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THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC CHURCH: GENDER, SEXUALITY, AND PATRIOTISM IN U.S. CATHOLIC MEDIA, 1917–1970

DISSERTATION

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
College of Arts and Sciences
at the University of Kentucky

By
William John Korinko Jr.

Lexington, Kentucky

Director: Dr. Melissa Stein, Professor of Gender and Women's Studies

Lexington, Kentucky

2020

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC CHURCH: GENDER, SEXUALITY, AND PATRIOTISM IN U.S. CATHOLIC MEDIA, 1917–1970

This project explores the complex relationship between religion, culture, and politics in the United States during the twentieth century by examining a largely unexplored pocket of Roman Catholic pamphlet literature, as well as other forms of Catholic media, including newspapers, magazines, radio programs, and television shows. During the twentieth century Catholic media makers spent a considerable amount of energy speaking and writing about issues related to gender and sexuality, and they often did so in racially coded terms. In addition to making prescriptions of what was appropriate and moral sexual and gendered behavior, these media makers repeatedly made the case that Catholic values on these issues were what made Catholics great Americans. Considering this, this dissertation will illustrate how Catholic media texts should be understood not only as a form of religious self-help literature, but as part of a larger political project aimed at helping Catholics assume a more central place in American social and political life. In doing so, this project will reveal how religious discourses about race, gender, and sexuality are not static, but always a product of their political, geographical, and historical context.

My dissertation makes important contributions to existing scholarship on the historical production of ideas about gender, sexuality, and race, as well as the history of Catholicism in America. While many scholars interested in the history of Catholic ideas about gender, sexuality, and race tend to focus on official Vatican documents, this project focuses on the Catholic media texts that Catholics in America would have most regularly come into contact with. Vatican documents such as papal encyclicals and letters are important landmarks, but exclusively focusing on these documents risks perpetuating the notion of ideological homogeneity within the Catholic Church, which obscures the diversity of more localized experiences and manifestations of Catholicism.

This project examines religion both as an institution and as a marker of identity that—like race, class, gender, and sexuality—is constructed and situated within a hierarchy of power. This project will expand on intersectional feminist scholarship and make the case for a heightened focus on religion as an axis of identity that shapes people's experiences of the world. The United States during the twentieth century is a useful site to explore how religious identities are politically situated, as this period witnessed a significant shift in attitudes towards, and growth in confidence for, Catholics in America. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Catholics in America had been cast as a national threat and were a target of a wave of xenophobia and religious nationalism. A century later, Catholics in America are now a group whose religious identity is seen as mainstream and no longer marked as "Other." This shift was not spontaneous, sudden, or inevitable. Instead, as this project makes clear, it was a result of

a well-organized media campaign that utilized racially coded discourses about gender and sexuality to reshape the popular imagination of Catholics in America.

KEYWORDS: Gender Discourse, History of Sexuality, Religion in America, Religious Media, Whiteness, Immigration

William John Korinko Jr.

04/13/2020

Date

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GENDER, SEXUALITY, AND PATRIOTISM IN U.S. CATHOLIC MEDIA,
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I must thank the Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism at the University of Notre Dame and the American Catholic Historical Association for their monetary support of my work, which helped facilitate travel that was required for this project. I have had the great pleasure of conducting archival research in a number of excellent libraries and archives across the United States, including the Jesuit Archives and Research Center, the Archives and Special Collections at the University of Notre Dame, the Province Archives Center of the Congregation of Holy Cross, the American Catholic History Research Center and University Archives at the Catholic University of America, and the Archives and Special Collections at the University of Dayton. All of these are treasure troves of Catholic Americana, and I am grateful for all of the hospitality and assistance that I was given during my research trips. The staff at these libraries and archives have been invaluable to my research, and I deeply appreciate all of their assistance. It has become quite clear to me that no historical research project can be

completed without the generous assistance and keen insight of librarians and archivists, and I have benefited tremendously from their work. In particular, I want to thank Jean McManus at the Hesburgh Library at the University of Notre Dame and David Miros at the Jesuit Archives. Not only did they make my multiple visits to their respective institutions enriching and productive; they provided hours of deep conversation that helped shape the direction and focus of this project.

My undergraduate mentor and now friend and colleague at St. Norbert College, Karlyn Crowley, helped instill in me a love of learning and a thirst for justice that has changed my life and inspired this project. Taking her courses as an undergraduate expanded my world and changed the trajectory of my life, and she has shown me how profound the relationship between a teacher and student can be. I admire Karlyn's wisdom, vision, integrity, love of her family and friends, and sense of humor; she represents the sort of scholarly life to which I aspire. Her mentorship, friendship, encouragement, and unwavering belief in me is one of the greatest gifts I have ever received. My dissertation committee has also been a vital source of intellectual and professional development. Karen Tice, Amy Taylor, and David Hunter have provided me with hours of incredibly helpful conversation that has deepened and focused my scholarly work. They have provided not only productive feedback and wise insight, but also great encouragement throughout this project.

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of her wife, children, and ever-growing number of pets. Melissa's persistent support of me, deep wisdom as a scholar, and infectious sense of humor have made her the perfect advisor for me.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS iii

LIST OF FIGURES ix

INTRODUCTION 1

Research Question and Methodology 9

Literature Review 11

Notes 21

CHAPTER 1: Purity and Patriotism: Catholic Media and the Campaign to Confront Religious Nationalism, 1917–1928 22

Papal Panic and the Plot to "Make America Catholic" 25

Catholic Manhood and the First World War 31

Americanization and the Foundation of the Catholic Media Infrastructure 37

The "Founding Fathers": Catholic Men and the History of America 41

Models of Morality: The Catholic Family and the Protection of the Gendered Order 46

The Catholic Church versus the "Sex Problem" 53

Al Smith and the Fear of a Catholic President 59

Notes 70

CHAPTER 2: An Aspirational Model of Manhood, Marriage and Sexual Morality: Charles Coughlin, Daniel Lord, and the Expanding Boundaries of Catholic Media, 1929–1945 74

A War with the Vatican?—The Lingering Presence of Anti-Catholicism 76

Fr. Charles Coughlin and the Advent of Hate Radio 80

"Mass" Media: The Expansion of the Catholic Print Industry 86

Birth Control and the Preservation of the Gendered Order 90

Birth Control and Women's Rights: A Constructed Consensus Among Catholics 93

Compulsory Heterosexuality and the Catholic Church 96

Catholic Media and the "Pansy Craze" 99

Women's Rights and the Preservation of Authentic Catholicity 102

Holy Orders: Projecting Catholic Values onto the Silver Screen 105

Catholic Media, Hollywood, and the Creation of an Ideological Echo Chamber 114

Sexual Purity and the American Catholic Home during World War II 117
Notes 121

CHAPTER 3: Expert Catholics and the Reconversion" of America: Moral Panic and Gendered Anxieties in the Cold War Era, 1945–1960 127

The Catholic Campaign Against Communism 130
Fulton Sheen, Televangelism, and the Catholic Intellectual 133
Catholics Confront Racism in America 138
Catholic Antiracism and Interracial Marriage 142
"A New Type of Atom Bomb" 144
Birth Control and an Ideal of Catholic Womanhood . . . and Manhood 147
Catholics, Contraception, and Winning the War 150
"Planned Pollutionism" and the Preservation of American Morality 153
The "Labor of Love" and the Catholic Debate about Working Women 155
Complementarity and the Gendered Division of the Home 161
"A Blueprint for Christian Women" 168
"Sex O'clock in America" 177
Sexuality and Bodily Difference 180
The Kinsey Reports 184
Notes 189

CHAPTER 4: The Myth of the Monolith: Cultural Revolution and the Ideological Diversity of American Catholicism, 1960–1970 197

"I Am Not the Catholic Candidate for President" 197
Catholics and the Sexual Revolution 202
Catholic FEAR and Teen Sexuality 205
The Catholic Crusade Against Pornography 207
Vatican II: "Your Parish Is the World!" 211
Sex Education: "The Damnable Failure of the American Catholic Parent" 214
Young Catholics: Resist Marriage Mania! 217
Catholic Women and the Modern World 220
Political Diversity in the American Catholic Church 224
The Endurance of the Patriarchal Gendered Order 229
"Men Are Men and Women Are Women" 235

The Sexual Schism 240
Authentic Catholicism: On Whose Terms? 243
Notes 247

EPILOGUE 255

The Cautionary Tale of Richard Ginder 256
Sexual Abuse and the Culture of Clericalism 258
Silences and Homophobic Myth-Making 260
"Who Am I to Judge?"—Pope Francis, Sexuality, and the Church Today 264
Catholic Media, LGBT Bridge Building, and a "Menace" for a New Generation 267
Notes 269

BIBLIOGRAPHY 271

VITA 288

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1: “America’s Ruin” 62

Figure 1.2: “Foes to Knowledge—Like a Poisonous Serpent” 63

Figure 1.3: “The Unmarried Life of the Priest-Craft, compared to the Married Life of Protestant Ministers” 64

Figure 1.4: “Immorality of the Priesthood—With Romish Lust, the Blossom of Virtue is Destroyed” 65

Figure 1.5: “Save the Girls—Batter Down the Doors of Convents, and the Civilized World Will Stand Amazed” 66

Figure 1.6: “The Papal Octopus” 67

Figure 1.7: “Reading the Latest News from New York” 68

Figure 1.8: “The American River Ganges” 69

INTRODUCTION

"Over the heads of the American people hung suspended a new type of atom bomb—a bomb that threatened to destroy the home—the foundation of the nation's life."[1] These were the words of the Catholic pamphlet writer, John A. O'Brien, only three years after the end of World War II and the United States' bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan. By 1948, Catholics across the United States were familiar with seeing racks of pamphlets at their local parish, and that year they may have seen O'Brien's pamphlet entitled *Making Marriage Stick: Love for Keeps*. While its cover depicted a serene nuclear family at home, with a couple holding their infant child, the content of this pamphlet was anything but peaceful. O'Brien wrote a harrowing tale about a dangerous threat to the United States: divorce. He declared that divorce was the "bomb" that was "already spluttering on the home front . . . and that threatens to tear our homes into smithereens . . . if it is not decapitated . . . de-fused or whatever you do to remove its explosive power!"[2] This pamphlet, like many others, painted a bleak picture of the stability of marriage and family life, and warned Catholics that issues related to gender and sexuality were central to the survival of the United States. O'Brien concluded this pamphlet by calling Catholics to "carry this message to the American people and carry it quickly so we can save the homes of America, and in saving them, we can save America."[3]

Pamphlets like this were not unusual; in fact, following the establishment of the National Catholic War Council in 1917, a national infrastructure for a Catholic press was created in order to produce and distribute such materials to Catholics throughout the United States. These materials are what I will refer to as *American Catholic media*—the

texts regarding church teachings that Catholics in America would have most likely engaged with throughout much of the twentieth century, in forms such as pamphlets, newspapers, magazines, comic books, and radio and television shows.[4] This explosion of Catholic media content in the twentieth century was often preoccupied with issues related to gender and sexuality. Specifically, birth control, teen sexuality, marriage, divorce, and the family were some of the most repeatedly addressed topics across a wide variety of Catholic media. Therefore, the aim of this project is to deepen historical understandings of Catholic discourse about gender and sexuality beyond broad notions such as "sex was considered sinful." While it is important to consider whether or not sexuality is framed as being illicit, it does not provide a fully contextualized analysis. This project will offer important insights into the discourse around gender and sexuality that many Catholics in the United States were exposed to throughout the twentieth century, and the ways it shifted in response to historical moments such as World War I, the Great Depression, World War II, the Cold War, the civil rights movement, and the women's liberation movement.

This project focuses on American Catholic media because of the tendency among scholars interested in Catholic ideas about gender and sexuality to focus on official Vatican documents such as papal encyclicals and proclamations. As noted by Paula Kane in *Gender Identities in American Catholicism*, focusing on Vatican documents alone ignores the many other ways in which ideas about gender and sexuality are communicated. Kane explains:

> While pastoral letters of the hierarchy and the documents of the Vatican councils provide indisputable and helpful landmarks, American Catholic history should also consider such evidence as Catholic dating guides, gender discrepancies in salaries for religious orders, Catholic Youth Organization activities, married

> couples' criticisms of the rhythm method, nun's opinions about the abandonment of religious habits, veiling of women, attempts to promote the priesthood as a masculine vocation, Catholic contribution to and reception of gender roles in popular culture, and voters' response to welfare reform—a highly gendered issue.[5]

Because there is no categorical index of Catholic texts and artifacts that reflects the discourse surrounding gender and sexuality in America, one must consider which texts and artifacts best illuminate the nuances of this discourse. It is important to consider that only since the creation of the Vatican's official website and online archive have Catholics had instant access to official Vatican documents in a wide variety of languages. Therefore, it is inadequate to consider Vatican documents as reflections of Catholic discourse regarding gender and sexuality; for much of the twentieth century, Catholic people's exposure to church teachings came primarily by attending mass and consuming Catholic media. Because there is no comprehensive archive of homilies, this project will focus on the massive volume of American Catholic media that, to date, has been given little scholarly attention.

Catholic pamphlets are particularly interesting because they were one of the mediums that most commonly addressed issues related to gender and sexuality. Additionally, Catholic pamphlets are important because of their long "shelf life." While Catholic newspapers, like any newspaper, were extremely ephemeral, a single pamphlet might be reprinted and distributed more than a dozen times over the course of a decade (or longer). Further, many Catholic pamphlets included instructions to "keep good print!" and to share these texts with others. Pamphlets are also of particular importance because they were the sites in which other Catholic media texts were preserved. For instance, many Catholic pamphlets were originally transcripts from Catholic radio broadcasts or

articles written in Catholic newspapers or magazines. Pamphlets were simply the medium through which these Catholic texts could be circulated most widely.

We can see the importance of studying Catholic pamphlets when thinking about gender and sexuality illustrated in a note found in one index of Catholic pamphlets from 1949. Author J. P. Boland wrote that one of the major reasons that Catholic pamphlets were an effective medium was "how shy the great majority of them [Catholics] are about approaching a priest directly for information about the Church's teaching."[6] Considering this, it makes sense that Catholic pamphlets were distributed anonymously through a goodwill donation at a display case, and that the pamphlets were physically small so could easily fit into a pocket. Clearly, the pamphlets were intentionally constructed and distributed in a way that allowed for discretion among readers—and such discretion was all the more important when the pamphlets' subject matter included gender and sexuality.

In terms of its historical framework, this project will explore American Catholic media regarding issues related to gender and sexuality from 1917 to 1970. Why this time period? I begin with 1917, rather than with John Carroll and the establishment of the first Catholic diocese in Baltimore during the late eighteenth century, because the modern, national structure of Catholicism in America arguably begins in 1917, when the National Catholic War Council (NCWC) was created as the primary national organization of Catholic bishops. This organization would later be renamed the National Catholic Welfare Council, and today it is known as the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB). Interestingly, the creation of this national conference of Catholic bishops started on a particularly defensive note. The NCWC was established following the passing of a series of laws restricting immigration into the United States, which many

Catholics at the time interpreted as being rooted in an anti-Catholic sentiment. However, historian Patrick Carey notes that these restrictions on immigration actually helped the Catholic Church in the United States pause and get organized on a national level.[7]

In addition to being a response to restrictions on immigration, the NCWC was established to "Americanize" the Catholic Church in the United States in light of the movement of "one hundred percent Americanism," which largely excluded Catholics. In order to position its members as full-fledged members of American society, the NCWC worked diligently to challenge anti-Catholic propaganda. To accomplish this, one of the principal focuses of the NCWC was the creation of a national Catholic press system that would promulgate a corrective of the dominant narrative of Catholicism, which many believed to be alien and fundamentally antithetical to American values. The years spanning 1917 to 1970 were marked by an increasing growth and confidence among Catholics in American culture, arguably evidenced most by the election of the first Catholic president, John F. Kennedy, in 1960. While it is difficult to determine the extent to which Catholic media helped Catholics achieve a more central place in American social and political life, it is important to analyze these texts because they were aimed at shifting attitudes towards Catholics in America. Instead of being understood as just a kind of religious self-help literature, American Catholic media should be recognized as a form of propaganda that was part of a larger political strategy to help Catholics earn a more centralized place in American life.

In addition to considering the ways in which American Catholic media shaped notions of gender and sexuality, this project will also explore Catholic interventions in Hollywood. This project will pay specific attention to the work of Fr. Daniel A. Lord, one

of the most prolific Catholic pamphleteers and the co-author of the 1930 production code for motion pictures (later referred to as the Hays Code). Lord clearly saw his role and responsibility to shape discourse about gender and sexuality beyond his sphere of influence in Catholic pamphlet literature, as much of the production code was preoccupied with racially coded ideas about gender and sexuality. For instance, in addition to restricting the depiction of certain forms of violence and drug and alcohol use, the production code also prohibited "adultery," "scenes of passion," "seduction or rape," "sex perversion," "white slavery," and "miscegenation."[8] Therefore, this project will also detail the ways in which Catholic discourse about gender and sexuality cannot be explored only by examining explicitly Catholic media texts, since the Catholic Church played a covert role shaping the content of motion pictures from 1930 to 1968. Additionally, considering the aforementioned note on the role of Catholic media in a larger campaign to challenge anti-Catholic propaganda, it is not surprising that Lord's production code also stated that "ministers of religion . . . should not be used as comic characters or as villains."[9] While they are not the primary focus of this project, major Hollywood films will be considered as additional texts that are marked by American Catholic anxieties about gender and sexuality.

This project concludes its analysis in 1970, just after the phasing out of the Hollywood production code and five years after the conclusion of the Second Vatican Council. The period following Vatican II is a distinct and complex moment in the history of the Catholic Church, as sweeping changes to Catholic life and the liturgy were ushered in; therefore, it should be subject to its own academic inquiry. My hope is that the present project will inspire further academic exploration into the history of Catholic media

regarding gender and sexuality, particularly considering the establishment of new forms of media such as EWTN (the American Catholic television channel) and the advent of digital Catholic media and the internet. Additionally, the impact of the legacy of Pope John Paul II, whose papacy was largely preoccupied with his *Theology of the Body* (a collection of writings and encyclicals about gender and sexuality), should be given further academic reflection through an examination of popular Catholic media, and not just Pope John Paul II's official writings.

While this project concludes its analysis a half a century ago, its content is foundational for contemporary discussions of gender, sexuality, and Catholicism in America (as well as religion more broadly). For instance, this project will point to the importance of understanding the ways in which the Catholic Church has articulated ideas about gender and sexuality when trying to make sense of the sexual abuse crisis within the Catholic Church. Additionally, a project like this can help make sense of the recent barrage of programs and retreats for Catholic men that seems to suggest that Catholic men are in crisis. Is this a historically unique phenomenon, or might it be an extension of a long history of Catholic anxieties regarding gender? Finally, I believe a project such as this can help scholars who are interested in the celebrity-like status of Pope Francis. In addition to the unprecedented nature of his election, I believe for many, Pope Francis symbolizes a new moment in the history of the Catholic Church, particularly with regard to issues of gender and sexuality. However, Pope Francis's inconsistency on these issues since becoming the pope also reflects the wide diversity of attitudes and beliefs regarding gender and sexuality throughout the Catholic Church.

As this project will make clear, it is difficult to concisely summarize the attitudes and beliefs regarding gender and sexuality throughout the Catholic Church, as they often shift over time. In fact, one could say that Catholic attitudes and beliefs on topics regarding gender and sexuality are truly quite *catholic* (small *c*)—that is, "broad, comprehensive, and including many different things."[10] The complications of understanding Catholic attitudes and beliefs would be made evident if someone were to ask a question such as, "Does the Catholic Church support the use of birth control?" How you define the term *Catholic Church* would hold significant implications when answering this question. If you imagine *the church* to represent the perspectives of the church hierarchy (or, the Vatican), it would be easy to reference the dozens of papal encyclicals and documents that condemn the use of "artificial" means of contraception. However, if you were to conceptualize the church as being the people who identify themselves as Catholics, then you would likely reference the number of studies that have found that the vast majority of Catholics do not find it morally problematic to use birth control.[11] With one definition of *church*, the Catholic Church *rejects* the use of birth control; with another definition of *church*, the Catholic Church overwhelmingly *embraces* the use of birth control. But the diversity of Catholic attitudes and beliefs on topics like birth control are not just divided between beliefs held by the laity and beliefs held by the ordained. Just as it is common for scholars to reject speaking about Islam or Judaism in universalizing terms, this project will challenge the false sense of unity inherent in language such as "*the* Catholic Church," and it will offer a complex and nuanced understanding of the historical development of Catholic discourse regarding gender and sexuality.

Research Question and Methodology

Through the use of historically grounded methodologies from several interdisciplinary areas, this project will examine American Catholic media texts in order to answer the question: How has American Catholic media (from 1917 to 1970) shaped and responded to discourse about gender and sexuality? While discourse about gender and sexuality can be in many ways omnipresent, particular attention will be paid to American Catholic media that addressed topics like birth control, marriage and divorce, teen sexuality, and the family. These topics have been chosen as areas of focus due to the high volume of American Catholic media texts that addressed these topics. These texts will be examined for the ways in which they both explicitly and implicitly shaped discourse about gender and sexuality.

The work of Stephanie Coontz, Thomas Lacquer, Michel Foucault, Leila Rupp, George Chauncey, and Michael Kimmel, among others, has influenced my thinking in what might be described as a *historicist* orientation towards sexuality and gender issues. While these scholars reflect a wide diversity of topical interests, they each explore *the history of ideas* and how discussions of gender and sexuality, as well as the practices related to them, are historically situated. In addition to a historicist orientation, this project employs methods from the interdisciplinary fields of discourse analysis and cultural studies. Discourse analysis is a methodology for understanding communication that goes beyond sentence structure or what can be quoted. The style, method, and tone, as well as historical context of communication, are all important factors when analyzing any sort of text. I am especially interested in the previously unexplored pocket of Catholic popular culture and advice literature that addressed issues related to gender and

sexuality at length. In this context, Foucault's ideas about how discourse is "embodied," or put into everyday practice, are relevant. In the *History of Sexuality, Volume 1*, Foucault illustrates the ways in which sex is "put into discourse" through both literal texts and the "internal discourse of the institution." For instance, regarding secondary schools in the eighteenth century, Foucault observes that, "the space for classes, the shape of tables, the planning of the recreation lessons, the distribution of the dormitories (with or without partitions, with or without curtains)" all reflect a "constant preoccupation" with sex.[12]

As noted earlier, the distribution methods and physical size of certain forms of Catholic media offer insight into Catholic discourse about gender and sexuality beyond what is literally on the page. The fact that certain publications were created for distinct audiences based on gender, and the fact that the authors of many of these texts were priests (a position that is exclusively held by men), are further evidence of ideas that suggest fundamental differences between men and women. Additionally, using a cultural studies approach, this project will explore texts by considering how they exist in relation to social structures and matrices of power related to categories like race, class, and gender. So, instead of considering texts as accurate reflections of history or social relations, they should be understood as part of historical social relations themselves. On media and the function of cultural studies, Stuart Hall notes that, "the media play a part in the formation, in the constitution, of the things that they reflect."[13] Considering this, one example related to this project would be the near-exclusive use of imagery of white people on the covers and pages of Catholic media texts. Rather than interpreting this as an accurate historical reflection of Catholics in America, it should be recognized as a reflection of the social relations that have idealized whiteness.[14]

To conduct this project, I have mined archives of "Catholic Americana" for Catholic media texts from 1917 to 1970 that contribute or respond to discourses related to gender and sexuality. I have made multiple visits to university archives that have sizable collections of such media including the University of Notre Dame, the University of Dayton, and the Catholic University of America. I also made multiple visits to the Jesuit Archives in Saint Louis and the Archives of the Holy Cross in South Bend as they house materials that are essential for this project. The Jesuit Archives holds an extensive collection of the Queen's Work publications (one of the largest Catholic publishers, which included the writings of Fr. Daniel Lord) as well as memos, letters, and notes of the employees of the Queen's Work. The Archives of the Holy Cross also contain a massive collection of texts published by the Ave Maria Press.

This project focuses on Catholic media texts that shaped discourses about gender and sexuality through topics such as birth control, marriage and divorce, teen sexuality, and the family. But it will also explore issues that, on the surface, may not seem explicitly gendered or tied to ideas about sexuality, such as communism and racism in America. The texts have been analyzed to illustrate both the dominant narratives within this pocket of popular culture and the counternarratives within the Catholic media world.

Literature Review

This dissertation builds on a variety of historical explorations of popular culture and identity in the history of America. While its primary focus is on the historical development of discourses about gender and sexuality, it pays close attention to the ways in which narratives about race and class were a part of these discourses (sometimes

through silences). Existing literature on the topic of gender, sexuality, and Catholicism is robust; however, as noted earlier, there is a tendency for scholars to be preoccupied with official Vatican documents. Thomas C. Fox's *Sexuality and Catholicism* is one such book that offers an expansive reflection on topics like abortion, homosexuality, birth control, and celibacy, but does so only by pointing to theological documents released by the Vatican. While these sorts of documents will not be examined in this project, they will be used as historical markers more than anything, as I am more interested in the accessible and popular texts that Catholics would have been engaging with. Furthermore, while there is a massive amount of feminist academic work that has critically analyzed popular culture, there has been a general disregard for *religious* popular culture.

While scholars like Thomas C. Fox offer helpful reflections on the development of discourse regarding sexuality among the Catholic hierarchy, scholars like Patrick Carey offer specific insights on the evolution of Catholicism in the United States. Carey's *Catholics in America* and *American Catholic Religious Thought* are essential works for the creation of this project and have been foundational in my understanding of the historical development of Catholicism in America, but his work pays almost no attention to issues related to gender and sexuality. Similarly, while Bryan Massingale's *Racial Justice and the Catholic Church* and Gary Agee's *A Cry for Justice* both offer important insights into the development of racial discourse within Catholicism in America, they too offer almost no consideration of issues related to gender and sexuality—though Agee's analysis of the *American Catholic Tribune*, the first black Catholic newspaper, is helpful in illustrating the importance of exploring the history of American Catholic media.

There are, however, a number of texts that offer invaluable insights into the development of American discourse on gender and sexuality in the twentieth century. I have kept the work of Leslie Woodcock Tentler close to me throughout the writing of this dissertation. Her book *Catholics and Contraception: An American History* does important work illustrating the history of Catholic discourse about birth control. The work of Nancy Cott, particularly her book *Public Vows: A History of Marriage and the Nation*, has been particularly helpful in exploring how American Catholic discourses about marriage and divorce can be understood (at least in part) as an assimilationist strategy aimed at including Catholics in the mainstream of American society. Additionally, George Chauncey's book *Why Marriage: The History Shaping Today's Debate Over Gay Equality* has been valuable in considering the ways in which the history of Catholic discourse regarding marriage and divorce can be understood as being foundational to contemporary discussions regarding marriage equality.

Beth Bailey's *Sex in the Heartland* is a critical text for understanding twentieth-century anxieties regarding sexuality. While Bailey's work is helpful in destabilizing notions regarding where the sexual revolution occurred, my work will offer deeper considerations into the ways that the Catholic Church conceptualized the "problem" of teen sexuality. The work of Thomas Lacquer has also been immensely helpful throughout this project, particularly when thinking about the development of historical ideas about sex and sexuality. While his work is not focused on teen sexuality, Thomas Lacquer's *Making Sex* has been helpful in illustrating that frameworks for understanding sexual difference are not ahistorical. Lacquer's analysis of the evolution of what he calls the "one-sex model" to the "two-sex model" of sexual difference has been an important

reminder to always consider the ways in which conceptualizations of sex reflect wider discourse and understandings of the body. Insights like this have been helpful because in many Catholic pamphlets about teen sexuality, sexual organs are described in great specificity and do not always reflect a singular framework for thinking about sexual difference.

In addition, George Chauncey's *Gay New York* and Leila Rupp's *A Desired Past* have served as foundational models in thinking about the historical study of sexuality. While they do not focus on religion and sexuality, they offer important reflections on the limitations of using contemporary frameworks for understanding the history of sexuality. Chauncey in particular is helpful in destabilizing the notion of the historical "march of progress" towards gay rights by noting that the twentieth century did not always get progressively more accepting for gay and lesbian individuals. Rupp's work has illustrated the complexities of categorization regarding sexuality and has provided helpful reminders to be hesitant when using contemporary frameworks of sexuality when exploring historical ideas about sexuality.

My work is also indebted to Stephanie Coontz's foundational book *The Way We Never Were: American Families and the Nostalgia Trap*, which offers insights into the historical development of family life in the United States and demonstrates that how we imagine history is *political* and can often be based on misreadings and caricatures of the past. Coontz's work focuses on dissecting the narrative of the "traditional family" and shows how it is, in fact, "an historical amalgam of structures, values, and behaviors that never existed in the same time and place."[15] Considering Coontz's observation that many of our contemporary misunderstandings of "traditional families" are rooted in popular

media depictions, this project will also caution against reading Catholic media texts as historically accurate *reflections* of Catholic life in America. For instance, consider the pamphlets that suggested that Catholics in America fundamentally did not use birth control. Why would there be such a vast number of pamphlets directed at Catholics that condemned the use of birth control if Catholics already did not use birth control? Here, it becomes clear that there were a large number of Catholics who *did* use birth control (just as there are today). In addition to Coontz, Elaine Tyler May's *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* and Mintz and Kellogg's *Domestic Revolutions: A Social History of American Family Life* have served as essential resources in my understanding of the development of American family life in the twentieth century. Both are exceptional models of scholarship that illustrate how dominant imaginations of the past come into existence. However, this project will pay greater attention to the role of religion in the development of dominant ideals associated with family life.

Additionally, the work of critical masculinities scholars like Ted Ownby, Michael Kimmel, and Harry Brod have been useful in this project. Ownby's *Subduing Satan: Religion, Recreation & Manhood in the Rural South 1865–1920* is an important work on the relationship between religion and masculinity, but it is exclusively focused on the lives of Protestant men. Likewise, Michael Kimmel's *Manhood in America: A Cultural History* provides a helpful model for considering the historical development of gendered discourse about masculinity, but it also fails to consider the particularities of Catholic gendered discourse. Harry Brod's work, particularly his analysis of masculinities studies as "superordinate studies," has also been incredibly helpful because it helps shine light on the ways that privileged identity categories such as masculinity are socially constructed.

My project is also bolstered by the work of scholars who have explored the history of ideas related to race, ethnicity, and immigration in America. John Higham's *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860–1925* was particularly helpful when mapping the history of anti-Catholicism in America. Roger Daniels's *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life* and Matthew Frye Jacobson's *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* were also incredibly helpful in developing my understanding of the historical evolution of ideas related to race and ethnicity. Wendy Kline's *Building a Better Race: Gender, Sexuality, and Eugenics from the Turn of the Century to the Baby Boom* explores the ways in which eugenics and the controlling of reproduction were enmeshed in larger ideas of race, population, and the building of a nation. My work will build on Kline's by considering more closely the role of the Catholic Church in these debates.

Finally, throughout this project I have appreciated the work of Paula Kane, James Kenneally, and Karen Kennelly, whose *Gender Identities in American Catholicism* is a collection of original documents reflecting Catholic gendered discourse in America. To date, this is the most comprehensive exploration of the ways in which Catholic media texts have shaped gendered discourse and the practices related to them. This dissertation expands current academic inquiries into the history of sexuality and gender by offering a deeper, more focused insight into the role that religious media has played in shaping discussions about topics like birth control, marriage, teen sexuality, and the family. While this project is focused specifically on historical Catholic media, it is my hope that this dissertation will function as a useful model for additional scholarship aimed at analyzing

religious media. In a time when there are now over twenty distinct Christian television channels, I believe that an opportunity exists for more scholarship that examines religious media. Finally, given its interdisciplinary nature, I hope this dissertation will offer scholars across a wide variety of disciplines a more complicated and nuanced understanding of Catholicism in America and the ways in which popular discourse about gender and sexuality has been produced.

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Chapter 1—Purity and Patriotism: Catholic Media and the Campaign to Confront Religious Nationalism, 1917–1928 traces the historical development of the infrastructure of the Catholic Church in the United States, particularly the establishment of the National Catholic War Council in 1917, which later became the National Catholic Welfare Conference and is today known as the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops. It also explores the history of anti-Catholic propaganda in the United States that had been circulated by groups like the Ku Klux Klan. It details the ways in which anxieties about gender and sexuality shaped a litany of conspiracies about the presence of Catholics in America. Given this, it also examines how anti-Catholic, as well as anti-immigrant, sentiments inspired Church leaders to "Americanize" the Catholic Church and establish a media enterprise aimed at reshaping the popular image of Catholics in America. It contends that one of the central aspects of this Catholic media campaign was to use issues related to gender and sexuality—such as venereal disease, birth control, eugenics, marriage, and the family—as sites to demonstrate the value that Catholics presented the nation.

Chapter 2—An Aspirational Model of Manhood, Marriage, and Sexual Morality: Charles Coughlin, Daniel Lord, and the Expanding Boundaries of Catholic Media, 1929–1945 examines the new strategies used by Catholic media makers to help Catholics achieve a more central place in American social and political life. Following the blitz of anti-Catholic propaganda that surrounded Al Smith's failed bid at the presidency in 1928, the Catholic media world underwent a massive expansion through both print and radio. Catholic media makers not only wished to provide a corrective to anti-Catholic propaganda; they wanted to go further and portray Catholics as being models of morality for the nation. In doing so, Catholic media makers (particularly Catholic pamphlet writers) placed a significant emphasis on issues related to gender and sexuality. They did so by encouraging Catholics to resist modernity and the "sex mania" that they believed was prevailing in the country. Additionally, this chapter illustrates how Catholic media makers like Fr. Charles Coughlin worked to dissolve fears of Catholicism by inciting gendered anxieties and casting other groups such as Jews and Communists as the *real* threat to the United States. Finally, this chapter also examines the covert strategies used to inject Catholic ideals into mainstream secular media like Hollywood films through the work of Fr. Daniel Lord, who was also the single most prolific Catholic pamphleteer of the twentieth century.

Chapter 3—Expert Catholics and the Reconversion of America: Moral Panic and Gendered Anxieties in the Cold War Era, 1945–1959 explores the massive growth of the Catholic Church in the wake of World War II and the further expansion of the Catholic media world through the embrace of television. It explores the Catholic campaign against communism and the efforts aimed at projecting an image of Catholic

intellectualism and expertise on issues affecting the nation. As in previous decades, Catholic media makers would double their efforts to shape the public discourse on issues like marriage, the family, and birth control. But this was also a moment when discussions about racism, the role of women in society, and teen sexuality would become major areas of focus for Catholic media makers. This chapter details the incessant efforts made by many Catholic media makers to maintain a rigid patriarchal gendered order, but it also illustrates the growing diversity of Catholic thought.

Chapter 4—The Myth of the Monolith: Cultural Revolution and the Ideological Diversity of American Catholicism, 1960–1970 examines the shifts in Catholic media in the wake of the election of the first Catholic president, as well as the movements for social change throughout the 1960s. This chapter also considers the impact of the Second Vatican Council and the massive shifts in the experience of Catholicism throughout the world. While most Catholic media texts had previously presented a unified, cohesive image of Catholics in America, this chapter will detail the growing diversity of Catholic thought on issues related to gender and sexuality as indicated in Catholic media texts. This chapter will explain how Vatican II and the social movements of the 1960s inspired some Catholic media makers to shift their attitudes on specific issues related to gender and sexuality, while they prompted others to become even more committed to the fight to preserve the patriarchal gendered order. While the diversity of Catholic thought is most visible during the 1960s, it is important to note that the ideological diversity of Catholics in America is not unique to the post-Vatican II period. For instance, while she is not the focus of this project, Dorothy Day, one of the most important figures of American Catholicism during the twentieth century,

represented a much more progressive morel of Catholicism than most Catholic pamphlet writers.

Epilogue—This project concludes with a case study of Richard Ginder, a Catholic media maker whose story demands reflection, particularly around the ways in which Catholic media texts treating gender and sexuality can be understood in light of the volume of sexual abuse perpetrated by Catholic priests in the United States over the past century. This project will also conclude with a reflection on the debates and anxieties related to gender and sexuality in American Catholic media today. It further illustrates the importance of examining religious media, and it considers the legacy of mid-twentieth-century Catholic media on our present time. It reflects on the ways that contemporary Catholic discussions of gender and sexuality are shaped by a particular imagination of the past. Finally, it illustrates the ways that contemporary Catholic media shapes dominant ideas about gender and sexuality within the Church—as well as the fierce debates therein.

Notes

[1] John A. O'Brien, *Making Marriage Stick* (South Bend, IN: Ave Maria Press, 1950), 28, POBR box 3, folder 149, University of Notre Dame Archives, Notre Dame, IN.
[2] Ibid., 29.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Additionally, these materials were quite literally written in *layman's* terms, whereas papal encyclicals are infinitely denser and more theological in nature.
[5] Paula Kane, James Kenneally, and Karen Kennelly, *Gender Identities in American Catholicism* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2001), xxii.
[6] J. P. Boland, K.S.G, "History of Pamphlet Publishers and Distributors," in *The Index to Catholic Pamphlets in the English Language (June, 1946–Nov. 1948)*, by Eugene P. Willging, 1949, xiii, item ndu_aleph000777007, Catholic Pamphlets Collection, University of Notre Dame, Rare Books & Special Collections, Notre Dame, IN.
[7] Patrick W. Carey, *Catholics in America: A History* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008), 81.
[8] Thomas Doherty, "Appendix 1: The Motion Picture Production Code of 1930," in *Pre-Code Hollywood: Sex, Immorality, and Insurrection in American Cinema, 1930–1934* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1999), 347–359.
[9] Ibid.
[10] "Catholic," *Merriam-Webster*, accessed September 9, 2016, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/catholic#other-words.
[11] A 2013 survey from the Pew Research Institute found that 76% of Catholics in the United States think that the church should allow birth control. Pew Research Center, "U.S. Catholics Happy with Selection of Pope Francis," Pew Research Center's Religion & Public Life Project, March 18, 2013, https://www.pewforum.org/2013/03/18/us-catholics-happy-with-selection-of-pope-francis/.
[12] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1: An Introduction* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), 27–28.
[13] Stuart Hall, "A Lecture with Stuart Hall," 1989, accessed January 7, 2020, mediaed.org.
[14] While this project will focus primarily on discourse related to gender and sexuality, consistent attention will be paid to the ways in which ideas about race and class are also implicated and shaped through these texts.
[15] Stephanie Coontz, *The Way We Never Were: American Families and the Nostalgia Trap* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 2000), 9.

CHAPTER 1: Purity and Patriotism: Catholic Media and the Campaign to Confront Religious Nationalism, 1917–1928

In May 1917, just one month after the United States of America declared its entry into World War I, *The Catholic World* magazine featured a cover article titled "The Call to Patriotism." In this article the magazine's editor, a Paulist[1] priest named John Burke, called for an end to any division among Catholics regarding the United States' decision to wage war against the German government. With the United States making preparations for war, Burke wanted Catholics across the country to display patriotism and demonstrate a "loyal and whole-souled response" to the nation's needs during wartime.[2] Burke amplified his call to patriotism by pointing to other prominent Catholic voices who had also expressed their support of the American intervention in World War I, such as Cardinal Farley, the archbishop of New York, who asserted that Catholics will "not shrink" from any service to the nation and will fight for the United States because it is what their Catholic faith not only sanctions, but "sanctifies."[3]

For Burke and many other prominent Catholics, World War I felt like a crucial opportunity for Catholics in the United States to prove their patriotism. Whenever they were given the opportunity, Catholic leaders like Burke stressed that it was entirely congruent for someone to be both Catholic and American, and that just like their Protestant neighbors, Catholics were patriotic citizens who deeply supported their country—though, as we will explore later, what it meant to be a patriotic Catholic often differed for men and women. From a contemporary perspective, Burke's *insistence* that Catholics were patriotic, full-fledged Americans may seem unnecessary. Who was debating whether or not someone can be both a practicing Catholic and a patriotic American? While today there are discussions about religion and citizenship, these

conversations are almost always focused on American Muslims and informed by Islamophobic anxieties.[4] But unlike American Muslims, for the past century Catholics have not been any sort of statistical minority in the United States. In fact, today there is not a single religious denomination in the United States that is larger than Roman Catholicism—and this has actually been the case since the 1850s.[5] So why, a century ago, was there a need for Catholics to assert that they were good Americans, and do so in gendered terms? Who was suggesting that Catholics were not patriotic Americans, and how has this debate essentially disappeared over the past century?

Between 1880 and 1917, the population of Catholics in the United States doubled to almost 20 million people, which then represented roughly twenty percent of the U.S. population.[6] One might expect that this growth would have sparked a great deal of confidence for Catholics in America. But while Catholics may have represented the single largest religious denomination in the country, many Catholic leaders actually felt outnumbered because they imagined Protestants as a single, unified group. Additionally, it is important to recognize that the rapidly increasing Catholic population in the United States was due in large part to the arrival of many immigrant Catholics, a development that was not welcomed by everyone in the country. In fact, much of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century was a period marked by a wave of xenophobia and religious nationalism that left many Catholics, particularly immigrant Catholics, feeling like they held an outsider status within American social and political life.

For much of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, many nativist Protestants saw Catholics as a group of people who were *fundamentally un-American*. Much of this hostility was tied to racist, xenophobic, and anti-immigrant sentiments;

however, anti-Catholic and anti-immigrant sentiments were not always one and the same. While many nativist Protestants held negative attitudes towards Catholics, the Irish, and immigrants in general, there were very specific *religious* aspects to the hostility directed towards Catholics in America. On the most basic level, anti-Catholicism existed because the Catholic Church represented the "old Church" that Protestants had left behind during the Reformation. Many Protestants imagined themselves as being a part of the march of progress for Christianity, where Catholicism was seen as being outdated.[7]

Differences between Catholics and Protestants were particularly pronounced in 1870 in the wake of the First Vatican Council, which most notably included the declaration of papal infallibility. Due to confusion around papal infallibility it was imagined that Catholics would blindly follow any word spoken by the pope, and were thus incapable of independent thought.[8] This became the foundation of one of the most commonly repeated allegations against Catholics: that they were un-American because they held an allegiance to a foreign leader, the pope. Not only was the pope seen as a sort of monarch, which grated against American values of democracy, but the papacy was an office shrouded in mystery and suspicion. It is important to note here that the role and global visibility of the pope has changed drastically over the past century. In the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, the pope was a distant figure for many Catholics, whereas today it is entirely common to see the pope on television (and you can even receive tweets directly from the pope!). This level of proximity between Catholics (and non-Catholics) and the pope is unprecedented. When the pope was more of an abstract figure, media makers who espoused anti-Catholic sentiments had an easier time constructing an image of the pope that framed him as not just a religious leader, but the

head of a political machine that was conspiring to further its interests in countries around the world.

Papal Panic and the Plot to "Make America Catholic"

At the beginning of the twentieth century, anxieties about the papacy and Catholicism were further popularized in a genre of anti-Catholic books written by authors who claimed to be former Catholic priests, such as Bernard Fresenborg and his book, *Thirty Years in Hell, or from Darkness to Light* (1904). I say that these authors *claimed* to be former Catholic priests because many Catholic leaders expressed suspicions as to whether or not authors like Fresenborg had actually been Catholic priests. Because of this suspicion, throughout his book Fresenborg offered money to any individual who could disprove his claims about the Church. At the end of the book, he even included a photocopy of a check for ten dollars that he allegedly received for saying Mass, and offered a thousand dollars "to any man, woman, or child who will prove that this statement is untrue."[9]

Throughout *Thirty Years in Hell*, Fresenborg warned readers of the dangerous threat that Catholicism posed to the United States, and painted a picture of a nation that was under siege. In one of the book's illustrations, entitled "America's Ruin," a "Cargo of the Pope's Followers" can be seen disembarking from a ship onto the shores of the United States, while Uncle Sam stands by remarking, "I am afraid these people will be the ruination of this country unless I stop them from coming over" (Figure 1.1). In addition to depicting Catholics as a group of immigrants that were infiltrating the United States, Fresenborg also included images suggesting that through the establishment of

Catholic schools, Catholics were creating sites where they could manipulate the minds of the nation's children (Figure 1.2). But Fresenborg's most repeated concern about the presence of Catholicism in the United States was the threat posed by Catholic priests who exhibited sexually predatory behavior.

While *Thirty Years in Hell* was written in a highly sensational style intended to stoke the fears of its readers, the contemporary knowledge of sexual abuse perpetrated by Catholic priests makes one wonder how legitimate Fresenborg's concerns about sexually predatory priests may have been. Fresenborg noted that he himself had had his "faith shaken by the actions of some lustful priest,"[10] and throughout his book he included images that depicted Catholicism as being defined by predatory priestly lust. One illustration showed a "licentious priest" drinking with women, juxtaposed with a respectable Protestant preacher in his home reading alongside his wife and child (Figure 1.3). Another depicted a woman labeled "VIRTUE" being constricted by a lustful snake who had the head of a priest (Figure 1.4), and yet another showed a lustful priest leading a group of women tied together in chains into a nunnery (Figure 1.5). Again and again, it was the predatory sexuality of priests that Fresenborg believed to be the biggest threat to the purity of the United States.

In 1913, similar sentiments could be found in a book entitled *The Pope: Chief of White Slavers, High Priest of Intrigue* by Jeremiah J. Crowley, who identified himself as having been "a Roman Catholic priest for twenty-one years."[11] This book was published by the Menace Publishing Company in Aurora, Missouri, which also printed *The Menace*, an extraordinarily popular anti-Catholic newspaper, which at its peak had a circulation of over 1.5 million readers.[12] Beginning in 1911, each week *The Menace*

published stories that warned readers of a plot being enacted by the Roman Catholic Church to take control over all levels of the United States government. In the world constructed by *The Menace*, the United States was being infiltrated by foreign agents who wished to "Make America Catholic."[13] Historian John Higham notes that even though Catholics in the South were uncommon, many devout Protestants "could often be seen going to church with the Bible in one hand and *The Menace* in the other."[14]

Jeremiah J. Crowley, who was a regular contributor to *The Menace*, dedicated his book to "all men cherishing freedom of conscience; loving freedom of speech; resolved to maintain a press free from popish repression; and to guard Christian homes, with wives, mothers, sisters, and daughters, against priestly lechery and destructiveness."[15] Crowley lamented that the Catholic Church, an institution "claiming to be Christian," presented an ominous threat to the United States of America,[16] because it was a "wrecker of homes, (and) the destroyer of pure womanhood."[17] Specifically, Crowley saw Catholic priests as posing a direct threat to the sexual purity of Protestant women. These concerns were quite similar to other Progressive Era anxieties about protecting the sexual purity of white women, which were famously made evident in films like D. W. Griffith's *The Birth of a Nation* (1915). While D. W. Griffith's film framed black men as the group to be most feared, Crowley focused on the sexual threat posed by Catholic priests, whose social status made them uniquely positioned to prey on Protestant girls. Crowley wrote:

> One of the common priestly boasts is of the ease priests find in seducing Protestant girls attending convent schools. The lecherous priest sometimes fears attempts on Catholic girls or women, who might give him way to a jealous confessor, or denounce him to parents or guardians, but little or no fear has he in making attempts on Protestant girls in convent schools, or on other Protestant women, married or single. For, amongst other reasons, should a Protestant woman accuse a priest of wrongdoing, credulous Catholics would throw up their hands in horror and call it a Protestant plot to destroy the priest. A further result might be

> that the accusing Protestant woman and her family might be forced to leave the neighborhood.[18]

Here we see that those expressing anxieties about Catholicism were not just consumed with a fear of a group of religious people who had allegiances with a foreign leader; they were also focused on Catholicism as a source of sexual impurity that threatened the nation. Again, no matter how sensational the above excerpt may be, it is almost impossible to read these words without considering our contemporary knowledge of the sexual abuse crisis within the Church. While it is difficult to know for certain if these accounts reflected actual instances of sexual abuse committed by Catholic priests, if they did, it would illustrate the horrific scope and timeline of the Catholic sexual abuse crisis in the United States. However, whether these allegations were based in truth or not, authors like Crowley imagined almost everything related to Catholicism as being a part of a conspiracy to destroy the United States of America. Like Fresenborg, Crowley used a number of cartoons to illustrate his feelings about the church, and one of the most striking images in his book was titled "The Papal Octopus." This illustration featured the pope with the body of an octopus, clinging to his infallibility and using his tentacles of corruption, ignorance, bigotry, subversion, superstition, evil, tyranny, and greed to destroy the nation (Figure 1.6). The caption detailed the threat that Catholicism (or as many anti-Catholic writers would say, Romanism) posed to the nation:

> Romanism is a Monster, with arms of Satanic power and strength, reaching to the very ends of the earth, the air of superstition crushing the American child, that of subversion crushing the American Flag, that of bigotry crushing the American Public School, that of ignorance crushing the credulous dupe, that of corruption crushing the law of the land, that of greed grasping public moneys, that of tyranny destroying freedom of conscience, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, all over the world.[19]

To be clear, this cartoon is not a critique of religion in America in general, but a specific insistence that almost every part of American life was in danger due to the threat of *Catholicism*. Images like these were powerful because they were able to distill multifaceted anti-Catholic ideas onto a single page, and they were accessible for individuals who were illiterate or could not read English. But they were also tied to a long history of political cartoons that imagined Catholicism as one of the greatest external, and internal, threats to the United States.

