A disproportionate number of immigrants both now and throughout our nation’s history have been Roman Catholics, from Irish and Germans to Italians and Poles to Mexicans and Filipinos. Demographic transformation and intercultural relations have regularly been a part of parish life in the United States. Yet not every era has dealt with changes in the same way. For much of the 19th and early 20th century, national or ethnic parishes welcomed arriving immigrants. Irish fleeing the potato famine and Poles seeking religious freedom and work both found spiritual homes in parishes completely arranged for their needs. In more recent decades, however, most immigrants join existing parishes, forming distinct communities within the parish, each with its own masses and ministries. At All Saints parish in the Midwestern diocese of Port Jefferson (both pseudonyms), for example, the arrival of immigrants from Mexico led to the establishment of two weekend Spanish masses in addition to the three English masses. The parish hosts parallel religious education and youth ministry programs. In parishes like All Saints, which I call shared parishes, arriving and resident communities develop in parallel fashion, occasionally coming together for celebrations, meetings, or liturgy.

Since the late 1980s and ’90s, immigration has become a national phenomenon, no longer regionalized in border states and the Northeast Corridor. In this context shared parishes have become numerous and nearly ubiquitous. Already by the late 1990s, 75 percent of Latino/a Catholic communities shared their parish facilities with another non-Latino/a group.¹ A 2002 survey of faith communities serving select immigrant groups in Washington, D.C., showed that 73 percent

see Shared Parish, page 7

Important: Cushwa Newsletter Going Green

The spring 2011 issue of the American Catholic Studies Newsletter will be the last printed issue. Subsequently, we will publish the newsletter in pdf format each semester, available at no cost, on the Cushwa Center’s web site www.nd.edu/~cushwa. If you wish to receive biannual e-mail notification when we post a new issue, please send an e-mail to cushwa.1@nd.edu with your current e-mail address. Thank you and we look forward to seeing you online in fall 2011.
Mohicans survived longer than did their neighbors at the Moravian mission. They also made themselves more valuable to colonial interests. Dowd concluded his comments with the presentation of three Indian myths, each of which reinforced Wheeler’s argument about the power of blood in pre-Christian Indian traditions.

Marsden, too, was impressed with Wheeler’s study. He called it “entirely fascinating,” “wonderfully researched,” at “provides more detail on the actual lives of Christian Indians than I have seen.” While he appreciated how Wheeler’s Mohicans adapted Christianity to traditional precedents, he felt that Wheeler’s “interest in finding Indian precedents for every adaptation of Christianity leads her to downplay the issue of what is distinctly Christian in Mohican Christianity.” What was appealing, Marsden asked, about the Christian doctrines themselves? He suggested that Mohicans’ responses to Moravian music, or to Moravian liturgy, might shed light on the matter. He further posited that, when Indians appropriated Reformed or Moravian theologies, they may have been “simply enthralled by the beauty of these new stories of Christ’s redemptive work, which both resonated with things in their past but in some very important ways were novelties.” This critique, Marsden said, does not diminish Wheeler’s accomplishment, but only suggests ways to complement her fine scholarship.

After thanking the respondents for their comments, Wheeler noted that both Dowd and Marsden touched on what she had wrestled with as a writer: how to manage the tensions of her story. One key tension, that between Mohican and Christian religious practice, invited the question that in many ways structured her book: “Why did Indians convert in the first place?” As Wheeler researched, she saw that Christianity appealed to Mohicans because it provided religious power, as well as a degree of comfort, in the face of colonization. Christianity enabled Mohicans to maintain family ties, face death when traditional healing rituals did not seem to work, and look forward to an afterlife in which they would no longer suffer. In order do these things, Christianity did not need to be altogether new — and Mohicans did not see it as such. Rather, they saw it as “helping them uphold Mohican ideals,” often in ways that resonated with traditional religious practices. The question of “what Christianity became in Indian
hands,” Wheeler concluded, moves us beyond the notion (common among ethnohistorians) that Indians adopted Christianity merely as an instrument of covert resistance. Asking what Indians made of Christianity keeps historians, and even missionaries, from being the arbiters of Indian agency.

Opening the larger discussion, Marsden asked whether religious historians should distinguish between two forms of Christianity — “ritual efficacy” and “doctrinal correctness” — and to what extent Mohicans valued ritual above doctrine, Wheeler responded that for Mohicans, doctrine lay behind ritual efficacy, so that it is difficult to separate the two. Since, for example, Christ the “Spirit Warrior” had suffered and brought healing (doctrine), Mohicans could make sense of suffering and remain connected to family members who now inhabited the afterlife (through ritual). After a brief discussion on how Indians viewed the link between human and spirit realms, Thomas Kselman asked whether European missionaries aimed for communal, or individual, conversion. Wheeler answered that, while they targeted individual leaders, they wanted to engage these leaders to reach entire families. They knew, however, that town regulations would often prevent families from living together as they had prior to conversion.

Connecting Wheeler’s story to a wider milieu, Jason Duncan asked whether the New York slave conspiracy (1741) influenced colonists’ fear and persecution of Moravians. Wheeler said that it was entirely possible, particularly since Gilbert Tennent’s anti-Moravian tract, published in 1743, impressed upon readers how dangerous Moravians were. In this tract, and in others of its genre, Moravians were often criticized for coveting with the “lower sorts.” Furthermore, Dowd added, the Jacobite Rising of 1745 reinforced the “civilization” of Highlanders at a time when Moravians themselves were being equated with “uncivilized” Catholics.

Following a short conversation on accommodationist missions strategy, discussion moved beyond the colonial period. Mark Noll asked Wheeler if she thought England’s defeat of France (1763) was more significant than the Seven Years’ War itself as a “turning point” in U.S. history, to which Wheeler responded in the affirmative. And Kathleen Sprows Cummings asked how Wheeler’s work in To Live upon Hope is shaping one of her current projects, co-authorship of a U.S. history textbook. Wheeler indicated that To Live upon Hope helped her to see U.S. history as grounded in “ironies” and tensions, some of which are alluded to above; and as less centered on Puritan New England than she had previously thought. Jon Coleman said that he looked forward to assigning Wheeler’s comparative history in a methods course and asked how, as a writer, Wheeler got her two case studies to work for her rather than against her. Wheeler said that in both cases it was helpful to test the effects of missionary encounter against the ongoing influence of traditional Indian ways. Doing so allowed her to see that, on the one hand, Mohicans found new spiritual power through Christianity. On the other hand, contact with missionaries also reinforced Mohicans’ identity as “negotiators” and “mediators” and affirmed aspects of their traditional religion.

American Catholic Studies Seminar

On March 25, participants in the American Catholic Studies Seminar discussed Michael S. Carter’s paper, “American Catholics and the Early Republic.” In the paper Carter argues that, while Catholics enjoyed more freedoms in the new republic than they had in the colonial period, they still had to deal with fears, prejudices, and the curtailment of political rights, particularly at the state level. In response, Catholics such as John Carroll, George Lesslie, and John Thayer wrote pamphlets defending their faith, often criticizing each other on the grounds that they were not presenting Catholicism in the best possible light. “American Catholics,” Carter shows, “had to negotiate their way carefully as they brought the practice of the Catholic faith into full public view and attempted to claim their share of the new opportunities and liberties of nationhood.” Carter is an assistant professor of history at the University of Dayton. He drew the paper from his dissertation, “Mathew Carey and the Public Emergence of Catholicism in the Early Republic.” His study, now a forthcoming monograph tentatively titled Enlightenment Catholicism: Mathew Carey and the Emergence of the American Church, 1784 – 1839, explores how Catholic printer Carey, together with other lay and clerical Catholics, used print and “enlightenment” discourse surrounding toleration to define Catholics’ place in the early American public sphere. Philip Gleason, professor emeritus of history at the University of Notre Dame, served as respondent for the seminar session. Carter introduced the paper noting, by way of background, three main religious developments in late 18th- and early 19th-century America. First, he said, most Americans understood the evangelical fervor of the period as integral to the war against “popish” tendencies. Second, many Americans held to some form of “enlightenment” toleration, even as they nurtured a deep hostility toward Catholics. Third, as Protestants witnessed increasing denominational fragmentation, anti-Catholicism united them through the identification of a common enemy. Carter went on to say that he wished to use Carey as a “lens” into the particular circumstances of the early U.S. republic. Furthermore, he desired to move away from institutional accounts and uncover lay responses to anti-Catholicism though print culture.

