to accept the invitation,” writes Sister Jean. “Dr. Frank Kerins, president of the College of St. Francis where I was teaching theology, granted me a one-year leave of absence to offer a hand at Notre Dame as undergraduate women came to campus.”

After saying a bold “yes” even with all the daunting unknowns of the journey ahead, Lenz embraced her Notre Dame path and served there for 36 years—as an adjunct instructor in the theology department (intermittently), the rector of Farley Hall for ten years (1973–83), the rector and chaplain for the University’s London Undergraduate Program for a year (1983–84), and as assistant vice president for student affairs for 25 years (1984–2009).

As the rector of Farley Hall, Sister Jean writes, “I began to court a deep hunch in my heart that someone had laid a great inheritance of ministry at my feet. It seemed to be passed on by much storytelling from one generation of graduates to the next: from fathers to sons and grandsons to great-grandsons. Now daughters would begin to add their heritage.”

And so those daughters did paint in bold new strokes at Notre Dame. “Farley Hall was never in want for drama,” Lenz writes. “It is in the area of relationships that Notre Dame students ‘grow up

and deep' at dizzying rates. Eighty-five percent of my rectoring time was spent talking to students about roommate problems, romances, and friendship . . . I viewed this role as a front-row seat at an award-winning Broadway drama.”

At times, the drama turned to tragedy. Sister Jean writes:

One day a call from home brought news to Therese D'Angelo . . . that her father, a man in his forties, had died of a heart attack. The shocked young woman packed quickly and flew home . . . A second call came late in the evening. It was from the grieving resident to her roommates. That very morning, she told them, she had received two letters from her dad, which he had written, as he always did, while he was on a business trip. She had read them, welcomed his words, and then threw the letters away. She begged her friends to try and retrieve them. Somehow they did . . . wearing boots, carrying flashlights, and digging their way through all the day's trash in the giant garbage bin behind Farley Hall, not giving up until the letters were recovered. I distinctly remember an RA remarking, "I think everyone in this hall called their dads today."

One hot June near midnight, Sister Jean heard a knock on her door. “Would you run through the sprinklers with me?” asked a student overwhelmed with organic chemistry and the heat. “I heard them swish on outside, but I don't want to go alone.” Lenz stood for a minute with an open mouth. “Then I simply closed the door behind me, and we left the building laughing.” The two women “did” the north quad, arriving back at Farley “drenched, laughing, out of breath, a bit exhausted, and so refreshed.” Lenz writes “that precious midnight moment has settled in me more and more as a fitting image of my years of ministry at ND.”

That ministry, and its intensity, continued in her student affairs position:

I suspect my strongest credential for the position was that I was a woman. It was time for Notre Dame to place a woman at this level of administration in the division of Student Affairs . . . While these experiences would serve me well in this appointment, I sensed that this new ministry would tap into the deepest experiences of my life.

In 1998, Lenz was awarded an honorary degree from the University of Portland for her service as “a mentor and example to students of how one might live a life in pragmatic, patient, humorous and prayerful service to others.” In 2007, her name was added to the Wall of Honor in Notre Dame's Main Building.

At my “Golden Is Thy Fame” session, I shared my story of how I met Sister Jean. As a freshman in mid-fall 1974, I was choosing classes for spring semester. I planned to register for one of the two required theology courses, so I asked Sister John Miriam Jones, who lived near me in Badin Hall, for suggestions. “Take Sister Jean Lenz's class,” advised Jones. “She's great.” In January 1975, when I walked into Sister Jean's course, “The Gospels of Christ,” I had no idea what career path I wanted to pursue. At that time, I was a business major for two reasons: first, with new doors opening up for women in business, my father, Robert O. Murphy, had encouraged me in that direction, and second, I wanted to be certain of a good-paying job after graduation, which a business degree seemed to guarantee.

Sister Jean proved to be a brilliant theology instructor, and I learned a great deal in her course. At the end of that semester, I still had no idea what I wanted to be, but Sister Jean helped me to discover *who* I wanted to become. This was long before I read Brené Brown's books, such as *The Gifts of Imperfection* and *Daring Greatly: How the Courage to Be Vulnerable Transforms the Way We Live, Love, Parent, and Lead*. But Sister Jean's pedagogy style featured a skill that I had never witnessed before in a leader or teacher—an ability to ask questions (“How do you deal with that?”) and invite our answers as if she was



Sister Jean Lenz, O.S.F., leading a discussion, circa early 1970s. Original photo by Paul Joyce. Courtesy of University of Notre Dame Archives.

a fellow traveler with the motley crew of students before her, not the one with all the answers. She embodied the quote by U.S. physicist Richard P. Feynman that “I would rather have questions that can’t be answered than answers that can’t be questioned.”

At the end of spring semester 1975, I had the courage to switch from being a business major and declare myself an English major. I’ve always been gainfully employed, and I’ve always had jobs I’ve loved: journalist for *Catholic Crosswinds* newspaper in Pueblo, Colorado; editor of Notre Dame Publications; communications director of Logan Community Resources in South Bend; freelance writer with M. M. Zarzana & Co.; assistant women’s tennis coach at Southwest Minnesota State University (SMSU); and co-director of university relations at SMSU. In midlife, I returned to the classroom to earn an M.F.A. in creative writing. In December 2019, I retired from teaching after 15 years as an associate professor of English and serving six years as the director of creative writing at SMSU. Sister Jean was always a guiding presence in my classroom and during office hours with students. I had spent many hours visiting her room at Farley Hall, in the Huddle, and the Pay Caf seeking support for challenges I faced as an undergrad and, later, as a Notre Dame employee. She was a great listener, and I always left with a new, broader perspective of my issues. Our daughter, Elaine Zarzana, a double major in English and Arabic studies during her time at Notre Dame, also met with Sister Jean for friendly chats. Father Hesburgh wrote that Sister Jean was “sought out as a friend, counselor, and almost-confessor. The time students spend with her exposes them to goodness, fun, and deep beauty. Her teaching brings them face to face with the Christ in whom she deeply believes.”

On June 2, during the 50th anniversary celebration of undergraduate women at Notre Dame, Sister Jean demonstrated her lasting impact. The energy in that room was palpable through the stories people told. The session started at 1:30 p.m. and ran 50 minutes. But I didn't leave that room until 4:30. People interested in my film project on Sister Jean swarmed me, eager to offer ideas and suggestions. I reconnected with a fellow member of the Community of International Lay Apostolate (CILA), a campus social justice group, and many others who loved Sister Jean deeply.

After my presentation, I opened the floor to Q&A. Attendees shared their own powerful Sister Jean stories. Elizabeth Moriarty had known Sister Jean since she was a baby because her parents, Steve and Kathy Moriarty, were close friends. After attending Notre Dame as an undergraduate and living on the second floor of Farley, four rooms down from Sister Jean, Moriarty had returned to become rector for a year as a graduate student in 2012–13. Indelibly shaped by decades of Notre Dame experiences, hundreds of liturgies in the Farley Chapel, and inspired by Sister Jean's faithful witness and friends, she's pursuing her calling to ordination as a priest in the Episcopal church.

That evening my husband, Jim, and I attended the Golden Gala Dinner and program in the Joyce Center with Susan Grace Murphy, my doubles partner on Notre Dame's first women's tennis team and a Farley Hall resident. Susan and I joined in the enthusiastically raucous response when President John Jenkins, C.S.C., announced that the words of the Notre Dame Victory March were being changed officially to add "and daughters" to "while her loyal sons and daughters march on to victory."

In the summer 2022 issue of *Notre Dame Magazine*, a news item notes, "More than a century after its debut, the fight song has undergone a bit of fine tuning to make it more reflective of the student body." Of course, women undergrads and alumnae had been adding those words—"and daughters"—unofficially since we arrived on campus in 1972—always sung with gusto at the top of our lungs. For those of us early female athletes, the reality was that we were much more frequently marching on to defeat, not victory.

The first Notre Dame women's intercollegiate tennis competition was organized by Betsy Fallon that first year of coeducation when her self-formed team challenged Saint Mary's College to a match. The next year Fallon as captain and Jane Lammers as co-captain met in dorm rooms with Carol Simmons, Andi Smith, Ellen Callahan, and Sharon Sullivan to organize an official team. While undergraduates themselves, they arranged fundraisers, recruited players, advertised for coaches, and called university athletic departments from their dorm rooms to set up tennis meets. They held tryouts for the team on October 23, 1973. John Donahue, Dave Wheaton, and other students helped coach, and later that year assistant history professor Dr. Carole Moore, who had run track at the University of California, Santa Barbara, saw the team's flyers calling for a volunteer faculty sponsor. She enthusiastically contacted us and we not only had a faculty coach but a driver for our meets. Our fledgling ragtag tennis team played powerhouses like Purdue. At Indiana University—Bloomington, we mistakenly wandered into the men's locker room. When we won our last tennis meet of the fall season against Northwestern University, we were just elated. After our previous matches, our ritual was to head to Bresler's 33 Flavors to console ourselves with ice cream cones. After our biggest victory of the first season, Coach Moore drove our van to Chicago's Greektown where we feasted on flaming saganaki and joined heartily in the "oompahs!" Some ouzo may have been consumed as well, which fueled a tennis team conga line snaking through the restaurant. Another first for Notre Dame women. The next season, fall 1975, the women's tennis team's record boosted to 5-2. Through grit, teamwork, and vision, the first women's intercollegiate sport at Notre Dame was on its way.

After the Golden Gala Dinner, my friend Susan and I walked from the Joyce Center to the Grotto in a long, streaming candlelight procession. We snagged “golden flip flops” provided to all at the Joyce exit, so we could swap our fancy formal shoes for comfort. Susan and I had both been dealing with challenging life circumstances over the past several years. This was a moment of celebration, laughter, and stories shared by two longtime friends of 48 years. Susan had not planned to return for the 50th anniversary gathering, but when I told her I was on the program to present about my Sister Jean documentary, she said yes. She’d make it happen. The presence of my doubles partner and best college friend made the victory of the soft launch of the promotional trailer to a packed room that much sweeter.

“With the dawn of coeducation here . . . we invited her back to the campus to be the rector of one of our first halls for women undergraduates,” writes Father Hesburgh in his foreword to Sister Jean’s memoir. He continues:

Sister Jean has been with us ever since, serving now as assistant vice president for Student Affairs, after more than a decade of rectoring at Farley Hall. No one is better suited than she to recall our early days of coeducation after a century and a quarter of being an all-male school. In fact, she has been at the heart of all of our coeducational efforts over the past quarter century, and above and beyond anyone else she has guided us to a new life of peaceful coexistence between men and women students here . . .

It would be an understatement to say that Sister Jean’s influence affected only the female side of this historical adventure. I would have to admit that all of us men (as professors, administrators, and students) were affected profoundly by Sister Jean’s presence, her leadership, and the inspiring ways she lived her life here as an integral part of a bold adventure. We have all been enriched by the presence of women but deeply enriched by the presence of Sister Jean, who could easily be called the First Lady in this time of transition . . . She should get the lion’s share of the credit as we entered this unknown world in Notre Dame’s development.

For those who dive into reading Sister Jean’s book, Hesburgh writes:

. . . you will find yourself laughing and possibly crying. She did a great deal of both by always being there, always being open and friendly and inspiring, even dealing with impossible situations with wisdom and humor. Once when some streakers arrived at the door outside her offices, she simply stepped into the cold night and told them, “You don’t think I’m going to let you come into this hall dressed like that?” She immediately defused a very difficult situation with all those young men scattering into the bushes, and they did not try it again.

As we celebrate the 50th anniversary of female undergraduates at Notre Dame, I stand on Sister Jean’s shoulders, and I’m working to honor her legacy by creating a documentary about her impact as an agent of change at Notre Dame. I also stand on the shoulders of my mother, Eileen Ahern Murphy, and of my grandmothers, Sylvia Garriques Ahern and Helen O’Connell Murphy. And so many other shoulders. By remembering and honoring those women who came before us, new generations of women gain strength to forge their own challenging paths ahead.

So why did Jim and I invite Sister Jean to give the homily at our wedding when we could have asked one of the three priests concelebrating? Because we wanted to honor her and the essential part she played in our lives and at Notre Dame. Because she was an amazing storyteller. Because she was a force for good. Because she was a compassionate, radiant follower of Christ who preached the gospel daily without words but with her life. I’m creating this documentary because I’m passionate about sharing her presence, her story more widely with the world.

This October, my husband, also a retired English professor from SMSU, and I will both receive the Honorary Lifetime Achievement Award from the SMSU Alumni Association over Homecoming Weekend. When I got this surprising news, I thought of the quote on Sister Jean's Farley wall: "I can believe anything as long as it's incredible." I also thought of a quote by Abby Wambach, retired soccer player, coach, and member of the National Soccer Hall of Fame, who writes in her book *Wolfpack*, "Sometimes you will be the goal scorer. Every goal belongs to the entire team. So when you score, you better start pointing—to the teammate who assisted, to the defender who protected, to the midfielder who ran tirelessly, to the coach who dreamed up the play, to the bench player who willed this moment into existence. This goes for on the field and off. Let's amplify each other's voices, celebrate each other's successes, and give credit to those who contributed to ours. And when one of us falls, let's pick her up, and help her get back in the game."

I'm pointing at Sister Jean, amplifying her voice, giving credit to a woman leader of deep faith, a pioneer, a woman of many firsts at Notre Dame. She has contributed mightily to small and large successes throughout my personal and professional life and in the lives of countless others. What is true for me is true for the whole Notre Dame community—we have all benefited immeasurably from the presence of this remarkable Franciscan nun, Sister Jean Lenz, under the Golden Dome.

Marianne Murphy Zarzana is a 1978 graduate of Notre Dame and retired from Southwest Minnesota State University in December 2019 after 15 years as an associate professor of English, six of which she also spent as the director of creative writing. Her documentary on Sister Jean Lenz, O.S.F., "Change Agent: The Sister Jean Story," will release in September 2024.

*Editor's note: Much of the background content in this piece comes from Sister Jean Lenz's published memoir, *Loyal Sons and Daughters: A Notre Dame Memoir* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2002).*

Research Funding: Apply by December 31

The Cushwa Center administers the following funding opportunities to support scholarly research in a variety of subject areas. Apply at cushwa.nd.edu by December 31, 2022.

RESEARCH TRAVEL GRANTS assist scholars who wish to visit the University Archives or other collections at the Hesburgh Libraries at Notre Dame for research relating to the study of Catholics in America.

PETER 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, support research in Roman archives for projects on U.S. Catholic history.

THE CYPRIAN DAVIS, O.S.B., PRIZE, established in partnership with the American Catholic Historical Association, recognizes outstanding research on the Black Catholic experience in North America and the Caribbean from the colonial period to the 20th century.

