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Abbreviations:

biog.	biography
men.	mentioned
obit.	obituary
rev.	review

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"We Are No Longer in the Time of Elijah": François de Sales's Dismantling of Parisian *Dévots*'s Theology

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Scholars have credited the Counter-Reformation fervor of Parisian dévots *for renewing Catholic devotion and culture in early modern France. Historians have also deemed François de Sales largely sympathetic to these Parisians's anti-Protestant vision of Catholic renewal, while acknowledging the distinctiveness of Salesian* douceur. *Challenging these assertions, this article argues that, in the final chapters of his life, de Sales broke definitively from the militant vision common among* dévots *as he developed a compelling theology of nonviolence. Drawing on Franciscan intellectual tradition, he defined Christian love as unity, trust, and embrace, dismantling the* dévots's *theology of purity, distrust, and violence.*

Keywords: François de Sales, French Counter-Reformation, *Dévots*, Acarie Circle, nonviolence

Introduction

The assassination of Henry IV in 1610, the second killing of a French king by a Catholic militant during the French Wars of Religion (1562–1629), deeply troubled François de Sales (1567–1622), the learned Savoyard bishop, preacher, and writer. In a letter to an acquaintance, de Sales exclaimed, "Ah! . . . Europe could not see a more lamentable death than

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Francisco Bayeu y Subías, *San Francisco de Sales,* Eighteenth Century, oil on canvas. 22 × 13.3″ (56 × 34 cm), collection of Museo del Prado, currently located in Museo de Salamanca, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:San_Francisco_de_Sales,_de_Francisco_Bayeu_(Museo_del_Prado).jpg. Image is in the public domain.

that of the great Henry IV," and called the incident "gruesome, miserable, and deplorable." The bishop also fondly recalled the warmth with which Henry IV had treated him and the mercy the monarch had shown others, including Catholic Leaguers who sought his death.[1]

The persistence of Catholic militancy in the early-1600s, amply illustrated by the assassination, sparked de Sales to articulate a fuller, richer theology of nonviolence in the final chapters of his life. Since his ordination in 1593, the Savoyard had developed a Catholic vision of *douceur* (gentleness or nonviolence), which emerged primarily in the pastoral con-

1. François de Sales, *Œuvres de François de Sales, évêque et prince de Genève et docteur de l'Église*, 27 vols. (Annecy, 1892–1964, here 1906), XIV, 309–11. Hereafter, *OEA*.

texts of the Chablais mission, 1594–98, and of spiritual direction in the early-1600s.[2] In this period, de Sales was more practitioner than theologian of this Catholic nonviolence. After Henry's assassination in 1610, however, the bishop expanded his vision with a robust theological infrastructure in sermons, letters, lectures, and his *Treatise on the Love of God*, published in 1616.

Particularly revealing of the complexity of early modern French Catholicism is that the Salesian theology of nonviolence amounted to a dismantling of the militant worldview prevalent among Parisian *dévots*. Both scholarship and Roman Catholic memory have lauded these zealous Catholics, especially the Acarie circle, crediting them with sparking a spiritual and cultural revival at the dawn of the "Century of Saints."[3] Additionally, historians have depicted de Sales as a member of the Acarie group[4] and his mature theology, while gentle in tone, as a response or foil to Protestantism, thus serving the same Counter-Reformation project as that of the Parisians.[5] Yet, in the eyes of some Catholics, including Bishop de Sales, the religious attitudes and activism of many *dévots* amounted to an egregious failure of Christian love.

Taking a comparative approach, this essay highlights crucial differences between the theologies of de Sales and the *dévots*. Its central argument is that in response to Parisian theology, consisting of a fearful dualistic worldview that sacralized suffering and violence, de Sales championed a joyful incarnational view of creation, deeming unity, trust, and embrace preeminent Catholic values. Illustrating Parisian militancy here are the teachings of Barbe Acarie (1566–1618), Pierre de Bérulle (1575–1629), and the Capuchin Benet of Canfield (1562–1610), all Acarie circle leaders, as well as those of Marie de Beauvilliers (1574–1657) and Jean Boucher (1548–1644), who, though less present in the circle, wielded great influence in Catholic Paris.

