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Cover image: Father Cyprian Davis, O.S.B., courtesy of Saint Meinrad Archabbey.
A week after the Memorial Day murder of George Floyd, Dean Marcus Cole of Notre Dame Law School wrote a poignant reflection on his own encounters, as an African American man, with racial violence at the hands of police. “I am George Floyd,” he wrote. “Except, I can breathe. And I can do something. I must do something . . . There are things that I, in my position, can do.”

Dean Cole went on to announce initiatives he is spearheading at the Law School to advance the cause of racial justice. Inspired by my colleague’s call to action, I thought very seriously about what I, in my position, can do—and I have taken a few steps in that direction. None of them go far enough, I realize, but I offer them as a beginning.

First, Dean Cole’s essay prompted me to frame our new project on clergy sexual abuse in the Catholic Church even more broadly. In early June my co-director Robert Orsi and I had contemplated postponing the upcoming first meeting of the working group. We were slated to discuss hundreds of pages about clergy sexual abuse and listen to testimony from a survivor, and we wondered whether that was too much to ask of our researchers when we were all grappling with so much heartbreak. We discerned that moving forward was more important than ever: “Our project is concerned,” we explained to the group, “with the violent abuse of power by official authority, with its causes and consequences within neighborhoods, schools, and parishes, and above all, in the lives of victims. We are dedicated to disclosing and understanding the cruelty directed by the powerful and their enablers towards the innocent and vulnerable. In this sense, our work holds the promise of contributing to the public conversation that must follow May 25, 2020, about accountability, justice, and change.” A friend of mine, a survivor of clergy sex abuse, gently reminded me that forging ahead also represented an act of solidarity with survivors: they do not, after all, have the privilege of deciding how much exposure and emotional pressure they can bear.

—continued on following page
The team also resolved to recruit a scholar who could work explicitly on abuse in Black Catholic communities and reached out to colleagues across the country in search of recommendations. I am delighted to report that Dr. Tia Noelle Pratt, a sociologist who has written about this issue in a widely cited blog post, has agreed to join our working group.

You can read more about a second initiative undertaken by the Cushwa Center, in partnership with the ACHA, on page 17: the establishment of the Cyprian Davis, O.S.B., Prize, an award designed to stimulate much-needed research on the Black Catholic experience.

Finally, Dean Cole’s reflection also influenced a choice I made as a professor: I selected Sister Thea Bowman’s cause for canonization as a case study in my first-year “Sanctity & Society” seminar, assigning Rev. Maurice Nutt’s new biography, *Thea Bowman: Faithful and Free*. Sister Thea’s life both teaches us about the sin of racism in the Church and awakens us to the possibility of atonement and redemption. Rev. Nutt, who recently characterized Sister Thea as “a national witness to the possibility of racial healing and reconciliation,” joined my seminar for an informative and inspirational virtual visit. I am looking forward to meeting him in person in October 2021, when the Cushwa Center will cosponsor a meeting of the Black Catholic Theological Symposium at Notre Dame.

Speaking of the communion of saints, Bill Cushwa entered into eternal life on September 8. Bill was a generous benefactor but above all a good friend. I admired his curiosity, appreciated his sense of humor, and remain awed by his faith. Early on in our friendship, almost two decades ago, I attended the funeral of Bill’s brother, Charles. I remember watching Bill, through his tears, leading the mourners in a spirited rendition of the Notre Dame fight song. When I shared this memory with Bill Cushwa Jr. soon after hearing news of his father’s death, he reminded me that the official name of the fight song is the “Victory March,” and in that sense it is an appropriate anthem not only for Notre Dame fans but for all Christians. In the age of coronavirus, the chorus was more subdued at Bill’s funeral, but no less heartfelt: Onward to victory, Bill, together with all the saints.

*Kathleen Sprows Cummings*
Theological Revolution in the 20th Century

On February 10, 2020, Mark Massa, S.J., professor of theology and director of the Boisi Center for Religion and American Public Life at Boston College, joined faculty and graduate students from Notre Dame’s Departments of History, American Studies, and Theology as well as the Medieval Institute for a conversation on his 2018 book, *The Structure of Theological Revolutions: How the Fight Over Birth Control Transformed American Catholicism* (Oxford University Press). The seminar included commentary by Jean Porter (Notre Dame), whose renowned interventions in the field of moral theology were the focus of one chapter of Massa’s study.

To open the conversation, Massa read short excerpts from his book’s conclusion, highlighting his project’s origins and some of its key arguments. Observing his colleagues over several years, Massa had noticed that each of the eight full-time ethicists in the Theology Department at Boston College described themselves as Thomists, despite their wide-ranging outlooks and approaches. He sought to explain how such diverse meanings had become attached to the same designation, and to do so he applied the insights of Thomas Kuhn’s theory of scientific paradigm revolutions to developments within the “micro-tradition of natural law discourse within Catholic theology.” He aimed to displace explanatory metaphors that rely upon notions of linear progress and organic growth, arguing instead for moments of “rupture and discontinuity.” Change within natural law discourse, he concluded, has been more “messy” and “chaotic” than some accounts of theological development acknowledge.

Though Porter had prepared comments after reading Massa’s book, she jettisoned them in favor of an extemporaneous response to his remarks, highlighting four points of slight but consequential differences between Massa’s thinking and her own. While Massa identified the 1968 promulgation of *Humanae vitae* as a key moment of rupture in the natural law tradition, Porter contended that the encyclical and the responses to it revealed a break that antedated the late 1960s. Porter agreed with Massa’s rejection of linear or organic metaphors for the development of moral teaching, yet she questioned whether “rupture” provides a better framework; her academic career has represented a quest to identify an intellectually defensible form of continuity, a “usable past” or even a “deposit of faith,” from medieval and other sources. At the same time, Porter argued that Massa “overestimates the role of Aquinas,” at least insofar as natural law discourse predates the Angelic Doctor’s career. Finally, she clarified a point in Massa’s account of her own scholarship, stipulating that while human nature is always encountered through social constructs, it does still possess normative, non-constructed significance. She concluded her remarks by acknowledging the potential weakness of such an understanding of human nature, namely the “quick step from saying that nature underdetermines...
its expressions to saying, ‘anything goes.’” While Porter has made attempts at resolving that tension, she acknowledged that it remains an open point of debate.

After this initial exchange between the principals, the conversation opened to all participants. Like Porter, Thomas Tweed commended the generous tone and approach of Massa’s book. Other comments highlighted the book’s engagement with the challenge of theological and ecclesiastical authority. One doctoral student asked about the tension between aspiring to demonstrate warrants for certain beliefs and the need, in contexts such as Catholics’ Eucharistic belief, to respond in obedience and faith. Massa suggested that the relationship between authority and believability represents the crux of the Catholic Church’s present crisis, as explanations particularly for contested moral teachings seem not to make sense to many listeners in the early 21st century. Porter also addressed the topic, clarifying that her own scholarly interventions have sought not to undermine the notion of authority but rather to problematize its current structural form, especially the growth over several decades of a “monarchical papacy.” Other questions addressed the breakdown between professional theologians and the Catholic laity. Timothy Matovina wondered to what degree scholarly debates about Humanae vitae actually registered with laity in the 1960s, and Kathleen Sprows Cummings referenced historical work that has described varied parish-level teachings about contraception prior to the encyclical’s release. Massa agreed that intellectual debates sometimes founder at the pastoral level. As the gathering concluded, Cummings enjoined attendees to remain in conversation across disciplines, bringing the insights of history and theology to bear upon each other.

### Political Sanctuary and Christian Hospitality in the Midwest

On February 27, Sergio M. González (Marquette University) delivered the 2019–2020 Cushwa Center Lecture examining the development of hospitality practices in American Midwestern faith spaces. With special focus on the 1980s-era sanctuary movement, he showed how Latinx and refugee communities worked with and through churches in the quest for political recognition. The lecture reframed common conceptions regarding the urban Midwest, Catholicism, and Latinx communities in the late 20th century.

He began by shifting spatial expectations. While conventional wisdom often situates the politics of asylum in the American Southwest, González opened with an allusion to a Mass celebrated on December 2, 1982, at Milwaukee’s Cathedral of St. John the Evangelist, in which more than 700 Catholics declared three local parishes as sites
of sanctuary for undocumented refugees from Central America. By the 1980s, Latino Catholics represented a rising share of the populace in cities like Milwaukee, even as congregations in those same urban areas witnessed overall numerical decline. As a result, and with the active leadership of the area’s Latino population, the Upper Midwest became an especially vibrant center of “radical hospitality” for refugee communities. That hospitality included what González labeled “prophetic action,” extending beyond the implementation of Spanish-language Masses and into direct political advocacy.

That advocacy did more than attach occasional Scriptural references to pre-existing policy goals; on the contrary, it sprang directly from activists’ Christian faith. Some Milwaukee Catholics, for example, grounded their commitment to “the sanctity and sacredness of all human life” in Benedictine traditions of unqualified hospitality; the 1980 assassination of Archbishop Óscar Romero and the subsequent murders of four Catholic missionaries in El Salvador galvanized many others. If the movement González described was always religious, it was also always political, entwined in broad and deeply rooted traditions of activism. In their willingness to offer civil resistance against the U.S. state, campaigners cited the historical example of abolitionists who had rejected the legitimacy of the Fugitive Slave Act, and the movement found solidarity beyond local Catholic communities. African American churches in Milwaukee gestured back to the city’s reputation in the 1960s as the “Selma of the North.” One congregation, Cross Lutheran, even chose September 15th for their official declaration as a place of sanctuary—a conscious allusion to the anniversary of the 16th Street Baptist Church bombing in Birmingham, Alabama. The quest for asylum, these Midwestern activists contended, was of a piece with the centuries-old Christian struggle for justice in the United States.

The sanctuary movement yielded tangible results. González linked the efforts to the eventual passage of the Immigration Act of 1990, which specified a right for Salvadorans to apply for temporary protected status. In the closing minutes, he tied this historical episode to the present, depicting the contemporary remobilization of congregations and synagogues that now seek to highlight the plight of undocumented peoples from all over the world.

Philip Byers is a postdoctoral research associate at the University of Notre Dame’s Cushwa Center. Sergio González’s Cushwa Center Lecture and many other lectures and seminars are available to view on the center’s YouTube channel.
Breaking Our Silence: A Primer for Research on Clergy Sexual Abuse

BY BRIAN J. CLITES

Four decades have passed since reports of clergy sexual abuse first garnered widespread attention in the United States and abroad. In more recent years, the 2018 Pennsylvania grand jury report and 2019 Vatican summit have spurred initiatives to support new dialogue and research on religion and sex abuse. For example, Rev. John I. Jenkins, C.S.C., president of the University of Notre Dame, has committed up to $1 million to support new projects across campus. Among those research sites is the Cushwa Center, which has convened a group of American religious historians led by Kathleen Sprows Cummings, Robert Orsi, Peter Cajka, and Terence McKiernan.
Other Catholic institutions have also announced recent initiatives to kickstart the study of clergy sexual abuse, including the Catholic University of America, Fordham, Georgetown, Gonzaga, and Villanova. Similarly, in 2019, the Henry Luce Foundation funded a new project on “Religion and Sexual Abuse,” and the American Academy of Religion launched a seminar on “Contextualizing the Catholic Sexual Abuse Crisis,” which I have the honor to co-chair with Gonzaga theologian Megan McCabe.

I have been working with survivors since 2011, when I began my doctoral research on Linkup and SNAP, two advocacy organizations founded by American Catholic survivors in the late 1980s. My current book project, “Surviving Soul Murder,” builds on that history through interviews with survivors in California, Illinois, Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania.

With an eye toward supporting these new initiatives and providing information to the many colleagues and Catholics who wish to learn more about the topic, I share this brief overview of the burgeoning interdisciplinary literature on clergy sexual abuse.

Before I begin, I want to acknowledge two of the choices that guide this overview. First, I focus here on authors who have completed extensive, book-length research on clergy sexual abuse. There are many more colleagues who have written shorter articles. To gather a sense of this broader literature, readers might seek out one of several extensive reading lists that are available online, such as Father Thomas Doyle’s bibliography on Catholic sexual abuse (170 pages as of its April 2020 edition).

Secondly, although most of these books are written by academic scholars, I begin by foregrounding some of the best work by survivors, journalists, and church whistleblowers. This is a deliberate choice to acknowledge the sacrifice that survivors have made. It is also historically grounded, because the activism of survivors and survivor-advocates has strongly influenced scholars’ subsequent interpretations of the Catholic scandal. Survivors had already generated a sustained, national public discourse on clergy sexual abuse by the early 1990s, ten years before Boston and more than a quarter century before the 2018 Pennsylvania grand jury report.

**Survivors**

Clergy sexual abuse is not a uniquely modern phenomenon. But it was widely ignored—along with broader experiences of sexual assault and incest—until the feminist movement of the 1970s spurred new social and legislative conversations. As American culture began to open up about the widespread prevalence of child sexual abuse, so too did Catholics who had been abused by priests and nuns.

During the 1980s, American Catholic survivors began to speak publicly. Allegations surfaced regionally, and it initially appeared that clergy abuse was isolated to a relatively small number of dioceses. By the 1990s, however, survivors and journalists spotted a broader trend, and they began to document the emerging scandal.

Many Americans first read about Catholic abuses through the reporting of Jason Berry, who covered the 1985 trial of Louisiana priest Gilbert Gauthe. Berry’s book *Lead Us Not Into Temptation* (Doubleday, 1992) built upon the Gauthe example and other cases to situate clergy abuse within broader debates over Catholic theology, clerical celibacy, and seminary formation. In doing so, Berry listened carefully to early survivors, including Jeanne Miller and Barbara Blaine.
After her son was abused in 1982, Miller reached out to the Archdiocese of Chicago for help. The chancery responded with a hush-money settlement, which left the Millers feeling broken and betrayed. After writing a thinly veiled memoir, *Assault on Innocence* (B&K, 1987), Miller appeared on *The Oprah Winfrey Show*, *Larry King Live*, and other television talk shows. Survivors from across the country began reaching out to her for support. With the help of longtime friend Marilyn Steffel, who was the director of religious education at their suburban Chicago parish, Miller founded Linkup, one of the nation’s first Catholic survivor organizations.

Simultaneously, Catholic Worker Barbara Blaine began hosting self-help meetings for smaller groups of victims on Chicago’s South Side. Blaine’s group eventually became the Survivors Network of those Abused by Priests (SNAP). Spurred by Miller and Blaine’s leadership, other communities of survivors founded their own support organizations, including in Los Angeles, Cleveland, and greater Boston.

Frank Bruni and Elinor Burkett capture the energy of these early survivor organizations in their book *A Gospel of Shame* (Viking Penguin, 1993), which chronicles the advocacy of survivor leaders like Frank Fitzpatrick. In 1990, Fitzpatrick began taking out ads in regional newspapers throughout New England, asking “Do you remember Father Porter?” Over the following year, more than 90 of James Porter’s victims came forward. Fitzpatrick founded Survivor Connections, and in 1992 his story became the focus of a much-publicized episode of *Primetime Live* with Diane Sawyer.