MOTHER THEODORE GUERIN RESEARCH TRAVEL GRANTS support 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.

HIBERNIAN RESEARCH AWARDS, funded by an endowment from the Ancient Order of Hibernians and Ladies Ancient Order of Hibernians, support the scholarly study of Irish and Irish American history.

Cushwa Center Conference in Rome

On Friday, November 18, 2022, the Cushwa Center will collaborate with the Rome Global Gateway to host a conference, “A ‘Vatican Atlantic Alliance?’ Pius XII and the Role of U.S. Papal Diplomats in the Cold War.” The gathering will bring together scholars from European and U.S. universities to discuss the history of U.S.-Vatican diplomatic relations after the Second World War, when several priests and bishops from the United States took on roles of particular importance in the central and peripheral organs of papal diplomacy as part of an effort both to contain communism and to assist the people of Europe.

For additional information, visit the Cushwa Center’s website at cushwa.nd.edu/events.

Friends of Cushwa News and Notes

THE ARCHIVES OF THE SISTERS OF SAINT JOSEPH OF BOSTON recently received a Recordings at Risk grant from the Council on Library and Information Resources to digitize a sizable collection containing audio recordings from the 1960s–1990s. The collection includes oral history interviews of 45 Boston C.S.J. sisters as well as chapter meetings from 1968 and 1969, and it reflects the significant transformation in the Church and in society after Vatican II. Preserving the audio collection lifts the voices of women religious and showcases the female experience of the social, cultural, and religious changes of the second half of the 20th century. The digitization process is a year-long endeavor and will be completed during the congregation's sesquicentennial year.

VALENTINA CICILIO (Ca' Foscari University of Venice) announced the launch of a new journal, the open-access *Journal of Modern and Contemporary Christianity* (JoMaCC). She also recently published “La violenza contro l'ambiente, Dorothy Stang (1931–2005) e i ‘martiri della creazione,’” in the edited volume *Violenza sacra 2. Guerra santa, sacrificio e martirio*.

SUSANNA DE STRADIS defended her dissertation, “Making Democracy Safe for Religion: The Catholic Argument for the ‘Nation Under God’ (1939–1965),” in June 2022 and has accepted a position as assistant professor of history at Mississippi State University, to begin in fall 2023. For the next 12 months, she will serve as a post-doctoral research associate with the John C. Danforth Center on Religion and Politics at Washington University in St. Louis.

MASSIMO DI GIOACCHINO has been awarded the Tiro a Segno Visiting Faculty Fellowship in Italian-American Culture at New York University for fall 2022. In 2015, Di Gioacchino was a visiting fellow of the Cushwa Center, and he received his Ph.D. in 2018 with Kathleen Sprows Cummings serving as his international supervisor.

An historian of the late modern transatlantic world who takes the migration of peoples and ideas between Italy and the United States as his central theme, Di Gioacchino will publish his first monograph, *The Ruin of Souls: A Religious History of Italian Catholic Immigrants in the United States (1876–1921)*, in spring 2023.

MICHAEL ENGH, S.J. (Loyola Marymount University) is co-chairing the 12-member committee of the university's Inclusive History and Images Project (IHIP). IHIP interviews alumni (or their children) of underrepresented groups to preserve recollections that otherwise would be overlooked in LMU's 110-year history. IHIP welcomes alumni documents and photos to be copied for or donated to the university archives.

DANA A. FREIBURGER (University of Wisconsin–Madison) defended his Ph.D. dissertation, “The Place of Science in Nineteenth-Century American Catholic Higher Education,” on May 3, 2022.

THOMAS GAUNT, S.J. (Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate, Georgetown University) published *New Faces, New Possibilities: Cultural Diversity and Structural Change in Institutes of Women Religious* (Liturgical Press, 2022), co-edited with Thu T. Do, L.H.C. The book examines changes in culture and ethnicity among sisters, the structural impact of diminishing numbers, and the creative responses to this new reality for religious life in the United States.

DANIEL GORMAN JR. (University of Rochester) and members of his digital history class at the Rochester Institute of Technology built a digital exhibit about the Hill Cumorah Pageant, the outdoor play that the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints staged in upstate New York for 82 years. Scholars of Catholic pageants and youth camps may find the material interesting for comparative analysis; the site is viewable at cumorahlegacy.omeka.net.

GABRIELLE GUILLERM accepted the position of Research Coordinator for Truth and Healing at Red Cloud Indian School, South Dakota, beginning in September 2022. Her dissertation, “The Forgotten French: Catholicism, Colonialism, and Americanness on the Early Trans-Appalachian Frontier,” was awarded the Harold Perkins Prize for best dissertation in the Northwestern University history department, and it was also a finalist for the Society for Historians of the Early American Republic dissertation prize.

DAN HECKEL (Ursuline Sisters of Mount Saint Joseph, Maple Mount, Kentucky) has published *Hope and Firm Faith: The Story of the Ursuline Sisters of Mount Saint Joseph*. It is the first comprehensive history of the religious community that began in western Kentucky nearly 150 years ago and continues today. Teachers from elementary school through college, the Ursuline Sisters also expanded into parish ministry, operating a retreat center and various social justice ministries. Copies are available for purchase at ursulinesmsj.org/hope-and-firm-faith-book.

EPHREM HOLLERMANN, O.S.B., published *Like a Mustard Seed: A History of the First Benedictine Women’s Monastery in North America, St. Joseph’s Monastery, St. Marys, Pennsylvania, 1852–2014* (Lulu Press, 2022). The book deals with numerous themes in the stories of Benedictine women in the United States: founding stories in the context of a growing country and immigrant Catholic church; the challenges women encountered in a male-dominated church; the burdens and successes of prioresses’ leadership; the hard work of renewal after Vatican II which sometimes did not reap the intended outcomes; what it meant to decide to close a monastery; and the actual steps toward closure. This history is an “inside picture” of the demanding work of post-Vatican II renewal and the processes aimed at helping religious communities revitalize, refund, and face their futures.

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED JESUIT STUDIES hosted its 2022 International Symposium on Jesuit Studies at Boston College in August on the topic “The Jesuits and the Church in History.” Panels included topics such as “Jesuit Universities as Catholic Institutions in a Global, Contemporary Context,” “Foundations in Lands of Missions: The Jesuits and the Local Clergy,” and “Philosophy, Theology, and Spirituality on the Eve of Vatican II.” A call for proposals for the 2023 symposium in Lisbon, Portugal, will be available on the institute’s website, bc.edu/iajs.

STEPHEN M. KOETH, C.S.C., was appointed assistant professor of history at the University of Notre Dame.

ROSE LUMINIELLO joined the University of Notre Dame’s Keough-Naughton Institute for Irish Studies as a postdoctoral research associate.

BRONAGH ANN MCSHANE (NUI Galway) will soon publish *Irish Women in Religious Orders, 1530–1700: Suppression, Migration and Reintegration* (Boydell & Brewer, 2022). The book draws upon research she completed with support from a Mother Theodore Guerin Research Travel Grant, awarded by the Cushwa Center in 2019.

CHARLES MERCIER (University of Bordeaux) published “Religion and the Contemporary Phase of Globalization: Insights from a Study of John Paul II’s World Youth Days” in *Journal of World History* 33, no. 2 (June 2022). The article drew both on research Mercier completed with the help of a 2018 Research Travel Grant from the Cushwa Center and on a paper he presented at the center’s 2019 conference, “Global History and Catholicism.”

JAMES O'TOOLE (Boston College) published *Ever to Excel: A History of Boston College* (Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2022), tracing the history, challenges, and values in the making of the Jesuit educational institution.

G. KURT PIEHLER (Florida State University) published *A Religious History of the American GI in World War II* (Nebraska, 2021), a new social history that illuminates the efforts of the armed forces to care for the spiritual needs of World War II combatants. In 2014, Piehler received a Research Travel Grant that funded a visit to the Notre Dame Archives to examine material related to the religious life of Catholic GIs, especially in the John Francis O'Hara Papers.

ROBERTO REGOLI (Pontifical Gregorian University) and **MATTEO SANFILIPPO** (University of Tuscia, Scalabrinian Historical Institute) published *La Santa Sede, gli Stati Uniti e le relazioni internazionali durante il pontificato di Pio XII: Studi dopo l'apertura degli archivi vaticani (1939–1958)* (Edizioni Studium, 2022). With a foreword by Kathleen Sprows Cummings, the new volume explains the global collaborations between the Holy See and the United States in the 1940s and 1950s, covering politics, ecclesiastical affairs, refugees, and migration in places ranging from Europe and the Middle East to Latin American and East Asia.

JACQUELINE WILLY ROMERO accepted a position as instructor in history at Lanier Technical College in Oakwood, Georgia.

FEDERICO RUOZZI (Università di Modena e Reggio Emilia) published “The Arrival of Television in US and Italy: A New Catholic ‘Holy Crusade’ or Something Else?” in volume 14 (2021) of *Annali di Scienze Religiose*. In 2015, Ruozzi won a Research Travel Grant from the Cushwa Center to visit the Notre Dame Archives.

CHRISTOPHER SHANNON (Christendom College), former associate director of the Cushwa Center, published *American Pilgrimage: A Historical Journey through Catholic Life in a New World* (Augustine Institute—Ignatius Press, 2022). The book narrates the story of the Church from the dramatic efforts at evangelization in the colonial period through the struggles to reimagine tradition in the late-20th century.

THE SISTERS OF CHARITY OF NEW YORK

announce the publication of volume VI of its history, edited by Patricia Noone, S.C., and written collaboratively by a committee of sisters. *The Sisters of Charity of New York: 1997–2020* chronicles the most recent decades of creative response to the signs of the times. Chapters address spirituality, government, membership, and ministries in New York and Guatemala, including education, social services, pediatric health care, affordable housing, and ecological/global concerns.

CHRISTIAN SMITH (Notre Dame) has received a grant from the Lilly Endowment to study the cultural changes that have converged in the United States in recent decades in order to understand the significant decline in religion that has been occurring among young adults. The study will conduct both individual interviews from a nationally representative survey, as well as focus groups with leaders of cultural change in the United States. Interviewees include those who have left the Catholic Church, and all interviews will collect information about views that Americans currently hold of the Church. Those wishing to know more about this research may contact Professor Smith.

BENJAMIN WETZEL (Taylor University) published *American Crusade: Christianity, Warfare, and National Identity, 1860–1920* (Cornell, 2022). He revised the project, originally a Notre Dame dissertation, during his 2017–2018 postdoctoral fellowship with the Cushwa Center.

Subversive Habits: A Book Discussion

with
Shannen Dee Williams

Shannen Dee Williams is associate professor of history at the University of Dayton. A Distinguished Lecturer for the Organization of American Historians, Williams has won numerous scholarly fellowships from organizations including the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, the American Historical Association, and the American Catholic Historical Association. She recently published *Subversive Habits: Black Catholic Nuns in the Long African American Freedom Struggle* (Duke, 2022). Jacqueline Willy Romero corresponded with Williams about the book earlier this year.



Shannen Dee Williams

JACQUELINE WILLY ROMERO: In *Subversive Habits*, you argue that decisions by Black women to enter religious life in the United States have been “widely overlooked as political and arguably feminist acts of bodily liberation and respectability.” How does your research contribute to and disrupt understandings of feminism and feminist perspectives on history?

SHANNEN DEE WILLIAMS: *Subversive Habits* builds upon the work of historians of Black women and Black feminist theorists who have for decades brilliantly and meticulously documented how the denial of Black female virtue and the exploitation of the reproductive wombs of Black women and girls were central to the social construction, maintenance, and defense of white supremacy in secular and religious realms. These same scholars have also demonstrated how unrelenting and systematic attacks on the moral character of Black women and girls not only helped to justify centuries of racial and sexual violence visited on Black bodies and communities, but also profoundly shaped the protest strategies that Black women and girls developed to survive. My book grounds this history in the Catholic Church, which through its propagation of the Doctrine of Discovery and its foundational and leading participation in the trans-Atlantic slave trade, African enslavement, and racial segregation, became the first global institution to declare that Black lives did not matter. I argue that for Black women and girls, embracing the celibate religious state in the Roman Catholic Church constituted a radical act of Black resistance to white supremacy and the sexual terrorism built into chattel slavery and segregation. *Subversive Habits* specifically illuminates the radical dimensions of Black female celibacy within religious life and invites

scholars to bear witness to the many trials of the nation’s Black women religious and the white supremacist commitments and misogynoir (anti-Black misogyny) of the nation’s European and white American bishops, priests, and sisters and eventually some Black priests, brothers, and laymen. My book not only centers Black sisters’ lived experiences of racism and sexism in their Church and wider society from their fiercely contested beginnings in the slave South to the present day, but also looks at how their educational, spiritual, and intellectual activism inspired and intersected with Black protest movements, including Black feminist struggles of the 1960s and 1970s. Many Black nuns, who came of age politically during the 1960s and 1970s and wrote extensively about the liberatory dimensions of celibacy in racial crisis, became some of the nation’s pioneering womanist theologians and professors. It also matters that distinguished Black feminist theorist and scholar Dr. Patricia Hill Collins worked closely with the National Black Sisters’ Conference (NBSC) in the 1970s in their fight for community control of inner-city Catholic schools and cited the influence of her work at Boston’s St. Joseph Community School, led by NBSC leader Sister Sylvia Thibodeaux, in her classic text *Black Feminist Thought*.

JWR: Your research encompasses a wide variety of congregations of religious life from different parts of the United States. How do you view the relationship between the Catholic Church in the United States and the institution of slavery? How did the practice of enslavement shape the history of religious communities?

SDW: *Subversive Habits* demonstrates that the Catholic Church was never an innocent bystander in the histories of colonialism, slavery, and segregation—including the sexual exploitation built

into these inherently violent systems of power and control. With a series of 15th-century papal bulls, the Roman Catholic Church sanctioned and inaugurated the trans-Atlantic slave trade and African slavery in the Americas, including in what became the United States. In fact, the Catholic Church was the largest corporate slaveholder in the Americas. Many of the Church's famed social service institutions were established and sustained through the exploitation of the forced physical and reproductive labor of enslaved men, women, and children and as a result of Native American removal and genocide. These violent commitments buttressed by European and white American Catholics' widespread opposition to abolition and the systematic exclusion and subjugation of African-descended people within the Church, including in religious life, through the Second Vatican Council have meant that the Church's moral compass and authority on matters of racism and all interconnected issues has never resided in white Catholic communities.

To be sure, we are still learning about the full nature and extent of Catholic slaveholding in religious communities and about those non-slaveholding orders whose foundations and financial futures were made possible by enslaved labor. What is clear is that the slavery and segregation under Catholic auspices were no less brutal, savage, or evil than slavery and segregation under any other entity. It is also clear that the legacies of these Catholic crimes against humanity, including the Church's enduring failure to apologize and make reparation for this history, are still with us. That is why telling Black sisters' stories is so essential.

