CHAPTER 9

Pray the Rosary and Do Apostolic Work

The Modern Vietnamese Catholic Associational Culture

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The scene occurred forty-three years after the demise of the Republic of Vietnam (RVN) in Little Saigon, Orange County, southern California. The site was the Mile Square Regional Park, a convenient location for large gatherings of Vietnamese Americans in Orange County thanks to its size and proximity. The date was July 15, 2018, which saw hundreds of local members of the National Cursillo Movement USA and their families together for the annual Grand Ultreya Picnic. The gathering began with a Vietnamese-language Sunday mass and continued with a picnic lunch of Vietnamese and American food. The chaplain of Vietnamese Cursillo in the Diocese of Orange and a visiting priest from Vietnam presided over the mass and a choir led singing over loudspeakers. Cursillo themes were evoked during the homily and the prayer of the faithful, but the ceremony was notable for many references to a current situation in Vietnam, whose government has alledgedly considered leasing three "economic zones" to Chinese investors for ninety-nine years. At the beginning of the mass, the chaplain asked cursillistas to pray especially for their Vietnamese country under "the threat of loss." This theme of national loss was repeated during homily and the prayer of the faithful. Before the final blessing, the lay president of Vietnamese Cursillo in the diocese spoke to the gathering and made a strong denunciation of the Vietnamese government. He also invited participants to purchase tickets for a

special raffle, whose profit would be sent to funds supporting Vietnamese political dissidents, including dissident clergy.[1]

The chaplain's words provide an example of the nationalist and anticommunist orientation that Vietnamese American Catholics share with non-Catholic members of their ethnic cohort. Moreover, the gathering exemplifies the larger associational culture among Vietnamese American Catholics, whose membership is made up of former refugees, immigrants (including 1.5-generation immigrants), even second-generation Vietnamese Americans. Only a small number of Vietnamese American Catholics have taken a weekend retreat with the organization and an even smaller number have continued to participate in its monthly meetings. Yet their participation has been important enough to make up a major division within Cursillo USA and to merit the inclusion of the Vietnamese language on the organization's website (along with English and Spanish). More significantly, Cursillo is just one among many organizations in which Vietnamese American Catholics have participated at the parish, diocesan, national, and international levels. There are also the Association of Catholic Mothers (Hội Các Bà Mẹ Công Giáo), Marriage Family Enrichment (Thăng Tiến Hôn Nhân), the Legion of Mary (Đạo Binh Đức Mẹ), the League of the Sacred Heart (Liên Minh Thánh Tâm), Lay Fraternities of St. Dominic (Liên Đoàn Giáo Dân Đa Minh), the Eucharistic Youth (Thiếu Nhi Thánh Thể), the Boy Scouts (Hướng Đạo), the Society of the Little Flower (Đạo Binh Hồn Nhỏ), and Charismatic Renewal (Canh Tân Đặc Sủng), among others. Many members of these organizations have been active also in liturgical groups such as Eucharistic ministers, lectors, and altar servers. They participated regularly in ethnic activities at the parish or diocesan levels such as teaching catechism and the Vietnamese language to children on weekends.

What is the background of this associational culture? How was it formed? Answers to these questions necessarily lead us to Catholicism as practiced in Vietnam before 1975.

DEVOTIONALISM AND CATHOLIC ACTION BEFORE 1954

The associational culture of Vietnamese Catholics in the United States grew out of a devotional culture rooted in indigenous and global interactions in Vietnam. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, anti-Catholic persecution led to the devotion to Our Lady of La Vang in central Vietnam and devotion to the Vietnamese martyrs across the country. The growth of indigenous devotionalism further benefited from

the spread of ultramontanism from Europe. The ultramontane movement began as a reaction to the aftermath of the French Revolution and, more generally, the secularization of European society. It advocated for papal authority in politics and culture as well as in matters of faith. It also created a revival of religious institutions, especially religious orders, and promoted pilgrimages and other devotional practices, especially on the Virgin Mary, the Sacred Heart, the Eucharist, and the sacrament of penance.[2]