In addition to books like Fresenborg's and Crowley's, anxiety surrounding Catholicism was a regular subject in major national publications like *Harper's Weekly*, particularly during the 1870s in the magazine's political cartoons. One such example is a cartoon from 1875 that depicted the "infallible pope" frowning at the sight of a news posting that referred to compulsory education in the United States, with the caption, "If they put a stop to Ignorance what is to become of Me?" (Figure 1.7). This cartoon was referencing debates about whether the state should provide funding for parochial schools, as well as the anxiety about the growing number of Catholic schools in the United States, which some imagined as a part of a national conspiracy where American children were being educated (or rather *indoctrinated*) by individuals who held allegiance to Rome. Again, confusion regarding the Catholic doctrine of papal infallibility led many to assume that Catholic educators were incapable of exercising any original thought and would therefore just function as a mouthpiece for this foreign leader. Because of this, the Catholic school system was seen as a site where the pope could manipulate the minds of American children.

Later in 1875, *Harper's Weekly* published the work of the iconic cartoonist Thomas Nast, who further illustrated anxieties about Catholic education with "The American River Ganges" (Figure 1.8). This cartoon depicted Catholic bishops crawling onto the shores of the United States, and the horizontal position of their mitres made them appear to be crocodiles coming to consume the nation's children. Again, this image undoubtedly registers differently today, with the contemporary knowledge of the child sexual abuse committed by Catholic priests (particularly in Catholic school settings), but this cartoon was intended to depict the threat of a seemingly hyperpolitical church that had foreign allegiances and was seen to be gaining more and more political power in the United States. The cartoon included the image of a cathedral labeled "Tammany Hall," which was a reference to the New York political group that was instrumental in helping Catholics, particularly Irish Catholics, gain access into American politics.[20] The leader of Tammany Hall was "Boss" Tweed, who was a repeated subject of Nast's cartoons and appears in "The American River Ganges" alongside his partners, lowering Protestant children from a cliff to be eaten by the crocodile bishops below. Additionally, a building marked "U.S. Public Schools" can be seen crumbling and in disarray with an upside-down American flag, and Lady Columbia (the goddess of liberty and personification of America) is being dragged away toward the gallows.[21] For Nast, the development of Catholic schools in the United Sates represented certain doom for both the nation's children and the nation as a whole. And, as the cartoon made clear, the only individual fit to save the nation was the Protestant man, with a Bible in his hand, shielding young children from these predatory priests. Nast's cartoon is important not only as a compelling example of the suspicion and anxiety surrounding Catholicism in America,

but also because it reflects the massive platform that some anti-Catholic media makers had. Nast was raised Catholic but converted to Protestantism, and he was not a fringe artist but one of the most influential cartoonists of the nineteenth century. In addition to his many anti-Catholic cartoons, he is known for originating the donkey and elephant political symbols for the Democratic and Republican parties, and for shaping the contemporary image of Santa Claus.[22]

Catholic Manhood and the First World War

When considering the volume of propaganda that suggested Catholicism was a threat to the United States, the impetus behind John Burke and *The Catholic World*'s call to patriotism is much easier to understand. Burke had a deep sense of urgency to reshape the public imagination of Catholicism in America, and he wanted to fight back against the massive media platform that insisted that Catholicism was at best un-American, and at worst a threat to the nation. Therefore, on the precipice of the American involvement in World War I, Burke believed that if Catholics in the U.S. were well represented among those serving in the military, it would be impossible to make the claim that Catholics were un-American. Similar to the way that a country's military is often used to represent the overall strength of a nation, Catholic leaders like Burke wished for Catholic men's involvement in the military to be seen as proof of Catholicism's worth to the nation. Burke believed that Catholics could use World War I as an opportunity to prove that Catholic men were strong and willing to protect *their* country. This focus on Catholic men's service during wartime was also an attempt to reimagine Catholic manhood. Instead of being associated with a sexually predatory version of manhood that threatened

the nation (the priesthood), Catholic leaders like Burke wished to construct an image of Catholic manhood that was sexually restrained and mature.

Burke also saw the American involvement in World War I as an opportunity for Catholics across the United States to stand united in their shared identity as Catholics and Americans. However, his call for a united Catholic response to the war was complicated by the reality that Catholics in America were far from being a united or homogenous group.[23] Ethnic enclaves of Catholics across the country made for a wide diversity of Catholics in America, making it almost impossible to legitimately speak about Catholics in broad terms. Burke sought to downplay ethnic differences among Catholics when he pointed to the responsibility that Catholics had to serve their country, despite the fact that many of them had not been born in the United States. Burke specifically addressed the precarious situation facing Catholics who were of German descent or birth, who were now being called to fight against their family's native country. Despite this apparent predicament, Burke swiftly assured readers that there should "be no question of the thorough loyalty of the citizens of German blood."[24]

Given the immigrant status of many Catholics in America, it is important to note that 1917 was not just a tumultuous year because of the United States' entry into World War I; it was also a year that included the passage of one of the most expansive restrictions on immigration in American history. The Immigration Act of 1917, which was passed on February 5, 1917, was a wide-sweeping piece of legislation aimed at not just regulating, but restricting immigration into the United States. Central to this act, which has also been referred to as the Literacy Act, was the imposition of a literacy test in which anyone over the age of sixteen could be barred from entering the United States

if they were unable to read a series of words in English.[25] While this act was not explicitly aimed at restricting Catholic immigrants, it made clear that nationalist, anti-immigrant sentiments were no longer just popular feelings or emotions—they were becoming the law of the land.

The combination of widespread anti-Catholic propaganda, the passage of anti-immigrant legislation, and the more generalized swell of xenophobia and nationalism at the beginning of World War I created a feeling of great uncertainty for many Catholics in America. In addition to the fear and anxiety that comes with entering a war, American Catholics were faced with the task of proving that they were a benefit to the nation and were just as patriotic as their Protestant neighbors. But proving this and building any sort of national campaign that could help assert these ideas was complicated by the fact that there was little national infrastructure for the Catholic Church in the United States during this time. While Catholic dioceses existed, there was no national organization of bishops to connect Catholics across the nation, which left Catholic efforts to reshape the popular imagination of Catholicism in America fragmented. To fix this problem, in the fall of 1917, just a few months after John Burke's call to patriotism, the National Catholic War Council (NCWC) was created, and Burke was chosen as the group's first leader. The NCWC was the first national network of Catholic bishops in the United States and it still exists today, but it is now known as the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB).

In addition to helping establish a more unified Catholic response to the demands of World War I, the NCWC also fostered unity between bishops and isolated Catholic communities across the United States.[26] In order to directly aid the war effort, the NCWC

established spaces for relaxation and entertainment for Catholic soldiers at military bases and provided soldiers with meals and religious materials. The NCWC's presence at military bases was designed to help Catholic men maintain their Catholic identity during wartime, and it was modeled on—and structured so as not to be outdone by—similar Protestant-run programs that were offered by the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA). As one advertisement in *Everybody's Magazine* suggested, "The YMCA is Helping Win the War," because the entertainment offered at YMCA huts helped keep men from thinking about the next day's battle, making them better suited to fight.[27] Given this sort of favorable attention highlighting the work of the YMCA, the NCWC wanted to make sure that Catholic men's contributions to the war effort did not go unrecognized, so they worked to develop a Catholic alternative to the Protestant brand of programs offered by the YMCA. Besides offering these direct services to soldiers, the NCWC also worked to demonstrate its commitment to the war effort by earning a seat at the table for important discussions facing the nation. From its earliest days, one of the principal issues that the NCWC took interest in was the specter of venereal disease spreading during wartime.

Venereal disease was the subject of a great deal of panic at the onset of the American involvement in World War I, and it illustrates the connection between concerns about national security and dominant discourses about sexuality. The panic surrounding venereal disease was rooted in a fear that American soldiers would have sex with foreign sex workers, contract diseases, and then spread these diseases when they returned to the United States. This imagined sequence of events was, for some, one of the greatest

possible risks that World War I posed to the United States. As one anti-VD pamphlet created by the American Social Hygiene Association (ASHA) warned:

> Within our own borders, from coast to coast,—from Maine to the Gulf, another stealthy enemy lurks. Its casualty list surpasses that of the German submarine and it rendered most effective aid to Junkerism and its exponents during the war. Venereal Disease is the name of this foe within our gates and no ally of the Kaiser is more deserving of the Iron Cross.[28]

Interestingly, the language used to describe the threat posed by venereal disease (a "stealthy enemy") is quite similar to the language and imagery used by anti-Catholic media makers to describe Catholicism in America. Considering this, the NCWC's attention to the issue allowed them to suggest that VD was the *real* threat to the nation. Through their anti-VD efforts, Catholics could shift the focus away from the idea that Catholicism posed a threat to the nation, and reframe Catholics as actually being protectors of the nation. As alluded to above, one of the reasons VD was imagined as such an ominous threat to the nation was because it was seen as being able to harm both American soldiers and the general American population, upon the soldiers' return. Therefore, the fear was not just that American soldiers' lives were at risk, but that the family and the home (which, as we will see, many Catholic writers saw as the bedrock of American society) were also in danger.

While the NCWC echoed the concerns of the ASHA and the United States War Department about the risks of venereal diseases, anti-VD pamphlets were the subject of a great deal of debate between the NCWC and federal and national medical organizations. A note written by a member of the NCWC levied critiques about a series of anti-VD pamphlets distributed by the War Department because they were "lewd" and a "dangerous thing to put into the hands of millions of men."[29] One of the pamphlets in

question was created by the Office of the Surgeon General and stated in bold letters that "a German bullet is cleaner than a whore! Keep Away From Whores!"[30] The NCWC critiqued the use of such language and expressed a sense of shock that the government had given "official approval to the use of language that they have never before seen in black and white."[31] The NCWC also found these texts to be "dangerous" because they created the "false impression that offenders against the moral law were in the great majority," and gave men "the impression that he who refrains from illicit sexual relations is an exception."[32] This was a problem because the NCWC wanted to address the threat posed by VD in a way that fit with their larger aim of framing the Catholic soldier in a positive light. NCWC efforts to address VD were shaped through the belief that men could be divided into three categories: those who "have knowledge and control" (and thus do not need any pamphlets), those who "will respond to moral and idealistic arguments" (and will therefore be unswayed by these particular pamphlets), and those who are "habitually promiscuous, who have little education and no self-control."[33] In short, the NCWC suggested that the pamphlets distributed by the War Department were only suitable for men who were habitually promiscuous, and that anti-VD pamphlets must be designed in a way that focused on moralistic arguments, as opposed to health or hygiene.

The NCWC's reliance on moralistic arguments made the message quite clear that religious values (which in this case were *Catholic* values) were what could help a man to be fit to fight. While there was little resolution to the debates between the NCWC and national medical organizations, the NCWC nevertheless asserted that they held the authority to offer critiques of these pamphlets because of their involvement facilitating

anti-VD programs during the war, and because, in some cases, Catholic publishing houses were the sites where these pamphlets were printed.

Americanization and the Foundation of the Catholic Media Infrastructure

While the panic related to venereal disease was tied to the American involvement in World War I, the NCWC's desire to have a seat at the table for national discussions related to sexuality also foreshadowed a multiplicity of Catholic efforts aimed at shaping national discourses about sexuality. Despite conflicts over pedagogical methods for educating soldiers about the risks of venereal diseases, the American Social Hygiene Association worked diligently to gain the support of the Catholic Church through their relationship with John Burke and the NCWC. In a letter to Burke in 1918, a representative from the ASHA named Catherine Crimmins noted that World War I had "awakened" people to "the close relation of moral and physical health" and the Catholic Church had had an important role in this educational campaign.[34] Crimmins acknowledged some of the difficulties of advancing the cause of social hygiene through a secular organization and noted that social hygiene literature and educational programs introduced people to "a great truth, but God is left out."[35] She continued by declaring, "no secular organization, no matter how high souled its purpose, or how sane its policy can give this great movement a religious significance."[36]

In the years following World War I, Catholic organizations like the NCWC answered this call and helped create an explosion of media that focused on anxieties related to gender and sexuality. The NCWC created a Department of Press, Publicity, and Literature that helped establish an expanded network of Catholic publishing houses

across the United States. This work was also motivated by the realization that Catholic contributions during wartime did not single-handedly resolve nativist concerns about Catholicism. Therefore, the NCWC believed it was necessary to organize a national Catholic media presence that could serve as a counternarrative or corrective to anti-Catholic media. In addition to bolstering the reach of Catholic media, the NCWC also worked with a publicity, both during and after the war, to disseminate favorable articles about Catholic contributions to the war effort in hundreds of newspapers across the country. While the work of the NCWC was most visibly focused on aiding soldiers during the war, the larger arc of their work was creating a new image of Catholicism in the United States.

Considering the large reach of anti-Catholic media, and that the NCWC chose John Burke (the editor of *The Catholic World* magazine) as its leader, it is unsurprising that the NCWC would see the development of Catholic media as one of its principal focuses. While the NCWC was originally created to meet the demands presented by World War I, Burke always believed that this organization had a greater purpose, including helping to create a national Catholic identity in the United States. Burke was convinced that a national organization like the NCWC could help the Catholic Church in the United States to "think nationally" and could be a vehicle to assert and protect "Catholic interests in public life."[37] Towards this end, upon the conclusion of World War I, the National Catholic War Council became the National Catholic Welfare Council (and in 1922 Council would be changed to Conference).[38]

The establishment of the NCWC was a significant moment because it marked a national organizational shift in the history of the Catholic Church in the United States.

Besides creating a more organized infrastructure for the Catholic Church in the United States, the NCWC is historically significant because it was the largest effort to *Americanize* the Catholic Church in the United States. Because of the swell of religious nationalism and anti-Catholic sentiment in the United States, the NCWC deployed an array of strategies aimed at projecting a more unified and patriotic image of Catholics in America. Historian Patrick Carey observes that while the aforementioned restrictions on immigration that preceded the creation of the NCWC had caused anxiety among many Catholics, they also presented the Catholic Church in the United States with an "unintended benefit."[39] Carey explains:

> By restricting the constant flow of immigrants, Congress had provided Catholics, and especially the consolidating bishops, with some time and space to make corporate ecclesiastical planning possible, develop Americanization strategies for the immigrants they had already absorbed into the church, and stabilize a Catholic community that had been in almost constant flux since the 1880s.[40]

While anti-immigration policies had created a tremendous level of anxiety among many Catholics, they also afforded bishops with the time and space to create a level of organization within the church that had previously not existed. This process of national organizing and the Americanization of Catholics is a critical site for understanding the intersection of the politics of gender, sexuality, and race, as well as the complex relationship between religion, culture, and politics.

It is important to note that the way I use the term *Americanization* differs from the way this term has commonly been used by historians of Catholicism like Carey. Carey uses *Americanization* in a very specific way that actually reflects the historical usage of this term. During the period in which the NCWC was created, *Americanization* was a common word that referred to the programs and services, such as English language

classes, that were offered to help non-English-speaking immigrants become more "American." While this process of becoming seen as a religious group that was fully American is an important part of American Catholic history, I am interested in a broader understanding of the process of Americanization. My use of the term refers to all of the strategies aimed at reshaping Catholicism in the popular imagination of the United States towards a vision of Catholics as being a group of patriotic and fully American people.

As an organization, the NCWC was structured by a series of departments, each of which played a role in asserting Catholic interests in the United States and helping cast a more patriotic image of Catholics in America. In addition to the previously mentioned Department of Press, Publicity, and Literature, the NCWC's Department of Lay Organization was created to coordinate and oversee the religious development of the Catholic laity through groups like the National Council of Catholic Men (NCCM) and the National Council of Catholic Women (NCCW). These groups were instrumental in creating a massive amount of Catholic media that asserted that Catholic and American values were wholly compatible, particularly when addressing issues related to gender, sexuality, and race. The NCWC also had a Social Action Department, which was created to Americanize (in the traditional use of the word) foreign-born Catholics by providing them with educational programs about American government, American culture, and how to embrace Anglo-Saxon society. The Department of Laws and Legislation was created to provide legal services and to research local and federal laws and policies that affected the Catholic Church in the United States, such as policies related to immigration and the federal funding of parochial schools. Relatedly, the Department of Education was created

to expand and protect the development of the Catholic school system, an area of Catholic life that had for years been subject to suspicion.

The "Founding Fathers": Catholic Men and the History of America

Given the NCWC's desire to help cast a more favorable image of Catholicism in America, it is unsurprising that the group was also guided by the work of Fr. John Noll, the founder of the Our Sunday Visitor Press. Noll was chosen to serve as the secretary of the NCWC, and in this role he helped start the Catholic News Service and the *Catholic Hour* program on NBC radio.[41] Like Burke, Noll spent much of his career making Catholic media. Noll founded the Our Sunday Visitor (OSV) Press in Huntington, Indiana, in 1912. Like many other Catholic publishers, the OSV Press made concerted efforts to dispel the notion that Catholics were a menace to the nation and worked to build a case that Catholics had been vital contributors throughout the history of the United States of America.[42] The OSV Press was founded a year after *The Menace* newspaper began circulation, and Noll wanted to promulgate a Catholic response to this sort of propaganda. Noll was particularly moved to start a publishing house in order to "refute the traveling speakers posing as ex-priests or ex-nuns and who appeared in circus-like tent meetings to defame the Church."[43] Like his anti-Catholic opponents, Noll offered to pay a reward of $10,000 to "anyone who could prove the anti-Catholic accusations then being spread by the Ku Klux Klan and others."[44] Noll's approach to publishing was summarized most succinctly when he noted, "Many people who are literally steeped in prejudice would become disposed to embrace the Catholic Faith if

they were approached with charity and kindness, and if the Catholic Church were given a chance to speak for itself."[45]

The OSV Press repeatedly fulfilled Noll's desire to challenge stereotypes of Catholics among non-Catholics, such as the booklet written by Charles W. Meyers entitled *What Catholics Have Done for American Civilization*. This booklet was a collection of articles that had originally appeared in their newspaper, *Our Sunday Visitor*, between 1922 and 1923. While booklet was titled *What Catholics Have Done for American Civilization*, it could have been more accurately titled "What Catholic *Men* Have Done for American Civilization." This booklet reflected the aforementioned anxiety and outsider status felt by many Catholics during the early part of the twentieth century.[46] Meyers, who was once a Protestant pastor before converting to Catholicism,[47] noted that the purpose of this booklet was to "counteract the everlasting howl that Catholics cannot be loyal citizens of our civil government, because they 'owe civil allegiance to the Pope of Rome'!"[48] Interestingly the OSV Press's decision to use a former Protestant pastor to assert its claims mirrored the strategy of many anti-Catholic publishers who had featured the work of former Catholic priests (which was a major source of frustration for Noll). In this booklet, it was Meyers's explicit desire to present non-Catholics with "incontrovertible evidence of Catholic patriotism, by giving the actual record of the part they took in the foundation of our government, and in the development of our American civilization."[49]

One of the primary issues that Meyers addressed was the fact that Catholics in the United States were regarded as foreigners and, by extension, were not recognized as being "good American citizens."[50] Meyers not only challenged the notion that Catholics

were foreign or unpatriotic, but went a step further and suggested that Catholics have actually been on "the very forefront among the propagators and protectors of our American civilization."[51] Meyers also refuted the idea that Catholics should be considered foreigners when he stated, "Catholics were the first white people that ever came to America, and were the first to introduce Christian civilization into our country and to develop a genuine American spirit."[52] This excerpt not only reflects the conflation between Catholicity and whiteness but also points to the idea that Christopher Columbus, a Catholic (insofar as he was a Christian prior to the Protestant Reformation), was the first to "discover" America. Similar to the Knights of Columbus,[53] Meyers based part of his claims of Catholic patriotism on the idea that "the first thing Catholics did for this western Continent was to find it, and name it, and let the world know about it."[54] This sort of rhetoric functioned as a rebuttal to the Protestant myth-making about the founding of the United States, and the notion that "our" ancestors and "Founding Fathers" were all from England.

Meyers, who seemed content to gloss over the fact that the land Christopher Columbus "discovered" was already inhabited by Indigenous peoples, also asserted that Catholics should be recognized for their contributions to American culture because of his belief that civil and religious liberties were values first expressed by Catholic leaders like Lord Baltimore (the founder of the Colony of Maryland) and not the Pilgrim Fathers of New England.[55] But for Meyers, the greatest sign of Catholic patriotism was that Catholic men were valuable contributors in the fight for independence, the preservation of the Union, and protecting the nation abroad during World War I. From Christopher Columbus to Lord Baltimore to the Catholics who had fought in American wars, the

pursuits of Catholic *men* were what Meyers repeatedly pointed to as being the paramount examples of Catholic contributions to American society. But throughout his text, Meyers noted that despite there being knowledge of all of these Catholic contributions to American civilization, Catholics were still the target of suspicion, hostility, and violence. Meyers sarcastically noted that Protestants had historically "appreciated" displays of Catholic patriotism with a number of anti-Catholic incidents, including the burning of the Ursuline Convent in Charlestown, Massachusetts, in 1834 and an incident where an effigy of the Pope had been shot by the Washington artillery in Boston.[56] Meyers also pointed to the work of an anti-Catholic organization called the Native American Party and incidents where Catholic churches and seminaries had been burnt and desecrated.[57] Similarly, Meyers highlighted the Know-Nothing party, which he saw as an extension of the Native American Party, and their history of "patriotic violence," including the Bloody Monday riot in Louisville, Kentucky, in 1855. This was one of the instances where anti-Catholic nationalism turned lethal. [58]

Throughout Meyers's overview of anti-Catholicism in American history, he acknowledged that while the "*forms* of persecution have varied at different times, the *spirit* has always been the same."[59] Likely due to his Protestant roots, Meyers was careful not to shape his entire argument about the plight of Catholics in America by only pointing to Catholic voices on the subject. In one case, Meyers referenced a letter written by Abraham Lincoln in 1855 that acknowledged Lincoln's distaste for discrimination, including anti-Catholicism. Lincoln wrote:

> I am not a Know-Nothing. That is certain. How could I be? How can any one who abhors the oppression of negroes, be in favor or degrading classes of white people? Our progress in degeneracy appears to me to be pretty rapid. As a nation, we began by declaring that "*all men are created equal*." We now practically read

> it "all men are created equal, *except negroes*." When the Know-Nothings get control, it will read "all men are created equal, except negroes, and *foreigners, and Catholics*." When it comes to this I should prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretense of loving liberty (to Russia, for instance), where despotism can be taken pure, and without the base alloy of hypocracy [*sic*].[60]

Here Meyers attempted to bolster his claims about anti-Catholicism by identifying Abraham Lincoln as someone who was so upset by the hostility directed towards "negroes, and foreigners, and Catholics" that he might leave the country. It is interesting to note that when Meyers quoted this letter from Lincoln, he omitted the words "to Russia, for instance." This was possibly due to an awareness that, due to postwar nativism and growing anxieties about communism, readers might not appreciate Lincoln's distaste for the ill of anti-Catholicism if in the same breath he (even jokingly) had been entertaining a move to Russia. Additionally, it is worth noting that, like Meyers, Lincoln's reference to degrading "classes of white people" was another instance of the conflation between Catholicism and whiteness.

Meyers's booklet was a call for a heightened appreciation of Catholic involvement in American history, but it was also a reflection that recounting this history had not proven to be a successful strategy for demonstrating Catholic patriotism. Simply put, if the story of Christopher Columbus or Catholic service during American wars were known facts, then they were not proving to be successful in making the case that Catholics were as patriotic as their Protestant neighbors. At times Meyers would suggest that Catholic contributions to American life were widely recognized, but then proceed to detail all of the instances in which American Catholics were still the target of anti-Catholic hostility. The question is, then, why were Catholics still seen as unpatriotic if their service to the nation was so widely recognized? One answer might be that while

some may have commended the Catholic contributions to American civilization that Meyers highlighted, these contributions were wholly indistinguishable from Protestant contributions to American life. While Catholics could point to Columbus "discovering" America, Protestants had their own group of historical heroes in the "Founding Fathers," the architects of the nation's Constitution and values. Similarly, while Meyers could express pride about Catholic military service, it did not distinguish Catholics from other groups or make them exceptional Americans.

Models of Morality: The Catholic Family and the Protection of the Gendered Order

In the years following the publication of Meyers's booklet, fewer and fewer Catholic media texts asserted the case that Catholics were good Americans because of their service during the war. While World War I was not a distant memory during the mid to late 1920s, it did not consume the collective consciousness of the nation in the same way that it did during the war and its immediate aftermath. Therefore, Catholic media makers had to look to other strategies to prove that Catholics helped strengthen the nation. In the 1920s one social issue that Catholics could not convincingly align themselves with was the cause of temperance and prohibition. On top of long-standing stereotypes of the "drunk Irishman," Catholics and Protestants diverged on the issue of prohibition because Catholic moral theology simply did not suggest that it was inherently evil or immoral to consume alcoholic beverages. Catholic newspapers made it quite clear that Catholic Church teaching did not condemn the consumption of alcohol, and this simply fueled the fire of anti-Catholic media makers. In the aforementioned book *The Pope: Chief of White Slavers, High Priest of Intrigue*, Jeremiah J. Crowley included a

series of photographic copies of beer advertisements found in copies of Catholic newspapers and magazines, including a Budweiser ad from a 1912 copy of *The Catholic Telegraph* newspaper.[61] For Protestants who equated sobriety with morality, specifically sexual morality, Catholicism represented the antithesis of their values. Some Catholics did support prohibition; however, as Patrick Carey notes, "many Catholic leaders continued to believe that moral persuasion, rather than legislation, was a more effective remedy against the evils of intemperance and alcoholism."[62] Because Catholics during the 1920s could not depend on proving their patriotism through moral issues like prohibition, they relied on other social issues that were tied to popular ideas about gender and sexuality.

At the same time that John Noll and the OSV Press were working to confront anti-Catholic prejudice, another group of Catholics across the country were working to combat anti-Catholic propaganda. As noted earlier, Catholic education was a hotly contested issue and a regular focus of anti-Catholic cartoons and publications. In addition to newspapers like *The Menace*, the Ku Klux Klan created and circulated anti-Catholic propaganda to gain political influence and shape popular opinion regarding Catholicism and education. One of the most notable examples of this occurred in the state of Oregon. In 1922, the Oregon Compulsory Education Act was introduced as a way to shut down Catholic schools and require all children to attend public schools, and it was passed in large part due to the anti-Catholic campaign orchestrated by the KKK. Incensed by the public sway of the KKK, the archbishop of Oregon City, Alexander Christie, established the Catholic Truth Society of Oregon just days after Oregon voters had cast their ballots for the statute. The society's goal was to publish and distribute material that would serve

as a response to the anti-Catholic campaign of the KKK and to "provide Catholics and non-Catholics alike with information about the Church and the activities of its educational and charitable institutions."[63] Eventually, the Catholic Truth Society of Oregon would become the Oregon Catholic Press, one of the largest publishers of Catholic worship programs and hymnals in the United States today.

Within its first three years, the Catholic Truth Society of Oregon fired back at anti-Catholic media makers by distributing a quarter of a million pamphlets about the Catholic Church across twenty-five states, as well as parts of Canada and the Philippines.[64] In the September 1924 issue of the *National Catholic Welfare Conference Bulletin*, the society was lauded for its work confronting "a motley group of anti-Catholics" that "have been conducting an outrageous campaign of falsehood against the religion, the patriotic loyalty, even the morality of Catholics in America."[65] The article went on to say that an "important fact must not be overlooked: that the poison instilled into the public mind remains there indefinitely unless an antidote is injected."[66] For the Catholic Truth Society of Oregon, Catholic pamphlets were their antidote of choice, and from their earliest days they created pamphlets focusing on issues related to marriage, sexuality, the home, and family life.

In its very first year of existence, the Catholic Truth Society of Oregon published a series of pamphlets written by a Jesuit priest named Martin J. Scott, which originally appeared as chapters in his book, *You and Yours: Practical Talks on Home Life*. This book, and pamphlet series, offered specific instructions for mothers, fathers, sons, and daughters on how to create a strong Catholic home. The foundation of Scott's philosophy on how to build a strong home was rooted in controlling one's sexuality and the

maintenance of a stark gendered division of labor. Scott's writing was motivated by an anxiety that "the home is not now what it used to be"[67] and the "old-fashioned home is going, or gone."[68] These sentiments sound quite similar to individuals today who lament the loss of the "good ol' days" or want to return to the ambiguous and unspecific time when America was "great." Scott's concerns were focused on "movies, automobiles, trolleys, golf, sensational magazines, woman suffrage, and women in business, sport, etc."[69] For Scott, technology, the modernization of transportation, and the fight for women's rights were the things that were breaking families apart and harming the nation. In other words, Catholics and immigrants were not at fault, but modern technology and shifting norms related to gender. Scott's anxieties about women's rights reflected a fear that the gendered order was being disrupted, and his solution was to focus on the home as the most critical site in which to correct these "problems" in society.

Throughout this series of pamphlets, Scott detailed differences between men and women that he believed to be fundamental and essential. Scott asserted that men are "stronger by nature, and must be ready to support the weakness of [their wives]," while "women are by nature, more sensitive than men" and "are so delicately and exquisitely constituted that the least thing may, at times, upset them beyond all measure."[70] Scott offered no evidence to support these essentialist and overtly sexist claims, but simply presented them as universal facts that must be respected. He stressed that if individuals failed to build their homes upon this idea of stark gendered difference, they placed their marriage and home on the brink of destruction. But for Scott, nothing was more destructive to a marriage or a home than the prevention of human life—as he put it, "In

God's sight, race suicide is a perversion of one of His most sacred institutions for mankind."[71]

That a priest would write a pamphlet in opposition to abortion is not particularly surprising or noteworthy, but his use of the term *race suicide* is worth reflecting upon. Given the popularity of eugenics and scientific racism during this time period, his framing of abortion as race suicide was a clear nod to those who held anxieties about what they saw as the extinction of the white race. While supporters of eugenics saw abortion and birth control as the means by which inferior "stock" could be eliminated from the human race, Scott's critique of birth control and abortion as race suicide was a subtle way for him to allow Catholics to assume the category of whiteness. Simply put, by rejecting race suicide, Scott could align himself (and by extension Catholics) with those who wanted to preserve the white race, even though many Catholics would not have been considered white by the standards at the time, and would therefore have been counted among those who were seen as less desirable by proponents of the eugenics movement. Therefore, Scott's rejection of abortion and birth control was likely motivated not just by moral or ethical beliefs, but also by the fear of anything that might reduce the Catholic population in the United States.

Yet Scott's panic over race suicide was not just about the potential extinction of the white race or Catholics in the United States. Scott asserted that marriages and homes must be predicated on stark gendered difference; abortion presented a major problem, as it made it possible for women to erase one of their most fundamental differences from men: their ability to get pregnant. Here, abortion was not just regarded as being morally problematic because it violated Catholic teachings about sexual ethics and conception,

but because it was seen as disrupting or dissolving the gendered order. The fact that abortion was listed alongside other perceived problems in society like women's suffrage shows how it was imagined as being connected to other social shifts that dissolved parts of the social stratification between men and women.

For authors like Scott, and publishers like the Catholic Truth Society of Oregon, it was important to cast Catholics in a favorable light and present them as being strong contributors to American life. Scott accomplished this by insisting that Catholic values created strong homes, and that strong homes created a strong nation. In the very first sentence in his pamphlet series, Scott asserted that both the nation and the Church would benefit from creating strong homes. He continued in this vein, stating, "a nation will be very much what its homes are" and "patriotism must begin at the fireside."[72] Again, when considering the historical context, including the general uneasiness surrounding the status of Catholics in America, Scott's strategy of highlighting Catholic patriotism and contributions to American life is quite unsurprising. While at first glance pamphlets like these may appear to be just religious self-help literature for Catholics, it is important to understand that they were also a part of the larger political project aimed at recasting Catholicism in the popular imagination of the nation.

In the world created within these pamphlets, Catholics were model American citizens who held the key to having a successful marriage and home: their religion. Specifically, authors of Catholic pamphlets regularly made the case that Catholic values on gender and sexuality (which often had racial undertones) were the foundation to a strong home and a strong nation. This series of pamphlets pointed to modern life as being a threat to the nation, but Scott assured readers that Catholic values related to family life

and the home were what could save the nation. For Scott, the preservation of the home and the protection of the gendered order was what Catholics were called to do to be both good Catholics and good Americans. He argued that when a family embodied these values, the home would be made of "vigorous and patriotic people."[73] It is important to remember that while Scott may not have originally written these pamphlets as a direct response to the KKK's anti-Catholic propaganda in Oregon, the Catholic Truth Society of Oregon used his writings in their quest to prove that Catholicism was good for American life. In this way Catholic pamphlets served a double purpose: they were not only religious guides for a growing Catholic population in the United States, but also a way to present a very patriotic image of Catholics to non-Catholic readers.

Considering this, it is important to pause and reflect on the notion that pamphlets like these do not necessarily offer a *reflection* of American Catholic home life, but instead are *constructions* of what Catholics in America should be like. Given all the differences among Catholic families—from socioeconomic status, to ethnicity, to citizenship status—there was a remarkable diversity among Catholic families in America. So much so, that speaking about any prototypical Catholic family would be impossible. Therefore, Catholic pamphlet literature should be understood as projecting a highly curated image of Catholics in America that cast Catholics and their values as the solution to American social problems. For authors like Scott, the maintenance of gendered structures within the home, and having a rigid control over one's sexuality (a value that was also present in earlier anti-VD literature), was how Catholics could make strong homes, demonstrate their patriotism, and even save their country.

The Catholic Church versus the "Sex Problem"

Similar to this series of pamphlets published by the Catholic Truth Society of Oregon, a 1925 pamphlet entitled *Broken Homes*, written by a Jesuit priest named Francis P. Le Buffe, focused on Catholic values surrounding marriage, sexuality, and the home. *Broken Homes* was a transcript of a speech that Le Buffe had given at the 26th Annual Session of the New York State Conference of Charities and Correction, and it was also printed in the *Catholic Mind* magazine, but it received wide circulation as a pamphlet published by the America Press in New York City.[74] The America Press, which also published the Catholic magazine *America* (which is still in print), branded itself as offering readers "Sound Reasonable Views—Staunch, True American Views—Straightforward Catholic Views." This branding directly resisted the notion that it would be mutually exclusive to be reasonable, truly American, and straightforwardly Catholic. The publication also noted that a majority of its articles were written by non-Jesuits and specifically offered lay scholarship.[75] This designation was no doubt a nod to any non-Catholic readers who were fundamentally disinterested in reading texts written by Catholic priests.

In this pamphlet, Le Buffe remarked that "the family is the very bed-rock of civilization, that with it pure and intact, civilization is intact, and with it gone, civilization is no more."[76] For Le Buffe, the home was the strength of the nation, and no group epitomized this strength more than Catholics. Le Buffe also believed that marriage represented the "blending of two distinct and yet mutually complementary souls," and "the very basis of the family lies monogamy, the abiding union of one man and one woman."[77] The value of monogamy and heterosexuality (a word he did not explicitly use)

was repeatedly stressed by Le Buffe, as he asserted that while "there have been and are deflections, many and varied, and at times degrading deflections from this ideal," heterosexuality and monogamy represented "the most universal form of marriage."[78] Le Buffe positioned his endorsement of monogamy and heterosexual marriage in opposition to the work of nineteenth-century anthropologists like Johann Jakob Bachofen, John McLennan, and Lewis Morgan, whose work offered insights into the history of ancient matrilineal family structures and marital relationships that were not monogamous.

While *Broken Homes* included no shortage of moralistic arguments, Le Buffe shaped his much of his speech as more of an intellectual engagement with the academic literature about marriage and sexuality of the day. Le Buffe challenged the notion that "the human race began with a state of sexual promiscuity wherein men and women mated as animals do," and aligned his philosophy on marriage with the work of the evolutionist Edvard Westermarck. In his book *The History of Human Marriage*, Westermarck declared, "Even if there really are or have been peoples living in a state of promiscuity, which has never been proved and is exceedingly hard to believe, these people do not afford evidence whatever for promiscuity having ruled in primitive times."[79] While Le Buffe seemed to recognize the historical existence of sexuality outside of monogamous heterosexuality, he believed that shining a light on this reality would encourage more people to explore their other options. As he bluntly put it:

> Nasty things become less nasty when we meet them often, and so the current fashions of marital infidelity and its inevitable disruption of family unity both physical and psychic will grow more prevalent if the unity of the marriage-tie between one man and one woman, abidingly respected and abidingly observed, be not insisted upon.[80]

Interestingly, Le Buffe suggested that the prevalence of sexual promiscuity may be a historical myth, but also asserted that unless the "marriage-tie between one man and one woman" be *insisted* upon, then promiscuity is inevitable. While Le Buffe was attempting to project monogamous heterosexuality as a historical and contemporary norm, he also unintentionally provided a perfect illustration of the compulsory nature of heterosexuality, which would become a point of focus for feminist theorists during the 1970s and 80s.[81] Le Buffe wished for monogamous heterosexuality to be seen as a norm, but his work also demonstrated that it was a norm that had to be insisted on. Additionally, the previous excerpt illustrates how Le Buffe's concern mirrors the issue that the NCWC had taken with anti-VD pamphlets during World War I: if certain sexual practices were written about in pamphlets, these "nasty things" would actually become more prevalent or "less nasty." In subsequent chapters this is an important note to keep in mind, because it helps explain why the vast majority of Catholic media commentary on homosexuality (or sexuality outside of heterosexuality) was in fact silence.

Le Buffe's speech and subsequent pamphlet was an incredibly sensational tirade about the almost existential threats that a disrupted gendered and sexual order presented the nation. This was no doubt a response to the explosion of the jazz culture and flapper fashion espoused by many women in the 20s, and Le Buffe believed that the United States was heading towards certain doom. As he saw it, "fashions are tolerated today, pictures are printed in our daily papers and on the covers of our magazines which would have been matters for arrest a few years back," and "motion pictures are frequently either lewd or frankly suggestive, and many of our plays on the so-called legitimate stage are utterly pornographic."[82] Also, after noting the relatively futile impact of prohibition laws,

Le Buffe went so far as to say, "high-school parties now are such that a public official said that no such things occurred in 'red-light' districts years ago."[83] Interestingly, the zeal that characterized Le Buffe's words was quite similar to that found in earlier anti-Catholic publications, as well as literature supporting Comstock laws.[84] Again, instead of Catholicism posing the existential threat to the United States, Le Buffe asserted that sexual promiscuity (and implicitly homosexuality) was the true threat to the nation.

Le Buffe's pamphlet was not the only one published by the America Press on the topic of marriage and sexuality. In 1927 one could purchase an entire series of pamphlets on marriage and sexuality, including *The Shackles of Wedlock*; *Eugenics: Problems of Sex*; *The Catholic Doctrine of Matrimony*; *The New Morality and the National Life*; *The Heart of a Holy Woman*; *Courtship and Marriage*; *Modern Morality-Wreckers*; *The Tangle of Marriage*; *The Wedding Ring*; *Race-Suicide and Birth Control*; and *Birth Control is Wrong!* In each of these pamphlets, sexuality and marriage were framed as being in trouble, and popular ideas about race were threaded throughout in both implicit and explicit ways. Nowhere was this the case more than the aptly named pamphlet *The Church and the Sex Problem*. This was a printed version of a lecture given by a Jesuit priest named Richard H. Tierney at a meeting of the American Federation for Sex Hygiene.[85] Building on previous inroads made between the NCWC and national social hygiene organizations, Tierney praised the work of the American Federation for Sex Hygiene due to their shared concerns over teen sexuality, but he ultimately expressed that their work was incomplete.

Throughout this pamphlet, Tierney noted that a man's physical health is not the only thing at stake with regard to sexuality, but also the "fate of his immortal soul."[86]

Tierney implored those who educated young people about sexuality to focus not only on the intellectual elements of sex, but also the ethical. His concern was rooted in a belief that people seem to understand the potential physical consequences (such as disease) following sex, but not the moral consequences. For Tierney, the goal was not to shape people's sexual behaviors by any means necessary, but specifically to shape their sexual beliefs and behaviors through Catholic values. Tierney lamented the fact that an advocate of sexual hygiene had remarked, "I confess that I am not moral, but I am hygienic."[87] So while Tierney and the American Federation for Sex Hygiene may have agreed that sex was something that needed to be managed and controlled, Tierney told the federation (and by extension, readers of the pamphlet) that "Christ, not hygiene, saved the world" and that "Christ, not hygiene, will cleanse the world and keep it clean."[88]

Tierney also spoke specifically about the film industry and the 1914 film *Damaged Goods*, which he lauded for its assertion that "knowledge is not a protection against passion."[89] Tierney believed that this sentiment needed to inform all sexual education. Similar to the divide between the NCWC and the ASHA a decade earlier during World War I, Tierney believed that he and the federation shared similar goals (controlling and managing people's sexual behavior), but their approach to solving the problem were very different. Tierney remarked, "it appears to me, not only will the detailed teaching of sex hygiene prove ineffective of the very noble purposes in view, it will even thwart that purpose."[90] Like other Catholic pamphlet writers, Tierney believed that detailed conversations about sex would actually cause more people to want to have sex. For Tierney, any detailed description of sex, even if it was in the interest of sexual hygiene, was a problem because "the sex passion is for the most part aroused through the

imagination."[91] For similar reasons, sexological literature during this period was often restricted to medical and legal audiences. This strategy is also used in contemporary abstinence-only sex education programs, which often avoid any detailed description of sex.

Tierney reiterated this point when he noted that "the detailed teaching of sex hygiene, especially if it be done through book and chart, will make a strong impression on the young imagination" and that "sensuous images will crowd the faculty as bats crowd a deserted house."[92] While it is difficult to imagine how one could create a curriculum about any topic without mentioning or describing that topic, Tierney believed that "we cannot afford to concentrate the attention of our children on sex details" and that "safety lies in diverting their attention from them."[93] Here, Tierney regarded silence as being safety, for children, and went further by noting that saying "the safety of most adults . . . [also] depends on the same process."[94] Tierney also made specific calls for educators to "eliminate from your lectures the details of sex hygiene; cast aside text-book and chart," and instead "teach them that purity is noble and possible; that vice is vile and carries with it its punishment; that marriage is inviolable; that the family is sacred."[95]

Moreover, Tierney believed that sexual education must be built upon the premise of stark gendered difference. For boys, Tierney called on educators to "teach them that their bodies are vessels of honor," that they are "made in the image and likeliness of God," and to train them "from their early years to reverence womankind, to fall down in veneration before motherhood, God's sweet gift to women."[96] For girls, Tierney asked educators to "teach them reserve, modesty in manner and dress" and declared, "in their purity and self-sacrifice lives *the hope of our beloved nation*" (emphasis mine).[97] So,

according to Tierney, while boys are created in the image and likeness of God and called to respect women, insofar as they are able to be mothers, girls are made to demonstrate reserve, modesty, and a commitment to purity—and in doing so, preserve the hope of an entire nation!

In addition to his beliefs about sexual education, Tierney called for the movement for social hygiene and sexual morality to go further and "purge the press, cleanse the novel, elevate the theatre, abolish animal dances, [and] frown on co-education after the age of puberty."[98] In the decades following this pamphlet, the Catholic press as a whole would answer this call. From the expanding network of Catholic publishers to the advent of Catholic radio and television programs, ideas about gender and sexuality would become pervasive throughout Catholic media. In addition to Catholic-created media, a series of Catholic efforts to shape the secular or mainstream media would also be taken up, including the work of individuals like Daniel A. Lord and organizations like the Legion of Decency, who worked to "cleanse" the motion picture industry.

Al Smith and the Fear of a Catholic President

As the 1920s drew to a close, Catholic efforts to assume a more central place in American social and political life seemed to be taking shape and having an effect. This was evidenced most by Al Smith's 1928 run for president. Al Smith (who was the governor of New York at the time) was the first Catholic candidate for president to be endorsed by a major political party, and he was famously endorsed by legendary baseball player Babe Ruth. However, Smith's campaign was met with a wave of anxieties around

the idea of electing a Catholic as the president of the United States. As Robert A. Slayton explains in *Empire Statesman: The Rise and Redemption of Al Smith* (2001):

> The public focused . . . on the fact that he was the first Roman Catholic nominee of a major political party, that he grew up as a second-generation Irish immigrant in the tenement districts of New York City. In every fiber of his being Al Smith personified the new American, and he had always defended the people who shared that mantle. This year, however, he was not looking for entry into a country club or a corporation, seeking instead the biggest prize of all: a title and position that had always been reserved for Protestants of the old stock.[99]

Not only did Smith personify the "new American," he also sparked religious and gendered anxieties regarding marriage. As Slayton notes, "parents were told that if a Catholic was elected, all Protestant marriages would be annulled, immediately rendering their children illegitimate."[100] Additionally, Smith's candidacy triggered anxieties about immigration, as there was a fear that Smith (a descendant of Irish, Italian, and German immigrants) would abolish all restrictions on immigration and welcome in a "horde of immigrants from such races as have already been proved hardest to assimilate."[101]

In a 2011 *New York Times* article entitled "When a Catholic Terrified the Heartland," Slayton further illustrates some of the anxieties associated with Al Smith and his relationship with the papacy. He notes that opponents of Smith "blanketed the country with photos of the recently completed Holland Tunnel, [with] the caption stating that this was the secret passage being built between Rome and Washington, to transport the pope to his new abode."[102] Additionally, Slayton noted that a cartoon that depicted Smith, dressed as a bellboy, bringing whiskey to the pope during a "Cabinet Meeting" illustrated the religious and moralistic fears associated with a Smith presidency.[103]

For many Protestants, Smith embodied everything they feared about the idea of a Catholic in the White House, particularly his stance on prohibition. Smith was a Wet: a

person who was against prohibition because of the belief that it did not curb the problems it sought to address. This was a fact that he did not hide from; one of his campaign buttons said, "Vote for Al Smith, and make your wet dreams come true."[104] Needless to say, this playful use of a sexualized double entendre did not reflect the image of Catholic leadership that many of the aforementioned Catholic media makers had hoped for. Smith's campaign for the presidency would end in a landslide loss, as he was only able to earn 87 electoral college votes compared to Herbert Hoover's 444. In the years following Smith's devastating loss, Catholic media makers would double their efforts to make the case that on matters of gender, sexuality, and race, Catholic and American values were one and the same.

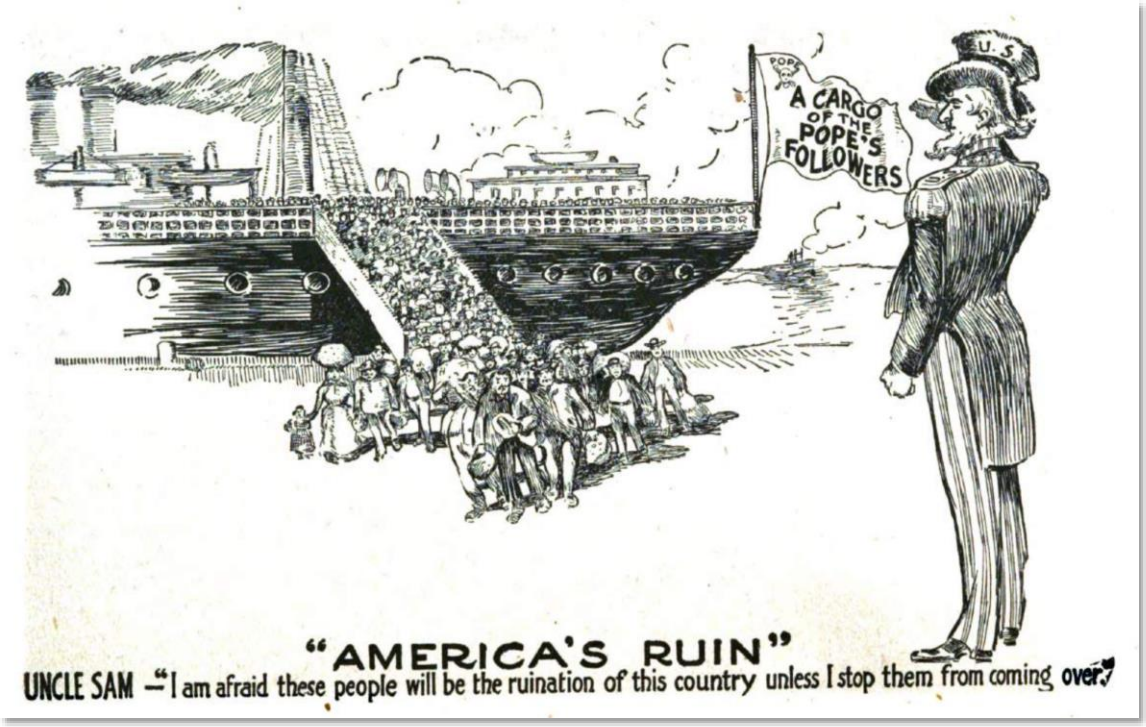

Figure 1.1: "America's Ruin"
From Bernard Fresenborg, *Thirty Years in Hell or, from Darkness to Light* (St. Louis, MO: North-American Book House, 1904), 96.