In the fall of 1992, Linkup hosted a national gathering of nearly 500 survivors at a healing and advocacy conference called “Breaking the Silence.” And break it they did. Over the following decades, hundreds of Catholic survivors have come forward publicly to share their stories of intimate suffering and spiritual betrayal. Most of those stories are accessible through media coverage, unsealed documents from court cases, and, increasingly, through the public reports of grand jury investigations impaneled by state prosecutors. The website BishopAccountability.org has catalogued and indexed an astounding quantity of these reports, and it is an invaluable resource for both historians and laypersons who wish to begin work on the abuse scandal.

Readers who appreciate journalism’s strong, unencumbered style should, of course, also revisit the reporting of the Boston Globe’s “Spotlight” team, which has been distilled into their book *Betrayal: The Crisis in the Catholic Church* (Little, Brown and Co., 2002). Although much of the Globe’s original reporting can still be found online, *Betrayal* provides a gestalt that is more lucid and empathetic, especially in its renewed focus on victims’ families.

Although it is not always visible in news media coverage, many survivors are also acute analysts. I know from my ethnographic work just how robustly survivors contextualize their own abuse, and I often marvel at their critical awareness of the broader cultural dynamics at play in debates about the causes and meanings of clergy abuse.

One way to begin appreciating the depth of survivors’ knowledge is to read their own reflections, which are available both in single-author memoirs and in a growing number of edited volumes that compile reflections from multiple victims, such as J.M. Handlin’s *Survivors of Predator Priests* (Tapestry, 2005), Ruth Moore’s *Survivors’ Lullaby* (AuthorHouse, 2006), or *Broken Trust* (Crossroad, 2007) by Patrick Fleming, Sue Lauber-Fleming, and Mark T. Matousek. Handlin includes survivors who were abused in a wide range of Catholic contexts. *Broken Trust* is somewhat unique in its choice to foreground the reflections of abusive priests. Moore’s *Survivors’ Lullaby* focuses on Boston victims and stands out for its poignant insights into the tense, often painful relationship between survivors and lay reform movements like Voice of the Faithful.
Whistleblowers

There were also warning bells from within the Church, including the remarkable collaboration of Father Thomas Doyle, Roy Mouton, and Father Michael Peterson. These men met one another in 1984, through their mutual efforts to defend the Church during the Gauthe trial. Doyle was a Dominican priest and canon lawyer who kept the apostolic nuncio apprised of new developments in Gauthe’s case. Mouton was the lawyer hired by the Diocese of Lafayette to defend Gauthe. Peterson, the founder of the Saint Luke Institute, was consulted by the bishops on Gauthe’s psychological evaluation and treatment. Through their work together, these men learned that priestly pedophilia was a much more widespread problem, and they took it upon themselves to conduct more extensive research. They recorded their findings in a 92-page report titled “The Problem of Sexual Molestation by Roman Catholic Clergy: Meeting the Problem in a Comprehensive and Responsible Manner” (1985).

The Doyle-Mouton-Peterson report emphasized the enormous insurance, criminal, and financial liabilities that American dioceses might face over the subsequent decade. After unsuccessfully attempting to have the report included in the 1985 meeting of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, Doyle mailed photocopies to dioceses across the country. After his advocacy was met with silence and denial, Doyle transferred out of the apostolic delegation and became a Navy chaplain. During the past 30 years, he has been among the most outspoken and steadfast advocates of clergy sexual abuse victims. Among survivors, Doyle’s status as a whistleblower and living saint is rivaled only by that of A.W. Richard Sipe.

Sipe was a former Benedictine monk who became a psychotherapist for abusive priests. In the early 1980s, Sipe realized that only a fraction of his patients were able to maintain their vows of chastity, and he devoted the rest of his life to the study of celibacy and sexual abuse. Sipe approached these topics as qualitative questions. He published many articles and several books, including *A Secret World* (Brunner/Mazel, 1990) and *Sex, Priests, and Power* (Brunner/Mazel, 1995), which contend that the theology of celibacy fundamentally serves to mask the Church’s centralization of ecclesiastical authority. In his view, clergy abuse is only one of several symptoms that stem from the Church’s deeply gendered theologies of power and sexuality.

Through their advocacy work for survivors, Sipe and Doyle became close friends. They spoke together at survivor events throughout the 1990s and early 2000s, and eventually co-authored, with Patrick Wall, *Sex, Priests, and Secret Codes* (Volt, 2006), which analyzes the scandal through the disparate lenses of early Church writings, canon law, American civil law, and contemporary news reports. With astonishing clarity, this co-authored book lays bare the fact that Church leaders have, for centuries, been anxious about the prevalence of sexual relationships between priests and children. Of equal interest to Catholic historians, perhaps, *Sex, Priests, and Secret Codes* reprints the Doyle-Mouton-Peterson report in its entirety.

Theologians

The survivors and whistleblowers who came forward in the 1980s and 1990s were prophetic. They proclaimed painful truths, but most Catholics were unready or unwilling to hear them. There were a few Catholic academics, however, who listened attentively to survivors’ experiences of abuse and victimization.

Feminist theology and pastoral psychology were—as far as I can tell—the first fields to substantively attend to clergy abuse survivors. From 1976 to 2018, Marie Fortune authored or coauthored more
than a dozen books on religion and sexual abuse. A theologian, ethicist, and minister, Fortune founded the interreligious FaithTrust Institute in 1977. I have found Fortune's *Is Nothing Sacred?* (Harper, 1989) and *Love Does No Harm* (Continuum, 1995) particularly helpful for thinking through the ethical boundaries of pastoral care.

Fortune also edited the *Journal of Religion & Abuse*, which in 2003 published a special edition on “Sexual Abuse in the Catholic Church” (vol. 5, no. 3). The issue, which Fortune co-edited with W. Merle Longwood, showcased papers from a conference that they hosted at Siena College, including keynote addresses by Archbishop Harry J. Flynn and Bishop Howard Hubbard. This clerical core was augmented by remarks from survivors and critiques from theologians like Mary E. Hunt.

For readers who are interested in the ethics of pastoral boundaries, Fortune’s work pairs well with James Poling’s *The Abuse of Power* (Abingdon, 1991) and Carter Heyward’s *When Boundaries Betray Us* (Pilgrim, 1993).

I was first introduced to this constellation of ethicists by Cristina L. H. Traina. In her own book, *Erotic Attunement* (University of Chicago, 2011), Traina destabilizes some of the most hotly contested debates surrounding Catholic clergy sexual abuse by beginning, instead, with the inherently sensual and indisputably unequal relationship between a mother and her children. Sensual touch, Traina argues, can be essential for nurturing healthy relationships, and it is also central to healthy Catholic rituals and devotions.

Questions about the erotics of Catholic life also reverberate through the writings of Mark Jordan, whose recent books manage to provoke deep reflection on clerical abuse while rarely engaging explicitly with news accounts of the contemporary scandal. Jordan’s *The Silence of Sodom* (University of Chicago, 2000) and *Telling Truths in Church* (Beacon, 2003) excavate the foundational elisions of Catholic sexual ethics.

**Pastoral and Clinical Psychology**

While theologians have emphasized the ethical entanglements of clergy abuse, psychologists have focused on questions of providing treatment to abusive priests and their victims. Pastoral psychologists and clinical psychologists seem to diverge from one another, however, on the pivotal question of whether the Church has already instituted adequate reforms to protect future children.

Broadly speaking, pastoral psychologists have been concerned primarily with pragmatic reforms that could both protect future children and restore credibility to American bishops. Father Stephen Rossetti and Leslie Lothstein were among the early pioneers in this area. Rossetti’s edited volume *Slayer of the Soul* (Twenty-Third Publications, 1990) offers a limited but nevertheless striking glimpse of the collaborative exchanges that were still possible, 30 years ago, between abusers, survivors, bishops, and psychologists. In 1993, Father Rossetti served on the NCCB Ad Hoc Committee on Sexual Abuse; in 1994 he helped co-found the now-defunct Interfaith Sexual Trauma Institute at Saint John’s Abbey; and from 1996–2009, he was president of the Saint Luke Institute.

Thomas Plante has been one of the most prolific researchers in this area. In the late 1990s, Plante published several articles about clergy sexual abuse in the journal *Pastoral Psychology* and, over the following decade, he edited three books about clergy sexual abuse, each of which foregrounded issues of institutional reform and prevention: *Bless Me Father for I have Sinned* (Praeger, 1999), *Sin Against the
Innocents (Praeger, 2004), and Sexual Abuse in the Catholic Church (Praeger, 2011), which was co-edited with Kathleen McChesney, a former FBI agent whom the American bishops selected as the inaugural director of the USCCB’s Office of Child and Youth Protection. Sin Against the Innocents is my favorite of these edited volumes, because it ambitiously includes not only psychological perspectives but also essays by survivors, priests, nuns, journalists, whistleblowers, law enforcement agents, and theologians.

Whereas these pastoral psychologists have focused mostly on healing the Church, clinical psychologists have written more on the suffering and treatment of victims. Because of her compassionate theorization of survivorhood, Mary Gail Frawley-O’Dea’s Perversion of Power (Vanderbilt, 2007) is usually the first book that I recommend to colleagues who want to begin teaching about the clergy sexual abuse crisis.

In an accessible but critical tone, Frawley-O’Dea weaves together key insights from psychoanalysis, cultural anthropology, and Catholic history. Even as I disagree with some of the key arguments in Perversion of Power, I admire the way that Frawley-O’Dea foregrounds the perspectives of survivors, listens to whistleblowers like Sipe and Doyle, and echoes the advocacy of survivor-nonprofit leaders like Abuse Tracker’s Kathy Shaw, SNAP’s David Clohessy, and BishopAccountability.org co-founders Terence McKiernan and Anne Barrett Doyle. Frawley-O’Dea also co-edited, with Virginia Goldner, Predatory Priests, Silenced Victims (Routledge, 2007).

Whereas Frawley-O’Dea works from her clinical experience with victims, Irish psychotherapist Marie Keenan offers a rare glimpse into the challenges of providing care to abusive priests. In Child Sexual Abuse in the Catholic Church (Oxford, 2012), Keenan refuses to dichotomize victims and abusers, arguing instead that both parties need to be understood within the broader study of Catholic culture. Keenan’s book attempts an exhaustive analysis of many issues implicated in clergy abuse, including ecclesiology, clericalism, sexuality, and gender.

Sociology and Cultural History

Sociologists have also produced ample literature on the Catholic scandal. In the 1990s, Anson Shupe was particularly prolific. A sociologist of religious criminality, Shupe spent much of his career focused on the transgressions of “bad pastors.” Shupe’s In the Name of All That’s Holy (Praeger, 1995) lays out several theories for why so many clergy seem to go astray. In his later books, such as Spoils of the Kingdom (Illinois, 2007), Shupe delves deeper into some of the particular challenges of Catholic clerical abuse, including his effort to apply social exchange theory in order to explain priestly patterns of secrecy and blackmail. I find his single-authored works less interesting than his edited volumes on clergy abuse, especially Wolves within the Fold (Rutgers, 1998).

Shupe identified “clergy deviance” in many religious traditions, but Catholicism was his most consistent focus, which mirrored the broader American cultural discourse on clergy sexual abuse during the 1990s and early 2000s. One of the few scholars who has directly examined that trend is the cultural historian Philip Jenkins. Six years before the Boston Globe’s “Spotlight” reporting, Jenkins’ Pedophiles and Priests (Oxford, 1996) argues that the media was skewed in its focus on Catholic abusers. Although he attempts to extend sympathy towards survivors, Jenkins ultimately blames journalists for “constructing the crisis,” and he faults news teams for relying on anti-Catholic tropes and regurgitating stereotypes of the pedophile priest.

Jenkins elaborates his theory of media bias in The New Anti-Catholicism (Oxford, 2003), which seeks to contextualize the clergy abuse scandal within broader public outcry against Catholicism's
deeply gendered sexual ethics. I am not persuaded by Jenkins’ portrayal of American society as inherently anti-Catholic, and perhaps that is in part due to our generational divide—I grew up in a nation where more than half of the Supreme Court is Catholic, where one-fifth of the citizens and even more of its elected members of Congress are Catholic, and where Catholic universities and their football teams are national treasures. But that is not to say that I find fault in Jenkins’ theoretical framework of moral panic; in fact, I am quite persuaded regarding the role of sexual abuse allegations in causing moral panics about religious groups that are actually marginalized in our society, a phenomenon explored in Megan Goodwin’s Abusing Religion (Rutgers, 2020).

Like Plante and, more recently Peter Steinfels, Jenkins’ view is that the American bishops have already solved the problem of clergy sexual abuse, and that—at least since the passage of the USCCB’s Dallas Charter in 2002—children in Catholic parishes and schools are actually better protected than their secular counterparts. One way to read Jenkins’ work is as a public intervention aimed at thwarting what he perceives to be a thinly cloaked coalition of Catholic liberals and liberal anti-Catholics who are collectively leveraging survivors’ suffering in order to advance their own progressive agendas.

This question of whether survivors have been co-opted undergirds several more recent sociological studies of Voice of the Faithful (VOTF). Founded in the wake of the Boston Globe’s 2002 “Spotlight” reports, VOTF is a broad coalition of non-abused laypersons seeking to support both survivors and priests. Building on his prior work on the post-Vatican II reform group Call To Action, Father Anthony Pogorelc co-authored, with Willian D’Antonio, Voices of the Faithful (Herder & Herder, 2007), which contextualizes VOTF as a new religious social movement.

The framework of social movement theory also guides Tricia C. Bruce’s excellent book Faithful Revolution (Oxford, 2011), which provides even more texture into the ethos of VOTF. Bruce studies VOTF less as a Boston group than as a national network of Vatican II Catholics whose reform agenda mostly predated the clergy abuse scandal. There is much to admire about Bruce’s study, including her careful documentation of the fact that VOTF is a movement within the Church, even as its broad membership and sweeping agenda have tested the boundaries of what we might call—if I may borrow the phrasing of sociologist Michelle Dillon—American Catholic identity.

Even more recently, sociologists Patricia Ewick and Marc Steinberg published Beyond Betrayal, which empathetically charts the concerns of a single VOTF chapter in order to offer a case study into the national movement. Their research is all the more valuable because, over the past ten years, many—perhaps most—local VOTF chapters across the country have disbanded or disintegrated, as their founding generation ages toward the final stage of life.

Legal Studies

In echoes of the increasingly litigious nature of American society, scholars of criminology and law have also produced considerable research into the contemporary Catholic sexual abuse scandal. The lengthiest of these have been reports commissioned by the secular authorities, including the 13 American grand juries that have released reports since 2002 (there have been six reports in Pennsylvania alone), and the three primary reports commissioned by the USCCB, all led by John Jay criminologist Karen J. Terry: The Nature and Scope of the Problem (2004), Supplementary Data Analysis (2006), and The Causes and Contexts (2011). All of these reports are available to download on a single BishopAccountability.org page.
In the United States, most child sexual abuse cases fall under the civil and criminal statutes of limitations (SOLs) set individually by each state's legislature. Prior to recent reforms, many states had statutes that required child victims to come forward within just a few years of reaching adulthood in order to seek justice in court. In the 1990s and 2000s, Catholic survivors inspired legislators across the country to dramatically expand their SOLs for sexual assault. Survivors in SNAP and Linkup, who lobbied and testified year after year in state capitols, deserve much of the credit for those changes, along with secular child advocacy organizations. Although its summaries of SOL laws are now outdated (because SOL reforms continue to expand), Marci Hamilton’s *Justice Denied* (Cambridge, 2008) provides an incisive guide to the ways that SOL reform has both shaped and been reshaped by the advocacy of Catholic survivors.