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2. Thomas A. Donlan, *The Reform of Zeal: François de Sales and Militant French Catholicism* (St Andrews, 2018), 12.

3. Joseph Bergin, *Church, Society, and Religious Change in France, 1580–1730* (New Haven, 2009), 370–71; Henri Brémond, *Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux en France*, 12 vols. (Paris, 1916–36, here 1916 for both vols. I and II), I, 95–96, II, 3–4. Barbara B. Diefendorf, *From Penitence to Charity: Pious Women and the Catholic Reformation in Paris* (Oxford, 2004), 28.

4. Bergin, *Church*, 370; Diefendorf, *Penitence*, 79; Bernard McGinn, *The Persistence of Mysticism in Catholic Europe: France, Italy, and Germany, 1500–1675* (New York, 2020), 46.

5. McGinn, *Mysticism*, 114; Hélène Michon, *Saint François de Sales: une nouvelle mystique* (Paris, 2008), 128; Michael Müller, *St. Francis de Sales* (London, 1936), 46–48.

Marie of the Incarnation, Seventeenth Century, portrait, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:MmeAcarie.jpg. Artist unknown. Image is in the public domain.

The Maturation of Salesian Theology, 1610–1622

Given the depth and clarity of Salesian thought prior to 1610, the claim of subsequent maturation merits further elaboration. The Savoyard's missionary work and spiritual direction preceding 1610 birthed practical guidelines for an imitation of Christ rooted in the gentle Jesus of Mt. 11:29.[6] In this nascent vision of Catholic nonviolence, de Sales relied on *Devotio Moderna*, Erasmus, and Jesuit spirituality.[7] He prescribed prayer, Gospel-reading, meditations, and self-examination, all rooted in the person of Jesus. Emotional awareness was consistently stressed. Despite heresy and sin in the world, he taught, the faithful must not succumb to anger, fear, or aggression, but, rather, embody Christlike hope, mercy, and joy.[8] De Sales practiced this spirituality of *douceur* in his ministries and

6. Donlan, *Zeal*, 12.
7. Donlan, *Zeal*, 17–23.
8. Donlan, *Zeal*, 78–82.

relationships.[9] He also exhorted Catholics, especially in his best-seller, *Introduction to the Devout Life* (first published in 1609), to integrate gentle relationality into daily life.

In this praxis of Christocentric gentleness and humility, one discerns the basic theological orientation of the young priest. In the 1590s and early-1600s, de Sales tended to portray God as a loving, protective parent more than as a judge. Fond of Francis of Assisi, he affirmed a bond between Creator and creation and spoke positively of nature and animals.[10] He envisioned holiness as possible in all walks of life (rather than limiting it to the cloister) and, regarding popular pastimes and entertainment, he urged caution more than condemnation. Finally, de Sales questioned the notion of Satan's power over the human person,[11] and, though not a pacifist, the young priest critiqued war and violence as unchristian.[12]

From 1610 to 1622, however, this foundation matured into a broad and elegant theological infrastructure for his expanding vision of Catholic *douceur*. It is difficult to demonstrate a chronological development of this infrastructure; rather, one tends to find continuity of thought in the extant sources from these twelve years. For instance, very similar treatments of topics (Primacy of Christ, love as unity and embrace, Lk. 9:52–56 as a critique of revenge, for instance) appear at different points in time. Continuity is also evident across context and audience. Mature Salesian theology is quite similar, whether in Visitation lectures, correspondence, sermons, or the *Treatise.* Indeed, the bishop seemed to work out his theology whenever and wherever he spoke, wrote, or prayed.