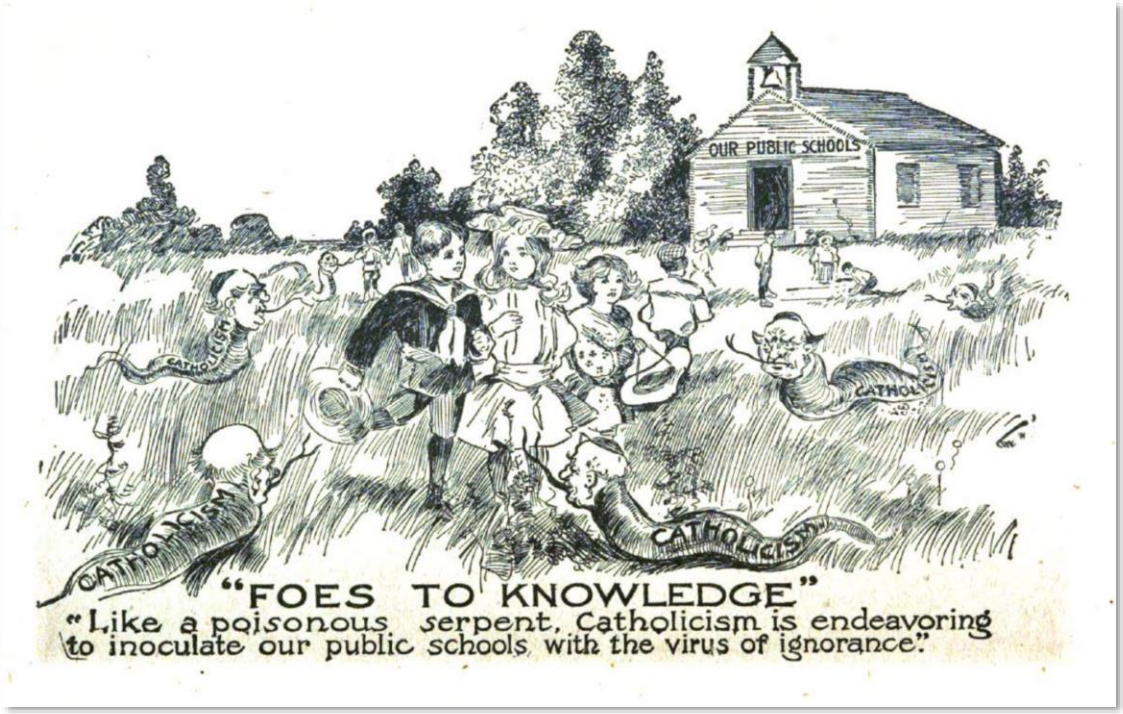

Figure 1.2: "Foes to Knowledge—Like a Poisonous Serpent"
From Bernard Fresenborg, *Thirty Years in Hell or, from Darkness to Light* (St. Louis, MO: North-American Book House, 1904), 192.

Figure 1.3: "The Unmarried Life of the Priest-Craft, compared to the Married Life of Protestant Ministers"
From Bernard Fresenborg, *Thirty Years in Hell or, from Darkness to Light* (St. Louis, MO: North-American Book House, 1904), 50.

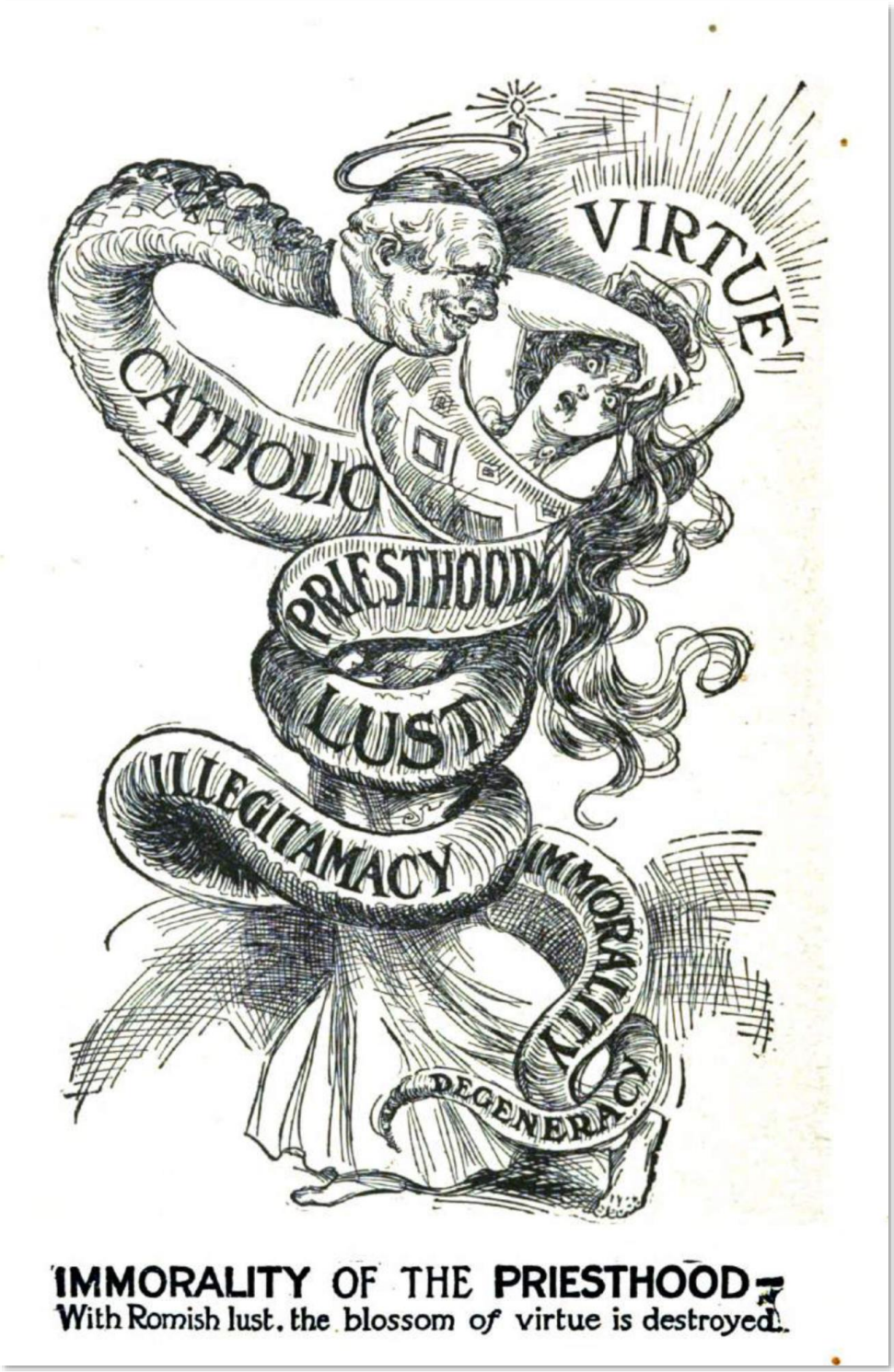

Figure 1.4: "Immorality of the Priesthood—With Romish Lust, the Blossom of Virtue is Destroyed"
From Bernard Fresenborg, *Thirty Years in Hell or, from Darkness to Light* (St. Louis, MO: North-American Book House, 1904), 80.

Figure 1.5: "Save the Girls—Batter Down the Doors of Convents, and the Civilized World Will Stand Amazed"
From Bernard Fresenborg, *Thirty Years in Hell or, from Darkness to Light* (St. Louis, MO: North-American Book House, 1904), 80.

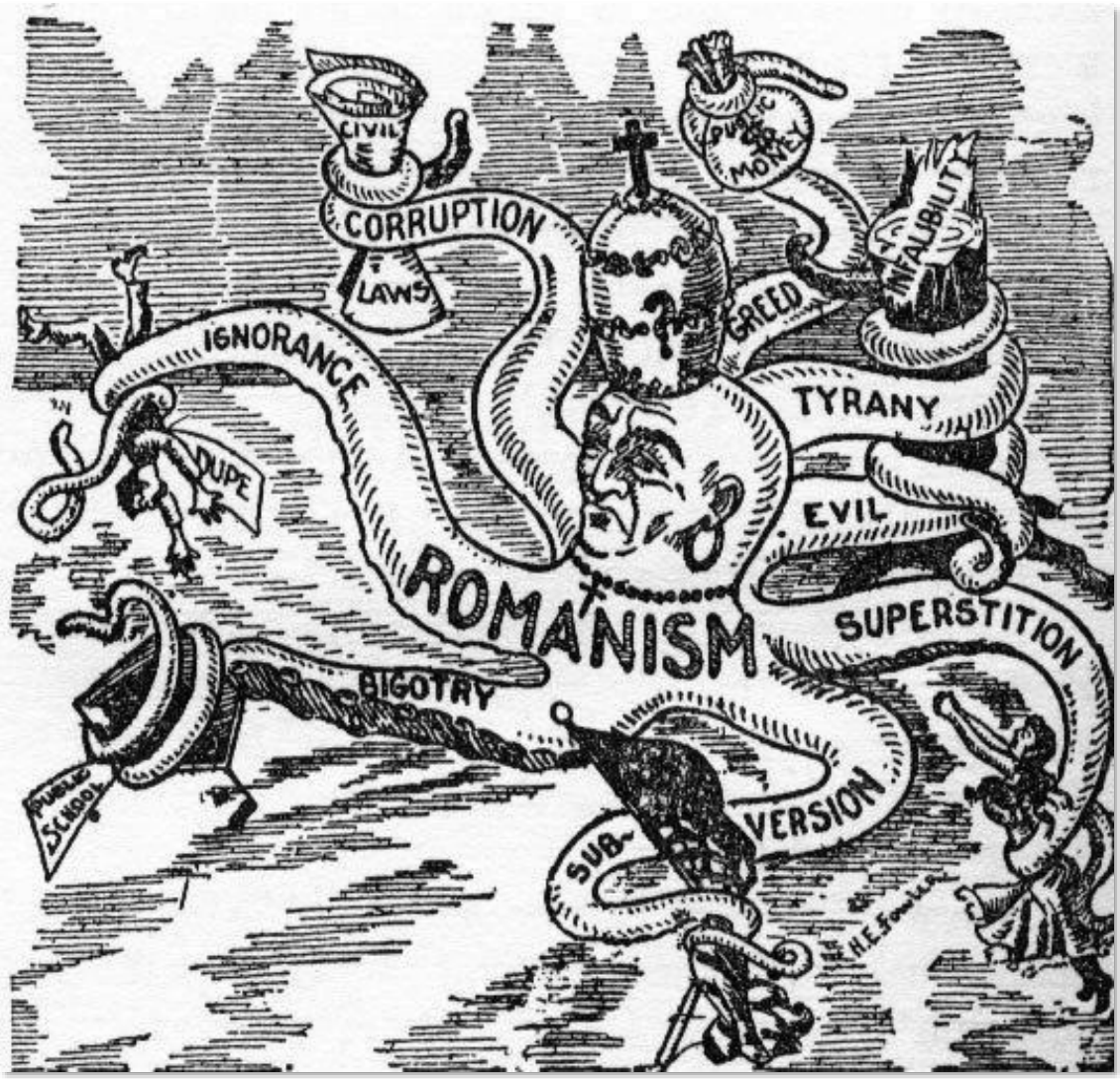

Figure 1.6: "The Papal Octopus"
From Jeremiah J. Crowley, *The Pope, Chief of White Slavers, High Priest of Intrigue* (Aurora, MO: Menace Publishing Company, 1913), 430.

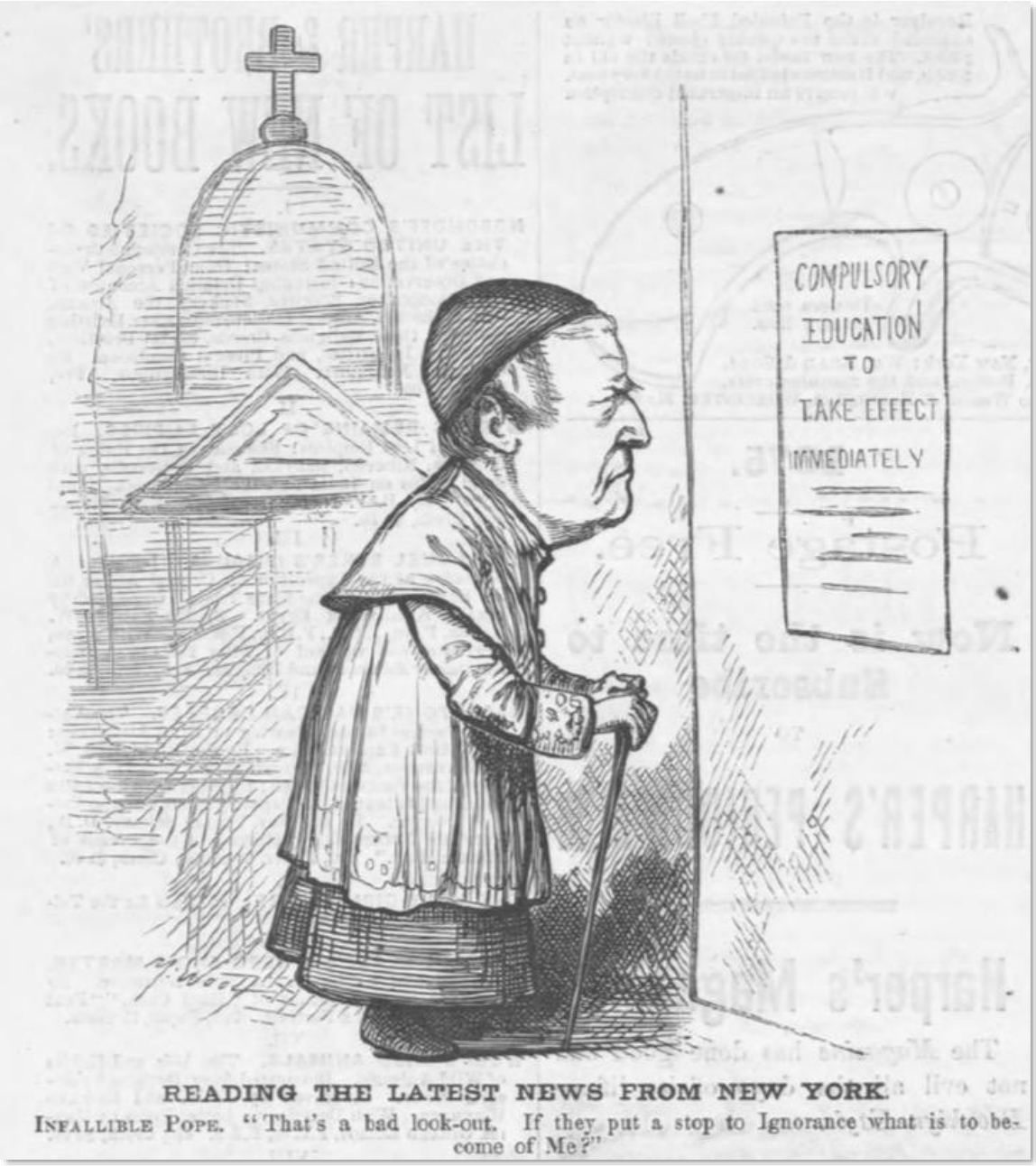

Figure 1.7: "Reading the Latest News from New York" [January 9, 1875], HarpWeek—Cartoons, http://www.harpweek.com/

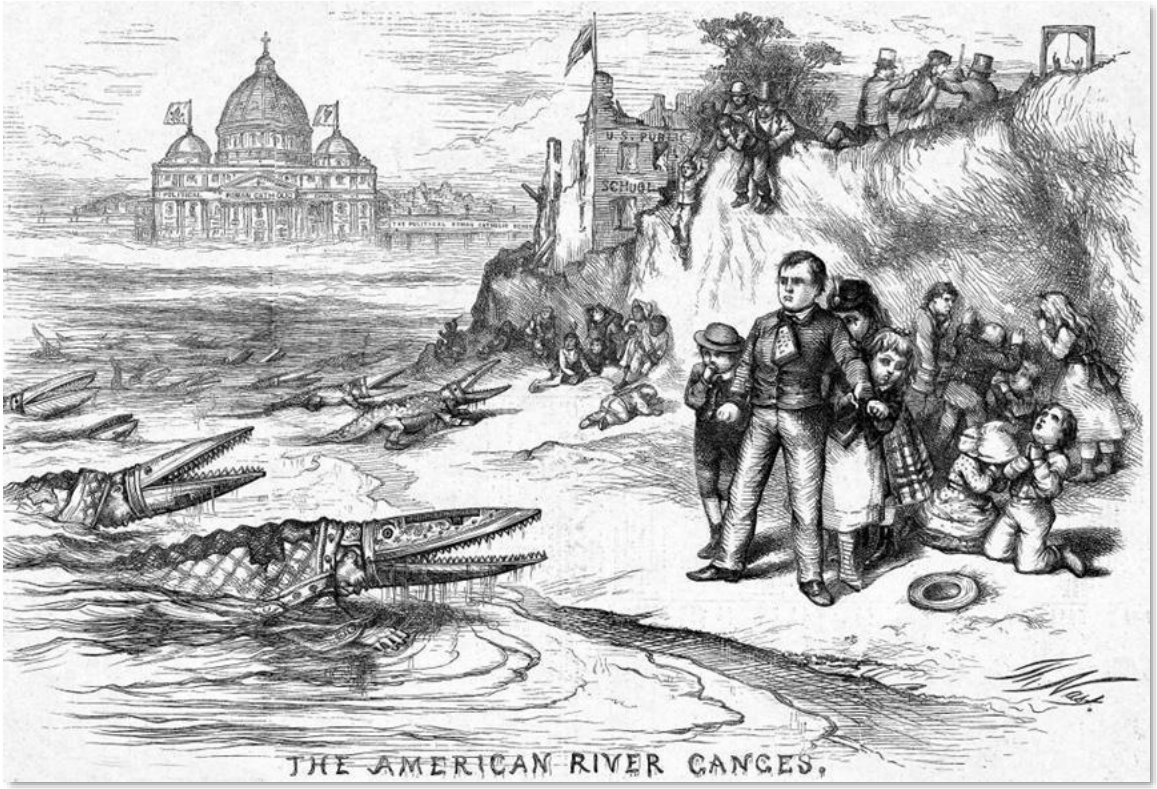

Figure 1.8: "The American River Ganges"
[May 8, 1875], HarpWeek—Cartoons, http://www.harpweek.com/

Notes

[1] The Paulists are a religious order of Catholic priests, founded in New York in 1858. It was the first religious order created in the United States and was formed due to a "desire to help the American people understand the Catholic Church and to help the Church understand the democratic spirit of America." Paulist Fathers, "Our History," accessed December 16, 2018, http://www.paulist.org/who-we-are/our-history/.
[2] John Burke, "The Call to Patriotism," *The Catholic World*, May 1917, 149.
[3] Ibid., 150.
[4] Ironically, today Catholic figures like Cardinal Raymond Burke have referred to restrictions limiting Muslim immigration into the United States as being "patriotic." Robert Duncan, "Cardinal Burke: Limiting Muslim Immigration Is Patriotic," *America* magazine, May 21, 2019, https://www.americamagazine.org/politics-society/2019/05/21/cardinal-burke-limiting-muslim-immigration-patriotic.
[5] Patrick W. Carey, *Catholics in America: A History* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004), 30.
[6] Ibid., 57.
[7] Ibid., 31.
[8] A century and a half after the First Vatican Council, there is still confusion regarding papal infallibility. Often, papal infallibility is interpreted as meaning that anything and everything the pope says infallible. But it is actually the belief that the individual who holds the seat of Peter (the pope) can proclaim Church dogmas infallibly *when in concert with the communion of bishops and leaders of the church*. Since the First Vatican Council there have only been two infallible (or *ex cathedra*) statements made by a pope.
[9] Bernard Fresenborg, *Thirty Years in Hell or, from Darkness to Light* (St. Louis, MO: North-American Book House, 1904), 334.
[10] Ibid., 211.
[11] Jeremiah J. Crowley, *The Pope, Chief of White Slavers, High Priest of Intrigue* (Aurora, MO: Menace Publishing Company, 1913), 16.
[12] John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860–1925* (New York, NY: Atheneum, 1963), 182.
[13] Sharon Davies, "When America Feared and Reviled Catholics," *Los Angeles Times*, October 10, 2010, https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2010-oct-10-la-oe-davies-catholics-20101010-story.html.
[14] Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, 180.
[15] Crowley, *The Pope, Chief of White Slavers, High Priest of Intrigue*, 3.
[16] Ibid., 9.
[17] Ibid., 14.
[18] Ibid., 284–286.
[19] Ibid., 430.
[20] Tammany Hall would later be known as the group that helped launch the political career of Al Smith, the governor of New York who became the first major Catholic presidential candidate when he ran in 1928.
[21] Robert C. Kennedy, "'The American River Ganges' Explanation," *HarpWeek*, 2009, https://www.harpweek.com/09cartoon/BrowseByDateCartoon.asp?Month=May&Date=8

[22] Lorraine Boissoneault, "A Civil War Cartoonist Created the Modern Image of Santa Claus as Union Propaganda," *Smithsonian* magazine, December 19, 2018, https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/civil-war-cartoonist-created-modern-image-santa-claus-union-propaganda-180971074/.
[23] For more on John Burke and Catholic attitudes on World War I, see Thomas J. Shelley's "Twentieth-Century American Catholicism and Irish Americans," in J. J. Lee and Marion R. Casey's *Making the Irish American: History and Heritage of the Irish in the United States*. (New York: New York University Press, 2006).
[24] Burke, "The Call to Patriotism," 150.
[25] Lorraine Boissoneault, "Literacy Tests and Asian Exclusion Were the Hallmarks of the 1917 Immigration Act," *Smithsonian* magazine, February 6, 2017, https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/how-america-grappled-immigration-100-years-ago-180962058/.
[26] Carey, *Catholics in America*, 75.
[27] Clipping from *Everybody's Magazine*, "The 'Y' and the War," box 2, folder 22, Series 1: Muldoon-Burke Files 1891 (1917–1933) 1934, National Catholic War Council Collection, The American Catholic Research Center and University Archives, Catholic University of America, Washington, DC.
[28] *V-D U-Boat No.13!*, box 6, folder 62, Correspondence: Social Hygiene, 1918–1919, #078, Series 1: Muldoon-Burke Files 1891 (1917–1933) 1934, National Catholic War Council Collection, The American Catholic Research Center and University Archives, Catholic University of America, Washington, DC.
[29] National Catholic War Council, "Comments on the Pamphlet V.D.," box 6, folder 62, Correspondence: Social Hygiene, 1918–1919, #078, Series 1: Muldoon-Burke Files 1891 (1917–1933) 1934, National Catholic War Council Collection, The American Catholic Research Center and University Archives, Catholic University of America, Washington, DC.
[30] *Will They Ever Have to Make One Out for You?*, box 6, folder 62, Correspondence: Social Hygiene, 1918–1919, #078, Series 1: Muldoon-Burke Files 1891 (1917–1933) 1934, National Catholic War Council Collection, The American Catholic Research Center and University Archives, Catholic University of America, Washington, DC.
[31] National Catholic War Council, "Comments on the Pamphlet V.D."
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Letter from Catherine Crimmins and the American Social Hygiene Association to John Burke, March 19, 1918, box 6, folder 62, Correspondence: Social Hygiene, 1918–1919, #078, Series 1: Muldoon-Burke Files 1891 (1917–1933) 1934, National Catholic War Council Collection, The American Catholic Research Center and University Archives, Catholic University of America, Washington, DC.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Carey, *Catholics in America*, 75.
[38] Ibid., 76.
[39] Ibid., 81.
[40] Ibid., 81.
[41] Matthew E. Bunson, "The Bish," *The Priest Magazine*, September 2012.

[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Charles W. Meyers, *What Catholics Have Done for American Civilization* (Huntington, IN: Our Sunday Visitor Press, 1924), 1, box 61, Catholic Pamphlets Collection, University of Notre Dame, Rare Books & Special Collections, Notre Dame, IN.
[47] Paulist Fathers, "New Books," *The Catholic World*, October 1920, 122.
[48] Meyers, *What Catholics Have Done for American Civilization*, 1.
[49] Ibid., 1.
[50] Ibid., 2.
[51] Ibid., 2.
[52] Ibid., 2.
[53] The Knights of Columbus is a lay Catholic fraternal organization that was established in 1882; it was named in honor of Christopher Columbus. The Knights of Columbus also sued *The Menace* for libel in 1913. Knights of Columbus, *Knights of Columbus vs. Criminal Libel and Malicious Bigotry* (Boston, MA: Washington Press, 1914) box 48, Catholic Pamphlets Collection, University of Notre Dame, Rare Books & Special Collections, Notre Dame, IN.
[54] Meyers, *What Catholics Have Done for American Civilization*, 2.
[55] Ibid., 22.
[56] Ibid., 63.
[57] Ibid., 64.
[58] Ibid., 64.
[59] Ibid., 63.
[60] Orville Burton, *The Essential Lincoln: Speeches and Correspondence* (New York, NY: Hill and Wang, 2009), 473–474.
[61] Jeremiah J. Crowley, *The Pope, Chief of White Slavers, High Priest of Intrigue*, 339–341.
[62] Carey, *Catholics in America*, 80.
[63] "OCP History," Oregon Catholic Press, June 8, 2018, https://www.ocp.org/en-us/history.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Charles M. Smith, "The Catholic Truth Society of Oregon," *The National Catholic Welfare Conference Bulletin*, September 1924, 24–26, 24.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Martin J. Scott, *The Home* (Portland, OR: Oregon Catholic Press, 1922), 1.
[68] Ibid., 2.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Martin J. Scott, *Husband and Wife*, 1.
[71] Ibid., 7.
[72] Scott, *The Home*, 1.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Francis P. LeBuffe, *Broken Homes* (New York, NY: The America Press, 1925), 1, box 51, Catholic Pamphlets Collection, University of Notre Dame, Rare Books & Special Collections, Notre Dame, IN.

[75] Ibid., 14.
[76] Ibid., 2.
[77] Ibid., 3.
[78] Ibid., 3.
[79] Ibid., 4.
[80] Ibid., 5.
[81] Adrienne Rich, "Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 5, no. 4 (1980).
[82] LeBuffe, *Broken Homes*, 10.
[83] Ibid., 11.
[84] The Comstock laws were a series of federal acts aimed at restricting the circulation of materials (particularly through the U.S. Postal Service) that were deemed obscene or pornographic or were seen as promoting the use of contraceptives.
[85] Richard H. Tierney, *The Church and the Sex Problem* (New York, NY: The America Press, 1927), 3, box 17, Catholic Pamphlets Collection, University of Notre Dame, Rare Books & Special Collections, Notre Dame, IN.
[86] Ibid., 3.
[87] Ibid., 4.
[88] Ibid., 4.
[89] Ibid., 5.
[90] Ibid., 5.
[91] Ibid., 5.
[92] Ibid., 6.
[93] Ibid., 6.
[94] Ibid., 6.
[95] Ibid., 10.
[96] Ibid., 10.
[97] Ibid., 10.
[98] Ibid., 10.
[99] Robert A. Slayton, *Empire Statesman: The Rise and Redemption of Al Smith* (New York, NY: Free Press, 2001), ix.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Ibid., x.
[102] Robert A. Slayton, "When a Catholic Terrified the Heartland," *The New York Times*, December 10, 2011, https://campaignstops.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/12/10/when-a-catholic-terrified-the-heartland/.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Livius Drusus, "The Greatest Political Button of All Time," Mental Floss, April 17, 2015, https://www.mentalfloss.com/article/63044/greatest-political-button-all-time.

CHAPTER 2: An Aspirational Model of Manhood, Marriage and Sexual Morality: Charles Coughlin, Daniel Lord, and the Expanding Boundaries of Catholic Media, 1929–1945

In the wake of Al Smith's devastating loss in the 1928 presidential election, Catholic leaders recognized that they still had a long way to go towards being recognized as fully American. Like other groups outside of the center of American social and political life, the idea of having a member of one's group become president is an often-used measuring stick for how far a group has "made it" in the United States. And if the 1928 presidential election was any indication of how far Catholics had made it in America, they still had a long way to go. On one hand, the fact that a Catholic had secured the nomination for president from a major political party was a massive victory, and a feat that just a few decades earlier would have been difficult to imagine. But Smith only secured electoral votes from eight states, and the magnitude of his loss was a clear indication that, despite the work of the National Catholic War Council and other Catholic contributions a decade earlier during World War I, Catholics were still not entirely fit to represent the nation in the eyes of many Americans. Additionally, Smith's campaign was accompanied by a wave of anti-Catholic media that reminded Catholic leaders that anxieties about Catholicism in America had not dissipated. Throughout his campaign, Smith was routinely depicted as a feckless drunk. In the years that followed, Catholic media makers would work diligently to project an image of Catholic manhood that was strong, moral (particularly with regard to sexuality), and ready to protect the nation.

Throughout the 1930s and 40s, Catholic efforts to reshape popular ideas about Catholics in America were doubled, and an attention to issues related to gender and sexuality were central to this project. As a part of this effort, the Catholic media world

underwent a massive expansion, with an explosion of print media and the adaptation of new media platforms, including radio and later television. In this chapter we will examine this Catholic media expansion and the emergence of new media strategies aimed at helping Catholics assume a more central place in American social and political life. It is important to note that when I use the term *strategy* to describe the work of Catholic media makers, I do not mean that every aspect of Catholic media work during the 1930s and 40s was orchestrated as a part of a meticulously calculated master plan to rebuke anti-Catholicism. Instead, I view the Catholic media work as having the effect of a strategy, regardless of whether or not all Catholic media makers imagined themselves as working towards the same end. In fact, many Catholic media companies saw each other as competitors, not partners in the same project. As we will see in this chapter, not all Catholic media makers utilized the same strategies to cast Catholics in a more favorable light in the eyes of the nation.

While many Catholic media makers continued to make the case that Catholic and American values were wholly congruent, suggesting that Catholics were "good Americans" was proving to not be persuasive enough to change the popular imagination of Catholics in America. One new strategy that some Catholic media makers utilized was far more aggressive: suggesting that Catholics were not a threat to the United States, but groups like Jews and Communists were the *real* threat to the nation. Additionally, Catholic media makers worked to portray Catholics as being models of morality and encouraged Catholics to resist modernity and the sexual debauchery that they believed was sweeping the nation. This work was coupled with covert efforts to make *American values more Catholic* (as opposed to making Catholic values more American) by

injecting Catholic values pertaining to gender and sexuality into mainstream secular media such as Hollywood films. While there was an array of Catholic media strategies aimed at casting a more favorable image of Catholicism in America, issues such as birth control, sexual purity, and the gendered foundation of the home remained in the center of focus.

A War with the Vatican?—The Lingering Presence of Anti-Catholicism

When thinking about the history of anti-Catholicism in America, it might be tempting to imagine the decrease of anti-Catholic sentiment as representing a consistent, steady decline. This sort of logic would assume that anti-Catholicism was by definition more pronounced in 1875 than it was in 1885, or that it was more severe in 1920 than it was in 1930. But social change often does not happen in such a direct and linear way. As the 1920s drew to a close, Catholics still faced a swell of anxiety and suspicion about the presence of the Catholic Church in the United States. This prompted Catholic media makers to intensify their efforts and consider new strategies for casting Catholicism in a more favorable light in the minds of the nation—strategies that often relied on strict gender roles and an emphasis on sexual purity.

One Catholic media maker who was particularly disturbed by the presence of anti-Catholicism at the end of the 1920s was William I. Lonergan, a Jesuit priest and the associate editor of the America Press. In 1929, Lonergan authored a five-part series of pamphlets that reflected on the state of Catholicism in America in the wake of Al Smith's presidential loss. This pamphlet series directly took on the questions of Catholicism's place in the United States, and it included titles such as *Is the Church Arrogant?*; *Is the*

Church Un-American?; and *Is the Church a National Asset?* In each of these pamphlets, Lonergan rebuked the allegations made against the Catholic Church and asserted that Catholic and American values were entirely congruent. Lonergan alluded to the surge of anti-Catholic media during Smith's campaign when he noted, "during the last twelve months and more the public press has been devoting a good deal of space to discussing the question whether or not Catholicism is in harmony with the American spirit, its ideals, traditions, and Constitution."[1] Here Lonergan was referring not only to virulently anti-Catholic publications like *The Menace* (which still existed, but at this point was now called *The New Menace*), but to more mainstream publications that also questioned whether Catholics could be fully American. During this period many Catholics were considered, to use the words of Theodore Roosevelt, "hyphenated Americans." While Roosevelt spoke out against religious bigotry, he also made it clear that Americans should be Americans and "nothing else."[2] To consider oneself (or be seen as) a German-American, an Irish-American, or an Italian-American was to not be *fully* American. This excluded many Catholics from the definition of "100% American." Additionally, Roosevelt had been among those calling for Protestants to avoid "race suicide" by having large families and preserving their "stock" from an influx of immigrants (including Catholics).[3]

In addition to the fact that many immigrant Catholics were seen as ethnically un-American, Lonergan also reflected on the fact that Catholics' allegiance to their religion made them appear to be unpatriotic. Lonergan expressed his distaste with this situation when he lamented that the church was being "represented to the nation as necessarily un-American and antagonistic to everything the word *American* stands for."[4]

While Lonergan did not make any explicit mentions of Smith's presidential campaign, it was clear that the suggestion that a Catholic could not faithfully serve in the role of president was infuriating to him. Lonergan scoffed at the attention paid to the question of whether or not Catholics could pledge allegiance to both their church and nation, and remarked, "It is flaunted in our faces that . . . merely because we subscribe to the doctrines and obey the authority of the Church, we Catholics cannot be wholeheartedly and one-hundred-per-cent American."[5] He continued by noting that Catholics "do make a double profession of unqualified loyalty to the American Constitution and to our Holy Father the Pope. But not every dual allegiance is to be condemned."[6] For Lonergan, the issue with the attention paid to Catholics' dual allegiance was not because it did not exist, but because it reflected a double standard. He argued, "There are Americans in this country [who are] members of Greek and Oriental churches, the head of whose religion is equally a foreigner, yet their political allegiance to the United States is practically never questioned."[7] Lonergan also remarked that members of the Salvation Army, which he characterized as being both a religious and philanthropic organization, are not subjected to suspicion even though "its Commander-in-Chief is a subject of His British Majesty."[8] Regarding the foreign leadership of the Catholic Church, Lonergan also declared, "It matters not that the head of our Church happens to be a foreigner. Tomorrow he could be an American."[9] While this comment was an attempt at making Catholicism appear to be less foreign, the thought of an American Pope probably did not quell anxieties about Catholicism, but likely triggered them.

If one were to imagine Al Smith's loss as a national rebuke of Catholicism, it would be difficult to assert that anti-Catholic sentiments were fringe values. To this

effect, Lonergan noted that the charge that Catholics were un-American was unfortunately "made not only by the ignorant or the bigoted, but by a goodly number of well-meaning and apparently sincere men and women."[10] In an effort to appeal to these "well-meaning" people, Lonergan remarked:

> The K.K.K. is referred to by its defenders as a great American ideal: well, if it is, then Catholicism is un-American. Education without religion is often referred to as something characteristically American; if it is, then, again Catholicism is un-American; the whole educational system of the Church is a forceful repudiation of the principle it implies.[11]

Again and again, Lonergan refuted any idea that Catholics in America could not simultaneously be faithful Catholics and patriotic Americans. Therefore, while the allegations against Catholics that Lonergan highlighted in his pamphlets may seem similar to the ones levied a decade earlier, a section of his pamphlet *Is the Church Un-American?* revealed just how little the anxieties regarding Catholicism had dissipated—and in fact, they may have escalated.

In 1929, just a few months before the America Press published this series of pamphlets, the Lateran Treaty was signed. This was an agreement between the Italian government and the Holy See that established the Vatican's status as an independent city-state. In an effort to answer questions about Catholics' dual allegiance with the Catholic Church (and by extension the Vatican) and the United States, Lonergan included a section about the hypothetical possibility of an American "war with the Vatican." By and large, Lonergan was quick to dismiss this idea, asserting that "the possibility is as remote as that the United States will go to war next week with the little, insignificant principality of Monaco or with Switzerland."[12] Which is to say: remote, but not impossible.[13] While Lonergan attempted to write off this idea as "idle speculation," he did not outright reject

the possibility of a war between the United States and the Vatican. Lonergan posed the question, "But even assuming the fact of a crisis between Washington and the Vatican over some temporal diplomatic problem, what would we Catholics do?" To which he assured readers, "A war between the Vatican State and the United States would not mean that Catholics in this country would have to fight for the Pope against America."[14] While Lonergan repeatedly dismissed this idea as being unrealistic, it is remarkable that he nevertheless felt that he had to address it. However, given the earlier anxieties about race suicide that often framed immigrants, including Catholics, as *invading* the country, the need to address the idea of a war with the Vatican is not too hard to imagine. While topics like an American war with the Vatican were not a major focus of Catholic pamphlets, texts like this reflect the feeling that many Catholic media makers had: that the work to appease American people's fears about the Catholic Church was far from over. As a result, throughout the 1930s and 40s the Catholic media world expanded tremendously, and it was an era that produced some of the most iconic Catholic media personalities of the twentieth century.

Fr. Charles Coughlin and the Advent of Hate Radio

In 1930, millions of Americans became familiar with Fulton J. Sheen through his radio program *The Catholic Hour*. Sheen's radio career would last 22 years, and as we will see in chapter 3, his celebrity skyrocketed even further in the 1950s when he began his weekly television show *Life is Worth Living*, for which he was awarded an Emmy in 1952 for "Most Outstanding Television Personality." While this may seem fairly obvious, it is important to emphasize here how regularly Catholic media during this period was

created by Catholic *men*. Catholic women were certainly involved in the Catholic media world—such as Dorothy Day, who coordinated the production of *The Catholic Worker* newspaper—but they were the exception to the rule. This is unsurprising, particularly when one considers the patriarchal structure of the Catholic Church, in which roles such as the priesthood are exclusively reserved for men. However, the Catholic media world was dominated by both religious and lay Catholic men alike. For instance, while Sheen was the public voice of programs like *The Catholic Hour*, the program was sponsored by a group of laymen called the National Council of Catholic Men. While Catholic men's involvement in Catholic media making is quite unsurprising, it is significant to note because implicit and explicit ideas about *gender* and *manhood* routinely underscored many Catholic media texts during this period.

While Fulton Sheen is unarguably one of the most iconic American Catholic figures of the twentieth century, no one had a bigger audience during the 1930s than the "Radio Priest," Fr. Charles Coughlin—an individual whose work was consistently rooted in anxieties about manhood. Coughlin was a massively popular radio host who reshaped how Americans consumed religious media. He was so popular that he appeared on the cover of *TIME* magazine in 1934 alongside Senator Elmer Thomas of Oklahoma. Coughlin began his radio career in 1926, after the Ku Klux Klan had burned a cross on the front lawn of his Catholic parish in Royal Oak, Michigan. Like other Catholic media makers during the period, Coughlin launched an aggressive media response to anti-Catholic groups like the KKK. Coughlin was bothered by the bigotry of the KKK, but as we will soon see, he seemed to only object to bigotry when he was the target of it. Coughlin's show was called *The Golden Hour of the Shrine of the Little Flower*, and by

the beginning of the Great Depression, he had gained an audience of millions of listeners. While most scholars estimate his audience peaking somewhere between 30 and 40 million listeners, the *New York Times* obituary for Coughlin in 1979 noted that he had an audience of 90 million.[15] In either case, Coughlin had a massive audience, and his meteoric rise in popularity was due to his ability to play on the fears and anxieties of a nation that was experiencing unprecedented financial insecurity. As we will see, the way in which Coughlin triggered anxieties about the economy also held gendered significance, particularly with regard to masculinity, as many men prescribed to a gendered worldview that encouraged them to be providers and breadwinners.

In addition to his radio program, Coughlin also published pamphlets based on transcripts of his shows and printed a periodical called *Social Justice*. Like other Catholic media makers, Coughlin worked to shift his audience away from the idea that Catholicism was a threat to the United States, but he did so by focusing on other groups and issues that he felt were threatening the nation. His radio show was focused on economic materialism, and originally he was a significant supporter of FDR and the New Deal.[16] By contemporary standards, Coughlin's perspectives on the economy and his support for a living wage would be considered more progressive or leftist,[17] but his anxieties about the economy would often morph into radical right conspiracies about the consolidation of wealth where he would make dog whistles to his audience about the evil of usury and international financiers. *Usury* refers to the act of collecting high interest rates from loaned money, and it was a coded reference to the alleged practices of Jewish bankers. *International financiers* was also a coded reference to Jewish people, in a similar way that individuals on the far right today use the term *Globalists*.[18] Coughlin

was vehemently anti-Semitic and did not shy away from any opportunity to point to Jewish people as being the *real* threat to the American people. Much like the anti-Catholic media that had painted Catholicism as the root of all of the nation's problems, Coughlin worked diligently to shift the nation's focus onto Jewish people as being the cause of the nation's problems, particularly the economic problems that led to the Great Depression. During a speech in 1936 at the Cleveland Municipal Stadium, Coughlin called on attendees to be like Jesus (someone Coughlin seemed to forget was Jewish) and "drive the money-changers from the temple!"[19] His anti-Semitism would ramp up throughout the 1930s as he became quite sympathetic to Nazi ideology. Ultimately these sentiments would lead the Vatican to silence him, ending his radio career in 1939. However, for the remaining forty years of his life, he was never defrocked by the Church, and so he was able to continue his life as a priest at his parish in southeastern Michigan.

An article in the *Chicago Tribune* from 1989, a decade after Coughlin had passed away, noted that his radio career was still a sensitive topic for the Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit.[20] The archbishop of Detroit at the time, Edmund Cardinal Szoka, reportedly mentioned at a historical conference at Wayne State University that he was hesitant to approve requests to view Coughlin's papers and said, "One approach has been to quarantine Father Coughlin's papers and pretend he never existed."[21] Another archdiocesan spokesman echoed this sense of shame when he noted that there is "historical embarrassment" and "great regret and shame over the anti-Semitism."[22] Given this, it might be tempting to refer to Coughlin as a disgraced priest. While this may be the case *today*, as Coughlin is widely recognized for being an ardent anti-Semite, during his

career he was somewhat of a cult hero and received a great deal of support, particularly from Michael J. Gallagher, the bishop of Detroit, Coughlin's home diocese.

In 1933, the cult-like devotion to Coughlin was evidenced most by the publishing of multiple biographies of the radio priest, each of which painted an image of Coughlin as one of the greatest minds and orators in the world. In Louis B. Ward's biography of Coughlin, Bishop Gallagher wrote a foreword that showered Coughlin with praise, such as: "Father Coughlin has accomplished much, particularly for the future of mankind and the future of the Church."[23] Gallagher went further, declaring, "I do not term him a national leader, but I prefer to regard him as a world leader. His arguments cannot be refuted nor can his method be withstood."[24] Gallagher even speculated that had Coughlin lived in Russia with his radio equipment, "there would probably be no Communism, no atheism, no 'League of the Godless' there today."[25]

Similarly, in Ruth Mugglebee's biography of Coughlin, the former presidential candidate Al Smith authored a foreword in which he acknowledged that he had the "greatest admiration" for Coughlin and appreciated his service to the "cause of righteousness."[26] But Smith also noted that this biography was an "appreciative study of Father Coughlin, *the man*" (emphasis mine) and introduced readers to "the beauty of his boyhood, the simplicity of his manhood and the dominant power of his life work."[27] And Smith was right—the story of Charles Coughlin was about manhood.

The Golden Hour was an example of a vitriolic form of Catholic media that used racist strategies to redirect the hostility aimed at Catholics onto other groups. And while the content of the radio show is important to examine, Coughlin's style of communicating this content is as well. Coughlin himself was a sort of gendered "text," as for over a

decade and a half, he symbolically entered the homes of millions of Americans and asserted an image of Catholic manhood that declared that Catholic men were mad, and were ready to fight back. Whether faced with hostility from groups like the KKK or financial insecurities rooted in conspiracies about Jews, Coughlin represented a version of Catholic manhood that would not back down. Unlike the Catholic pamphleteers, who used print media to articulate their ideas about Catholicism and identity, Coughlin was able to use his piercing and ferocious tone to speak directly to American listeners.

It is important to consider Coughlin's anger and frustration with the economy during the Great Depression through a gendered lens. Coughlin was a man and he was mad, and he served as a proxy for the millions of men during the Great Depression who felt that something had been taken from them. While the Great Depression of course affected men and women alike, for men who derived their sense of manhood through their work, the 1930s were a particularly difficult time. This is not to say that men *actually* had it harder than women during the Great Depression, but that their anger and frustration expressed during this period cannot be understood as economic anxiety alone. For those who subscribed to a gendered paradigm where men are defined by their purchasing power and their ability to work and provide for their families, the Great Depression was a disruption to both the economic and the gendered order.[28] When reflecting on Coughlin's career, it is crucial to recognize him as being much more than a preacher who happened to be on the radio. Coughlin was a Catholic media maker who was able to transcend pre-existing anti-Catholic sentiments through his ferocious tone and his talent for stoking the fears and anxieties of his listeners. Despite being a native Canadian and a Catholic priest—someone we might expect to be seen as an outsider

rather than a national leader—Coughlin connected with millions of Americans by giving them a new group to hate.

Coughlin's hatred was immortalized when sociologist Donald Warren dubbed him the "Father of Hate Radio" in the title of his 1996 book about the radio priest.[29] Unfortunately, Coughlin's legacy lives on today—talk radio is a media genre that is dominated by angry white men. From Rush Limbaugh to Sean Hannity to Alex Jones, conservative talk radio's most defining characteristic is a white man who yells and weaponizes fear to fuel bigotry. While Charles Coughlin may not be a familiar name among Catholics in the United States today, there has been a recent resurgence in interest in Coughlin. In the buildup and immediate aftermath of the 2016 U.S. presidential election, journalists have drawn parallels between the tactics of Coughlin and that of contemporary right-wing media makers. One web article from *Business Insider* noted the similarities between the mixture of "paranoia, racism, populism, and fascism"[30] that can be found in Coughlin's work and that of contemporary "alt-right" media makers like Steve Bannon.[31]

"Mass" Media: The Expansion of the Catholic Print Industry

While Catholic radio personalities like Coughlin were experiencing a remarkable amount of popularity, the Catholic print industry was also expanding at a tremendous rate. Due to the work of organizations like the Convert Makers of America (CMOA), a comprehensive system and infrastructure for the distribution of Catholic pamphlets was established nationally.[32] The CMOA was a group of zealous evangelical Catholics who wished to establish "a pamphlet rack for the free distribution of Catholic literature in

every public place where there is already a Christian Science or other Protestant literature rack."[33] As a result of their work, Catholic pamphlet racks could be found in Catholic parishes as well as public locations like hotel lobbies, hospitals, libraries, bus stations, and train stations—further illustrating that Catholic pamphlets were not intended to reach an exclusively Catholic audience. Like the pamphleteers addressed earlier, the CMOA saw Catholic pamphlets as a defense mechanism against the ill of anti-Catholicism, and to this end they stated:

> For hundreds of years the enemies of Christ have been spreading lies about his Church. Many sincere people have been taught from childhood to accept these lies as the truth. We must help these people to know the truth and thus free themselves from all prejudice. The literature we use is designed for this very purpose.[34]

And for Catholics and non-Catholics alike, one of the most commonly seen names on Catholic pamphlets across the country was Daniel Lord.

While Coughlin was an immensely popular radio personality, Lord was arguably the most significant and influential Catholic media maker of the twentieth century. It would be difficult to overstate Lord's importance in Catholic and American media history, but he is a figure who has been surprisingly forgotten, and his name is not commonly recognized among Catholics today. For example, in *Catholics in America: A History*, Patrick Carey provides a comprehensive index of important Catholics throughout the history of the United States; however, Daniel Lord's name is nowhere to be found. Still, few Catholic media makers made more of a seismic mark on both the Catholic and secular media world than Daniel Lord.

Lord was a charismatic Jesuit priest who lived most of his life in St. Louis, and he was the single most prolific Catholic pamphlet writer in the United States, having

authored over 300 different pamphlets.[35] In addition to being a prolific writer, Lord was the director and editor of the Queen's Work, one of the largest distributors of Catholic pamphlets in the United States, and it was also the headquarters of the Central Office of the Sodalities of Our Lady.[36] Lord was one of the national leaders of the sodality movement, and in this capacity regularly toured the country giving talks and directing theater productions for these Catholic youth groups.[37] Lord also saw the Catholic youth and the sodality movement as being part of the "Apostolate of the Pamphlet" and believed that "spreading good Catholic literature is certainly a form of active Catholicity."[38]

On the importance of spreading Catholic literature, Lord observed that "communists, socialists, atheists, and many of the Protestant groups know the power of the printed word and broadcast their pamphlets and tracts through the land,"[39] and he wanted to make sure Catholic print was accessible to all. Lord explained:

> A Catholic pamphlet left on a street car, at a library, or in any public place may be a sown seed that will later blossom into a conversion. The pamphlet may be the means of strengthening a fellow Catholic who is wavering in his faith. It may give pause to one on the verge of radicalism or despair.[40]

Towards this end Lord was not only the writer of an incredible volume of texts, but also an incredibly savvy marketer and a meticulously organized media maker. Lord was famous for his pamphlet titles, which seemed to make fun of or dismiss Catholicism. Titles like *These Terrible Jesuits* (1928), *What Catholicity and Communism Have in Common* (1936), and *Don't Marry a Catholic!* (1952) could have appeared at first glance to be anti-Catholic pamphlets, but unsurprisingly, the content of these pamphlets always pointed to the redeeming qualities of Catholicism. Besides crafting titles that would catch the eye of readers, Lord was also very particular about creating visually appealing,

multicolored covers for his pamphlets, as he believed that a glossy and colorful cover was worth the expense compared to plain black and white. In a personal letter where he reflected on the history of pamphlets, Lord noted:

> We have always considered the covers of our pamphlets as one of the most essential factors. When we entered the pamphlet business, the covers of the pamphlets were one color, one tone, extremely unattractive, and the pamphlets were sold entirely on the basis of the content.[41]

In another interview about pamphlet publishing, Lord critiqued other publishers who made pamphlets that were "positively ugly," proclaiming that "in Europe, for the most part, they just don't seem to care about the appearance of their pamphlets, and the majority of them are very cheap and dull in make-up."[42]

In addition to the attention to detail paid to Catholic pamphlet covers, the Queen's Work was also very involved in the sale and distribution of Catholic pamphlet racks themselves. A Queen's Work pamphlet rack was constructed in a way that allowed people passing by to view the entire cover of the pamphlets without picking them up, and it featured a "Patented Money Box with Yale Lock."[43] This money box allowed the sale of pamphlets to be done anonymously and on the honor system, unlike most newsstands. These structural components of the pamphlet racks offer important subtextual clues to the reality that Catholic pamphlets were intentionally constructed and distributed in a way that allowed for discretion among readers.