Like Hamilton, law school professor Timothy Lytton has published widely—both in scholarly journals and news media—on the role of litigation in shaping the Catholic scandal. Lytton’s *Holding Bishops Accountable* (Harvard, 2008) examines the role of the courts in framing clergy sexual abuse and its cover-up as an institutional, rather than individual, sin. Lytton applies his expertise in civil suits to explore the promise and limits of the judicial system in repairing survivors’ lives. In addition to monographs by these legal historians, innumerable case articles have been published in law review journals, dating back as far as the origins of the Catholic survivor movement in the early 1980s.

**Priests**

We need many more books that analyze the role of the courts in attempting to repair survivors’ souls. And yet, at the same time, our public fascination with litigation and multimillion-dollar settlements has overshadowed alternative critiques of clergy abuse, particularly the powerful criticisms offered by some prominent priests.

Donald Cozzens, for example, has written eloquently about the anguish that many priests feel, including their anger at bishops who continue to cover up and deny the problems that enabled widespread clergy sexual abuse. In *Sacred Silence* (Liturgical Press, 2002), Cozzens faults the American bishops for fostering an inward-facing culture of extreme clericalism and secrecy. In his companion volume, *A Faith that Dares to Speak* (Liturgical Press, 2004), Cozzens calls upon the institutional Church to make space for female voices and to listen to lay reform groups like Voice of the Faithful. Like Pogorelc and Bruce, Cozzens interprets the lay uprisings after 2002 as the exhalations of a generation of Vatican II Catholics who have long yearned for more transparency and lay power within the American Church.

Cozzens’ books pair well with the Australian bishop Geoffrey Robinson’s *Confronting Power and Sex in the Catholic Church* (John Garratt Publishing, 2007), which argues that the Church’s best chances for solving the abuse scandal are hiding in plain sight. The Gospels, spiritual discernment, and a return to the less-gendered ethics of the early Church can, in Robinson’s opinion, replenish and sustain a more transparent and egalitarian Catholicism in the coming century.

Cozzens and Robinson agree that the abuse scandal requires a more pastoral response from Church leaders. That assessment is echoed, even more powerfully, by Joseph Chinnici, O.F.M., a Franciscan priest whose *When Values Collide* (Orbis, 2010) is among the most careful and compelling books that I’ve read about the American clergy abuse scandal.
Chinnici’s book is nearly equal parts personal memoir, local case study, moral theology, and American Catholic history. The book is grounded in Chinnici’s own experience of trying to respond to both employees and survivors within his flock. In the early 1990s, when Chinnici was serving as a provincial minister for the Franciscans, widespread allegations of child sexual abuse began to surface within his province of Saint Barbara, which spans the western United States.

With great sincerity, it seems to me, Chinnici recounts how he tried to minister to victims and their communities. He then uses his efforts and failings as a starting point for critiquing the lack of an adequately pastoral response by the Church. The bishops leading most American dioceses, Chinnici argues, lost public credibility because they rejected pastoral mediation in favor of denial and litigation. The final chapters of the book turn to theological questions, including whether the Church can reform itself in a way that revitalizes lay participation.

American Catholic History

In 2002, as the scope of the scandal in Boston reached its full force, Notre Dame’s historians of American Catholicism did not mince words: these revelations of clergy abuse would necessitate a deep rethinking of our entire field. In his book *In Search of American Catholicism* (Oxford, 2002), Jay Dolan wrote, “There has been nothing like this in the history of American Catholicism.” In *Catholicism and American Freedom* (Norton, 2003), John McGreevy stated that “the sexual abuse crisis is the most important event in American Catholicism since Vatican II, and the most devastating scandal in Catholic history.” And in his 2002 USCCB address, Cushwa Center Director Scott Appleby told the bishops that the crisis cannot be understood apart from the broader context of American Catholic history.

Over the decades and up to today, however—almost 20 years after Boston and nearly 40 years since American survivors began coming forward in great numbers—historians of American Catholicism have published relatively little research on clergy sexual abuse. With the exceptions of Jenkins and Father Chinnici, I cannot think of any Catholic historians who have completed a book-length study devoted entirely to the abuse crisis. Our disciplinary silence is deafening.

At the same time, there have been some attempts to incorporate the scandal into our broader understandings of U.S. Catholic history. The abuse scandal sets the stage, for example, for the final chapter of Boston historian James O’Toole’s *The Faithful* (Harvard, 2008). And the scandal’s aftermath is a persistent specter that haunts the Boston Catholics who are resisting the shuttering of their parishes in John Seitz’s *No Closure* (Harvard, 2011). These authors intentionally foreground the crisis, even as they wait—with the rest of us—for research that examines and contextualizes clergy sexual abuse more directly.

To date, the most extensive historical writing has been done by Robert Orsi. In his essay within the edited volume *The Anthropology of Catholicism* (University of California, 2017), “What is Catholic about the Clergy Sex Abuse Crisis?” Orsi argues that we cannot understand Catholic history without studying clergy sexual abuse. Even more provocatively, the chapter “Events of Abundant Evil” within Orsi’s *History and Presence* (Harvard, 2016) asserts that certain Catholic beliefs and rituals are—at least in part—intrinsically abusive. Catholicism, Orsi concludes, “created this crisis out of its own future and within the tradition itself—and then it compounded the horror by refusing to listen to or believe [victims], or to take steps to protect them and other children.”
Breaking Our Silence

Survivors, as I mentioned earlier, held a national conference in 1992 called “Breaking the Silence.” My dissertation, which is titled after that event, studied the history of the early survivor movement in Chicago, and I hope that my ongoing research will create space for more victims’ voices within the study of American Catholic history.

It is time to break our disciplinary silence about clergy sexual abuse. Foremost—as I argued in a recent issue of *American Catholic Studies*—we must be accountable to survivors, and we must bear witness to the Catholic experiences of abuse that they have suffered. Our continued silence would amount to concealment and complicity.

It is in this spirit of accountability, I believe, that Notre Dame and many other Catholic institutions have launched major campus initiatives to better understand clergy sexual abuse. I look forward to this groundswell of future studies, and I am grateful to the Cushwa Center for encouraging scholars to continue to engage the challenges of sexual abuse, not only through our historical research but also in our own parishes, families, schools, and spiritual lives.

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**Brian J. Clites** is a faculty member in the Department of Religious Studies at Case Western Reserve University, where he also serves as associate director of the Baker-Nord Center for the Humanities.
New Prize Launched for Research Projects on the Black Catholic Experience

The Cushwa Center has partnered with the American Catholic Historical Association (ACHA) to launch the Cyprian Davis, O.S.B., Prize recognizing outstanding research on the Black Catholic experience. The deadline for the first round of applications is December 31, 2020.

The prize celebrates the life and legacy of Father Cyprian Davis, O.S.B. (1930–2015), a Benedictine monk of Saint Meinrad Archabbey in Indiana, respected academic, and beloved teacher and lecturer. Born in Washington, D.C., Father Davis converted to Catholicism as a teenager and entered the monastic community at Saint Meinrad in 1950. He was ordained a priest in 1956 and undertook doctoral studies at the Catholic University of Louvain in Belgium, training as a historian of medieval monasticism. Returning to the United States in 1963 to begin his long teaching career at Saint Meinrad, Davis attended the March on Washington and was inspired to use his skills as a historian to tell the story of African American Catholics.

Father Davis served as archivist for the National Black Catholic Clergy Caucus, of which he was a founding member, and contributed to the drafting of two pastoral letters of the U.S. bishops’ conference: “Brothers and Sisters to Us” (1970) and “What We Have Seen and Heard” (1984). Among his six books, *The History of Black Catholics in the United States* (Crossroad, 1990) won the John Gilmary Shea Prize for its groundbreaking contribution.

Upon Father Davis’ death in 2015, Cecilia Moore of the University of Dayton stated that with the publication of *The History of Black Catholics in the United States*, Davis “became the most well-known and well-loved Black Catholic scholar in the world.” His scholarship, Moore said, “made all the difference in how Black Catholics understood themselves, their ancestors in the faith, and their contribution to the Catholic Church.”

In summer 2020, following a proposal by Dr. Shannen Dee Williams of Villanova University and a resolution of the ACHA Executive Council, the ACHA and the Cushwa Center agreed to honor Davis’ legacy by launching a new research award for works in progress that center Black Catholics. The Davis Prize includes a cash award of $1,000. Recipients will be honored at the ACHA’s annual meeting held in January each year.

“I am delighted that this tribute to Father Cyprian has occasioned the first formal collaboration between the Cushwa Center and the American Catholic Historical Association,” said Kathleen Sprows Cummings, director of the Cushwa Center. “This award not only honors Dr. Davis’ legacy, but carries his mission forward at a moment when understanding the Black Catholic past has never been more critical.”

“Father Cyprian Davis was a pioneer in the study of African American Catholicism. His scholarly contributions were expansive and stretched across an entire spectrum of topics related to the relationship between Catholicism and the African American community,” said James T. Carroll, president of the ACHA and professor of American history at Iona College. “His books, articles, and conference presentations were a reminder to those who study American Catholicism that all members of the Catholic community need to be included in the scholarly conversation.”

This is the fourth research funding program launched at the Cushwa Center since 2011. Peter D’Agostino Research Travel Grants, inaugurated in 2011, support the study of U.S. Catholic history from international perspectives by means of Roman archives. Theodore M. Hesburgh Grants began being offered in 2015 to support projects using archival materials at Notre Dame related to Father Hesburgh. In 2018, the center established Mother Theodore Guerin Grants supporting research that features Catholic women more prominently in modern history.
In 2004, the Cushwa Center hosted scholars and Church leaders for a national conference, “Uncommon Faithfulness: The Witness of African American Catholics.” Conference proceedings were published in 2009 in *Uncommon Faithfulness: The Black Catholic Experience*, edited by M. Shawn Copeland. More recently, the center has hosted lectures by Father Clarence Williams, C.PP.S., and Matthew J. Cressler on reimagining American Catholic history in light of Black Catholic voices and narratives. In October 2021, the Cushwa Center will cosponsor the Black Catholic Theological Symposium, to be hosted at Notre Dame by the University’s Department of Theology.

**Gender, Sex, and Power**

In December 2019, Kathleen Sprows Cummings received a grant within the University of Notre Dame’s Church Sexual Abuse Crisis Research Grant Program to launch the project “Gender, Sex, and Power: Towards a History of Clergy Sex Abuse in the U.S. Catholic Church.” Cummings leads the project along with Peter Cajka (Notre Dame), Terence McKiernan (BishopAccountability.org), and Robert Orsi (Northwestern University), who joined the Notre Dame Institute for Advanced Study as a faculty fellow for 2020–21.

The project leaders issued a call for applications in February 2020. Out of an extraordinarily competitive pool of more than 50 applicants, they have formed a working group that includes 12 scholars (profiled below) from outside Notre Dame. A centerpiece of the project is the working group’s partnership with BishopAccountability.org, which is facilitating unparalleled access to previously unavailable sources. By fostering cross-disciplinary collaboration and supporting participants’ individual studies, the project seeks to advance new research on the crisis and its causes as well as to illuminate new understandings of modern Catholicism. The group first met virtually in June 2020. The project includes plans for a public lecture by Robert Orsi scheduled for April 8, 2021, and a research symposium November 7–9, 2021.

**Project Researchers**

**Jennifer Beste** is professor of theology and the Koch Chair in Catholic Thought and Culture at the College of Saint Benedict and Saint John’s University. In 2018, Oxford University Press published her book *College Hookup Culture and Christian Ethics: The Lives and Longings of Emerging Adults*. Beste plans to examine documents pertaining to the Archdiocese of Saint Paul and Minneapolis to identify a hierarchy of “who mattered” amid disclosures of abuse.

**Jack Downey** is the John Henry Newman Professor in Roman Catholic Studies at the University of Rochester. His book *A Burnt Offering: Self-Immolation, Martyrdom, and Horror* is in progress. Downey’s research focuses on Jesuits in Alaska.

**Kara French** is an associate professor of U.S. women’s history at Salisbury University. Her book *Against Sex: Identities of Sexual Restraint in Early America* is forthcoming from UNC Press. French is studying the connections between clerical celibacy and the abuse crisis.

**R. Marie Griffith** is the John C. Danforth Distinguished Professor in the Humanities at Washington University in St. Louis, where she directs the John C. Danforth Center on Religion and Politics. Her most recent book, *Moral Combat: How Sex Divided American Christians and Fractured American Politics*, was published by Basic Books in 2017. Griffith’s project concerns how Catholic doctrine on gender and women’s roles affected female victims’ experiences of abuse in Southern California.

**Ramón Gutiérrez** is the Preston and Sterling Morton Distinguished Service Professor of U.S. History and the College at the University of Chicago. He is the author of *New Mexico’s Moses: Reies...
López Tijerina—Pentecostal Evangelist and Defender of the Poor, which is forthcoming from the University of New Mexico Press. Gutiérrez is looking at papers on Father Arthur Perrault and the wider sexual abuse crisis in the Archdiocese of Santa Fe.

**KATHLEEN HOLSCHER** is associate professor of American studies and also holds the Endowed Chair of Roman Catholic Studies in the Religious Studies Program at the University of New Mexico. Her book *Religious Lessons: Catholic Sisters, Public Education and the Law in Mid-Century New Mexico* was published by Oxford University Press in 2012. Holscher is studying how priests in and under the care of the Servants of the Paraclete imagined sin and pursued redemption in the U.S. Southwest.

**CHRISTIAAN JACOBS-VANDEGEER** is a senior lecturer in the Faculty of Theology and Philosophy at Australian Catholic University. His co-authored book with Neil Ormerod, *Foundational Theology: A New Approach to Catholic Fundamental Theology,* was published by Fortress Press in 2015. Jacobs-Vandegeer’s research examines how doctrinal language factors into relations of abuse.

**COLLEEN MCDANELL** is professor of history and the Sterling M. McMurrin Chair in Religious Studies at the University of Utah. Her most recent book, *Sister Saints: Mormon Women Since the End of Polygamy,* was published by Oxford University Press in 2018. McDannell’s research examines how Catholic family and social life shaped responses to abuse cases.

**JAMES O’TOOLE** holds the Charles I. Clough Millennium Chair in History at Boston College. His most recent book, *The Faithful: A History of Catholics in America,* was published by Harvard University Press in 2008. O’Toole intends to focus on the culture of clericalism and its role in the sexual abuse crisis. He is focusing on Saint John’s Seminary in the Archdiocese of Boston.

**TIA NOELLE PRATT** is a sociologist of religion specializing in systemic racism in the Catholic Church and how that racism impacts African American Catholic identity. She received her Ph.D. from Fordham University and is the president and director of research at TNPratt & Associates, an inclusion and diversity consulting firm. Pratt has written for *Faithfully, America, The Revealer,* and *Commonweal.* She is currently working on her first book, *Faithful and Devoted: Racism and Identity in the African-American Catholic Experience,* and is the curator of the #BlackCatholics Syllabus. Her project consists of a sociological content analysis of documents available through BishopAccountability.org. The analysis will specifically look at transfers of priests with credible accusations of sex abuse. The study seeks to determine if (arch)dioceses knowingly transferred priests with credible accusations of sex abuse to parishes that serve predominantly African American, Latinx, and/or Native American Catholics thus knowingly endangering already marginalized Catholics.