The combination of ultramontane and indigenous practices set the foundation for a modern devotional culture emerging in the nineteenth century. Marian devotionalism provided an example of this culture. In the 1850s, for example, the missionary bishop of Huế began the Association of Our Lady (Hội Đức Bà). By the end of the century, his successor declared "Our Lady Protector of Christians" as patron of a new church in La Vang. The influential Trần Lục, the best-known non-martyr Vietnamese priest from the nineteenth century, built churches after the Immaculate Heart of Mary and wrote poetry attributing a hybrid of Christian-Confucian feminine virtues to the Virgin Mary. In 1895, the LaSallians who ran the Taberd Lycée in Saigon organized the first Indochinese chapter of the Sodality of Our Lady (Hiệp Hội Thánh Mẫu), a global and popular organization of lay spirituality founded by a Belgian Jesuit in the sixteenth century. Originally geared toward youths and students, this sodality eventually drew older members and still exists in Vietnam today. In 1932, the missionary Sisters of Vincent de Paul established the first Vietnamese chapter of the ultramontane-inspired Children of Mary (Hội Con Đức Bà) in suburban Saigon. Growing in popularity, these and other devotional organizations tended toward the local rather the national at the time.[3]

Four interrelated developments led to national organization of the devotional culture. First, Vietnamese Catholics began to view Marian devotionalism in a global context. Ultramontane priests and religious certainly helped popularize non-Marian forms such as the devotion to the Sacred Heart and St. Thérèse of Lisieux the "Little Flower." But Marianism remained most prominent. In particular, missionaries and Vietnamese clergy widely circulated stories about Our Lady of Lourdes. Among Vietnamese Catholics, her miraculous healing of ordinary people such as carpenters, soldiers, and disabled children made Lourdes the best-known foreign Marian site until the popularity of Fatima in South Vietnam during the 1960s. After World War I, some of the workers and soldiers that went to Europe to support France made pilgrimages to

Lourdes itself. Such ultramontane devotions coexisted with the more indigenous ones, especially devotion to the Vietnamese martyrs, especially ninety-two that were beatified at three occasions during the 1900s. Those events brought much pride to the Catholics and enhanced their allegiance to the papacy. In sum, ultramontane influence helped bring about a major shift in Vietnamese Marian devotionalism, which became global and modern in outlook and vision.[4]

The second development was the creation of Catholic Action, which began in nineteenth-century Europe as a response to anti-clericalism but shifted by the next century to new issues such as industrialization and labor unions. Although much of the leadership of Catholic Action came from the clergy, it aimed at the laity and depended heavily on lay participation. Catholic Action received ringing endorsement from several popes, especially Pius XI, as a way to transform and re-Christianize society during the 1930s and 1940s. They included Young Catholic Workers (Thanh Niên Lao Động Công Giáo), Rural Catholic Youth (Thanh Niên Thôn Quê Công Giáo), the Valiant Hearts and Souls (Hùng Tâm Dũng Chí), the Eucharistic Crusade (Nghĩa Binh Thánh Thể), and Catholic Boy Scouts. Most of these organizations aimed at recruiting young men but also teenagers and even boys and girls. Young Vietnamese and a new wave of missionaries from Europe and Canada were instrumental in introducing Catholic Action to Vietnamese. The growth and appeal of these organizations reflect, among other things, the first modern era of mass participation in Vietnam.[5]

Third, the momentum toward a modern associational culture came partly from the desire and advocacy for the establishment of a national church. For reasons of centralization, the Vatican wanted to create a primarily indigenous hierarchy and change the administrative status from missions to ordinary dioceses. For their own reasons, Vietnamese Catholics desired greater autonomy from missionaries. As a result, the first Vietnamese bishop was consecrated in 1933, followed by two others in the next three years. These developments culminated in the establishment of the national church with a large majority of Vietnamese bishops in 1960. Even though the 1960 event was significant in itself, more crucial was the activism among the indigenous clergy since the 1930s. The Vietnamese clergy fueled greater Vietnamese control of Catholic lay organizations, including Marian ones. The first Vietnamese bishop, for example, formed a new chapter of the Sodality of Our Lady in his diocese not long after he became bishop. The second bishop organized another chapter at the seminary in his diocese. In 1945, the priest Phạm Ngọc Chi, later

an ardent anticommunist bishop in South Vietnam, announced the creation of a chapter aimed at children and youths in his diocese. European missionaries had been instrumental in promoting ultramontane devotionalism while the Vietnamese clergy and lay leaders eagerly spread it among the growingly nationalist Catholic population.[6]