Gleason began his comments with praise for Carter’s work. First, he said, most studies dealing with anti-Catholicism (such as Charles Morrison’s American Catholic, or John McGreevy’s Catholicism and American Freedom) begin later and say little about the long history of anti-Catholicism. Carter’s work helps to remedy that problem through its attention to the early republic. Second, his project focuses on a relatively neglected figure, Carey, who deserves careful scholarly attention. Moving on to his critique, Gleason noted that assessing anti-Catholic discrimination in the late 18th and early 19th centuries is a question about whether “the glass is half full or half empty.” Carroll himself said there was major improvement in Catholic freedoms, which led Gleason to suggest that Carter balance such statements against his own relatively negative view. Second, Gleason questioned whether Carter had fully represented Carroll’s problems with Catholic priests (which extended to New York, Baltimore, and Philadelphia, and which did not include
Charles Henry Wharton, an ex-Catholic whom Carter did include. But he qualified this point. Carter, he understood, had selected only cases where print culture was involved. Third, and related to Carter’s larger project, Gleason asked what a “comprehensive setting of the stage” for later manifestations of anti-Catholicism might include. He suggested a more comprehensive treatment of ex-Jesuits in America, and a closer look at difficulties related to church management, which were already developing during the 1790s.

Carter thanked Gleason and began his response noting that Wharton, although not a Catholic, showed what people were reading about Catholics and Catholicism and what kinds of issues were being debated in print. These are all central matters for Carter’s project. On the inclusion of additional elements, such as ex-Jesuits and the details of church management, Carter felt that such information would obscure, rather than clarify, his main point: the extension of toleration was not a smooth and untroubled one.

James Turner opened general discussion and expressed puzzlement at Carter’s comment about early Americanists’ lack of attention to anti-Catholicism. If numerous books and articles are not devoted to the subject, Turner said, it is likely because historians resist writing about things so omnipresent. This comment led Patrick Griffin to say that he appreciated the tension in Carter’s paper between changes in toleration toward Catholics and continuities in anti-Catholic rhetoric. He encouraged Carter to foreground the tension, as it not only connects the story explicitly to early modern Britain, but illuminates how people thought of themselves as Protestants and Americans. Carter responded by saying he had thought much about anti-Catholic continuities and, indeed, had noticed “a coded language embedded” in the rhetoric of the founders, according to which old concepts like “tyranny” or “superstition” now clearly connote Catholicism. Mark Noll noted that Carter, in addition to looking across the Atlantic, might benefit from looking to Quebec, the locale of the largest Catholic community in the British colonies.

Thomas Kselman then asked if any of the writers Carter had encountered distinguished between three basic kinds of freedom: freedom of conscience, freedom from the tyranny of Catholicism, and freedom of the community to worship in public. Carter responded that the writers tend not to make these distinctions. He pointed to the Constitution of Massachusetts, which first states that people have religious freedom, and then states that only Protestant ministers will receive funds. This fundamental tension, Carter said, derived from the idea that “the freedom to be Catholic is not really freedom, because Catholicism is the opposite of freedom.” Returning to the issue of anti-Catholic rhetoric, Kathleen Sprows Cummings asked two questions. First, why did 18th- and early 19th-century Americans fear Catholics, particularly when the Catholic population in America was so small? Second, did Carter think that Americans associated any outside reference to tyranny, or “arbitrary” government, with the pope? Carter answered that he did think so, because anti-popery was so deeply ingrained in the minds of Americans, and was in fact “one of the broadest cultural denominators that existed in the colonies.” Americans feared the pope, Carter continued, but they also feared a return to the Stuart monarchy. So, although the Catholic population in America was small, the specter of a Catholic-controlled Britain loomed large. Griffin then pointed out that while such fears were “plastic,” changing with the times, they consistently allowed Americans to define who they were against who they were not. He continued with the line of thought that, just as 18th-century English historians were haunted by 17th-century England, the same may apply to early 19th-century Americanists. Carter concluded that Griffin’s hypothesis made sense in light of the emerging prominence of New England in 19th-century Americanists’ foundational myths.

Cushwa Center Conference

The Cushwa Center convened a conference titled “Atlantic Catholicism: The French-American Connection” on May 27 and 28 with the support of Notre Dame’s Nanovic Institute for European Studies and the Institute for Scholarship in the Liberal Arts (ISLA) of the College of Arts and Letters. Accentuating the transatlantic religious connections between France and North America, the conference brought together scholars from France, Canada, and the United States, many of whom were meeting each other personally for the first time after years of reading one another’s publications. The inspiration for this event came from French colleagues Jacqueline Lalouette, Tangi Villerbu, and Florian Michel, who was a visiting scholar at the Cushwa Center during the 2009-10 academic year. Thomas Kselman, a Cushwa Center faculty adviser and professor in Notre Dame’s Department of History, played a leading role in organizing the conference sessions.
Kselman outlined a broad intellectual context for the conference in his opening remarks to the gathering. He noted that religious history and transnational perspectives on history have received increased attention from historians in recent years. These dual emphases are essential lenses for studies of French Catholics on both sides of the Atlantic. Historians of American Catholicism have generally been cognizant of the French contribution to Catholicism in the United States. Though Célestin Moreau’s 1856 claim that “the Church of France is the mother of the Church of America” overstates the case, the influence of French bishops, priests, and religious, and their role in establishing Catholic dioceses, parishes, schools, hospitals, and other institutions is formidable. In the antebellum period, no other national group matched the French institutional presence and impact. Yet historians of U.S. Catholicism have often been more concerned with the process of the Americanization of immigrants than with trans-Atlantic influences. Like their colleagues of U.S. history more broadly, they have also tended to presume an American exceptionalism that precluded U.S. residents from historical trends in Europe and the rest of the world. Kselman contended that the papers pre-circulated for the Atlantic Catholicism conference, as well as the previous publications of its speakers, provide an opportunity to make advances in the ongoing task of developing a trans-Atlantic Catholic history.

At the same time, Kselman concluded with three challenges that need to be addressed in this scholarly endeavor. One is the capacity to engage sources on both sides of the Atlantic. The lack of language ability, funding for travel to distant archives, and awareness of extant records can impede the search for critical sources. So too can poor organization in the archival collections of religious congregations and other ecclesial groups. Regarding the scope of the subject matter itself, Kselman observed the wide range of topics addressed under the rubric of a transnational approach. The papers presented in the Atlantic Catholicism conference exemplify this diversity, with presentations analyzing individuals, intellectual networks, publications, regions, institutions, and more. Kselman invited conference participants to think more systematically about what their research and intellectual agenda have in common, beyond what could arguably be construed as a vague conceptual framework of trans-Atlantic connections. Finally, Kselman appealed for a more balanced approach in the articulation of trans-Atlantic influences. He pointed out that most of the conference papers highlighted French Catholic influence in the United States, but relatively few examined influences that flowed in the other direction. Assessing the full range of exchanges would also require looking beyond the influences of clergy and religious to that of the laity, as well as beyond Catholic influences to the broader context of the relationship between France and the United States.

Kselman’s insightful introduction to the conference’s significance and themes set the stage for three panel sessions. The first addressed the topic of 18th-century conflict. Michael Pasquier (Louisiana State University) examined the multiple forces that shaped Franciscan Capuchin and

Michael Pasquier, Guillaume Teasdale, and Charles Mercier
Jesuit involvement with African slavery in French colonial Louisiana. Three interacting factors shaped the missionaries’ response to slavery: the attitudes toward the slave trade and slave colonies in the French and Canadian locales from which the missionaries were sent, the implementation of the 1724 Code Noir in French Louisiana, and the evolving circumstances of frontier society in the Lower Mississippi Valley. Guillaume Teasdale (York University, Toronto) presented a paper on the French colonies of southeast Michigan. He explored the French settlement of the land, their response to British and then U.S. rule, and the role of French Catholic leaders like the influential Father Gabriel Richard in the ongoing development of Catholicism once Michigan was under U.S. jurisdiction. Teasdale accentuated the response of Richard and his contemporaries to the French Revolution as a formative influence on how they pursued their mission in the United States. Patrick Griffin (University of Notre Dame) presented a comparative analysis of violence in the Atlantic world rooted in a case study of the American frontier. He posited that U.S. violence against Native Americans is often presumed to have its origins in American attitudes towards the natives, but in fact has strong precursors in the patterns of war and pacification that the British had previously used to dominate the Irish and the Scots. Moreover, the thesis that the French took a more accommodating approach to the native peoples due to environmental and social conditions they faced in the New World also overlooks the fact that France had no recent history of subduing an internal enemy as did the British, or as Spain did to the Muslims. Griffin argued that greater attention to such connections is needed to realize more fully the potential of a transnational approach to history.

A panel on the 19th century focused on the contours of local Catholic practices and initiatives. Jacqueline Lalouette (University of Lille) explicated four common themes about Catholicism in the United States she discovered in the accounts printed in select French Catholic periodicals from 1814-1906: the joys and trials of missionary life, Catholic-Protestant relations, observations about Native and African Americans and evangelization efforts among them, and gratitude for the essential support of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. Villerbu (University of LaRochelle) informed the conference about the interactions of fur traders, lumbermen, and French priests in the establishment of Catholic life in the upper Midwest during the 1803s and 1840s. Sarah Curtis (San Francisco State University) examined the labors of Sister Philippine Duchesne and her companion Religious of the Sacred Heart in Missouri beginning in 1818. Curtis demonstrated that the sisters’ apostolic endeavors encompassed a synthesis of their commitment to French ideas and values, their attempts to imitate a model of evangelization among native peoples they perceived in the efforts of French colonial missionaries, and their adaptation to an evolving situation of Euro-American dominance and insistence on cultural conformity. Focusing on the memory of early French missionaries like Duchesne, Kathleen Sprows Cummings (University of Notre Dame) recounted how the U.S. Catholic quest for their first officially canonized saint initially focused on colonial missionaries and their efforts to convert native peoples. As Catholics became more desirous of acceptance as U.S. Americans toward the dawn of the 20th century, however, their focus on saintly heroes and heroines shifted from those first European inhabitants of North America to later immigrant arrivals who had not predated the U.S. nation, but courageously helped build and transform it.