Considering that Catholic pamphlets were the sort of text that most regularly focused on racially coded ideas about gender and sexuality, it is unsurprising that they could be purchased anonymously and were small enough to fit into one's pocket. Catholic pamphlets were designed for private reading. In an index of Catholic pamphlets from 1949, author J. P. Boland noted that one of the major reasons for printing Catholic

pamphlets was "how shy the great majority of them [Catholics] are about approaching a priest directly for information about the Church's teaching."[44] Therefore, if a parish priest was uncomfortable discussing sensitive topics related to gender, sexuality, and race, he could essentially outsource this work by pointing a parishioner to the pamphlet rack in his parish. These distribution methods and physical characteristics of Catholic pamphlets begin to explain the oft noted paradox that Catholics seem to *constantly* focus on—yet *never* speak about—issues related to sexuality. In *The History of Sexuality*, Michel Foucault illustrates that it is important to pay attention not only to the spoken (or written) words about sexuality, but also to what is rendered to silence. Through pamphlet literature, the Church could "say" a lot about sex (on paper), while still rendering sex to the private realm of personal reading. Like many Catholic pamphlets during the period, Daniel Lord's regularly focused on topics like birth control, marriage and family life, and teen sexuality.

Birth Control and the Preservation of the Gendered Order

While Catholic media makers like Charles Coughlin stoked fear in the hearts of Americans and redirected their ire onto groups like the Jews, Lord expressed his deep concern that the children of the United States were in danger because "fascists, atheists, communists, and socialists were bidding with all their resources for the young."[45] While Coughlin and Lord were each disturbed by the state of the world during the 1930s and 40s, Lord was focused on proselytizing Americans and preserving Catholic values against modernity. As William Dinges notes, Lord's work was motivated by a belief that there was a battle taking place for the hearts and minds of the nation's youth. Lord was also

concerned about Catholic youth because many of them had a very superficial relationship with their religion. As Dinges explains:

> Lord's other driving concern revolved around trepidation that the Catholic youth of his day—many of whom were second and third generation Americans grappling with the tensions of assimilation—had a weak Catholic identity and only limited pride in themselves and their religious heritage. Lord labored tirelessly to end this lethargy and "Catholic inarticulateness," especially in the face of resurgent anti-Catholicism.[46]

Here we can see how Lord was distinguished from earlier Catholic media makers: instead of being wholly focused on helping Catholics assimilate into American culture, Lord wanted to ensure that Catholics maintained their religious identity.[47] But as we will see, Lord also asserted the notion that Catholics played an important role in the moral life of the nation.

Throughout the Great Depression, Lord saw birth control as one of the most serious issues facing the United States. Like earlier pamphlet writers, Lord framed the rejection of birth control as yet another way in which Catholics could help save the nation, and he made these sentiments clear in a number of pamphlets, including *What Birth Control Is Doing to the United States* (1936). Lord rebuked the claims made by "birth controllers," who pointed to overpopulation as one of the principal justifications for the use of birth control. However, Lord seemed to ignore the obvious economic concerns that characterized assertions about overpopulation, and instead chose to focus on space, arguing that claims about overpopulation were unfounded because there was still plenty of room for people. Lord noted, "There is still Texas and South America and

most of South Africa and Canada and our western states where one can live out of sight and hearing of the neighbors and their radio."[48]

Again, despite the overwhelming economic scarcity experienced during the Great Depression, Lord's reflections on birth control did not devote a great deal of attention to the economy. Simply put, Lord did not see birth control as a means for economic survival for Catholic families, but rather as a reflection of *women's* "selfishness." Lord repeatedly argued that women had been taught by the birth control movement to "put their own selfishness and comfort and beauty and money ahead of what was once regarded as the most profound and powerful instinct in the heart of woman, the desire to cradle little children against her heart."[49] Here Lord articulated a false narrative that suggested that women either choose birth control or choose to be a mother. Lord did not seem to consider that many women chose birth control precisely because they were already mothering (many) children.

Lord's contempt for women's "selfishness" and the birth control movement in general was a part of his larger fear that birth control was destroying the gendered order. Lord saw birth control as a threat to marriage and the family, and believed it was *men* who were losing out in this equation. On this point, Lord reflected on a study of the attitudes young men and women held about marriage and the family, and noted:

> The 13,000 young women . . . were also asked if they wanted children. "Do you expect to raise a family?" was the query. Only 2,739 replied that they hoped they would. In other words, less than one fourth actually wanted the joys of being a mother. Parallel to that, 5,000 young men about to be married were asked if they wished to raise a family. Forty-one hundred of them replied that they hoped to. God pity them if it be the fate of these young men to marry the women of the vast majority, whose hearts have been closed by the birth controllers to the hope and joy of motherhood.[50]

Again, it is clear that Lord's discomfort with birth control was consumed with the notion that it was creating deep fissures in the gendered order. Lord believed that birth control was changing women's attitudes towards marriage and family life, creating a situation that warranted "God's pity" for men. With this Lord pointed directly at the ways that he saw birth control as threatening men's status. To those who prescribed to a gendered paradigm where men are defined by their ability to be husbands and fathers, Lord asserted that birth control was threatening this possibility. Additionally, Lord believed that the ability to give birth was one of the most essential elements of womanhood, which meant that birth control allowed women to mute one of their most essential characteristics. Therefore, if birth control functioned to erase one of the most defining differences between men and women, the gendered order, which relied on a stark difference between men and women, was further weakened.

Birth Control and Women's Rights: A Constructed Consensus Among Catholics

While Daniel Lord did not mince words on the issue of birth control, it is important to remember that there was not a consensus on this issue, among religious groups generally or among Catholics in America. As detailed in Leslie Woodcock Tentler's *Catholics and Contraception: An American History*, the beginning of the 1930s saw an "increased polarization in the religious debate over birth control."[51] While some Protestant traditions had articulated their support of contraception, Pope Pius XI's 1930 encyclical *Casti Connubii* made it clear that the Catholic Church banned the use of contraception.[52] Tentler noted that as a result of *Casti Connubii*, "Catholic laity in the 1930s were more likely than ever before to hear sermons opposing birth control and

abortion."[53] It is also important to note that while papal encyclicals like *Casti Connubii* had a massive impact on the Catholic Church globally, it was largely an indirect impact. What I mean here is that while it is important to recognize the impact of papal encyclicals, most Catholics did not (and still do not) read these documents. In fact, I have routinely met Catholics who are wholly unfamiliar with the term *papal encyclical*. It is much more common for Catholics to learn about Church teachings through homilies and Catholic media texts.

Prior to *What Birth Control Is Doing to the United States* (1936), Lord authored a pamphlet entitled *Speaking of Birth Control* (1930), and the America Press published a pamphlet written by Ignatius Cox called *Birth Control Is Wrong!* (1930). To Protestants and other non-Catholics, it may have appeared that Catholics in the United States were uniformly virulently opposed to the use of birth control. If the tone of Catholic pamphlets during this period offered any insight into Catholic values on the issue, it would be unmistakably clear that Catholics opposed birth control. But it is important to remember the prescriptive and aspirational quality of Catholic pamphlets. Simply put, if a church community was in complete agreement that the use of contraception was immoral, would there be a need to constantly create pamphlets to communicate the message that "birth control is wrong!"? This is not to say that no Catholics supported the Vatican's stance on the issue of contraception, but the frequency and intensity in which this teaching was communicated makes it clear that not all Catholics were in agreement.

I sometimes think about Catholic pamphlets like signs posted on the window or door of a business that read: "Do not pound on glass!" While I may not have seen anyone pound on the glass, it stands to reason that the sign would have not been put up in the first

place had someone not been pounding on the glass. Additionally, it would be reasonable to conclude that if a business were to have *ten* signs on their windows and doors that pleaded for guests to not pound on the glass, it was probably not an isolated incident where someone had pounded on the glass. To apply this logic to the issue of birth control: why would Catholic pamphlet writers feel compelled to print thousands and thousands of pamphlets warning Catholics that birth control is wrong, if no Catholics used birth control? The volume of Catholic pamphlets about birth control illustrates not only the intensity with which sexuality was the subject of Catholic media focus, but also the fact that Catholics (and their values) were hardly monolithic on these topics.

In *Catholics and Contraception*, Tentler notes that many Catholics, particularly during the 1930s, used contraception. While few priests may have voiced their objection to *Casti Connubii*, Tentler observes that "some priests even worried that the teaching on birth control was generating the kind of anti-clericalism among American Catholics that had hitherto been characteristic only of Europe."[54] To address this rise in anticlericalism, Catholic pamphlet literature started to reflect the Catholic Church's acceptance of the rhythm method.[55] This was made clear in a pair of pamphlets: John O'Brien's *Legitimate Birth Control: According to Nature's Law in Harmony with Catholic Morality* (1934) and Daniel Lord's *What of Lawful Birth Control?* (1935). While this seemed to soften the Church's stance on birth control, Cardinal Hayes (the archbishop of New York) warned Catholics that "instead of being freely taught and commended, [the rhythm method] is rather to be tolerated as an extreme remedy or means of preventing sin."[56]

For many Catholics, a ban on contraception could not have come at a more difficult time, given the economic crisis of the Great Depression. As Tentler explains,

"American Catholics in the 1930s were a mostly working-class population on whom the Depression bore with particular ferocity. Not surprisingly, their birthrate declined precipitously in the early years of the 1930s, as did the birthrate nationally."[57] Considering the general working-class background of many Catholics during this period, Tentler keenly notes that the "genteel surroundings" of many of Lord's Depression-era pamphlets made little sense.[58] Tentler acknowledges that while "not every Catholic was working class . . . a clear majority were," despite how they may have appeared within Lord's pamphlets.[59] Again we can see that Catholic pamphlets served as an aspirational model for Catholics in America as well as projecting a glowing image of Catholics in America to non-Catholics. And, just like the projected middle-classness of Catholics, whiteness and heterosexuality were also asserted as defining characteristics of Catholics in America—even though this did not at all reflect the entirety of American Catholics.

Compulsory Heterosexuality and the Catholic Church

As noted in chapter 1, Catholic pamphlets did not necessarily offer a *reflection* of American Catholic life, but instead offered prescriptive *constructions* of what Catholics in America should be like. In *The Way We Never Were: American Families and the Nostalgia Trap,* Stephanie Coontz describes the ways that popular culture images of American family life are often highly constructed. Similar to the way that Catholic media makers asserted a highly curated image of Catholic family life, Coontz notes that popular television representations of family life in the 1950s and 60s (such as *Leave It to Beaver*) did not necessarily offer a reflection of family life, but rather an aspirational model of it. In Catholic pamphlet literature, heterosexuality was asserted as an assumed norm for

Catholics, but in no way should this be taken as a reflection that Catholics were (or are) somehow uniformly heterosexual.

One of the ways that Catholics were marked as being fundamentally heterosexual was through an incessant attention paid to the topic of marriage. However, in many Catholic pamphlets, marriage was framed as an institution that was in a state of crisis. In a 1929 pamphlet entitled *They're Married!*, Daniel Lord expressed his fear that "to be in fashion" one must be disinterested in marriage, and for the better part of the next two decades an onslaught of Catholic pamphlets worked to curb this "trend."[60] In fact, few topics were the subject of Catholic pamphlet literature as frequently as marriage. To name a few: the America Press published William Longeran's *The Shackles of Wedlock* (1930) and Jones Corrigan's *Companionate Marriage* (1931); in 1938 the Queen's Work published William Bowdern's *The Problems of Courtship and Marriage* and Daniel Lord's *Questions I'm Asked About Marriage*; in 1940 the Catholic Truth Society of Oregon published Fr. Leslie Rumble's *Marriage Questions*; and the Paulist Press published Francis Connell's *Marriage: Human or Divine?* (1940) and Valerian Berger's *The Eve of Marriage* (1941).

Lord believed that preserving the institution of marriage, along with halting the use of birth control, was one of the most critical issues facing the United States.[61] Specifically, Lord believed that women's infidelity was one of the greatest threats to marriage. He wrote: "When a woman of other days betrayed her husband, she admitted herself to be an adulteress. An impure woman might shrink from the brutal names hurled at her, but she admitted their sad truth."[62] Here Lord made it clear that his concern was not just about sexuality or infidelity in some broad and vague sense. Rather, Lord seemed

to be specifically bothered by the idea that *women* were changing and did not seem to exhibit the same modesty that they had in the past. Not only did Lord focus disproportionately on women's sexuality, but he asserted a fairly common vision of the past that assumed that throughout history people were more restrained and puritanical with regard to sexuality than they are now. This line of thinking is also present when people bemoan the fact that teenagers today are out having sex and assume that teenagers of years past did not. In almost every generation, it is common for people to lament the "loss of virtue" of today's youth when measured against their imagination of the past.

In *They're Married!* (1929) Lord expressed his belief that the state of marriage was bleak and lamented that in order "to be in fashion one must be more or less despairful about marriage."[63] He even went so far as to suggest that just about everyone had given up on the notion that marriages could be successful, declaring: "In times past every good story ended with the stereotyped phrase, 'They married and lived happy for ever after,' [but] nowadays ever so many popular novels begin with 'They married and lived unhappy forever after.'"[64] "Does anyone nowadays believe in marriage as an institution?" Lord wondered. Of course Lord still believed in marriage, as did the Catholic Church, which he described as "the sane and considerate mother of the human race."[65] Lord noted that for Catholics marriage is about love, and not just "a mere civil contract as prosaic as the making of a will or the taking of a partner into one's grocery business."[66] Here Lord attempted to present an image of the Catholic Church as being a sort of anchored ship amidst a sea of social change. But while Lord attempted to frame love as being some distinctly Catholic characteristic of marriage, he failed to note that

since the Industrial Revolution, it had become entirely common for love to serve as the impetus for marriages, as opposed to it being primarily an economic decision.[67]

In his reflections, Lord made it clear that love was not the only essential component of a marriage; he also stressed that it must always have "man-and-woman limitations."[68] As he wrote, "love, whatever biologists may care to say of it, makes a man and a woman so important to each other that they cannot any longer live alone."[69] Here Lord marked heterosexuality as a fundamental norm and also asserted that one of the most vital aspects to marriage was the sexual purity of young people before they are married. Lord went as far as to say that "the purity of young people is the *guarantee* of future happy marriages" (emphasis mine).[70] In Lord's view, not only marriage was becoming seen as outdated, but chastity as well: "In the new order of things, self-restraint is out of date, and promiscuous kissing, the sacred signs of affection, the beautiful intimacies of married life, are quite allowable to the unmarried."[71] These statements reflected Lord's anxiety that the state of marriage, and sexuality more broadly, in the United States was in crisis. Lord's insistence on both points—that a marriage must consist of a man and a woman and that promiscuity must be avoided at all costs—reflects his awareness that some people were not upholding these ideals.

Catholic Media and the "Pansy Craze"

Lord's remarks about the state of marriage and sexuality not only illustrated his awareness that people were engaging in "promiscuous" sex generally; his insistence on the "man-and-woman limitations" of marriage showed that he was aware of and concerned about homosexuality in particular. While homosexuality was almost never

explicitly mentioned in Catholic pamphlet literature, it would be a mistake to assume that it was not on the minds of individuals like Daniel Lord. Some might assume that LGBTQ visibility is a by-product of the Gay Liberation Movement of the 1960s and 70s; however, as scholars like George Chauncey have made clear, the history of gay and lesbian life in America is far more robust than many people realize. In his book *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture and the Making of the Gay Male World 1890–1940*, Chauncey dispels a series of myths regarding the history of homosexuality (specifically gay men) in the United States. One of these is *the myth of isolation*, which suggests that "anti-gay hostility prevented the development of an extensive gay subculture and forced gay men to lead solitary lives in the decades before the rise of the gay liberation movement."[72] Moreover, the *myth of invisibility* is the notion that "even if a gay world existed, it was kept invisible and thus remained difficult for isolated gay men to find."[73] While the gay world may have been largely invisible within Catholic pamphlet literature, this does not mean it did not exist. Additionally, Chauncey's deconstruction of the myth of invisibility illustrates that one cannot assume that authors like Lord were unfamiliar with the gay world simply because their work predated the Stonewall Riots and the Gay Liberation Movement.

Chauncey also explains that in the 1920s and 30s there were a number of gay social centers in New York City, and that "gay men and a smaller number of lesbians had become highly visible in clubs, streets, newspapers, novels, and films." This increased visibility of gay and lesbian people prompted a "pansy craze" beginning at the onset of the Great Depression.[74] Throughout the 1930s, Catholic pamphlet literature was squarely a part of this pansy craze and the backlash against the sexual freedom that characterized

the jazz and flapper culture of the Roaring Twenties. In 1935, the Oregon Catholic Truth Society published a two-part pamphlet series by Rev. Clement Crock about "chastity, lust, and morality," in which Crock shared his belief that "public dance halls are hotbeds for sin and cesspools of vice."[75] Crock further explained his dismay with new types of dances:

> The Church condemns certain forms of dancing, no matter whether conducted in public or in private. This includes such types as the "bunny-hug," the "tango," certain "foxtrots," certain "round dances," which, on account of the position and proximity of the participants, are considered immoral, and are therefore forbidden. Individuals again are forbidden every form of dance which they themselves find a proximate occasion of sin.[76]

Also in 1935, the Paulist Press published Felix Kirsch's pamphlet *The Sex Problem!*, which warned readers: "Sex mania is prevailing in our country today, and Catholic parents realize that something must be done quickly to protect our young people from this menace."[77] Kirsch reiterated these sentiments in a 1938 pamphlet titled *In Defense of Chastity*, which was published by the Our Sunday Visitor Press. The panic about modernity and teen sexuality continued when the Queen's Work published P. J. Bruckner's *How to Give Sex Instructions* (1937); Daniel Lord's pamphlets *What To Do on a Date* (1939), *Youth Says: These Are Good Manners* (1939), and *So We Abolished the Chaperone* (1941); and Gerard Kelly's *Modern Youth and Chastity* (1941).

While each of these pamphlets was a part of a larger panic about a loss of sexual morality in the United States, as noted earlier, Catholic pamphlet writers routinely avoided any explicit mention of homosexuality. Chauncey remarks that one of the central strategies to the anti-gay pansy craze during the 1930s was to "render gay men and lesbians *invisible*" (emphasis mine) and to "exclude them from the public sphere."[78] Therefore, considering the social context in which these pamphlets were written, their

general silence on matters related to homosexuality can be recognized as part of the effort to make gay and lesbian people invisible. Recalling the meaning that Foucault placed on silences around sexuality, the general invisibility of gay and lesbian people within Catholic pamphlets should not be seen as accidental. As Foucault notes:

> Silence itself—the things one declines to say, or is forbidden to name, the discretion that is required between different speakers—is less the absolute limit of discourse, the other side from which it is separated by a strict boundary, than an element that functions alongside the things said, with them and in relation to them within over-all strategies.[79]

Given that Catholic pamphlets were part of a larger effort to reshape American ideas about Catholics, it is important to consider the ways in which the pamphlet writers imagined Catholics, and whose lives and experiences were constructed as representative of Catholics in general. When it came to discussing sexuality and relationships, homosexuality (or any sexuality outside of a monogamous heterosexual marriage) was often rendered invisible. Keeping in mind that Catholic pamphlets worked to create a more patriotic and less threatening image of Catholics in America, this literature almost exclusively treated heterosexuality (as well as whiteness and middle-classness) as an established norm for Catholics. So, when reflecting on the fact that Catholic pamphlet literature was not just a sort of religious self-help literature, but part of a larger political strategy to help Catholics be seen as fully American, the frequently repeated image of Catholics as being white, middle-class, and heterosexual needs to be recognized as a key part of this strategy.

Women's Rights and the Preservation of Authentic Catholicity

While Lord was interested in helping Catholics be recognized as fully American, he was most focused on helping them retain their identity as Catholics. Given this,

another issue that was a significant concern of Lord's was intermarriage. Intermarriage, in this case, was the practice of Catholics marrying non-Catholics—and for Lord, this was an "uncrossable bar."[80] While some might think of the notion of Catholics and non-Catholics marrying as one of the greatest signs of assimilation, Lord was among a group of Catholic pamphlet writers who saw mixed marriages as leading directly to the loss of Catholics in the United States. Lord warned his readers that "Catholics who marry non-Catholics are opening for themselves much greater possibilities for unhappiness."[81] But in an entire pamphlet on the topic entitled *Marry Your Own: A Discussion of Mixed Marriage* (1929), Lord claimed that one of the reasons Catholic women should avoid marrying non-Catholic men was because a non-Catholic man would likely tell his wife "that it is perfectly right to limit the family to what he thinks his means and her health justify,"[82] and therefore force her to use birth control. Again, we see that Lord's principal concerns are often tied to women's sexuality and the preservation of the gendered order. Lord was not alone in this; during the 30s a number of Catholic pamphlets were written on the topic of intermarriage. James Magner and the St. Gertrude Study Club in Chicago published a pamphlet entitled *Shall I Marry a Non-Catholic?* (1934), and Celestine Strub and the Oregon Catholic Truth Society published *The Christian Home: On Mixed Marriages* (1939). These pamphlets all warned against intermarriage and asserted that it created an almost certain formula for eroding the faith and religious commitments of Catholics.

Lord's fears regarding intermarriage were a part of his larger quest to preserve what he considered to be an authentic Catholicity. As illustrated earlier, Lord's pamphlets asserted a staunchly conservative model of Catholic identity and Catholic family life, and

so did his theater productions. Among his many creative pursuits, Lord was an experienced playwright—he wrote over 70 plays, and they were regularly performed for sodality groups across the country. One of Lord's plays, *The Suffrage Club*, told the story of Dorothy Carlton, a young woman who felt forced to choose between her commitment to women's rights and her love interest, Jack. The play began with the following monologue from Dorothy, who sat alone in a library feeling distraught:

> Oh, I'm simply sick of Woman's Suffrage, Woman's Rights, Equal Rights for the sexes, and all that sort of nonsense. It was lots of fun at first to belong to a Suffrage Club, and boast to the other girls that I didn't believe in marriage, and never would let myself be bossed around by any man. It was fun, too, listening to Miss Jones roast the men, and call them the oppressors of women, and the usurpers of our rights. But now it's oh, so very different. That was all before I met Jack; and before I knew what fun it was to be loved and—and—(with a little laugh)—bossed. And now I'm so deep in Woman's Suffrage Clubs, that I don't dare to even let my sister know that I'm in love, much less thinking of marriage.[83]

With an opening scene like this, it should come as little surprise that the play concluded with Dorothy leaving behind her commitment to women's rights in exchange for her love for Jack. It is important to remember that theater productions like *The Suffrage Club* were not real accounts of historical events, but rather the product of Daniel Lord's imagination. When reflecting on Lord's story arc involving the character Dorothy, it is quite clear that Lord found the idea of a woman leaving behind her commitment to "woman's rights" in order to be "bossed" by a man was quite appealing to Lord. That being committed to women's rights and loving a man were presented as mutually exclusive is a clear example of one of the most often repeated myths about feminism: that in order to be committed to feminism, one must hate men. This inaccurate framing by Lord is quite similar to the way that he saw birth control and motherhood as being paradoxical. For Lord, if the fight for women's rights was seen as being at odds with heterosexuality, marriage, and the family, then it must be avoided.

It might be tempting to write off productions such as *The Suffrage Club* with comments like, "Daniel Lord was just a product of his environment." While statements like this acknowledge the reality that individuals are "created" by their environment, they fail to recognize the reality that environments are also created by individuals. Media makers like Lord held a massive platform, and they often created the environments where Catholics became educated about their Catholic identity. Therefore, when reflecting on productions like *The Suffrage Club*, it would be a mistake to assume that Catholics were uniformly against women's suffrage. Instead, these productions are simply reflections of the beliefs of those with the largest platforms. I want to be clear here that I am not suggesting that Lord's understanding or definition of what it means to be Catholic was somehow inauthentic. Rather, I am simply illustrating the massive platform and power that certain Catholic media makers, including Lord, had in shaping the norms and standards for what is assumed to be authentically Catholic.

Holy Orders: Projecting Catholic Values onto the Silver Screen

From the 1920s until his death in 1955, Daniel Lord played a massive role in the lives of Catholics in the United States. When he wasn't traveling the country visiting sodality groups, Lord was busy leading the Queen's Work in creating an array of religious books and pamphlets for Catholic and non-Catholic readers alike. But in academic literature, Lord is most commonly remembered for his role in helping author the 1930 Hollywood Production Code for Motion Pictures. The production code has been colloquially referred to as the Hays Code, after former postmaster general Will Hays, but it was actually written by a small group that also included Lord and Martin Quigley (a

Catholic layman). The production code set forth a strict set of guidelines for what was acceptable content for major motion pictures, and it was, unsurprisingly, overwhelmingly focused on issues related to gender, sexuality, and race. In his article "Morality and Entertainment: The Origins of the Motion Picture Production Code," Stephen Vaughn notes that after World War II Quigley would often boast of "sole authorship," but it was Lord who "did more than perhaps any other person to give the code its tone."[84]

The Hollywood production code was an expansion of Hays's previous efforts for film censorship, including "The Formula" (which asked "that each studio forward to the Hays Office a synopsis of every play, novel, or story under consideration for a future film") and his "Don'ts and Be Carefuls" list.[85] The production code established a national set of guidelines regarding film censorship, and with the advent of "talking pictures," as Vaughn explains, "the cutting or banning of movies that had been produced with sound was a much more expensive proposition than alteration of silent films."[86] Prior to the adoption of the production code, film producers had to contend with a variety of censorship boards in different states, and their standards for acceptable content were often inconsistent. This meant that a film might be acceptable for screening in one state but not another. This is an important point because it shows that Hollywood producers' *financial* interests were one of the largest forces that prompted the creation of the code, not just a desire to assert a moralistic set of production standards.

The production code restricted films from depicting profanity and illegal drugs, as well as suggestive nudity; "sex perversion" (a coded reference to any sort of sexuality outside of monogamous heterosexuality); white slavery; miscegenation; venereal diseases; scenes depicting childbirth; children's sex organs; overtly offensive comments

about a nation, race, or creed; and ridicule of the clergy.[87] While the production code was preoccupied with issues related to gender, sexuality, and race, it should not be missed that the code also prohibited "overtly offensive comments" about a specific creed and "ridicule of the clergy." Recalling the trope of the "lecherous priest" found in the anti-Catholic cartoons of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Lord's childhood), it is not surprising that Lord was invested in preventing clergy from being the subject of ridicule. While Lord could not single-handedly stop the production of anti-Catholic media, he could at least exert some influence by prohibiting the ridicule of clergy in film through his role in Hollywood.

For years, Lord was very careful not to reveal his role in authoring the production code, because he was aware that any type of censorship endorsed by Hollywood that was created by a Catholic priest would not resonate with those who were suspicious of Catholicism. In fact, Lord went so far to obscure his involvement that he *critiqued* the code (that he had helped write), lamenting that it did not go far enough. He did this to create a sort of plausible deniability, as it would likely seem odd for someone to levy a critique of something that they themselves helped create. But it is important to note that Lord did eventually become frustrated with the implementation of the code. As made clear in Vito Russo's book *The Celluloid Closet* (as well as the HBO documentary film by the same name), which focused on the history of LGBTQ visibility in film during the production code era, the code lacked power—Hollywood actors and producers developed strategies to circumvent the code and include subtle (and not-so-subtle) references to the existence of queer characters.

Creating a set of guidelines for Hollywood was likely not the imagined life's work for this Jesuit priest, but instead the result of a chance series of events. In his autobiography *Played by Ear*, Daniel Lord recounted his experience growing up in Chicago and going to the movies with his parents. Lord observed that as he grew older and would visit his parents during the summer months, he found them to be "more and more addicted to the movies." He even went as far as to say that the two places that "claimed their pilgrimage" were "the parish church of a morning, the neighborhood theater of an evening," and that their fellow Catholic parishioners might be inclined to genuflect when entering the local movie house and seeing his parents.[88] However, despite sharing a love of the movies with his parents, Lord recounted his mother sharing her concern about the plots and "general loosing of the moral tone" of the movies, a sentiment he deeply identified with.[89]

In addition to regularly attending the movies with his parents, Lord had a great deal of exposure to Hollywood films thanks to his talent in playing the piano. A few times a year, his Jesuit community would have private film screenings for entertainment, and he earned a job playing the piano to accompany these otherwise silent films.[90] Through this role he was granted permission to attend advanced screenings of movies in order to prepare his musical effects. But these screenings were also scheduled to determine whether or not certain films were appropriate entertainment for the priests. As Lord would discover, many—in fact, *most*—of the prescreened films were deemed inappropriate for his Jesuit community's viewing, and this was often due to sexual content. Towards this end, Lord recalled in his autobiography an exchange with famed Hollywood producer Jack Warner (one of the actual Warner brothers), who commented,

"Whenever my directors are stuck for something to do, they make the heroine take her clothes off."[91]

Given the frequency with which he attended the movies, both with his parents and through his role as an accompanist, Lord became fascinated with Hollywood films. Because of his interest in both the theater and films, Lord began writing film reviews for *The Catholic World* magazine, and in the process struck up a friendship with the aforementioned magazine editor John Burke. Lord's first review appeared in the February 1915 issue of *The Catholic World*, and it was a critique of George Bernard Shaw's play *Androcles and the Lion*, which he referred to as a "travesty."[92] This review not only earned him Burke's approval, but led to Burke requesting that Lord write more reviews for *The Catholic World*. Their relationship continued through the years; for example, when Burke was later named the executive secretary of the National Catholic War Council, Lord wrote to congratulate him. And through this relationship, Lord became recognized nationally as a Catholic authority on films.[93]

In advance of his 1927 film *The King of Kings*, famed Hollywood filmmaker Cecil B. DeMille, who is now regularly considered one of the "founding fathers" of American cinema, sought out the guidance of a group of individuals who, in retrospect, sound like the setup for a bad joke. DeMille wanted "a Protestant, a Jew, and a Catholic" to help "guide him against the more obvious and dangerous blunders that might wreck his picture at the box office."[94] DeMille had experienced tremendous success making films on religious subjects, and he wanted *The King of Kings* to be another box office hit. *The King of Kings* was the second installment of a biblical trilogy that followed his 1923 film *The Ten Commandments* (which is not to be mistaken for the 1956 film of the same name

starring Charlton Heston). To find a Catholic who could provide guidance for making a film that would be compelling and suitable for Catholics, DeMille reached out to John Burke and the NCWC. Remembering Lord's articles in *The Catholic World*, Burke felt that he would be a perfect fit to help DeMille. Soon thereafter, Lord traveled to California to be on set for the filming of *The King of Kings*.[95]

During the production of *The King of Kings*, one of the most significant contributions that Lord made to the final edit of the film was leading DeMille to the conclusion that diminishing the on-screen love story between Judas and Mary Magdalene was the "wisest decision" he could have made.[96] For Lord, Jacqueline Logan's performance of Mary Magdalene was problematic because it was too sexually provocative and distracted from the central story of Jesus. As the silent film preservationist David Shepherd notes in *The Bible on Silent Film: Spectacle, Story and Scripture in the Early Cinema*, "DeMille's abandonment of the Judas-Magadalene [*sic*] love story during the film's editing undoubtedly spared the blushes of his more conservative viewers."[97]

In addition to his role shaping *The King of Kings*, Lord was also instrumental in halting DeMille's planned sequel, which would have been a film about the Virgin Mary entitled *The Queen of Queens*. Lord recalled discussing his feelings about the film with DeMille, and he articulated how Protestant-Catholic tensions informed his concerns:

> If you do a film on Mary . . . you run the risk of offending both the Protestants and the Catholics. Protestants will think you pro-Catholic if you praise Mary and present her beautifully. But if you put into the film the slightest element that Catholics think unfitting to associate with Mary, you will hear such an outcry that you'll be forced to run for shelter. You see, we Catholics feel we own the Blessed Mother. And we'll permit nothing that lacks dignity and beauty and truth to be associated with her.[98]

Lord was ultimately successful in halting the production of *The Queen of Queens*, and his critique of DeMille's vision was again tied to concerns over a storyline that focused on a love affair between Mary Magdalene Judas.[99] Lord noted that DeMille had once shared with him a cartoon in which Cecil B. DeMille was labeled "The Man that Nobody No's," but when it came to scenes or storylines that were deemed too sexual, or when a film held the potential to ignite Protestant-Catholic tensions, Lord was more than comfortable saying no to DeMille.[100]

Lord relished his opportunities to censor films, as he was deeply concerned about the powerful influence that films could wield—and these feelings of his were crystallized after viewing D. W. Griffith's 1915 film, *The Birth of a Nation*. Lord regarded *The Birth of a Nation* as a "miracle," and sensed that it marked a new era in the history of entertainment.[101] But Lord also felt troubled by the film; he recalled walking out of the theater wondering "why the audience did not in a mob surge to the Negro district of Chicago's growing Bronzeville and burn the Negro dwelling."[102] While Lord recognized the film's visceral power to ignite racist fears, the film's caricatures of black people and celebration of the Ku Klux Klan did not dissuade Lord from still regarding D. W. Griffith as a personal hero. This should not be entirely surprising, considering the overtly racist aspects of the production code, such as its prohibition of any depiction of miscegenation or "white slavery."[103]

The Birth of a Nation utilized a litany of some of the most egregious racist stereotypes and centered around a plot that celebrated the KKK, yet Lord still wondered whether or not Griffith *actually meant* to make "persons hate Negroes and dread any emancipation given them."[104] It is remarkable that Lord was so enthralled by Griffith and

The Birth of a Nation (which was originally named *The Clansman*), given the animosity between the KKK and the Catholic Church. Lord acknowledged the "horrible bigotry of the KKK," and noted that it had "sprang at the throat of the Catholic Church and American liberties,"[105] but he seemed to be less offended by a film that celebrated the KKK so long as *black people* were depicted as the target of the Klan's ire, and not Catholics. While *The Birth of a Nation* was much more focused on antiblackness, the high regard Lord held for this film points to the incorrect assumption that black Catholics did not exist (a tension that will be explored in greater detail in chapter 3). Lord saw *The Birth of a Nation* as an antiblack film, but he failed to acknowledge the ways in which black Catholics were doubly the target of KKK animosity and violence.

Lord's reflection about the possibility of antiblack violence after seeing *The Birth of a Nation* also highlighted his general worldview as it related to film censorship: that problematic actions depicted in the movies could lead to an increase of those actions occurring in real life. In fact, one source of inspiration for Lord with regard to film censorship was the Chicago Police Department, which treated films as a public health and safety issue. Lord noted:

> The police recognized the effect of bad movies on the adolescent and the potential criminal. They could see no difference between sex crimes and motion pictures that excited to sex crimes or actually glorified them. They felt it was a police duty to protect citizenry from men making money out of sex and crime in the films as it was to protect them against the sale of dope or the peddling of intoxicating drink to children. A lot of people disagreed with them then, as they disagree with them now. It is permitted to examine food to be sure that poisoned food is not sold in the groceries; it is not permitted to censor films to head off the corrupt who sell vicious sex on the screen. We are careful to safeguard the water supply; we think it an intrusion of freedom to stop the flow of rotten entertainment.[106]

This line of thinking was not dissimilar to the theoretical approach that Catholic leaders had utilized during World War I, when they sought to restrict any description of

sex in anti-VD programs and literature. Through the production code, Lord attempted to police the production of films and worked to put his ideological fingerprints on issues related to gender, sexuality, and race in major motion pictures. While Lord was not the authority in charge of enforcing the code, his work, as well as the work of the Legion of Decency, made the case that Catholics in the United States were a large block of potential customers that Hollywood had to respect, and he was their representative in Hollywood.[107]

While many scholars have noted Lord's role in authoring the Hollywood production code, for decades his involvement in this had gone largely unrecognized. In fact, *The Celluloid Closet* (both the book and the documentary film) did not even mention Lord's name. Instead, *The Celluloid Closet* gave much attention to the Catholic Legion of Decency, an organization that was created in 1933, three years after the creation of the production code. The Catholic Legion of Decency created a list of films that were and were not suitable for Catholic audiences, and because of this wielded a great deal of power to mobilize Catholics to boycott films. While the history and impact of the Catholic Legion of Decency is worthy of this attention, the omission of Daniel Lord's role in the creation of the production code has obscured the entirety of the relationship between Hollywood and the Catholic Church. There *was* an ideological battle between Hollywood and the Catholic Church in the United States, but disregarding Lord's role in authoring the production code obscures the ways in which representatives of the Catholic Church had also worked *within* Hollywood to shape and censor films. Simply put, the Catholic Church did not just exert its force through external pressure from the Legion of Decency; it also had individuals working within Hollywood to shape the content of

popular films. This may seem like a relatively small error, but it has contributed to the historical narrative that the code was exclusively a Hollywood creation. While the code was created in cooperation with Hollywood producers, it was largely the brainchild of a Catholic priest.

Catholic Media, Hollywood, and the Creation of an Ideological Echo Chamber

Given the frequent attention paid to issues surrounding gender, sexuality, and race within Catholic pamphlet literature, and Lord's attention to these issues in the production code, his work attempted to create an ideological echo chamber. While Lord and other Catholic pamphleteers made the case that Catholic values were in line with American values, Lord's work with Hollywood helped make American (or secular) values more Catholic. So, whether one was reading a Catholic pamphlet or seeing a Hollywood film, Catholic ideas (or rather, Lord's ideas) about gender, sexuality, and race were often presented. Given the influence of individuals like Lord, an expression used to describe the movies during the Golden Age of Hollywood was that it was "a Jewish-owned business selling Roman Catholic theology to Protestant America."[108]

I say that Lord's work *attempted* to create an ideological echo chamber, because even though Lord was successful in helping create the production code, the actual enforcement of the code was quite inconsistent. The fact that the Catholic Legion of Decency was created three years after the creation and implementation of the code points to the fact that the code was having varied success in actually "cleaning up" films, and Lord knew it. Lord's feelings about the lack of enforcement of the production code were

made abundantly clear in his 1934 pamphlet *The Motion Pictures Betray America*. This pamphlet began with Lord's scathing proclamation:

> I accuse the Motion Picture Industry of the United States of the most terrible betrayal of public trust in the history of our country. I charge them with putting the profits of the box office ahead of all considerations of decency, respect for law, or love of a nation's health and happiness. I charge them with betraying the best interests of our people and attacking by the most violent means the morality which is rooted in the Ten Commandments given to Moses and the morality preached by Jesus Christ to the world. And, in company with millions who see the peril and dread it, I call upon Americans to register their disgust with this great betrayal of decency, this treason to the country's best interest, at the only place that the producers themselves know or regard or recognize: The box office.[109]

Lord's vitriol at the motion picture industry and his characterization of their actions as treasonous seem deeply personal; he likely felt particularly angered because of his close relationship with many in Hollywood. Interestingly, but not surprisingly, Lord wrote extensively about the production code in this pamphlet but never addressed his involvement in helping author the code.

Through this pamphlet, Lord not only expressed his immense frustration with Hollywood, but also provided his readers with evidence that the quest to clean up the media was far from over. Lord pointed to the work of Harrison's Reports, which he described as "a reviewing service widely influential in the world of theater owners and exhibitors."[110] The report that he referenced had analyzed 133 recent feature-length films and detailed that:

> 26 plots or episodes built on illicit love, i.e., love outside of marriage. 13 plots or main episodes were based on seduction accomplished. 12 plots or episodes presented seduction as attempted or planned. 2 had episodes based on rape. 1 went to the extreme of building on attempted incest. 18 characters, mostly all leading characters, lived in open adultery. 7 characters were shown planning or attempting adultery. 3 presented prostitutes as leading characters (Prostitutes as incidental characters were frequent). And, in addition to these, 25 presented scenes and situations and dances and dialogues of indecent or obscene or anti-

> moral character. So we find 107 major and distinct violations of sex morality and decency in a list of 133 pictures.[111]

For Lord and watchdog groups like Harrison's Reports, it seemed that films that followed the spirit of the production code were the exception to the rule, and Lord found Hollywood's reliance on "suggestive and obscene and vulgar" subjects to be appalling.[112] He suggested that for Hollywood producers, "the box office is their god," and he repeatedly accused the motion picture industry of treason against the United States of America.[113] In 1942, Lord levied additional critiques against Hollywood in his pamphlet *Divorce: A Picture from the Headlines*. He suggested that Hollywood, which film correspondent John Truesdell had dubbed "Divorce Town," made divorce seem normal due to the number of divorces among high-profile Hollywood actors. Lord also appreciated Truesdell's characterization of Hollywood as being the "divorce capital . . . where a second wedding anniversary is celebrated like a Notre Dame victory."[114]

Lord painted a picture in the minds of his readers that the morality of the United States was in disrepair, and the only organization fit to redeem the nation was the Catholic Church. While Charles Coughlin had worked to shift American fears and anxieties from Catholics onto Jewish people, Lord publicly shamed Hollywood, which, as stated earlier, was commonly thought of as a "Jewish-owned business." While Lord did not seem to share the deep anti-Semitism of Coughlin, he nevertheless described Hollywood as being treasonous and posing a threat to the morality of the nation. Moreover, given that Lord's role in Hollywood was largely unknown to the general public, he could offer critiques as if he himself had not been involved in the work of Hollywood. By working both inside and outside Hollywood, Lord was able to instill Catholic values into the film industry and also call out Hollywood as being the true threat

to the United States—all while insisting that the gendered order and sexual mores of the nation were in a grave state.

Sexual Purity and the American Catholic Home during World War II

As the 1930s drew to a close, the onset of World War II presented some in the United States with a new set of anxieties related to the disruption of the gendered order. In fact, the rise of the Third Reich and the devastation of the Holocaust did not shift the focus of many Catholic media makers, but actually amplified their concerns about the perilous state of gender and sexuality in the United States. In 1943, the Paulist Press published John O'Brien's *God in the Home*, which, like Catholic pamphlets before it, regarded the "home as the basis of civilization" and insisted that it needed saving.[115] For O'Brien, not only could the home (if constituted properly) provide "moral and spiritual welfare" to individuals, but it could lead to the "stabilization of the peace of the world."[116] O'Brien pointed to the increased number of women working in factories during the war as one of the principal causes of the degeneration of the home, and not just because it disrupted the gendered order in which men were the ones who worked in the outside world while women stayed home. O'Brien cited an article from *Harper's* magazine in September 1943 that detailed his concerns:

> A. G. Mezerik discloses the enormous spread of birth prevention and abortion among the women working in factories. The requirement of mechanical production, the writer shockingly implies, come first. If human reproduction impairs the productivity of the factory, then it must be prevented or offset by the murder of the unborn child. Abortion and birth prevention are thus made the major features of a blueprint for victory over our enemies. We are thus asked to crush Nazism by out-Hitlering Hitler, by outdoing him in villainy and infamy.[117]

Here, instead of drawing readers into any actual reflection about the Holocaust, O'Brien simply used Hitler and the Nazis (while World War II was far from over) to illustrate his concerns about birth control, abortion, and the state of gender and sexuality in the United States.

In addition to the home being a space that should be organized by a stark gendered division of labor, O'Brien believed that "the home constitutes the ideal classroom wherein the father can explain to his young sons and the mother to her young daughters the love of God for human life as mirrored in the endowment of sex."[118] Teaching children about sex was a vital part of the home, and specifically for young boys, O'Brien insisted that they must learn to control their thoughts, imagination, and senses. To accomplish this, O'Brien suggested that young boys imagine controlling their sexuality as if they were a "captain of a sailing vessel plowing ahead over rough seas and often against adverse winds."[119] For O'Brien, it was essential that the home be a place where young boys could learn to not let "the wind or the waves direct his vessel," but to "guide, control and direct" their sex instinct, which would lead to a "clean and radiant young manhood."[120] These sentiments echoed earlier nineteenth-century ideas about the home being an essential site for the preservation of sexual morality and the gendered order.

Along with educating their children about sexuality, O'Brien called for Catholic families to "subscribe to several Catholic periodicals and encourage all the members to read them thoroughly."[121] O'Brien also instructed families to avoid the theater, as "most of the time spent in movies is a sheer waste." [122] For O'Brien, rebuilding the home, including replacing the time spent watching movies with good reading and family

conversation, would lead to a world where "the movies would languish, the night clubs would perish, and the home would become a living institution."[123] If this were to be accomplished, O'Brien believed that it would also serve as a "remedy for delinquency."[124] O'Brien saw juvenile delinquency as a serious problem because an FBI report had indicated: "Prostitution among girls under 21 has increased 64.8 per cent over the last year, other sex crimes by girls, 104.7 percent;[125] arrest for assault by boys under 21, 17.1 per cent; for rape, 10.6 per cent."[126] For O'Brien, these problems were the result of a "*failure of parents to do their duty* and to surround their children with the protection of a home life in which morality and religion are living realities."[127] These sentiments were echoed in a Queen's Work pamphlet published a year later called *Leadership in the Home* (1944). In this pamphlet, J. Roger Lyons cast blame on parents who were "serving in the armed forces or at work in defense industries" as depriving their children of proper care and supervision, and thus causing juvenile delinquency.[128]

In addition to the alleged failure of parents to provide a suitable home life and sexual education for their children, another pair of pamphlets from 1944 made the case that a parent's failure to protect their children against the influence of comic books would also lead to juvenile delinquency. The Catechetical Guild in St. Paul, Minnesota, released *A Case Against the Comics* by Gabriel Lynn, which addressed those who were "increasingly distressed by the problem of scantily attired girls of high school age." Lynn pointed to comics that depicted "seductive" female characters and drawings of women who had an "exaggeratedly feminine body" as the inspiration for young girls' style.[129] That same year, Lynn wrote another pamphlet called *The Teacher and the Comics*, which called for teachers to also restrict children's consumption of comic books. One of Lynn's

favorite examples was the teacher of a fifth-grade class at St. Francis Borgia School in Washington, Missouri, whose students staged a funeral for their comic books where they actually laid caskets full of torn-up comic books into graves marked with the words: "Here lies 'Trashy C. Book,' R.I.P."[130] The anxiety surrounding "trashy" comic books was yet another facet of the larger critique of secular media among Catholic pamphlet writers during the 1930s and 40s. From comics to Hollywood films, Catholic media makers worked to orchestrate an all-out attack on anything that they believed would lead to the disruption of the gendered order or degeneration of sexual mores.

Catholic media makers were intently focused on the media and its role in shaping dominant ideas related to gender and sexuality, and they used these issues to make the case that Catholics (and their values) were not only good for the United States, but vital to the (moral) survival of the nation. Years earlier, in the wake of World War I, the efforts of the NCWC helped establish the case that Catholics and their values might in fact be compatible with American culture. However, the process of helping Catholics assume a more central place in American social and political life was far from complete. Throughout the 1930s and 40s, additional work was done to construct an image of American Catholics as respectable white, heterosexual, middle-class people who were deeply interested in helping preserve the moral fabric of the nation. In the years immediately following World War II, American Catholics continued to be presented as exemplars of morality and patriotism through the work of Catholic media makers like Fulton J. Sheen and Catholic politicians like Joseph McCarthy.

Notes

[1] William I. Lonergan, *Is the Church Un-American?* (New York, NY: The America Press, 1929), 1, box 52, Catholic Pamphlets Collection, University of Notre Dame, Rare Books & Special Collections, Notre Dame, IN.
[2] Theodore Roosevelt, "America For Americans" (speech, St. Louis, MO, May 31, 1916), http://www.theodore-roosevelt.com/images/research/txtspeeches/672.pdf.
[3] Nicola Beisel and Tamara Kay, "Abortion, Race, and Gender in Nineteenth-Century America," *American Sociological Review* 69, no. 4 (August 2004): 502.
[4] Lonergan, *Is the Church Un-American?*, 1.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid., 7.
[7] Ibid., 9.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid., 1.
[11] Ibid., 2.
[12] Ibid., 12.
[13] While Lonergan made reference to Switzerland because of the country's small size and diplomatic relationship with the United States, it is worth mentioning that at the time this pamphlet was published, the Swiss Guard had been serving as military protection for the Pope for almost 400 years.
[14] Lonergan, *Is the Church Un-American?*, 12.
[15] Albin Krebs, "Charles Coughlin, 30's 'Radio Priest,' Dies," *The New York Times*, October 28, 1979, https://www.nytimes.com/1979/10/28/archives/charles-coughlin-30s-radio-priest-dies-fiery-sermons-stirred-furor.html.
[16] Donald Warren, *Radio Priest: Charles Coughlin, the Father of Hate Radio* (New York, NY: Free Press, 1996), 40.
[17] It is important to note, however, that discussions of a living wage were often specifically aimed at preserving a gendered order in which men would work outside of the home and women would not have to.
[18] Ben Zimmer, "The Origins of the 'Globalist' Slur," *The Atlantic*, March 14, 2018, https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2018/03/the-origins-of-the-globalist-slur/555479/.
[19] Krebs, "Charles Coughlin, 30's 'Radio Priest,' Dies."
[20] Tom Hundley, "Decades Later, Anti-Semitic Priest Still A Sensitive Topic," *Chicago Tribune*, May 7, 1989, http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1989-05-07/news/8904100564_1_father-coughlin-semitism-archives.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Louis B. Ward, *Father Charles E. Coughlin: An Authorized Biography* (Detroit, MI: Tower Publications, 1933), vii.
[24] Ibid., x.
[25] Ibid.