**DORIS REISINGER** is a research assistant in the Department of Catholic Theology at Goethe University in Frankfurt and is teaching at the Sankt Georgen Graduate School of Philosophy and Theology. As a philosopher, she is the author of *Was ist ein Original? Eine Begriffsbestimmung jenseits genieästhetischer Stereotype* (Transcript, Berlin 2020). As a theologian, she is focusing on spiritual abuse and is the author of *Spiritueller Missbrauch in der katholischen Kirche* (Herder, Freiburg 2019). Reisinger is investigating forced abortions as part of the clergy sexual abuse crisis in the United States.

**JOHN SEITZ** is an associate professor in the Department of Theology at Fordham University. He also serves as associate director of Fordham’s Curran Center for American Catholic Studies. With Christine Firer Hinze, he co-edited *Working Alternatives: American and Catholic Experiments in Work and Economy,* forthcoming from Fordham University Press. Seitz is looking into the careers of abuser priests Donald J. McGuire, S.J., and John J. Powell, S. J.
**Project Leaders**

**PETER CAJKA** (program director) is an assistant teaching professor in the Department of American Studies at the University of Notre Dame. His book, *Follow Your Conscience: The Catholic Church and the Spirit of the Sixties*, is forthcoming from the University of Chicago Press. He is looking into the career of Father Louis Miller, an abuser priest from the Archdiocese of Louisville.

**KATHLEEN SPROWS CUMMINGS** is the Reverend John A. O’Brien Collegiate Professor of American Studies and History at the University of Notre Dame. She is the author of *A Saint of Our Own: How the Quest for a Holy Hero Helped Catholics Become American* (University of North Carolina Press, 2019). Cummings is focusing on Catholic sisters’ work in dioceses, examining how intersecting hierarchies of power shaped their relationship to victims, perpetrators, and bishops at the center of the crisis.

**TERENCE MCKIERNAN** founded BishopAccountability.org in 2003 and is the organization’s president. McKiernan holds master’s degrees in classics from the University of Wisconsin–Madison and the University of Bristol in England. Before his involvement in the Church crisis, he was an academic editor and a consulting firm manager. McKiernan is working on the role of the sacrament of penance in the clergy abuse problem.

**ROBERT ORSI** is the Grace Craddock Nagle Chair in Catholic Studies in the Religion Department at Northwestern University. His most recent book is *History and Presence* (Harvard University Press, 2016). During the 2020–21 academic year, Orsi will be a faculty fellow with the Notre Dame Institute for Advanced Study. He is working on *Give Us Boys*, a book project about the formation of young men at a Jesuit high school in New York City from 1967 to 1971 as an episode in the broader history of modern Catholic sexuality, class, and urbanism.

**Research Funding: Apply by December 31**

The Cushwa Center administers the following funding opportunities to support scholarly research in a variety of subject areas. Apply at [cushwa.nd.edu](https://cushwa.nd.edu) by December 31, 2020.

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

**PETER R. D’AGOSTINO RESEARCH TRAVEL GRANTS** support research in Roman and Vatican archives for significant publication projects on U.S. Catholic history.

**THE CYPRIAN DAVIS, O.S.B., PRIZE**, established in 2020 in partnership with the American Catholic Historical Association, recognizes outstanding research on the Black Catholic experience.

**MOTHER THEODORE GUERIN RESEARCH TRAVEL GRANTS** support projects that feature Catholic women more prominently in modern history.

**HIBERNIAN RESEARCH AWARDS** provide travel funds for the scholarly study of Irish and Irish American history.
Cushwa Center Welcomes Postdoctoral Fellows for 2020–21

Two postdoctoral fellows joined the Cushwa Center this summer:

**Philip Byers** joins the Cushwa Center as a postdoctoral research associate for the 2020–21 academic year after having served the center as a predoctoral research associate in 2019–20. His scholarship and teaching interests include 20th century U.S. religion and political culture, with special focus on philanthropy and humanitarianism. He earned a Ph.D. in history from the University of Notre Dame in May 2020. His dissertation, “How Firm the Foundation: The Lilly Endowment and American Christianity, 1937–1989,” analyzes the most concentrated and sustained external source of financial provision for postwar Christian communities. Joining perennial debates regarding the role of private money in society, the dissertation demonstrates the centrality of funding to postwar American religion and reveals core assumptions that underlie much contemporary philanthropic practice.

Byers has received research support from numerous sources, including the Hagley Museum and Library, the Economic History Society (U.K.), the Business History Conference, and Notre Dame’s Institute for Scholarship in the Liberal Arts, and he has served as a graduate student affiliate of the John C. Danforth Center on Religion and Politics. His work has appeared in the journal *Religions* and the forthcoming Indiana University Press volume *Hoosier Philanthropy*. During graduate school, he taught “Religion and Politics in Modern America” for the Notre Dame history department and served for two years as co-convener for the Colloquium on Religion and History (CORAH).

**Rev. Stephen M. Koeth, C.S.C.**, joined the Cushwa Center in July 2020 after earning his Ph.D. in history from Columbia University in May 2020. Father Koeth’s scholarship and teaching focus on 20th-century religious, political, and urban history. His dissertation, “The Suburban Church: Catholic Parishes and Politics in Metropolitan New York, 1945–1985,” which received the American Catholic Historical Association’s 2019 John Tracy Ellis Dissertation Award, examines the effects of postwar suburbanization on American Catholicism. Examining the creation and expansion of the Diocese of Rockville Centre in suburban Long Island, the dissertation argues that suburbia revolutionized the sacred space of the parish, the relationship between clergy and laity, conceptions of Catholic education, and Catholic participation in American politics.

Father Koeth previously earned a B.A. in history (’99) and a Master of Divinity (’06) from Notre Dame, and an M.A. in history from The Catholic University of America (’12). His research has been supported by grants from the Cushwa Center, The Catholic University of America, the American Catholic Historical Association, and the Sacred Heart Institute of the Archdiocese of New York and the dioceses of Brooklyn and Rockville Centre. Father Koeth’s scholarship has been published in the *Journal of Church and State*, *U.S. Catholic Historian*, and *American Catholic Studies* and his commentary has appeared in *The Washington Post*, *The Washington Times*, and on BBC Radio 4’s *Sunday*.

Read our summer 2020 interview with Father Koeth on page 26.

William W. Cushwa died on September 8 in Mishawaka, Indiana, surrounded by his family. He was 83.

Bill was born on August 15, 1937, to Charles B. Cushwa Jr. and Margaret Hall Cushwa, leaders in both industry and community in Youngstown, Ohio. After earning a B.A. in English at the University of Notre Dame in 1959, Bill returned to Youngstown, where he met Cornell University graduate and journalist Anna Jean Schuler. They married in February 1961 and Bill began a 36-year career with Commercial Intertech Corporation. From his start as a systems analyst, Bill rose to the role of assistant treasurer and earned an M.B.A. from Case Western Reserve University’s Weatherhead School of Management in 1975, before becoming vice president of planning, the position from which he retired in 1997.

With his substantial professional responsibilities, Bill paired an active civic and religious life. First in Youngstown and later in South Bend, he served a wide range of organizations, including the South Bend Symphony Orchestra Association, Friends of the St. Joseph County Public Library, St. Elizabeth’s Hospital Medical Center, the Youngstown Area Urban League, Sacred Heart Parish and the Basilica of the Sacred Heart at the University of Notre Dame, the South Bend Tribune Community Advisory Group, and the Notre Dame Alumni Association. The son, brother, cousin, father, and grandfather of numerous Saint Mary’s College alumnae, Bill also completed several terms on that institution’s board. He received the college’s prestigious President’s Medal in 2020.

In 1998, Bill and Anna Jean’s commitment to Catholic education and the public value of scholarly research led them to commit generous funding that endowed the directorship of the Cushwa Center, a gift they hoped would help the center advance in its relationship with both the Church and the academy. In this, they followed in the steps of Bill’s mother, Margaret Hall Cushwa, whose generosity provided the charitable lead trust that helped establish an endowment for the Cushwa Center in 1981.

In addition to Anna Jean, Bill is survived by his children, Elizabeth Ann Cushwa (Dan Norris), William W. Cushwa Jr. (Elizabeth), Margaret Cushwa Haller (Herb Haller), David F. Cushwa (Sandy), and Anne Jennifer Cushwa; as well as eight grandchildren and one great-grandson. Bill was preceded in death by his parents; his brother, Charles B. Cushwa III; and his sister, Mary Ellen Cushwa Wolsonovich.

With abiding gratitude for his exemplary life and a special acknowledgment of his generous support for Catholic studies, we remember Bill Cushwa and extend prayers and condolences to Anna Jean and their family.
THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION (ACHA) has approved the creation of the Christopher J. Kauffman Prize in U.S. Catholic History, to be awarded to authors of monographs that provide new and challenging insights to the study of U.S. Catholic history. A gifted scholar, Kauffman (d. 2018) tirelessly advocated for the field of U.S. Catholic history. Over the course of his long and distinguished career, he authored 10 books and over 100 articles. He served as editor of U.S. Catholic Historian and as general editor for two series, Makers of the Catholic Community: Historical Studies of the Catholic People in America, 1789–1989 and American Catholic Identities: A Documentary History. The ACHA has not set a date to begin awarding the prize, but aims to establish sufficient financial backing to fund the prize within two to three years. Visit achahistory.org to learn more.

MATTEO BINASCO (Università per Stranieri di Siena) has published Making, Breaking, and Remaking the Irish Missionary Network. Ireland, Rome, and the West Indies in the Seventeenth Century (Palgrave Macmillan, 2020).


MICHAEL BREIDENBACH has been promoted to associate professor of history at Ave Maria University and appointed a research associate at the McNeil Center for Early American Studies at the University of Pennsylvania. He published The Cambridge Companion to the First Amendment and Religious Liberty (Cambridge University Press, 2020) and a chapter, “Church and State in Maryland: Religious Liberty, Religious Tests, and Church Disestablishment,” in Disestablishment and Religious Dissent: Church-State Relations in the New American States, 1776–1833, edited by Carl H. Esbeck and Jonathan Den Hartog (University of Missouri Press, 2019).

THEODORE CACHEY (University of Notre Dame) has been invited to sit on the scientific committee for the 2021 Dante centenary organized by the Pontifical Council for Culture. For the 700th anniversary of the death of Dante Alighieri (1321–2021), the Pontifical Council for Culture will celebrate the “profound link between the poet and the Holy See and between his literary production and the Catholic faith.”

REV. JAMES T. CONNELLY, C.S.C. (University of Portland emeritus) shares that the 40th annual Conference on the History of the Congregations of Holy Cross is scheduled to meet May 20–22, 2021, at the University of Notre Dame. Submit proposals for papers by December 1, 2020, to jconnel2@nd.edu. Father Connelly has written The History of the Congregation of Holy Cross, scheduled for publication by Notre Dame Press in December 2020.

KATHLEEN SPROWS CUMMINGS (University of Notre Dame) and TIMOTHY MATOVINA (University of Notre Dame) have received Catholic Press Association book awards in 2020. Cummings’ A Saint of Our Own: How the Quest for a Holy Hero Helped Catholics Become American won first place in the category “Gender Issues” and second place in “History.” Matovina’s
Theologies of Guadalupe: From the Era of Conquest to Pope Francis won first place in the category “History of Theology.”

ANNIE HUEY (University of Dayton) has published an article, “Communal Living with the Saints: A Late Nineteenth-Century Devotional Aesthetic at Immaculate Conception Academy, Oldenburg, Indiana,” in U.S. Catholic Historian, vol. 38, no. 2 (Spring 2020), 47–64. Annie received a Research Travel Grant from the Cushwa Center, which allowed her to discover essential material for this article.

BILL ISSEL (San Francisco State University) has published Coit Tower, A Novel of San Francisco, a mystery set in 1942 featuring a Catholic detective team of Tony Bosco, Dennis Sullivan, and Ruthie Fuller who seek to solve a murder that may have been committed by an Axis fifth columnist. Bill and his wife, Mary Claire, recently returned from Romania, where they were both teaching and consulting on Fulbright Scholar grants.

HILLARY KAELL started a new position as associate professor of anthropology and religion at McGill University in August 2020. Her most recent book, Christian Globalism at Home: Child Sponsorship in the United States, was recently published by Princeton University Press (June 2020). It examines how U.S. Christians create and imagine global connections, through the lens of child sponsorship programs. It covers Catholic and Protestant iterations of this popular fundraising model over the last two centuries.

THERESA KEELEY (University of Louisville) shares that her first book, Reagan’s Gun-Toting Nuns: The Catholic Conflict over Cold War Human Rights Policy in Central America, was published by Cornell University Press in September 2020. Reagan’s Gun-Toting Nuns argues that debates among Central American and U.S. Catholics over the Church’s direction influenced Ronald Reagan’s policies toward Central America. The manuscript benefited from a Cushwa Research Travel Grant and from feedback at conferences sponsored by the Cushwa Center and the Conference on the History of Women Religious.

BILLY KORINKO (director of the Cassandra Voss Center, St. Norbert College) successfully defended his dissertation, “The Construction of the American Catholic Church: Gender, Sexuality, and Patriotism in U.S. Catholic Media, 1917–1970,” to complete his Ph.D. in gender and women’s studies at the University of Kentucky. This project was aided by a Research Travel Grant from the Cushwa Center.


PAUL MURRAY (Siena College emeritus) published “The Reverse Integration of St. Joseph’s School: An Alternate Path to Integrated Education,” in the April 2020 issue of The Alabama Review.

DEIRDRÉ RAFTERY (University College Dublin) and Catherine KilBride have co-authored The Benedictine Nuns and Kylemore Abbey: A History (Irish Academic Press, 2020). Published in June 2020, this volume marks the centenary of the arrival of the “Irish Dames of Ypres” at Kylemore Abbey in Connemara.

JONATHAN D. RIDDLE (Wheaton College) wrote a brief article on Christianity amidst the pandemic, “Christianity and the Coronavirus in the United States,” for the forthcoming Routledge Handbook of Religion, Medicine, and Health, edited by Philipp Hetmanczyk, Pamela E. Klassen, Dorothea Lüddeckens, and Justin Stein.

SUSAN RIDGELY (University of Wisconsin-Madison) was awarded a Louisville Project Grant to continue her research on the generational consequences of the desegregation of the Diocese of Raleigh. Her article “Conservative Christianity and the Creation of Alternative News: An Analysis of Focus on the Family’s Multimedia Empire” was published in Religion and American Culture 30, no. 1 (Winter 2020).
SISTER EDELQUINE SHIVACHI (University of Notre Dame) has published an article at amishcatholic.com, “Sisters Against Abusive Power: St. Teresa, Port-Royal, and Modern African Religious.”