Still, a fourth factor was the rise of global and then local communism, which threatened the institutional influence of the Church as well as Catholic modernity embodied by Catholic Action. Vietnamese Catholics followed the lead of the Vatican and European bishops in reaction to the Russian Revolution, and their small but vocal press propagated against the threat of communism even before there was a communist party in Vietnam. By the early 1930s, however, they began to react against revolutionary violence within Indochina when a communist-led rebellion in north-central Vietnam burned down a church and killed a priest and several lay Catholics. Vietnamese Catholics might not have supported colonial policies, but they rivaled the colonial authorities in denouncing the theoretical and practical ills of revolutionary communism. This development would carry significant consequence in South Vietnam later.[7]

In some respects, anticommunism and Catholic Action came together during the decolonization of Indochina to form the foundation for a nationalist and anticommunist variety of Marian devotionalism in South Vietnam. In particular, the August Revolution in 1945 created a violent intra-Vietnamese conflict of mutual extermination between the communists and a multitude of nationalist and religious groups. Among the Catholics, some initially supported the communist-led Việt Minh during the First Indochina War as others stayed neutral and waited out the war. Others, especially in the Catholic regions of Bùi Chu and Phát Diệm, armed their Catholic communities against Việt Minh infiltration. After 1950, anticommunist themes were increasingly prominent among devotional and Catholic Action organizations. In particular, Our Lady of Fatima, already an anticommunist symbol in Europe and the Americas, began to take a special hold among the faithful thanks to efforts by a small number of missionaries, native clergy, and Vietnamese musicians, who composed popular hymns in her honor.[8]

The associational culture was limited during the first phase of the First Indochina War because many Catholics moved among different zones controlled by the Việt Minh or the French. The situation became better during the early 1950s, when a number of Catholics, including lay leaders, returned to their communities from Việt Minh zones. Equally important was the arrival of international organizations. Most spectacular was the

growth of the Irish-founded Legion of Mary, whose first Vietnamese chapter (called "presidium") was established in Hanoi in 1947. By 1952, five praesidia were in Hanoi and six were in Huế; two years later, the number grew to thirteen in Hanoi and spread to nearly all mission dioceses in Vietnam. The rapid growth proved auspicious for the future of the Legion of Mary in South Vietnam later. In 1966, the count was 862 senior praesidia and 202 junior praesidia with 12,420 full members and 1,791 young members, plus 6,112 "sponsoring" members, and 58,322 supporters in Saigon alone.[9]

Initiatives for Marian devotionalism and the associational culture also came directly from the Vietnamese. A prominent example is Trần Đình Thủ, a diocesan priest from the heavily Catholic and anticommunist area of Bùi Chu. In the early 1940s, Thủ began organizing a number of seminarians and lay people who dedicated themselves to the Immaculate Heart of Mary. In 1948, Thủ received permission from the local bishop to turn one of these groups into a men's religious institute. In 1953, the Vatican permitted him to form this group as the Congregation of the Mother Co-Redemptrix (CMC). The following year, the CMC moved entirely to the south and suburban Saigon. The humble beginning would turn the CMC into the leading promoter of the devotion to Our Lady of Fátima in South Vietnam and the official leader of the Movement for the Reparation to the Immaculate Heart of Mary (Phong Trào Đền Tạ Trái Tim Vô Nhiệm Đức Mẹ).[10]

Still, it took until 1953 and pressure from the Vatican for the bishops to centralize Catholic Action by appointing Gerárd Gagnon to be national director. A Canadian Redemptorist priest, Gagnon had introduced Vietnamese to the ultramontane and Quebec-founded sodality League of the Sacred Heart (Liên Minh Thánh Tâm), which later grew to be a major men's organization in South Vietnam and the diaspora. During a turbulent period, Gagnon purchased a center in Đà Lạt that would be used for retreats and training of thousands of Catholic Action members and associates. He also assisted many Northern members when they moved south in 1954 and 1955. Between this migration and communist repression of the Church in the North, Catholic Action concentrated virtually completely in the South over the next twenty years.[11]

THE ASSOCIATIONAL CULTURE IN THE REPUBLICAN SOUTH

The pre-1954 context of Catholicism in South Vietnam was therefore multifaceted. Its culture was an outcome of modern religious movements,

disruptive warfare and burgeoning anticommunism, and the consolidation and centralization of a national Church. Out of this combination arose a new associational culture that was both devotional (that is, prayer- and ritual-oriented) and apostolic (action-oriented). Although they were created for different age groups and sometimes with different foci, these associations shared the goal of empowering the laity. Leaders organized meetings, retreats, and volunteer "apostolic" work such as visiting the sick, communal cleaning of public areas, and raising funds for leprosy.