The final conference panel explored the subject of 20th-century intellectuals. Michel (Institut de Sciences Po in Paris) interwove diplomatic, cultural, and religious history to explore efforts of French diplomats to influence U.S. Catholic views of neutrality toward World War II from September 1939 to June 1940. French intellectuals deployed on this mission of providing lectures and publications in U.S. journals included Etienne Gilson, Jacques Maritain, and Father Vincent-Joseph Ducattillon, O.P. Charles Mercier (University of Paris Sorbonne) presented a paper on French historian René Rémond, highlighting Rémond’s research on French-American Catholic connections during the first half of the 19th century as well as Rémond’s personal influence on French-American connections during the second half of the 20th century. Massimo Faggioli (University of St. Thomas in St. Paul, Minn.) sketched out a comparative analysis of how the Second Vatican Council shaped Catholicism in Italy, France, and the United States during the 1970s and 1980s. He addressed four major areas: episcopal leadership, the cultural and theological reception of Vatican II, the impact of wider patterns of transformation in each country, and the influence of trans-Atlantic exchanges.

McGreevy (University of Notre Dame) led the concluding session of the conference with a presentation titled “Catholicism in the United States and the New Global History.” McGreevy summarized key findings from his current study of 19th-century Jesuit immigrants to the United States, a study of local communal dynamics set within a broad global frame. He then posed a series of questions ranging from how the periodization of global history might shift in light of including Catholics to the relationship between Catholicism and political culture. McGreevy proceeded to lead those gathered in a lively discussion about the overall conference proceedings and future directions in the engagement of Catholicism within global historical studies. The conversation revealed in various ways the need for more expansive research agendas, among them the challenge of interweaving the social, intellectual, and institutional aspects of history in studies of Atlantic Catholicism and transnational history more generally.
of Catholic immigrant faith communities were part of a larger parish while 27 percent were national parishes. 2 Studying the mastimes.org website, Ken Johnson-Mondragón found that 45 percent of parishes in five geographically distributed dioceses had masses in two languages. 3 Studying diocesan websites in 2009, I found that 71 percent of parishes in the Archdiocese of Miami, 34 percent in the Diocese of Knoxville in Tenn., 16 percent in the Diocese of Fort Jefferson in the Midwest, 2 percent in the Diocese of Helena in Mont., 23 percent in the Diocese of Baker in Ore., and 52 percent of the parishes in the Diocese of Oakland in Calif. had mass in more than one language. Cultural anthropologist Sherry Ortner once wrote about social change, “Change is largely a by-product, an unintended consequence of action.” 4 No conference of bishops or other leadership body ever decided that contemporary Catholic immigrants should be accommodated in shared parishes. Instead, when the current wave of immigration took definitive shape, an infrastructure of urban and rural churches already existed; Catholic populations were on the move; priests’ numbers were dwindling; and the national or ethnic parish no longer appeared uniquely suited to U.S. Catholics’ needs. When arriving cultural groups needed a parish home, forming a new ministry within a parish began to look like the best ad hoc solution. Shared parishes are changing and shaping U.S. Catholicism in ways we barely understand. To get a better idea of this impact, let us focus in on a particular parish.

All Saints Parish, Havenville 5

All Saints Roman Catholic Church in Havenville was established in 1860, and it continues to serve as the only Catholic parish in a majority Protestant town. About two decades ago, local factories began employing increasing numbers of Latin American immigrant workers to offset a labor shortage. By the mid-1990s All Saints initiated a distinct ministry for those workers. That ministry has continued to evolve until the present. Today, All Saints is effectively a shared parish in structure, with a Euro-American pastor and a Mexican associate pastor, masses each weekend in English and Spanish, and parallel ministries for Euro-American and Latino/a communities. At the time of my study the Latino/a parish community had two masses, 20 ministry programs, and a Sunday afternoon mass attendance often exceeding 500 during the school year, while the Euro-American community had three masses, about 30 ministry programs, and a late morning mass attendance of up to 375 during the school year. From August 2007 to early July 2008, I conducted 10 months of field research at All Saints, more or less a parish calendar year. During my months at All Saints, my work included ethnographic observation, interviews, oral histories, focus groups, archival study, and tours of the area. I also trained a team of parishioners from both cultural communities who made field notes on their own observations, conducted ethnographic interviews, and offered their interpretations of our work. I frequently made informal and written reports on the ongoing findings both to parish leadership and at Sunday mass.

In my research I encountered a city and parish demographically transformed. In 1990, 4.9 percent of the population of Havenville identified as Hispanic. The American Community Survey estimate of 2005-07 found that 23.9 percent of residents were Hispanic. According to state board of education figures, in 1990-91, just 7.7 percent of students from the local school district were identified as coming from any “minority” group. By 2007 when I arrived, 37 percent of students identified as Hispanic, not counting other groups. Multiple Latino/a-owned restaurants and stores had grown up in the then-booming downtown business district. Threaded through this transformed city were the separate but interconnected worlds that Latino/as and Euro-Americans inhabited.

Each community had its own newspapers, stores, hair salons, and automotive repair shops, though some institutions — favorite restaurants, government offices, medical clinics, Wal-Mart — served both communities.

Intercultural Negotiations at All Saints

Scholars and other observers looking at parishes like All Saints — shared parishes — have often resorted to what I think of as a “typological” analysis to deal with intercultural relations. They present the qualities of each cultural group in opposition to the other across a series of categories, some of the most well-known being time, leadership style, and approach to popular religion. In these analyses, for example, the programmatic and linear nature of time in Euro-American culture is often contrasted with the person-centered and cyclical nature of time in Latin cultures. While well-intended, such analysis makes cultural groups into ideal types, abstractions, severed from actual Catholics living in their real-life context.

A better approach is to begin with concrete practical dilemmas and to analyze the trajectories of intercultural encounters they produce. Sharing a parish — worship space, the school, parish meeting rooms, parking lots, occasionally bilingual services — necessarily entails what might be called “intercultural negotiations,” exchanges that bring into relief the complex cultural terrain of a shared parish. At All Saints one of the key practical dilemmas I noted involved the juxtaposition of two religious education programs. Father Ignacio, the associate pastor, had arrived from Mexico in 2000 and immediately set about building a comprehensive religious education program in Spanish. He had been shocked to find few ceremonias occurring — that is, weddings or quinceañeras — and that hundreds of children and many young adults had never made their first communion. In the end, he made faith formation a pillar of the Latino/a community’s ministry. Many people felt this formation emphasis both
inoculated parishioners against Evangelical and Pentecostal proselytizing and helped with the cultural disorientation, solitude, and insecurity many young immigrants experienced.

The English catechetical program, on the other hand, addressed a different cultural milieu, one that included low birthrates, the out-migration of young people of marriage age, and, most important, multiple activities available for school-age children. It was a smaller program than the Spanish one, and a desire to compete for families’ limited time translated to easier requirements. Conversely the Spanish program depended on a commitment to sacraments as cultural rites of passage and tackled religious literacy through comprehensive educational discipline: weekly teacher training, parental presence at bimonthly meetings, and required attendance of children at class and mass. The co-existence of these two different approaches required ongoing intercultural negotiations.

Initially, Father Ignacio had to defend his methods and the entire enterprise of education in Spanish to both the pastor and Joanne Joyner, the Euro-American religious education director. Large attendance, however, seemed to justify it in the end. Some years later, the issue became Latino/a children laterally moving to the English program. This left confusion as to whether parents were attending required meetings on either side, and Father Ignacio implied at a staff meeting that Joyner should prevent young Latinos/as from going to the English classes, since their families’ real intention was to shirk their duty and buck his authority in accessing an easier program. To Joyner, families were acclimating to the United States, preferring English for their children. Both heard the other’s position on the matter, but neither seemed to take their counterpart seriously. In the end they had to content themselves with détente at this and other staff meetings.

Religious education mirrored an even more common practical dilemma in the parish: the need for community space, including both parish rooms and parking outside. A disproportionately young Latino/a community with more children and growing in its number of groups and ministries clearly needed more space. At the same time, most members of the Euro-American community were not familiar with a parish structure where parallel ministries existed for distinct cultural groups, and just recently the Euro-American community had paid off an expansion of parish facilities and parking lots. Longtime community members were forced to negotiate over space they never foresaw they would have to share. Concretely, some teachers from the parish school (where the Spanish religious education classes were now held) began to complain about items in the classrooms ending up out of place. Word spread among Euro-American parishioners that the Latinos/as did not take proper care of the rooms they used and were not orderly. The accusations irritated Father Ignacio, who felt Latinos/as were being held to an unfair standard. Yet he mostly complained about this internally to other Latinos/as and urged them to be diligent in leaving things in order. Manuel Nieves, who became the volunteer director of Spanish religious education, complained to me that school personnel asked him about the whereabouts of every pencil, so that he found it easier to buy extra pencils rather than launch into another investigation with his catechists.