[26] Ruth Mugglebee, *Father Coughlin of the Shrine of the Little Flower; An Account of the Life, Work and Message of Reverend Charles E. Coughlin* (Boston, MA: L.C. Page & Company, 1933), vi.
[27] Mugglebee, *Father Coughlin of the Shrine of the Little Flower*, vii.
[28] For more about anxieties about American manhood during the Great Depression see chapter 6 in Michael S. Kimmel's *Manhood in America: A Cultural History*, 2nd ed. (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2006).
[29] Warren, *Radio Priest*.
[30] Linette Lopez, "Here's What Happened the Last Time America Had a Steve Bannon," *Business Insider*, November 20, 2017, http://www.businessinsider.com/steve-bannon-father-charles-coughlin-2017-11.
[31] Fittingly, Steve Bannon made headlines in 2017 when he commented that the Catholic Church in the United States was only interested in welcoming immigrants so that they could fill their churches. Michael S Winters, "Steve Bannon Is Right: Church Does Need Immigrants," *National Catholic Reporter*, September 11, 2017, https://www.ncronline.org/news/opinion/steve-bannon-right-church-does-need-immigrants.
[32] While the term *propaganda* typically has a negative connotation today, groups like the Convert Makers of America used it to describe their work.
[33] Edward Ellwanger, notes on Catholic pamphlet racks in public places, box 528, folder 34, The Queen's Work Collection, Missouri Province Archive, Jesuit Archives, St. Louis, MO.
[34] Ibid.
[35] David J. Endres, "Dan Lord, Hollywood Priest," *America* magazine, December 12, 2005, https://www.americamagazine.org/issue/554/faith-focus/dan-lord-hollywood-priest.
[36] For more on Lord and the sodality movement, see: William D. Dinges, "'An Army of Youth': The Sodality Movement and the Practice of Apostolic Mission," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 19, no. 3 (2001): 35–49.
[37] A sodality is a "a historical association of youth formed to promote the spiritual life and apostolic works of its member," Dinges, "An Army of Youth," 36.
[38] *Pamphlet News*, second edition, box 528, folder 34, The Queen's Work Collection, Missouri Province Archive, Jesuit Archives, St. Louis, MO.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Daniel Lord, letter to Father Southard, November 2, 1948, The Queen's Work Collection, Missouri Province Archive, Jesuit Archives, St. Louis, MO.
[42] *Pamphlet News*, 1.
[43] Ibid., 4.
[44] J. P. Boland, K.S.G.. "History of Pamphlet Publishers and Distributors," in *The Index to Catholic Pamphlets in the English Language (June, 1946–Nov. 1948)*, by Eugene P. Willging, 1949, xiii, item ndu_aleph000777007, Catholic Pamphlets Collection, University of Notre Dame, Rare Books & Special Collections, Notre Dame, IN.
[45] Dinges, "An Army of Youth," 38.
[46] Ibid.

[47] The acknowledgement that many immigrant Catholics had fairly weak Catholic identities is important to note because of the contemporary tendency to imagine Catholics of the past as being fundamentally more devout and committed to their faith.
[48] Daniel A. Lord, *What Birth Control is Doing to the United States* (St. Louis, MO: The Queen's Work, 1936), 9, box 55, Catholic Pamphlets Collection, University of Notre Dame, Rare Books & Special Collections, Notre Dame, IN.
[49] Ibid., 27.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Leslie Woodcock Tentler, *Catholics and Contraception: An American History* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004), 73.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid., 86.
[54] Ibid., 8.
[55] The rhythm method is a form of birth control in which a woman tracks her menstrual cycle and abstains from sex on the days that she would be more likely to become pregnant.
[56] Case Western Reserve University, "History of Contraception-Rhythm Method," Case Western Reserve University, accessed November 8, 2019, https://case.edu/affil/skuyhistcontraception/online-2012/Rhythm-method.html.
[57] Tentler, *Catholics and Contraception*, 8.
[58] Ibid., 102.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Daniel A. Lord, *They're Married!* (St. Louis, MO: The Queen's Work, 1929), 3, box 55, Catholic Pamphlets Collection, University of Notre Dame, Rare Books & Special Collections, Notre Dame, IN.
[61] Lord's attention and purported expertise on marriage may seem odd, considering that Catholic priests are not allowed to be married. However, Catholic priests could discuss marriage from a standpoint that assumed a sort of moral authority because they were not the ones putting marriage into such a "despairful" state. Here it is precisely priests' distance from the issue they are critiquing that emboldens them to provide commentary. This is not unlike other instances where groups take hard moral stands against sins that they are unlikely to commit or are in fact incapable of committing. For example, when men serve as leaders in anti-abortion organizations they can speak out against abortion with the knowledge that they could never be faced with the decision to have an abortion themselves. Or when heterosexual Catholics speak out in opposition to LGBTQ rights, but are less vocal about their opposition to other sexual "sins," their selective outrage is quite evident.
[62] Daniel A. Lord, *Fashionable Sin: A Modern Discussion of an Unpopular Subject* (St. Louis, MO: The Queen's Work, 1929), 4, box 54, Catholic Pamphlets Collection, University of Notre Dame, Rare Books & Special Collections, Notre Dame, IN.
[63] Lord, *They're Married!*, 3.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid., 4.
[66] Ibid., 6–7.

[67] For more on the evolution of marriage and American family life, see Steven Mintz and Susan Kellogg, *Domestic Revolutions: A Social History of American Family Life* (New York, NY: The Free Press, 1988).
[68] Lord, *They're Married!*, 9.
[69] Ibid., 11.
[70] Ibid., 16.
[71] Ibid., 17.
[72] George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890–1940* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1994), 2.
[73] Ibid., 2.
[74] Ibid., 331.
[75] Clement Crock, *Morality: Four More Talks on Lust, Purity, and Parents* (Oregon: Oregon Catholic Press, 1935), 4.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Felix M. Kirsch, *The Sex Problem: A Challenge and an Opportunity* (New York, NY: The Paulist Press, 1935), 1, box 47, Catholic Pamphlets Collection, University of Notre Dame, Rare Books & Special Collections, Notre Dame, IN.
[78] Chauncey, *Gay New York*, 331.
[79] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1: An Introduction* (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1990), 27.
[80] Lord, *They're Married!*, 24.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Daniel A. Lord, *Marry Your Own: A Discussion of Mixed Marriage* (St. Louis, MO: The Queen's Work, 1929), 30, box 54, Catholic Pamphlets Collection, University of Notre Dame, Rare Books & Special Collections, Notre Dame, IN.
[83] Daniel A. Lord, *The Suffrage Club*, 4, box 552, folder 26, The Queen's Work Collection, Missouri Province Archive, Jesuit Archives, St. Louis, MO.
[84] Stephen Vaughn, "Morality and Entertainment: The Origins of the Motion Picture Production Code," *The Journal of American History* 77, no. 1 (1990): 39–65, https://doi.org/10.2307/2078638, 48.
[85] Gregory D. Black, *The Catholic Crusade Against the Movies: 1940–1975* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 10.
[86] Vaughn, "Morality and Entertainment," 42.
[87] Thomas Doherty, *Pre-Code Hollywood: Sex, Immorality, and Insurrection in American Cinema, 1930–1934* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1999), 347–359.
[88] Daniel A. Lord, *Played by Ear: The Autobiography of Daniel A. Lord, S.J.* (Chicago, IL: Loyola University Press, 1956), 274.
[89] Ibid., 274.
[90] Ibid., 275.
[91] Ibid., 276.
[92] Daniel A. Lord, "Martyrs According to Bernard Shaw," *The Catholic World*, February 1915, 577–590, 587.
[93] Lord, *Played By Ear*, 277.
[94] Ibid.,
[95] Ibid., 278.
[96] Ibid., 282.

[97] David Shepherd, *The Bible on Silent Film: Spectacle, Story and Scripture in the Early Cinema* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 262.
[98] Lord, *Played By Ear*, 285.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Ibid., 286.
[101] Ibid., 273.
[102] Ibid.
[103] The term "white slavery" was a term used to describe human sex trafficking, but it also functioned to criminalize some interracial relationships. Most famously in 1912 the boxer Jack Johnson was arrested for "kidnapping" a white woman he was in a consensual relationship with. Erin Blakemore, "The 'White Slavery' Law That Brought Down Jack Johnson Is Still in Effect," History.com, May 24, 2018, https://www.history.com/news/white-slave-mann-act-jack-johnson-pardon.
[104] Lord, *Played By Ear*, 273.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Ibid., 288.
[107] The Hollywood Production Code was in effect from 1930 to 1968, when the Motion Picture Association of America film rating system was adopted. The latter is still in effect today.
[108] Thomas Doherty, "Mel Gibson Commits a Sin of Omission," *Los Angeles Times*, September 25, 2003, http://articles.latimes.com/2003/sep/25/opinion/oe-doherty25.
[109] Daniel A. Lord, *The Motion Pictures Betray America* (St. Louis, MO: The Queen's Work, 1934), 3, box 54, Catholic Pamphlets Collection, University of Notre Dame, Rare Books & Special Collections, Notre Dame, IN.
[110] Ibid., 3.
[111] Ibid., 8–9.
[112] Ibid., 8.
[113] Ibid., 44.
[114] Daniel A. Lord, *Divorce: A Picture from the Headlines* (St. Louis, MO: The Queen's Work, 1942), 20, box 54, Catholic Pamphlets Collection, University of Notre Dame, Rare Books & Special Collections, Notre Dame, IN.
[115] John A. O'Brien, *God in the Home* (New York, NY: The Paulist Press, 1943), 3, box 70, Catholic Pamphlets Collection, University of Notre Dame, Rare Books & Special Collections, Notre Dame, IN.
[116] Ibid., 3–4.
[117] Ibid., 14.
[118] Ibid., 16.
[119] Ibid., 18.
[120] Ibid., 18–19.
[121] Ibid., 28.
[122] Ibid.
[123] Ibid., 29.
[124] Ibid.
[125] O'Brien did not explain what these other sex crimes consisted of.
[126] O'Brien, *God in the Home*, 29.
[127] Ibid.

[128] Roger J. Lyons, *Leadership in the Home* (St. Louis, MO: The Queen's Work, 1944), 8, box 53, Catholic Pamphlets Collection, University of Notre Dame, Rare Books & Special Collections, Notre Dame, IN.
[129] Gabriel Lynn, *The Case Against Comics* (St. Paul, MN: Catechetical Guild, 1944), 3, box 53, Catholic Pamphlets Collection, University of Notre Dame, Rare Books & Special Collections, Notre Dame, IN.
[130] Gabriel Lynn, *The Teacher and the Comics* (St. Paul, MN: Post-Reporter, 1944), 26, box 53, Catholic Pamphlets Collection, University of Notre Dame, Rare Books & Special Collections, Notre Dame, IN.

CHAPTER 3: Expert Catholics and the Reconversion" of America: Moral Panic and Gendered Anxieties in the Cold War Era, 1945–1960

In the immediate aftermath of World War II, yet another wave of Catholic pamphlet literature made the case that the gendered order in the United States was in a perilous state. While the specific reasons may have changed from decade to decade, within Catholic pamphlet literature the gendered order was almost always in disrepair. Following the gendered anxieties around women's rights during the 1910s and 20s, and those during the Great Depression, the aftermath of World War II was yet another moment of gendered panic for Catholic media makers. After the devastating loss of life during the war and the surge of women in the workforce, many questioned the proper roles designated to men and women in society. During this period many Catholic media makers were quite distraught with the state of the gendered order, and therefore saw the years following World War II as a moment where the Church could provide moral leadership and expertise to the nation.[1]

The two decades prior to the conclusion of World War II were a period of substantial growth in the Catholic media world, which illustrated that Catholic media makers could effectively gain the attention of millions on issues related to morality and the nation. This momentum would continue in the postwar period with the further expansion of Catholic publishing efforts and the embrace of increasingly popular media platforms like radio and television. Not only did the Catholic media world expand in the years following World War II, but the broader presence of the Catholic Church in the United States would also undergo one of its most pronounced periods of growth.

In *Catholics in America: A History*, Patrick Carey explains that like the religious revival experienced by many denominations, the two decades following the end of World War II were a period of tremendous growth for the Catholic Church in the United States. He noted that in the twenty years following World War II, "the total Catholic population increased by 90 percent from 23.9 million to 45.6 million" and "the number of bishops and archbishops increased by 58 percent, clergy by 52 percent, women religious by 30 percent, and seminarians by 127 percent."[2] While the baby boom was not unique to American Catholics, many studies have illustrated that during this period Catholic fertility rates were higher than those of Protestants, but by the mid-1970s they were essentially the same. One hypothesis for this Catholic-Protestant fertility differential is that "pronatalist Catholic ideology increased fertility when economic development was high and when the group was sensitive to its own minority group ideology," and the postwar United States presented all of these variables.[3] In addition to the number of Catholics growing at an incredible rate within the United States, Catholicism also became more culturally pervasive as a result of the increased presence of Catholic hospitals, elementary schools, high schools, and colleges. Carey notes that there were "one hundred and twenty-three new hospitals, 3,005 new Catholic elementary and high schools, and 94 new colleges" built during this period.[4]

However, following World War II Catholic media makers could not have entirely predicted the extent of this growth of Catholicism in the United States, and they therefore persisted in their efforts to cast Catholics as being legitimate and respectable members of American society. So, even though the postwar period proved to be a moment of heightened confidence for the Church in the United States, it was also a period of

continued work aimed at recasting Catholics in the popular imagination of the nation. In the late 1940s and 50s anti-Catholic sentiment still existed in the United States, but there were irrefutable signs of its decline. In 1944 the Ku Klux Klan had disbanded, and major anti-Catholic publications like *The Menace* (which once had over a million subscribers) and its successors, *The New Menace* and *The Monitor*, were no longer in print.[5] However, Catholic media makers were still on the defensive, as the increased presence of Catholics in American social and political life did not appear to be inevitable. Therefore, these media makers continued to fight against anti-Catholicism by casting Catholics as full-fledged Americans. As in decades prior, Catholic media makers—and pamphleteers, in particular—exerted a great deal of effort asserting how Catholics were uniquely qualified to repair and preserve the patriarchal gendered order in the United States.

During this postwar era, Catholic media makers would double their efforts to assert their expertise on issues like marriage, the family, and birth control, as well as issues like communism, racism, the role of women in society, and teen sexuality. For many Catholic media makers, these issues provided opportunities for Catholics to help bolster the strength and health of the United States. Additionally, these issues contributed to gendered discourses about the body and were connected to the maintenance of a patriarchal gendered order. While Catholic media makers regularly insisted on a social order predicated on stark gendered difference, this period was also marked by an increasing diversity in Catholic thought.

The Catholic Campaign Against Communism

In the years following World War II, Catholic voices were among the loudest in the United States that were spreading fear and panic about the threat that communism posed to the nation. In fact, no individual was more outspoken about the dangers that communism posed to the nation than Joseph McCarthy, the Catholic senator from Wisconsin. McCarthy's career would be defined by his quest to expose communists in the United States, and his tactics were so unique and aggressive that they became known as *McCarthyism*. While McCarthy rarely publicly tied his hatred for communism with any of his religious convictions, Catholic media makers regularly made the connection between Catholicity and the fight against communism, and they often did so in gendered and sexualized terms.

In 1947, Fr. Richard Ginder and the Catholic Information Society published a number of pamphlets about the threat of communism—including *The Reds in Our Labor Unions*, *The Red Terror and Religion*, *Red Tyranny vs. Stepinac*, and *How Are Things in Tito-Slavia?*—which each cast communists as one of the greatest sources of evil in the world. Ginder's texts reflected an interesting chapter in the history of American Catholic pamphlet literature. Instead of simply focusing on social *issues* and casting Catholic people and values in a favorable and patriotic way (which Ginder still did), Ginder took forcible aim at other *groups* like communists and *individuals* like Josef Tito. In this way, Ginder's pamphlets resembled the tactics of Charles Coughlin, as Ginder's writing similarly pointed to other groups as being the *real* threat to the United States. Ginder and Coughlin also shared an incredibly fierce tone when discussing the topics of the day, though Ginder expressed this through the written word.

In his pamphlets, Ginder pointed to countries like Yugoslavia as examples of the link between communism, anti-Catholicism, and anti-religiosity more generally. While Ginder did not explicitly state that Catholics should no longer be seen as a threat to the United States, his writing implicitly accomplished this by framing Catholics as a globally marginalized community and communists as the group to be feared. Like many of his fellow pamphleteers, Ginder was quick to mention how "traditional" sexual mores were being threatened by communism. In a section of his pamphlet *How Are Things in Tito-Slavia?* (1947) entitled "Destroying Religion," Ginder pointed to reports that in communist Yugoslavia, atheism was being taught to children and that "in the best tradition of Hitler Youth, lascivious stories are told to teen-agers by their teachers" and "promiscuity is encouraged."[6] These two issues—communism and the social decline of sexual mores—were among the most repeated topics in Ginder's writings. Given this, Ginder was a fierce proponent of Joseph McCarthy, so much so that a contributor to the *Our Sunday Visitor* newspaper later noted that throughout his career Ginder had practically "beatified" McCarthy.[7] Richard Ginder was one of the most consistently vocal Catholic media voices against communism; however, he was hardly the first.

A decade earlier, in 1936, the Queen's Work published Fr. Daniel Lord's pamphlet *What Catholicity and Communism Have in Common*, which playfully suggested that communists would actually be "the Church's most outstanding members."[8]As noted in the previous chapter, a number of Lord's pamphlets may have appeared at first glance to be anti-Catholic pamphlets, but Lord's writing always framed Catholics in the most favorable of lights. Lord noted that communists would make good Catholics because the "early Christians practiced a voluntary communal possession of

property." However, Lord concluded that communism and Catholicism were ultimately "irreconcilably at odds," and he did so by asserting that "Catholicity, unlike Communism, distrusts dictatorship."[9] While Lord was most directly speaking about dictatorship with regard to heads-of-state, his assertion that Catholicism and dictatorship were at odds was also a rebuttal to anyone who saw the pope as being a sort of governmental figure who held unilateral power over a group of people. From a contemporary perspective, the pope is largely recognized as a religious leader, but individuals who espoused anti-Catholic values often depicted the pope as a political leader who could direct the actions of Catholics as if he were a king. Lord's remark is unsurprising when recalling that just seven years earlier, William I. Lonergan had been assuaging readers' fears of a "war with the Vatican."

While Lord did not regularly condemn communism in gendered or sexualized terms, his other Catholic media work was often preoccupied with issues related to gender and sexuality. So even when fears of communism were not explicitly tied to anxieties about gender or sexuality, it is important to recognize that the Catholic pamphlet writers who most routinely critiqued communism were also those who were most alarmed and concerned with the gendered order and the state of society's sexual virtues. With this in mind, it is not surprising that this pamphlet about communism was yet another opportunity for Lord to express his distaste for the fight for women's rights. Lord distanced Catholicism from communism by stating it was similar to the fight for women's rights. Lord saw both communism and the fight for women's rights as revolutions that had failed to deliver on the fullness of their promises. Lord sarcastically noted, "the suffragettes guaranteed that as soon as the women got the vote we would be

blessed with clean government, the best possible officeholders, and roses in every polling place."[10] But while Daniel Lord and Richard Ginder were both prominent Catholic media voices that denounced and dismissed communism, no Catholic media figure who spoke out against communism was more widely recognizable than Fr. Fulton Sheen.

Fulton Sheen, Televangelism, and the Catholic Intellectual

During the 1930s and 40s, Fulton Sheen was known as the host of the NBC radio program *The Catholic Hour* (1930–1950), and his name could also be found on a large number of Catholic pamphlets. But Sheen's most memorable and significant contribution to the Catholic media world was his work on the television show *Life is Worth Living* (1952–1957), which appeared on the Dumont television network and ABC, and *The Fulton Sheen Program* (1961–1968) which was a syndicated revival version of his earlier show.[11] Today they can still occasionally be seen on the Eternal World Television Network (EWTN), the Catholic television network based out of Irondale, Alabama. Through television, Sheen became one of the most visibly recognizable Catholic media personalities and his stardom reached new heights. In 1952, Sheen appeared on the cover of *TIME* magazine, and the magazine referred to him as the first "televangelist." A year later, in 1953, Sheen was awarded an Emmy for "Most Outstanding Personality"; he would again receive Emmy nominations for the same award in 1954 and for "Best Male Personality in a Continuing Performance" in 1957.[12]

Sheen spoke extensively on the topic of communism and the threat that he believed it posed to the United States. After his radio programs had aired, many of his lectures on communism were converted into pamphlets, which could be circulated to an

even wider audience. In Fr. Donald F. Crosby's book *God, Church, and Flag: Senator Joseph R. McCarthy and the Catholic Church 1950–1957*, he notes that "Sheen poured forth a gushing stream of books, articles, pamphlets, sermons, and speeches detailing the theory and dynamics of Communism."[13] Sheen gave many radio addresses about the issue of communism, and his pamphlets on the topic included titles such as *The Tactics of Communism*, *Communism and Religion*, *Communism Answers Questions of a Communist*, and *Liberty Under Communism*.[14] Sheen was deeply concerned about the threat that communism posed, and he even wondered if communism was just as dangerous of a threat to the world as Nazi Germany. In his pamphlet *What Are We Fighting For?* (1941), Sheen recognized the evil of Hitler and Nazi Germany, but felt just as concerned about Stalin and the threat posed by Russia. Sheen implored his audience, "Mark these words: The enemy of the world in the near future is going to be Russia," which "walks like a bear and crawls like a snake."[15]

One of the most repeated fears associated with communism was the idea that communists wanted to do away with religion and the family entirely. Because the family and the home were important sites for maintaining strict gender roles, communism was therefore seen as a threat to the gendered order. In a 1947 radio broadcast of *The Catholic Hour* entitled "Communism and Woman," Sheen noted, "the proudest boast of Communism is that it has finally emancipated the woman."[16] But Sheen critiqued notions of gender equality, particularly when discussing women engaging in the public workforce. Sheen stated that one of the "basic errors of both Communism and a capitalistic liberal civilization" was that "equality means the right of a woman to do a man's work."[17] Sheen saw communist philosophies about labor as an attempt to erase

differences between men and women. Towards this end, Sheen asserted, "One of the paradoxes of our irrational world is that a woman today is glorified when she produces an atomic bomb, but not when she can produce life."[18] Sheen saw communism as the logical conclusion for anyone who supported gender equality, and noted that "equality is wrong when it makes the woman a poor imitation of man."[19] He even pointed to the Seneca Falls Convention of 1848, and lamented that gender equality meant the "destruction of all privileges enjoyed by specific persons or classes."[20] Sheen believed that efforts towards gender equality were bad for women; as he saw it, "Modern woman has been made equal with man, but she has not been made happy."

Furthermore, Sheen suggested that "the level of any civilization is the level of its womanhood,"[21] and he saw Catholicism as being uniquely equipped to preserve womanhood. Here Sheen was not yearning for a version of womanhood and civilization that immediately proceeded World War II, but actually one that was largely based in the nineteenth century. Sheen saw "professional women" as vying for the respect and approval of men, but contended that they should instead be focused on satisfying their "basic instincts of womanhood."[22] To illustrate this, Sheen pointed to Catholic convents, stating:

> Nowhere else are more normal, and certainly more happy women to be found on this earth. One might add, also, that nowhere else are there so many young women, for a peculiar quality about the spiritual life is that it keeps a woman young. Cosmetics, mud baths, sneezeless soaps are lacking, but they manage to keep young and unwrinkled because they are at peace.[23]

Sheen saw Catholic nuns as being one of the fullest expressions of a preservation of true womanhood, and an example of a group that fully expressed their "God-given qualities"[24] and differences from men.

Yet just a week later, Sheen began a radio address entitled "Communism and the Family" by noting that "up to this point, we have been rather critical of Communism" and that "it is now time to single out a practice where it should be imitated."[25] Sheen was referring to a Russian "about-face"[26] on the issue of abortion and divorce, and he noted that since 1936 Russia had begun making access to abortion and divorce far more difficult. Sheen praised this shift, arguing, "There is no doubt that the philosophy of America today regarding family life is just the same as Russia's between 1917 and 1935, namely belief in divorce, free love and a queer system which in a compound word rejects both birth and control."[27] Once again, Sheen saw the status of womanhood as being in peril and asserted his belief that because of this the United States was "rotting from within."[28] Sheen continued by noting that "it is now definitely established fact that much of the neuroses and psychoses in modern woman is due to her fear of motherhood, her flight from the fulfillment of the high vocation of which God called her."[29]

Sheen brought a serious tone to his programs, particularly when dealing with issues like communism, and his radio and television programs often felt like a mixture of a Catholic homily and an academic lecture. While Sheen may have been just as anxious about the state of the gendered order as other Catholic media personalities, he still projected an image to his audience of a Catholic intellectual and expert. This calm, stern, and scholarly image of Catholic authority would prove to be a model for other Catholic television personalities. This scholarly emphasis in Catholic media was evident in a television broadcast of *The Catholic Hour*, where Fr. James J. McQuade was introduced as "the head of the religion department at John Carroll University." Utilizing charts and graphs, McQuade offered a lecture on what he believed to be the inevitable societal

effects of communism. This episode was entitled "Communist Society," and it was the final installation of a four-part series on communism.

Like Sheen, and other Catholic commentators on the issue of communism, McQuade quite matter-of-factly informed viewers that "the communist . . . completely rules God out of the picture." Additionally, McQuade spent a considerable amount of time reflecting on the effect communism would have on the marriage and the family. McQuade noted, "No man will even seek the exclusive companionship of any woman . . . nor will any woman ever seek the exclusive companionship of any particular man. Both will be free of the economic necessity of living together under contract." McQuade continued by making specific mention of how he believed communism would change women who were mothers. He asserted, "Children will be born, yes, but mothers will be different. Instead of bearing children for themselves as they do now. They will bear children for the community." McQuade believed that communism spelled certain doom for the institution of marriage and the family, and he warned his audience of the perilous state that the United States was in when he said, "So goes the family, and so the State will pass away."[30]

While radio and television helped Catholic media makers achieve theretofore unmatched levels of national visibility and respect, some people saw the intense Catholic attention towards this issue as being suspicious. In 1953, as McCarthy's favor began to wane, a former United States Army General named Herbert C. Holdridge issued a mass letter to members of Congress about the threat that "Vaticanism" posed to the nation. On the Catholic campaign against communism, Holdridge noted:

> "The drive against Communism is largely a smoke-screen to obscure the real purposes of the Vatican and its drive for power. There are some 20,000

> Communists in the United States, a discredited membership which has been driven underground. But there are some 30–40 million Catholics in the United States—sincere, devout, patriotic—but conditioned to follow unquestioningly the dictates of a foreign political state which is committed to a policy of destroying the very foundations of our democracy, and whose agents stride arrogantly across the national scene and venture openly into every area of American life."[31]

This letter is compelling because it simultaneously regarded American Catholics as being "sincere, devout, [and] patriotic" while also being tied to an organization that threatened to destroy "the very foundations of our democracy." Holdridge's letter pointed to the increased role and visibility in American social and political life that Catholics had achieved, but it also illustrated the reality that suspicions of Catholicism had not been completely erased. Considering this, some Catholic leaders during the period believed that the waning support of McCarthy was rooted in anti-Catholic sentiment. As historian Donald Crosby notes, "Monsignor Edward R. Martin, the conservative pastor of a Catholic parish in New York City" spoke to an "enthusiastic crowd of Catholic McCarthyites," asserting that "forces were opposing McCarthy 'solely because of his Catholic ideals.'"[32] Despite these appeals, the issue of communism did not prove to be a viable cause that Catholic media makers could continue to focus on. However, it is important to note that during the 1940s and 50s the Catholic fight against communism had also provided some an opportunity to call on Catholics to take up the cause of racial justice.

Catholics Confront Racism in America

For some Catholic pamphlet writers in the 1940s and 50s, the issue of racism in America was an important aspect of the fight against communism. In *The Catholic Church and the Negro* (1941), James J. Madigan warned readers about the appeal that

communists were making to black people in the United States and argued that Catholics needed to address the ways that they perpetuated racist systems. Madigan noted that "there is a terrifying prejudice deep in Catholic hearts."[33] Similarly, in *Catholics, Race, and Law* (1947), Francis Haas addressed the institutionalization of racism and observed that many Catholics seemed to remain silent about the unequal access to adequate housing, jobs, and schools for black people in the United States.

In the Queen's Work pamphlet *How to Think About Race* (1951), Louis J. Twomey noted that "if the world is to be saved from Communist domination, the United States must establish a rightful claim to moral leadership."[34] Twomey continued by asserting that "to defend segregation on the basis of 'white supremacy' is to convict oneself of racism. All forms of racism—whether the American, Nazi, Fascist, or Communist type—are essentially the same, regardless of how they may differ in their external expression."[35] From Twomey's perspective, the embrace of antiracism in the fight against communism was also a numbers game. He wrote:

> Regardless of what may be our views as to the best method for achieving interracial justice, we cannot fail to appreciate the tremendous impact of this problem on the fateful struggle of America and her Allies to withstand Communism. Three fourths of the world's population are nonwhite. America cannot hope to win the showdown battle with Soviet Russia without having won over at least a majority of the colored races.[36]

Throughout *How to Think About Race*, Twomey issued a scathing critique of all who were complicit in supporting racism, and he further noted that "many Catholics do not hesitate to align themselves with advocates of 'white supremacy' despite the vigorous and oft-repeated condemnation of racism by the Church."[37] Twomey clearly believed that the future and growth of the Catholic Church in the United States hinged on its own reckoning with race. Towards this end, Twomey pointed to a report released a year

earlier, in 1950, by the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith entitled "The Catholic Church and Negroes in the United States." [38] This report stated that "any thought of a wide, general conversion of the Negroes to the Catholic Church is an illusion until and unless *the attitude of American Catholics—clergy and laity—is completely purified* of approval of the segregation policy."[39]

In 1952, the Fides Publishers Association in Chicago released the pamphlet *Catholics Speak on Race Relations* by Daniel Cantwell, which also sought to inspire Catholics to take up the cause of racial justice. Cantwell took a unique approach in making the case for a Catholic embrace of antiracism: providing readers with over fifty pages of examples of Catholic leaders who supported the cause of racial justice. Instead of using his singular voice, Cantwell saw strength in numbers and chose to illustrate the *volume* of Catholics who supported the cause of racial justice. Additionally, Cantwell pointed directly at efforts that Catholics could take at challenging racism *within* Catholic spaces. He praised individuals who spoke out against segregation in Catholic hospitals, elementary schools, and colleges and universities. He also highlighted statements against racism made by Catholic religious orders, and he challenged Catholics who did not go to confession to repent the ways that they have been racist. Cantwell even acknowledged the practice of segregation in Catholic parishes, including parish sodalities and school groups.

Similarly, in 1955 the Ave Maria Press published the Chicago Friendship House's pamphlet *Facts in Black and White,* which addressed racism perpetuated by Catholics but still asserted that racism was fundamentally "un-Catholic." The authors noted:

> Some Churches still insist that Negroes sit in the rear or in a special corner. Some still do not permit Negroes to join the parish societies. The ushers in a few

> Churches still refuse to admit Negroes at all. In some areas, Holy Communion is still distributed to Negroes only after distribution to all white communicants is completed. These regrettable instances do not conform to the spirit or the letter of Church law, but to local customs of a very un-Catholic nature.[40]

In addition to these racist practices within Catholic churches, this pamphlet answered questions such as: would Catholic (read: *white* Catholic) parents be justified in not sending their children to the local Catholic school when it "accepts Negroes"?[41] To answer this question, the authors shared a statement from the Catholic school board of Indianapolis:

> It may well be that God will be forced to tell such parents that in that case perhaps it will be best for them not to enter Heaven because in the Eternal Kingdom of God they will be forced to abide for all eternity with men and women whose skins are black, brown, yellow, and red.[42]

While racism was wholly condemned by these pamphlet writers, it is important to note that Catholic pamphlet writers clearly often imagined Catholics in America as being white. They would often discuss "Catholic attitudes towards Negroes" in a way that centered white Catholics and all but ignored the existence of black Catholics. In addition to textual cues, images on Catholic pamphlet covers and illustrations within the pamphlets almost always depicted Catholics as being white.

As Bryan Massingale details in *Racial Justice and the Catholic Church* (2010), the erasure of black Catholics is not a vestige of the past, but a very contemporary issue as well. Given the efforts made by Catholic pamphlet writers to help Catholics assume a more central place in American social and political life, it should not be seen as coincidental that Catholic pamphlets repeatedly projected an image of Catholics as being white, middle-class, and heterosexual. Given this highly curated image of Catholics in America, it is also important to reflect on the reality that one of the aspects of racism that most divided Catholic pamphlet writers was the issue of interracial marriage.

Catholic Antiracism and Interracial Marriage

In *How to Think About Race,* Louis Twomey pointed to the gendered and sexual anxieties regarding interracial marriage, which he referred to as the "touchiest" of the topics surrounding race relations in America. Twomey refuted any of the usual justifications against interracial marriage, but noted that questions like "Would you want your sister to marry a Negro?" often were effective at shutting down discussions about racism. Such questions were connected to a long legacy of American anxieties about interracial relationships, particularly between black men and white women. But interestingly, Twomey noted that Catholic "Canon Law, however is stern in its disapproval of the marriage of a white Catholic with a white non-Catholic, but says nothing specifically referring to a Negro Catholic's marriage with a white Catholic."[43] While this was another instance in which Twomey rejected racism and white supremacy, it was also one of the rare moments in which black Catholics were actually recognized. Twomey concluded his remarks by noting that while a married interracial couple would likely be the subject of a great deal of ostracism, there is no moral or valid reason against interracial marriage.

That same year, the Queen's Work published Frank Riley's pamphlet *Race Riddles: The Whys of Discrimination* (1951), which took a much different stance on the issue of interracial marriage. Riley believed that the issue of intermarriage was "unimportant" when compared to other issues like "civil and voting rights . . . housing segregation . . . [and] discrimination in employment and in public places."[44] Riley noted that speakers at "interracial forums" were more interested in talking about issues related to interracial justice, but that audiences frequently desired to talk about the topic of

interracial marriage.[45] Riley drew parallels between the relationship between communism and labor rights and the relationship between and antiracism and interracial marriage. His point was that someone did not necessarily have to be an advocate of communism if they believed in labor rights, nor did people invested in interracial justice have to support interracial marriage. Riley noted his belief that "it is not necessary to promote, subvert, or even have an attitude toward racial intermarriage in order to give the American Negro his due."[46] Unlike Twomey, Riley continued to dismiss the curiosity regarding interracial marriage when he argued that "unless the questioner is seriously contemplating such a marriage, the inquiry is rather silly, if not entirely idle."[47] On whether or not the Catholic Church approved of intermarriage, Riley stated:

> In general the Church has no attitude toward it. The color of one's skin is no more an impediment to valid marriage than the color of one's eyes. But while the Church is not concerned with the shade of skin as a qualification for marriage, she is nevertheless very much concerned with insuring the permanence of marriage. Consequently in the United States today a pastor would very likely strongly discourage interracial marriage because he knows how difficult it is for a couple to be happily married if the whole world is against them.[48]

While Riley largely offered a pass to those who wished to maintain their opposition to interracial marriage, his position on other matters of segregation were much clearer. On the question of whether or not someone should want a "Negro for a next-door neighbor," Riley remarked that "segregation is precisely the means by which prejudice is perpetuated and the injustices consequent on it are continued" (yet this did not seem to apply to marriage).[49] Riley also revealed some of the racist musings that white Catholics had when he responded to questions like "Why are Negroes so lazy and dishonest?";[50] "Why should Negroes be treated as equals since they are not even clean or intelligent?";[51] and "Could a Negro colony in Africa be a good solution to American racial problems?"[52]

Troublingly, Riley also addressed what a white person should do if they were to be "pushed around by a Negro." Riley suggested that Christians must respond to rudeness with politeness, but if "the 'pushing around' reaches or immediately threatens violence, we have the right to seek the defense of law and to exercise self-defense as it is necessary."[53] While Riley supported the cause of antiracism, he presented himself as a moderate, and repeatedly assumed a white readership.

Twomey and Riley's pamphlets illustrated the diversity of strategies and approaches to dealing with the issue of racism in America among Catholic pamphlet writers. By extension, they illustrated the reality that various Catholics might have had very different senses of their church's stance on an issue like interracial marriage, if one parish or local pamphlet rack were to be stocked with Twomey's pamphlet and the other with Riley's. This reality was magnified by the fact that frank discussions about race were not commonly featured in Catholic pamphlet literature. However, the gendered and sexual anxieties that underpinned many of these texts remained squarely in the focus of Catholic pamphlet writers, as we can see in their pamphlets on marriage, divorce, and mixed marriages.

"A New Type of Atom Bomb"

In the postwar era, another wave of Catholic pamphlets was aimed at educating readers about the topic of marriage. The two most repeated subjects within Catholic pamphlets focused on marriage were divorce and "mixed marriages" between Catholics and non-Catholics. The Ave Maria Press published a series of pamphlets by John A. O'Brien that included *Speaking of Marriage* (1948), *Choosing a Partner for Marriage*

(1948), *Making Marriage Stick* (1948), *Achieving Happiness in Marriage* (1950), *Preparing for Marriage* (1952), *Marriage: A Vocation* (1953), *Why Marriages Fail* (1954), and *Getting the Most Out of Marriage* (1954).

As noted in the introduction to this project, O'Brien's *Making Marriage Stick* warned readers of a "new type of atom bomb" that threatened to destroy the nation, and this "bomb" was *divorce*. John A. O'Brien was a Catholic priest from the University of Notre Dame who often wrote under his academic title, "Ph.D." (and not his priestly one, "Fr. O'Brien"), and he painted a bleak picture of the stability of marriage and family life. Like many other Catholic media makers, the state of marriage and the gendered order is what seemed to scare him the most, and divorce was what he believed was tearing families and homes apart. And O'Brien was convinced that Catholics were best suited to help "save" the United States. If divorce was the bomb that hovered "over the heads of the American people," Catholic values about marriage and divorce could save the day.[54] In addition to a strong opposition to divorce, Catholic pamphleteers also had a lot to say about the issue of mixed marriages. Pamphlets on the topic included Richard Ginder's *A Mixed Marriage?* and John A. O'Brien's *Marriage—Catholic or Mixed*, as well as Benjamin Bowling's *Mixed Marriage: Outlines for Instructors* (1954), John Banahan's *Instructions for Mixed Marriages* (1955), Donald Miller's *How to Act Towards Invalidly Married Catholics* (1956), and John Maguire's *About "Those" Catholic Marriage Laws* (1957). This discussion of interfaith marriage is an interesting chapter in American Catholic history; the volume of pamphlets on the topic suggests that many Catholics were interested in marrying non-Catholics, or already had. For a religious community that had been marked as "Other" and un-American, the intermarriage between Catholics and non-

Catholics could be seen as a major step towards entering the mainstream of American society. But throughout these pamphlets on mixed marriages, the assumption was that faith would be lost for Catholics who married non-Catholics and that these couples would ultimately be unhappy.

In *A Mixed Marriage?* Richard Ginder implored his audience to avoid inter-religious marriages. He pleaded, "If you're a Protestant, for heaven's sake don't marry a Catholic. If you're a Catholic, don't marry a non-Catholic. And if you're Jewish, don't marry a gentile. Whatever you are, marry your own!"[55] While the stated aim of this pamphlet was to address inter-religious marriages, Ginder also used this pamphlet as an opportunity to assert the notion of stark differences between men and women. Ginder reminded readers that "God has made us different, men from women"[56] and that "boys are attracted to girls and vice versa,"[57] emphasizing that this differentiation and attraction was ordained by God. Ginder further reified the notion of fundamental gender difference when he noted:

> Boys and girls are built for marriage not only by sexual differentiation but by temperament as well. Girls know the art of gracious living; they are home-makers by instinct. Whereas men are rough and angular in their way; they can work like horses; they are natural-born bread-winners.[58]

As we will see, such biological assertions about men and women were commonplace in Catholic pamphlets during this period.

Ginder also used this pamphlet as an opportunity to discuss sex, and to project heterosexuality as a universal norm for Catholics. Ginder noted that one of the principal purposes of marriage was that it provided a "legitimate relief for the sex-urge,"[59] and he denounced any sort of sexuality outside of marital sex as "sordid, base, and animal."[60] With marriage being discussed as providing a "legitimate relief for the sex-urge," it is

unsurprising that a number of Catholic writers saw marriage as a "remedy" for some of the problems with teenagers and sex (as marriage quite literally prevented Catholics from engaging in premarital sex). In addition to the role that sexuality played in a marriage, Catholic pamphlet writers like Ginder were also conscious of the way that topics like birth control might create tension and conflict for mixed marriages. Ginder shared his belief that Catholics who married non-Catholics would likely have a difficult time asserting their beliefs about birth control with their spouses, and that they would have a difficult time raising children with conflicting teachings on the issue. Ginder noted that "birth prevention is a mortal sin, and it appears to take a lot of good will on the part of even devout Catholic couples to keep God's law in that regard during these pagan times."[61] With sentiments such as this, it is unsurprising that one of the most returned-to topics in Catholic pamphlet literature was the issue of birth control.

Birth Control and an Ideal of Catholic Womanhood . . . and Manhood

The issue of birth control was one of the most repeatedly addressed topics throughout Catholic pamphlet literature. In 1947, Daniel Lord's pamphlet *A Mother Looks at Birth Control* focused on a letter that Lord claimed to have received from a Catholic mother on the topic of birth control. While Catholic pamphlet literature rarely included the voices of women, this pamphlet featured a mother who echoed and validated all of the things Lord believed on the issue of birth control. Interestingly, Lord began this pamphlet by noting that since he had begun writing pamphlets on the issue of birth control, many letters had been "fired" at him challenging his positions. Lord cited arguments like, "Why do you priests keep harping on the subject all the time?"; "What

can an unmarried priest know about the problems of married people?"; and "With so many important things to be discussed, must you waste your time on this subject?"[62] But Lord asserted that "if we who love the human race and worry about the future of our country do not make at least as much effort to prevent its destruction as do those who beg the young to practice race suicide, we should be failing in our duty."[63]

In the letter of support, the writer, who identified herself as Peggy Boyan, remarked how frustrated she would get when people would assume that her three children under the age of three were "accidents."[64] Boyan asserted that birth control would ruin the love between married partners as "it will cause them unrest, dissatisfaction, and will lead to unfaithfulness."[65] Lord interrupted the transcript of Boyan's letter to emphasize his agreement that birth control leads to "promiscuity." Boyan also referred to those who use birth control as being "emotionally immature" because "they are afraid to face life's responsibilities."[66] While this was something that Boyan believed applied to both men and women, she was particularly interested in the effect that the use of birth control had on *men*. Boyan referenced her own husband as a model man, writing:

> He is not quite twenty-four. That means he is young. He looks young too, and he acts boyish. But he is much more practical, sensible, and mature than plenty of men in their forties. He is most lovable and gentle. Yet no one coming to our home could doubt for a minute that he is the head of the house.[67]

Boyan believed her husband and all those who "have the fine Catholic ideas about marriage and children" stood in stark contrast to the men who are in relationships that use birth control.[68] Boyan remarked that "none of our husbands have that strange softness and that almost effeminate affection that seem to become characteristic of life-prevention husbands."[69] Boyan's characterization of men who are in relationships that use birth control as "effeminate" points to the larger gendered meaning associated with birth

control. The anxiety surrounding birth control was not just about population or maintaining the procreative element of heterosexual sex—it was also deeply a part of a desire to maintain the patriarchal gendered order. For anyone who defined women solely through the capacity to give birth, birth control was seen as dissolving one of the most important differences between men and women.

With this in mind, it is not surprising that shortly after mentioning these "effeminate" men, Boyan addressed how many women in the maternity ward "complained of the cost of living" and planned to return to work. Boyan believed "it was wrong for a mother to work" and instructed these women that "children need their mothers at home much more than they need any money that the mothers could possibly bring in."[70] Whether Peggy Boyan's letter was authentic, or if she was just a character created by Lord's imagination, these sorts of texts functioned as highly gendered tutorials for how to be a "good Catholic." In this sense a pamphlet about birth control was never *just* a pamphlet about birth control. This pamphlet did more than communicate official Church teaching on the issue of birth control; it also illustrated, from Lord's perspective, what sort of women—and men—were to be celebrated within the Church. So regardless of how representative Peggy Boyan may have been for Catholic women, Lord wished to hold her and her "shining ideals" up as a model for other Catholic women.[71]

As noted in previous chapters, Catholic pamphlet literature was also part of a strategy to help frame Catholics more favorably in the collective imagination of the nation. Towards this end, Catholic pamphlet literature not only depicted Catholics in flattering ways, but also routinely made the case that good Catholic values were also good American values. Put another way: the more Catholic you were, the more patriotic

you would be. Some Catholic pamphlet writers suggested that Catholics were, in fact, the *most patriotic* Americans. While such claims were sometimes implied, rather than declared explicitly, other pamphlet writers described the benefit that Catholics provided the nation in terms that were so grandiose that they seemed hyperbolic.

Catholics, Contraception, and Winning the War

In 1947, the Paulist Press published the pamphlet *Shall We Have Children?: The Ethical Aspects of the Planned Parenthood Movement*, which was a printed transcript of a panel discussion about contraception coordinated by Reverend Michael J. Curley, the Archbishop of Baltimore and Washington.[72] One of the contributing members to this panel was the Rev. Francis Connell, C.SS.R., S.T.D., who was an associate professor of moral theology at the Catholic University of America. Like many other Catholic pamphleteers, Connell repeatedly made the case that Catholics were valuable citizens of the United States, and that their values regarding gender and sexuality were what made them such an asset to the nation.

Decades earlier, both during and after World War I, Catholic media makers made the case that Catholic patriotism was proven by Catholic men's service during the war, but in the wake of World War II, individuals like Connell pointed to very different examples as evidence of Catholic patriotism. Connell made a forcible case for the rejection of birth control and contraception and warned that the planned parenthood movement threatened the "future welfare of America, and . . . the very survival of our nation."[73] Connell stressed that he spoke "not only as a Catholic priest, but also as an American citizen, deeply concerned with the future of my country."[74] While Connell

conceded that the planned parenthood movement was very popular, he believed "it is the contention of Catholics, and of many others, that what is generally designed as planned parenthood is opposed to ethical principles, is something immoral, and that the approbation of many people does not prove it to be moral."[75] Connell additionally noted that proponents of the planned parenthood movement sought to "enjoy the privileges of married life" while escaping "its obligations and burdens," a lifestyle to which "a number of Americans, particularly Catholics, are opposed."[76]

Connell's most striking comment was when he noted that married couples not only performed an "exalted deed" when they brought a child into the world, but a "patriotic" one. Connell extended his earlier concerns about the survival of the United States so far that he suggested that had it not been for married couples (particularly Catholics) who rejected the use of birth control, *the United States may not have won World War II*. Connell stated:

> When a married couple bring a child into the world . . . they perform a patriotic service toward the nation, by providing it with citizens to maintain its progress in times of peace and to defend its freedom and its ideals in time of war. If all the married couples of this country had practiced contraception according to their convenience in the course of the past forty or fifty years, we should very likely be under the domination of Nazi Germany today, for the number of our fighting men would have been millions less than it actually was.[77]

While the idea of a Catholic priest discussing the ethics of birth control is wholly unsurprising, the suggestion that the United States could have been under Nazi control had a segment of Americans (read: Catholics) not rejected birth control is remarkable. It goes without saying that world history books have not maintained Connell's notion that World War II was won as a result of an American rejection of birth control. However,

this pamphlet provides a clear example of the ways in which Catholic discourse on issues like birth control were tied to efforts to cast Catholics as being model citizens.

In his pamphlet *Parenthood: The Most Important Profession in the World!* (1945), Daniel Lord shared similar sentiments when he asserted that, "the young man and woman who today are doing the greatest service for the country are doing nothing spectacular, but what they are doing is vitally important. They are building strong, vigorous, pure bodies."[78] Connell appeared less interested in making Catholics appear to be "normal" Americans; as noted earlier, he believed that the rejection of birth control made Catholics different than most Americans. Indeed, Connell appeared to be intent on asserting that Catholics were *model* Americans (even heroes!) for their moral and ethical values.