THE SLAVERY, HISTORY, MEMORY, AND RECONCILIATION PROJECT (SHMR) of the Jesuit Conference of Canada and the United States researches the lives of people who were enslaved to the Jesuits in order to engage in conversation with their descendants to move towards healing and justice. SHMR is launching a new monthly e-newsletter for descendants, activists, and scholars to share their work as well as reflections from descendants and those engaged in work at the intersection of racial justice and history. Subscribe to the newsletter at lp.constantcontactpages.com/su/SJmB9Yq/SHMRNewsletter.


JOHN SEITZ shares that the Curran Center for American Catholic Studies at Fordham University recently completed its first annual essay competition for the New Scholar Essay Prize for Catholic Studies in the Americas. The center is excited to announce that this year’s prize winner is Tuan Hoang, assistant professor of great books at Pepperdine University. Fordham News’ Patrick Verel wrote a June 2020 article covering the competition and Hoang’s essay about Vietnamese Catholic refugees in the United States. Hoang’s prize-winning essay, “Ultramontanism, Nationalism, and the Fall of Saigon: Historicizing the Vietnamese American Catholic Experience,” was published in American Catholic Studies 130, no. 1 (Spring 2019). The Curran Center’s next competition will take place in 2021.

THE SETON WRITINGS PROJECT has completed phase two of its research into documents written to and about Saint Elizabeth Ann Seton, her family, friends, community, and advisers. This digital material, available in the Vincentian Heritage Collections of DePaul University Library, includes seven chronological charts listing more than 1,000 documents from 1767 through 1821 (the latest addition) and their archival locations. These materials shed light on Seton’s early life and conversion, the struggles and growth of Catholicism in the early republic, and the spread of the Vincentian charism in the United States. Digital transcripts of select documents are posted for each chart with permission from the respective repository. Learn more at via.library.depaul.edu/seton_stud.

SALLY WITT, C.S.J., shares news of the publication of Beyond the Frontier: The History of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Concordia (KS Word Association, 2020). Four St. Joseph sisters arrived in Kansas in 1883 after their superior, Mother Stanislaus Leary, had been deposed by Bishop Bernard McQuaid of Rochester, New York. They educated children of the Plains and in the early 20th century established hospitals in rural towns and founded Marymount College. The sisters, formed by the often reluctant soil, the consistently wide sky, and the Jesuit spirituality of their 17th-century foundation, were ready for the renewal that followed Vatican II. They crafted new works in the United States and Brazil and faced major questions about religious life, justice, and land.

JENNIFER A. YOUNGER (University of Notre Dame emerita) writes that the Catholic Research Resources Alliance invites scholars to explore the Catholic News Archive (thecatholicnewsarchive.org) for their teaching and research. Made possible through partnerships with dioceses and newspapers and supported by Catholic academic libraries, diocesan archives, and grants from the USCCB, the Catholic News Archive is a searchable, open digital collection of Catholic newspapers with over half a million pages and new content added regularly. Articles provide insight into lived Catholic experience and clerical and lay leadership and add an often-missing Catholic dimension to critical questions in American history. The CRRA welcomes comments and suggestions: contact Darren Poley at darren.poley@villanova.edu or Jennifer Younger at jyounger@catholicresearch.org.
A Conversation with Postdoctoral Fellow Stephen M. Koeth, C.S.C.

Rev. Stephen M. Koeth, C.S.C., recently completed his doctorate at Columbia University and joins the Cushwa Center as a postdoctoral fellow for 2020–21. A Holy Cross priest and a graduate of Notre Dame (B.A., M.Div.), he received a Research Travel Grant from Cushwa in support of his dissertation, “The Suburban Church: Catholic Parishes and Politics in Metropolitan New York, 1945–1985,” which also received the American Catholic Historical Association’s John Tracy Ellis Dissertation Award in 2019. He has published articles in The Journal of Church and State and U.S. Catholic Historian. We caught up in early August to discuss recent work, moving back to Notre Dame, and plans for the coming year.
SHANE ULBRICH: We last corresponded in this form after you visited the Notre Dame Archives in 2017. Refresh us a bit about your dissertation. Did it take any new directions in later phases?

STEPHEN KOETH: My dissertation explores the effects of postwar suburbanization on American Catholicism by studying the dioceses of metropolitan New York, especially the Diocese of Rockville Centre in suburban Long Island. Established in 1957, the diocese was one of the fastest growing Catholic communities in the country throughout the 1960s and was hailed as the nation’s first suburban diocese and as a model for the future of the U.S. Church. My project details how New York’s Catholic leaders grappled with the rapid exodus of the faithful from urban ethnic neighborhoods to newly built suburbs, and how Catholic sociologists and intellectuals—including Andrew Greeley, John Cogley, and Phyllis McGinley—assessed the effects of suburbanization.

I argue that postwar suburbanization revolutionized the sacred space of the parish by elevating the nuclear family and the suburban home over the communal spaces of the ethnic neighborhood and parish. I show how suburbanization altered the relationship between clergy and laity by creating new avenues for lay leadership and initiative and thereby undermining the clergy’s exclusive control of Church life. In this way, I argue that postwar suburbanization was a crucial catalyst of religious reform even before the Second Vatican Council. Finally, I argue that the economics of suburbia undermined Catholic education and spurred Catholic voters’ conservative turn as suburban mortgages and property taxes made parochial schools difficult to afford and inspired a growing tax revolt.

As I moved from archival research through the writing process, my dissertation didn’t so much change direction as come more clearly into focus. It became clear that I should highlight how suburbanization reshaped conceptions of the parish, of Catholic education, and of relations between clergy and laity. But I also found I had more to say about how suburbanization had affected ecclesial finances, gender and race relations, and understandings of ethnicity, among many other topics. As I expand the dissertation, I look forward to addressing these additional effects of suburbanization, ultimately making the case that, for good and for ill, suburbia created the American Church as we experience it today.
SU: You were offered the invitation to join the Cushwa Center in early March—just a week or so before pandemic shutdowns began throughout the United States. You defended your dissertation in April and moved from New York City to Notre Dame in mid-July. You’ve offered some historical perspective on this year’s events in other contexts. Now a few months further on, do you have any new insights to share?

SK: Back in the spring, when the pandemic was just beginning and we were in the most severe form of lockdown, I noted that churches around the country were holding drive-in services in order to offer their congregations some form of communal gathering while observing social distancing. Although the context was quite different, I immediately saw parallels in my study of postwar suburbanization. As the suburbs boomed and car ownership expanded, ministers and priests used drive-in theaters for Sunday worship because they had not yet been able to build a church in the rapidly developing suburbs and because they felt the convenience appealed to a car-crazed culture. Although a drive-in setting was never an option for my parish on the Upper West Side of Manhattan, as the pandemic has dragged on I’ve been surprised that the drive-in or outdoor Mass hasn’t been more popular in suburban parishes. Instead, parishes seem to have opted to have Mass indoors despite the fact that social distancing requirements have, in many instances, significantly limited the size of the potential congregation. It will be interesting in the long term to see what the coronavirus pandemic does to rates of Sunday Mass attendance, which in recent years had already begun declining again after a brief period of stability.

In the intervening months I’ve been interested in other connections that exist between my research and several of the spring and summer’s newsworthy events. Of course, the death of George Floyd back in May has spurred renewed attention to racism and racial inequalities. One of the crucial racial disparities in American life is in the area of housing and historians have shown how racial exclusion was built into the postwar suburbs from the very beginning. In my research, I uncovered examples of white suburban Catholics fighting against racist housing policies and, although these activists were in the minority, I’d like to further explore their efforts and the opposition they met from fellow Catholic suburbanites.

Finally, Catholic education and the expansion of parochial schools into the postwar suburbs were an important part of my dissertation. As the pandemic drags on, Catholic schools from parish elementary schools to universities are struggling with decisions about if and how to reopen. Most of these schools are tuition-dependent and amidst the widespread unemployment caused by the pandemic they have seen enrollments decline even as the costs of reopening with preventative health measures mounted. Already this has led to the closure of over 20 Catholic elementary schools in the New York metropolitan area alone. Again, the long-term effects of the pandemic on the already fragile Catholic school system will be fascinating to watch unfold.
SU: You’ve studied at Notre Dame (B.A., M.Div.), The Catholic University of America (M.A.), and Columbia (M.A., M.Phil, Ph.D.). What have you taken with you from each of those places in terms of intellectual formation? What’s been distinctive about each?

SK: I have indeed been very lucky to study at several wonderful academic institutions. Each of them is unique, of course, in its institutional structures and traditions, and I definitely noticed the greatest cultural difference at Columbia, which is the only non-Catholic school I have ever attended! But I think what I took from each place was shaped less by institutional differences than by what I needed most at a given stage in my intellectual formation and by the diversity of faculty and students I encountered at each school. At Notre Dame, my early mentors helped develop the love of history and of the Church that my parents had instilled in me into an intellectual pursuit. At Catholic University, professors and peers assisted me in developing the research and writing skills that are at the heart of our discipline. And at Columbia I had the opportunity to engage with historians working on an even broader range of subject areas, to have their areas of expertise inform my study of American Catholicism, and to practice making the case to scholars of other sub-fields that the history of Catholicism is crucially important to the proper understanding of American history.

SU: We’re excited to have you back at Notre Dame. This will be an unusual year, to say the least, as a lot of things at Cushwa and the University more broadly will be happening in modified form. What are your plans for the coming months in terms of research and other priorities/engagements?

SK: My first introduction to the Cushwa Center was over 20 years ago when, as an undergraduate history major here at Notre Dame, one of my professors invited the members of our Irish American history class to a lecture sponsored by the center. I look forward to assisting in the adaptation of the center’s usual programming to the context of coronavirus. Since I’ll be living with and ministering to the men of Stanford Hall, I’m interested in ways that I can introduce undergraduates to American Catholic history and especially to the work of the Cushwa Center and the scholars it supports. Coronavirus precautions will make this slightly more challenging this year, but I think integrating classroom learning with the personal formation that occurs in residence halls is one of the most unique and important things we do here at Notre Dame. And for all the challenges of the current moment, I think it’s an exciting time to convince students that the study of history is crucial to understanding the present and building the future.

On a personal level, I hope to spend this year working on the research that undergirds my dissertation. If the pandemic allows, I’ll travel to a few additional archives for further research and will then be expanding and revising the dissertation in hopes of publishing it as a monograph. Now that I’m back under the Dome, I’d eventually like to develop a research project I began under the tutelage of Leslie Tentler at Catholic University. Catholic Boy magazine, which was published at Notre Dame by the Holy Cross Fathers between 1948 and 1970, provides unique insight into the evolving concept of American Catholic masculinity and sheds light on the Church’s interaction with communism, ecumenism, and civil rights among many other topics. I’d like to dive back into the University’s collection of these magazines and see where it leads.
Bronagh McShane, Ph.D., is a former postdoctoral fellow in the humanities at the Moore Institute at the National University of Ireland, Galway. She earned her doctorate in history from the National University of Ireland, Maynooth, and specializes in the history of women, religion, and confessionalization. Last year, the Cushwa Center awarded McShane a Mother Theodore Guerin Research Travel Grant for her project “Irish Women Religious, c. 1530–1756: Suppression, Migration and Reintegration.” We caught up recently to discuss her work.
SHANE ULRICH: Your latest project isn’t the first time your work has dealt with women religious. They’re central to your dissertation as well as a number of articles you’ve published in the past few years. Tell us about some of your previous research.

BRONAGH MCSHANE: My interest in the history of women religious began during my doctoral studies at the National University of Ireland, Maynooth. My thesis examined the impact of the Reformation on women in Ireland from the Elizabethan era down to the mid-17th century. One of the key groups impacted by religious reforms during this period were women religious; the official closure of the monasteries in Ireland in the 1530s and 1540s had serious repercussions for women wishing to adhere to a religious lifestyle. In the decades after 1540, migration abroad became one of the only viable options for this cohort. The same was true of their English counterparts. My interest in the experiences of Irish nuns both in Ireland and abroad formed the basis of my current book project.

Research on women religious was also central to my work as a postdoctoral researcher on the European Research Council-funded project “The Reception and Circulation of Early Modern Women’s Writing, 1550–1700.” As a researcher on this project, I analyzed scores of letters penned by a community of English Benedictine nuns based in Brussels during the 17th century. The English Benedictine convent in Brussels was the first convent for English women to be established on the Continent after the Reformation. Based on that research, my article, published in the Journal of Historical Network Research (2018), pioneered the application of network analysis tools to letters written by and about early modern women religious.

SU: What is network analysis and how does it help us better understand early modern nuns?

BM: A network is a set of relationships between objects or individuals. Objects or individuals are normally referred to as “nodes” in the network and their relationships as “edges” (Ahnert, 2016). Network analysis is the application of digital tools such as network visualization to expand or adjust our understanding of these relationships.

In my article, “Visualising the Reception and Circulation of Early Modern Nuns’ Letters,” I used network visualization, which involved the creation of visual graphs using software called Gephi, to visualize the reception of letters written by and about the English Benedictines. This approach helped to expand our picture of the Brussels Benedictines by making visible the protagonists of religious controversy within the convent and revealing the sheer breadth of the nuns’ correspondence networks in and beyond Brussels. This, in turn, raises important questions about the nature and extent of enclosure for early modern nuns and shows how, despite geographical distance, family members were attuned to events within the convent cloister. In fact, some family
members actively intervened in convent disputes in cases where they deemed their family’s reputation to be at stake. This reveals an added layer of complexity to the nature, extent, and consequences of controversy within communities of early modern nuns.

**SU: Tell us about your current book project.**

**BM:** My book, *Irish Women in Religious Orders, 1530–1700*, will be the first comprehensive study of the lives and experiences of Irish nuns in the two centuries after the Reformation. It places the study of this topic firmly within its wider English and European context; the book examines Irish nuns in Ireland and in Europe during this almost 200-year period and in doing so analyzes their experiences through the lens of mobility, migration, and identity.

Some of the key research questions the book addresses are:

- What were the numbers, modes of migration, and destinations of Irish women who travelled to the Continent in pursuit of formal religious vocations?
- What was the nature of the familial and patronage networks that facilitated this migration?
- What were Irish nuns’ particular experiences of emigration and exile?

Research for this book has been conducted in several archives across Ireland, the UK, and Europe. Central to the European dimension of my study has been the archives of the Irish Dominican convent of Bom Sucesso in Lisbon. Established in 1639, the Bom Sucesso convent holds an important position in the history of Irish religious foundations in Europe, being the first continental convent founded expressly for Irish women. That Lisbon was the chosen location for the new foundation is not surprising. Seventeenth-century Lisbon was a receptive venue for religious migrants from various parts of the European continent impacted by confessional warfare. We know that a well-established Irish émigré community was active in the city since at least the late 16th century.

Bom Sucesso’s founder was the Kerry-born Dominican friar Daniel O’Daly (1595–1662). Throughout the early modern era, the convent attracted patronage from the highest ranks of Portuguese society, including the queen regent of Portugal, Dona Luísa de Gusmão (1613–66), and Catherine de Bragança (1638–1705), later consort of King Charles II.

The history of Bom Sucesso and those women who joined its ranks demonstrates how the history of Irish women religious must be understood within the wider context of early modern European religious, political, and diplomatic history and how migration history is central to revealing the complexities of early modern Irish identity.
**SU:** You received a Guerin Research Travel Grant for research in Spain and Portugal. Tell us about the collections you visited and what you found. What has been a particularly illuminating find in your research?