Nieves and Father Ignacio were showing a preference for strategies of avoidance accompanied by minimal necessary interaction. This approach was common practice at All Saints. At a Saturday morning workshop, I heard Father Ignacio give a large gathering of attendees specific instructions about parking as part of his welcome, remarking that they must head off the preconceived notions Euro-Americans had. More than one Euro-American parishioner suggested to me that the solution to culture clash in the parking lot each week was to park on the street or get out quickly after mass, avoiding the issue entirely. Avoidance, of course, is not a surprising approach when few adults in both communities speak the other community’s language. It also fits with the practical situation of two communities living in distinct cultural worlds within the same parish and city: crossing over to the other cultural world is an uncomfortable and risky venture.

Nevertheless, human life being what it is, the avoidance strategy was not always successful. One mother in the Euro-American community reported about friends of hers going door-to-door looking for English speakers in the Latino/a religious education classes, seeking in frustration the person who had double parked behind them. Parishioner Joan Bucher came for a meeting she had organized in the church basement on a parish pilgrimage. As she puts it,

I got down there, and they were all over the place down there... [The parish secretary] told me that they would be down there, but they would be winding up. But they have the whole basement of the church. And I said [and they responded]

“No English, no English.”

She finally secured someone able to speak with her in English, and the group was actually more than willing to move across the floor to accommodate her group. But she was visibly annoyed, and she ended her account of the incident by noting, “But you know, I’ve supported
this parish for 40-some years, not tremendously financially, but I’ve been a big part of it, I’ve tried to put myself into it, and I should count for something.”

Power and Negotiation
The word “negotiation” may suggest to some an exchange between two equal parties, but it seldom functions that way in the world of nations or shared parishes. Intercultural negotiations at All Saints occurred in and were fundamentally shaped by an environment of unequal power. How could it be otherwise? Before the migration of the 1990s, Havenville was largely culturally homogeneous. When hundreds of mostly poor migrants did arrive, the contrast could not have been clearer. The Euro-American community at All Saints enjoyed socioeconomic diversity, residential stability, U.S. citizenship, English fluency, and cultural and racial privilege. The Latino/a community, on the other hand, was disproportionately poor and working class, had many relative newcomers with almost no adult U.S. citizens, was culturally socialized elsewhere, and was racially “other” to this part of the Midwest. Some Euro-American parish leaders did not welcome this observation of a difference in privilege and power; they seemed to interpret it as an accusation. It is important to take this seriously: they were not to blame. They also found themselves confronting social realities forged by forces beyond their specific control, such as global market capitalism, transnational migration patterns, and U.S. cultural traditions about racial categorization and formation. Yet individualism often makes it difficult to distinguish blame from responsibility. Few of us directly create either the privileges or the harm involved in social inequality or institutionalized racism, but we remain responsible as participants in the communities that struggle with them.

Power differences create sensitivities regarding appearances. It is as much a story of perceptions about influence and access as it is a story about the actual balance of such things. A 30-something Latina at All Saints did not hesitate to designate as racism the relative shabbiness of a Spanish liturgical book compared to the English version, even though behind the scenes a Euro-American couple had recently made a rather large donation to replace that same book. Perhaps even more confounding, many Euro-American parishioners did not (or could not) recognize the unequal power relationship between the two communities. They resented or became angry at having to make concessions to the presence of the Latino/a community, having to negotiate across language or cultural barriers. As members of a dominant culture in a formerly homogeneous city, many saw the parish and Havenville as a cultural field properly belonging to them and now being disturbed. Not surprisingly, my survey results suggested more resentment and resistance among parishioners over 40 with stronger memories of pre-1990 cultural homogeneity.

Legality and Common Sense in Havenville
An additional complicating factor in intercultural negotiations at All Saints was the fact that a certain number of Latino/a parishioners did not have legal papers to work and live in the U.S. This gave life in the Latino/a community a precarious edge, making people leery to plant roots or get involved. A recent Pew study confirmed that this anxiety affects not only the undocumented but all immigrants as well as their native born family members and friends. Euro-American discomfort with and animosity to the presence of undocumented immigrants surely increases this anxiety. Several Euro-American interviewees expressed to me or to the team members their displeasure, the following comment being representative: “I am not at all in favor of illegal immigration. I don’t care who it is.” People also noted this to me in everyday conversation, and during my 10 months in Havenville it appeared pointedly in columns and letters in the local (English) newspapers. Perhaps not surprisingly, I noted a resistance in the Latino/a community to parish involvement that brought prolonged contact with the Euro-American community.

Many Euro-Americans considered the problem with illegal immigration and illegal immigrants to be obvious and self-evident. Yet, at the same time, this way of thinking about it seemed equally unreasonable and impractical to members of the Latino/a community. Human beings generally think of self-evident conclusions as common sense, which we assume to be universal. Anthropologist Clifford Geertz, however, has shown how common sense functions as an ad hoc cultural system. It characterizes the immediate world in ways we presume to be natural and practical, but what is “natural” and “practical” actually differs from culture to culture. Thus, I listened to a 40-something Euro-American man tell me that he disagreed with his in-laws’ desire to deport all undocumented Mexicans, but he could still see why they think such immigration is morally wrong. As he put it, “that’s why they call it illegal.” Many Euro-Americans made strong connections between morality and law. On the other hand, I heard stories from Latino/a community members about keeping account of their different names on different identification cards and avoiding roads well-traveled by the police. To them, having to make such clandestine arrangements in a nation that simultaneously integrated them into the economy as laborers and consumers was nothing less than hypocrisy. They resonated the label of “illegals” being applied to people who went about their lives working diligently, attending to their children, and volunteering at church.

Unintended Consequences
Once during my time in Havenville, a pastor from one of the Protestant churches in town asked me if the Catholic church in Havenville might be better served — if there were resources available — by two parishes, one Euro-American and one Latino. This, of course, was the case for much of U.S. Catholic history, where any given locality might have had two or three different Catholic churches — such as the Irish, German, and Italian parishes in my parents’ hometown. But the point is moot: we do not have such resources available. Our diocesan budgets are limited, our immigrants poor, our parishes long established, and our priests and professional staff relatively few in number. I return to Ortner’s observation about social change as unintended consequence of action. No church official planned the shared parish as the ideal response to the great demographic transformations.
I can well remember the scorn with which my generation of American Catholic historians were wont to disparage “clerical history.” The term, never precisely defined, seemed to refer in blanket fashion to nearly everything written about the Catholic past prior to the late 1950s. But whatever else it was, “clerical history” was not a history where priests loomed large — not, at least, if they hadn’t ascended to the episcopate. One found hagiographic generalizations about zealous, holy, self-sacrificing clergy in most diocesan histories and sometimes in episcopal biographies, too. Candid discussions of priestly life, however — its tensions, rewards, and material particulars — were extremely rare. Priests in this literature seemed to float not just above history but above the needs, drives, and psychological conflicts that bedevil the lives of lesser mortals.

My generation of historians can hardly be said to have remedied the situation. Apart from Scott Appleby’s deft essay (1986) on the lives of parish priests between 1930 and 1980 and certain of the “new” diocesan histories, almost nothing has been written by my cohort — loosely defined as those old enough to remember Vatican II — on the diocesan clergy. Priests in religious orders have fared a bit better, perhaps because the communal dimension of religious life appeals to the anthropological sensibilities so much a part of our training. Excellent studies have appeared of the Jesuits (Terence McDonough and Gerald McKeveit),

**The French-American Clergy Connection**


**Re-making Roman Catholicism in the United States.** Nevertheless, both statistics and anecdotal evidence suggest that just as the national parish dominated earlier eras of immigration and the suburban parish dominated mid-to-late 20th-century Catholicism, more and more the shared parish is becoming the reality of local Catholicism in our own time. Whether or not we planned it, we will be served well reflecting on its internal intercultural workings and its future among us.

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**NOTES**


2. Michael W. Foley and Dean R. Hoge, _Religion and the New Immigrants: How Faith Communities Form Our Newest Citizens_ (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 74-77. The Catholic immigrant groups studied were Salvadorans (along with a small number of other Latinos/as), Nigerian Igbos, and Francophone Africans from Senegal and the Gambia.

3. Ken Johnson-Mondragón, “Ministry in Multicultural and National/Ethnic Parishes: Evaluating the Findings of the Emerging Models of Pastoral Leadership Project” (Stockton, CA: Instituto Fe y Vida/National Association for Lay Ministry, 2008), 13-14. The dioceses were: Charleston, SC; Brooklyn, NY; El Paso, TX; Oakland, CA; and Wichita, KS.