Black sisters' history reminds us that there has always been an articulation of U.S. Catholicism that understood that the lives, souls, and futures of Black people matter. The early Oblate Sisters of Providence, the nation's and modern world's

What is clear is that the slavery and segregation under Catholic auspices were no less brutal, savage, or evil than slavery and segregation under any other entity.

first successful Roman Catholic sisterhood for African-descended women and girls, for example, were among a small minority of Catholic sisterhoods to minister in the United States before 1850 who did not enslave people or directly exploit or benefit from enslaved labor to secure the financial foundations and futures of their orders. In fact, the early Oblate Sisters of Providence are the essential counterpoints to anyone who dares to defend or excuse their slaveholding and segregationist peers as "people of their times." The non-slaveholding Oblates were also the first U.S. order to reject the racist and sexist notion that a woman born into slavery lacked the virtue necessary to enter religious life. Before the federal abolition of slavery in 1865, they had admitted at least eight women born into slavery into their ranks on an equal basis. By contrast, the historically Creole Sisters of the Holy Family, the nation's second successful African American sisterhood and a former slaveholding order, did not admit formerly enslaved women until 1869. The longstanding anti-Black admissions policies and practices of white sisterhoods ensured that the dominant face and force of Catholic sisters in the United States would be white sisters with minimal, and often conditional, commitments to racial equality and justice. In most of the known cases of African-descended women and girls who passed for white or non-Black in white orders before and after the Civil War, these sisters were required to do so by their orders and/or sought

to maintain a clear social and political distance from the African American community to embrace the privileges and protections of whiteness in their white-dominated Church.

JWR: Education was a top priority for many of the Black leaders that you highlight. Among education's other benefits, you also note that Black-led Catholic schools were essential to producing male and female vocations to religious life and that Black sisters were often "spiritual role models" to the first two generations of Black priests in particular. Can you expand on this relationship of "spiritual role modeling"?

SDW: Long before there were Black priests in the United States, there were Black Catholic nuns. In the longstanding absence of an empowered African American clergy, Black sisters served as the most genuine and effective spiritual and educational leaders of the African American Catholic community. As Oblate Sister of Providence Mary of Good Counsel Baptiste put it in 1939, "[T]he very existence of a colored religious is an ever present if unvoiced argument that highly developed religious life is not only possible for Negroes but even desirable." Although Black sisters have never made up more than one percent of the U.S. sister population, they educated over half of the first two generations of Black priests in the United States. Pioneering Black priests mentored by Black nuns often cite these sisters' influence (along with their parents and other Black laypeople) in their lives, noting that once they expressed a desire to enter religious life their Black sister educators took them under their wings. Many of these priests also had aunts, sisters, and cousins who had entered the nation's Black sisterhoods. Black seminarians and some Black priests who came of age during Black Power

also championed the leadership and legacy of Black nuns. Remember, the National Black Catholic Seminarians Association organized with the support and mentorship of the National Black Sisters' Conference at their third meeting held at the University of Notre Dame because the Black Catholic Clergy Caucus excluded them. Many Black priests and former seminarians who matriculated at the Institute for Black Catholic Studies at Xavier University of Louisiana also credit the institute's Black nun foundresses, especially Sister Thea Bowman, with providing essential support and mentorship.

This is why telling Black sisters' stories is so important. Too many church scholars and even some scholars of African American Catholicism have been quick to center and exaggerate the influence of white Catholics, especially white nuns, in stories of Black Catholic excellence, faithfulness, conversion, and struggle against oppression while downplaying and even erasing Black Catholic agency and leadership. The "true truth" is white Catholics are not and have never been the saviors of Black people, Catholics or otherwise. At times, they have been important allies to Black people in their struggles for equality and justice. At other times, white Catholics have been among the bitterest and most violent opponents to Black progress, freedom, and self-determination. Often, white Catholics, even those who professed a commitment to racial and educational justice, have been uneasy and complicated mixtures of both.

JWR: One of the most well-known figures in Black Catholic history is Thea Bowman, who was designated as a Servant of God in 2018—the first of four steps to canonization as a saint in the Roman Catholic Church. In analyzing her legacy, you argue that her supporters' desire to "iconize"

the late Black nun inadvertently marginalized the struggles for racial, gender, and educational equity that Bowman championed. What factors contributed to this paradox? How does race affect the canonization process more broadly?

SDW: Who tells Black sisters' stories fundamentally matters. Unlike for the sainthood causes of Mother Mary Lange, chief foundress of the Oblate Sisters of Providence, and Mother Henriette Delille, chief foundress of the Sisters of the Holy Family, Sister Thea Bowman's cause and guild are not under the control or leadership of Black nuns or even Black Catholic laywomen. These facts are significant and should not be ignored by scholars or journalists as her cause advances and as more popular attention is directed at her life. Indeed, it matters that Bowman, who desegregated her order, the historically white Franciscan Sisters of Perpetual Adoration, as a teenager, and at least one other African American aspirant, according to one interviewee, suffered unconscionable anti-Black racism in the convent and that Bowman is to date the order's only African American member. That Bowman, an English Ph.D. and champion of Black historical truth-telling, commissioned the great Black feminist writer Margaret Walker Alexander, who was not Catholic, to write her biography demonstrates that she understood who told her story mattered.

Contrary to popular belief, Sister Thea was not beloved by all within the Catholic Church, her order, or even within the Black Catholic community. Several of my interviewees noted that Sister Thea and her ministry of love, which unapologetically championed the intellectual, cultural, and spiritual gifts of the African American community, were perceived as racially divisive by antagonistic white and nonwhite Catholics, including some Black Catholic men

and women. Bowman was also clear in her opposition to racism, sexism, classism, and all the destructive systems of power and exploitation that threaten humanity and undermine the Church's credibility. So, careful attention to and scrutiny of the backgrounds of those who are currently scrambling to attach themselves to Thea's sainthood cause and tell her story in popular, and often profit-making, venues are essential. This is especially true of those Catholics, white and nonwhite, who have been implicated in the Church's sex abuse crisis, who are non-credentialed and/or active within the anti-choice movement, and/or who have only recently begun to champion Black Catholic women's history and speak out against the interconnected sins of racism and misogyny in the Church.

There also needs to be more critical attention to the ways in which race and the politics of white supremacy and misogynoir have shaped the canonization process at every stage. It is incorrect and willfully obtuse to state that the absence of Black Catholic saints from the United States is because African American Catholics only recently recognized the power and possibilities of having African American saints. African American Catholics have a long history of venerating the Church's African and African-descended saints in their communities. Venerable Pierre Toussaint's story was popularized by Catholics involved in the

Let me state this plainly: White sisters and Church scholars, by and large, have not been honest or reliable narrators of the tremendous sin history of anti-Black racism and misogynoir in the Catholic Church . . .

interracial justice movement after World War II, and his cause was first introduced in 1968 amid African American Catholic revolt. According to my interviewees, longstanding racism in the Church and fear of institutional backlash prevented the oldest Black sisterhoods from launching the causes of their foundresses until the late 1980s and early 1990s. Several cited Pope John Paul II's special meeting and address to Black Catholics in Louisiana in 1987 as the impetus to launch the causes beyond Toussaint. And even then, the cause of Julia Greely, a formerly enslaved and nonliterate Black laywoman who primarily ministered to poor white families and is often depicted in a Mammy-like pose with a white child, is a bit curious, especially when we have so many Black laywomen rooted in Black communities, who broke monumental barriers in education and evangelization and whose ministries were explicitly part and parcel of the long struggle against slavery, segregation, and racism within and outside of the Church. But again, Black Catholic women and girls, especially those whose lives and labors do not center white Catholics or diminish the realities of white Catholic racism and misogyny, have been systematically ignored and suppressed in Church history.

Beyond the conspicuous absence of recognized Black saints from the U.S. Church, Catholics and scholars that study them need to have a "come to Jesus" moment and ask why in the last half of the 20th century white nuns like Elizabeth Seton, Rose Philippine Duchesne, and Katharine Drexel, who were enslavers, people who unapologetically exploited enslaved labor, and/or segregationists, were canonized in the Church? How were these nuns' involvement and complicity in these sins of white supremacy represented or not represented to the public, especially in their respective *Positios*? What are the scholarly, theological, spiritual, and canonical implications and consequences of these historical realities, misrepresentations, and erasures?

JWR: *Subversive Habits* is filled with individuals and organizations that have previously received little to no scholarly attention. What led you to these obscured and overlooked histories? What was the largest obstacle you faced in writing this important work?

SDW: This may be obvious, but I encountered the hidden figures and histories examined in my book because I went looking for them. I scoured archival and periodical sources and interviewed people connected to Black sisters' history, including the sisters and ex-sisters themselves. As a historian of Black women, I recognized that the history of Black Catholic women, religious and lay, was essential to any understanding of the making of U.S. Catholicism and the Church's enduring sins of racism, patriarchy, sexual abuse, and misogyny. However, that belief has not been shared widely among Church scholars, including historians of women religious. Let me state this plainly: White sisters and Church scholars, by and large, have not been honest or reliable narrators of the tremendous sin history of anti-Black racism and misogyny in the Catholic Church, and women's religious life specifically. That it has taken until 2022 for us to get the first full survey of Black sisters' lives and struggles in the U.S. Church is obscene and perhaps the greatest testament to the ugly realities of white supremacy, anti-Black misogyny, and willful erasure in our intellectual midst.

Black sisters in Black and white congregations broke some of the nation's most difficult racial and gender barriers. The first African American to chair a department at a historically white university in the United States was a nun. The first woman president of the historically Black Bowie State University was a founding member of the National Black Sisters' Conference and former Oblate Sister of Providence. Dr. Elfreda

Chatman, a pioneering scholar in information studies, was the first Black Humility Sister of Mary in Ohio and a founding member of the National Black Sisters' Conference. Dr. Theresa Perry, a distinguished professor of education, author of the classic *Young, Gifted and Black: Promoting High Achievement among African American Students*, and mother of distinguished Princeton professor Imani Perry, was a former Holy Family Sister and leader in the National Black Sisters' Conference. Many desegregation triumphs in American society can be traced to pioneering Black sisters in white congregations as well as to the African American sisterhoods and/or their former pupils. So, why is their history not common knowledge? Why is it that so many scholars of U.S. Catholicism and women's religious life have never stepped foot inside the archives of the Oblate Sisters of Providence and Sisters of the Holy Family? How is it that the most recent historical survey of the U.S. Catholic experience does not include even one citation to Father Cyprian Davis' *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*? Why do we have documented examples of archival and scholarly erasure and misrepresentation regarding Black sisters' history and white sisters' practices of colonization, slavery, and segregation? It is because myths about the Catholic past fall quickly and hard when the lives and labors of Black Catholics, especially women and girls, are taken seriously and centered.

JWR: *Subversive Habits* is a sweeping chronological account, from the turn of the 19th century all the way to present day. Having covered such a wide variety of time and topics, where do you anticipate your future research heading? Is there any particular issue that you hope other scholars expand upon?

SDW: Because U.S. Black Catholic women and girls have been so disregarded, marginalized, and erased within Church history, the rest of my career will be dedicated to documenting their

lives, labors, struggles, and faithfulness. As I stated in the book's conclusion, much remains to be said about African American sisters' journeys. I have scores of interviews of current and former Black sisters, as well as Black laywomen denied admission into white sisterhoods, that I am working to publish. What *Subversive Habits* revealed about African American sisters' epic history was only the tip of the iceberg. I am also working on a documentary history of Black Catholic women and girls, religious and lay, in the United States. I have a few other projects on the horizon that I will not share at this time. But the magnitude of the work waiting to be completed is tremendous.

The field of U.S. Black Catholic history remains in its infancy. We do not have anywhere close to the number of historical and historically informed studies of Black Catholicism on the local, regional, and national levels that we should have in the 21st century. While Cyprian Davis' landmark history of the African American Catholic community is a foundational study, it is in no way definitive. And let me go even further—there is no definitive historical study of the U.S. Catholic experience or U.S. women religious. We must confront and accept the field-shattering and paradigm-shifting implications of narrating the history of the U.S. Catholic Church from the perspective of Black, Indigenous, Latino/a, and Asian American Catholics. Where would we be today if every Catholic knew and understood that their Church sanctioned and fueled the development of the trans-Atlantic slave trade? What if every Catholic knew and understood what it means that their Church inaugurated African slavery in the Americas and was the largest Christian practitioner of segregation in the United States? How would Catholics respond to *Dobbs* if they had a full understanding of the sexual exploitation of Black women and girls under Catholic slavery and segregation? What if everyone knew that the Jesuits, who have been full-throated in their celebration of the overturning of *Roe* but collectively silent about the attack on Black voting rights, whipped enslaved women naked and had

to be instructed to stop whipping enslaved women who were pregnant? What if every Catholic knew the name and story of Susanna Queen, an enslaved woman owned, abused, and sexually exploited by the Jesuits, who have also been steadfastly resistant to descendant demands to make more substantive reparations for the order's extensive slaveholding across the United States?

Obviously, there is a small cadre of scholars who have been steadily working to disabuse the field and the Church of the enduring myth of Catholic innocence in the United States and global project of anti-Blackness and misogynoir. But we are decades behind where we should be in terms of understanding the full depths of the Church's foundational and violent commitments to white supremacy and misogyny through colonialism, slavery, and segregation. That includes understanding the complicity and agency of white Catholic women, religious and lay, in nurturing, legitimizing, and propagating the racial hatred and misogyny that fueled the backlash to the civil and equal rights gains of the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s and led to the contemporary constitutional crises, including the January 6 insurrection, the attack on voting rights, the undermining of climate preservation legislation, and the attack on reproductive freedom.

I also hope some very courageous scholars and journalists will take up the longstanding sex abuse crisis within the Black Catholic community, which is rooted in the Church's colonial and slaveholding past. There is a direct link between anti-Black racism, misogyny, and the documented sex abuse crisis perpetrated by white and Black priests and white nuns against Black people—children, women, and men—that has been systematically ignored. As I note in my book, even Father Cyprian Davis—a personal champion of my work—is guilty of this sin of omission. When Father Davis, a founding member of the Black Catholic Clergy Caucus, failed to document Sister M. Martin de Porres Grey's presence at the caucus' inaugural meeting in *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, he erased

Where would we be today if every Catholic knew and understood that their Church sanctioned and fueled the development of the trans-Atlantic slave trade?

the hostile and overtly misogynist words and actions of the caucus' founding members toward Grey, then 25 years old, at that fateful 1968 meeting. At least two of the Black Catholic Clergy Caucus' founding members—George Clements and Kenneth Brigham—were later credibly accused of sex abuse. Clements was also closely linked to John Calicott and John Cornelius—two defrocked Black priests who like Brigham were credibly accused and guilty of multiple acts of sexual abuse against Black youth. It absolutely matters that Clements was one of the men that Grey stated surrounded her at the Detroit meeting and screamed at her to leave for 30 minutes. Grey's battles with the clericalism, misogyny, and conservatism of Black priests, brothers, and laymen were a part of the reason she left religious life. Other Black Catholic women, religious and lay, have similar stories and experiences of misogyny and misogynoir from white, Black, and other non-white priests and nuns, including from those who have been championed for their perceived commitments to racial and social justice.