Scholars have noted a deeper reading of Bernard of Clairvaux, Theresa of Avila, and others in this period.[13] Yet, most crucial for the Salesian dismantling of the *dévots'* worldview was a deeper immersion into the Franciscan intellectual tradition.[14] While continuing to draw on Francis of

9. As a young priest, de Sales did not always embody the gentleness that he taught. Resenting anti-Catholic violence perpetuated by Protestants in Geneva and northern Savoy in the 1500s, he sometimes indulged in harsher, polemical language. See, for instance, *OEA*, XXIV, 341–42.

10. Donlan, *Zeal*, 82–87.

11. Donlan, *Zeal*, 87.

12. Donlan, *Zeal*, 24–25, 51–55.

13. Viviane Mellinghoff-Bourgerie, *François de Sales, 1567–1622: un homme de lettres spirituelles: culture, tradition, épistolarité* (Geneva, 1999), 138; Michon, *Mystique*, 17.

14. As a young priest, de Sales's intellectual, communication, and pastoral skills owed much to his Jesuit education at the Collège de Clermont in Paris (1578–88) and the mentorship of Antonio Possevino, S.J. (1589–91) in Padua. His early spirituality of Christocentric

Assisi, he also engaged the thought of Alexander of Hales, Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, and Duns Scotus with new vigor.[15] This is evident, as one shall see, in his compelling treatment of God as the overflowing, self-diffusive Good, the creative power of the Trinity, the Primacy of Christ, and the vision of creation as an integrated *unidivers*.

The *Dévots* and the Acarie Circle

Scholarship has long demonstrated the influence of the Parisian *dévots*, and particularly of the Acarie circle, in promoting monastic reform, new religious orders, and anti-Protestant activism.[16] More recently, historians have also shown that the *dévots's* piety, while less overtly violent, preserved the militant, penitential, and apocalyptic fervor of the Catholic League.[17]

Roman Catholic memory, however, has overlooked this continuity of League-*dévots* militancy, despite the evidence. Consider that Barbe Acarie and her husband, Pierre, both of whom detested Huguenots, nearly went bankrupt funding the League wars.[18] Then, as League military-political power waned in the 1590s, the Acarie home served as the leading center for Catholic renewal rooted in anti-Protestantism. Consider too that Pierre Acarie collaborated with the militant priest, Jean Boucher, in 1584 to create the *Seize*, the League's most radical wing.[19] A decade later, Fr. Boucher publicly called for the killing of Protestants and Henry IV, soon after which he and Monsieur Acarie were exiled by the Crown for their radicalism.[20]

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douceur also drew inspiration from Ignatius of Loyola and Pierre Favre, two of the Society of Jesus's founders. See Donlan, *Zeal*, 20–23. However, as the Savoyard worked out his theology of nonviolence, his reliance on the Franciscan intellectual tradition surpassed that on Jesuit thought.

15. Michon also sees increased Franciscan influence on de Sales in this period, but primarily in terms of his understanding of prayer and mystical ascension. See, Michon, *Mystique*, 38–40.

16. Brémond, *Histoire*, II, 194; Jean Dagens, *Bérulle et les origines de la restauration catholique (1575–1611)* (Bruges, 1952), 150–54; Lancelot C. Sheppard, *Barbe Acarie, Wife and Mystic: a Biography* (London, 1953), 59–60.

17. Philip Benedict, *Rouen during the Wars of Religion* (New York, 1981), 249; Diefendorf, *Penitence*, 11; Robert Descimon, "La Ligue à Paris (1585–1594)," *Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations,* 37, no. 1 (1982), 72–111, here 100.

18. Diefendorf, *Penitence*, 39; Sheppard, *Acarie*, 28–31; André du Val, *La Vie admirable de la bienheureuse Soeur Marie de L'Incarnation* (Paris, 1893), 15.

19. John H. M. Salmon, "The Paris Sixteen, 1584–94," *The Journal of Modern History*, 44, no. 4 (1972), 540–76, here 548; Sheppard, *Acarie*, 28.

20. Jean Boucher, *Sermons de la simulée conversion, et nullité de la pretendue absolution de Henry de Bourbon* (Paris, 1594), 90–92, 201, 211–13, 363.