This development contributed handsomely to the vibrancy of Marian devotionalism specifically and the associational culture generally in South Vietnam. Not surprisingly, the division of Vietnam from 1954 to 1975 had a direct and dramatic impact on the associational culture. The Southern Church benefited partially from the losses in the North, which saw more than six hundred Catholics, including large numbers of priests and nuns, moving to the South after the Geneva Conference. The Northern church also suffered severe restrictions and sometimes prohibitions imposed by the government on the ordination of new priests, seminary training, participation in civil associations, communication with the global church, and a host of other issues. Like the rest of Northern society, the Church necessarily endured warfare, including American bombing. The momentum toward growth stopped and survival became its primary goal.[12]

Even though the Southern Church was also affected by national partition and warfare, it saw a flourishing of associational life and exchange of ideas for several reasons, including frequent interactions with the Vatican and the global church, support from the RVN and non-Catholic foreign organizations, Catholic administration of many educational and medical institutions, and a vibrant Catholic press. After a short delay at the beginning of the partition, the national office of Catholic Action became a highly active leader in organizing retreats and gatherings for many lay organizations. In November 1960, the Vatican formally recognized the Vietnamese national Church and raised the status of mission vicariates to dioceses. By the early 1960s, all dioceses in South Vietnam had a local director of Catholic Action to coordinate diocesan activities. In 1966, the following Marian organizations, most of whom were members of Catholic Action, counted some three hundred thousand Catholics in metropolitan Saigon alone: the Legion of Mary, the Movement for Reparation to the Immaculate Heart of Mary, the Blue Army of Our Lady of Fatima (Đội Binh Xanh), the Associated Sodality of Our Lady (Hiệp Hội Thánh Mẫu), the Rosary Society (Hội Môi Khôi), the Society of

Children of Our Lady (Hội Con Đức Mẹ), and the Union of the Immaculate Heart of Our Lady (Đoàn Tận Hiến Đức Mẹ Vô Nhiễm). For a different example, the 1970 annual pilgrimage festival to the Shrine of Our Lady of Perpetual Help in Saigon drew thirty thousand attendants over four days of festivities, including members of Marian sodalities and other devotional organizations.[13]

Marian devotees, of course, were not required to belong to a sodality or organization. Nonetheless, Marianism affected the devotional life of most Catholic Action organizations and at times served as a venue for and expression of anticommunism. The Saigon government certainly encouraged the anticommunist nationalism among Catholics, especially but not exclusively Northern émigrés. For example, Ngô Đình Thục, the archbishop of Huế and older brother of President Ngô Đình Diệm, organized and headlined the 1961 festival of Our Lady of La Vang. The largest of several triennial festivals at the site of La Vang, this event saw the active participation of many Catholic Action organizations during masses, devotional gatherings, and group meetings. In addition, one of the six days of the festival was designated specifically for Catholic Action. In important aspects, the festival functioned as religious mass rally of hundreds of thousands of Catholics to mourn national division, condemn the communist threat, and hope for peace and national unification through constant prayer and apostolic work. In a similar fashion, the leading Catholic Action periodical in South Vietnam opened an article about Our Lady of Fatima by asking, "What must Catholics do to bring about peace for the country?" The answer is found in the "Fatima messages: Repent and do reparation" because it is "the magical weapon against communist from Our Lady of Fatima [and] the key to peace for the country."[14]