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Why I Study Women Religious

BY ALLISON ISIDORE



When I was young, my grandparents told me about their civil rights work during the 1960s and 1970s. My grandmother, Rosemary Fairchild, worked with Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta, founders of the United Farm Workers of America. She spoke about scouring hours of video to find the phrase “There’s blood on those grapes,” which became a watchword for their demonstrations and speeches. My grandfather, Anthony Isidore, told me how he helped create the “Give a Damn” campaign for the New York Urban Coalition. It was an advertising campaign that used the rhetoric and imagery of segregation to demonstrate what it was like for many Black men and women attempting to gain access to housing and why others should care. Growing up with these stories while being raised Catholic, I often wondered why Catholic activists were not a part of the civil rights historical discourse. Their stories always made me think about the grassroots workers, specifically the women involved in the movement, and have guided me through my academic career.

As I began my master’s at the University of Alabama in 2019, I realized that the discourse surrounding religious participation in the civil rights movement was predominantly focused on

Protestants, while the involvement of Catholic religious activists was rarely discussed. This became clearer as I mapped out major events of the movement for a research project. I came across a photo of nuns in habits—one Black sister and three white sisters—marching in Selma, Alabama, after “Bloody Sunday” in March 1965. I was shocked. I’d never seen this photo before and found myself asking, “Who were these religious women?” This led to bigger questions about the field, especially as I noticed that there had been little research into Black women religious.

During my research of the four nuns in the photo (Sister Roberta Schmidt, C.S.J.; Sister Mary Antona Ebo, F.S.M., the only Black nun photographed; Sister Rosemary Flanigan, C.S.J.; and Sister Eugene Marie Smith, F.S.M.), I was lucky enough to interview three women who were in Selma at that time: Sister Rosemary, now a practicing philosopher; Sister Barbara Lum, S.S.J., a white sister who had been a nurse at the Edmundite Missions and treated civil rights activist John Lewis after the police attack; and Sister Barbara Moore, C.S.J., a Black nun who flew to Selma days after Bloody Sunday to participate in the subsequent marches. These



Sister Barbara Lum, S.S.J., with residents at Good Samaritan Hospital Nursing Home, 1966. Original photo by Sister Mary John Van Atta, S.S.J. Courtesy of the Archives of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Rochester, New York.

women contextualized the march, its aftermath, and the Church's response to demonstrations in states like Alabama, which had a very small Catholic population.

As I began to listen to the history of the women's involvement in the civil rights movement, it became more apparent that while the institution of the American Catholic Church offered statements on racial justice and equality—such as the bishops' statements on *Discrimination and Christian Conscience* (1958), the *National Race*

Crisis (1968), and *Brothers and Sisters to Us: Pastoral Letter on Racism* (1979)—the Church continued to fall short on addressing discrimination within parishes and orders. Religious orders and Church hierarchy also restricted both men and women religious from participating in protests. According to Sister Barbara Lum, Archbishop Thomas Joseph Toolen forbade priests and nuns in the jurisdiction of Alabama from participating in civil rights demonstrations, ostensibly for the safety of the small Catholic population. When speaking about the sisters who flew to Selma from

across the country, answering Martin Luther King’s call to join the voting rights marches, Toolen told the *National Catholic Reporter*, “Certainly, the sisters are out of place in these demonstrations. Their place is at home doing God’s work.” While the quote highlights a perspective that some in the Church hierarchy held, the sisters would have thought of their involvement differently. One could argue that these women were doing God’s work by demonstrating in Selma, participating in a kneel-in in front of the Dallas County Courthouse, or marching 51 miles with activists to Montgomery over five days.

While there has been scholarship on Black Catholic history, such as the pioneering scholar Father Cyprian Davis, O.S.B.’s books *The History of Black Catholics in the United States* (1995) and *Taking Down Our Harps: Black Catholics in the United States* (1998), such work has addressed African American religious life in the Catholic Church broadly but without enough attention to Black women religious. Scholarship on Black women religious has only recently entered the discourse with Shannen Dee Williams’ publication of *Subversive Habits: Black Catholic Nuns in the Long African American Freedom Struggle* (see the interview with Williams on p. 22). While Williams’ book is a much-needed start, the history of Black women religious still needs further examination.

Though my project is very much in its early stages, it is evident that the history of women religious needs to be integrated into the story of the civil rights movement, especially the involve-

ment of Black women religious. While Black women religious were being told to stay out of public demonstrations, they were fighting for racial equality within their orders. These women were breaking down racial barriers and desegregating what had previously been white-only orders, working in communities that had previously been sundown towns, and offering safe havens for civil rights workers to meet when local governments banned such gatherings in public spaces. When we examine the histories of white sisters who assisted in desegregating parishes, orders, and parochial schools, we see stories of Catholics who truly fought for racial equality.

I study women religious because their histories and contributions matter despite being previously ignored. These women have helped change the makeup of the Catholic Church and the country, yet their accounts have been overlooked or, in some cases, erased, making them incredibly difficult to learn about, never mind write about. Too few people have heard of these women and their impact on the United States. As a religious studies scholar, I research these women so their histories are not forgotten and so those in the fields of religious studies, history, and Catholic studies—as well as the general public—can learn about them.

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Allison Isidore is a doctoral student in religious studies at the University of Iowa. She also serves as assistant director for the American Catholic Historical Association (ACHA) and as one of the hosts of the ACHA’s podcast “New Books in Catholic Studies.”

Archival Collections beyond the Archives

BY WM. KEVIN CAWLEY

In August 1879, Pope Leo XIII issued *Aeterni Patris*, an encyclical promoting the revival of Christian philosophy as a defense against the dangerous errors of secular intellectuals. Above all he recommended the mind of St. Thomas Aquinas and commissioned a scholarly edition of his collected works. For most of the century that followed, Thomism had a profound influence on Catholic education, Catholic culture, and Catholic apologetics. Seminarians as undergraduates majored in philosophy regardless of their personal inclinations. Graduate seminarians studied theology in the spirit of St. Thomas. These students generally did not read the works of Thomas in their original Latin; rather they studied manuals that extracted and simplified Thomistic thought. The Thomism that filtered down to high schools and elementary schools formed the minds of Catholic children with even simpler derivatives.

But Catholic philosophers and theologians capable of understanding Thomas made their own original thought a respected alternative to the prevailing opinions of their times. They brought Catholic thinking into the 20th century and did dialectical battle in secular controversies. Out of this Thomistic renaissance came the Second Vatican Council. Both progressives and conservatives at Vatican II had grown up in the era of Thomistic Catholicism. However, in subsequent reforms Thomism lost its monopoly.

I hear grumbling in the audience. Anyone who objects to my simple notions can find ample evidence to refute me in archival collections at Notre Dame. But those hypothetical scholars will not find their ammunition only in the Notre Dame Archives. Rather, after checking in at the Cushwa Center, they will have to walk around the corner and down the hall to the Jacques Maritain Center and the de Nicola Center for Ethics and Culture (CEC). In the Maritain Center they will find papers of philosophers respected outside the Catholic ghetto: Jacques Maritain himself, Yves René Simon, Charles De Koninck (a *peritus* at Vatican II). Stored in the same vicinity they will find the papers of Germain Grisez held by the CEC.

Maritain (1882–1973), raised as a Protestant, did not grow up in the Thomistic educational milieu. After his conversion to Catholicism he paid no attention to St. Thomas. But his wife Raïssa (1883–1960), a poet who came to Catholicism hand in hand with him, discovered the Angelic Doctor and brought Aquinas and Maritain together. By the time Jacques and Raïssa came to the new world to escape Vichy France during World War II, Jacques had become the most prominent Catholic philosopher of his century, respected by supporters and opponents alike. The papers held by the Maritain Center (18 linear feet) date chiefly from Maritain's time in America and represent the development of his philosophy during that time but also his work in the world. He helped Notre Dame develop a new curriculum and served as a leader



Jacques Maritain, circa 1930. Public domain.

in the *École Libre des Hautes Études*, a university organized by and for French professors exiled in America during the war. He wrote books intended for a general audience. Through his work, Thomism became a major influence on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Simon (1903–1961), Maritain's student and colleague, came to teach at Notre Dame in 1938, moved to the University of Chicago in 1948, and taught there until his death in 1961. His papers (32 linear feet) eventually came to the Maritain Center. While his files reflect the whole range of topics important for teaching philosophy, his research and published books focus on social concerns: democratic government, work, society, culture, authority, morality, liberation, freedom, natural law.

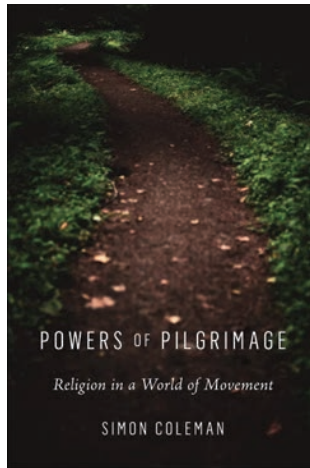
De Koninck (1906–1965), a Belgian educated in France and Canada, held doctorates in both philosophy and theology. He taught at Laval University in Quebec from 1934 until his death. The Maritain Center has photocopies of his papers (6 linear feet) including correspondence, lectures, notes and drafts concerning evolution, science, education, logic, theology, natural philosophy, ethics, political theory, and metaphysics.

Grisez (1929–2018) grew up in a Cleveland suburb, attended Catholic schools, and in three years finished most requirements for a bachelor's degree at John Carroll University. He spent his senior year studying with the Dominicans in the Chicago suburb of River Forest and received a licentiate in philosophy there before his graduation at John Carroll. He earned a Ph.D. in philosophy from the University of Chicago (1951–1959). He taught at Georgetown University (1957–1972), Campion College, University of Regina (1972–1979), and Mount St. Mary's College and Seminary in Emmitsburg, Maryland (1979–2009). His papers (36 linear feet) represent his teaching and research but also document his active participation in the maelstrom of Catholic controversy before, during, and after Vatican II. With original arguments he defended traditional Catholic teachings about natural law, contraception, and abortion. He served as an advisor to bishops and called for a summa of Catholic moral theology for contemporary Catholics. When he could convince nobody else to write it he spent 30 years doing it himself, producing his magnum opus *The Way of the Lord Jesus* (see twotlj.org). His papers provide excellent documentation of his role in the culture wars.

The watered-down Thomism of 20th-century Catholic education had an answer to every disputed question. But the philosophers themselves belonged to a number of different schools of Thomism and frequently disagreed with one another. De Koninck famously criticized the personalism of Maritain, and Simon defended it. Grisez often agreed with Ralph McInerny, longtime head of the Maritain Center, but his papers show that they sometimes disagreed.

Lately I have heard from some professors that nobody reads Maritain anymore. For decades Thomism has not been trending. But on the Maritain Center's website one can discover many volumes of scholarly papers written by members of the American Maritain Association, and similar organizations devoted to Thomism that continue to flourish in many other countries. The website also has many volumes, under the heading "Aristotle et al.," representing Thomistic thought. (For scholars who are not themselves trending, the Maritain Center also has a collection of papers from the River Forest Dominicans and a large collection of old-fashioned medium-rare books and dissertations representing the Maritains and Thomism.) In the 21st century we still find a few influencers who believe in free will, who understand how natural law supports human rights, and who have a role in the argument over whether such rights should extend to humans in the womb.

Wm. Kevin Cawley retired in 2019 from his role as senior archivist and curator of manuscripts at the Archives of the University of Notre Dame, after 36 years of service. For nearly three decades, he has served as volunteer librarian and curator for Notre Dame's Jacques Maritain Center (maritain.nd.edu).



Powers of Pilgrimage: Religion in a World of Movement

Simon Coleman (New York University Press, 2022)

REVIEW BY MELISSA COLES

On October 13, 1990, hundreds of people prayed and sang outside a home in rural Conyers, Georgia, waiting to hear Mary’s message to the American people. Inside the house, Nancy Fowler saw “Our Loving Mother” in the “Apparition Room.” After Mary left, Fowler went outside and shared Her message to the crowd. News spread of the event and of the subsequent monthly apparitions, and by 1993, thousands of pilgrims, curiosity seekers, and skeptics came to hear, see, and judge Fowler and Our Loving Mother’s messages. When large groups of Hispanic pilgrims began regular trips from southern Florida,

a priest started translating Mary’s messages into Spanish. The apparitions became yearly rather than monthly events, but their popularity swelled. Intense debates raged in religious and civic circles about religious authority, female mystics, and crowd control. For the final apparition on October 13, 1998, hundreds of thousands gathered. Through most of the 1990s, the apparitions shaped conversation and action in Georgia and beyond, part of global Marian networks. Other pilgrimages, though, can boast of larger numbers, longer histories, grander rituals, and ecclesiastical approval, and little scholarly attention has been paid to the Conyers Marian apparitions. Answering Simon

Coleman's call would change that. In *Powers of Pilgrimage: Religion in a World of Movement*, Coleman challenges readers to attend to pilgrimages throughout the world that have been under-represented in pilgrimage studies.

Powers of Pilgrimage makes an enormous contribution to studies of pilgrimage by reframing and expanding the field. In particular, Coleman argues for a spatial, methodological, and theoretical expansion, a three-pronged strategy intended "to widen the range of places and behaviors where pilgrimage presences, powers, and effects are acknowledged to exist" (237, 248–249). To begin this widening, *Powers of Pilgrimage* instructs scholars to assess and problematize "religion" and "pilgrimage," to ask which pilgrimages merit study and which aspects are worth highlighting. Spatially, pilgrimage literature historically has highlighted ritual cores, routine actions, and religious versus secular space. Simultaneously complementing and challenging this focus, Coleman shifts readers' attention to broader connections across the landscape, creative actions, and the entangled reality of "religious" and "secular" spaces. This broader spatial scope is complemented by a call for greater methodological flexibility, which includes increased appreciation for "the politics of attention surrounding the construction of knowledge about pilgrimage" (239). Theoretically, Coleman wants scholars of pilgrimage to "shift ethnographic attention sideways," and he provides a lexicon of horizontally oriented, socio-spatial terms to assist in this shift (244). Coleman is expanding readers' views of pilgrimage's definition as well as its importance for academia and for contemporary society. While "acknowledg[ing] the importance of self-consciously exclusive examples of pious travel," *Powers of Pilgrimage* "suggests how we can expand our ethnographic and analytical gaze in reconsidering the salience, scope, and scale of contemporary forms of pilgrimage-related activity" (5).