**BM:** The Bom Sucesso convent archive has been a key repository for my research project. An expansive, multi-lingual repository, the archive holds no fewer than 400 records in Portuguese, English, and Latin, spanning the 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, and 21st centuries. These include documents spanning a range of topics, from jurisdiction, governance, and personnel to property, finance, and spirituality.

Among these are the will of the wealthy Portuguese countess and widow Dona Iria de Brito, the primary benefactor of Bom Sucesso. From a well-established Portuguese family with connections to the Dominican order, Dona Iria bequeathed her entire estate to the Irish foundation; the family’s summer residence in Belem, on the outskirts of Lisbon, became the convent complex. Her will reveals several important insights about the new foundation as well as the return that she as the primary benefactor expected to derive from her significant endowment. This included the provision of exclusive burial rights at the high altar of the convent church and permission to enter the convent at will. Intriguingly, the countess’s will also reveals the tensions that emerged between the new Irish convent and local Portuguese religious communities who regarded the Irish newcomers as encroaching on the territory and resources of the Portuguese ecclesiastical establishment. This brings to light some key insights regarding the processes of assimilation and acculturation as they related to Irish female religious migrants abroad and raises important questions about the integration of religious migrant communities within the wider ecclesiastical landscapes and structures of early modern Europe.

**SU:** What’s next for this project?

**BM:** My book is in the final stages of completion and will appear next year if all goes well. Stay tuned!

I am grateful to the National University of Ireland and the Cushwa Center at the University of Notre Dame for funding the research that made this book possible.
The Politics of Peace: A Global Cold War History
Petra Goedde (Oxford University Press, 2019)

REVIEW BY PHILIP BYERS

In September 1928, the Dutch-born American pacifist A. J. Muste penned a column in the Fellowship of Reconciliation’s organ, The World Tomorrow. He wanted to set right misconceptions about violence, which too many people associated only with war or revolutionary movements. Rather, the entire “order in which we live was built up largely by violence, is now being extended by violence, and is maintained only by violence.” Real peace, he insisted, required more than the dissolution of standing armies—it demanded the wholesale replacement of a violent industrial, political, and social system. The first task for serious pacifists involved clarifying what they meant by seeking “peace.”

Muste’s convictions were no anomaly of the interwar years. Peace has always been a contested concept, and as Petra Goedde (Temple University) demonstrates in her stimulating recent book, The Politics of Peace, a contest between “competing definitions” provides a fruitful interpretive frame for the early decades of the postwar era (4). Though Goedde’s historiographical aim involves bridging the literatures of the Cold War and of peace activism—too often viewed in opposition—the book’s coverage is so extensive that it will appeal to scholars in a range of specializations. The narrative includes a parade of the 20th century’s finest minds and brightest stars: Eleanor Roosevelt, Benjamin Spock, and Rachel Carson;
Aaron Copland, W. E. B. Du Bois, Pablo Picasso, and Paul Robeson; Johnny Carson, Donna Reed, and Dick Van Dyke; Margaret Mead, Noam Chomsky, and Mary McCarthy, just to name a few, as well as scores of organizations and associations. To achieve this breadth, Goedde incorporates material from archives in France, Germany, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States. If the “global” story thus remains, by Goedde’s own admission, largely focused on the United States and the major European powers, the vast research yields a book full of insights for any reader seeking a more peaceful world.

Structurally, Goedde employs both diachronic and thematic approaches. Chapters one and seven bracket the narrative chronologically, assessing the geopolitics of peace in the immediate wake of World War II (ch. 1) and in the early-1970s move toward détente (ch. 7). In between are topical chapters that survey, in order, leftist politics, environmentalism, religion, gender, and decolonization. That structure opens itself, at points, to repetition. The interpretively discrete areas include much overlap, with environmental activists at times drawing on gender politics, New Leftists supporting national liberation movements in the global South, and religious clerics assuming leading roles in secular movements like the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. But the structure possesses several virtues. Besides making the chapters suitable as self-contained readings for those interested in a given topic, a thematic approach highlights the book’s contention regarding the bottom-up nature of peace politics. Goedde argues that the postwar era witnessed an “interplay . . . between grassroots advocacy groups and high-level diplomacy,” in which the “politics of peace emerged . . . only when idealist objectives met the needs of realist political ambition” (2, 5). The book’s structure drives home that process, first assessing the postwar state of high-level diplomacy, then reconstructing five venues in which popular movements acted, before finally analyzing the new geopolitics that resulted. Rather than a top-down reaction to “internal challenges,” détente represented the intentional “adaptation of the rhetoric of peace, which had percolated upward from the grassroots level . . . into the halls of government” (190).

The structure also reinforces the persistence of debates over the definition of “peace,” even if the Cold War’s notorious arch-enemies differed less than one might suspect. By the late 1940s, both superpowers had recognized the tactical utility of “peace” in global public relations. The Soviet Union tackled this head on, sponsoring international peace organizations even while building its military capacity. U.S. leaders decried these groups as propaganda tools and attempted to seize the moral high ground by promoting freedom as a higher value than peace. Yet Goedde contends that both the Soviet Union and the United States hewed to an “idea of peace through strength and security,” one that made their ambitions similar despite antithetical ideological origins (19). In actuality, internecine disputes proved more surprising and illuminating.

One major rift arose within leftist politics, as activists “split over whether to regard peace as a precondition for or a consequence of other leftist causes” (39). Traditional communists and others affiliated with the Old Left believed peace would reign only after the abolition of capitalism, much as A.J. Muste had suggested in the 1920s. New Leftists, disillusioned first by the Stalinist purges, then by the 1948 Berlin Blockade and the 1956 invasion of Hungary, aimed to situate themselves in the “political space between the two Cold War adversaries,” seeking peace that exceeded the communist conception and freedom greater than that on offer in the liberal democratic West (56, 60).

This phenomenon of internal dissension repeated itself. The instructive chapter on gender describes how some women managed to access political
power by exploiting stereotypes about female roles. The Committee for Nuclear Information, though fronted by biologist Barry Commoner, drew most of its energy from women activists like the group Eves Against Atoms, which framed concerns about nuclear fallout as a matter of protecting hearth and home. But “the gendering of peace” had a drawback: it allowed male politicians to pigeonhole the topic as a “women’s issue” (129). Worse still, it exacerbated tension between generations. An earlier cohort of activists had leaned into the conventional wisdom, founding organizations like Women Strike for Peace and highlighting subjects including children’s health and the military service of their sons. But a new generation of feminists regarded such groups as “white, middle-aged, middle-class, ‘ladies’ club[s]” (147), rejecting them in favor of the outlooks of writers such as Betty Friedan and Simone de Beauvoir, who eschewed any notions that women possessed a distinct nature. While some women had imagined that “common experiences . . . united them across national, ideological, and religious divides” (129), they eventually split over the same definitional problem that had estranged leftists: peace—the germ of justice or its fruit?

Goedde shows how those in the justice-comes-first camp frequently flirted with violence as a necessary precursor to peace, a logic that reached beyond the two great powers. Nations affiliated with the nonalignment movement, first convened at the April 1955 Bandung Conference, illustrate the reasoning. Peace for these countries, Goedde explains, “became intimately connected to issues of economic development and national self-determination” (32). Every participant at Bandung supported peace in the abstract, but they differed over the path to its attainment. Some militants prioritized freedom, accepting or even embracing violence if it could undo the greater evil of colonialism. So, too, with militant antia war activists such as Ulrike Meinhof or Bernardine Dohrn, who ironically mirrored the U.S. assertion “that only the willingness to wage war could produce a free—and supposedly peaceful—society” (187). Peace retained an abiding appeal, never more so than when practiced by one’s enemies.

With fine-grained attention to such morally complex debates, The Politics of Peace makes for compelling reading. Still, some topics could have benefited from greater nuance, as exemplified by the book’s treatment of religion. This generally involves little more than a glancing phrase that might raise the eyebrows of specialists. A generation’s worth of scholarship in religious history, for example, seems to have put to rest the notion that the onset of the Cold War “turned religious groups and individuals into political activists” (97); if the form and aims of activism shifted over time, political engagement had been the norm, not the exception, among U.S. religious communities. More serious, however, is the tendency for the religious story to become Manichean—good faith religious actors were, by definition, those who sought nuclear disarmament, and vice versa. John Foster Dulles, unsurprisingly, comes in for censure. How, Goedde asks, could Dulles—who chaired the Federal Council of Churches’ Commission on a Just and Durable Peace, and who signed that body’s August 1945 statement decrying the use of the atomic bomb—subsequently embrace a nuclear deterrent as secretary of state? Goedde strongly implies disingenuity as the only feasible answer. Figures like Dulles and Reinhold Niebuhr “fell in line with the anticommunist agenda” and promoted their positions “under the mantle of religious piety,” a stark contrast to the depiction of religious peace activists such as Martin Niemöller, whose decisions were “rooted in . . . faith” (103, 113–14).

To criticize not only the oft-maligned Dulles but also Niebuhr and to impugn the theologian’s motives in the process suggests that Goedde doubts whether genuine religious conviction
could ever align with support for deterrence. Niebuhr is far from above criticism, but it would be unfair to class him as a militaristic lemming. What he called an “uneasy balance of power” made sense to him not because war was so wonderful, nor because the United States was so righteous, but because nations were so fallen and original sin so inescapable. Niebuhr knew that power corrupted, especially in corporate form—an argument he developed first in *Moral Man and Immoral Society* (1933) and then recapitulated two decades later in *The Irony of American History*. “nations, unlike some individuals, lack the capacity to prefer a noble death to a morally ambiguous survival.” True, he viewed some outcomes as worse than violence, but he was never glib. The exercise of hegemony would morally implicate the United States, unavoidably, yielding “the curious compounds of good and evil in which the actions of the best men and nations abound.”

Glossing Niebuhr’s thought as an example of “falling in line” stands as just one instance in which counterarguments get short shrift. Goedde clearly rejects justifications for “military preparedness,” as evinced in the book’s final line, “*Si vis pacem, para pacem*”—if you want peace, prepare for peace, an adaptation of the old Roman adage. And the text includes ample support for such a rejection. One of Goedde’s signal contributions is attention to absurdism’s emergence in the face of Cold War politics. With engaging analyses of Camus, Orwell, Heller, and Kubrick, she skillfully traces absurdist themes in the era’s literature and cinema (3, 11, 62, 200–206). Christian activists, such as Dorothy Day, levelled their own criticisms at the postwar status quo, claiming that nuclear weapons had eradicated the possibility of just war. Pope John XXIII even propounded this perspective in the 1963 encyclical *Pacem in Terris*: “Can one annihilate a civilization and whole populations under the pretext of defending them?” The case seems indisputable.

But so much emphasis on the “irrationality of a politics of military preparedness” offers a reader little sense of why the concept attracted any adherents (209). Without question, ulterior motives—like links with the military-industrial complex (25, 207)—drove some advocates. Yet one must consider the most vivid historical lesson in many Cold War actors’ minds, the danger of “appeasement.” The 1938 cession of the Sudetenland receives only a few, somewhat perfunctory, allusions. But rabid, HUAC-affiliated McCarthyites of the 1950s are not the only figures who have associated “peace at all cost . . . [with] a repeat of Munich” (66). On the contrary, the trope has been deployed by politicians in every decade and every party. One contributor to *The New Republic* has recounted a three-month period in 2013 during which then-Secretary of State John Kerry invoked the ghost of appeasement to advocate for intervention in Syria, only to be accused weeks later of a Munich-style betrayal of his own during initial negotiations around Iran’s nuclear program. If 70-plus years of promiscuous application have revealed Munich’s analogical limits, those living in the immediate wake of the Holocaust could be forgiven their eagerness to avoid making the same catastrophic mistake twice. A hint more generosity toward the rationales of non-pacifists could have enriched the book’s analysis.

One of Goedde’s other insights about peace politics—their fundamental link to the project of “transcending borders” (6)—gestures toward what might prove the chief obstacle for current proponents. The book details the 1940s-era push for world government, an idea that faded after the Soviets acquired the atomic bomb but seemed to resurrect, at least in spirit, at the conclusion of the Cold War, with George H. W. Bush’s proclamation of a “new world order.” Thirty years later, cross-border projects face challenges. Percolating ever since the 2008 financial crisis, resistance to globalization found new energy in the late 2010s, a trend now crystallized in initial
reactions to the COVID-19 pandemic. The European Union, perhaps the most border-transcending endeavor of the last half-century, quailed in the face of contagion, with individual governments hoarding stockpiles of medical equipment: in the damning observation of Bruno Maçães, a Portuguese political scientist, “basically you have free movement of people . . . but no free movement of ventilators.” A July 2020 European Commission budget agreement, containing generous loans and grants for the bloc’s poorer economies, may help stem discontent. But even the most enticing fiscal package is pretty bland fare, rarely the stuff to win back a wounded lover, and Italians seem unlikely to forget that in their moment of crisis, they were left to fend for themselves.

It remains an open question, then, whether nation-states can ever be relied upon to relinquish fully their sovereignty. Those in search of a vital peace politics could instead reconsider the role of religion. Goedde details how Quakers mediated between parties at pivotal moments in the 1960s, work facilitated by a position “on the margins” that enabled them to speak prophetically without “threaten[ing] the political order” in either camp (120–25). Admittedly, to envisage religious groups reclaiming such a role seems fanciful given the ongoing intensity of certain culture wars, not to mention history: if the various peace movements frequently suffered from fragmentation, they would still be hard-pressed to surpass religious communions’ long-established propensity to splinter. An optimist, however, might detect reasons for hope. After all, Goedde notes that religious groups are “inherently transnational” (10); they entail belief in a “universal moral code of conduct that could transcend ideological and religious differences” (99). In theory, religious leaders also possess the freedom to outpace their constituents, answering primarily to conscience. Goedde remarks that “it took political leaders considerably longer” than religious activists to pursue East-West reconciliation (126). That may simply reveal the inadequacy of certain political leaders, but it may also reflect the relative significance of democratic mandates. To borrow Niebuhr’s words, we should probably expect leaders of nation-states to choose “morally ambiguous survival” over idealistic confederation, at least until a grassroots groundswell persuades them of sufficient support. But if religious groups are again to play any mediating role, they will need to relearn the wisdom of operating from the margins rather than seeking to seize the levers of power, a move that only ever seems to result in those powers seizing them.

Philip Byers is a postdoctoral research associate at the University of Notre Dame’s Cushwa Center.
Starting in 1943, the Commission on Freedom of the Press—composed of preeminent philosophers, educators, theologians, and constitutional scholars—spent three years wrestling with a range of subjects: partisan media and distorted news, activists who silence rather than rebut opponents, conspiracy theories spread by faceless groups, hate speech, and the survivability of American democracy in a post-truth age. Much of the commission’s greatest wisdom never made it into the report that emerged, *A Free and Responsible Press*. In this book, journalist and First Amendment scholar Stephen Bates reveals how these towering intellects debated some of the most vital questions of their time—and reached conclusions urgently relevant today.