Vietnamese orientation toward Our Lady of Fatima served as anticommunist devotionalism as well as an illustration of at least one new organization in the Catholic Action landscape, the Blue Army of Our Lady of Fatima mentioned earlier. It was in fact Vietnamese initiative that led to the establishment of the Blue Army in South Vietnam. In early 1964, a military officer from South Vietnam visited the Catholic Information Center in Washington, DC, during a break from studies at Fort Bragg in California. He learned about the Blue Army and contacted its founder, the American priest Harold Colgan. Interested in starting the movement in South Vietnam, he also wrote the archbishop of Saigon for permission to begin a chapter in the country. It led to the creation of the Blue Army in Saigon in September 1964 then an opening mass that saw "over 1000

members."[15] Almost a year later, the chaplain of the Belgian chapter of the Blue Army formally introduced the idea for a tour of the Pilgrim Virgin in South Vietnam. Nonetheless, it is difficult to imagine this tour without a formal presence of the organization in South Vietnam. The inspiration for the tour itself was global, stemming from a tour of the Pilgrim Virgin to South Korea in December 1952, an event that devotees believed to have caused the signing of the armistice eight months later. In the Vietnamese case, Colgan and Haffert readily supported the tour but there was also complication due to delayed mailing. Not to frustrate the desire among Vietnamese Catholics for a tour, the president of The Blue Army's Australian chapter helpfully intervened and managed to bring the original statue to South Vietnam.[16]

A different kind of Catholic Action organization was Cursillo, which came to South Vietnam not through Europe or North America but the Philippines. After US direct intervention in March 1965, a number of Filipino engineers and workers were contracted for construction projects in the country. Despite the lack of any clear evidence, it appears that they introduced this organization to the Vietnamese Catholics. In any event, the first retreat took place during the last weekend of January 1967 in Saigon. Participants included twenty-seven Vietnamese and twenty-three Filipinos, including priests, religious, and a laity among the Vietnamese. The import of this event also lay in the fact that a Filipino bishop came to help directing the retreat and the Vietnamese bishops of Saigon, Huế, and Đà Nẵng stopped by the retreat for short visits. Although the number of cursillistas in South Vietnam by 1975 is still unknown, "dozens" of such retreats were held in Saigon, Xuân Lộc, Nha Trang, and other localities. In any event, the gathering described at the beginning of this article could be traced eventually to the retreat in January 1967.[17]

The Second Vatican Council (1963–1965) further gave momentum to the involvement of the laity and clergy in Catholic Action. The Catholic press in South Vietnam distributed many articles about the Council's teachings on renewal and involvement of the laity. It frequently discussed the challenges of abrupt change, such as the laicization of many clergy and men and women religious in Europe and the United States, that occurred in the immediate aftermath of the Council. In particular, the subject of missionizing and evangelizing the faith to non-Catholics received an emphasis in the discourse among priests, religious, and leading laymen and laywomen. "Urgent Evangelization" screams the title of a lecture given at the Missionary Center in Vĩnh Long in 1971.

While praising the works of the Council, the lecturer warned against the "extreme progressive" elements within the Church that opposed traditional affirmation on birth control, priestly celibacy, and other teachings. He also emphasized the messages of Our Lady of Fatima as the main reason for caution against the contemporary threat of atheism. Last but not least, he called for Vietnamese effort to evangelize to non-Christian peoples throughout Southeast Asia, even other parts of Asia. In the same year, indeed, the South Vietnamese bishops reorganized the top leadership of Catholic Action. Instead of having one bishop in charge of Catholic Action, they established three committees on education, development, and, especially, evangelization to non-Catholics in the country. The post-conciliar action and clarion calls for missionary work was a new development in the history of Vietnamese Catholicism.[18]

ASSOCIATIONAL CULTURE AMONG THE REFUGEES IN THE UNITED STATES

The momentum of evangelization generally and Catholic Action especially came to a screeching halt when the RVN ceased to exist in April 1975. Along with much else in the civil society of South Vietnam, Catholic activities were heavily curtailed and Catholic Action largely ceased to exist as a viable entity. It took years, even decades, before the associational culture returned to life, albeit in altered forms.