The book provides evidence for and examples of this expansion through a tripartite structure organized around themes. In part I, "Frames," Coleman argues "against rigid characterizations of what is and is not genuine or authentic pilgrimage and contend[s] that we must widen our horizons in recognizing physical, cultural, and intellectual terrains of pilgrimage activity" (15). The section pushes back against pilgrimage parochialities—inflexible frameworks and scholarly cul-de-sacs that are limiting pilgrimage studies. Against the tendency to prioritize Euro-American scholarship written in English, Coleman implores readers to read global pilgrimage scholarship written in other languages. To answer the current problem of too much focus on Euro-American sites, Coleman advocates for highlighting pilgrimages throughout the rest of the world—as sites of primary study and of comparative analysis. And instead of focusing on Christian sites of high ritual activity, Coleman encourages scholars to look beyond Christian sites and to shift their attention to broader pilgrimage landscapes.

Moving beyond his framing arguments, part II, "Tropes," focuses on three concepts that have gained traction in pilgrimage studies: *communitas*, contestation, and the Camino. This section features rich analysis of scholars who have used and responded to these terms. Coleman begins with *communitas*, a term introduced by anthropologists Victor and Edith Turner in the 1960s that centers the communal equality, unity, and possibility found during social experiences such as pilgrimages and rites of passage. To explain how *communitas* became a term and a trope, Coleman provides an intellectual and personal genealogy of the Turners. This is an important contribution of the book because their background and their complex use of *communitas* has been "often ignored within pilgrimage studies" (58). With *communitas*' history in mind, Coleman then analyzes other scholars' responses to the

Turners' work and to *communitas* in particular. For his part, Coleman is "appreciative but critical" of *communitas* because he argues it ultimately focuses attention "on actions separated from the everyday, highlighting points of peak intensity and concentration" and disconnects pilgrimage studies from wider scholarly conversations (85).

Next, Coleman turns to another enduring trope in pilgrimage studies, one that many scholars embraced beginning in the 1980s—contestation. Responding to the Turners' focus on anti-structure and *communitas*, Michael Sallnow and John Eade, two anthropologically informed scholars utilizing social scientific methods, popularized the focus on contestation. This approach highlights the conflict, competition, and differences that are experienced and amplified at intense events such as pilgrimages. Although drawing attention to real complexities at shrines, Coleman argues that *communitas* and contestation "focus too much attention on shrines themselves" and "downplay the significance of more ambivalent, hesitant, and even inconsistent associations within sacred sites" (107).

The final trope Coleman explores in part II is the Camino. This trope grew from the Camino de Santiago, European pilgrimage paths that lead to the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, Spain. The Camino as a model of pilgrimage focuses on individualized experiences on the path to a ritual center. While these focuses are important perspectives for pilgrimage studies to examine, Coleman shows how they create and encourage harmful disconnections between path and shrine, informal and formal, individual and collective. Instead of limiting perspectives and creating barriers *between* spaces and experiences, Coleman wants to analyze expanded perspectives, articulations *across* spaces and experiences. After examining and critiquing the use of *communitas*, contestation, and the Camino in the social

scientific study of pilgrimage, Coleman argues that they "have provided important insights yet limited our perspectives" by ignoring or under-analyzing pilgrimage's "role as social and cultural phenomenon with influence over wider dimensions of society" (15).

In part III of the book, "Articulations," Coleman provides readers with examples of how to answer this challenge. With the goal of creating generative lexicons and conversations, he introduces concepts that include penumbra, laterality, narratives, and mobility. Penumbra is "a zone of operation whose outer edges cannot be determined with any certainty," and laterality "implies being located at one remove from ritual action while also being partially oriented toward—and sometimes inadvertently seduced by—such action" (139–140, 144). Penumbra and laterality can help scholars to answer Coleman's call for expanded studies of pilgrimage by examining "frictional, strategic, spontaneous, and hapless engagement with sacred sites" (170). A focus on narratives also can move studies of pilgrimages beyond a narrow focus on shrines, high holy days, and "true" pilgrims because narratives are powerful articulations that move across zones of operation, "recall[ing], relocat[ing], and reconstruct[ing]" (170). Finally, with his focus on mobility, Coleman aims "to systematize understandings of dynamic ways in which pilgrimage practices are embedded within ramifying and often interrelated manifestations of movement" (235). Mobility, immobility, and articulation are powerful themes that connect all of the terms and examples that Coleman presents.

Drawing upon cultural studies scholar Stuart Hall's work, Coleman's use of articulation brings into focus the creation, breaking, and re-creation of connections. Coleman acknowledges that pilgrimage scholars have been noting these connections for several decades, but he wants them to

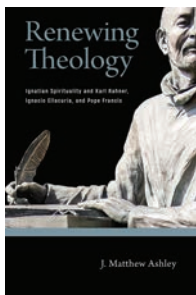
go farther and examine “*how* and *when* links are made (or denied) and . . . develop a methodology as well as an analytical vocabulary to understand such processes and their sensitivities to social, spatial, and cultural context” (6, 13). Time will tell if the lexicon Coleman proposes has interpretive power for scholars of pilgrimage, but most specialists will welcome his assessment of guiding terms and his effort to nudge pilgrimage studies in new directions.

Powers of Pilgrimage provides a clear-sighted example of how pilgrimage scholarship can cross disciplines, topics, and regions. One of the strengths—and challenges—of pilgrimage studies is its interdisciplinary nature, and although *Powers of Pilgrimage* is primarily an anthropological and ethnographic work, Coleman intentionally engages other disciplines throughout the book. For example, as “an act of articulation in itself . . . intended to illustrate something about the connective qualities of pilgrimage,” the terms Coleman promotes are drawn from disciplines that include anthropology, physics, architecture, chemistry, and geography (11). Another strength of the book is its utility as a model for how scholars who study Christianity, Europe, and the United States can expand the geographical, temporal, and topical scope of their analysis. Coleman addresses the issue by “investigating the intellectual origins of Anglophone studies of European pilgrimage, critically juxtaposing them with examples of pilgrimage drawn from elsewhere, and reframing them through theoretical perspectives often derived from discussions that have little to do with pilgrimage” (36). Rich ethnographic examples—drawn both from Coleman’s own work and from an impressive breadth of other scholars—are a key feature of *Powers of Pilgrimage*. Recurring examples include Walsingham, Shikoku, Mecca, the Camino, Israel-Palestine, and pilgrimages in eastern India.

Another notable feature of the book is Coleman’s decision to put scholarship on Pentecostalism and scholarship on pilgrimage into dialogue with one another. The resulting conversation is fruitful and fresh. Scholars who wish to move beyond a narrow focus on Christianity and the North Atlantic World can follow both Coleman’s theoretical frame and his practical model.

Powers of Pilgrimage is an important book for scholars of pilgrimage and religion, but also for scholars of culture, mobility, economy, and geography. The book provides an impressive overview and analysis of the field as well as an impassioned call to expand the field’s approaches and subjects, including by rejecting false binaries between “religious” and “secular” spaces, peoples, and practices. Coleman reveals flexible, diffuse, powerful realities such as “lateral actions and penumbral spaces produced in and around shrines; narratives and social exchanges performed far from spiritual centers; politically loaded intersections of ritual rhythms and acts of civic engagement” (237). *Powers of Pilgrimage* would be a wonderful addition to courses for graduate students and upper level undergraduates. And scholars of pilgrimage will want to carefully consider Coleman’s call “to follow these connections still further in exploring and expanding the possibilities and powers of the field” (251).

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Melissa Coles is a doctoral candidate in history at the University of Notre Dame.



J. Matthew Ashley

Renewing Theology: Ignatian Spirituality and Karl Rahner, Ignacio Ellacuría, and Pope Francis

NOTRE DAME 2022

Over several centuries, spirituality has come to define a field of concerns and themes increasingly

treated separately from those of academic theology, as if the latter had little relation to the former. In *Renewing Theology*, J. Matthew Ashley investigates Ignatian spirituality and three prominent 20th-century theologians who embraced its spiritual resources: Karl Rahner, Ignacio Ellacuría, and Jorge Mario Bergoglio—that is, Pope Francis. Ashley offers case studies to show how each Jesuit responded to the challenges of modernity in a way that is uniquely nourished and illuminated by themes constitutive of Ignatian spirituality.



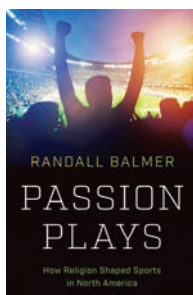
Andrew Ball

The Economy of Religion in American Literature: Culture and the Politics of Redemption

BLOOMSBURY 2022

Examining how economic change influences religion and the way literature mediates that influence, this book provides a reassessment

of modern American culture. Focusing on the period 1840–1940, the author shows how the development of capitalism reshaped American Protestantism and addresses the necessary role of literature in that process. Examining work from writers like Rebecca Harding Davis, Jack London, and Countee Cullen, Andrew Ball shows how concepts of salvation fundamentally intersect with matters of race, gender, and class and proposes a theory that explains the enchantment of modern American society.



Randall Balmer

Passion Plays: How Religion Shaped Sports in North America
UNC 2022

Randall Balmer was a late convert to sports talk radio, but he quickly became addicted. The more he listened, Balmer couldn't help but wonder how the fervor

he heard related to religious practice. Houses of worship once railed against Sabbath-busting sports events, but today most willingly accommodate Super Bowl Sunday, and basketball's inventor James Naismith was an ardent follower of Muscular Christianity who believed the game would develop religious character. Balmer explores the origins and histories of big-time sports from the late 19th century to the present, with entertaining anecdotes and fresh insights into their ties to religious life.



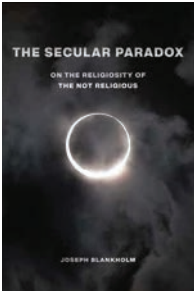
Evan Berry (ed.)

Climate Politics and the Power of Religion

INDIANA 2022

Climate Politics and the Power of Religion is an edited collection that explores the diverse ways that religion shapes climate politics at the local, national, and international levels. Drawing on

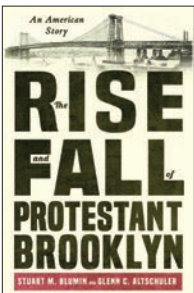
10 case studies from across the globe, it stands at the intersection of religious studies, environment policy, and global politics. Whether it be Hindu *tva* policy-makers in India, *curanderos* in Peru, or working-class people's concerns about the transgressions of petroleum extraction in Trinidad—religion affects how they all are making sense of and responding to this escalating global catastrophe.



Joseph Blankholm

The Secular Paradox: On the Religiosity of the Not Religious
NYU 2022

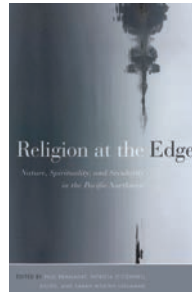
For much of America's rapidly growing secular population, religion is an inescapable source of skepticism and discomfort. It shows up in politics and holidays, but also in common events like weddings and funerals. In *The Secular Paradox*, Joseph Blankholm argues that, despite their desire to avoid religion, nonbelievers often seem religious because Christianity influences the culture around them so deeply. Relying on several years of ethnographic research among secular activists and organized nonbelievers in the United States—especially women and people of color—the volume explores how very secular people are ambivalent toward belief, community, ritual, conversion, and tradition.



Stuart M. Blumin & Glenn C. Altschuler

The Rise and Fall of Protestant Brooklyn: An American Story
CORNELL 2022

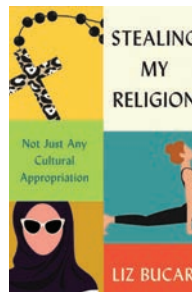
In *The Rise and Fall of Protestant Brooklyn*, Stuart M. Blumin and Glenn C. Altschuler tell the story of 19th-century Brooklyn's domination by upper- and middle-class Protestants with roots in Puritan New England. Brooklyn was once celebrated for its churches and upright suburban living, but challenges to this way of life issued from the sheer growth of the city, from new secular institutions, and from the licit and illicit attractions of Coney Island. Yankee-Protestant hegemony largely held until the massive influx of Southern and Eastern European immigrants in the 20th century, new Brooklynites who established the ethnic mosaic that laid the groundwork for the theory of cultural pluralism.



Paul Bramadat, Patricia O'Connell Killen, & Sarah Wilkins-Laflamme (eds.)

Religion at the Edge: Nature, Spirituality, and Secularity in the Pacific Northwest
BRITISH COLUMBIA 2022

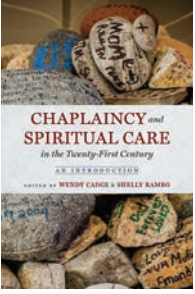
The Cascadia bioregion—British Columbia, Washington, and Oregon—has long been at the forefront of cultural shifts occurring throughout North America, particularly regarding religious institutions, ideas, and practices. *Religion at the Edge* explores the rise of religious “nones,” the decline of mainstream Christian denominations, spiritual and environmental innovation, increasing religious pluralism, and the growth of smaller, more traditional faith groups in Cascadia. Employing surveys, archival sources, interviews with faith and community leaders, and focus groups, contributors showcase a spectrum of adherents from Christian, Sikh, Buddhist, Muslim, Jewish, Baha'i, new age, Indigenous, and irreligious communities.



Liz Bucar

Stealing My Religion: Not Just Any Cultural Appropriation
HARVARD 2022

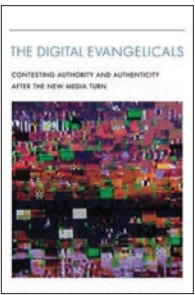
We think we know cultural appropriation when we see it. But what about Cardi B posing as the Hindu goddess Durga in a Reebok ad, AA's 12-step invocation of God, or the earnest *namaste* you utter at the end of yoga class? Liz Bucar unpacks the ethical dilemmas of a messy form of cultural appropriation: the borrowing of religious doctrines, rituals, and dress for political, economic, and therapeutic reasons. Using revealing case studies, Bucar comes to a surprising conclusion: the way to avoid religious appropriation isn't to borrow less but to borrow more—to become deeply invested in learning the roots and diverse meanings of our enthusiasms.



Wendy Cadge & Shelly Rambo (eds.)