Thomas E. Blantz, C.S.C.
*The University of Notre Dame: A History*
NOTRE DAME 2020
Rev. Thomas Blantz, C.S.C., tells the story of Notre Dame’s growth and development from a primitive grade school and high school founded in 1842 to the acclaimed undergraduate and research institution it became. It is the story of an institution and of the men and women who made it, the hundreds of Holy Cross brothers, sisters, and priests whose faithful service in classrooms, student residence halls, and across campus kept the university progressing through difficult years. Blantz captures the strong connections that exist between Notre Dame’s founding and early life and today’s university.

Alex Borucki, David Eltis, David Wheat (eds.)
*From the Galleons to the Highlands: Slave Trade Routes in the Spanish Americas*
NEW MEXICO 2020
This volume highlights the Spanish colonies’ previously underestimated significance within the broader history of the slave trade. Spanish America received African captives not only directly via the transatlantic slave trade but also from slave markets in the Portuguese, English, Dutch, French, and Danish Americas, ultimately absorbing more enslaved Africans than any other imperial jurisdiction in the Americas except Brazil. The contributors focus on the histories of slave trafficking to, within, and across highly diverse regions of Spanish America throughout the entire colonial period, with themes ranging from the earliest known transatlantic slaving voyages during the 16th century to the evolution of antislavery efforts within the Spanish empire.

Jonathan Boyarin
*Yeshiva Days: Learning on the Lower East Side*
PRINCETON 2020
New York City’s Lower East Side has witnessed a severe decline in its Jewish population in recent decades, yet every morning in the big room of the city’s oldest yeshiva, students still gather to study the Talmud beneath the great arched windows facing out onto East Broadway. *Yeshiva Days* is Jonathan Boyarin’s personal account of the year he spent as both student and observer at Mesivtha Tifereth Jerusalem, and a chronicle of a side of Jewish life that outsiders rarely see. Boyarin explores the yeshiva’s relationship with the neighborhood, the city, and Jewish and American culture more broadly in a meditation on the enduring power of Jewish tradition and learning.
Walter Rauschenbusch’s thought made an impact on the Christian world and beyond, with scholars discovering implications in areas ranging from Church history, ethics, and politics to gender studies and international relations. In the Shadow of a Prophet features contributions from a roster of distinguished and younger scholars, including essays that assess Rauschenbusch’s place in the course of American religious thought generally along with analyses of his legacy in areas such as gender and the family, the Black Church, and the muckraking tradition.

Jon Butler
God in Gotham: The Miracle of Religion in Modern Manhattan
HARVARD 2020

In Gilded Age Manhattan, Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant leaders agonized over the fate of traditional religious practice amid chaotic and multiplying pluralism. Massive immigration, the anonymity of urban life, and modernity’s rationalism, bureaucratization, and professionalization seemingly eviscerated the sense of religious community. Yet Jon Butler finds a spiritual hothouse in the supposed capital of American secularism. God in Gotham portrays a city where people of faith engaged modernity rather than floundered in it. Far from the world of “disenchantment” that sociologist Max Weber bemoaned, modern Manhattan actually birthed an urban spiritual landscape of unparalleled breadth, suggesting that modernity enabled rather than crippled religion in America well into the 1960s.

Alexander Chow and Emma Wild-Wood (eds.)
Ecumenism and Independency in World Christianity: Historical Studies in Honour of Brian Stanley
BRILL 2020

“Ecumenism” and “independency” suggest two distinct impulses in the history of Christianity: the desire for unity, cooperation, connectivity, and shared belief and practice, and the impulse for distinction, plurality, and contextual translation. Yet ecumenism and independency are better understood as existing in critical tension. They provide a way of examining changes in World Christianity. Taking their lead from the acclaimed research of Brian Stanley, contributors examine the entangled nature of ecumenism and independency in the modern global history of Christianity. They show how the scrutiny afforded by the attention to local, contextual approaches to Christianity outside the Western world may inform and enrich the attention to transnational connectivity.

Martin Conway
Western Europe’s Democratic Age: 1945–1968
PRINCETON 2020

What happened in the years following World War II to create a democratic revolution in the western half of Europe? Drawing on a wide range of sources, Conway describes how Western Europe’s postwar democratic order was built by elite, intellectual, and popular forces—primarily Christian and social democratic—that espoused democratic values. This democratic order did not, however, endure. Its hierarchies of class, gender, and race, which initially gave it its strength, as well as the strains of decolonization and social change, led to an explosion of demands for greater democratic freedoms in the 1960s and to the much more contested democratic politics of Europe in the late 20th century.
Lila Corwin Berman

The American Jewish Philanthropic Complex: The History of a Multibillion Dollar Institution

PRINCETON 2020

As Lila Corwin Berman illuminates in *The American Jewish Philanthropic Complex*, the history of American Jewish philanthropy reveals the complicated reality of changing and uneasy relationships among philanthropy, democracy, and capitalism. Berman shows that from its 19th-century roots to its apex in the late 20th century, the American Jewish philanthropic complex tied Jewish institutions to the American state. By the turn of the millennium, Jewish philanthropic institutions reflected the state’s growing investment in capitalism against democratic interests. But well before that, Jewish philanthropy had already entered into a tight relationship with the governing forces of American life.

Charles E. Cotherman

To Think Christianly: A History of L’Abri, Regent College, and the Christian Study Center Movement

IVP ACADEMIC 2020

Charles Cotherman traces the stories of notable study centers and networks, as well as their influence on a generation that would reshape 20th-century Christianity. Beginning with the innovations at Francis Schaeffer’s L’Abri and Regent College in Vancouver, British Columbia, Cotherman elucidates the histories of numerous subsequent projects, all of which combined intellectual and cultural awareness with compelling spirituality, open-handed hospitality, relational networks, and a deep commitment to the gospel’s significance for all fields of study—and all of life. Built on original interviews, archival documents, and contemporary sources, *To Think Christianly* sheds new light on this set of defining figures and places in evangelicalism’s life of the mind.

Annelien de Dijn

Freedom: An Unruly History

HARVARD 2020

Annelien de Dijn argues that we owe our view of freedom—constraints on state power—not to the freedom fighters of the Age of Revolutions but to their reactionary opponents. For centuries people in the West identified freedom not with being left alone by the state but with the ability to exercise control over the way in which they were governed. They had what might best be described as a democratic conception of liberty. Understanding the long history of freedom underscores how recently it has come to be identified with limited government. It also reveals something crucial about the genealogy of current ways of thinking about freedom.

Jacob S. Dorman

The Princess and the Prophet: The Secret History of Magic, Race, and Moorish Muslims in America

BEACON 2020

Delving into new archives and uncovering fascinating biographical narratives, secret rituals, and hidden identities, historian Jacob Dorman explains why thousands of Americans were enthralled by the Islamic Orient, and why some came to see Islam as a global antiracist movement uniquely suited to people of African descent in an era of European imperialism, Jim Crow segregation, and officially sanctioned racism. *The Princess and the Prophet* tells the story of the Black Broadway performer who, among the world of Arabian acrobats and equestrians, Muslim fakirs, and Wild West shows, discovered in Islam a greater measure of freedom and dignity, and a rebuttal to the racism and parochialism of white America.
Jeffrey Einboden

Jefferson’s Muslim Fugitives: The Lost Story of Enslaved Africans, their Arabic Letters, and an American President
OXFORD 2020

Jefferson’s Muslim Fugitives reveals the untold story of two escaped West Africans in the American heartland whose Arabic writings reached a sitting U.S. president, prompting him to intervene on their behalf. Recounting a quest for emancipation that crosses borders of race, region and religion, Jeffrey Einboden unearths Arabic manuscripts that circulated among Jefferson and his prominent peers. Revealing Jefferson’s lifelong entanglements with slavery and Islam, Jefferson’s Muslim Fugitives tracks the ascent of Arabic slave writings to the highest halls of U.S. power, while questioning why such vital legacies from the American past have been largely forgotten.

Carl H. Esbeck, Jonathan J. Den Hartog (eds.)

Disestablishment and Religious Dissent: Church-State Relations in the New American States, 1776–1833
MISSOURI 2019

This volume, comprising 21 original essays by eminent historians and political scientists, is a comprehensive state-by-state account of disestablishment in the original 13 states, as well as a look at similar events in the soon-to-be-admitted states of Vermont, Tennessee, and Kentucky. Also considered are disestablishment in Ohio (the first state admitted from the Northwest Territory), Louisiana and Missouri (the first states admitted from the Louisiana Purchase), and Florida (wrestled from Spain under U.S. pressure). The volume recounts in detail the process of disestablishment in each of the colonies, as well as religion’s constitutional and legal place in the new states of the federal republic.

Ayala Fader

Hidden Heretics: Jewish Doubt in the Digital Age
PRINCETON 2020

This volume tells the fascinating, often heart-wrenching stories of married ultra-Orthodox Jewish men and women in 21st-century New York who lead “double lives” in order to protect those they love. While they no longer believe that God gave the Torah to Jews at Mount Sinai, these hidden heretics continue to live in their families and religious communities, even as they surreptitiously break Jewish commandments and explore forbidden secular worlds in person and online. Drawing on five years of fieldwork with those living double lives and the rabbis, life coaches, and religious therapists who minister, advise, and sometimes excommunicate them, Ayala Fader investigates doubt and social change in the digital age.

Winnifred Fallers Sullivan

Church State Corporation: Construing Religion in U.S. Law
CHICAGO 2020

In Church State Corporation, religion and law scholar Winnifred Fallers Sullivan uncovers the deeply ambiguous and often unacknowledged ways in which Christian theology remains alive and at work in the American legal imagination. Through readings of the opinions of the U.S. Supreme Court and other legal texts, Sullivan shows how “the church” as a religious collective is granted special privilege in U.S. law. In-depth analyses of Hosanna-Tabor v. EEOC and Burwell v. Hobby Lobby reveal that the law tends to honor the religious rights of the group over the rights of the individual, offering corporate religious entities an autonomy denied to their respective members.
might fit into the Bible. For many, the most compelling explanation was the Hebraic Indian theory, which proposed that indigenous Americans were the descendants of the ten lost tribes of Israel. Though this theory may seem far-fetched today, it had a great deal of currency and significant influence over a very long period of American history. Through analysis of a wide collection of writings—from religious texts to novels—Fenton sheds light on a rarely explored but important part of religious discourse in early America.

Elizabeth H. Flowers and Karen K. Seat (eds.)
A Marginal Majority: Women, Gender, and a Reimagining of Southern Baptists
TENNESSEE 2020
In A Marginal Majority, editors Elizabeth H. Flowers and Karen K. Seat and eight other contributors examine the SBC’s complex history regarding women and how that history reshapes our understanding of the denomination and its contemporary debates. This comprehensive volume starts with women as SBC fundraisers, moves to the ways they served Southern Baptist missions, and considers their struggles to find a place at Southern Baptist seminaries as well as their launching of “teaching” or “women’s” ministries. Along the way, it examines the power dynamics of race and class in a denomination that dominated the South and grew into a national behemoth, providing insights into why the SBC has often politically aligned with the right.

Richard R. Gaillardetz (ed.)
The Cambridge Companion to Vatican II
CAMBRIDGE 2020
This companion offers a thorough overview of the Second Vatican Council, the most significant event in the history of Roman Catholicism since the Protestant Reformation. Almost six decades since the close of the council, its teaching remains what Pope John Paul II referred to as a “sure compass” for guiding today’s church. The first part of the volume examines the historical, theological, and ecclesial contexts for comprehending the significance of the council. It also presents the key processes, as well as the participants who were central to the actual conduct of the council. The second part identifies and explores the central themes embedded in the council documents.

Megan Goodwin
Abusing Religion: Literary Persecution, Sex Scandals, and American Minority Religions
RUTGERS 2020
Sex abuse happens in all communities, but American minority religions often face disproportionate allegations of sexual abuse. Why, in a country that consistently fails to acknowledge—much less address—the sexual abuse of women and children, do American religious outsiders so often face allegations of sexual misconduct? Why does the American public presume to know “what’s really going on” in minority religious communities? Why are sex abuse allegations such an effective way to discredit people on America’s religious margins? What makes Americans so willing, so eager to identify religion as the cause of sex abuse? Abusing Religion argues that sex abuse in minority religious communities is an American problem, not (merely) a religious one.
“Puritan” is an insult reserved for prudes, prigs, or oppressors. Antebellum abolitionists, however, would be shocked to hear this. They fervently believed that Puritans were pioneers of revolutionary dissent and invoked their name and ideas as part of their antislavery crusade. In a striking instance of selective memory, reimagined aspects of Puritan history proved to be potent catalysts for abolitionist minds. Black writers lauded slave rebels as new Puritan soldiers, female antislavery militias in Kansas were cast as modern Pilgrims, and a direct lineage of radical democracy was traced from these early New Englanders through the American and French Revolutions to the abolitionist movement, deemed a “Second Reformation.”

Father Theodore Hesburgh advised presidents and counseled popes, championed civil rights and world peace, accepted 16 presidential appointments and 150 honorary degrees, and served an unprecedented 35 years as president of the University of Notre Dame. Father Ted felt that his calling to be a priest drew him into relationships with others and service to the world—to serve as mediator, to bridge divides separating church and society, conservatives and liberals, the powerful and those on the margins. This new biography tells the story of the spirituality that shaped one of the 20th century’s most distinguished public servants.

D. G. Hart

American Catholic: The Politics of Faith During the Cold War
CORNELL 2020

How did Roman Catholics shift from being perceived as un-American to emerging as the most vocal defenders of the United States as the standard bearer in world history for political liberty and economic prosperity? Hart charts the complex relationship between Roman Catholicism and American conservatism, and shows how these two seemingly antagonistic ideological groups became intertwined in advancing a certain brand of domestic and international politics. Long before their supposed rightward turn following Roe v. Wade in 1973, Roman Catholics were some of the most assertive political conservatives directly after World War II. Their brand of politics became one of the most influential means by which Roman Catholicism came to terms with American secular society—precisely as bishops determined the Church needed to update its teaching about its place in the modern world.

Paul Harvey

Howard Thurman and the Disinherited: A Religious Biography
EERDMANS 2020

No single label can capture the multiplicity of Howard Thurman’s life, but his influence is written all over the most significant aspects of the civil rights movement. Paul Harvey’s biography of Thurman speaks to the manifold ways this mystic theologian and social activist sought to transform the world to better reflect “that which is God in us.” After founding one of the first intentionally interracial churches in the country, he shifted into a mentorship role with Martin Luther King Jr. and other civil rights leaders. By telling the story of his religious lives, Paul Harvey gives readers a window into many of the main currents of 20th-century American religious expression.
Erika Helgen

Religious Conflict in Brazil: Protestants, Catholics, and the Rise of Religious Pluralism in the Early Twentieth Century
YALE 2020

This study explores the transition in Brazil from a hegemonically Catholic society to a religiously pluralistic society. Helgen shows that the rise of religious pluralism was fraught with conflict and violence, as Catholic bishops, priests, and friars organized intense campaigns against Protestantism. These episodes of religious violence were not isolated outbursts of reactionary rage, but rather formed part of a longer process through which religious groups articulated their vision for Brazil’s national future.