In the meantime, Catholic refugees in the United States found themselves away from danger but had to face many challenges in the first few years following the fall of Saigon. Most urgent was the issue of survival in a wealthy yet culturally different society; learning English and finding employment were their foremost priorities. Yet whenever and wherever they could, they also resorted quickly to the faith practices from their homeland. Most immediately, it meant mass, confession, and communal devotion in their language. Next was the search for local stability, especially in terms of having a more permanent location. During the first ten years in the United States, it was rare that a Catholic refugee community received permission from the local bishop to establish an ethnic parish. More often, a community was assigned to an existing parish and given a limited amount of time each week for masses and other activities. During its first year in existence, for example, the community in Portland, Oregon, rented an apartment to have masses and carry out activities such as choir practice.[19]

The organization of human resources was primarily liturgical at first,

with choirs and altar boys among the most important service for masses on Sunday and holy days of obligation. On special occasions, a community might organize flower girls to perform a May Crowning. Yet it did not take too long for the associational culture to begin resembling itself, if in a much diminished capacity. Again, it began with devotional and liturgical practices. Praying the rosary at church or individual residences was common, and even the smaller communities organized Marian and Eucharistic processions. Many a community, alone or with other communities, organized annual or occasional pilgrimages to Marian shrines within driving distance.

Although most pilgrimages took place at shrines already established in the United States, the most important was the annual one to Carthage, Missouri, under the organization of the CMC, then and now the largest Vietnamese American religious order of men. A number of regional pilgrimages had been organized, but the gathering at the CMC headquarters in Carthage during the first weekend of 1978 marked the first major national pilgrimage among the Catholic refugees. Organized as a "Day of Reparation for the Immaculate Heart of Mary," it drew participants from at least thirty-three refugee communities from as far as Salem, Oregon. Appropriate for an event about Marian reparation, the most prominent sodality at the pilgrimage was the chapter of the Movement for the Reparation from Wichita Falls, Texas, which had been constituted informally. At the end of the pilgrimage, however, the CMC announced that the diocese's bishop had given permission to establish the movement in the United States.[20]

It did not take long for this Fatima- and anticommunist-inspired organization and affiliates to be formed and reformed among the Catholic refugees. Indeed, the late 1970s and early 1980s marked a serious effort at reconstituting the associational culture. Between 1979 and 1986, for example, the community in Fort Worth, established its chapters of the League of the Sacred Heart and the Sodality of Families for the Reparation to the Immaculate Heart (Hội Gia Đình Đền Tạ). This chapter of the league drew "many members" from the beginning and about twenty families joined the sodality. Over time, however, the sodality became inactive due to a new rotation format for communal praying of the rosary but also because of the establishment of new sodalities such as Association of Catholic Mothers (Hội Các Bà Mẹ Công Giáo) and the Eucharistic Youth (Thiếu Nhi Thánh Thể). For another example, the community in Portland, Oregon, established in 1981 its chapters of the League of the Sacred Heart and the Association of Catholic Mothers with approximately

thirty and fifty members, respectively. Although their numbers were smaller than those of the League or the Association, about fifty former members of Cursillo, mostly in California and Louisiana, began a national effort to reestablish a Vietnamese presence in the United States in 1979. This effort led to the first retreat of Vietnamese cursillistas, which was held in the Diocese of Lafayette, Louisiana, in September 1981.[21]

There were probably many motives and goals behind the reestablishment of Catholic Action organizations among the refugees. Among the most significant, however, were the grief among the refugees over national loss and their fear of losing their Vietnamese Catholic identity to the more materialistic American society. Ecclesiastical and other developments during late colonialism and the Republican era had attuned them to a more active participation in the life of both church and society, and it was most difficult to leave aside that identity while facing the uncertain future in the United States as well as that of their loved ones in Vietnam. Moreover, their grief and fear made them ever determined to hold on to their faith practices while adapting to the ways of the new society. It was within this context that we can fruitfully approach the regeneration of the associational culture in America.[22]

Many other developments during the 1970s and beyond helped account for the current associational culture among Vietnamese Americans. Moreover, the associational culture in the south of the country was severely curtailed after 1975 but also began to return by the 1990s. The same occurred in the north, if more slowly. By the 2000s, many devotional sodalities and associational organizations have been reestablished or created for the first time in most parishes throughout Vietnam.