Chaplaincy and Spiritual Care in the Twenty-First Century
UNC 2022

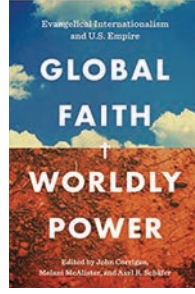
Wendy Cadge and Shelly Rambo demonstrate the urgent need, highlighted by the COVID-19 pandemic, to position the long history and practice of chaplaincy within the rapidly changing landscape of American religion and spirituality. Written by a team of multidisciplinary experts and drawing on ongoing research at the Chaplaincy Innovation Lab at Brandeis University, this book identifies three central competencies—individual, organizational, and meaning-making—that all chaplains must have, and it provides the resources for building those skills. The book provides a road map for training and renewing chaplains across a professional continuum that spans major sectors of American society, including hospitals, prisons, universities, the military, and nursing homes.



Travis Warren Cooper

The Digital Evangelicals: Contesting Authority and Authenticity after the New Media Turn
INDIANA 2022

In *The Digital Evangelicals*, Travis Warren Cooper locates evangelicalism as a media event rather than as a coherent religious tradition by focusing on the intertwined narratives of evangelical Christianity and emerging digital culture in the United States. He focuses on two dominant media traditions: *media sincerity*, immediate and direct interpersonal communication, and *media promiscuity*, communication with the primary goal of extending the Christian community regardless of physical distance. Cooper argues that the tension between these conflicting paradigms is culminating in a crisis of evangelical authority.



John Corrigan, Melani McAlister, & Axel R. Schäfer (eds.)

Global Faith, Worldly Power: Evangelical Internationalism and U.S. Empire
UNC 2022

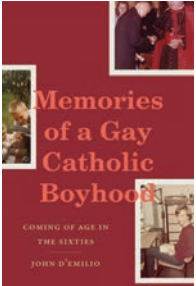
Assessing the grand American evangelical missionary venture to convert the world, this international group of leading scholars reveals how theological imperatives have intersected with worldly imaginaries from the 19th century to the present. Countering the stubborn notion that conservative Protestant groups have steadfastly maintained their distance from governmental and economic affairs, these experts show how believers' ambitious investments in missionizing and humanitarianism have connected with worldly matters of empire, the Cold War, foreign policy, and neoliberalism. Evangelicals' international activism redefined the content and the boundaries of the movement itself.



Douglas E. Cowan

The Forbidden Body: Sex, Horror, and the Religious Imagination
NYU 2022

Throughout history, religion has attempted to control nothing so much as our bodies: what they are and what they mean; what we do with them, with whom, and under what circumstances; how they may be displayed—or, more commonly, how they must be hidden. *The Forbidden Body* examines how horror culture treats these bodies, exploring the dark spaces where sex and the sexual body come together with religious belief and tales of terror. Douglas E. Cowan challenges the reader to move beyond preconceived notions of religion in order to decipher the “religious imagination” at play in the scary stories we tell over and over again.



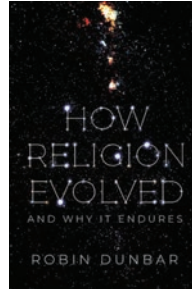
John D’Emilio

Memories of a Gay Catholic Boyhood: Coming of Age in the Sixties

DUKE 2022

Memories of a Gay Catholic Boyhood is John D’Emilio’s coming-of-age story in which he takes readers from his working-

class Bronx neighborhood to an elite Jesuit high school in Manhattan to Columbia University and the political and social upheavals of the late 1960s. He shares his personal experiences of growing up in a conservative, tight-knit, multigenerational family, how he went from considering entering the priesthood to losing his faith and coming to terms with his same-sex desires. Not just D’Emilio’s personal story, the book opens a window into how the conformist baby boom decade of the 1950s transformed into the tumultuous years of radical social movements and widespread protests.



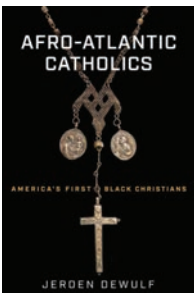
Robin Dunbar

How Religion Evolved: And Why It Endures

OXFORD 2022

How, when, and why did our propensity toward spiritual thinking and ritual emerge, and how did the earliest, informal shamanic practices evolve into the

world religions familiar to us today? In *How Religion Evolved*, Robin Dunbar explores these and other questions, mining the distinctions between religions of experience—as practiced by the earliest hunter-gatherer societies—and doctrinal religions, from Judaism, Christianity, and Islam to Zoroastrianism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and their many derivatives. Examining religion’s origins, social functions, effects on the brain and body, and its place in the modern era, Dunbar offers analysis of the quintessentially human impulse to believe.



Jeroen Dewulf

Afro-Atlantic Catholics: America’s First Black Christians

NOTRE DAME 2022

Black Christianity in America has long been studied as a blend of indigenous African and Protestant elements. Jeroen Dewulf redirects the conversation by focusing on

the enduring legacy of 17th-century Afro-Atlantic Catholics in the broader history of African American Christianity. With homelands in parts of Africa with historically strong Portuguese influence, these Africans embraced variants of early modern Portuguese Catholicism that they would take with them to the Americas. Their impact upon the development of Black religious, social, and political activity in North America would be felt from the southern states as far north as what would become New York.



Matthew T. Eggemeier, Peter Joseph Fritz, & Karen V. Guth (eds.)

Religion, Protest, and Social Upheaval

FORDHAM 2022

From the January 2017 Women’s March to the August 2017 events in Charlottesville and the 2020

protests for racial justice in the wake of George Floyd’s murder, social upheaval and protest have loomed large in the United States in recent years. The varied, sometimes conflicting role of religious believers, communities, and institutions in such events and movements calls for scholarly analysis. Arising from a conference held at the College of the Holy Cross in November 2017, *Religion, Protest, and Social Upheaval* gathers contributions from 10 scholars in religious studies, theology and ethics, and gender studies to illuminate this tumultuous era of history.



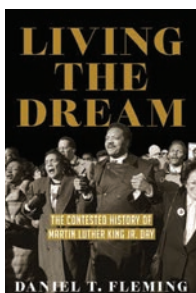
Kirk D. Farney

Ministers of a New Medium: Broadcasting Theology in the Radio Ministries of Fulton J. Sheen and Walter A. Maier

IVP ACADEMIC 2022

In *Ministers of a New Medium*, Kirk D. Farney explores the work of two groundbreaking

leaders in religious broadcasting: Fulton J. Sheen and Walter A. Maier. These clergymen and professors—one a Catholic priest, the other a Lutheran minister—each led the way in combining substantive theology and emerging technology to spread the gospel over the airwaves. With careful attention to both the theological content and the cultural influence of these masters of a new medium, Farney’s study sheds new light on the history of media and Christianity in the United States.



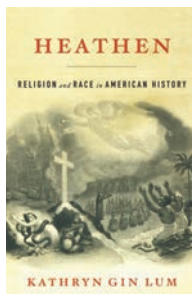
Daniel T. Fleming

Living the Dream: The Contested History of Martin Luther King Jr. Day

UNC 2022

Living the Dream tells the history behind the establishment of Martin Luther King Jr. Day and the battle over King’s legacy that

continued through the decades that followed. Author Daniel T. Fleming reveals the lengths that activists had to go to elevate an African American man to the pantheon of national heroes, how conservatives took advantage of the commemoration to bend the arc of King’s legacy toward something he never would have expected, and how grassroots causes, unions, and antiwar demonstrators continued to try to claim this day as their own.



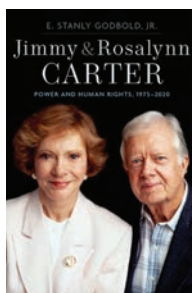
Kathryn Gin Lum

Heathens: Religion and Race in American History

HARVARD 2022

If an 18th-century parson claimed that the difference between “civilization and heathenism is sky-high and star-far,” the words would hardly come as a shock.

But that statement was written by an American missionary in 1971. Kathryn Gin Lum shows how the idea of the heathen has been maintained from the colonial era to the present in religious and secular discourses—discourses, specifically, of race. While the term “heathen” fell out of common use by the early 1900s, the ideas underlying the figure of the heathen did not disappear. *Heathens* reveals a key source of American exceptionalism and a prism through which Americans have defined themselves as a progressive and humanitarian nation.

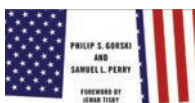


E. Stanly Godbold Jr.

Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter: Power and Human Rights, 1975–2020

OXFORD 2022

Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter’s marriage over 75 years is the longest of any American presidential couple and has been described as a “full partnership.” The second of a two-volume biography, this book offers a comprehensive account of the professional and personal lives of the powerful couple who have worked together as reformers in Georgia, president and first lady of the United States, and founders of the Carter Center. Among the greatest peacemakers of the 20th century, Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter emerge from this account as a shining example of the power of a couple in public service.



THE FLAG + THE CROSS



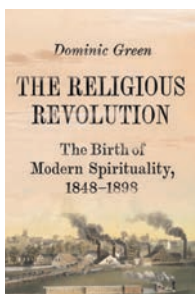
Philip S. Gorski & Samuel L. Perry

The Flag and the Cross: White Christian Nationalism and the Threat to American Democracy

OXFORD 2022

In this short primer, Philip S. Gorski and Samuel L. Perry explain what white Christian

nationalism is and is not; when it first emerged and how it has changed; where it's headed and why it threatens democracy. Tracing the development of this ideology over the course of three centuries—and especially its influence over the last three decades—they show how, throughout American history, white Christian nationalism has animated the oppression, exclusion, and even extermination of minority groups while securing privilege for white Protestants. It enables white Christian Americans to demand “sacrifice” from others in the name of religion and nation, while defending their “rights” in the name of “liberty” and “property.”



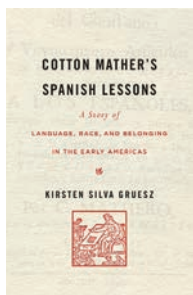
Dominic Green

The Religious Revolution: The Birth of Modern Spirituality, 1848–1898

FSG 2022

The late 19th century was an age of grand ideas and great expectations fueled by rapid scientific and technological

innovation. Amid this tumult, another sea change was underway: the religious revolution. Dominic Green charts this profound cultural and political shift, taking readers on a whirlwind journey through the lives and ideas of Ralph Waldo Emerson and Walt Whitman; of Wagner and Nietzsche; of Marx, Darwin, and Gandhi. Challenged by the industrialization, globalization, and political unrest of their times, these figures found themselves connecting with the religious impulse in surprising new ways.



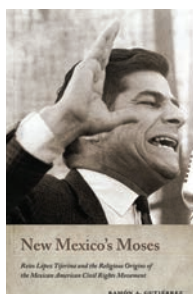
Kirsten Silva Gruesz

Cotton Mather's Spanish Lessons: A Story of Language, Race, and Belonging in the Early Americas

HARVARD 2022

The Boston minister Cotton Mather was the first English colonial to refer to himself as an

American. He was also the first to author a Spanish-language publication: *La Fe del Christiano* (*The Faith of the Christian*), a Protestant tract intended to evangelize readers across the Spanish Americas. Kirsten Silva Gruesz explores the conditions that produced *La Fe del Christiano*, from the intimate story of the “Spanish Indian” servants in Mather’s household, to the fragile business of printing and bookselling, to the fraught overlaps of race, ethnicity, and language that remain foundational to ideas of Latina/o/x belonging in the United States today.



Ramón A. Gutiérrez

New Mexico's Moses: Reies López Tijerina and the Religious Origins of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement

NEW MEXICO 2022

In *New Mexico's Moses*, Ramón A. Gutiérrez dives into Reies López Tijerina's religious formation

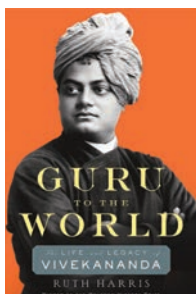
during the 1940s and 1950s, illustrating how his Pentecostal foundation remained an integral part of his psyche even as he migrated toward social-movement politics. An Assemblies of God evangelist turned Pentecostal itinerant preacher, Tijerina used his secularized apocalyptic theology to inspire the dispossessed heirs of Spanish and Mexican land grants fighting to recuperate ancestral lands. Using Tijerina's collected sermons—translated into English for the first time here—Gutiérrez demonstrates the ways in which biblical prophecy influenced Tijerina throughout his life.



Alexander J. B. Hampton & Douglas Hedley (eds.)

The Cambridge Companion to Christianity and the Environment
CAMBRIDGE 2022

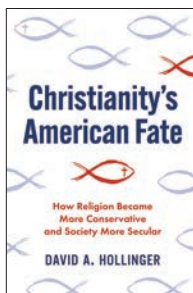
Christianity has understood the environment as a gift to nurture and steward, a book of divine revelation disclosing the divine mind, a wild garden in need of cultivation and betterment, and as a resource for the creation of a new Eden. This volume details how Christianity has shaped one of the existential issues of our age, engaging with contemporary issues including gender, traditional knowledge, and enchantment. The international contributors offer a guide to the complex relationship between Christianity and the environment that moves beyond disciplinary boundaries.



Ruth Harris

Guru to the World: The Life and Legacy of Vivekananda
HARVARD 2022

Few thinkers have had so enduring an impact on both Eastern and Western life as Swami Vivekananda, the Indian monk who inspired the likes of Freud, Gandhi, and Tagore. Blending science, religion, and politics, Vivekananda introduced Westerners to yoga and the universalist school of Hinduism called Vedanta. *Guru to the World* traces Vivekananda's transformation from son of a Calcutta-based attorney into saffron-robed ascetic who fascinated audiences at the 1893 World Parliament of Religions in Chicago. With teachings from Hinduism, Western esoteric spirituality, physics, and the sciences of mind, he advocated a more inclusive conception of religion and expounded the evils of colonialism.



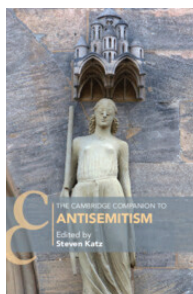
David A. Hollinger

Christianity's American Fate: How Religion Became More Conservative and Society More Secular

PRINCETON 2022

How did American Christianity become synonymous with conservative white evangelicalism?

In *Christianity's American Fate*, David Hollinger shows how the Protestant establishment, adopting progressive ideas about race, gender, sexuality, empire, and divinity, liberalized too quickly for some and not quickly enough for others. Hollinger explains the origins of what he calls Protestantism's "two-party system" in the United States, finding its roots in America's religious culture of dissent, the constitutional separation of church and state, and the constant influx of immigrants who found solidarity in churches. By embracing a socially diverse and scientifically engaged modernity, ecumenical Protestants set the terms by which evangelicals became reactionary.

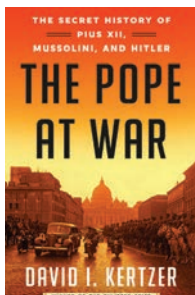


Steven Katz (ed.)