5. All Saints, Havenville, Port Jefferson diocese, and all proper names are pseudonyms for the protection of parishioners in this study.


the Josephites (Stephen Ochs), and the Sulpicians (Christopher Kauffman). Also worth noting is David O’Brien’s luminous biography of Father Isaac Hecker, C.S.P. These exemplary historians, however, would be the first to point out that a good deal of clerical territory remains unexplored.

Why did my cohort largely neglect the priesthood? In part because of ideology: we saw ourselves as champions of the laity, who had been relegated — as we rightly saw it — to historical invisibility. (Our mild, if unthinking, hostility to writing about priests does suggest that we privately assumed they were powerful historical actors, analogous in some crude way to the “bosses” in labor history.) But evidentiary problems were a factor, too, and these are especially acute for the diocesan clergy. Priests seldom leave a paper trail, in my archival experience. They are not given to self-revelation in letter or diary form, and their bishops aren’t typically interested in saving documents that don’t bear directly on administrative matters. Given a regime without a mandatory retirement age, moreover, one can’t assume that even administratively relevant information will invariably be preserved: the local Chancery may be too carelessly managed. I can still remember my astonishment at discovering that no one had bothered to record the names of men ordained for the then-Diocese of Detroit for nearly a decade in the early twentieth century — at precisely the time when an ill and aged bishop was drifting into probable senility.

Diocesan priests are not yet a hot topic in American Catholic history, even among its younger practitioners. But the situation may be changing. One promising indicator is John Dichtl’s recent account of priest-missionaries on the Kentucky frontier, Frontier is most definitely another. Two swallows do not a summer make, or so my grandmother cautioned. Still, it makes sense that historians born during or after the Council would be less inclined than those in my cohort to regard the clergy as a powerful, privileged caste and hence less-than-sympathetic subjects for historical analysis. What profession today is in greater trouble than the priesthood, not simply in terms of recruitment, but public image as well? No matter how “cultic” an understanding of priesthood prevails among the younger clergy, priests no longer possess the authority as their predecessors did. Indeed, lay ecclesial ministers — a heavily female population — now outnumber priests in the nation’s parishes.

I hardly think it necessary at this juncture to make a case for including priests more prominently in our reconstruction of the past. How can one understand a religious system without understanding its cultic leaders — their roles, self-understanding, and modes of relating to others? “Much of the church changes when priests change,” Pasquier writes in Fathers on the Frontier, his splendid study of French missionary priests in the young United States, “and priests change because of the places they go and the people they meet.” Priests occupy a pivotal place in the Catholic system, more immediately subject to episcopal authority than the laity and more intimately dependent on the laity for validation of their own efficacy than most of us imagine. Examining the lived experience of priesthood helps us to grasp the complexities of that system — the contingent nature of episcopal authority, for example, or the cultural capital enjoyed by the laity, even in times of plentiful priestly vocations. “The intention of religious specialists to separate themselves from those they deem inferior religious practitioners is often elusive in practice,” as Pasquier points out.

The great strength of Pasquier’s book is its organizing insight: that priests are simultaneously pères and confrères. As “fathers” to the laity, priests believed it essential to project both confidence and authority; as “brothers” to their fellow priests, they frequently revealed their vulnerabilities and doubts. Such dualities, needless to say, are part of the human condition. Who does not sometimes play a role that masks profound uncertainty? But the highly public nature of the priestly role, coupled with the breathtaking gulf between the ideals to which priests are socialized and the messy reality in which they function, opens the way to particularly acute conflict. Priests “are officially committed to both worlds in the way most people are not,” the novelist J.F. Powers once observed. “This makes for stronger beer.” Pasquier’s focus on “clerical thought and emotion” thus takes him into psychologically rich territory — so rich, indeed, that one wonders why historians of my generation, intrigued as many of us are by counter-cultural phenomena, have been reluctant to venture there.

Pasquier’s subjects belong to the three generations of French missionary priests who served the American Church between 1789 and 1870. Their numbers were never large — even at the end of the period in question, the total was probably fewer than 130 — and they served primarily in the South. But their influence was indisputably greater than these facts would suggest. The early bishops of the American Church were disproportionately French in origin; an even larger number were educated by French Sulpicians, who staffed the nation’s premier seminary in Baltimore. Sulpician spirituality shaped the self-understanding of many priests, as well, either as a result of seminary training or annual retreats directed by members of the Society of Saint-Sulpice. And as representatives of a rich and highly-elaborated Catholic culture — in the wake of revolution, France was still the epicenter of the 19th-century missionary revival — French priests in the United States possessed a particular claim to authority, or so they typically believed. This presumably made
for confidence in the priestly role.

American conditions, however, frequently undermined the confidence of even well-defended men. Most French missionaries served in frontier settings, where physical hardship and isolation from one’s fellow priests were unhappy facts of existence. Frontier Catholics were often poor and unable — or unwilling — to support their clergy adequately. Some indignantly resisted clerical discipline, especially when priests inveighed against staples of frontier sociability like dancing. Illness was a constant threat, with priests obliged to ride grueling distances on sick-calls and sometimes required to act as physicians to body as well as soul. (As in Catholic Europe, priests were widely believed to possess thaumaturgic powers.) Frontier isolation could also enable a priest’s fall from grace: brother priests living irregularly — with concubines, for example — caused dismay among their more disciplined colleagues; so did priests with obvious drinking problems. The latter were surprisingly numerous in the antebellum years, in part because troubled clerical “floaters” drifted from Europe to priest-poor dioceses in North America and perhaps in part because of frontier isolation and material hardship.

American heterogeneity was equally troubling. Could a conscientious priest baptize the child of Protestant parents at their request, even when there was almost no chance that the child would be raised as a Catholic? (John Carroll permitted such baptisms during his tenure as archbishop, apparently on the grounds that refusal might mean that the child would not be baptized at all; the Propaganda later overruled him.) Could a priest condone religious inter-marriage — a common occurrence where Catholics formed a small minority in the local population? Some French missionaries refused to perform such marriages; others concluded that American circumstances necessitated their toleration. Did it matter that some frontier Catholics expected the rite of baptism to be conducted in the vernacular, perhaps as a concession to Protestant friends and family members, or that confessions had sometimes to be heard in the open? And how were priests to cope — both tactically and in terms of their own psychological balance — with the rising tide of anti-Catholic propaganda on the trans-Appalachian frontier?

French missionary priests had been socialized to exceedingly high standards during their years of formation. They believed they were called to perfection as priests — to unwavering faith, inexhaustible zeal, scrupulous chastity, and full-hearted obedience to ecclesiastical authority. The world’s salvation quite literally depended on priestly perfection, or so they had been taught. Frontier ministry, in consequence, was often productive of great anxiety, as priests confessed in letters to one another and even to their bishops. Unable to bear hardship with equanimity or adjust their scruples to the ambiguities of American pluralism, priests sometimes doubted the genuineness of their missionary vocation. The prayerful support of their confrères enabled most to endure, as did eventual acceptance of American realities. “The erosion of a distinctive missionary identity — one that linked missionaries from around the world in the 19th century with an apostolic tradition that began with St. Paul in the 1st century and continued with St. Francis Xavier in the 16th century and Jean de Brebeuf in the 17th century — made French missionary priests aware that they were contributing to the gradual formation of a distinctively American church.”

Pasquier’s narrative rests on unusually rich sources. His isolated frontier priests wrote frequently and candidly to their brother priests and bishops, the latter perhaps made less awe-inducing by their limited disciplinary reach, and a portion of this correspondence has survived. Priests and bishops alike wrote accounts of their ministry to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, founded at Lyons in 1822 and a principal source of funds and recruits for French missions around the globe. Some of these letters survive in French archives; others were printed in the Annales de la propagation de la foi, which first appeared in 1826. The latter were usually heavily edited, the better to satisfy readers’ tastes for missionary heroism, exotic natives — American Indians, whom few French priests served for any length of time after 1789, were especially popular — and the mass conversion of Protestant “heretics.” Pasquier reads his sources with flair and sensitivity, turning even tweaked testimonies from the Annales to good historical account. “By scrutinizing the process of formulating images of missionary experience, it is possible to determine what French priests considered to be an ideal missionary and how difficult it was for them to sustain such idealistic standards in the practice of everyday life.”

America’s impact on French priests varied. A few vocations withered in frontier isolation, although surviving documents do not tell us how it happened. Some men remained permanent prisoners of their French-bred rigorism and thus locked in conflict with Catholics who lived by looser standards. (Father Charles Nerinckx called the Dominicans of Kentucky an “army of animals” because they permitted their parishioners to dance and marry “heretics.”) But most missionaries learned, if often slowly and painfully, to accommodate American realities. Effective pastors tolerated such deviations from seminary-inculated norms as religious
intermarriage and parish-sponsored dances. They shared the frustration of their non-French confrères when necessary concessions to American pluralism were prohibited by the Propaganda Fide in distant Rome. At the same time, French priests relied increasingly on Roman authority to resolve the conflicts seemingly endemic to the American Church: conflicts between priests and laity, frequently rooted in inter-ethnic rivalries, and conflicts between bishops and distant, recalcitrant clergy. But their Roman orientation — their ultramontanism, if you will — was typically tempered by a dose of American-bred pragmatism.