This chapter modestly presents a historical perspective on connections among the colonial, republican, and refugee experiences. These experiences were distinct due to disruptions caused by warfare, national division, and regime changes. Yet the disruptions only slowed the making of the modern associational culture. The First Indochina War, for instance, slowed the momentum of Catholic Action during the late 1940s and early 1950s, but it could not extinguish the interests among many of the laity and clergy. Or, the disruption caused by the fall of Saigon only led to the recreation of Cursillo and other organizations as a mode for association in the diaspora. Most notable was the period of South Vietnam, whose culture allowed for the late-colonial momentum toward Catholic Action and modern devotionalism to flourish. An examination of the Vietnamese Church since 1975 is beyond the scope of

this chapter. Nonetheless, it behooves us to recognize that the revival of the postwar Catholic associational culture since the 1990s could not have happened without a model provided by institutional flourishing between 1954 and 1975.

NOTES

1. This description comes from observations and notes kept by the author at the gathering. As of September 2018, the national service administrator for all of Cursillo USA is a Vietnamese.

2. See Hoang, "Ultramontanism, Nationalism," 13–14.

3. Hoang, "'Our Lady's Immaculate Heart.'"

4. Keith, *Catholic Vietnam,* 150.

5. Keith, *Catholic Vietnam,* 155–162; Trần, "*Thanh-Lao-Công*." For a different example of organized religion and mass participation, see Hoang Duc Ngo, "Building a New House."

6. Keith, *Catholic Vietnam,* 89–117; Phan Phát Huồn, *Việt Nam Giáo Sử,* 508.

7. Hoang, "From Reeducation Camps," 50–52.

8. See Đoàn Độc Thư and Xuân Huy, *Giám Mục Lê Hữu Từ*; Van Chi, *Catholic Choral Musi,* 72–73.

9. *Trái Tim Đức Mẹ* [Immaculate Heart of Mary] (August 1968), 14–19, 35–36; *Trái Tim Đức Mẹ* (December 1966), 157.

10. Congregation of The Mother Coredemptrix, *Biểu Chứng Đức Tin*, 60–71.

11. Phan Phát Huồn, *Việt Nam Giáo Sử,* 486.

12. As indicated by *kỷ yếu* (yearbook or commemorative publication) of northern dioceses published since 2000, many parishes and missions lost the majority of their members to the migration of 1954–1955. Infrastructure also suffered after the migration, often severely, since there was little money and scarce materials and manpower for maintenance and repair of churches and other physical structures. Before 1954, for example, the parish An Vỹ in the Diocese of Thái Bình was divided into seventeen missions in addition to the main church. After the majority of parishioners moved south, only four missions were left and the government used the main church building for storage. See *Kỷ Yếu Giáo Phận Thái Bình*, 430.

13. *Trái Tim Đức Mẹ* (November 1966), 105, 129; *Liên Lạc* [Communication] (March 1970), 62–63.

14. The entire issue of *Đức Mẹ Lavang* [Our Lady of La Vang] (September 1961) is devoted to reports about the festival. *Tông Đồ Giáo Dân* [Lay Apostolic] (March–April 1968), 1–3. For more analysis of Marian anticommunism, see Hoang, "Our Lady's Immaculate Heart."

15. *Sacerdos: Linh Mục Nguyệt San* [Sacerdos: Priestly Journal] (January–February 1968), 50–53; *Trái Tim Đức Mẹ* (November 1965), 96.

16. *Trái Tim Đức Mẹ* (October 1965), 91; *Trái Tim Đức Mẹ* (November 1965), 96–98.

17. *Sacerdos Linh Mục Nguyệt San* 61–62 (January–February 1967), 78–80; *Sacerdos Linh Mục Nguyệt San* 63 (March 1967), 147–148; *Dân Chúa* [People of God] (April 1979), 39.

18. *Tông Đồ Giáo Dân* (May–June, 1971), 41–44; *Tông Đồ Giáo Dân* (March–May, 1971), 3–6.

19. *Kỷ Yếu Giáo Phận,* 11–12.

20. *Trái Tim Đức Mẹ* (January–February 1978), 20–22.

21. "Sơ Lược Tiểu Sử Giáo Xứ Chúa Kitô Vua, Fort Worth, Texas" [A Summary History of the Christ the King Parish in Fort Worth, Texas], https://www.chuakitovua.org/tieusugiaoxu; *Kỷ Yếu Giáo,* 48–52; *Dân Chúa* (April 1979), 39; *Liên Đoàn* [Federation] (November 20, 1981), 6.

22. For a longer development among Catholic refugees in the diaspora, see Hoang, "Ultramontanism, Nationalism."