While Catholic pamphlet writers did not address the value that Catholics presented the United States as explicitly as they had in decades prior, it is clear that many Catholic pamphlets about issues related to gender and sexuality provided guidelines for what responsible Catholics must do, not only as Catholics, but also as *Americans*. When reflecting on the almost apocalyptic tone of Connell's writing, it is clear that he wished to cast American Catholics in an incredibly favorable light. While almost every Catholic pamphlet writer during this period projected a highly curated and favorable image of American Catholics to their readers, they did not all make efforts to appeal to non-Catholic audiences in the same way.

"Planned Pollutionism" and the Preservation of American Morality

Expanding on the sentiments of authors like Francis Connell, who praised Catholics for their service to the nation, Richard Ginder suggested that Catholics' rejection of birth control made them a *morally superior* religious community in the United States. In *Planned Parenthood*, a pamphlet published by the Catholic Information Society in 1947, Ginder praised the Catholic Church for being a bedrock of stability on the issue of birth control. Ginder was a fierce critic of any sort of birth control, but his pamphlets were unique from others during this period. In his writings, Ginder relied heavily on scripture, which simply was not representative of the majority of Catholic pamphleteers. While this could be interpreted as an effort to appeal to Protestants, Ginder's writing was also unique in that he was unafraid to present sharp criticism of religious groups that supported birth control. Ginder's writing resembled the tone of an angry street preacher who shouted and scolded passers-by, as opposed to one who would smile kindly and hand someone a tract.

Ginder chastised proponents of birth control for being materialistic and selfish, but when providing examples of this he only referenced *women's* materialism and selfishness. Ginder described the typical modern mother as living on "martinis and cheese-popcorn" and looking more like "an animated toothpick than a matron" because she was "concerned rather with her figure than with her conscience and so is delighted to hear a physician assure her that 'another child would be fatal.'"[79] Additionally, Ginder imagined hypothetical scenarios like: "Had the planned pollutionists existed before this, there would have been no Beethoven—for he was the last in a family of twelve!"[80]

Besides his creation of such vivid scenes, another quality that made Ginder's work distinct was his willingness to criticize non-Catholics.

Ginder noted that the Catholic Church "stands with God in her detestation of birth prevention,"[81] and that he had witnessed "a complete about-face in this matter on the part of many Protestants and Jews."[82] Ginder pointed to Protestants who previously spoke out against birth control but later endorsed "planned pollutionism" and became "in favor of Onan."[83] While most Catholic pamphleteers worked to mend relations between Catholics and Protestants/non-Catholics, Ginder did not hold back when making harsh critiques of other religious traditions. Just a couple of years after World War II and the Holocaust, Ginder crudely remarked that "the Jews are simply breeding themselves out of existence."[84]

While Ginder was not afraid to criticize other religious groups, and seemed less interested in appealing to non-Catholic audiences, his work still acknowledged the reality of anti-Catholic sentiment in the United States. For Ginder, the Catholic Church's stance on the issue of birth control, and the fact that the Catholic Church encouraged everyone (regardless of faith) to reject the use of birth control, was itself proof that certain conspiracies about American Catholics were untrue. Ginder pointed to Thomas F. Coakley's words in *The Catholic Observer* to illustrate the fact that Catholic leaders were not against birth control just for the purpose of increasing the Catholic population in the United States. Coakley wrote:

> Unless Protestants and Jews and unbelievers cease their propaganda for Planned Parenthood, they will wake up some morning to find that Catholics have overrun the United States. . . . This is a democracy; the group with the largest number of votes has always run the country. If Protestants and Jews deliberately set out on a program of killing themselves off, within a few generations they must not be surprised if the United States has become conspicuously Catholic.[85]

By citing Coakley, Ginder attempted to negate anti-Catholic conspiracies about birth control. In doing so, Ginder illustrated the reality that anxieties about Catholics "overrunning the United States" were still very present. Continuing on, Ginder cited Coakley again, who noted that from outer space it would appear that "the feverish activity of Planned Parenthooders to prevent other Protestants and Jews from being born, would conclude he was witnessing a gigantic Catholic plot to exterminate Protestants and Jews."[86] But Ginder was intent on disproving these conspiracies about Catholics and birth control, and like previous pamphlet writers he was invested in dissolving notions that Catholics were any sort of threat to the United States. Ginder concluded his pamphlet on birth control in a way that situated his opinions squarely with American values. He argued that the United States "is still a land of opportunity. Our country achieved greatness because her citizens knew how to hustle, to go out and get what they wanted—a virtue never learned by the pampered children of small families."[87] Ginder believed that large Catholic families made America great, and he worked diligently to dispel any notion that Catholics were not a vital asset to the nation.

The "Labor of Love" and the Catholic Debate about Working Women

For many Catholic media makers, communism was a major threat to the nation because it destabilized the primacy of the family unit. As noted with Fulton Sheen, the fight against communism was also tied to debates about women's work, a topic that received much attention in Catholic pamphlets in the years both preceding and following World War II. In February 1945, roughly six months before the conclusion of World War II, the Graymoor Press in Peekskill, New York, published a pamphlet written by

Kenneth Dougherty, S.A.[88] entitled *Absentee Mothers: A Social Crisis*. This pamphlet examined the disruptions to social life caused by World War II, and the "social crisis" caused by mothers working outside of the home.[89] The pamphlet's cover featured the image of a woman wearing a welding mask, as her head is centered in front of a cogwheel at a factory. The woman stares forward with a blank expression, while a young child with disheveled hair reaches out to her, with a ball at his side with no one to play with, while sharp edges of a saw blade separate this mother from her child.

This image is a stark contrast to the now-infamous Westinghouse Electric "Rosie the Riveter" image, which had been created just three years earlier. While the image of Rosie the Riveter may be known for its connection to the fight for women's rights, the original use of Rosie the Riveter was to equate women's factory work with pro-war patriotism. Such images helped frame women who helped produce war supplies as being the heroes on the home front. However, in *Absentee Mothers* we encounter a very different attitude towards these women workers. Dougherty lamented that a "great many people nowadays believe that the working mothers are doing their 'essential jobs' on the home front,"[90] and that "they eulogize with flag-waving glamor the sacrifices of family life, which so many American mothers are making."[91] Dougherty went on to express his dismay that news stories suggested that these women were putting their "country first," and that readers were being lulled into a "dreamland of women seeking new hope in a land of nuts and bolts."[92]

Dougherty stressed that it should not be considered "old-fashioned" for a woman to stay at home, and that a "mother plus home-making duties equals an 'essential job' to society."[93] Dougherty also worked to undo the link between working women and

patriotism by suggesting that the women who had children and focused their energies on homemaking were actually the ones who provided the nation with the most important work. Dougherty declared that "there can be no patriotism so high that it asks a mother with children to quit her essential job in the family, the basic unit of society, for the sake of filling some industrial job."[94] While many images of working women were intended to evoke a sense of patriotism, Dougherty believed that working mothers were actually *unpatriotic*, as they neglected their families, which were the "basic unit of society." Interestingly, yet wholly unsurprisingly, Dougherty did not seem to have the same feelings about working fathers, or fathers who left their families to fight in the war. Dougherty's line of thinking was quite familiar: if the home was a microcosm of the nation, then strong homes would make for a strong nation. Therefore, despite the overwhelmingly patriotic depiction of women workers, a mother who left her essential role within the home actually *hurt* the nation. In this way, Dougherty suggested that the maintenance of a patriarchal gendered order was more valuable for the nation than any of women's contributions to the war effort or industries outside of the home. Dougherty lamented the repeated media attention given to women workers, and suggested that there should be more media attention paid to the women who chose to focus on homemaking. He noted that one could read news stories about women working the furnaces at a mill, but not stories about women who tended the "hearth of their homes," where Dougherty noted that women had "been doing very well there ever since Eve!" (Eve had a hearth?)[95]

Dougherty's concerns were not focused entirely on the strength of American homes, and he also recognized that women working outside of the home was not an entirely new phenomenon. He noted that since the "Middle Ages," there had been women

working outside the home. But the issue that Dougherty was most concerned over was his belief that women were *losing their womanhood*.[96] Herein lies the anxiety that most repeatedly underpinned this pamphlet: Dougherty feared that the demarcation between proper feminine and masculine behavior was eroding. He remarked that it was a "strange sight" at Sunday to see a woman "dressed like a man," and that it was no longer uncommon to meet a female "bus-driver . . . riveter . . . or even a lumberjill."[97] Though women had worked outside of the home throughout history, Dougherty seemed particularly concerned about the type of work women were doing. He quite directly questioned whether "any womanhood remains for these women" in industry.[98]

While this pamphlet directly addressed the lives of women and their decision to work in a factory or in the home (or both), Dougherty made repeated efforts to assert that the workplace was exclusively men's space. Additionally, he worked to make the case that certain tasks were only to be done by men, as an effort to maintain the notion that brute strength was the sole propriety of men. Dougherty bemoaned the fact that "we get the picture of a kind of man without his muscles."[99] Here it is clear that when women demonstrated an ability to accomplish tasks that only men were thought capable of, beliefs about the superior physical strength of men became harder to maintain. While Dougherty did not explicitly reference Rosie the Riveter, it is clear that he was aware that women workers during wartime were challenging the notion that women were the "weaker" sex. When reflecting on figures like Rosie, it is important to recognize that the popular Westinghouse Electric "We Can Do It!" image of Rosie the Riveter that is most recognizable today actually received very little circulation during the war. Rather, it was Norman Rockwell's depiction of Rosie that was featured on the May 29, 1943, issue of

the *Saturday Evening Post* that was much more widely recognizable. In this image, Rosie is quite muscular and takes up a significant amount of space—in contemporary terms, she is "manspreading." Additionally, Rockwell's Rosie is stepping on a copy of Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and wielding a very phallic rivet gun on her lap, making it abundantly clear that the toughness and physicality needed to win the war was not an exclusively male contribution to the war effort.

In addition to these gendered anxieties, Dougherty articulated his belief that Catholic families should live simply and practically. Dougherty suggested that women's interest in working outside of the home was a result of their materialistic excessiveness, a value that was not compatible with Catholicism. Unsurprisingly, Dougherty did not seem to find men's desire to work outside of the home as being rooted in materialism, nor did he acknowledge that some women's work outside of the home might have been a necessity after becoming widowed during the war. Again and again, Dougherty painted a bleak picture of the social crisis caused by any woman who worked outside of the home. But Kenneth Dougherty was not the only pamphlet writer to offer thoughts on the topic of women working outside of the home. While the sample size is quite small, it is remarkable to note how different the content and tone of Catholic pamphlets sometimes were when the author was a woman.

Kenneth Dougherty wrote *Absentee Mothers: A Social Crisis* in 1945 with a serious concern for the effect that mothers working outside the home was having on society. But he also expressed optimism when he cited surveys that suggested that women would in fact return to the home after working outside of the home.[100] Yet just two years later, in 1947, Mary T. Waggaman's pamphlet *Women Workers in Wartime*

and Reconversion, published by the Paulist Press, treated women in industry as a normal fact of life and did not even entertain the notion that it would (or should) stop. Here we can see quite clearly that Americans (and Catholics) were still negotiating ideas about gender, labor, and the family, and that any sort of transition back into traditionally gendered divisions of labor would not be embraced unanimously.

In her pamphlet, Waggaman addressed the issues facing women workers but did not muse on whether women could or should work outside of the home. Waggaman was the former associate economist of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, and she focused her writing on the reality that millions of women already did work outside of the home, arguing that Catholics must reckon with the inequalities that they faced. As Waggaman noted, "Certain wartime reports on weekly wages in manufacturing indicate, on the whole, that women's earnings were about 60 percent of men's."[101] Further (and unlike Dougherty), Waggaman acknowledged that "one of the tragic aftermaths of war is the large and permanent expansion in the number of women members of families with veterans who have died or are disabled."[102] In order to better help these women, Waggaman pointed to the numerous international unions that had implemented equal pay policies[103] and urged that "the encouraging advance already made in protective legislation for women workers should be a stimulus for unceasing efforts for more and more adequate labor provisions."[104]

It is remarkable how two Catholic pamphlets about women working outside the home could strike such different tones, but these texts illustrate the growing diversity of thought within Catholic pamphlet literature. Additionally, these texts illustrate the political diversity within the Church and how Catholics exposed to different sorts of

pamphlets may have had very different imaginations of what they felt their church saw as being important. Someone who attended a Catholic parish where Dougherty's pamphlets were displayed would have received a clear message that women (particularly mothers) should not work outside of the home. Meanwhile, someone at a Catholic parish with Waggaman's pamphlet on display would be exposed to a version of Catholicism that saw working women as a fact of life, as well as a part of society that is ladened with inequalities that should be addressed. And it was clear that Waggaman wanted Catholics to be discussing these issues in a way that was oriented at granting women more rights within the workplace. *Women Workers in Wartime and Reconversion* included a study club outline with a list of discussion questions like "What are some of the bars to women's more adequate remuneration?"[105] and "What are some of the facts indicating the serious need for vigorous efforts to improve the condition of women wage earners?"[106] For Waggaman, the appropriate Catholic response to women workers was to help them achieve adequate pay and humane working conditions, not to chastise them or blame them for the ills of society. While Waggaman's pamphlet offered an example of the growing diversity of thought within Catholic media, it was still an outlier among Catholic pamphlet literature. Like Dougherty, most Catholic pamphlet writers framed the issue of women working outside of the home as a cause for concern and an indication that the gendered foundation of the home was in trouble.

Complementarity and the Gendered Division of the Home

In *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era*, historian Elaine Tyler May explains that in the postwar period, "containment was the key to security."[107]

For those who feared communist infiltration, all elements of American society felt at risk. Given this, many Catholic pamphlet writers asserted the belief that patriarchal gender roles were needed to create and maintain rigid boundaries for the home, and in turn create a stronger nation. In 1951, the Ave Maria Press published Burnett C. Bauer's pamphlet *Blueprint for Family Catholic Action*, which depicted the Catholic home as a bastion of morality against the secular world. Burnett asserted that the modern American life was "causing a rapid deterioration of the family" as a result of issues like divorce, birth control, juvenile delinquency, violence, and sexual debauchery.[108] Burnett noted that "Catholic couples, and a large number of non-Catholic married couples as well, are beginning to realize that there is an urgent need for the restoration of family life in America *now*, and that this restoration will only take place through Christianity."[109] For Burnett, the Christian Family Movement (CFM) was the way to bring about the "Christianization" of America.[110] This pamphlet went into incredibly specific detail on how to organize a CFM group, including the gendered division of labor within the group. Burnett wrote:

> Generally speaking, the president should be a man—not only because in the Christian and natural order of things the man is head of the family, but also because this gives a manly tone to the impact the federation will have upon the outside; and the chances will be better of influencing leading men outside the organization towards the federation's goals than if the impression is given that it is a women's organization, as could easily happen if a woman were president. Furthermore, while men do not mind working with women, they naturally tend to shy away from women-led organizations.[111]

What is important about this excerpt is how Burnett invoked the language of "nature" and suggested that certain gendered behaviors, in this case men's leadership, are regarded as reflections on the natural order. Given the aforementioned gendered anxieties present in Catholic pamphlet literature during this period, it is clear that Burnett's desire for men to

lead CFM groups was connected to a larger effort to maintain men's authority and sense of leadership in the world more broadly. In addition to discussing the organization of CFM groups, Burnett gave specific instructions on what a CFM meeting might look like. Burnett noted that for a first meeting, a group might discuss the "increase in divorces, crime, [or] juvenile delinquency" or address "instances of un-Christian attitude" such as people who look at a Christmas window with a nativity scene and remark, "I don't see why they have to bring religion into Christmas."[112] (This might make someone today wonder: Did the "War on Christmas" really go back that far?)

In addition to this blueprint for Christian families, a number of other Catholic pamphlets addressed the importance of the home, including Rev. Leo C. Byrne's *Religion and Family Life* (1952),[113] Raul Plus, S.J.'s *Christ in the Home* (1953)[114] and *Catholic Training of Children* (1953),[115] Rev. Dr. Leslie Rumble, M.S.C.'s *Questions About Family Life—Questions Addressed to a Catholic Priest* (1956),[116] and Fulton Sheen's *The Christian Order and the Family.*[117] Each of these pamphlets painted a bleak picture of marriage and family life in America and asserted that a re-establishment of the patriarchal gendered order is what was needed. Fulton Sheen lamented that "the universalizing of easy divorce means that the institution of marriage is slowly degenerating into State-licensed free love."[118] And Leslie Rumble wrote about the place of the father as the head of the household, bluntly asserting, "However old-fashioned you may think the doctrine, it is still valid both by the natural moral law and the revealed law of God, and the Catholic Church has no choice but to insist upon it, regardless of the secularized philosophy of an irreligious world."[119]

Catholic pamphleteers during the postwar era repeatedly called for a re-establishment of the patriarchal gendered order in the home and insisted on men being regarded as the head of the household. However, few pamphlets went into as specific detail on how to achieve this as the 1947 pamphlet *The Woman in the Home*.[120] This pamphlet was a transcript of a collection of thirteen talks by Hugh Calkins that were produced for the *Faith in Our Time* radio program by the National Council of Catholic Men. The first section in this pamphlet offered a series of New Year's resolutions that Catholic women were supposed to make. Calkins called on Catholic women to make a resolution to "fulfill the basic purpose of their existence" and commit to making their homes "truly God-like."[121] Calkins suggested that staying home and spending time with their children is how Catholic women could make their homes "God-like." Additionally, Calkins encouraged Catholic women (not men) to resolve to "regard our children and their interests as more important than anything except our duties to God."[122] These resolutions reinforced the beliefs that good Catholic women were homemakers and a Catholic home was characterized by a starkly gendered division of labor.

Calkins expanded on his beliefs on the gendered structure of the home in another section in this pamphlet entitled "Who's the Boss at Home?" Calkins asserted:

> If we hope to understand a woman's proper role in the home we must keep in mind a few simple distinctions. The first one is: Husband and wife have separate roles to fulfill at home. The husband is the head of the home. The wife is the heart of the home. So while the husband may lawfully claim the chief place in ruling, the wife may and ought to claim for herself the chief place in love.[123]

Here we see a call for distinct roles for men and women within the home. Again, because the home was seen as a microcosm of the larger society, the concern was about maintaining patriarchal gender roles outside, as well as inside, the home.

While Calkins repeatedly emphasized the importance of separate gender roles within the home, he also challenged men who go too far and use "excessive domination."[124] Calkins stated that when a man seeks to "make a wife obey his every whim and mood, regardless of common sense and reasonable fairness, he misuses his right to rule."[125] But what remained unclear was the line between proper "rule" and "excessive domination." Calkins obviously believed that men should rule the household, but he largely left it up to individual men to define what they considered to be "excessive domination."

In another section of *The Woman in the Home*, Calkins addressed the topic of domestic violence (albeit without using that term) and indirectly illustrated the dangers of living in a starkly gendered home. Calkins shared stories involving "family quarrels"[126] and noted his belief that violence is often just a misunderstanding between men and women. Calkins recounted a story where a woman named Jane called him and was "almost hysterical" when she told him: "That ends it, Father. I'm getting a divorce. Jack struck me today, and hard, too. He's mean and moody, never praises me for anything I do, always finds fault. When I spoke back sharply, he hit me. I won't stand that."[127] Calkins said that he responded to this situation by getting Jane and Jack together to teach them the "simple facts" about human relations. In short, Calkins believed that the problem was rooted in "how easily a man misunderstands a woman for being a woman," and that men often can't see that "men and women are different."[128] Calkins noted that "men and women use different kinds of logic" and asserted that "it's not a question of who's logically right or wrong."[129] Calkins simply regarded Jack's violence as an example of how men handled conflict, and Jane's use of a "mean tongue" as just how women acted.

Calkins believed that the problem with this couple was not necessarily Jack's

violence, but rather the fact that Jack and Jane had forgotten the "ABCs" of what it means to be a man and what it means to be a woman.[130] Calkins warned readers that sometimes men forget that women are women, and women can also forget that men are men. While Calkins recognized that Jack's violence was wrong, he also suggested that men's use of violence and women's sensitivity were just natural reflections of how men and women were.

In this pamphlet Calkins shared another story, about a husband who had become convinced that his wife was cheating on him because she had been friendly with their landlord. Calkins believed that, again, this was first and foremost a matter of miscommunication (not male fragility); he remarked that "women accuse men of being inconsiderate, when really they are only exercising male prerogatives that make them refuse to be dominated."[131] Calkins use of terms like "male prerogatives" reflects a gendered worldview rooted in biological determinism. In other words, Calkins believed that any difference between men's behavior and women's behavior was fundamentally a *natural* difference, and that because of this they just had to learn how to speak one another's language. (Nearly a half century after the publication of this pamphlet, the pop psychologist John Gray would sell millions of copies of his book *Men Are from Mars, Women Are from Venus*, which articulated the same idea.)

Calkins failed to recognize the danger inherent in his biological determinism and his characterization of domestic violence as merely a misunderstanding. When general differences in men's and women's behaviors are understood as being a reflection of their nature, phenomena like men's violence against women appear to be a reflection of the natural order, and not the result of a gendered scripts that celebrate men's use of violence.

So, even though Calkins suggested that violence could be "excessive," he still believed that it reflected how men fundamentally are. Surprisingly, despite largely dismissing the problem of men's violence against women, Calkins still stated, "It may seem that I'm being hard upon husbands today."[132] However, Calkins did concede that "some of my talks on this program have seemed too favorable toward male superiority;" but he suspected many wives would not share his words with their husbands because they loved to hear about "male mistakes."[133]

In both Calkins's *The Woman in the Home* and Dougherty's *Absentee Mothers*, readers were repeatedly reminded of the fundamental differences between men and women. Both pamphlets projected the belief that marriages, homes, and society more broadly needed to be built on an understanding of the fundamental differences between men and women. It is important to reflect on this, not because there are no differences between men and women, but because the *repeated insistence* on gender difference reveals an uncertainty that this was an idea being embraced in society. Additionally, it begs the question of how significant these differences between men and women are, if readers needed to constantly be reminded of them.

The Woman in the Home was not just a repeat of the call for strict gendered divisions within the home; it was also a lesson about the purported fundamental, unchangeable differences between men and women. This pamphlet is also a troubling example of the sort of literature on domestic violence that Catholics could have been exposed to, that suggested a further commitment to patriarchal gendered scripts that did little to hold men accountable for violence. With this in mind, we can begin to understand how these pamphlets functioned as instructional guides to teach Catholics the "ABCs" of

what it means to be a man or a woman. While Catholic pamphlet writers like Calkins may have imagined themselves as simply commenting on the lives of men and women, their texts actually functioned as critical parts of larger gender scripts that men and women were bombarded with. Moreover, these pamphlets carried a *religious* weight that many popular texts did not.

"A Blueprint for Christian Women"

While Hugh Calkins made broad statements about the roles that men and women were supposed to fulfill in the home and society, Catholic pamphlet writers during the 1950s would become increasingly specific about how to embody proper "Catholic womanhood." In 1951, the Ave Maria Press published a pamphlet entitled *It's a Woman's World*, which included the writings of three Catholic women. This pamphlet echoed Calkins's call for homes to be built on starkly gendered roles, and stood in contrast to the work of Mary Waggaman, who had offered a vision of Catholic womanhood that resisted drawing hard lines between "men's" and "women's" work.

In *It's a Woman's World*, one of the principal tasks that women were charged with was the spiritual development of their children. One of the contributing authors, Eileen Nutting, expressed that the "home is a little church, and it should be a holy place," suggesting that mothers keep holy water and blessed candles on hand and introduce their children to the sacraments.[134] Nutting believed that this spiritual development was women's work, and that mothers should be a model of love for their children. For Nutting, one of the primary ways that mothers could model love was by not excluding "any one of God's people," including the "Negroes, Protestants, Jews" and even the

"driver of the 'other car.'"[135] This call to inclusivity was not expanded upon, but her wording once again reflected the tendency of Catholic pamphlet writers who wrote about race to refer to "Catholics" and "Negroes" as distinct groups. While it may not have been Nutting's intention to erase the existence of black Catholics, as noted earlier, images in Catholic pamphlets repeatedly projected Catholics as being uniformly white—including the cover of *It's a Woman's World*.

In Mary Mullally's section, "The Woman and the World," the primary model that Catholic women should aspire to was the Virgin Mary, whom she described as the "embodiment of all womanly perfections."[136] This celebration of Mary as a model for Catholic mothers was not unusual, and it could be found in a number of other Catholic pamphlets, such as Fulton Sheen's *Mary, Motherhood, and the Home* (1952) and Daniel Lord's *The Loving Heart of a Mother: The Immaculate Heart of Mary* (1954). Mullally interestingly revealed something about her imagination of her audience when she anticipated that her readers may accuse her of not endorsing gender equality. To refute this, she asserted that "in their personal dignity as children of God, a man and a woman are absolutely equal" and that "by proclaiming this truth through all the centuries of her history, the Church has freed woman from degrading, unnatural slavery."[137] Though Mullally claimed there was already gender *equality* within the Church, she made sure to discuss gender *difference*, emphasizing that the "physical and spiritual" qualities of men and women were very distinct.[138] Again, this emphasis on the differences between men and women was one of the most repeated themes in Catholic pamphlet literature during this period. Given this, we must ask: why was it so important for Catholic media makers to repeatedly assert gender difference?

While Mullally emphasized the differences between men and women, Helen Withey, in her section "The Wife and Her Husband," went into painstaking detail on the specific tasks and responsibilities women had to fulfill in order to achieve a successful marriage. In addition to helping her children develop spiritually, Withey stated that a married woman was morally responsible for both herself and her husband. As she wrote, "I am to help my husband eradicate the faults that may lead him to sin and increase his personal holiness."[139] However, Withey noted that helping one's husband "get rid of his sinful habits" was easier said than done. Withey instructed that wives should not directly tell their husbands to go to confession, but instead avoid using the car on a Saturday to make it easier for him to go. Withey also called on women to pray for their husbands "in order to avoid that cardinal fault of many women—nagging."[140] While Withey did not specifically mention which of men's "sinful habits" she was most concerned with, it is troubling to consider how women experiencing sexual or other domestic violence might have engaged with these texts. Like Calkins's *The Woman in the Home, It's a Woman's World* laid forth a dangerous response for women experiencing violence, as the burden of "fixing" men and directing them spiritually was placed on women.

Like Mullally, Withey made a point to assert that "God made man and woman different sexes, but complementary." And on the topic of sex, men and women "were made for the definite purpose of producing children and satisfying the sex urges of each other."[141] Withey acknowledged that sex should be "prompted by love" and "is always a gift, never an obligation," but remarked that "whenever there is a serious request for the marriage debt from either husband or wife, the other is obliged to comply."[142] This is another troubling instruction, considering that at the time of this pamphlet's publication,

most states in the United States did not recognize marital rape as a crime. In addition to providing for men both spiritually and sexually, Withey encouraged women to not cease any efforts in improving their physical appearance. She pointed to the ideals present in "popular women's magazines" and echoed their calls for women to greet their husbands with "a smiling face, a fresh hair-do, and a clean dress."[143]

While Withey acknowledged that the word "obey" did not appear in the Catholic marriage ceremony, she wrote that "the husband is the head of household" and saw this as "sound doctrine."[144] Withey believed that Catholic wives needed to understand that recognizing the "headship of the husband" is one of the essential duties of the wife, and that in matters like changing jobs, moving to another city, or determining how much to spend on a house or car, "the ultimate decision is his."[145] This strict and patriarchal arrangement was unsurprisingly supported by the belief that men and women were deeply different beings. For Withey, men were simply "more stable, more prudent, more just, and less swayed by emotion and physical weakness."[146] While she asserted these claims as if they held some sort of scientific weight, she also revealed just how unstable this arrangement was.

Withey argued that women should not be breadwinners because "psychologically it often seems to weaken the position of the husband in the home."[147] She also reminded readers that a woman should not laugh at the minor faults of her husband, or talk about his "foibles" with her friends. Going even further, Withey stated that a wife should not discuss with her friends anything about her husband's "personal idiosyncrasies or lack of business acumen," but should speak about "his fine qualities" and make boasts about "what a wonderful husband I have."[148] Additionally, despite describing men as "more

stable" and "less swayed by emotion," Withey stressed that a wife should not "interrupt her husband's conversation to correct him, to give her interpretation of what he is saying," or to "flatly contradict him."[149] Focusing on even the smallest of interactions, Withey suggested that if a woman cannot "laugh heartily at a joke" her husband has told many times, she should "smile with approval" and think about "what a marvellous story-teller" her husband is.[150] Each of these instructions was a part of how Withey believed a woman could achieve an "ideal marriage."[151] While she recognized that perfection was not possible, she stated that women should do their best to welcome their husbands after a day at work with a home that is "as clean, as comfortable, and as peaceful" as they can make it.[152] Withey admitted that all of this may seem impossible, but she urged readers that the holiest and happiest Catholic marriage was worth pursuing.

In 1955, the Ave Maria Press published *Should Wives Work?*, in which Bob Senser reflected on how married women discussed work outside the home in such a "matter-of-fact way." Senser believed that many Americans did not fully appreciate how significant of a societal revolution this was, and therefore did not understand the "consequences" fully. When discussing why women sought work outside of the home, Senser noted that "there are many wives today who simply have no choice about working. Theirs is an *economic need*, pure and undebatable."[153] Senser also acknowledged that many working women entered the workplace for social connections as a result of loneliness.[154] These two observations were significant departures from previous Catholic pamphlet writers, who mostly suggested that working women were motivated by selfishness.

While Senser appeared to have a genuine desire to understand more fully the reasons why married women would seek work outside of the home, his pamphlet ultimately answered its titular question—should wives work?—with *no.* Senser wrote, "According to a modern school of thought, it's no problem at all. Many self-styled 'liberals' actually urge mothers to go to work even when there is no economic necessity. Some insist that it is actually *good* for the family to have mother trot off to a factory or office."[155] But in Senser's view, a married woman who worked outside of the home was ultimately "unfair to her children" and left her children in a dangerous state.[156] To illustrate this, Senser pointed to Jane Addams, an earlier advocate of women's suffrage, who in her autobiography had shared a story of a working mother whose child fell off a shed and died because she could not give the child her undivided attention. Senser used this story to question whether it was realistic for a woman to both serve as the primary caretaker for her children and have a job outside of the home. He quoted Addams: "With all of the efforts made by modern society to nurture and educate the young, how stupid it is to permit the mothers of young children to spend themselves in the coarser work of the world!" While this quote was not taken entirely out of context, Senser did not acknowledge that Addams also seemed to be making the point that it was unrealistic for women to feel liberated if a revolution around work outside the home did not coincide with a revolution of work *inside* the home.

Senser also pointed to Pope Pius XI's encyclical *On the Reconstruction of the Social Order*, quoting: "It is wrong to abuse [by employment] . . . the weakness of woman. Mothers will above all else devote their work to the home and the things connected with it."[157] Senser also pointed to Pius XI's desire for fathers' wages to be

more sufficient, which was an appeal to a living wage while still preserving the patriarchal gendered order where men work and women stay at home. Senser wished to preserve the patriarchal gendered order because of what women working outside of the home would mean for men. Senser noted that those who wished to give women the freedom of choice between working and homemaking ignored whether men had a choice in being a breadwinner. For Senser, it was a man's responsibility to be a breadwinner, and anything that threatened this needed to be addressed. While Senser understood that some ideas about womanhood were evolving, he was not comfortable with ideas of manhood changing. Specifically, Senser noted that "the line" between men's work and women's work was eroding. As a result, Senser chastised "defenders of 'women's rights'" who were on a "crusade to free the wife from the shackles of the family."[158] Throughout the pamphlet, Senser grew increasingly hostile towards those who advocated for getting rid of a starkly gendered division of labor. But ultimately, Senser noted, "Many Catholic leaders today realize that the old saying, 'The woman's place is in the home,' is no longer adequate."[159] For Senser, the task that Catholic leaders needed to accomplish was to make a more compelling case that a "woman's *interest* is in the home.'"[160]

In 1958, a section of *The Catholic Educational Review* written by Sr. M. Chrysantha, O.S.F., was published as a pamphlet entitled *A Blueprint for Christian Women*. This text echoed previous Catholic pamphlet writers' anxiety that the gendered order was in disrepair, and that more work needed to be done to confront anyone who advocated for the cause of gender equality. Chrysantha began by stressing that "women have also been, now still are, and ever will be the world's greatest single formative

power" and that women are leaders.[161] Chrysantha also called on readers to understand the "woman's complex nature" and women's "power" and "mystery."[162] However, the first section in Chrysantha's blueprint asserted that women should not "seek the role of men."[163] Towards this end, she proclaimed:

> Who is this woman, this Christian woman whom Our Holy Father delineates? Obviously, she is not the feminist who has sought equality with men ever since Mary Wollstonecraft first proclaimed her rights after the Industrial Revolution. The Christian woman does not vie with men politically, professionally, or economically—matching her wits against theirs rather than with theirs.[164]

For Chrysantha, there was no way that a Christian woman could be a feminist. She argued that "the English and American feminists of the nineteenth century . . . did not know what they were fighting for (nor do they now) when struggling for equal rights with men" and that they were "blinded by material prosperity."[165] From Chrysantha's vantage point, the pursuit of equality between men and women was a grave proposition because it led to the destruction of the "eternal order."[166] Chrysantha did not focus on what feminism or gender equality meant for the nation; instead her focus was on spiritual matters. For her, the notion of gender equality degraded "the essential union between man and woman," which she saw as a foundational aspect of the "fabric of spiritual life."[167]

Chrysantha repeatedly distanced herself from any sort of feminist worldview, even making subtle digs at feminist philosophers like Simone de Beauvoir. Chrysantha declared, "A Christian woman does not find herself a part of the 'lost sex' or a member of 'the second sex' where several recent authors place her."[168] Instead of advocating for gender justice and equality, Chrysantha believed that more attention should be paid to women's "universal" responsibility to be mothers. She pointed to the words of

Pope Pius XII: "Every woman . . . is made to be a mother: a mother in the physical meaning of the word or in the more spiritual and exalted but no less real sense."[169] One of Chrysantha's primary concerns was that these ideals were being lost due to coeducation and the work being done by colleges that educated women. Chrysantha believed that these colleges held "the greatest single power in history (either for good or for evil)" and that they must "instill in . . . women an appreciation of their womanly dignity [and] of man's and society's need for womanly women."[170]

While Catholic pamphlets on women's work often appeared on the surface to be focused on the lives of women and questions about womanhood, they ultimately pointed to a generalized anxiety about the status of *men and manhood* in society. For instance, in *Should Mothers Work?*, a pamphlet that was published by the Catholic Truth Society of Oregon in 1959, the author, Rev. George Anthony Kelly, argued:

> The damage that a working wife may inflict upon her husband may be almost as great as that done to her child. Man by nature must be the head of the home. From our earliest day, and through all stages of our civilization, he has been the family's provider. He is best fitted for this role: he is naturally active and decisive; he is muscularly stronger than woman; his physical reflexes are better developed. These characteristics have enabled him to hunt, fish and provide the other necessities of life to enable the family to live together. Even today, when physical prowess is not the most important attribute for the provider, typical masculine traits are required to achieve success in the business world.[171]

Here we see yet another assertion of men's "natural" differences to women as being cause for maintaining the "traditional" patriarchal gendered order. One might assume that if men's differences with women were so natural and so innate that they would be difficult (even impossible) to erase. But Kelly continued, lamenting the dangers of a world where men's and women's roles were blurred:

> The very qualities [a woman] must develop in the working world—masculine traits of aggressiveness, decisiveness, coldness, impersonality—are the antithesis

> of those she needs in dealing with husband and children. She no longer complements her husband as nature intended. She becomes his rival.[172]

While, yet again, the wording of this excerpt may appear to focus on women, it also illustrates a fear that masculinity may not in fact be the sole propriety of men. While unintentional, the fact that Kelly repeatedly noted that certain "masculine" and "feminine" characteristics could be *developed* in men and women illustrated the fact that ideas about what is considered masculine and feminine is socially constructed. Put differently, if men and women were so naturally inclined to do certain types of work, would it need to be *insisted* upon?

Another excerpt from Kelly's pamphlet pointed to what was at stake with the proper gender socialization of children. He asserted, "Boys must know what a man's work is. Girls must know how mothers should act. When there is a vast neutralized area, neither clearly masculine nor feminine, the sexual development of youngsters and their ability to comprehend their own responsibility in marriage are impaired."[173] Without naming it directly, Kelly pointed to one of the other anxieties related to any disruption of the gendered order: homosexuality. If lines between men and women were becoming blurred, then an understanding of sexuality that hinged on complementarity and gender difference was also vulnerable. While sexuality in general had been a focus of previous Catholic pamphlet writers, the postwar period would witness an even greater volume of pamphlets and guides about sexuality.

"Sex O'clock in America"

As noted in the previous chapter, in 1935 the Reverend Felix M. Kirsch, O.F.M. Cap., warned readers that "sex mania is prevailing in our country today, and Catholic

parents realize that something must be done quickly to protect our young people from this menace." A decade later, his pamphlet *Training in Chastity* warned readers that it had struck "'sex o'clock' in America."[174] It focused on the issue of adultery, which Kirsch referred to as the "Difficult Commandment." This pamphlet was a transcript of an address he delivered at the Catholic Conference on Family Life in Cleveland. For Kirsch, the country was still on the point of moral ruin on account of rampant sexuality. But Kirsch believed that Catholics were uniquely positioned to face this "challenge," declaring that "you, the members of the Catholic Conference on Family Life, are wise in meeting here today to produce the evidence that the Church has within her the power to *save America from moral ruin*" (emphasis mine).[175] For Kirsch, the solution to society's sexual problems was education, and he stressed that it would be very beneficial for more Catholic parents to read Catholic literature about sex. In fact, Kirsch believed that Catholic voices on matters of sex had such a distinct authority that there was "no need for reading any but Catholic books on the subject," as non-Catholic texts "can never measure up to our ideals in chastity."[176]

Like previous Catholic pamphlet writers, Kirsch lamented both the loss of sexual virtues and the destruction of the home. Kirsch asserted that "our modern age is weak indeed, since the home, that essential unit of social life, has almost disappeared."[177] It is interesting to note how frequently Catholic media makers believed that the moment that they were in was *uniquely* characterized by sexual debauchery and the disappearance of homes built on strong moral values. When Catholic pamphlet writers lamented living in a period marked by a loss of sexual virtues, they almost always pointed to and yearned for

a historical moment in which Catholic pamphlet writers had also lamented living in a period marked by a loss of sexual virtues.

While many Catholic pamphlet writers bemoaned a consistent loss of sexual mores, Richard Ginder's pamphlet *Sex and Marriage* painted a picture of a world on the cusp of sexual hysteria. Ginder imagined that "in our renovated society there will be no such thing as a sex crime. Degenerates, perverts, exhibitionists, masochists, sadists, all the 'queers', will be allowed to glut their instincts unchecked, as long as the partners to their actions give their free consent."[178] Ginder went even further when he claimed that sex between adults and children would no longer be frowned upon, and that polygamy, contraceptives, and "every kind of erotic stimulant" would become commonplace in society.[179] Ginder acknowledged that the picture he was painting was sensational, but he warned readers that "what I meant to say by over-statement is already in effect, covertly of course, but then not so covertly at that."[180] Ginder explained:

> We have polygamy when a woman allows herself to be handed from one bed to another: marriage, divorce, remarriage, divorce, remarriage, divorce and so on. Magazines and movies are not doing all badly as vehicles of filth. Contraceptives may be had anywhere. Our government has become practically the greatest distributor in the world of these filthy items.[181]

Ginder did not mince words, stating bluntly that the Catholic Church did not "recommend" chastity—it insisted that one must "keep chaste or go to hell."[182] Like he had stated in *A Mixed Marriage?*, Ginder noted again that "marriage provides for the legitimate satisfaction of the sex urge. There is no other outlet."[183] Ginder later remarked that "every use of sex outside the relationship of husband and wife is impure with a peculiarly foul kind of guilt."[184] But even within a marriage, Ginder reminded readers

that "sex need not and should not dominate marriage" and that while "there is some pleasure attached," the primary aim of sex is procreation.[185]

Many Catholic pamphleteers spoke at length about sexuality, but none did so with the malice and explicit detail that Richard Ginder did. Ginder chastised other Christian denominations, whom he believed had "deserted" the Catholic Church by ceasing to condemn "mutual masturbation," which was Ginder's alternative term for sex with birth control. He marked his pride in Catholicism when he noted, "No one may say self-control is impossible, the Church holds up to her children the example set by an unmarried priesthood and by thousands of religious men and women, monks and nuns."[186] In another of his pamphlets, entitled *Adultery*, Ginder's primary focus was individuals who were married, divorced, and remarried—and therefore, in Ginder's view, guilty of adultery. His argument was that because marriage was indissoluble, an individual having sex with a second spouse was equivalent to an individual having sex outside of a current marriage. Again not mincing words, Ginder declared that "any violation of marriage fidelity, with or without state approval, is adultery, a violation of the Sixth Commandment, punishable by condemnation to the everlasting pains of hell."[187]

Sexuality and Bodily Difference

Throughout the late 1940s and 1950s, Catholic pamphlets about sexuality were targeted at virtually every age group. There were a number of pamphlets aimed at teaching parents how to instruct their children about sex; some even offered actual scripts and lines for parents to read to their children. These pamphlets included titles like *What Parents Should Tell Their Little Ones on Sex*[188] (1950), which was written by Rev. Dr. L.

Rumble, M.S.C. (who was introduced as "the Convert from Anglicanism") and published by the Radio Replies Press in St. Paul, Minnesota. The Queen's Work published Mary Lewis Coakley's *The How of Sex Education*[189] in 1953 and *Educating Parents to Sex Instructions* by H. V. Sattler, C.SS.R., Ph.D., in 1957.[190] In addition to these instructional guides for parents, one of the most frequently targeted audiences for pamphlets about sexuality was teenagers.

During the postwar period, dating and teen sexuality was an important focus of Catholic pamphlet writers. Like other Catholic pamphlets of the period, those focused on teen sexuality repeatedly emphasized the sexual differences between men and women. In 1947 the Queen's Work published Daniel Lord's *Love, Sex and the Teen-Agers*, which described a difference between boys' and girls' sex drives.[191] Lord wrote:

> It is important to note this difference between boys and girls: The male seeds in the boy are developed in generous and insistent quantities; within the girl one seed is developed only once a month. As a consequence of this, boys are more tempted and girls are normally more calm and untroubled.[192]

Here Lord not only asserted the notion of fundamental and universal differences between men and women; he also worked to make stereotypes about men's heightened interest in sex appear to be a reflection of the natural order. In 1952, the pamphlet *Listen Son: A Father Talks to His Son on the Facts of Life* (which did not have an identified author),[193] similarly reasoned, "God purposely made men more easily influenced by the attraction of the opposite sex so that they would be moved by it to seek a partner in marriage. That is the reason why a man's passions are more easily aroused than a woman's."[194] Pamphlet writers like Daniel Lord regularly made claims about the gendered difference in sex drive, and this point was made so regularly that it actually appeared to be one of the most fundamental differences between men and women. As detailed in historian Thomas

Lacquer's book *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud*, despite pre-Enlightenment notions of women being defined by the flesh, "in the late eighteenth century, it became a possibility that 'the majority of women are not much troubled with sexual feelings,' [and] the presence or absence of orgasm became a biological sign post of sexual difference."[195] Lacquer further notes that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, some scientists asserted these ideas as objective "facts" of the natural world.[196] He explains:

> Patrick Geddes, a prominent professor of biology as well as a town planner and writer on a wide range of social issues, used cellular physiology to explain the "fact" that women were more "passive, conservative, sluggish and stable" than men, while men were "more active, energetic, eager, passionate, and variable."[197]

While Lord's description of men's and women's sex drives was quite reflective of the period that he was writing in, some of his remarks about men's and women's bodies seemed far more appropriate for the second century than the twentieth. In *Love, Sex, and the Teen-Agers*, Lord repeatedly asserted men and women's complete difference, but on the topic of genitalia he noted:

> God and nature, when they determine whether the unborn infant is to be a boy or a girl, appear to settle the question of sex largely either by bringing the sex organs to the surface or by leaving them inside. The organs that are to be male are external; the organs that are to be female are internal. The male and the female sex organs are not identical, but for our purposes here they may be regarded as being essentially very much alike.[198]

According to Laquer's *Making Sex*, this sort of understanding of the body is typical of a far earlier period, when it was assumed that men's and women's genitalia were virtually the same, but that variances in "vital heat" made men's genitalia external and women's internal.[199] While this may seem like a minor point, it is significant because it illustrates the reality that discourses about sex, sexuality, and the body more generally are not

ahistorical and often change.

John A. O'Brien's pamphlet *Strategy in Courtship* (1948) also stressed sexual differences between men and women. O'Brien warned readers that "because of the explosive character of sex, which acts like dynamite when ignited by a fuse, the importance of restraining the physical element in courting can scarcely be overstressed."[200] For O'Brien, the best strategy was to avoid any sort of sexual contact by adopting a "hands-off" policy—and ultimately, the burden of enforcing this policy was on women. O'Brien instructed women to "call the signals" and to be the "quarterback in the game of love"; ultimately, a woman must avoid anything "which may act as a fuse setting off an explosion on the part of her friend."[201] He continued, "In a sense she must be the keeper of his conscience as well as of her own."[202] Not only did O'Brien assert a gendered worldview in which women were seen as morally superior to men, but he reinforced the notion that men were disproportionately interested in sex. To O'Brien, men seemed to be always be on the cusp of sexual "explosion"; even "an innocent expression of romantic love, may quickly ignite the tinderbox of the boy's passion." For women, conversely, O'Brien believed the "physical elements of sex are usually dormant."[203]

In 1948, O'Brien also authored *Falling in Love with Open Eyes*, which was a guide for young people who were dating and considering married life.[204] Similarly, in 1953 the Queen's Work published Daniel Lord's *The Girl Worth Choosing for the Boy Who Chooses and the Girl Who Wants to be Chosen*, which detailed the sort of woman a man should seek as a partner. Lord described his pamphlet as a "guide to the feminine characteristics that attract a young man and make a mature man glad that in his youth [she] attracted him."[205] In subsequent years, Catholic pamphlet racks would include titles

such as Father Conroy's *When They Start Going Steady* (1954);[206] J. D. Conway's *What They Ask About Keeping Company* (1955)[207] and *What They Ask About Love and Dating* (1955);[208] Joseph T. McGloin, S.J.'s *What Not To Do on a Date* (1956);[209] and a two-part series of pamphlets by Lynn Alexander that presented a collection of letters from Catholic teens asking about sex and dating, entitled *Letters to Lynn: About Dating* and *Letters to Lynn: More About Dating* (1956).[210] In these pamphlets readers were instructed on matters related to petting, necking, kissing, dancing, and whether or not to date someone of another religious tradition.

In *Letters to Lynn: More About Dating*, one of the letters from a Catholic teenager named Ruthie asked Alexander what was so wrong with "kissing parties," which included games like "Post Office, Wink, Spin the Bottle, etc."[211] Alexander replied, "You can hold a match in your hand just so long, Ruthie, but eventually it's going to burn your fingers."[212] Alexander suggested that "kissing and bodily contact simulate the sex urge" and that the boys Ruthie kisses "might lose their sense of moral balance and become 'fresh'" with her.[213] Alexander echoed the sentiments of O'Brien when she stated that "boys in their teens are more mature sexually than girls" and that "once excited, it is physically difficult for a boy to maintain self-control."[214] Once again, these claims about differences between men and women were presented as established facts, not as generalized stereotypes about sexuality.

The Kinsey Reports

While the topic of sexuality was consistently a major area of focus for Catholic pamphlet writers, one unique aspect of sexuality in postwar America was the social

impact made by the Kinsey reports. The books *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948) and *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (1953) detailed the sexual behavior and desires of thousands of research subjects—and shocked audiences with their frank exploration of sexual activity. In *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, Kinsey and his co-authors detailed the sexual behaviors of Americans from different religious backgrounds and noted the variety of religious attitudes towards subjects related to sexuality. Kinsey et al. specifically cited the work of Catholic pamphlet writers like P. J. Bruckner, Gerald Kelly, and Felix Kirsch for the ways in which they helped shape Catholic attitudes towards sex.