The ambiguities of the French missionary experience are most ironically revealed in the response of French priests to the crisis over slavery. Serving primarily in the South, French missionaries were accustomed to the peculiar institution and even direct beneficiaries of it. The Sulpician seminary in Baltimore, for example, used slaves not just on the plantations that largely supported it but for domestic purposes. French priests did encourage Catholic slaveholders to treat their slaves humanely, which meant care of the soul as well as the body. Slaves should be catechized and have regular opportunities to receive the sacraments. Few slaveholders heeded them, however, which priests attributed to individual depravity rather than the inherent evils of a slave system. “French missionaries, along with a large number of Irish and American priests throughout the United States, believed that the abolition of slavery would be detrimental to the ordered structure of American society.” Several French-born bishops in the South were vocal defenders of slavery by the 1850s, immune to the anti-slavery arguments espoused by Catholic liberals in France. When war came, nearly every French priest in the slave states supported secession, as did nearly all of their non-French counterparts. The foreign-born among them had, at least for public purposes, become local clergy. Thus all but one priest in Union-occupied New Orleans refused to take an oath of allegiance to the United States, evidently depending on their status as non-citizens to protect them from arrest. French chaplains ministered to Confederate soldiers generously and sometimes heroically; stay-at-home pastors blessed the colors and preached at the funerals of the fallen. Archbishop Jean-Marie Odin even established a short-lived New Orleans chapel for the exclusive use of Confederate veterans. Its pastor, a former Confederate chaplain, had intended to devote himself after the war to the evangelization of the newly-freed slaves. His health severely compromised by war-time service, Père Isadore-François Turgis was forced to abandon this particular mission. Perhaps not surprisingly, very few of his French confrères in the South showed much enthusiasm for the project of which his unrealized mission was meant to be a part.

The response of French missionaries to slavery was a larger-than-American story, as Pasquier duly explains. That response was shaped by more than southern exigencies: French formation and Roman allegiance mattered, too. “Telling the story of French missionary priests in the United States requires a reconsideration of national narratives of American Catholicism,” as Pasquier notes, “and a closer look at the transnational dimensions of missionary Catholicism.” At the same time, he argues for close attention to local and regional specifics. Serving as a French priest in Galveston was not quite the same as serving in Detroit or even New Orleans. It’s a formidable balancing act he prescribes for his fellow historians. Happily for all concerned, Pasquier has provided an excellent model for our imitation.

Leslie Tenler
The Catholic University of America
Kimball Baker, *Go to the Worker: America’s Labor Apostles* (Marquette, 2010). In the mid-1930s, as in recent times, the excesses of U.S. capitalism sent the American economy and its workers into a tailspin. Workers of that era responded by organizing themselves and negotiating. The Catholic social-action movement assisted them. This group of priests and laypeople, blending a strong sense of spirituality and a passion for justice, helped multitudes of workers claim their rights and exercise their responsibilities. Baker shows how the movement provided a third way between rampant capitalist individualism and Communist collectivism, allowing free enterprise to coexist with worker justice and social justice.

David S. Bovée, *The Church and the Land*: *The National Catholic Rural Life Conference and American Society, 1923–2007* (Catholic University of America, 2010). Bovée has written a scholarly history of the Catholic rural life movement in the United States, from its early history of the Catholic rural life movement in the United States, from its early history of the Catholic rural life movement in the United States, to the Iraq war, Patrick W. Carey details the rich and varied involvement of Roman Catholics in American political, cultural, and family life. This updated edition includes a chapter covering the election of Pope Benedict XVI, ongoing investigation of abuse scandals, and increasing tension between traditional Catholic values and the beliefs of modern lay people.

Alister Chapman, John Coffey, and Brad S. Gregory, eds., *Seeing Things Their Way: Intellectual History and the Return of Religion* (Notre Dame, 2009). While religious history and intellectual history are both active, dynamic fields of contemporary historical inquiry, historians of ideas and historians of religion have too often paid little attention to one another’s work. The editors and contributors in this volume urge intellectual historians to explore the religious dimensions of ideas and at the same time commend the methods of intellectual history to historians of religion. Brad Gregory, John Coffey, Anna Sapir Abulafia, Howard Hotson, Richard A. Muller, Willem J. van Asselt, James Bradley, Mark Noll, and David Bebbington contributed to this volume.


Patrick W. Carey, *Catholics in America: A History*, updated edition (Rowman & Littlefield, 2008). From colonial missions to the Iraq war, Patrick W. Carey details the rich and varied involvement of Roman Catholics in American political, cultural, and family life. This updated edition includes a chapter covering the election of Pope Benedict XVI, ongoing investigation of abuse scandals, and increasing tension between traditional Catholic values and the beliefs of modern lay people.

Daniel L. Dreisbach, Mark David Hall, and Jeffry H. Morrison, eds., *The Forgotten Founders on Religion and Public Life* (Notre Dame, 2009). This interdisciplinary volume brings together essays on eleven of the founders of the American republic — Abigail Adams, Samuel Adams, Oliver Ellsworth, Alexander Hamilton, Patrick Henry, John Jay, Thomas Paine, Edmund Randolph, Benjamin Rush, Roger Sherman, and Mercy Otis Warren — many of whom are either little recognized today or little appreciated for their contributions. The essays focus on how they perceived the proper role of religion in public life, including, but not limited to, the question of the separation of church and state. Collectively these essays present a nuanced view of the society that came to a consensus on how religion would fit in the public life of the new nation. They reveal that...
religion was more important in the lives and thinking of many of the founders than is often portrayed, and that it took the interplay of disparate and contrasting views to frame the constitutional outline that eventually emerged.

Jonathan H. Ebel, *Faith in the Fight: Religion and the American Soldier in the Great War* (Princeton, 2010). Recovering the thoughts and experiences of American troops, nurses, and aid workers through their letters, diaries, and memoirs, Jonathan Ebel describes how Christianity encouraged these young men and women to fight and die, sustained them through war’s chaos, and shaped their responses to the war’s aftermath. He reveals the surprising frequency with which American participants viewed the war as a religious challenge that could lead to individual and national redemption. And he shows that, for many, the postwar period was one of “reillusionment,” not disillusionment. Demonstrating the connections between Christianity and Americans’ experience of World War I, Ebel encourages us to examine the religious dimensions of America’s wars, past and present, and to work toward a deeper understanding of religion and violence in American history.

Andrew S. Finstuen, *Original Sin and Everyday Protestants: The Theology of Reinhold Niebuhr, Billy Graham, and Paul Tillich in an Age of Anxiety* (University of North Carolina, 2009). In the years following World War II, American Protestantism experienced tremendous growth, but conventional wisdom holds that midcentury Protestants practiced an optimistic, progressive, compliant, and materialist faith. Andrew Finstuen argues against this prevailing view, showing that theological issues in general — and the ancient Christian doctrine of original sin in particular — became important to the culture at large and to a generation of American Protestants during a postwar “age of anxiety.” Finstuen focuses on three significant Protestants — Billy Graham, Reinhold Niebuhr, and Paul Tillich. He argues that each thinker’s commitment to the doctrine of original sin was a powerful element of the public influence that they enjoyed.

Kambiz Ghanebassiri, *A History of Islam in America: From the New World to the New World Order* (Cambridge, 2010). Kambiz Ghanebassiri traces the history of Muslims in the United States and their different waves of immigration and conversion across five centuries, through colonial and antebellum America, through world wars and civil rights struggles, to the contemporary era. This book tells the often deeply moving stories of individual Muslims and their lives as immigrants and citizens within the broad context of the American religious experience, showing how that experience has been integral to the evolution of American Muslim institutions and practices. This unique, intelligent portrayal will serve as a strong antidote to the current politicized dichotomy between Islam and the West, which frequently shapes the study of Muslims in America and further afield.

Thomas H. Groome, and Michael J. Daley, eds., *Reclaiming Catholicism: Treasures Old and New* (Orbis, 2010). The American Catholic community prior to Vatican II can be numbered among the most vital expressions of Catholicism in history. Despite the cultural divide separating us from that era, the contributors to this book assess whether reclaimed spiritual wisdom from those times can enrich the faith lives of Catholics today. With topics ranging from devotional practices such as the rosary, to perspectives on the church, priesthood, religious life, and sexuality, to profiles of figures including Thomas Merton and Dorothy Day, the contributors include Richard McBrien, Luke Timothy Johnson, Dianne Bergant, Donald Cozzens, Richard Rohr, Ronald Rolheiser, Mary Boys, and Christine Gudorf.