Jennifer Holland

Tiny You: A Western History of the Anti-Abortion Movement
CALIFORNIA 2020

Holland explores why abortion dominates conservative politics like no other cultural issue. Looking at anti-abortion movements in four western states since the 1960s—turning to the fetal pins passed around church services, the graphic images exchanged between friends, and the fetus dolls given to children in school—she argues that activists made fetal life feel personal to many Americans. Pro-life activists persuaded people to see themselves in the pins, images, and dolls they held in their hands and made the fight against abortion the primary bread-and-butter issue for social conservatives. Holland ultimately demonstrates that the success of the pro-life movement lies in the borrowed logic and emotional power of leftist activism.

Peniel E. Joseph

The Sword and the Shield: The Revolutionary Lives of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King Jr.
BASIC 2020

To most Americans, Malcolm X and Martin Luther King Jr. represent contrasting ideals: black power vs. civil rights, the sword vs. the shield. The struggle for black freedom is wrought with the same contrasts. While nonviolent direct action is remembered as an unassailable part of American democracy, the movement’s militancy is either vilified or erased outright. In The Sword and the Shield, Peniel E. Joseph upends these misconceptions and reveals a nuanced portrait of two men who, despite markedly different backgrounds, inspired and pushed each other throughout their lives.

Lauren R. Kerby

Saving History: How White Evangelicals Tour the Nation’s Capital and Redeem a Christian America
NORTH CAROLINA 2020

Saving History takes readers onto tour buses and explores the world of Christian heritage tourism. These expeditions visit the same attractions as their secular counterparts but the white evangelicals who flock to the tours are searching for evidence that America was founded as a Christian nation. The tours bespeak a broader trend: white evangelicals across the United States tell stories of the nation’s Christian origins, its subsequent fall into moral and spiritual corruption, and its need for repentance and return to founding principles. This vision of American history, Kerby finds, is white evangelicals’ most powerful political resource—it allows them to shapeshift between the roles of faithful patriots and persecuted outsiders.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS | books
Tony Tian-Ren Lin

Prosperity Gospel Latinos and Their American Dream
NORTH CAROLINA 2020

Tony Tian-Ren Lin explores the reasons that Latin American immigrants across the United States are increasingly drawn to Prosperity Gospel Pentecostalism, a strand of Protestantism gaining popularity around the world. Lin contends that Latinos embrace Prosperity Gospel, which teaches that believers may achieve both divine salvation and worldly success, because it helps them account for the contradictions of their lives as immigrants. Prosperity is the gospel of the American dream. In this way, while becoming better Prosperity Gospel Pentecostals they are also adopting traditional white American norms. Prosperity Gospel Pentecostalism gives Latinos the logic and understanding of themselves as those who belong in this country yet remain perpetual outsiders.

Jeffery D. Long

Hinduism in America: A Convergence of Worlds
BLOOMSBURY ACADEMIC 2020

Read the story of two worlds that converge: one of Hindu immigrants to American who want to preserve their traditions and pass them on to their children in a new and foreign land, and one of American spiritual seekers who find that the traditions of India fulfill their most deeply held aspirations. Learn about the theoretical approaches to Hinduism in America, the question of orientalism, and the “invention of Hinduism.” The book also addresses the construction of Hindu temples, Hinduism’s influence on vegetarianism, and the mainstreaming of Hindu concepts like karma, rebirth, meditation, and yoga.

T. M. Luhrmann

How God Becomes Real: Kindling the Presence of Invisible Others
PRINCETON 2020

How do gods and spirits come to feel vividly real to people—as if they were standing right next to them? In *How God Becomes Real*, anthropologist and scholar of religion T. M. Luhrmann argues that people must work incredibly hard to make gods real and that this effort—by changing the people who do it and giving them the benefits they seek from invisible others—helps to explain the enduring power of faith. *How God Becomes Real* suggests that faith is resilient not because it provides intuitions about gods and spirits, but because it changes the faithful in profound ways.

Howard Lune

Transnational Nationalism and Collective Identity among the American Irish
TEMPLE 2020

Lune considers the development and mobilization of different nationalisms over 125 years of Irish diasporic history (1791–1920) and how these campaigns defined the Irish nation and Irish citizenship. Lune takes a collective approach, concentrating on social identities in which organizations are the primary creative agents. As exiled Irishmen moved to the United States, they sought to create a new Irish republic following the American model. Lune traces the construction of Irish American identity through the establishment and development of Irish nationalist organizations in the United States. He looks at how networks—such as societies, clubs, and private organizations—can influence and foster diaspora, nationalism, and nationalist movements.
Peter Manseau

The Jefferson Bible: A Biography
PRINCETON 2020

Inspired by the ideals of the Enlightenment, Thomas Jefferson hoped to reconcile Christian tradition with reason by presenting Jesus of Nazareth as a great moral teacher—not a divine one. Peter Manseau tells the story of the Jefferson Bible, exploring how each new generation has reimagined the book in its own image as readers grapple with both the legacy of the man who made it and the place of religion in American life. Manseau situates the creation of the Jefferson Bible within the broader search for the historical Jesus and examines the book’s role in American religious disputes over the interpretation of scripture.

Peter Maurin, Lincoln Rice (ed.)

The Forgotten Radical Peter Maurin: Easy Essays from the Catholic Worker
FORDHAM 2020

Although Peter Maurin is well known among people connected to the Catholic Worker movement, his Catholic Worker co-founder and mentee Dorothy Day largely overshadowed him. Maurin was never the charismatic leader that Day was, and some Workers found his idiosyncrasies challenging. Reticent to write or even speak much about his personal life, Maurin preferred to present his beliefs and ideas in the form of “Easy Essays,” published in the New York Catholic Worker. Featuring 485 of his essays, as well as 74 previously unpublished ones, this text offers a great contribution to the corpus of 20th-century Catholic life.

Sean F. McEnroe

A Troubled Marriage: Indigenous Elites of the Colonial Americas
NEW MEXICO 2020

A Troubled Marriage describes the lives of Native leaders whose resilience and creativity allowed them to survive and prosper in the era of European conquest and colonial rule. They served as soldiers, scholars, artists, artisans, and missionaries within early transatlantic empires and later nation-states. These Indian and mestizo men and women wove together cultures, shaping the new traditions and institutions of the colonial Americas. In a comparative study that spans more than three centuries and much of the Western Hemisphere, McEnroe challenges common assumptions about the relationships among victors, vanquished, and their shared progeny.

Stanley Mirvis

The Jews of Eighteenth-Century Jamaica: A Testamentary History of a Diaspora in Transition
YALE 2020

Based on last wills and testaments composed by Jamaican Jews between 1673 and 1815, this book explores the social and familial experiences of one of the most critical yet understudied nodes of the Atlantic Portuguese Jewish Diaspora. Mirvis examines how Jamaica’s Jews put down roots as traders, planters, pen keepers, physicians, fishermen, and metalworkers, and reveals how their presence shaped the colony as much as settlement in the tropical West Indies transformed the lives of the island’s Jews.
This book undertakes an exploration of how Catholic mission histories served as a useful reference for Americans narrating U.S. settler colonialism on the North American continent and seeking to extend military, political, and cultural power around the world. Moran traces historical celebrations of Catholic missionary histories to demonstrate the improbable centrality of the Catholic missions to ostensibly Protestant imperial endeavors. She demonstrates that American Protestants joined their Catholic compatriots in speaking with admiration about historical Catholic missionaries. Comparing them favorably to the Puritans, Pilgrims, and the American Revolutionary generation, commemorators drew these missionaries into a cross-confessional pantheon of U.S. national and imperial founding fathers.

Lisa D. Pearce and Claire Chipman Gilliland

Religion in America
CALIFORNIA 2020

Religion in America probes the dynamics of recent American religious beliefs and behaviors. Charting trends over time using demographic data, this book examines how patterns of religious affiliation, service attendance, and prayer vary by race and ethnicity, social class, and gender. The authors identify demographic processes such as birth, death, and migration, as well as changes in education, employment, and families, as central to why some individuals and congregations experience change in religious practices and beliefs while others hold steady.

Jill Peterfeso

Womanpriest: Tradition and Transgression in the Contemporary Roman Catholic Church
FORDHAM 2020

While some non-Catholics—and even some Catholics—today are asking if priests are necessary, especially given the ongoing sex abuse scandal, the Roman Catholic Womenpriests (RCWP) movement looks to reframe and reform Roman Catholic priesthood, starting with the ordination of women. Womanpriest is the first academic study of the RCWP movement. As an ethnography, Womanpriest analyzes the womenpriests’ actions and lived theologies in order to explore ongoing tensions in Roman Catholicism around gender and sexuality, priestly authority, and religious change.

Naomi Pullin

Female Friends and the Making of Transatlantic Quakerism, 1650–1750
CAMBRIDGE 2020

Quaker women were unusually active participants in 17th- and 18th-century cultural and religious exchange, as ministers, missionaries, authors, and spiritual leaders. Drawing upon documentary evidence, with a focus on women’s personal writings and correspondence, Naomi Pullin explores the lives and social interactions of Quaker women in the British Atlantic between 1650 and 1750. The book places women’s roles, relationships, and identities at the center of the analysis. It shows how the movement’s transition from “sect to church” enhanced the authority and influence of women within the movement and uncovers the multifaceted ways in which female Friends at all levels were active participants in making and sustaining transatlantic Quakerism.
Unequal Partners: In Search of Transnational Catholic Sisterhood

Casey Ritchie Clevenger

CHICAGO 2020

While much of Catholicism remains headquartered in the West, the Church’s center of gravity has shifted to Africa, Latin America, and developing Asia. Focused on the transnational Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, Unequal Partners explores the ways gender, race, economic inequality, and colonial history play out in religious organizations, revealing how their members are constantly negotiating and reworking the frameworks within which they operate. Taking us from Belgium and the United States to the Democratic Republic of the Congo, sociologist Casey Clevenger offers rare insight into how the sisters of this order work across national boundaries, shedding light on the complex relationships among individuals, social groups, and formal organizations.

Black Samson: The Untold Story of an American Icon

Jeremy Schipper and Nyasha Junior

OXFORD 2020

Before Harriet Tubman or Martin Luther King was identified with Moses, African Americans identified those who challenged racial oppression in America with Samson. From stories of slave rebellions to the Harlem Renaissance to the civil rights era and the Black Power movement, invoking the biblical character of Samson became a powerful way for African American intellectuals, activists, and artists to voice strategies and opinions about race relations in America. As this provocative book reveals, the story of Black Samson became the story of our nation’s contested racial history.

Avenues of Faith: Conversations with Jonathan Guilbault

Charles Taylor

BAYLOR 2020

Charles Taylor takes readers through a handful of books that played a crucial role in shaping his posture as a believer, a process that involved leaving the old behind and embracing the new. In a dynamic interview-style structure, Taylor answers questions from Jonathan Guilbault about how each book has informed his thought. By exploring themes such as faith, the church, freedom, language, philosophy, and more, this book engages both literary enthusiasts and spiritual seekers. Scholars of Taylor will recognize the philosopher’s continuation of his reflections on modernity as he expresses his faith. Avenues of Faith gives readers unprecedented access to a world-renowned philosopher’s reflections on the literary masterpieces that have shaped his life and scholarship.

None of the Above: Nonreligious Identity in the US and Canada

Joel Thiessen and Sarah Wilkins-Laflamme

NORTH CAROLINA 2020

Who are the religious nones? Why, and where, is this population growing? While there has been increased attention on secularism in both Europe and the United States, little work to date has focused on Canada. Joel Thiessen and Sarah Wilkins-Laflamme turn to survey and interview data to explore how a nonreligious identity impacts a variety of aspects of daily life in the United States and Canada in sometimes similar and sometimes different ways, offering insights to illuminate societal and political trends. At once provocative and insightful, this book tackles questions of coexistence, religious tolerance, and spirituality, as American and Canadian society accelerate toward a more secular future.
Peter J. Thuesen

*Tornado God: American Religion and Violent Weather*

OXFORD 2020

Peter Thuesen captures the harrowing drama of tornadoes, as clergy, theologians, meteorologists, and ordinary citizens struggle to make sense of these death-dealing tempests. He argues that in the tornado, Americans experience something that is at once culturally peculiar (the indigenous storm of the national imagination) and religiously primal (the sense of awe before an unpredictable and mysterious power). He also shows that in an era of climate change, the weather raises the issue of society’s complicity in natural disasters. In the whirlwind, Americans confront the question of their own destiny—how much is self-determined and how much is beyond human understanding or control.

John G. Turner

*They Knew They Were Pilgrims: Plymouth Colony and the Contest for American Liberty*

YALE 2020

In 1620, separatists from the Church of England set sail across the Atlantic aboard the Mayflower. Understanding themselves as spiritual pilgrims, they left to preserve their liberty to worship as they wished. Or they were religious zealots who persecuted dissenters and decimated the Native peoples through warfare and by stealing their land. Drawing on original research using underutilized sources, John G. Turner moves beyond these familiar narratives in his sweeping and authoritative new history of Plymouth Colony. Instead of depicting the Pilgrims as otherworldly saints or extraordinary sinners, he tells how a variety of English settlers and Native peoples engaged in a contest for the meaning of American liberty.

Thomas Tweed

*Religion: A Very Short Introduction*

OXFORD 2020

Beginning with ancient humans and concluding with a look at modern citizens and global trends, Thomas Tweed examines religion’s roles in human society. Tweed documents religion as it exists around the world, addressing its role in both intensifying and alleviating contemporary political and environmental problems, from armed conflict to climate change. *Religion: A Very Short Introduction* offers a concise non-partisan overview of religion’s long history and its complicated role in the world today.

Christine Walker

*Jamaica Ladies: Female Slaveholders and the Creation of Britain’s Atlantic Empire*

NORTH CAROLINA 2020

This is the first systematic study of the free and freed women of European, Euro-African, and African descent who perpetuated chattel slavery and reaped its profits in the British Empire. Their actions helped transform Jamaica into the wealthiest slaveholding colony in the Anglo-Atlantic world. Starting in the 1670s, a surprisingly large and diverse group of women helped secure English control of Jamaica and, crucially, aided its developing and expanding slave labor regime by acquiring enslaved men, women, and children to protect their own tenuous claims to status and independence.
James Wellman Jr., Katie Corcoran, and Kate Stockly

*High on God: How Megachurches Won the Heart of America*

Oxford 2020

This is the first robust and plausible explanation for why megachurches have conquered the churchgoing market of America. Without condescension or exaggeration, the authors show the genius of megachurches: the power of charisma, the design of facilities, the training of leaders, the emotional dynamics, and the strategies that bring people together and lead them to serve and help others. Using Emile Durkheim’s concept of *homo duplex*, the authors plot the strategies that megachurches employ to satisfy the core human craving for personal meaning and social integration, as well as personal identity and communal solidarity.

Andrew L. Whitehead and Samuel L. Perry

*Taking America Back for God: Christian Nationalism in the United States*

Oxford 2020

Christian ideals and symbols have long played an important role in American public life, but Christian nationalism is about far more than whether the phrase “under God” belongs in the Pledge of Allegiance. At its heart, Christian nationalism demands that we must preserve a particular kind of social order, an order in which everyone—Christians and non-Christians, native-born and immigrants, whites and minorities, men and women—recognizes their “proper” place in society. The first comprehensive empirical analysis of Christian nationalism in the United States, *Taking America Back for God* illustrates the influence of Christian nationalism on today’s most contentious social and political issues.

Leslie Woodcock Tentler

*American Catholics: A History*

Yale 2020

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