Ginder noted that the first Kinsey Report had become the "talk of the country" and that "Dr. Kinsey purports to have found that a great many American men and boys are committing sins against holy purity."[215] Yet despite the evidence put forth by Kinsey, Ginder asserted that "priests are often overwhelmed by a sense of goodness which they discover in many of the men and boys whom they guide in moral matters."[216] Additionally, Ginder noted that for many of these presumably Catholic men, "if they are unmarried their sexual life is a blank, and if married, they are faithful to their wives."[217] But despite a general tone of skepticism towards Kinsey, Ginder stated that "the Kinsey Report only adds statistical proof to the universality of Original Sin."[218]

While Ginder hesitated to "endorse the validity of Dr. Kinsey's findings," he was particularly bothered by the data regarding "unnatural sins between men."[219] Ginder found the findings regarding sexual contact between men as the most "sensational" element of the report, and that it was "a theme so loathsome that it is never preached upon and only rarely written up in popular terms."[220] Ginder was right—homosexuality

was rarely explicitly written about in Catholic pamphlet literature—and so he used Kinsey's findings as an opportunity to do so. Ginder noted that any sort of homosexuality was a "sin against nature" that rejected the principle that "sexually a man is the complement of a woman."[221] Ginder also asserted his belief that "men are not by nature attracted to one another sexually."[222] Additionally, Ginder marked any sort of sexual contact between men as being particularly sinful when he noted that while heterosexual sex outside of marriage was a "terrible sin," at least it was a "natural" one.[223] While most Catholic pamphlet writers did not regularly and directly invoke scripture in their writings, Ginder noted that in the Bible, "God declares His detestation of the sin," pointing to the calls for the execution of anyone who would "lie with a man as with a woman" in the book of Leviticus.[224] Despite having referenced a piece of scripture that called for the execution of "men who lie with men," Ginder still implored his readers:

> For all of us, in such matters, there is need of the greatest sympathy and understanding. Such temptations are a trial permitted by God for His own mysterious reasons. All of us are sinners in one way or another, and the one who yields here may well exceed us in charity, piety, religion, and many other ways. We must forever detest the sin without forgetting to love the sinner.[225]

Again, it is important to note that Ginder was speaking specifically about gay *men*. Ginder may have held a similar contempt for lesbians, but his comments on homosexuality were limited to men. This is notable in part because Ginder's attitudes about homosexuality were not just about sexuality itself, but also masculinity. As illustrated in texts like Suzanne Pharr's *Homophobia: A Weapon of Sexism* (1988)[226] and C. J. Pascoe's *Dude, You're a Fag: Masculinity and Sexuality in High School* (2007), notions of sexuality and masculinity are deeply intertwined. In addition to rejecting any sort of sexual contact between men, Ginder also condemned men who were in any way

"effeminate." He wrote, "There are those who will plead that they are effeminate through heredity, or through some glandular deficiency, or through corruption in childhood." However, Ginder insisted that homosexuality and being effeminate were ultimately just a temptation, declaring that "nothing can ever justify a sinful action; and God is faithful, who will not permit us to be tempted beyond our strength."[227]

In the March 6, 1958, issue of the *Pittsburgh Catholic* newspaper, Ginder doubled down on his contempt for men who embodied any sort of effeminate way of being. In his article "He-Male or She-Male?" Ginder criticized the declining state of manhood, after he had seen a barber giving a man a mud mask and a manicure. Ginder cited the rise in popularity of cologne (which he saw as just repackaged women's perfume) as further proof of the "gradual . . . softening up of the Anthropos Americanus." Additionally, Ginder mocked the man who "hoisted himself up to a soda fountain for a sundae at lunch" or who ate "bon-bons on a Sunday afternoon."[228] Ginder also argued that "the rapid degeneration of the American male involves two factors: an increase in the sensual and a decrease in the intellectual."[229] For Ginder, men needed to recognize their "condition" and "become uncomfortable at the thought of our concessions to effeminacy"—which would just be the "first step toward becoming half the men our grandfathers were."[230]

As the 1950s drew to a close, the gendered and sexual anxieties that underpinned so many Catholic media texts were just as foundational as ever. Though the 1950s are now typically seen as a bastion of traditional family values, we must also recognize that it was period marked by deep gendered and sexual anxieties. But for Catholic media makers, the 1960s would bring even greater diversity in political thought among

Catholics, and by extension a greater divide among Catholics on matters related to gender and sexuality. Catholic media makers had become less focused on situating their work in response to anti-Catholicism; however, 1960 would prove to be a year when they would again have to combat heightened anti-Catholic anxieties, as for the first time since 1928, a Catholic was a major candidate for president of the United States.

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CHAPTER 4: The Myth of the Monolith: Cultural Revolution and the Ideological Diversity of American Catholicism, 1960–1970

The 1960s was a period of tremendous social change in the United States; the feminist, civil rights, and gay rights movements all challenged public norms and the systems of inequality that shaped the organization of social life. Amidst all of this was even greater change for Catholics in America, and the Catholic media world reflected it. The changes brought about by the Second Vatican Council (or Vatican II) changed Catholic life in America dramatically, and the council's associated debates, particularly about the Church's teachings on birth control and sexuality, revealed a deeply divided religious community. For decades Catholic media makers, and Catholic pamphlet writers in particular, had gone to great lengths to project an image of a deeply unified and patriotic religious community. However, the 1960s revealed the considerable diversity in Catholic thought in the United States, particularly on matters related to gender and sexuality. But at the onset of the 1960s Catholic media makers had to address yet another wave of anti-Catholic propaganda, and this time the target was the Catholic senator from Massachusetts, John F. Kennedy.

"I Am Not the Catholic Candidate for President"

Just two months before the American public would cast their votes in the 1960 United States presidential election, Senator John F. Kennedy addressed the Greater Houston Ministerial Association to state whether his Catholic faith would interfere with his ability to serve as the president. For the first time since 1928, a Catholic was one of the major candidates for the presidency, and in front of this skeptical audience of Protestant ministers, Kennedy shared his vision for the United States. Kennedy

insisted, “I am not the Catholic candidate for president. I am the Democratic Party’s candidate for president, who happens also to be a Catholic.”[1] Kennedy shared his deep belief in religious freedom and his conviction that the “separation of church and state is absolute.” Kennedy believed in an America where “no Catholic prelate would tell the president (should he be Catholic) how to act, and no Protestant minister would tell his parishioners for whom to vote.”[2]

Kennedy addressed the myths surrounding his Catholic faith and how it might impact his decision-making should he be elected president. Kennedy stated that he would not let his faith dictate his approach to topics like birth control and divorce.[3] By contemporary standards it might seem strange for a candidate for president to mention these issues, but the 1960 presidential election occurred in the immediate aftermath of the U.S. Food and Drug Administration’s approval of the birth control pill. Additionally, given the volume of Catholic media that discussed issues like birth control, marriage, and divorce, it is unsurprising that these issues were among Kennedy’s primary examples of topics a Catholic president might have a distinct opinion on. Because of this, Kennedy implored the American electorate to judge him on his “14 years in Congress” and not on the image constructed of him within anti-Catholic propaganda. He noted:

> Instead of judging me on the basis of these pamphlets and publications we all have seen that carefully select quotations out of context from the statements of Catholic church leaders, usually in other countries, frequently in other centuries, and always omitting, of course, the statement of the American Bishops in 1948, which strongly endorsed church-state separation, and which more nearly reflects the views of almost every American Catholic.[4]

Kennedy’s attention to anti-Catholic propaganda directly spoke to the power he believed that it had in shaping the attitudes of the American electorate. Kennedy’s fears were warranted, as during his campaign for the presidency there was a focused and organized

anti-Catholic propaganda campaign, the likes of which had not been seen since the 1928 election and the days of *The Menace*.

John Bohrer, a historian of the 1960s and American politics, details in his article "Kennedy, the Pill, and Conservatives for Contraception" the significant role that birth control played in the 1960 presidential election. Bohrer notes that Republicans and Democrats alike had anxieties about the idea of a Catholic president. He explains:

> It wasn't only the right that feared a de facto theocracy, one where the Vatican would have the final say in the Oval Office. In July 1960, birth control advocate Margaret Sanger said she would "find another place to live" if Kennedy were elected. "In my estimation," she said, "a Roman Catholic is neither a Democrat nor Republican, nor American nor Chinese; he is a Roman Catholic."[5]

Bohrer further observes that Kennedy's promise to not restrict birth control was a critical aspect of gaining *conservative* support in the West Virginia primary—which would prove to be one of the critical victories that led to Kennedy winning the Democratic nomination.

A month prior to Kennedy's address to the Greater Houston Ministerial Association, the independent newspaper *The Catholic Challenger* illustrated a litany of anxieties about the prospect of a Catholic president. The newspaper included articles with headings such as "Beware of Catholicism!," "A New Roman Catholic Plan to Make America the Land of Mary for the Pope," "The Pope for President," and "Can the United States of America Afford a Catholic President?"[6] One article—"Does the (Roman) Church Give Voting Orders?"—directly critiqued the work of the Catholic pamphleteer John A. O'Brien. The article pointed to an interview featuring O'Brien in *Look* magazine from earlier in 1960, in which O'Brien had suggested that "a priest is not permitted to tell his parishioners how to vote."[7] The (unidentified) author of this article flatly disagreed

with this statement and concluded the article with the remark: "You can believe Fr. O'Brien or you can believe the facts."[8]

As detailed in previous chapters, John A. O'Brien was a name that was frequently seen on Catholic pamphlet racks, and in 1960 the Our Sunday Visitor Press published his pamphlet *A Catholic President?: Could He Uphold Church-State Separation?* O'Brien noted that there had not been a major Catholic candidate for the presidency since Al Smith due to the "widespread misconceptions of Catholic teaching concerning the separation of Church and State in a pluralistic society such as the United States."[9] Towards this end, O'Brien articulated his commitment to "disclosing the real attitude of American Catholics toward [the] separation of Church and State,"[10] and he reminded readers that the Church did not claim supremacy over the State.[11] O'Brien also cited the declaration made by American Catholic bishops from 1948 that Kennedy had referenced in the aforementioned speech. O'Brien noted that the American bishops were in favor of "our original American tradition of free co-operation between government and religious bodies," and that this "co-operation involves no special privilege to any group and no restriction on the religious liberty of any citizen."[12]

O'Brien specifically addressed the topic of birth control and answered the question: "Could a Catholic President approve a plan to assist certain nations in curbing population growth through birth control?"[13] O'Brien assured readers that "Catholics do not oppose the limitation of births where there are just and sufficient reasons" and that "there is a natural method of birth control [that was] highly approved by medical science as effective."[14] But ultimately, O'Brien believed that this issue should be "kept out of politics," noting that this stance was also held by "President Dwight D. Eisenhower,

former President Harry S. Truman, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt and most other prominent non-Catholics."[15]

In addition to the issue of birth control, O'Brien paid a significant amount of attention to the use of public funds to support Catholic schools. As detailed in chapter 1, the debate surrounding the use of public funds for Catholic schools played a large role in the 1922 KKK campaign against the Catholic Church in Oregon. O'Brien rejected the notion that the use of public buses to transport students to parochial schools was a violation of the separation of church and state, and noted that buses to Catholic schools did not uniquely help one religious group, as "non-Catholics are in attendance at virtually every Catholic school."[16] Additionally, O'Brien noted that the U.S. Supreme Court had ruled that transportation was connected to the overall safety of children and providing bus transportation was no different than offering parochial schools access to publicly funded fire departments and police departments.[17] O'Brien further explained that Catholics had a vested interest in there being strong public schools because "about half of the Catholic children" attend public schools.[18]

It is difficult to gauge the extent that pamphlets such as this played in shaping American ideas about whether or not they could vote for a Catholic for president. However, a letter from Kennedy to O'Brien illustrated Kennedy's recognition of their importance. Kennedy wrote to O'Brien thanking him for his pamphlet, declaring, "I read the pamphlet and I think it is a first-class job. There is a great need for more of this kind of thing to be circulated among protestants."[19] Kennedy also noted that "it would be very useful regardless of what happens to my candidacy if in the next year or two the Catholic Bishops would reaffirm their positions on all these matters with precision and clarity."[20]

However, a great deal of urgency would not need to be given to such a task, as Kennedy would go on to narrowly win the election and become the first (and still only) Catholic president in the history of the United States.

The election of John F. Kennedy as the thirty-fifth president of the United States is undoubtably one of the most significant moments in the history of the American Catholic Church. Kennedy's victory was aided by his ability to navigate the anxieties and conspiracies about Catholicism, including questions about how a Catholic president might deal with issues like birth control. John Bohrer observes that the "Catholic opposition to birth control was one of the most oft-cited policy areas latched onto by the anti-papal Protestants" during Kennedy's campaign for the presidency.[21] This revealed how much the issues of birth control and sexuality had shaped the popular imagination of Catholics in America. In this way, the Catholic media makers over the previous four decades had been immensely successful in making the case that birth control, and sex more broadly, were among the defining issues for Catholics in America. However, Catholic media during the 1960s would go on to demonstrate that Catholics in America were far from united on these issues.

Catholics and the Sexual Revolution

The FDA approval of "the pill" helped spark the sexual revolution of the 1960s, and while this was a major milestone, Catholic pamphlet literature at the beginning of the 1960s looked much like it had in decades prior. Catholic pamphlet writers were still lamenting the loss of sexual mores and warning readers that the United States was in a time marked by sexual immorality. In 1960 the Ave Maria Press published Ed Willock's

pamphlet *Dating: A Guide for Parents* (which was not a guide for parents who were interested in dating, as the title might have seemed to suggest). Instead, Willock lamented the complete lack of customs regarding dating among teenagers; to him, it seemed as if "anything goes."[22] He noted that "this century has seen tremendous technological changes take place," and these technical changes had "brought about very rapid social changes." Willock continued, "The world in which our youngsters are growing up is as different from that of my youth as the world of my youth differed from that of George Washington."[23] He pointed to television, drive-in theaters, and the number of teenagers who had access to cars as having complicated "the process of emotional and sexual maturing."[24]

While Willock had anxieties about the state of dating and teen sexuality, he was also aware of the repeated pattern of adults panicking about the behavior of teenagers. Willock noted that "the parent of teen-agers longs wistfully for the 'good old days,'" but he insisted that he was "not arguing for the revival of old-fashioned customs."[25] Towards this end, Willock posed the questions:

> Haven't juveniles always adopted new customs different from those their parents regarded and proper when they were young? Haven't parents always been inclined to forget the restlessness of their own youth and become overly cautious about the actions of their own children?[26]

However, despite these caveats, Willock proceeded to inform readers that they existed in yet another uniquely sexually problematic time period.

Willock declared that "books, movies, TV and advertising are filled with sex, but most of it is perverted sex" and that "we Americans think that we are 'enlightened' on this subject, but actually we don't really know much about it."[27] Willock believed that Catholics in America could be best described as being "squeezed between two

sentimentalists: the Prude and the Libertine." Additionally, Willock believed that "these two groups constitute the bulk of the population, and neither has a recognizable concept of sex."[28] Willock wished for Catholics to have a uniform attitude on the issue of sex that was built around the idea that "God created sex and therefore it is good—when used and not abused according to God's plan for it."[29] So, while Willock seemed to have a somewhat positive attitude towards sex, he still saw it as something that needed to be strictly controlled. In his view:

> Intercourse is exclusively a marital function; and misuse or abuse of sexual privileges and appetites is a threat to the institution of marriage; all behavior between the sexes should be prescribed by customs that will safeguard the virginity of the unmarried and the fidelity of the married.[30]

Willock believed that marriage and sexual purity were like a house of cards that could collapse at any time, and he noted that "the attraction of one sex towards the other" is a "force" that is "not easy to control" and "has ruined many lives."[31] To summarize his opinions on sex, Willock remarked, "sure it's a good thing, but only when carefully controlled."[32]

Ultimately, the aim of Willock's work was to provide instructions for parents to safeguard their children's sexual purity against secular culture. Willock noted that "for years now, many of the leaders in the Church, including the Popes, have been urging us to work for *social* reform rather than concentrating solely upon our own souls and our own families."[33] Like previous Catholic pamphlet writers, Willock believed that managing the morals and practices of one's own family was not enough; Catholics were called to change society. He concluded that if this work was not done, "our youth will have to continue to fight to retain their virtue and their idealism while being inundated by

a sea of 'running around,' 'petting,' and other practices of the sex-confused world we live in."[34]

Catholic FEAR and Teen Sexuality

In 1960 (the same year Willock's pamphlet was published), the Queen's Work published *Instructions on Dating for High School Boys* by the Jesuit priest Jerome T. Boyle. Like so many Catholic pamphlet writers before him, Boyle used the topic of teen dating to make broad statements about gender difference. He asserted, "being physically frail and temperamentally sensitive, a girl naturally evokes the protective instincts in a young man. . . . This glorious assignment God entrusted to men. Man is then the natural and God-given protector of woman."[35] In addition to his belief that women were "frail" and "sensitive," Boyle believed that any young man who did not fulfill his "instinct" to protect women should be shamed. He noted, "People in general have very little use for any young man who is unwilling to fight for the honor of a girl. Such a fellow is worthy only of contempt. He is not a man, but a miserable weakling. Call him chicken, a worm, a jelly fish, but don't call him a man."[36] According to Boyle, a "reverence for girls is deep down in every boy's nature."[37]

Like previous pamphlet writers, Boyle presented stereotypes about men's and women's sex drives as if they were scientific facts. He wrote that "the boy's impulse is immediate, physical, [and] active" whereas "the girl's is delayed, affectionate, [and] passive."[38] In fact, Boyle believed boys were so interested in sexuality that they were more interested in "kissing and caressing" than "speaking."[39] While Willock had made broad statements about the topic of teen sexuality, Boyle addressed in detail topics like

erections, stimulation, kissing, petting, dirty stories, and immoral dancing—all of which presented the "occasion for sin."[40] These issues presented teens with "serious dangers," and the only way that Boyle believed they could be addressed was through *FEAR*.[41]

Boyle wished to help Catholic boys identify immoral sexual stimulation with "the FEAR rule."[42] He informed readers that moral theologians had developed this rule to help them recognize if "any particular demonstration of affection" is done according to God's law.[43] FEAR was a mnemonic device aimed at reminding Catholic boys that if a display of affection was *frequent*, *enduring*, and *ardent* then there was no *reason* to justify it outside of marriage.[44] Boyle proceeded to explain this rule by noting that the specific frequency of certain acts determined whether or not something was sinful. He noted that kissing a girl was not a mortal sin if it was limited to "three or four kisses a year . . . but [if it were] three or four kisses a minute [it] would be, especially if more than a few minutes were available."[45] Boyle further explained that "enduring means prolonged, drawn out" and "ardent means charged with emotion."[46] As if he had not made his points perfectly clear, Boyle even addressed questions like, "Is it a mortal sin when you get an erection while kissing a girl?" To which he answered, "If it is frequent, enduring, and ardent, it is directly stimulating and a mortal sin," also noting that "if you kiss *in order* to have an erection, it is a mortal sin every time."[47]

While Boyle may have imagined his work as responding to larger cultural ideas about sexuality, he was also shaping discourse about gender and sexuality. Considering that this pamphlet was directed "exclusively for boys in high school,"[48] Boyle projected a notion of manhood that assumed that boys and men are universally heterosexual and fundamentally far more interested in sex than their female counterparts. Additionally,

Boyle pushed the idea that boys and men are in an endless sexual minefield and their sexuality must be *managed* at every moment. In *The History of Sexuality: Volume One*, Michel Foucault notes that discourse about sex is not just defined by what is considered "scandalous" but the imperative to "tell everything" . . . including "not only consummated acts, but sensual touchings, all impure gazes, all obscene remarks . . . all consenting thoughts."[49] Boyle did exactly this—he did not just define what might be considered illicit with regard to sex, but instructed his audience to analyze every kiss, erection, and sexual thought they had. Boyle wished to help his audience resist dominant secular ideas about sex, but his work in many ways functioned to support dominant, biologically deterministic notions of gender and sexuality. For Boyle, the task that young Catholic men were faced with was embodying morality through *sexual control*.

The Catholic Crusade Against Pornography

In 1960 the Ave Maria Press also published James Shea's *Printed Poison: A Community Problem*. The pamphlet's cover included an image of a couple against the backdrop of the United States with the words "smutty," "immoral," "suggestive," "lustful," "vile," "sensual," "lewd," and "indecent" strewn across the country. This image made the United States appear to be an immoral, sex-obsessed wasteland. While in years past, divorce was a "bomb" that threatened the United States, Shea warned his readers about a "poison" that was destroying the nation: pornography. Shea lamented the "obscenity" that filled magazine racks and warned that "the people of the United States [will] begin to learn the enormous extent of this evil business and the terrible toll it exacts

in warped souls, ruined lives, sexual perversion, mental and emotional illness, crime and delinquency."[50] He continued:

> It is in some respects even more dangerous and demoralizing than the world wide narcotics traffic. Like drugs peddled by the most degraded of human beings, obscenity and pornography "hook" their victims, addicting them to the habit of dwelling upon images cleverly drawn by professional publishers of depravity. This is why every citizen has an obligation to understand this problem as it exists, and to take active, positive, effective measures to solve it.[51]

Shea called on his audience to realize that "morally poisonous" material was for sale "on newsstands throughout the nation" and "tons of filth" was being circulated through the mail (specifically, "200,000 circulars advertising pornography go into the mail each day in one major city alone").[52] Like the anxieties that informed the Comstock laws of the late nineteenth century, Shea believed that the growing flood of obscene materials in the United States was directly related to "the mounting rate of sex and violence" in the nation.[53]

But Shea saw hope for the future in the Citizens for Decent Literature (CDL), the organization that sponsored the distribution of his pamphlet. The CDL was an interfaith coalition of individuals who were committed to purging the press of pornography, and it was founded by a lawyer from Cincinnati named Charles H. Keating, Jr.[54] Shea saw Keating as a man who stood for "firm moral principles" and embodied the sort of masculinity required to lead such a campaign.[55] Shea described Keating as a man:

> in his middle 30's, he is a tall, athletic—former All-American swimmer—married, and the father of five young children. Well known and liked, Keating is no humorless Puritan or hot-eyed reformer. Actually he possesses a very keen sense of humor—but he doesn't find anything funny about obscenity and pornography.[56]

Shea saw Keating as a no-nonsense sort of figure who "was determined to do something to free Cincinnati—and the U.S., if possible—from this parasite that draws its special

victims from the young, the weak, the emotionally immature."[57] Keating's anti-pornography work would become national when President Richard Nixon tasked him with leading an anti-pornography commission.[58] However, years later, Keating would become most known as the "con man"[59] at the center of the "Keating Five" savings-and-loan scandal, which most famously included senators John Glenn and John McCain.[60]

The CDL worked to raise awareness of the problems that pornography created, and it leveraged public support to enforce measures to restrict the circulation of pornography.[61] The organizers coordinated "speaking engagements [at] . . . parish society meetings, service club meetings, parent teacher associations, and similar organizations."[62] They also coordinated petitions and letter-writing campaigns, and they filled courtrooms to demonstrate their support of censoring obscene materials.[63] But the CDL's work in the courts also illustrated the organization's larger objective: the condemnation of homosexuality, or any sort of sexuality outside of monogamous heterosexual marriage. Shea noted that the CDL utilized the help of psychologists and psychiatrists to provide "expert witness" for the case against pornography. These experts asserted their belief that pornography encouraged "abnormal sex acts, sadism, fetishism, and masochism," and would lead to users engaging in "homosexual acts or erotic practices of various sorts."[64] Shea wrote that one "leading Cincinnati psychologist" asserted that "constant exposure" to obscene and pornographic materials would lead to "sexual abnormality."[65] Shea's hard stance against pornography and concern with "sexual abnormality" revealed his, and the CDL's, desire to maintain the status and centrality afforded to heterosexuality.

When reflecting on the fight against pornography and "sexual abnormality," it is unsurprising that some Catholic pamphleteers were intent on doing everything they could

to strengthen (heterosexual) marriages. During the early part of the 1960s, Catholic pamphlets on the topic of marriage included titles such as Liguorian Pamphlets' *Questions Young Men and Women Ask Before Marriage* (1961) and the Ave Maria Press's *The Sacrament of Matrimony* (1961) and *Be Good at Marriage* (1961). *Be Good at Marriage* was divided into four sections, each written by a different married couple. While each couple offered advice on how to achieve a happy marriage, the pamphlet's foreword reminded readers that a "successful marriage" requires couples to put in hard work "because two different sexes are involved."[66] As detailed in the previous chapter, the notion that a marriage comprises *two different sexes* was a common refrain in Catholic pamphlet literature, and it was presented as the essential element of a successful marriage.

Similar sentiments were expressed in the 1961 Ave Maria Press pamphlet entitled *The Way to Heaven for Wives and Mothers*. This was actually a revised and rebranded edition of the 1951 pamphlet *It's a Woman's World*, which went into painstaking detail about the many ways that women could maintain their womanhood and serve their husbands. The updated pamphlet reminded a new generation of readers that "God made man and woman different sexes, but complementary" and that the two "were made for the definite purpose of producing children and satisfying the sex urges of each other."[67] While these sentiments had been repeated ad nauseam in Catholic pamphlet literature, the Second Vatican Council led to massive shifts within the experience of Catholic life, including Catholic media. And, as we will explore later, these shifts revealed just how divided Catholics were on matters related to gender and sexuality.

Vatican II: "Your Parish Is the World!"

One of the major shifts brought about by the Second Vatican Council was an increased willingness by some Catholic media makers to focus on issues besides those related to gender and sexuality. When Pope John XXIII began the Second Vatican Council, he called on the Church to "open the windows and let in the fresh air," and many Catholic media makers took these words as an opportunity to reconsider what they felt should be a priority for their audiences.[68] These words captured the spirit of the council as a moment for the Catholic Church to reconsider its role in the wider world, and its relationship to it. The image of opening the windows evoked the sense that the Church wished to engage in the wider world, not be shut off from it. In a 2012 article in the *National Catholic Reporter*, Maureen Fiedler recalls feeling that "Vatican II [was] an exhilarating time to be a Catholic."[69] She notes that the "council's most important utterance [was that] 'the Church is the People of God.'"[70] And Fiedler is right: this simple notion informed many of the changes brought about by Vatican II.

In *Catholics in America: A History*, Patrick Carey notes that some of the most visible changes brought about by Vatican II included the reforms to the liturgy. He explains:

> The entire Mass was put into the vernacular, the altar was turned around, the priest faced the people, and the laity were visibly and audibly involved in the liturgical action through lectors, offertory processions, congregational singing, and active responses to the liturgical prayers.[71]

For non-Catholics, these changes may not sound particularly significant, but the spirit that informed these changes was as significant as anything. Shifting the Catholic Mass into the vernacular, and engaging the laity more directly in the Mass, communicated that

unordained members of the Church were important. While this shift did not entirely erase clericalism, it elevated the status of lay Catholics within the life of the Church.

This heightened status for the Catholic laity led some Catholic media makers to reconsider what they believed Catholics were called to do. In 1963, just a year into the council, Fulton Sheen authored a pamphlet entitled *A Message to the Catholics of the United States*. He noted that "the Church is never the same after a Council as before" and "neither will the Church in the United States be the same in the years ahead."[72] Sheen described Vatican II as having created a "restlessness in the world" that called Catholic lay people to be less focused on "the *personal* and more on the *community*, less on himself and more on what he contributes to society, and less on what is local and more on humanity."[73] Sheen understood Vatican II as a call to the Church to be deeply connected to the world, not a disconnected faction of it. Towards this end, Sheen told Catholics, "your parish is the world!"[74]

Sheen called on Catholics to think more seriously about how their local actions impacted the world. He pointed to a pastor who had stated, "I am going to ask the bishop to let me change the plans and substitute cement for marble in the bathrooms and send the difference to build a hut-chapel somewhere in Africa."[75] Sheen encouraged ordained and lay Catholics alike to do whatever they could to raise funds for Catholic missions throughout the world. He praised a nurse who had encouraged her colleagues in a "Weight-Watchers Anonymous" group to "contribute a nickel" to a Catholic mission for every pound they lost.[76] Sheen also encouraged young women to use Catholic mission work to determine whether they had a suitable partner. He instructed young girls: "find out what kind of husband your young man would make by asking him to make a sacrifice

for the Missions."[77] Sheen even went so far as to address Catholic couples struggling with infertility, suggesting: "if your marriage is childless, perhaps God will bless it if you regularly help the children on the Missions."[78] For Sheen, the call for Catholics was simple and clear: "If you do not worry about the welfare of the impoverished two-thirds of the world, you are not worried about your own salvation!"[79]

A similar call to Catholic action was issued in Richard Cardinal Cushing's pamphlet *Inter-Racial Justice* (1963). Instead of focusing on the Church's connection to the broader planet, Cushing drew attention to the failure of American Catholics in connecting with black people throughout the United States. Cushing believed "it must no longer be said that the major obstacle to the conversion of the American Negro is the attitude of American Catholics themselves."[80] Additionally, he noted that it was past the time when Catholics must "welcome Negroes to our churches whenever we find them willing to enter."[81] Simply put, Cushing believed that the Church must be composed of those who embodied the "practice of justice and charity, [and] not merely in the external profession of our faith."[82] Both Cushing and Sheen articulated an image of Catholicity that was not strictly focused on issues related to gender and sexuality; they wished for a Church that was far more invested in fighting for human rights and social justice on the national and global levels.

Another major shift brought about by Vatican II was that, as Fiedler notes, "theologians would be free to publish and speak and dialogue in a church that valued and welcomed new ideas and new insights."[83] This opportunity for open dialogue and questioning of how things have been done within the Church became a defining characteristic of Catholic media during this period. While the entire impact of Vatican II

was not felt overnight, a series of pamphlets written by Rev. Andrew Greeley illustrated the early impact that the council was having on the Catholic publishing world. As we will see, one of the major shifts in Catholic pamphlet literature was the willingness of some authors to directly question the Church or to criticize the actions of Catholics.

Sex Education: "The Damnable Failure of the American Catholic Parent"

Throughout the 1960s, few topics were as regularly addressed within Catholic pamphlet literature as the issue of sex education. While Vatican II helped create an environment where a multiplicity of ideas could be shared, Catholic pamphlets that addressed sex education, both during and immediately after the council, illustrated just how divided Catholics were on this issue. In 1962, Divine Word Publications released Rev. Andrew Greeley's pamphlet *Sex and the Teenager*. Unlike most of his predecessors, Greeley did not begin this pamphlet by bemoaning the sexual immorality of teenagers. Instead, he focused his frustration on Catholic parents, critiquing them for their lackadaisical approach to educating their families on matters related to sex. He asserted, "perhaps there is no more glaring and damnable failure of the American Catholic parent than his failure to even begin some kind of sex instruction for his off-spring."[84] Despite a seemingly endless series of pamphlets on how to educate one's children about the topic of sex, Greeley believed that most Catholic parents knew "little more about sex than their children."[85] Greeley argued that the "blanket of silence which often enshrouds the subject of sex at home can only produce anxieties, neurotic fear, and distrust in the psyche of the emerging adolescent."[86]

Greeley also lamented the conflicting messages that young people, particularly young boys, received about matters related to sex. He noted that Catholic youth received almost no information from their parents about sex, but simultaneously had their minds "crammed" with "obscene words" and "dirty jokes."[87] He also observed that Catholic youth were inundated with media messages conveying the notion that "sex is great," and that it was okay for hypersexualized women's bodies to be used to sell products that included "everything from soap to beer."[88] Greeley was bothered by the inconsistency between secular (in this case, commercial) messages about sex with those received in Catholic settings, but he was not on a crusade to restrict sexualized images from being used in advertising. Instead, Greeley critiqued both secular and Catholic efforts to conduct sex education as being faulty and incomplete.

Greeley observed that Catholic instructors who were "poorly informed or uninformed" tended to be obscure about the facts of sex, but were very clear on the "grave dangers and the heinous evil of impurity."[89] Greeley bemoaned the focus that some Catholic educators had on questions like: when *is* French kissing a mortal sin? Greeley playfully noted, "For those who care for such information, precise measurements for skirt lines or neck lines can be provided as well as prayers to be said the night before a prom so that all may be in the state of grace when the prom is over."[90] He went even further, arguing that unlike the "sex is great" attitude presented in popular media, Catholic educators had made "the Blessed Mother . . . into a sex goddess in reverse, a kind of ice cube alabaster statue with the human warmth of the arctic tundra."[91] Yet as dissatisfied as he was with Catholic sex education, he was also disappointed with those who held a view about sex that was rooted in "Pelagianism, [and] a denial of original

sin."[92] Greeley described these individuals as believing that "sex can be fun" and having a mindset in which "modesty is seen as puritanism, idealism and phoniness, innocence as ignorance, and prudent caution as frigidity."[93]

What Greeley yearned for was not a recommitment to the same methods that previous Catholic pamphlet writers had utilized when discussing matters related to sexuality. Instead, he wished for a form of sex education that was less sensational and more based in scientific fact. This is significant, and in many ways it illustrated the tensions that were present in Catholic media during the 1960s. Greeley began his pamphlet on dating by referencing the neurologist Sigmund Freud, and while he did not provide a thorough review or analysis of Freud's work, it is clear that he was heavily influenced by it. Specifically, Greeley furthered the Freudian notion that homosexuality was a normal stage of sexual development that was simply less mature and developed than heterosexuality. Greeley believed that there were multiple stages of sexual development, including an "auto sexual stage, where the main emphasis is on one's own body" followed by a "homo sexual stage where one is intensely interested first in the bodies of members of the same sex" and then a "hetero-sexual stage where one becomes interested directly in the bodies of members of the opposite sex."[94]

Clearly, Greeley did not assert an entirely positive attitude towards homosexuality, but he also did not address the topic with an intense contempt. For him, homosexuality was just a normal stage of human sexual development. Greeley's presentation of a Freudian view of sex recognized the authority of science and demonstrated what it might look like for a Catholic approach to sexuality not to be based on fear and superstition. As Greeley noted, "the answer of course is better sex

instruction—more information sooner, more accurate information, and more profound Christian attitudes."[95] While Greeley was clearly inspired by the opportunity for change presented by Vatican II, he concluded his pamphlet by acknowledging the daunting task ahead. He wrote:

> There is so much misinformation, bad information, warped attitudes, and superstitious nonsense in the collective unconscious of the American Catholic population that it will probably take generations to notably change the present situations. Things are certainly improving. Cana Conferences, high school marriage courses, books, records, film strips—are doing their part; but there is still a long way to go.[96]

While these sentiments expressed a cautious optimism, the fact that Greeley had felt comfortable expressing his discontent with the state of sexual education within the Church was a major shift within the history of Catholic publishing.

Young Catholics: Resist Marriage Mania!

In 1963, the Ave Maria Press published a pair of pamphlets, also written by Greeley, that addressed some additional concerns he had about young Catholics. These pamphlets—*Letter to a Young Woman: Love is a Challenge* and *Letter to a Young Man: The Challenge of Living*—offered a series of reflections on what Greeley believed to be the critical issues facing young people. The cover of each pamphlet featured a photograph of a young person looking wistfully off into the distance. At first glance, Greeley's *Letter to a Young Man* may have appeared as yet another instructional guide for young men on how to control their sexual urges. However, while Greeley did mention the "mating instinct" in young men, he did not seem interesting in shaming young men for their sexual desires. Instead, this pamphlet was much more focused on determining one's

calling in life on the precipice of adulthood. Greeley wanted to convince young men to not rush into a marriage and to consider more seriously their vocation in life.

Greeley warned young men of the "naysayers" who may insist that their lives follow a strict trajectory. He noted that "parents and family are often among the prime naysayers" and that "they cannot bear the thought of any deviation from the plan."[97] Greeley asserted that while Catholic parents did a great job in passing on their faith to their children, they often did not understand that their children might follow a different life path than they did.[98] Additionally, he noted that schools also provided young men little help, as they were often "nonvisionary in the extreme" and encouraged young men to settle for "the 'good life,'" which he believed was "narrowly conceived in this country."[99] Greeley went even further, admitting that "we who are your clergy fail you too and to that extent we, too, are perhaps the worst obstacle of all." Greeley noted that clergy had presented "a version of Catholicism that is largely negative" and not based in a "passion for justice and charity."[100] Again, this sort of direct critique of the Church (including the clergy!) was a totally new element in Catholic pamphlet literature.

In his *Letter to a Young Woman*, Greeley did not go into painstaking detail about biological differences between men and women, but his work nevertheless reinforced gendered stereotypes. In addition to writing distinct pamphlets for young men and women, Greeley stated that girls were more "noble" and interested in "manifesting great love," while boys were more concerned with themselves and "doing great things."[101] Greeley also remarked that boys were more interested in "rationality" and that girls "want[ed] to make the world a warmer place."[102] While Greeley framed his remarks as compliments, he still asserted that there were differences between girls and boys. He

stated that "there is no one more generous or more sensitive to human suffering than an adolescent girl," and that when a "boy is unfaithful to his vision the world loses a bit of vigor and order; [but] when a girl is unfaithful to hers, the world loses a bit of love."[103] Greeley obviously reinforced gendered stereotypes about men's rationality and women's loving nature; however, he did not exert a great deal of energy emphasizing the bodily, natural, and sexualized differences between boys and girls.

One of the areas where Greeley's work most departed from previous Catholic pamphlets was his attitude towards marriage. Greeley was quite critical of some of the messages that young people were being given, and he addressed what he called "marriage mania." He lamented the fact that so many young people felt compelled to get married—a radical departure from previous Catholic pamphlets, which asserted that marriage was the most important milestone that a young Catholic could pursue. Instead, Greeley encouraged young people to slow down with their pursuit of marriage and to be sure that it reflected their true calling in life. Greeley specifically addressed young women, noting that "a woman can be happy without marriage and without children; it may be more difficult, of course, though for some people it may also be more easy."[104] While Greeley's perspective on marriage did not reflect all Catholic pamphlet writers, it was certainly moved by the spirit of Vatican II. He remarked that "these are great days to be alive. . . . The window was thrown open by Pope John and the warm winds of spring are blowing after a long and cold winter." Greeley further described this time as "one of the great turning points in history" and a moment for great optimism for those in the Church.[105]

Catholic Women and the Modern World

While Vatican II was a moment of great optimism for many Catholics, the coinciding social movements in the United States made others not as optimistic. In 1963, Betty Friedan's book *The Feminine Mystique* addressed "the problem that has no name" that "lay buried, unspoken, for many years in the minds of American women" and caused women to question: "is this all?"[106] While Friedan almost exclusively spoke to the experiences of white, middle-class women, her book worked to challenge the dominant discourse about women and the incessant push for women to embrace femininity and do anything they could to please their husbands. Friedan noted that "over and over women heard in voices of tradition and of Freudian sophistication that they could desire no greater destiny than to glory in their own femininity."[107] While also fomenting anxieties about women challenging the "traditional" family structure, *The Feminine Mystique* would go on to sell millions of copies, and it proved to be one of the catalysts for the U.S. feminist movement of the 1960s.[108]

Also in 1963, the Ave Maria Press published Dorothy Kelly's pamphlet *The Single Woman*, which examined the popular narratives surrounding single women. Kelly lamented the fact that "some single women consider their state in life a great cross."[109] Like Greeley's *Letter to a Young Woman*, Kelly's pamphlet addressed the reality that women could have fulfilling lives outside of marriage. She noted that the single life could very well be "God's will" for certain women, and that it could be a life of great happiness. Given the overwhelming number of Catholic pamphlets that called for women to assume their "natural" roles as mothers and wives, it is unsurprising that Kelly observed that many single women held an "unthinking acceptance of the idea that women

can be fulfilled only by children."[110] For Kelly, these "false ideas" left many women dissatisfied with their lives.

Like Greeley, Kelly asserted views that were a stark departure from previous ideas presented in Catholic pamphlet literature. *The Single Woman* was one of the rare Catholic pamphlets in which women were not universally called to marriage and motherhood. While many previous Catholic pamphleteers had rejected the idea of women working outside of the home, this pamphlet recognized that many women *had* to work because not all women were called to be wives or mothers. However, Kelly still had a very stereotypical imagination of gender. She declared that "a single woman's place is where she makes it,"[111] but she nevertheless set limits on where, exactly, a woman could make her place. As Kelly saw it, "womanly work is done by a woman in a womanly fashion. Short of the purely outlandish—say, heavy construction, wrestling and prize fighting—women should be able to contribute in any field for which they have the talent and the inclination."[112] Kelly seemed to believe that few women (if any) had the "outlandish" desire to perform work that would have been considered "manly"; rather, "many women still find more satisfaction in the fields traditionally open to women—nursing, teaching, social work and clerical positions."[113] While Kelly had a broader vision for women's lives than many previous Catholic pamphlet writers, she still maintained a biologically deterministic imagination of gender difference between men and women.

On the surface, this pamphlet may have appeared as a heartfelt appeal to women who were single, but Kelly was quite harsh in her rejection of the notion that single women might organize and fight for their rights in society. On the topic of pay inequity,

she stated that "women, by and large, do not command the salaries that men do,"[114] and that they can "complain about it or they can decide that salaries are not very important in the scheme of things."[115] For Kelly, such complaints were "useless" and "a nuisance to hear and to live with."[116] She went even further, suggesting that "the complainers are quite likely to be the single women who might better recognize what is happening around them."[117] Kelly's curt remark that the women who advocated for equal pay were "complainers" and "likely to be single" was quite similar to the anti-feminist stereotype that all feminists were man-haters and lesbians. It was this same stereotype that led Betty Friedan to ostracize lesbian women in the feminist movement, a group she referred to as "the Lavender Menace," because they were seen as confirming the stereotype.

Kelly's worldview seemed to assume that women were universally heterosexual and that single women would always be in pursuit of a male partner. Kelly even provided instructions for pairs of women who wanted to buy a house and live with one another (you know, as *friends*). She noted that these women should have an agreement set in writing about how to handle their joint finances in the event that one of the women died or got married. Kelly believed that a woman could have a life as a single person, but that her "antenna is always up" in search of a male partner.[118] Because of this, Kelly, quite condescendingly, instructed the single woman to still exercise, take care of her hygiene, and "consciously remind herself occasionally—that feminine attractiveness is one of the gifts of God."[119]

In 1966, the Ave Maria Press published the pamphlet *Spirituality for Modern Wives and Mothers* by Lucyle Florian. While Florian addressed this pamphlet to "modern wives and mothers," she (like Friedan) repeatedly referred to her audience as if all

women were housewives. Florian explored the topic of women and work, and what she believed Catholic women were called to. She wrote:

> Deciding how and where we, as housewives, can serve God best at various times is difficult. Striking a proper balance between home duties and the work we do in the parish and community calls for mature judgment. There is need for Christian action outside the home; everyone who reads is aware of this.[120]

While Florian seemed to imagine all Catholic women as housewives, it was clear that Vatican II had expanded her perspective on what could be considered "women's work." Florian noted that "members of the hierarchy and all the recent Popes—have challenged women to accept their responsibilities to those outside their immediate family circle."[121] This work outside of one's family was a part of how Florian understood the Vatican II emphasis on "lay action in the world."[122]

Unlike previous Catholic pamphlets, which had offered a detailed blueprint for how Catholic women should spend their lives inside the home in service to their husbands, Florian warned her audience that "to become so engrossed with domestic duties that no time remains at all to serve others, is usually an indication of lopsided values."[123] She went further and stressed that women "cannot be 'everywhere for the Faith,' as Pope Pius XII requested, if we remain selfishly at home when so much remains to be done."[124] Florian's notion that housewives who *stayed at home* were selfish was a major reversal of previous Catholic pamphlet writers, who had routinely emphasized that any mother who wished to *work outside of the home* did so out of selfishness.

Florian also highlighted the words of Pope John XXIII, who had described the Second Vatican Council as "the new Pentecost," [125] which she believed was a call for Catholic women to be more engaged in spreading the Catholic faith. Florian observed that "interest in Catholicism is at an all-time high [and] there is a genuine desire to

understand our doctrines, our principles, our forms of worship."[126] She asserted that Catholic concerns about "such problems as the menace of Communism, crime, and juvenile delinquency, and the breakdown in moral standards, brings us together."[127] So, while Florian believed that Vatican II opened the door for a heightened involvement for Catholic women in the life of the Church, she also believed that Catholic action could be best demonstrated by fighting the social breakdown of moral standards.

Political Diversity in the American Catholic Church

As stated earlier, Vatican II created a climate within the Church where a wider diversity of voices were welcomed to articulate their perspectives on the state of the Church and what its priorities should be. As a result, the wide political diversity of American Catholics was put on full display in Catholic media texts. To be clear, this political diversity was not unique to the 1960s. Instead, the combined impact of having a Catholic president and the sea changes brought about by Vatican II freed Catholic media makers from the incessant need to present American Catholics as being a perfectly unified and vigorously patriotic group of people.

In 1965, the Ave Maria Press published a pamphlet series by Gary MacEoin entitled The Church in America. This series included titles such as *Catholics and the Race Question*, *Catholics and Modern Marriage*, and *Catholics and Communism Today*. The pamphlets illustrated MacEoin's thoughts on the shortcomings of the Church in the United States and what he felt could be new approaches to the problems facing the Church and the nation. In *Catholics and the Race Question*, MacEoin emphasized that recent popes and American bishops had "stated in the clearest terms that racial

discrimination is contrary to Catholic teaching" yet "American Catholics have failed to play their part in the struggle for racial equality."[128] Given this failure, MacEoin argued, "Sympathetic neutrality is not enough in such circumstances. The Catholic must assume a leadership he has hitherto avoided."[129] While previous Catholic pamphlets had illustrated the need for a heightened commitment to the cause of racial justice among Catholics, MacEoin's sentiments were part of a larger series of critiques that he made of the Church in the United States. Unlike the previous Catholic pamphlet writers who had depicted Catholics as moral exemplars for the nation, MacEoin described Catholics in America as a group that had failed to address the issue of racism in society.

In *Catholics and Modern Marriage*, MacEoin addressed the issues of birth control and family planning. He noted that "theologians and sociologists [have been] forced to re-examine traditional Catholic attitudes" on how large one's family should be.[130] MacEoin acknowledged that many Catholic couples were anxious about having large families and that their motives should not be considered inappropriate. MacEoin was sympathetic to these Catholic families, and he observed that "the population explosion is also a real problem" and that "the number of mouths to feed is increasing more rapidly than the means to feed them."[131] These concerns about the population would be echoed three years later in the famous book *The Population Bomb*, which written was by Anne Ehrlich and her husband Paul.[132]

MacEoin also addressed the issue of birth control with regard to Catholics, noting that "a recent sociological study, for example, reached the conclusion that techniques of birth control condemned by the Church had been practiced at some time by one half of all Catholic couples [who were] married 10 or more years and still fecund."[133] MacEoin

would later describe what sort of birth control measures were and were not acceptable for Catholics; however, his willingness to offer sympathy to Catholics who were not interested in having large families and his frank discussion of the fact that many Catholics did not follow official Church teachings was a stark departure from previous Catholic pamphlet literature. Before, marriage was always seen as the proper outlet for the sex urge, and sex was always about having children. While MacEoin did not entirely negate this line of thinking, he nevertheless projected an image of Catholic marriage and sexuality that was not exclusively focused on creating the biggest family that one could. Years later, in 1969, the Ave Maria Press's pamphlet *What is Family?* by Rosemary Haughton would offer similar sentiments. Haughton noted that "families are smaller nowadays, and this is not just a sign of selfish materialism on the part of the parents."[134] She realized that for many Catholic families, "the reason may be income, or housing, or health, or a mixture of these" and that "the human race just cannot go on increasing at the present rate without disaster."[135]

MacEoin was concerned with overpopulation, but he did not endorse the use of the pill. He argued that "birth regulation [was] not [the] same as birth control" and that in the eyes of the Church it was still "unlawful to use any kind of device or other artificial means to prevent the natural consequences of the marriage act."[136] Furthermore, MacEoin condemned the "birth-control culture in which we live" and cautioned that "the reasons for limiting family size must not be selfish or epicurean reasons."[137] In doing so, MacEoin could present an attitude towards family planning that centered ideas of overpopulation and world hunger without endorsing *artificial* means of birth control. As detailed in previous chapters, the issue of birth control was often tied to a desire to

preserve the patriarchal gendered order. For those who imagined the ability to become pregnant as the defining characteristic of what it means to be a woman, birth control functioned to erase that difference. Therefore, while "natural" family planning methods like the rhythm method were also measures taken to control the number of children a couple had, the pill was framed as "artificial" because it appeared to change the *nature* of women.

While birth control had long been an issue that divided Catholics, another issue that was contentious for Catholics was the fight against communism. In *Catholics and Communism Today*, MacEoin noted that "Catholics played a laudable part in creating a public awareness of the threat and in getting the federal authorities to devise administrative techniques and introduce laws to deal with the subversive and treasonable activities of hidden Communists."[138] However, he found the extent of the "strong and persistent Catholic support" for the anti-communist cause to be concerning.[139] MacEoin observed that the Catholic rejection of communism resulted in "strange bedfellows" between some "Catholics and [the] Radical Right."[140] For MacEoin, there was a limit to the degree that Catholics should oppose communism because "a Catholic who supports all the principles of the radical anti-Communist right as organized in the United States is compelled to reject pivotal social teachings of the Church."[141] He went even further with his pointed critique of the Catholics who aligned themselves with the radical right when he asserted that these Catholics were "out of tune not only with the modern emphasis on social progress in Catholic thought, but with all Catholic tradition."[142] As someone who did not mince words, MacEoin proclaimed that these Catholics had " lost touch with the Catholic interpretation of good and evil in the world."[143]

MacEoin's rejection of any alliance between Catholicism and the radical right was because he believed that it was a distinctly un-Catholic alliance, and that it was motivated by a particularly Protestant vision of America. He explained:

> Today's radical righters are living in a caricature of rural America of the 19th century. That was a society dominated by small-town Protestantism. Its values and beliefs derived from Calvinism. It interpreted worldly success as a sign of salvation and it emphasized the importance for the individual of developing self-control and devoting himself to hard work. It was a world in which each man was master of his fate.[144]

Such a statement illustrated another significant departure from previous Catholic media efforts, which had worked to project an image of Catholics as being just as American as their Protestant counterparts. Additionally, MacEoin's critique of any Catholic alliance with the radical right and its emphasis on individualism was a clear nod to the spirit of Vatican II. As detailed earlier with Fulton Sheen, the work of Vatican II was aimed at helping Catholics to resist individualism and to see their personal moral decisions as being connected to a global community.