The Cambridge Companion to Antisemitism
CAMBRIDGE 2022

This volume examines the history, culture, and literature of antisemitism from antiquity to the present. With contributions from an international team of

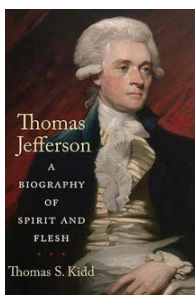
scholars, it covers the long history of antisemitism starting with ancient Greece and Egypt, through the anti-Judaism of early Christianity, and the medieval era in both the Christian and Muslim worlds when Jews were defined as "outsiders," especially in Christian Europe. The volume also explores issues such as Luther and the Reformation, the Enlightenment, Marxism, and the dissemination of hate on social media and the internet.



David I. Kertzer

The Pope at War: The Secret History of Pius XII, Mussolini, and Hitler
Random House 2022

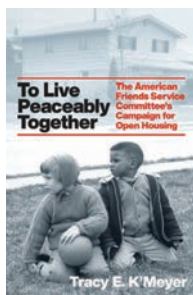
Based on thousands of never-before-seen documents not only from the Vatican, but from archives in Italy, Germany, France, Britain, and the United States, *The Pope at War* paints a new, dramatic portrait of what the pope did and did not do as war enveloped the continent and as the Nazis began their systematic mass murder of Europe's Jews. Kertzer shows why no full understanding of the course of World War II is complete without knowledge of the dramatic, behind-the-scenes role played by the pope.



Thomas S. Kidd

Thomas Jefferson: A Biography of Spirit and Flesh
YALE 2022

Thomas Jefferson was arguably the most brilliant and inspiring political writer in American history. But the ethical realities of his personal life and political career did not live up to his soaring rhetoric. Indeed, three tensions defined Jefferson's moral life: democracy versus slavery, republican virtue versus dissolute consumption, and veneration for Jesus versus radical skepticism. In this book, Thomas S. Kidd tells the story of Jefferson's ethical life through the lens of these tensions, including an unapologetic focus on the issue where Jefferson's idealistic philosophy and lived reality clashed most obviously: his sexual relationship with the enslaved woman Sally Hemings.



Tracy E. K'Meyer

To Live Peaceably Together: The American Friends Service Committee's Campaign for Open Housing
CHICAGO 2022

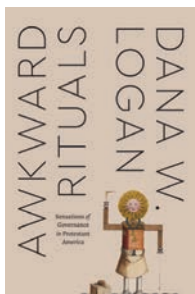
The bitterly tangled webs of race and housing in the postwar United States hardly suffer from a lack of scholarly attention. But Tracy K'Meyer's *To Live Peaceably Together* delivers something new to the field: an examination of a predominantly white faith-based group—the Quaker-aligned American Friends Service Committee (AFSC)—that took a unique and ultimately influential approach to cultivating wider acceptance of residential integration. Built upon detailed stories of AFSC activists and the obstacles they encountered in their work, *To Live Peaceably Together* investigates the cultural ramifications of housing struggles and affords a fresh look at the last 70 years of racial activism.



Heonik Kwon & Jun Hwan Park

Spirit Power: Politics and Religion in Korea's American Century
FORDHAM 2022

Spirit Power explores the manifestation of the American Century in Korean history with a focus on religious culture. It looks back on the encounter with American missionary power from the late 19th century, and the long political struggles against the country's indigenous popular religious heritage during the colonial and postcolonial eras. In particular, the book investigates how Korea's shamanism has assimilated symbolic properties of American power into its realm of ritual efficacy in the form of the spirit of General Douglas MacArthur.



Dana W. Logan

Awkward Rituals: Sensations of Governance in Protestant America

CHICAGO 2022

In the years between the American Revolution and the Civil War, there was an awkward persistence of sovereign rituals, vestiges of a monarchical past. In *Awkward Rituals*, Dana Logan focuses our attention on these performances, revealing the ways in which governance in the early republic was characterized by white Protestants reenacting the hierarchical authority of a seemingly rejected king. Ranging from Freemason initiations to evangelical societies to missionaries posing as sailors, Logan shows how white Protestants promoted a class-based society while simultaneously trumpeting egalitarianism and emphasizes how ritual distinctively captures what does not change through revolution.



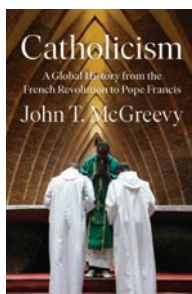
Charles McCrary

Sincerely Held: American Secularism and Its Believers

CHICAGO 2022

“Sincerely held religious belief” is now a common phrase in discussions of American religious freedom. This “sincerity test” of religious belief has become a

cornerstone of U.S. jurisprudence, framing what counts as legitimate grounds for First Amendment claims in the eyes of the law. In *Sincerely Held*, Charles McCrary provides an original account of how sincerely held religious belief became the primary standard for determining what legally counts as authentic religion. Through a diverse archive, McCrary reveals how sincerity developed as a technology of secular governance, determining what does and doesn't entitle a person to receive protections from the state.



John T. McGreevy

Catholicism: A Global History from the French Revolution to Pope Francis

NORTON 2022

Through powerful individual stories and sweeping birds-eye views, *Catholicism* provides a mesmerizing assessment of the

Church's complex role in modern history: both shaper and follower of the politics of nation states, both conservator of hierarchies and evangelizer of nations. John T. McGreevy documents the hopes and ambitions of European missionaries building churches and schools in all corners of the world, African Catholics fighting for political (and religious) independence, Latin American Catholics attracted to a theology of liberation, and Polish and South Korean Catholics demanding democratic governments. Throughout, McGreevy details currents of reform within the Church as well as movements protective of traditional customs and beliefs.

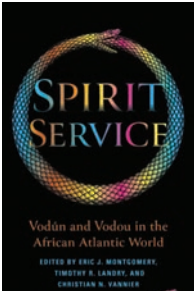


Walter Russell Mead

The Arc of a Covenant: The United States, Israel, and the Fate of the Jewish People

KNOPF 2022

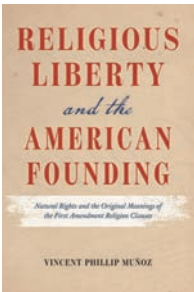
In this examination of the Israeli-American relationship, Walter Russell Mead demolishes the myths that both pro-Zionists and anti-Zionists have fostered over the years. He makes clear that Zionism has always been a divisive subject in the American Jewish community and that American Christians have often been the most fervent supporters of a Jewish state, citing examples from the time of J. P. Morgan and John D. Rockefeller to the present. Mead illuminates how the American-Israeli relationship has affected contemporary politics and will influence the future of American life.



Eric James Montgomery, Timothy R. Landry, & Christian N. Vannier (eds.)

Spirit Service: Vodún and Vodou in the African Atlantic World
INDIANA 2022

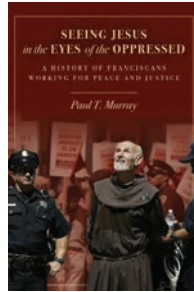
West African religion has, for hundreds of years, served as a repository of sacred knowledge while simultaneously evolving in response to human experience and globalization. *Spirit Service* explores this dynamic religion, its mobility, and its place in the modern world. By examining the systems—ritual practices, community-based spirit veneration, and spiritual means of securing opportunity and well-being—alongside the individuals who worship, this collection offers a comprehensive ethnographic study of West African spirit service on a broad scale, including encounters between African/Haitian practitioners and European/North American spiritual seekers.



Vincent Phillip Muñoz

Religious Liberty and the American Founding: Natural Rights and the Original Meanings of the First Amendment Religion Clauses
CHICAGO 2022

The Founders understood religious liberty to be an inalienable natural right. Vincent Phillip Muñoz explains what this means for church-state constitutional law, uncovering what we can and cannot determine about the original meanings of the First Amendment’s religion clauses and constructing a natural rights jurisprudence of religious liberty. Drawing on early state constitutions, declarations of religious freedom, Founding-era debates, and the First Amendment’s drafting record, Muñoz demonstrates that adherence to the Founders’ political philosophy would lead neither to consistently conservative nor consistently liberal results.



Paul T. Murray

Seeing Jesus in the Eyes of the Oppressed: A History of Franciscans Working for Peace and Justice
CUA 2022

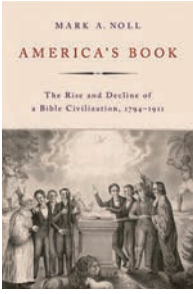
Following World War II, the United States enjoyed unprecedented prosperity. While Americans pondered affluence, U.S. Franciscans focused on the forgotten members of U.S. society, those who had been left out or left behind. *Seeing Jesus in the Eyes of the Oppressed* tells the story of eight Franciscans and their communities who struggled to create a more just and equitable society. Through these eight mini-biographies, the book emphasizes the passion and struggle of Franciscans in the United States to create a more just world within society and within the Church.



Alejandro Nava

Street Scriptures: Between God and Hip-Hop
CHICAGO 2022

The world of hip-hop is saturated with religion, but rarely is that element given serious consideration. In *Street Scriptures*, Alejandro Nava focuses our attention on this aspect of the music and culture in a fresh way, combining his profound love of hip-hop, his passion for racial and social justice, and his deep theological knowledge. Nava looks at crosscurrents of the sacred and profane in rap, reggaeton, and Latinx hip-hop today, ranging from Nas, Kendrick Lamar, Chance the Rapper, Lauryn Hill, and Cardi B to St. Augustine and William James. The book reveals what Nava calls a “street theology,” nothing short of a new liberation theology for our time.



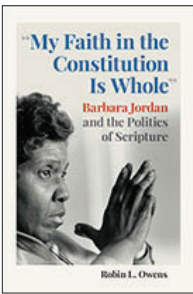
Mark A. Noll

America's Book: The Rise and Decline of a Bible Civilization, 1794–1911

OXFORD 2022

America's Book shows how the Bible decisively shaped American national history even as that history influenced the use of

Scripture. It explores the rise of a strongly Protestant Bible civilization in the early United States that was then fractured by debates over slavery, contested by growing numbers of non-Protestant Americans (Catholics, Jews, agnostics), and torn apart by the Civil War. Noll's work highlights not only the centrality of the Bible for the nation's most influential religious leaders but also why it was important for a host of others of high estate and low.



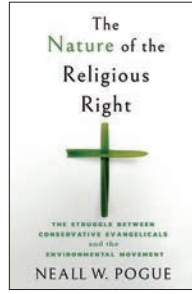
Robin L. Owens

"My Faith in the Constitution Is Whole": Barbara Jordan and the Politics of Scripture

GEORGETOWN 2022

U.S. Congresswoman Barbara Jordan is well known as an interpreter and defender of the Constitution, particularly through

her landmark speech during Richard Nixon's 1974 impeachment hearings. However, before she developed faith in the Constitution, Jordan had faith in Christianity. Robin L. Owens shows how Jordan turned her religious faith and her faith in the Constitution into a powerful civil religious expression of her social activism. Owens demonstrates how Jordan built upon traditions of 19th-century Black female orator-activists by treating the Constitution as an American "scripture." Case studies of key speeches show how Jordan quoted the Constitution and other founding documents as sacred texts.



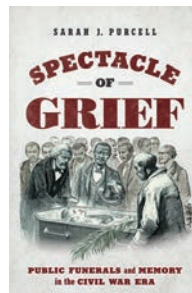
Neall W. Pogue

The Nature of the Religious Right: The Struggle between Conservative Evangelicals and the Environmental Movement

CORNELL 2022

In *The Nature of the Religious Right*, Neall Pogue examines how white conservative evangelical

Christians became a political force known for hostility towards environmental legislation. Before the 1990s, this religious community used ideas of nature to help construct the religious right movement while developing theologically based, eco-friendly philosophies that can be described as Christian environmental stewardship. Yet through public ridicule, conspiracy theories, and cherry-picked science, a growing number in the leadership made anti-environmentalism the accepted position. Through analysis of rhetoric, political expediency, and theological imperatives, Neall Pogue explains this arc.

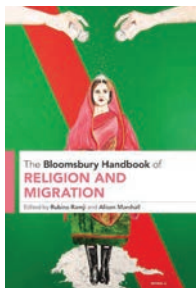


Sarah J. Purcell

Spectacle of Grief: Public Funerals and Memory in the Civil War Era

UNC 2022

This book examines how the public funerals of major figures from the Civil War era shaped public memories of war and allowed a diverse set of people to contribute to changing American national identities. These funerals featured lengthy processions that sometimes crossed multiple state lines, burial ceremonies open to the public, and other cultural productions of commemoration such as oration and song. As Sarah J. Purcell reveals, Americans' participation in these funeral rites led to contemplation and contestation over the political and social meanings of the war and the roles played by the honored dead.



Rubina Ramji & Alison Marshall (eds.)

The Bloomsbury Handbook of Religion and Migration

BLOOMSBURY 2022

Going beyond the dominant patterns of Western and Christian perspectives, *The Bloomsbury Handbook of Religion and*

Migration gives attention to other voices and minorities, marginal groups, and communities. Contributors present the story of religion and migration predominantly through non-Christian experiences and mainly those of Muslims, Sikhs, Hindus, and Buddhists. Religion and migration are approached from a variety of theoretical and methodological vantage points, with many chapters grounded in embodied ethnography including participant observation fieldwork, interviewing, oral history collection, and qualitative analysis.

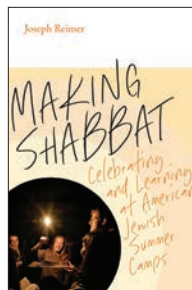


Roberto Regoli & Matteo Sanfilippo (eds.)

La Santa Sede, gli Stati Uniti e le relazioni internazionali durante il pontificato di Pio XII: Studi dopo l'apertura degli archivi vaticani (1939-1958)

STUDIUM EDIZIONI 2022

The United States and the Holy See are two world powers with a planetary vocation. Chronicling their relationship shows that it markedly improved with World War II and the Cold War, when the United States and the Holy See could no longer ignore each other and decided to collaborate on a global scale. This volume, with a foreword by Kathleen Sprows Cummings, examines their relations in disparate areas, from Europe and the Middle East to Latin America and East Asia, and covers topics including politics, ecclesiastical affairs, war refugees, and migration.



Joseph Reimer

Making Shabbat: Celebrating and Learning at American Jewish Summer Camps

BRANDEIS 2022

In *Making Shabbat*, Joseph Reimer tells the story of how Jewish camps have emerged as creators of positive spiritual

experience for Jewish youth in North America. When Jewish camps began at the dawn of the 20th century, their leaders had little interest in creating Jewish spiritual experiences for their campers. Yet over the course of the past century, Jewish camps have gradually moved into providing primal Jewish experiences that diverse campers can enjoy, parents appreciate, and alumni fondly recall. *Making Shabbat* explores how Shabbat at camps became the focal point for these primal Jewish experiences.