Philip Hannan, with Nancy Collins and Peter Finney, Jr., *The Archbishop Wore Combat Boots: From Combat, to Camelot, to Katrina: Memoir of an Extraordinary Life* (Our Sunday Visitor, 2010). The embodiment of “The Greatest Generation,” Archbishop Philip Hannan’s intellect, wit, generosity, and work ethic fueled his championing of fighting for what he believed in: the dangers of fascism, the preservation of the faith, the inherent, if unforeseen, pitfalls in advising politicians on Church doctrine. The authors relate this man’s engagement with pivotal events of the 20th century: World War II, the Kennedy presidency, Vatican II, the integration of the South, Hurricane Katrina. They take readers behind the scenes as Archbishop Philip Hannan (now 97) details the events, pressures, decisions, and emotions of his experiences.

Stanley Hauerwas, *Hannah’s Child: A Theologian’s Memoir* (Eerdmans, 2010). In this memoir, renowned theologian Stanley Hauerwas gives a frank account of his own life interwoven with the development of his thought. He chronicles his journey into Christian discipleship, describes his intellectual struggles with faith, writes about how he has dealt with the complex reality of marriage to a mentally ill partner, and discusses the friends that have influenced his character.

Suellen Hoy and Emily H. Nordstrom, *Ellen Gates Starr: Her Later Years* (Chicago History Museum, 2010). What happened to Ellen Gates...
Starr, the sprightly young woman who co-founded Hull House with Jane Addams in 1889? Starr mastered the art of bookbinding and built a cherished circle of friends. Motivated by her faith, she became a dedicated reformer and labor activist. She lived and worked at Hull House for 40 years. Yet she is a largely forgotten figure. Based on Starr’s letters and writings, Suellen Hoy and Emily Nordstrom present a portrait of a spirited, independent woman, who as she aged made the most of her unexpected and unenviable circumstances. In so doing, the authors contribute to a better understanding of the history of women and the history of Chicago.

(University of North Carolina, 2010). The authors gather emerging and leading voices in the study of Native American religion to reconsider the complex and often misunderstood history of Native peoples’ engagement with Christianity and with Euro-American missionaries. Surveying mission encounters from contact through the mid-19th century, the contributors explore indigenous Christians, “mission friendly” non-Christians, and ex-Christians. Rather than questioning the authenticity of Native Christian experiences, these scholars reveal how indigenous peoples negotiated change with regard to missions, missionaries, and Christianity. This collection challenges the stereotype of Native Americans as culturally static and ill equipped to navigate the roiling currents associated with colonialism and missionization.

Mark S. Massa, S.J. The American Catholic Revolution: How the Sixties Changes the Church Forever (Oxford, 2010). The Second Vatican Council enacted the most sweeping changes the Catholic Church had seen in centuries. Massa tells the story of the culture war these changes ignited in the United States. Beginning in the pews, where changes to the Mass were felt immediately by the faithful, skirmishes quickly broke out over the proper way to worship, with “liberals” welcoming change, “conservatives” resisting it. Soon, Catholics found themselves divided over everything from birth control to the authority of the Church itself. As he narrates these turbulent transitions, Massa offers new insights into the last 50 years of American Catholicism.

Bryan N. Massingale, Racial Justice and the Catholic Church (Orbis, 2010). Massingale examines the presence of racism in America from its early history through the Civil Rights Movement and the election of President Barack Obama. He traces how Catholic social teaching has been used — and not used — to promote reconciliation and justice, and argues that Catholicism and the Black experience have made essential contributions in the struggle against racial injustice.

Jane F. Maynard, Leonard Hummel, and Mary Clark Moschella, eds., Pastoral Bearings: Lived Religion and Pastoral Theology (Lexington Books, 2010). Pastoral Bearings offers ten studies of the lived religion paradigm in the field of pastoral theology. It presents detailed qualitative research focused on the everyday beliefs and practices of individuals and groups and explores the implications of lived religion for interdisciplinary conversation, intercultural and gender analysis, and congregational studies. Reflecting upon the utility of this approach for pastoral theological research, education, and pastoral care, the studies collected here demonstrate the importance of the study of lived religion.

Lou F. McNeil, Recovering American Catholic Inculturation: John England’s Jacksonian Populism and Romanticist Adaptation (Lexington Books, 2008). Lou F McNeil follows Bishop John England, who governed the Diocese of Charleston with a Constitution that assigned rights and responsibilities to church members. He argues that this was not a case of simple accommodation to Enlightenment rationality and autonomous individuality, but an application of theoretical thinking to the practical needs of the diocese. In so doing, McNeil corrects the tendency to apply static categories or political anachronisms to the early American experience.

Using local examples, Numrich covers the gamut of Christian responses to America’s multireligious reality. The book also examines how the events of Sept. 11, 2001, have shaped Christian approaches to other faiths, from engaging in dialogue to hoping for conversion.

S. Scott Rohrer, *Wandering Souls: Protestant Migrations in America, 1630–1865* (University of North Carolina, 2010). Popular literature and frontier studies stress that Americans moved west to farm or to seek a new beginning. Scott Rohrer argues that Protestant migrants in early America relocated in search of salvation, Christian community, reform, or all three. Examining the migration patterns of eight religious groups, Rohrer finds that Protestant migrations consisted of two basic types. First were migrations motivated by religion, economics, and family, in which Puritans, Methodists, Moravians, and others headed to the frontier as individuals in search of religious and social fulfillment. Second were groups wanting to escape persecution (such as the Mormons) or to establish communities where they could practice their faith in peace (such as the Inspirationists). Rohrer concludes that the two migration types shared certain traits, despite the great variety of religious beliefs and experiences, and that “secular” values informed the behavior of nearly all Protestant migrants.

Anthony Burke Smith, *The Look of Catholics: Portrayals in Popular Culture from the Great Depression to the Cold War* (University of Kansas, 2010). For much of American history, Catholics’ perceived that allegiance to an international church centered in Rome excluded them from full membership in society. Anthony Burke Smith shows how the intersection of the mass media and the visually rich culture of Catholicism changed that Protestant perception and, in the process, changed American culture. Tracing popular representations of American Catholics between the Great Depression and the height of the Cold War, he shows that Hollywood played a major role in the mid-century Catholicization of the American imagination. Bing Crosby, Pat O’Brien, Spencer Tracy, John Ford, Henry Luce, and Bishop Fulton J. Sheen all helped to promote an image of Catholicism that suggested tolerance and goodwill, and so overturned stereotypes of Catholics as un-American.

Christian Smith, with Patricia Snell, *Souls in Transition: The Religious and Spiritual Lives of Emerging Adults* (Oxford, 2009). How important is religion for young people in America today? What are the major influences on their developing spiritual lives? How do their religious beliefs and practices change as young people enter into adulthood? Christian Smith explores these questions and many others as he tells the story of the religious and spiritual lives of emerging adults, ages 18 to 23, in the U.S. today. This volume is the follow-up study to Smith’s landmark book, *Soul Searching: The Religious and Spiritual Lives of American Teenagers*. Some of Smith’s findings are surprising. Parents turn out to be the single most important influence on the religious outcomes in the lives of young adults. On the other hand, teenage participation in evangelization missions and youth groups does not predict a high level of religiosity just a few years later. Moreover, the common wisdom that religiosity declines sharply during the young adult years is shown to be exaggerated.

Reiner Smolinski, ed., *Biblia Americana, Cotton Mather, volume 1: Genesis* (Baker Academic, 2009). Cotton Mather, one of the leading intellectuals of colonial America, is often overshadowed by his younger Puritan contemporary, Jonathan Edwards. This edition of Mather’s magnum opus in the area of biblical knowledge focuses fresh attention on early New England’s second most prodigious intellect. Mather’s commentary takes the form of questions and answers on the whole biblical canon. The edition, prepared by an international team of experts in early American studies, is the first in a series that will consist of ten volumes published over the course of a decade. This first volume introduces the project and offers Mather’s comments on Genesis.

Randall J. Stephens, ed., *Recent Themes in American Religious History: Historians in Conversation* (University of South Carolina, 2009). *Recent Themes in American Religious History* represents some of the best writing of recent years on understanding the context and importance of religious thought, movements, and figures in the American historical narrative. This collection addresses several subjects central to religious history in the Unites States. The first section maps the state of American religious history as a field of study, and includes interviews with Robert Orsi and Stephen Prothero. Subsequent sections explore the challenges of assimilation faced by Jews and Catholics in the United States, the origins and historical significance of American evangelical Christianity, and the phenomenon of millennialism in America. The volume concludes with a discussion of religious experience as an indicator of the limits of historical understanding, and of the tension that exists between religious and historical modes of knowing.

Recent publications of interest include:


Seth Meehan, "From Patriotism to Pluralism: How Catholics Initiated the Repeal of Birth Control Restrictions in Massachusetts," Catholic Historical Review 96, no. 3 (July 2010): 470-98.

Cecilia A. Moore, "Conversion Narratives: The Dual Experiences and Voices of African American Catholic Converts,"


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

The Alliance for Catholic Education has released a book on Catholic Education in 12 American cities. Edited by Thomas C. Hunt & Timothy Walch, *Urban Catholic Education: Tales of Twelve American Cities* traces the history and development of Catholic schools in 12 urban areas across the United States. The 12 essays provide a glimpse into the history and context in which the largest private school system in the nation began. Built on the dedication and sacrifice of vowed religious, Catholic schools faced challenges of building, staffing, financing, and even anti-Catholic sentiment. This is a history rich in wisdom and experience, detailing the vision and passion of what was once an overwhelmingly immigrant church.