While MacEoin's work illustrated the political diversity among Catholics in America, Catholics were united in their devastation over the assassination of President Kennedy in 1963. While Kennedy had not earned unanimous Catholic support, his presidency was a major milestone in the history of Catholic efforts to assume a more central place in American social and political life. Furthermore, the figure of Jackie Kennedy as a widowed Catholic mother evoked the sympathy of Catholics across the country—however, years later some Catholic media makers would shame her for her decision to remarry.[145]

The Endurance of the Patriarchal Gendered Order

While Vatican II sparked a series of shifts within the Catholic media world, the rigidly binary vision of gender that had informed earlier Catholic pamphlets seemed to be difficult to shake for some Catholic media makers. In 1964, the Ave Maria Press published *Sex: The Christian View* by Rev. James Killgallon and Rev. Gerard Weber. Killgallon and Weber began the pamphlet by noting, "Everybody knows something about sex. This statement needs no proof. But it is surprising how few people know enough about it or, rather, how few have an appreciation of its full meaning."[146] They remarked that most children learned about sex in a way that was "scientifically accurate, but pagan and animalistic in tone."[147] They noted their dissatisfaction with the overly scientific teaching of sex and pointed to critiques that had been levied against the Kinsey reports. Specifically, they stated that "the most serious criticism which can be leveled at them is that they give the impression that sex in human beings is a purely physiological function."[148] While Killgallon and Weber saw sex education as overly scientific, just two years earlier Andrew Greeley's *Sex and the Teenager* had lamented the overall *disregard* of science when teaching teens about sex; taken together, these pamphlets reflect some of the diversity in Catholic thought during this time.

Killgallon and Weber's critique of sex education was not focused solely on the scientific emphasis that they disagreed with; they were also critical of the way that the Church had placed too great an emphasis on sin and what *not* to do. They noted that there was a "hangover from the older books and methods," and that even though educators had conceded that "sex itself is not evil . . . [they] proceed to explain chastity in terms of not doing things."[149] Killgallon and Weber believed that this negative approach taken by

educators within the Church needed to be changed. They encouraged "less talk about the sins into which one is forever apt to fall and more talk about the virtue of chastity."[150] Furthermore, they felt that there was an incessant focus on that "specifically Catholic sin" of "impure thoughts, which in most cases turn out to have been indeliberate."[151] Killgallon and Weber joked that given all of the things that Catholics were instructed not to do, "the best way to practice chastity would be to be bitten by a tsetse fly or to have a complete stroke."[152]

Killgallon and Weber also addressed the stereotype that the Church was anti-sex, noting that some saw the Church's attitude as having a "grudging toleration of sex" and that "the Church . . . [did] not really approve of the whole thing."[153] They attempted to disprove this stereotype by pointing to the Cana movement, which they believed had made "people more aware of the psychological characteristics which are a part of sex." They noted that sex was not just the "act itself"; instead, sex included "all the endowments of personality which are involved in masculinity and femininity." [154] For Killgallon and Weber, a man used "his gift of sex when he acts in a fatherly way or does anything which is associated with manliness," and that a woman used "her gift of sex when she gives herself as only a woman can, in the service of others."[155]

Here, enacting a patriarchal performance of gender was how one could use the gift of one's sex, and this was the foundation for a successful marriage. Towards this end, Killgallon and Weber wrote:

> Man and wife must know each other's strengths and weaknesses in order to understand each other's needs. Each must know his own in order to be able to fulfill his role in marriage and in the family. A husband must be aware of his strength—his masculine drive, his fortitude, his objectivity, his logical approach to truth, all the characteristics of manhood—in order that he might use this strength to be the head of his wife.[156]

While Killgallon and Weber attempted to dissolve the notion that the Church was anti-sex, they did so in a way that avoided almost any examination of the *act itself*. Instead, they presented patriarchal gender stereotypes as fundamental parts of men's and women's natures, and they suggested that an adherence to these stereotypes was how Catholics could better understand sex. This is a compelling example of the complicated mixture of ideas about sex presented in Catholic pamphlet literature. On the one hand, Killgallon and Weber reflected the increased willingness of Catholic pamphlet writers to levy critiques against the Church, as they were concerned with the Church's repeated emphasis on sexual sin. But on the other hand, they were still deeply invested in strengthening the patriarchal gendered order, as previous Catholic pamphlet writers had.

As in decades prior, there was no shortage of Catholic pamphlet writers who asserted a vision for Catholic sexual education; however, in the aftermath of Vatican II, there would be a serious debate over which pedagogical strategies were most appropriate for the Church. In 1966, the Ave Maria Press published *Teaching Your Child About Sex* by James P. Carroll. Carroll began the pamphlet by lamenting the state of the "Christmas toy catalogue."[157] He noted that it had once been a "bland volume [and] a sugar plum book of rocking horses and teddy bears" but now it was a space that displayed "big-busted, boy-baiting female dolls."[158] For context, just seven years earlier in 1959, the Barbie doll had debuted "in a zebra-striped swimsuit and stilettos."[159] Carroll continued:

> These are not the dolls of other years. These are not sweet cuddly babies or bright, button-eyed toddlers. Oh, no. These are plastic copies of the Hollywood "starlet." These are fashion-obsessed and boy-crazy. By an objective standard, they are about as lovable as a two-pound tarantula.[160]

Carroll believed that these dolls taught "little girls . . . and little boys . . . that physical attractiveness is the essence of sex," and that these young people would soon believe that "sex is a fun thing."[161]

Carroll was critical of the use of sex in marketing and popular culture, asserting that "real sex wasn't invented for television or the movies or the cheap novels . . . sex has been the human heritage—and the human joy—since God created male and female."[162] However, Carroll attempted to avoid a prudish and puritanical approach to sex. He articulated his desire to create a Catholic approach to sexuality that resisted being either a "modern day Puritan" or a "militant, relentless anti-Puritan."[163] Carroll noted that Catholics often had trouble "shaking off guilty feelings about sex," and that they believed "that sex is something dirty, something that somehow reveals the 'animal' side of human nature."[164] Because of this, Carroll critiqued Catholic parents who had taught their children that sex was "unfortunate" or "something to be ignored or stifled or, if it is at all possible, suppressed forever."[165]

Carroll wished for a program for sex education to be based "on a concept that transcends sex, a concept that is the root of the Christian message, a concept that contains the force that can transform all of creation. This concept, this force is called love."[166] But this emphasis on love did not mean that Carroll wished to dismiss the scientific knowledge about human sexuality. He noted that educators should, "call things by their proper and scientifically correct names. These aren't too difficult for little ones. They can master words like astronaut and dinosaur. Surely they will have no trouble with penis and vagina."[167]

Carroll also noted that there were important milestones for boys and girls that were opportunities for education. For girls, menstruation was the opportunity to discuss matters of sex; for boys, masturbation was the occasion.[168] While Carroll implicitly perpetuated the notion that only boys masturbated, his tone on the topic was quite unlike that of other Catholic pamphlet writers. Carroll called on a father of young boys to "be prepared to tell his sons the meaning of the strange new things they are experiencing, the pleasant new sensations, the erections, [and] the nighttime discharges."[169] While Carroll's work was not as directed at maintaining the patriarchal gendered order, he shared Killgallon and Weber's concern that Catholic sexual education had been too focused on sin. Carroll wrote that boys "need fathers who will avoid all the ridiculous threats of hellfire and damnation."[170] And Carroll modeled this—his pamphlet treated masturbation as a part of life that created an opportunity to have a conversation about sex.

But Carroll was aware that some people might be anxious about such frank conversations about sex. Given this, he acknowledged that there was an idea that "the explicit instruction of boys and girls in sex increases the possibility of experimentation with sex."[171] He noted that sex education was often used to explain increases in teen pregnancy, and while he found these statistics interesting, he asserted that "they scarcely prove that sex information is a bad thing."[172] As Carroll saw it, "the whole argument is like claiming that an upswing in traffic accidents is a result of expanded programs for driver education."[173] Put simply, Carroll believed that "the answer to today's sex problems is not the elimination of sex education."[174]

While Carroll was critical of the manner in which many young Catholics had been educated about sex, he noted that "often mothers get the blame for the grown-up dressing

and dating habits of their children."[175] But Carroll pointed to what he felt was a general disengagement among Catholic fathers in the development of their children. Carroll noted that "too often they view the supervision of their children as 'something mother takes care of,'" which resulted in many women having to navigate these conversations "without the support of their husbands."[176] Carroll concluded his pamphlets by reminding Catholic parents to "try to make children ready for the complexities of an age that talks much about sex and understands little," and to "make it clear that sins involving sex, like all other sins, are subject to the mercy of an understanding and forgiving God."[177]

Carroll's emphasis on love, mercy, understanding, and forgiveness was not shared by all Catholic pamphlet writers. In 1968, the Ave Maria Press published *Unwed Mothers and Fathers* by Elizabeth Mulligan, which painted an immensely bleak image of the lives of young unmarried women who became pregnant.[178] Mulligan told the story of Mary Lou, who was "one of the thousands of pregnant girls who, every year, try to hide themselves in the shelters of large cities in order to give birth to unwanted babies."[179] Mary Lou's story made it clear that that a young woman who had sex before marriage would become a social outcast of both her family and her community. Mulligan noted:

> Mary Lou is one of the girls whose parents rejected her when it became obvious that she was pregnant. "Shame, shame on you," said her mother, pointing a shaking finger. "You will have to go." "And don't come back till you're decent," added her father.[180]

Mulligan did not make any criticism of the parents' response. This pamphlet was not a guide for how parents could lovingly support their children should they have an unwanted pregnancy—it was a warning of the horrible life that awaited anyone who engaged in premarital sex.

Mulligan also shirked any discussion of the relationship between sexual violence and unwanted pregnancies, but chose to echo the awful myth that, "there is such a thing as rape, to be sure, but the number of children born from such a condition is almost negligible."[181] For Mulligan, the problem with teenagers was that they are often "bent on pushing themselves into premature adulthood," and she imagined that many girls "suggest that they wished to 'get even' with their parents, so they 'sleep' with boys, hoping consciously or unconsciously to get pregnant in order to punish their parents for injustices they feel they have suffered."[182] For a young Catholic who may have wished to learn more about sexuality, their perspective on how their Church felt about sex would have been significantly different depending on whether they picked up Carroll's pamphlet or Mulligan's at their local parish or pamphlet rack. It is important to note that the Ave Maria Press published both of these pamphlets within two years of one another, so it was entirely possible that these pamphlets could have been displayed at the same time.

"Men Are Men and Women Are Women"

As detailed in Joanne Meyerowitz's book *How Sex Changed: A History of Transsexuality in the United States*, the discussion of sex differences was a major area of focus during the 1950s and 60s. Meyerowitz notes that "the early twentieth-century women's movement had put issues of sex equality and sex differences at the forefront of political life, and the emergence of gay and lesbian subcultures had created visible spots of sexual variation within the urban landscape."[183] Meyerowitz also detailed the story of Christine Jorgensen, whose "'sex change' surgery" made her the subject of national

headlines and a "successful nightclub act that kept her name on marquees and her body in spotlights" for the rest of the 1950s.[184] Individuals like Jorgensen challenged many people's imagination and understanding of the malleability of sex, and so it is unsurprising that a number of Catholic pamphlet writers were still deeply committed to framing conversations about sex in a way that strengthened the patriarchal gendered order. And few did so in as pronounced of a way as the 1968 Ave Maria Press pamphlet *Sex Education: Teaching Approaches for Parents and Teachers*, which was written by Ronald and Nancy Wilkins. The Wilkinses began this pamphlet by observing that "in America, the attitude concerning sex is, to say the least, mixed."[185] They also noted that "there are a few people who feel that sex should not be discussed at all; there are a few who feel that complete freedom in word and action is not only compatible with human nature but it is necessary for full realization of the human condition."[186] Like many other Catholic pamphlet writers, the Wilkinses believed that the education of children on matters related to sex had been a massive failure. However, like Carroll, they endorsed a version of sex education that recognized that "neither the permissive nor the puritanical view of sex and sexuality is the Christian view."[187] The Wilkinses instructed parents and teachers to speak to boys and girls in very "prudent and delicate" ways and to never use phrases like "self abuse" when discussing masturbation. They also noted that adolescents were generally "very hazy about such terms as masturbation, fornication, lesbianism, necking, petting, 'making out,' French kissing and the like."[188] Because of this, they asserted that educators must "never show embarrassment" and should explain things in a matter-of-fact way.

The Wilkinses also believed that sexual education should be done in a way that emphasized that "by God's plan human beings are sexual" and that the differences between boys and girls were very important.[189] Towards this end, they asserted:

> A boy acts as a boy because he is a boy; a girl acts as a girl simply because she is a girl. Each is thus limited in expressing himself or herself because the body is either male or female, but each is free to express himself or herself within the particular male or female category and to become a better, more mature human being precisely because of this maleness or femaleness.[190]

The Wilkinses continued to emphasize the importance of gender difference and reminded readers that "Jesus was a man" and had "all the masculine qualities that made Him the forceful, magnetic character that He was. Christ thought as a man, walked, talked, ate, slept and loved as a man, as a complete sexual person."[191]

For the Wilkinses, an emphasis on gender difference was a critical element of the sort of sexual education that they endorsed, but they made clear that the differences between men and women were not just limited to their genitals. To bolster this idea, the Wilkinses pointed to the work of the early twentieth-century biologist (and proponent of eugenics) Alexis Carrell, who stated that "the differences between man and woman do not come from the particular form of the sex organ, [but] by the very structure of the tissues and by the impregnation of the entire organism with specific substances."[192] The Wilkinses expanded on this, declaring:

> Once students understand that men are men and women are women from the top of their heads to the soles of their feet, inside and out, 24 hours of each day, they can be led to appreciate that psychological, emotional and intellectual differences of men and women are far more important than the physical and that it is these differences that constitute the fabric of sexual relationships. It is upon them that complete sexual union relies for its fullness and meaning."[193]

For the Wilkinses, the differences between men and women were not limited to genitalia; men and women were different in every way imaginable.

The Wilkinses also stressed that sex acts were not just about the interaction between sex organs. They noted that "sex is more than sex organs" and that young people are "not generally aware that the relationship between the members of the opposite sexes are a complex of physical, psychological, emotional, social and cultural factors that involve the entire person, not simply sexual organs."[194] While the Wilkinses did not explicitly draw this connection, their comments seemed to be a response to the public discourse about genitalia and sexuality that had been *aroused* after the release of Masters and Johnson's best-selling book *Human Sexual Response* (1966). While Kinsey's work had focused on the frequency with which people engaged in various sex acts, Masters and Johnson's research directly examined the physiological dynamics that shaped human sexual arousal and orgasm. Additionally, in 1968 an article written by the radical feminist activist Anne Koedt, "The Myth of the Vaginal Orgasm," further examined the debates and ideas about genitalia and sexual pleasure.

The Wilkinses also addressed the topic of "interracial dating," acknowledging that interracial couples would experience a heightened level of difficulties in their relationship due to prejudice. They stated that these couples "must ask themselves is, is this relationship worth the risks involved, and if it is, is the probability of children and what they will have to suffer worth the risk?"[195] The Wilkinses seemed to be unmoved by the 1967 Sidney Poitier and Katharine Hepburn film *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner* and the *Loving v. Virginia* U.S. Supreme Court decision, which banned restrictions on interracial marriage. While the Wilkinses acknowledged that the difficulties interracial couples experienced were the result of prejudice and "narrow-minded persons," they still

suggested that interracial marriages were ill advised, because the children of these couples would face "stigma."[196]

On the topic of masturbation, the Wilkinses articulated a Freudian view of sexuality that regarded masturbation as a "problem of arrested sexual development."[197] Because of this, they suggested that "occasional masturbation" was not a problem, but continued masturbation *was*.[198] They asserted their belief that "under normal circumstances masturbation will cease to be a problem when satisfactory sexual relationships are established."[199] But for the Wilkinses, a far more complicated and "mysterious" issue was homosexuality.[200] They wrote:

> True homosexuality must not be confused with the normal curiosity aspect that all young people experience with regard to persons of their own sex, or with the "crushes" that young adolescents experience with regard to older persons whom they admire and respect deeply.[201]

Here the Wilkinses suggested that there could be a "normal curiosity" among young people regarding "persons of their own sex," but ultimately, "like masturbation, true homosexuality is a stage of arrested sexual development."[202]

The Wilkinses also believed that homosexuality was a result of "an unhappy early relationship with a person of the opposite sex which results in a psychological block preventing normal heterosexual relationships."[203] However, the Wilkinses suggested that parents avoid "scare tactics" on the topic of homosexuality, and instead educate their children about the "causes of homosexuality."[204] They concluded by noting:

> In most cases the homosexual cannot help himself, even though he freely chooses to be a homosexual. His problem is much deeper than "free choice," for he chooses this course of action because he cannot relate satisfactorily to persons of the opposite sex.[205]

While the Wilkinses advised parents not to use scare tactics, their language regarding homosexuality was wholly contradictory. The Wilkinses purported that there were

"causes" of homosexuality, and they described it—even within the same sentence—as something that both cannot be helped and is freely chosen. Additionally, their relentless emphasis on the "psychological, emotional and intellectual differences of men and women"[206] also provided a foundation for the privileged and normative status that they afforded to heterosexuality.

The Sexual Schism

Throughout the 1960s, Catholic pamphlet writers articulated a wide array of ideas about sexuality that spanned a broad philosophical and political spectrum. And two Catholic pamphlets in 1969 illustrated just how divided Catholic thought on the topic of sex was. That year the Ave Maria Press published *What Is Marriage?* by Rosemary Haughton, which offered a remarkably positive attitude toward sex. Haughton noted that "there is one sad result of the old-fashioned ideas some Christians still have about sex, this is that married Christians who love each other, and know that God allows sex in marriage, still feel that sex is somehow a shameful thing."[207] Haughton believed that Catholics (and Christians generally) should not have guilt with sex because "God meant sex to give pleasure."[208] She also addressed the issue of "sex outside marriage" and stated that was a misuse of sex and distorted the original meaning of sex. But she also stressed that the people "who see no harm in two people who are in love having sex relations . . . are not necessarily wicked."[209] Haughton noted that "sometimes 'love affairs' like this can be very happy and help people to grow in love," and "so it would be wrong for Christians to condemn or look down on those who use sex outside marriage."[210] She added that there are some young people "who use sex just as an amusement, something to

take their minds off the dreariness of everyday life," but for the Christian it was "no more our job to condemn than to imitate them."[211]

Haughton's writing reflected the increasing willingness by Catholic media makers to articulate a positive attitude towards sex that was not based in guilt and religious legalism. But some conservative Catholics found the open and frank discussion of sexuality to be deeply problematic, as was the case in Daniel Lyons's pamphlet *What About Sex Education?* (1969). In the introduction to this pamphlet, a professor at the Notre Dame Law School named Charles E. Rice noted his deep objections to new trends in the sexual education of young children. Rice noted:

> Its main purpose is to expose the child to fully detailed information concerning the clinical, social and behavioral aspects of such things as intercourse, reproduction, venereal disease, masturbation, homosexuality, and the various methods of birth control including contraception and abortion.

Rice saw this sort of detailed education as being dangerous for young children, arguing that "you cannot turn a 10-year-old into an amateur gynecologist without risking serious trouble."[212] He also believed that is was shameful for any Catholic school to teach sex education; he pointed to an example in the Diocese of Rochester and lamented the fact that "the only way you could excuse your child from such a program would be to withdraw him from the school."[213] Ultimately, Rice believed that "no proponent for 'sex education' has even presented an adequate justification for the program,"[214] and that there should be a uniform support of this cause among Catholics. He concluded his introduction by assuring readers that his position was "consistent with the teaching of the Church" but that "space limitations prevent an explanation of this point."[215]

Daniel Lyons echoed Rice's concerns and stated that "the rightness or wrongness in sex education depends on how it is done, when it is done, whether or not it is

overdone, and on what moral standards it is based."[216] For Lyons, any sort of sex education that did not begin and end with what is *right and wrong* was morally abhorrent. Lyons pointed to the sex education program at the University of Minnesota and the work of Gerhard Neubeck, whom he found particularly loathsome.[217] Lyons stated that "the teacher, Professor Gerhard Neubeck, subscribes to no Christian beliefs, and as far as sex is concerned, has no moral standards of any kind."[218] Lyons was correct in stating that Neubeck did not subscribe to Christian beliefs—he was Jewish (and famously was denied the right to participate in the 1936 Olympics in Berlin, Germany).[219] But what Lyons most objected to about Neubeck was that he did not frame his sex education work through a focus on morals.

Lyons asserted that Neubeck "condemns morality and Christian standards as 'guilt feelings' and 'Victorianism'" and that he believed "there is nothing detrimental about masturbation."[220] Because of these beliefs, Lyons referred to Neubeck as a "moral degenerate and a corrupter of youth."[221] What particularly irked Lyons was the notoriety that Neubeck had received. Regarding Neubeck's work, Lyons noted that *Look* magazine's editorial writer "ate it up."[222] The editor wrote that she wished she had been able to go to Neubeck's lectures, as when she was younger she did not know what the term *whore* meant, to which Lyons responded that "if she had only been liberated by sex education at the University of Minnesota, she could have become one."[223] As if he had not made his feelings clear, Lyons posed the question: "What is the precise difference between being 'liberated' by Professor Neubeck's teachings and being a whore?"[224]

Lyons also pointed to Bishop William Adrian of Tennessee, who had stated that "a most irresponsible program that leads to the corruption of youth is now being

introduced into some of our Catholic schools under the guise of sex education."[225] The programming he was referring to was the work of the Sex Education and Information Council of the U.S. (SIECUS), which Lyons condemned for promoting the idea that "sex is for fun."[226] For Lyons, the leaders of SIECUS were "moral nothings,"[227] and their materials "can only be compared to the dirtiest of sex novels. It is pornography at its worst."[228] Lyons's work was not aimed at dispelling charges that the Catholic Church had a Puritan approach to sexuality, nor was he interested in making any moderate appeal to Catholics on the issue of sex education. In his mind, sex education was pornographic and immoral, and it had no place within the Catholic Church.

Authentic Catholicism: On Whose Terms?

Lyons's grating critique of sex education was a part of a larger conservative backlash to the heightened visibility of progressive voices within the post-Vatican II Catholic media world. Lyons served as the editor for the Twin Circle Publishing Company (the publisher of *What About Sex Education?*), which was founded in 1967 and was one of the rare Catholic media companies that was not run by a Catholic religious order or diocese. Instead, the Twin Circle was the creation of Patrick J. Frawley Jr., a corporate executive who bankrolled a litany of far-right initiatives and was described as "the right wing's biggest spender."[229] The Twin Circle was an ultra-conservative pocket of Catholic media that was aimed at amplifying "Frawley's commitment to a traditionalist type of Catholicism and his concern about a possible Communist takeover of the United States."[230]

Frawley made his fortune from "the success of the Paper Mate leakproof pen and the Schick stainless-steel razor blade."[231] A 1970 article in the *Washington Post* described him as having an anti-communist obsession and declared that "his money was his weapon."[232] He funded the campaigns for conservative politicians including Ronald Reagan and also financed the work of Edward Scannell Butler, an individual who specialized in "breaking up radical and liberal campus groups."[233] In 1966, Frawley sponsored the production of Butler's "documentary" *Hitler in Havana*," which in a *New York Times* review by Jack Gould was described as the "crudest form of propaganda, employing the tactics it professed to deplore."[234] Gould also contended that it was inappropriate that the film had been presented as a journalistic program and not a privately funded project. Gould asserted that "no one should deny Mr. Frawley every right of free speech . . . [but] it does seem time that stations carrying his right-wing TV offerings identify them in the same manner they identify other paid political broadcasts."[235] The film sensationally utilized footage of the assassination of John F. Kennedy and contended that communist propaganda had "aroused Lee Harvey Oswald to violence"; further, it claimed that there was a continued communist conspiracy aimed at getting "a grip on the minds of a minority of American youngsters and convert them into carbon copies of Lee Harvey Oswald."[236]

The Twin Circle Publishing Company was a subsidiary of the Schick Investment Corporation before it was purchased in 1995 by the ultra-conservative religious order the Legion of Christ (also known as the Legionaries).[237] When the Twin Circle was operated as a part of the Schick Investment Corporation, Frawley effectively employed priests like Daniel Lyons to create Catholic media that reflected his perspective of the Church and

world.[238] Media organizations such as the Twin Circle illustrated the tremendous capacity that individual Catholics like Frawley had to influence the broader understanding of Catholicism in America. One line in the *New York Times* review of *Hitler in Havana* quite succinctly summarized the power that individuals like Frawley wielded: "Whoever has the money to finance the presentation of his opinion can be heard to the exclusion of those who do not have such resources."[239]

Catholic media during the 1960s chronicled the debates on issues related to gender and sexuality, and depicted a deeply divided religious community. But it is important to note that any division among Catholics in America on these issues was not unique to the 1960s; it just became more visible than before. In *Catholics and Contraception: An American History*, Leslie Woodcock Tentler notes that a year before Pope Paul VI's landmark encyclical *Humane Vitae* (1968), which reinforced the Church's stance on birth control, "73 percent of adult Catholics polled by a *Newsweek* survey in 1967 favored a change in the Church's stance on contraception, with the young and college educated even more apt to endorse reform."[240] Furthermore, Tentler observes that "many Catholic couples in the 1930s effectively rejected *Casti Connubii*, if we judge by their behavior. But they did not publicly dissent from the encyclical, and even in private were apt to couch their objections in narrowly pragmatic terms."[241]

At the center of the Catholic media debates about issues related to gender and sexuality was a conflict over what values and beliefs could be described as being *authentically Catholic*—a debate that has continued to the present day. Catholic media throughout the twentieth century engaged in a process of defining—and *constructing* an image of—what the Church is and what is stands for. From rebuking the anti-Papist

propaganda circulated by the KKK, to projecting an image of Catholics as being unified, patriotic, moral exemplars, Catholic media makers have battled to define Catholicism on their own terms. Despite their efforts, Catholics are one of the most politically divided religious groups in the United States.[242] A note by Robert Campbell in the book *Spectrum of Catholic Attitudes* (1969) described this reality well: "The image of the Catholic public as a monolithic bloc has been shattered even for the man in the street."[243]

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EPILOGUE

In June 1968, the fourth annual Wanderer Forum was held. This was a conference for conservative Catholics, and that year's theme was "The Crisis of Belief—What Must Be Done."[1] Speakers at the conference lamented the "crisis of faith," the "breakdown of authority in the Church,"[2] and the "rapid spread of sex education in the schools and new Catholic religion textbooks."[3] One of the featured speakers was Richard Ginder, whose career, as detailed previously in chapter 3, was spent writing about the loss of sexual morals in society. Ginder berated the Catholic press and traced the history of the progressive political shift within American Catholic media. He noted that most Catholic publications were not following the "Catholic line" and that most were politically "to the left."[4] Ginder also condemned the work of Catholic theologians like Rosemary Radford Ruether, a feminist theologian whose work often critiqued the Church's stance on issues related to sexuality. Ginder called this work "parodies of authentic" scholarship.

Ginder further described his fears about the Church, declaring: "It's not the Mohammedans. It's not the Moslems. It's not the Jews. It's our own Catholics who are tearing down the Church."[5] Ginder believed that progressive Catholic voices were destroying the Church and that the U.S. bishops were complicit in this destruction. He scoffed, "they'll watch the American go down the sewer very complacently, and then shake their heads and say that's too bad."[6] Ginder believed that the progressive turn in Catholic publishing was ruining the American Catholic Church, and he was determined to do anything he could to protect it.

Towards this end, later in 1968, Ginder was a founding member of a group of ultra-conservative Catholic men called the Catholic Laymen of America, Inc., a group

who considered "the Pope their personal pastor and themselves as his spiritual and intellectual bodyguard."[7] In addition to Ginder, the group included Frank Morriss, the founding editor of the Twin Circle, and Paul H. Hallett, the associated editor of the *National Catholic Register*, a conservative Catholic newspaper. The group's president was Fred Schlafly, an attorney and the husband of the famous conservative leader Phyllis Schlafly.[8] The group's first objective was to publish a book by Ginder entitled *Thou Art the Rock,* which called out "those prominent in fomenting disloyalty in the Church and the manner which they spread this view."[9] The group also referred to themselves as "Papists," which they explained as "a term from the external anti-Catholic past which is now suitable in the 'internal anti-Catholic present.'"[10] However, Ginder's involvement in the group would be cut short, as less than a year later he was arrested twice by the Pittsburgh police.

The Cautionary Tale of Richard Ginder

In August 1969, the *National Catholic Reporter* released a story detailing Ginder's arrests. The article explained that Ginder, "one of the most outspoken columnists and editors in the Catholic press," had been arrested by Pittsburgh police on July 19 and August 7, 1969, and between these two arrests he was charged with "50 counts of violating six state laws on morals, drugs, and liquor."[11] These charges included "sodomy, indecent liberties, corrupting the morals of a minor and contributing to the delinquency of a minor."[12] The article also noted that Ginder's "last assignment was as a school chaplain in 1964" but that "he resigned because of illness and has remained

unassigned" to a specific ministry.[13] Later that year, Ginder would plead guilty to four of the charges against him, and he was placed on ten years' probation.[14]

In August 2018, the Pennsylvania grand jury concluded its investigation of sexual abuse within the Catholic Church in the state of Pennsylvania, and the report detailed a number of the charges against Richard Ginder. This report was one of the most sweeping investigations by a United States government agency into sexual abuse in the Catholic Church, and it detailed the accounts of 301 different priests (just from Pennsylvania) who had sexually abused over 1,000 children. The grand jury report stated that Ginder, who was ordained in 1940 and died in 1984, had sexually abused young men over a span of four decades. One survivor reported having a "relationship" with Ginder that he described as being "out of control," and he stated that Ginder was a "physically abusive monster."[15]

It might be tempting to dismiss the story of Richard Ginder on account of statistics. Given the sheer number of Catholic priests in the United States (and globally) who have been found to have perpetrated sexual abuse, it is unsurprising that there is evidence of a Catholic media maker being a sexual predator. However, the case of Richard Ginder is an important one because he was not just any Catholic media maker. Ginder was one of the most prominent Catholic media personalities, and he spent his career instructing American Catholics on matters related to sexuality. With this in mind, it is important to consider the role that Catholic media—particularly media that focused on issues related to gender and sexuality—played in the epidemic of sexual abuse perpetrated by Catholic priests. In investigating the issue of sexual abuse perpetrated by

Catholic priests, if we want to leave no stone unturned, we should examine the texts and methods used to educate Catholics, including Catholic priests, about sexuality.

The impact of Richard Ginder is not just limited to the pain and anguish that he imposed on the young men he sexually abused—he also had a major impact on discussions about sexuality within the Church for almost a quarter of a century. Ginder was among a group of Catholic media makers who shaped Catholic discourse about sexuality in the United States. The dominant discourse about sexuality within Catholic media, particularly before Vatican II, made the case that one's sexual desires must always be controlled, and that any loss in sexual mores was not only personally damaging, but also potentially dangerous for the entire nation. Additionally, dominant Catholic discourse about sexuality routinely imagined sexuality as being a tremendous source of shame, and it held that homosexuality was a sin that was particularly abhorrent. If someone were to make it their mission to do anything they could to address the rate of sexual abuse within the Church, it would seem reasonable for them to consider: have these ideas about sexuality served the Church well?

Sexual Abuse and the Culture of Clericalism

Sexual violence is an act of power and control, and so the abuse perpetrated by Catholic priests is not an entirely unique phenomenon. Yet the horrific number of acts of violence perpetrated by Catholic priests has left many Catholics wanting answers. In the wake of the Pennsylvania grand jury report, Jason Blakely's article in *America* magazine entitled "Sexual Abuse and the Culture of Clericalism" poses important questions about some of the unique aspects of sexual abuse within the Catholic Church. Blakely observes

that "Catholics still lack a persuasive story of what went wrong," and because of this, any legal reforms that seek to address this violence will be insufficient because they do not "address the conditions that generated a system of abuse in the first place."[16] Furthermore, Blakely notes that "without a vigorous narrative about what led the church to a dark place, it will be difficult to find a path that can lead us to a place where children rather than their abusers are protected."[17]

Blakely focuses much of his attention on the issue of clericalism and the way that some priests have weaponized their near-godlike status. Blakely summarizes clericalism as a view of the Church where "clerics are viewed as the only real, full examples of religious life, while lay people mostly occupy a second-best, helper status."[18] He further notes that "from the vantage point of clericalism, priests appear to be nearly magical beings, holier than the rest of us, capable of greater moral perfection, insight, wisdom and fortitude." With this in mind, it is troubling to read what Ginder himself wrote on the topic of priestly authority.

In a 1958 issue of the *Pittsburgh Catholic*, Ginder's article "Rally 'Round Your Priest Blindfolded" chastised Catholics for writing complaints about their parish priests. He argued that "the strange thing is that there is hardly one charge made against priests which is wicked in itself. Every tale is a two-sided affair of which the writer gives only one side."[19] Ginder challenged Catholics who had expressed their frustration with priests who had asked parishioners to remove crying babies from mass, and with priests who had locked the church doors to anyone running late. He noted that "the Irish have a saying that is beautiful in its wisdom: Rally 'round your priests blindfolded," which he took to mean "accentuate the positive, eliminate the negative."[20] Ginder also believed that

Catholics should have a "devotion to the priesthood."[21] Continuing his example of Irish Catholics, he claimed, "the Irish take the position that the priest has no faults—or, if he has, they are never discussed. Maybe he does get a little testy at times, but don't we all?"[22] One can only wonder how Ginder's call for supporting priests blindly and never discussing a priest's faults registered with any of his victims, or the victims of other sexually predatory priests for that matter.

Silences and Homophobic Myth-Making

In addition to Ginder's comments on priestly authority, it is important to recall that Ginder was one of the most outspoken critics of homosexuality. In his pamphlet *A Note on the Kinsey Report*, Ginder referred to homosexuality as "loathsome" and a sin "against nature."[23] However, in the very same pamphlet Ginder also shared this piece of advice for homosexual Catholics:

> Every such person, if he is a Catholic, should take a priest into his confidence. Because of the amount of consultation necessary, this might better be done in the rectory than in the confessional. The interested party need only tell the priest that he has a personal problem to discuss. He can be sure that the priest will respect his confidence.[24]

One can only wonder what sort of consultation Ginder was recommending gay men do with priests in the rectory of a church. Given Ginder's history of sexual violence, such an instruction should give readers pause. The combination of Ginder's vitriolic contempt and disgust with homosexuality, his clericalism, and his instruction that gay Catholics seek a priest's private consultation beyond the confessional is deeply troubling.

Within Catholic media, the topic of homosexuality was more often than not rendered to silence. While Ginder was not the single most famous Catholic media maker of the twentieth century, he was one of the media personalities who most directly

addressed the issue of homosexuality, particularly before Vatican II. Ginder spent his career advancing ultra-conservative Catholic ideals and lamenting the loss of sexual mores in the nation, but in 1975 he released a book that reversed his stance on virtually every issue related to gender and sexuality.

This book is entitled *Binding with Briars: Sex and Sin in the Catholic Church*. Ginder began the book by noting that he was a "priest . . . in good standing." He highlighted his prolific Catholic media career, including his work editing the magazine *The Priest*, which he described as a "trade journal for the Catholic clergy." Ginder also noted that he had "written altogether one hundred twenty-four pamphlets with a total sale of twenty-six million copies."[25] He explained that he had been "working on this book for twenty-five years" and stated that "the seed was planted in 1949 when I first realized my sexual identity."[26] Ginder also noted that he "began the book a conservative and ended a liberal," and he ultimately declared, "all my life has been a preparation for the writing of this book."[27]

After spending decades condemning anyone who embodied or enacted any sort of sexual "deviancy," Ginder plainly stated, "as far as one can judge from current sociological studies and surveys, just about everyone in the United States must be living in the state of mortal sin—according to Catholic standards, that is."[28] Ginder also made observations about Catholic beliefs about sex and noted that Catholics tended to believe that "divorce is the very sacrament of adultery."[29] But he failed to mention that he had expressed these same sentiments in his pamphlet *Adultery*.[30] Ginder seemed content to now critique the Church's stance on matters related to sexuality, while disregarding the

fact that he was one of the principal figures who had communicated these ideas to Catholics.

In his chapter on homosexuality, Ginder approximated that there were 4.25 million gay Catholics in the United States, and that roughly 40 percent of Catholic clergy were gay.[31] But he made sure to state, "One must always distinguish between the pedophile . . . and what might be called the 'normal' homosexual. The pedophile is more commonly known as a child molester. He is sick."[32] While this is an important distinction to make, Ginder seemed to be unaware that his own criminal history might make such a claim less convincing. Because of this, Ginder's words actually functioned to cement this deeply homophobic myth. Ginder seemed to believe that he could simply rebrand himself as a progressive voice on matters related to gender and sexuality, despite spending much of his life promulgating the beliefs about gender and sexuality that he now rejected. It is reasonable to wonder what impact Ginder's earlier writings condemning homosexuality had on those 4.25 million gay Catholics that Ginder now seemed to feel compassion for.

One of the most troubling aspects of Ginder's legacy is his dismissal from the priesthood, which was detailed in a 1976 report from the National Catholic News Service. The report noted:

> Bishop Leonard took the action against Father C. Richard Ginder who has been without an assignment in the Pittsburgh diocese since 1964, because his remarks on the *Phil Donahue Show* in January were "diametrically opposed to the teachings of the Church." On the show, Father Ginder called for a radical change in the Church's teaching on homosexuality, birth control, pre-marital sex and other subjects and speculated that one out of every three priests is a homosexual. Dressed in a Roman collar, Father Ginder admitted to Donahue that he was a homosexual and defended the pre-marital relations as "natural."[33]

Ginder's appearance on the *Phil Donahue Show* was intended to promote his book. But it is troubling to reflect on the fact that Ginder's behavior on this show, and the act of

writing and *talking* about homosexuality in a way that challenged the Church's teaching on sexuality, was what made him unfit for the priesthood. In the eyes of the Diocese of Pittsburgh, Ginder's appearance on a television show brought public shame to the Church, and *this* was his greatest sin, not his criminal history of sexual abuse. As a result, Ginder would be laicized, but his problems with the law would continue. In 1978, another report from the National Catholic News Service detailed that Ginder had again been arrested in Pittsburgh for "allegedly having sexual relations with two teenage boys" and that "police confiscated about 100 pieces of allegedly pornographic materials in Ginder's apartment."[34] In 1984, a story in the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette announced that Ginder had died in a car accident. The article referred to Ginder as "once one of the most influential priests in the Catholic Church in the United States," and that his funeral was attended by 50 priests.[35]

During his career, Ginder was a celebrated Catholic media maker when he berated individuals and groups who threatened the sexual mores of the Church and society. Ginder chastised effeminate men and condemned homosexuality, despite his latent knowledge of own sexual identity as a gay man. Ginder was undoubtably an emotionally damaged man, and like so many men who are experiencing great pain, he imposed it on others. His story should have prompted a moment of great pause and reflection for the Church, but by and large the response of the Church has been to condemn homosexuality with even greater vigor. What does it mean that one of the principal Catholic voices who shamed and condemned homosexuality was himself living in shame, concealing his sexual desires, and ultimately enacting violence on others? In many ways, the story of Richard Ginder is a story of a Church that has often spent more time publicly

condemning homosexuality than it has condemning the violence and oppression that queer people face.

Over much of the three decades after Ginder's death, the Catholic Church has reinforced conservative teachings on matters related to gender and sexuality. In fact, Pope John Paul II spent much of his papacy (1978–2005) creating his *Theology of the Body*, which asserted a rigidly biologically deterministic view of gender and the idea that gender complementarity was the foundation of sexual relationships. Additionally, the 1986 "Letter to the Bishops of the Catholic Church on the Pastoral Care of Homosexual Persons" stated that while homosexual people should be treated with care, homosexuality was nevertheless "intrinsically disordered."[36] This letter was written by Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, who in 2005 would become Pope Benedict XVI. Today, topics related to gender and sexuality are still major fault lines that divide Catholics, but it seems to many that the Church may be in a moment similar to that of Vatican II, as the election of Pope Francis has raised hope for a potential shift in tone within the Church on matters related to gender and sexuality.

"Who Am I to Judge?"—Pope Francis, Sexuality, and the Church Today

On September 24, 2015, no story dominated the news cycle as much as Pope Francis's first official visit to the United States. While it was already Francis's third day in the United States, it was a particularly historic day because it marked the first time in American history that a pope had given an address to a joint session of Congress. I remember watching the address on CNN and being struck by the palpable buzz within the capitol as the moment neared when Pope Francis would be announced and welcomed into

the House chamber. CNN anchor Wolf Blitzer narrated the events: "Listen in as we get ready for history to unfold . . . Pope Francis is about to walk through that door we're told . . . any second now . . . and we want to hear this introduction . . . "[37] As the excitement drew to a crescendo, CNN's coverage shifted its audio from their newsroom to the ambient noise within the House chamber, and almost immediately a woman off-screen could be heard saying, "I want to take my shoe off and throw it at his head."[38]

While this moment was a reminder that Pope Francis's first visit to the United States may not have been met with universal praise, the excitement and the historical significance of his visit is hard to overstate. It was the tenth papal visit to the United States, and it occurred almost fifty years to the day from when Pope Paul VI became the first pope to travel to the United States in 1965. But much of the historic nature of Francis's visit is due to the fact that Francis's papacy is itself historic. Pope Francis is the first Jesuit to be pope, the first pope born in the Americas, and the first pope in over a millennium to hold a name not used by a predecessor.[39] Even his election occurred under incredibly historic circumstances, as Francis was the first pope to be elected following a papal resignation in almost 600 years.

But Francis's visit, and specifically his address to Congress, was also remarkable when considering the history of Catholicism in America. While watching Francis's address, I couldn't help but notice that throughout the duration of his speech, the television frame focused on the image of three Catholic men: Pope Francis, Vice President Joe Biden, and Speaker of the House John Boehner. Not only did this image reflect the political diversity within the Church—with Biden being on the left, Francis in the center, and Boehner on the right—it also reflected the massive historical shift in

attitudes towards Catholics in America. A century earlier, the thought of the pope addressing Congress alongside a Catholic Vice President and a Catholic Speaker of the House (not to mention at the time a majority Catholic Supreme Court) would have been unimaginable, as it would have struck fear among those who saw the Roman Catholic Church as an existential threat to the United States of America. But in addition to all of the notable firsts and the historic nature of Francis's papacy, much of the fascination with Pope Francis is because, to many, he represents a new moment in the history of the Church, particularly with regard to the Church's belief system around sexuality.

In 2013, just months after being elected pope, Francis made a remark to a group of reporters on a flight back from Brazil. Referring to gay priests, he stated: "If someone is gay and he searches for the Lord and has good will, who am I to judge?" The last five words in particular—"who am I to judge?"—have become Francis's most important words as pope. While he made this comment in a relatively informal setting, not in any sort of official Vatican document, it has created shockwaves throughout the world. For many Catholics (and non-Catholics, for that matter), Pope Francis is a pope who reflected their beliefs and values with regard to sexuality. It is important to note that while Francis is most well-known for this comment, he has made a litany of other statements regarding human sexuality and gender identity that in no way would be regarded as being inclusive or progressive. Nevertheless, these words have seemingly cemented his status as a more caring and inclusive sort of pontiff than ever before. In 2013, Pope Francis appeared on the cover of *Rolling Stone* magazine, and in addition to being named the 2013 *TIME Magazine* "Person of the Year," he was also named "Person of the Year" by the LGBTQ rights magazine *The Advocate*.

Catholic Media, LGBT Bridge Building, and a "Menace" for a New Generation

The persistent fascination with Francis, and with the topic of sexuality more broadly, has also been felt within the Catholic media world, in large part due to the work of Fr. James Martin. Today, few Catholic media makers have as large of a platform as Martin, who is the editor-at-large of the Jesuit magazine *America* and the author of over a dozen Catholic books, including *Building a Bridge: How the Catholic Church and the LGBT Community Can Enter into a Relationship of Respect, Compassion, and Sensitivity* (2017). Throughout the early 2000s he made a number of appearances on the Comedy Central show *The Colbert Report*, for which Stephen Colbert (a Catholic himself) dubbed him the "Chaplain of the Colbert Nation." Martin has continued to appear on Colbert's current show, *The Late Show with Stephen Colbert*, and he has become one of the most recognizable Catholic priests through these appearances.

Since writing *Building a Bridge*, Martin has spoken to packed audiences of Catholics across the country who yearn for a more inclusive and welcoming Church. In many ways, *Building a Bridge* is quite a tame text, as it does little to challenge official Church teachings on matters related to sexuality, yet it works to illustrate the disproportionate amount of hostility directed at LGBTQ Catholics. Nevertheless, Martin is a lightning rod for some, and he has ignited the anxieties of ultra-conservative Catholics, including one "Catholic" media group called the Church Militant.

The Church Militant is an independent news outlet that is committed to defending the Church from what it imagines as an internal war with a "pro-gay" movement within the Church. The organization is based out of Ferndale, Michigan, and it just so happens to

be located less than five miles from the National Shrine of the Little Flower Basilica, Charles Coughlin's home parish. The Church Militant is the brainchild of Michael Voris, who identifies as an "ex-gay" Catholic and believes that "Catholics are angry with the culture of lies and cover-up."[40] For Voris, the history of sexual abuse within the Church and the movement to treat LGBTQ Catholics with compassion are one and the same. And for the Church Militant, the number one threat to the American Catholic Church is Fr. James Martin.

Given its relentless reliance on conspiracy, the Church Militant is like a contemporary version of *The Menace*. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, it was nativist Protestants who were leading the charge against the Catholic Church, warning Americans of conspiracies and a plot being enacted by the pope to infiltrate the United States. But a century later, the Church Militant is a group of lay Catholics who believe that they are the protectors of the Church, and they have called on Pope Francis to resign due to conspiracies about his involvement in a "homosexual network in the Church."[41] While groups like the Church Militant represent a very small number of Catholics in America, their work illustrates that on matters of gender and sexuality, the question of what values are considered authentically Catholic is still deeply contested.

Notes

[1] Margaret M. Carlan, "Wanderer Forum Keynoter Sees Tide Turning for Traditionalists," *National Catholic News Service*, June 22, 1968, 14, Catholic News Archive, https://thecatholicnewsarchive.org.
[2] Ibid.
[3] "Deplore Catechetics, Sex Education: Right-Wing Catholics Attack Liberalism's Growth in Church," *The Pittsburgh Catholic*, June 28, 1968, 3, Catholic News Archive, https://thecatholicnewsarchive.org.
[4] Carlan, "Wanderer Forum," 15.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid.
[7] "'Papists' to Organize, Publish Book," *National Catholic News Service*, December 2, 1968, Catholic News Archive, https://thecatholicnewsarchive.org.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid.
[11] "Father Ginder Arrested," *The National Catholic Reporter*, August 20, 1969, 7, Catholic News Archive, https://thecatholicnewsarchive.org.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.
[14] "Morals Case Puts Priest On Probation," *The Pittsburgh Press*, October 4, 1969, newspapers.com.
[15] Pennsylvania Attorney General, Grand Jury Report, "Pennsylvania Diocese Victims Report," August 14, 2018, https://www.attorneygeneral.gov/report/.
[16] Jason Blakely, "Sexual Abuse and the Culture of Clericalism," *America* magazine, August 23, 2018, https://www.americamagazine.org/faith/2018/08/23/sexual-abuse-and-culture-clericalism.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Richard Ginder, "Rally 'round Your Priest Blindfolded," *The Pittsburgh Catholic*, February 13, 1958, 4, Catholic News Archive, https://thecatholicnewsarchive.org.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ginder, Richard, *A Note on the Kinsey Report* (New York, NY: Catholic Information Society), 13, box 35, Catholic Pamphlets Collection, University of Notre Dame, Rare Books & Special Collections, Notre Dame, IN.
[24] Ibid., 14–15.
[25] Richard Ginder, *Binding with Briars: Sex and Sin in the Catholic Church* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1975), vii.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid., viii–ix.
[28] Ibid., 4.
[29] Ibid., 203.

[30] Ginder, Richard, *Adultery* (New York, NY: Catholic Information Society), 15, box 35, Catholic Pamphlets Collection, University of Notre Dame, Rare Books & Special Collections, Notre Dame, IN.
[31] Ginder, *Binding with Briars*, 131–132.
[32] Ibid., 133.
[33] "Priest Has 'Faculties Removed' for TV Talk Show Remarks," *National Catholic News Service*, January 29, 1976, 29–30, Catholic News Archive, https://thecatholicnewsarchive.org.
[34] Ibid., 18.
[35] Bohdan Hodiak, "Priest Touched by Scandal is Quietly Buried in City," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, June, 13, 1984, https://www.newspapers.com
[36] Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, "Letter to the Bishops of the Catholic Church on the Pastoral Care of Homosexual Persons," Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, October 1, 1986.
[37] Chris Pleasance, "'I'm Gunna Take My Shoe off and Throw It at His Head': Hot Mic Catches Woman Making Threats at Pope Francis Moments before He Walked into Congress," *Daily Mail*, September 23, 2015, https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-3248220/I-m-gunna-shoe-throw-head-Hot-mic-catches-woman-making-threats-Pope-Francis-moments-walked-Congress.html.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Not since the year 914, and the papacy of Pope Lando, has a pope held a name not used by a predecessor.
[40] "About Us," Church Militant, accessed January 19, 2020, www.churchmilitant.com.
[41] "Pope Francis Must Resign: Zero Tolerance," Church Militant, August 28, 2018, https://www.churchmilitant.com/news/article/pope-francis-must-resign-zero-tolerance.

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