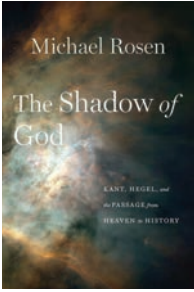
Johanna Bard Richlin

In the Hands of God: How Evangelical Belonging Transforms Migrant Experience in the United States

PRINCETON 2022

Why do migrants become more deeply evangelical in the United States and how does this religious

identity alter their self-understanding? *In the Hands of God* examines this question through a unique lens, foregrounding the ways that churches transform what migrants feel. Drawing from extensive fieldwork among Brazilian migrants in the Washington D.C. area, Johanna Bard Richlin shows that affective experience is key to comprehending migrants' turn toward intense religiosity, and their resulting evangelical commitment. By looking at the ways evangelical churches help migrants navigate negative emotions, *In the Hands of God* sheds light on the versatility and durability of evangelical Christianity.



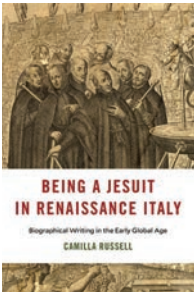
Michael Rosen

The Shadow of God: Kant, Hegel, and the Passage from Heaven to History

HARVARD 2022

Once in the West, our lives were bounded by religion. Then we were guided out of the darkness of faith, we are often told, by the

cold light of science and reason. To be modern was to reject the religious for the secular and rational. In a bold retelling of philosophical history, Michael Rosen explains the limits of this story, showing that many modern and apparently secular ways of seeing the world were in fact profoundly shaped by religion. The key thinkers, Rosen argues, were the German idealists, as they sought to reconcile reason and religion.



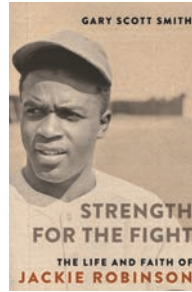
Camilla Russell

Being a Jesuit in Renaissance Italy: Biographical Writing in the Early Global Age

HARVARD 2022

Drawing on scores of unpublished biographical documents housed at the Roman Jesuit Archive, Camilla Russell illuminates the

lives of those who joined the Society of Jesus, building together a religious and cultural presence that remains influential the world over. Tracing Jesuit life from the Italian provinces to distant missions, Russell shows that members echoed the Society's foundational writings, believing that each Jesuit's personal strengths and inclinations offered a unique contribution to the whole—an attitude that helps explain the Society's widespread appeal from its first days. Focusing on the Jesuits' own words, this book offers a new lens on the history of spirituality, identity, and global exchange in the Renaissance.



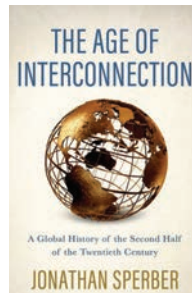
Gary Scott Smith

Strength for the Fight: The Life and Faith of Jackie Robinson

EERDMANS 2022

Faith was a key component of Jackie Robinson's life, but not in the way we see it in many prominent Christian athletes today. Robinson grew up a

devout Methodist (a heritage he shared with Branch Rickey) and identified with the theological convictions and social concerns of many of his fellow mainline Protestants—especially those of the Black church—finding inspiration in the Bible's teachings on human dignity and social justice. Robinson's faith will resonate with many Christians who believe, as he did, that “a person can be quite religious and at the same time militant in the defense of his ideals.”



Jonathan Sperber

The Age of Interconnection: A Global History of the Second Half of the Twentieth Century

OXFORD 2022

Jonathan Sperber guides readers through six decades of global history, from the end of World War II to the onset of the new

millennium. It was an age of transformation in every realm of human existence: from relations with nature to relations between and among nations, superpowers to emerging states; from the forms of production to the foundations of religious faith. To make sense of it, Sperber illuminates the central trends and crucial developments across a wide variety of topics.

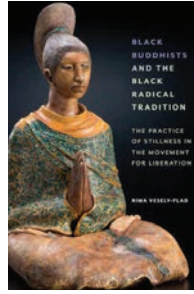


Victor Stater

Hoax: The Popish Plot that Never Was

YALE 2022

In 1678, a handful of perjurers claimed that the Catholics of England planned to assassinate the king. Men like the “Reverend Doctor” Titus Oates and “Captain” William Bedloe parlayed their fantastical tales of Irish ruffians, medical poisoners, and silver bullets into public adulation and government pensions. The result was the trial and execution of over a dozen innocent Catholics, and the imprisonment of many more, some of whom died in custody. Victor Stater examines the Popish Plot in full, arguing that it had a profound and lasting significance on British politics.



Rima Vesely-Flad

Black Buddhists and the Black Radical Tradition

NYU 2022

In *Black Buddhists and the Black Radical Tradition*, Rima Vesely-Flad examines the distinctive features of Black-identifying Buddhist practitioners, arguing that Black Buddhists interpret Buddhist teachings in ways that are congruent with Black radical thought. Drawing on interviews with 40 Black Buddhist teachers and practitioners and including discussions of the Black Power Movement, the Black feminist movement, and the Black prophetic tradition, Vesely-Flad makes the case that given their experiences with racism—both in the larger society and also within largely white-oriented Buddhist organizations—Black cultural frameworks are key for illuminating the Buddha’s wisdom.

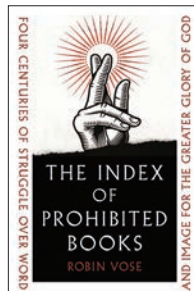


Scott W. Sunquist

The Shape of Christian History: Continuity and Diversity in the Global Church

IVP ACADEMIC 2022

Scott Sunquist invites readers to join him for a capstone course in historical thinking. Highlighting both the continuity and the diversity within the Christian movement over the centuries, he identifies three key concepts for framing church history: time, cross, and glory. These themes shed light to help us discern how the Jesus movement developed from the first century to the present, through an explosion of contextual expressions. Tracing these concepts, Sunquist shows both the glories and the failures of Christians through the centuries.

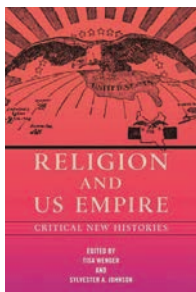


Robin Vose

The Index of Prohibited Books: Four Centuries of Struggle over Word and Image for the Greater Glory of God

REAKTION BOOKS 2022

For more than 400 years, the Catholic Church’s *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* struck terror into the hearts of authors, publishers, and booksellers around the world, while arousing ridicule and contempt from many others, especially those in Protestant and non-Christian circles. This book constitutes the first full study of the *Index of Prohibited Books* to be published in English. It examines the reasons behind the Church’s attempts to censor religious, scientific, and artistic works and considers not only why this most sustained of campaigns failed but what lessons can be learned for today’s debates over freedom of expression.



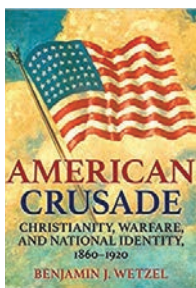
Tisa Wenger & Sylvester A. Johnson (eds.)

Religion and US Empire: Critical New Histories

NYU 2022

The United States has been an empire since the time of its founding, and this empire is inextricably intertwined with

American religion. Moving chronologically from the 18th century to the 21st and ranging geographically from the Caribbean, Michigan, and Liberia to Oklahoma, Hawai'i, and the Philippines, *Religion and US Empire* examines the relationship between these dynamic forces through the country's history. Whereas other works describe religion as a force that aided or motivated American imperialism, this new history reveals how imperialism shaped American religion—and how religion historically structured, enabled, challenged, and resisted U.S. imperialism.



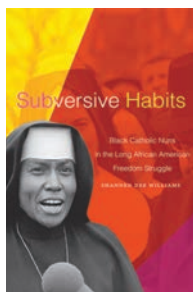
Benjamin J. Wetzel

American Crusade: Christianity, Warfare, and National Identity, 1860-1920

CORNELL 2022

When is a war a holy crusade? And when does theology cause Christians to condemn violence? In *American Crusade*, Benjamin

Wetzel argues that the Civil War, the Spanish-American War, and World War I shared a cultural meaning for white Protestant ministers in the United States, who considered each conflict to be a modern-day crusade. *American Crusade* examines the “holy war” mentality prevalent between 1860-1920, juxtaposing mainline Protestant support for these wars with more hesitant religious voices: Catholics, German-speaking Lutherans, and African American Methodists. The views of religious leaders and ordinary people provide a fresh way of understanding the three major American wars of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.



Shannen Dee Williams

Subversive Habits: Black Catholic Nuns in the Long African American Freedom Struggle

DUKE 2022

In *Subversive Habits*, Shannen Dee Williams provides the first full history of Black Catholic nuns in the United States, hailing

them as the “forgotten prophets” of Catholicism and democracy. For Black Catholic women and girls, embracing the celibate religious state constituted a radical act of resistance to white supremacy and the sexual terrorism built into chattel slavery and segregation. Drawing on oral histories and previously sealed church records, Williams demonstrates how master narratives of women's religious life and Catholic commitments to racial and gender justice fundamentally change when the lives and experiences of African American nuns are taken seriously.



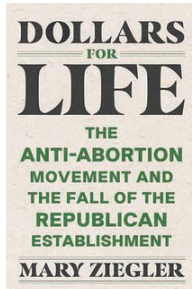
Anne Blue Wills

An Odd Cross to Bear: A Biography of Ruth Bell Graham

EERDMANS 2022

Ruth Bell Graham's legacy is closely associated with that of her husband, whose career placed her in the public eye throughout her life. But Ruth carried a strong

sense of her own agency and was widely influential in her own right, especially in the image she projected of conservative evangelical womanhood—defined by a faith that was deep, private, and nonpolitical. Beginning prior to Ruth and Billy's meeting at Wheaton College, Anne Blue Wills chronicles the many formative experiences of Ruth's life, focusing on her interests, ambitions, and fears—as a devoted mother, a devout and well-read Christian, and a beloved writer and poet.



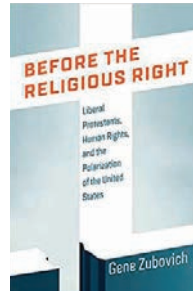
Mary Ziegler

Dollars for Life: The Anti-Abortion Movement and the Fall of the Republican Establishment

YALE 2022

The modern Republican Party is the party of conservative Christianity and

big business—two things so closely identified with the contemporary GOP that we hardly notice the strangeness of the pairing. Legal historian Mary Ziegler traces how the anti-abortion movement helped to forge and later upend this alliance. Beginning with the Supreme Court's landmark decision in *Buckley v. Valeo*, right-to-lifers fought to gain power in the GOP by changing how campaign spending—and the First Amendment—work. The anti-abortion movement helped to revolutionize the rules of money in U.S. politics and convinced conservative voters to fixate on the federal courts.



Gene Zubovich

Before the Religious Right: Liberal Protestants, Human Rights, and the Polarization of the United States

PENN 2022

When we think about religion and politics in the United States today, we

think of conservative evangelicals. But for much of the 20th century, it was liberal Protestants who most profoundly shaped American politics. Leaders of this religious community wielded their influence to lobby for the New Deal, march against segregation, and protest the Vietnam War, and Gene Zubovich shows how their important role must be understood in a global context. American liberal Protestants not only became some of the most important backers of the United Nations, they also applied a global vantage point to local events, concluding that a peaceful and just world order must begin at home.

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

TAZEEN M. ALI, “Qur’anic Literacy as Women’s Empowerment: Cultivating Interpretive Authority at the Women’s Mosque of America,” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 89, no. 4 (December 2021): 1434–1461.

TOM ARNOLD-FORSTER, “Rethinking the Scopes Trial: Cultural Conflict, Media Spectacle, and Circus Politics,” *Journal of American Studies* 56, no. 1 (February 2022): 142–166.

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KRISTEN BEALES, “Auditing Revival: George Whitefield and Public Accounting in Colonial America,” *Church History* 90, no. 4 (December 2021): 824–846.

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PATRICK W. CAREY, “Brownson, Politics, and ‘The Laboring Classes’ During a Presidential Election,” *The Catholic Historical Review* 107, no. 4 (Autumn 2021): 585–604.

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MARTIN DOHERTY, “‘No Pope Here’: Britain, the Vatican, the IRA, and the Papal Visit to Ireland, September 1979,” *Church History* 90, no. 3 (September 2021): 603–620.

AUSTIN F. EGGERS, “The Impact of the American Revolution on James O’Kelly’s Understanding of Ecclesial Governance in the Methodist Episcopal Church,” *Journal of Religious History* 46, no. 1 (March 2022): 61–81.

DAVID J. ENDRES, “‘Three Cheers for the Union’: Catholic Chaplains and Irish Loyalty during the American Civil War,” *The Catholic Historical Review* 108, no. 1 (Winter 2022): 92–117.

GAVIN FELLER, “Conceal, Enhance, Expose, Perfect: A Mid-Century Mormon Swimsuit Designer’s Feminine Bodily Discipline,” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 89, no. 4 (December 2021): 1406–1433.

CAITLIN FITZ, “Latin America and the Radicalization of U.S. Abolition,” *Journal of American History* 108, no. 4 (March 2022): 701–725.

KRISTIE PATRICIA FLANNERY, “Can the Devil Cross the Deep Blue Sea? Imagining the Spanish Pacific and Vast Early America from Below,” *The William & Mary Quarterly* 79, no. 1 (January 2022): 31–60.

CHRISTOPHER GRASSO, “Puritans and Pilgrims,” *The William & Mary Quarterly* 79, no. 1 (January 2022): 121–134.

PATRICK J. HAYES, “Francis J. Connell, C.Ss.R.: America’s Moral Barometer,” *U.S. Catholic Historian* 40, no. 1 (Winter 2022): 1–28.

MATTHEW HOUSTON, “Beyond the ‘Marble Arch’? Archbishop J.A.F. Gregg, the Church of Ireland, and the Second World War, 1935–1945,” *Church History* 91, no. 1 (March 2022): 83–99.

BARBARA J. HOWE, “The Story of the ‘Caged Songster’: Sister Mary Agnes Gubert, VHM,” *American Catholic Studies* 133, no. 1 (Spring 2022): 27–57.

KARIN L. HUEBNER, “‘Brother, after this conduct, can you blame me?’: The Echo of Native American Memory of the 1782 Massacre at Gnadenhutten,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 42, no. 1 (Spring 2022): 53–81.

ASUNCIÓN LAVRIN, “Historian with a Double Major: The Church and Feminism,” *The Catholic Historical Review* 107, no. 4 (Autumn 2021): 460–481.

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GERARDO MARTÍ, “Latinx Protestants and American Politics,” *Sociology of Religion* 83, no. 1 (Spring 2022): 1–11.

CIAN T. MCMAHON, “‘That City Afloat’: Maritime Dimensions of Ireland’s Great Famine Migration,” *American Historical Review* 127, no. 1 (March 2022): 100–128.

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