New Women of the Old Faith: Gender and American Catholicism in the Progressive Era by Kathleen Sprows Cummings is now available in paperback from the University of North Carolina Press. This publication, by the Cushwa Center’s associate director, is the recipient of three Catholic Press Association Awards for 2010 in the categories of education, gender issues, and history.

Fellowships

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

Projects may deal with any aspect of the history of the Franciscan family, including any of the branches of the family (male, female, tertiary, Capuchin). The fellowships may be used for any valid purpose related to the conducting of research and may be used in conjunction with other awards and grants. The recipient must be engaged in full-time research during the period of the fellowship. Proposals may be submitted in English, Spanish, French, or Portuguese. The applicant must be a doctoral candidate at a university in the Americas, and the bulk of the research should be conducted in the Americas. The application deadline is Feb. 1, 2011.

For more information, please contact: Jeffrey M. Burns, Director Academy of American Franciscan History 1712 Euclid Avenue Berkeley, Calif. 94709-1208 or acadafh@aol.com or acadafh@fst.edu.

The Louisville Institute seeks to enrich the religious life of American Christians, and to revitalize their institutions, by bringing together those who lead religious institutions with those who study them so that the work of each might inform and strengthen the work of the other. The Institute especially seeks to support significant research projects that focus on Christian faith and life, religious institutions, and pastoral leadership. Research grant programs include: Dissertation — Fellowship, First Book Grant Program for Minority Scholars, Project Grants for Researchers, and Sabbatical Grants for Researchers. Application deadlines and grant amounts vary. Complete details are available at: www.louisville-institute.org, via e-mail at info@louisville-institute.org or by regular mail at: Louisville Institute 1044 Alta Vista Road Louisville, Ky. 40205.

Friends of the Cushwa Center

Marian Ronan is research professor of Catholic studies at the Center for World Christianity, New York Theological Seminary, New York, N.Y. Her most recent book is *Tracing the Sign of the Cross: Sexuality, Mourning, and the Future of American Catholicism* (Columbia, 2009). She is currently researching a book on the life and work of Mary Daniel Turner, SNDdeN, a major figure in the renewal of women’s religious life after World War II.

Friends of the Cushwa Center, Elaine Peña and Michael Pasquier, have been selected for the Young Scholars in American Religion Program by the Center for the Study of Religion and American Culture at Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis. Peña, George Washington University, whose interests include migration/citizenship issues, performance theory and pedagogy, presented a paper to members of the American Catholic Studies Seminar (ACSS) in spring, 2006. Pasquier, Louisiana State University, presented a paper to the ACSS in spring 2008, and most recently, presented a paper in May, 2010 at the Atlantic Catholicism: The French-American Connection conference.


In Memorium

Dolores Fain served as secretary and administrative assistant at the University of Notre Dame for 28 years, many of those for Cushwa’s founding director, Jay Dolan. She passed away May 24, at 85 years of age.
**Archives Report**

The tension between tradition and innovation exists in both secular and sacred works of art. Great secular artists certainly influence liturgical arts, and the question of what to make of modern art may be found in many of the collections in the Notre Dame Archives — in records of the Liturgical Arts Society, the Society for the Renewal of Christian Art, and the Catholic Art Association, and in papers of Ivan Mestrovic, Anthony Lauck, and Maurice Lavanoux.

Several years ago I went by train to Pittsfield, Mass., and drove in a rented car over the mountain to the workshop of a great modern artist, George Rickey, in East Chatham, N.Y. His son, Philip Rickey, thought that it would be a good idea to plan well in advance for the disposition of the Rickey Papers. The trip was arranged by Charles R. Loving, the executive director of Notre Dame's Snite Museum of Art, who visited the workshop at the same time. We saw many of George Rickey’s paintings, drawings, and sculptures. We had lunch with George and Philip Rickey and had an opportunity to look at a small collection of the Rickey Papers and at the much larger body of active files. We met several members of the staff, including Mark Pollock, who (among his other duties) installs and maintains Rickey’s sometimes gigantic kinetic sculptures.

At the end of March 2010, Mark Pollock drove a truck to South Bend and brought 80 linear feet of Rickey records to the Notre Dame Archives, including the Rickey Collection Catalog of Artists; Rickey’s Hand Hollow Foundation Records; and Financial Records, including bank records, Rickey Workshop accounting records, paid bills, check registers, payroll sheets, and check stubs. The records date chiefly from 1970 to 1998 and would fill ten four-drawer filing cabinets.

George Rickey was born in South Bend, Ind., on June 6, 1907. In 1913 the Rickey family moved to Scotland. Rickey graduated from Glenalmond College, a boarding school in Perth and Kinross, and from Balliol College, Oxford. Before World War II he taught at the Groton School in Mass., and then served as a visiting art teacher at many schools with Carnegie Corporation’s Artists in Residence Program.

During the war he worked as an army engineer; after the war he studied at the New York University Institute of Fine Arts and the Chicago Institute of Design. In the 1950s, drawing on his engineering knowledge, Rickey began to create the kinetic sculpture for which he is best known. Rickey died in 2002, and his son Philip manages the George Rickey Foundation and Estate.

Both the South Bend Museum of Art and the Snite Museum of Art have had an interest in Rickey’s work for many years. In 1985, together with Indiana University at South Bend and Saint Mary’s College, they cooperated to mount an exhibition of more than a hundred of Rickey’s works, called “George Rickey in South Bend.” In September 2009 the Snite Museum of Art and Notre Dame’s departments of American Studies and Art, Art History, and Design sponsored a symposium to celebrate the works of George Rickey, “Abstraction in the Public Sphere: New Approaches.”

Five institutions worked together to mount Rickey exhibitions in South Bend in 2009-10: Community Foundation of St. Joseph County, South Bend Museum of Art, Notre Dame’s Snite Museum of Art, 1st Source Bank, and the George Rickey Foundation. Philip Rickey has donated more than 20 of his father’s works to the Snite Museum of Art.

— Wm. Kevin Cawley, Ph.D.  
Archivist & Curator of Manuscripts  
University of Notre Dame  
Archives@nd.edu
**Seminar in American Religion**


Commentators:
Gene McCarrhaer, Villanova University
Erika Doss, University of Notre Dame

**Date:** Saturday, February 12, 2011  
**Time:** 9:00 a.m. — noon  
**Place:** McKenna Hall, Center for Continuing Education

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**American Catholic Studies Seminar**

*Praying Like the Middle Class: Ethnic Mexicans Make Church in Twentieth-Century Indiana*  
Eduardo Morales, Southern Methodist University

Commentator:
Marc Rodriguez, University of Notre Dame

**Date:** Wednesday, April 13, 2011  
**Time:** 4:30 p.m.  
**Place:** 400 Geddes Hall

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**Cushwa Center Conference**

*Catholic Diasporas: The Irish and Mexicans in America*

The Irish have shaped U.S. Catholicism and its impact on the wider society more than any other group since the first great waves of immigration in the 19th century. Today the rising influence of Hispanic Catholics, two thirds of them from Mexican backgrounds, is the leading indicator for ongoing developments in the 21st century. This conference will examine the Mexican and Irish experience in their native and adoptive homelands, shedding new light on their significance through comparative analysis.

Conference sessions are:

**History and Memory**
Nicholas Canny, National University of Ireland, Galway
David Carrasco, Harvard University

**The Church and Revolutionary Politics**
Marianne Elliott, University of Liverpool
Julia Young, George Mason University

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**Worship and Devotion**
Diarmuid Ó Giolláin, University of Notre Dame
William Taylor, University of California at Berkeley, Emeritus

**Literature**
Marjorie Howes, Boston College
Ellen McCracken, University of California Santa Barbara

**Irish and Mexican Catholics in America**
Timothy Matovina, University of Notre Dame
Timothy Meagher, Catholic University of America

**Dates:** March 31-April 2, 2011  
**Place:** McKenna Hall, Center for Continuing Education
Working Papers — $5 each (check titles below)

Total amount enclosed: $___________________

Please make check payable to the Cushwa Center. Mail to Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism, University of Notre Dame, 407 Geddes Hall, Notre Dame, Indiana 46556-5611.

Name _______________________________________________________________________________________ 
Address ______________________________________________________________________________________ 
City __________________________ State _______________ Zip ________________
E-mail _____________________________________________

Working Paper Series

- Michael Pasquier, “‘Even in Thy Sanctuary, We Are Not Yet Men’: Missionary Priests and Frontier Catholicism in the United States.” — spring 2008

News Items for Newsletter
(Current position, research interests, etc.):

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THE CUSHWA CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF AMERICAN CATHOLICISM

The Cushwa Center 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 Catholic religious tradition in the United States. The American Catholic Studies Newsletter is prepared by the staff of the Cushwa Center and published twice yearly. ISSN 1081-4019

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