The unfamiliarity with League-*dévots* militancy in collective Catholic memory is largely attributable to the idealization of the Acarie group by scholars, particularly Fr. Henri Brémond (1865–1933). Brémond praised Paris as a "city of saints" and the Acarie salon as a "school of holiness."[21] He deemed Barbe Acarie a woman of "perfection" and "sanctity" and Pierre Acarie a friendly raconteur.[22] Strikingly, Brémond conceded some *dévots* were "inhuman," but left this recognition undeveloped.[23] He also held that, while the League contained "fanatics," the *dévots* were "unstained" by this fanaticism.[24] Brémond's impact is evident in scholarship, which has disassociated the Acarie circle and the brutality of the Wars of Religion in Brémondian fashion.[25]

De Sales and the Acarie Circle

In scholarship, one also finds de Sales quite influenced by the Acarie circle. Brémond and André Ravier depicted him as deeply impressed by these *dévots*, absorbing much of their passion and vision.[26] Other scholars have dubbed him a member of the group, ranking among the leaders of Counter-Reformation Paris. Such interpretations have cited de Sales's visit to the Acarie salon in 1602 and his brief support of its efforts to found a Carmelite convent in France.[27]

This scholarship overlooks, however, that de Sales had embraced a certain Erasmian irenicism incompatible with League-*dévots* militancy well before 1602. In 1593, he began to preach against war. The young priest lamented Catholic faith in violence, explicitly mentioning assassination. Citing the *douceur* of Jesus, de Sales called friendship and peace preeminent Catholic ideals. Moreover, as lead missionary in the Chablais (1594–98), he developed a nonviolent approach to engaging Huguenots.[28] One must

21. Brémond, *Histoire*, I, 95–96.

22. Brémond, *Histoire*, II, 195–96, 256.

23. Brémond, *Histoire*, I, 102.

24. Brémond, *Histoire*, II, 141, 151.

25. Robert P. Maloney, C.M., "The Beautiful Acarie," *Vincentiana*, 41, no. 3 (1997), 1–10, here 7; McGinn, *Persistence*, 44; Sheppard, *Acarie,* 31, 39.

26. Brémond, *Histoire*, I, 95; André Ravier, *Francis de Sales: Sage and Saint* (San Francisco, 1988), 110.

27. Diefendorf, *Penitence*, 79, 102; McGinn, *Persistence*, 46, 94; Sheppard, *Acarie*, 93–95.

28. Donlan, *Zeal*, 51–70. It must be noted that Salesian nonviolence had its limits in this period. The Savoyard did, at times, engage in contentious debates and endorsed a limited use of legal and political pressure to restore Catholicism in the Chablais in 1598.

not mistake, therefore, the goodwill the Savoyard showed the *dévots* in 1602 for an uncritical posture toward their militancy.[29]

As for the subsequent expansion of de Sales's vision of Catholic nonviolence, it only differentiated Salesian spirituality and thought more acutely from the enduring Counter-Reformation militancy within French Catholicism. Drawing on Francis of Assisi, Bonaventure, and other friars, the Savoyard stressed reverence for creation, joy, and trust in divine abundance and goodness. Significantly, the bishop's view of Franciscan heritage constituted a rather iconoclastic stance during the French Wars of Religion. Both friars and the laity, driven by anti-Protestant fervor, used medieval Franciscanism to justify aggression and hate.[30] Giving Franciscan intellectual tradition much more thorough treatment, de Sales reclaimed its hallmarks of humility, hope, and peace.

Grace-Nature Alienation

Parisian *dévots* posited a stern cosmological dualism in which God and creation were distinct and opposed realities. Augustinian in orientation, they attributed this bleak grace-nature alienation to the Fall. Canfield taught that Adam's sin covered the world with darkness, as contrariety became the very structure of reality.[31] Bérulle wrote that the Fall granted evil extensive power on earth, while the sting of Adam's crime became creation's permanent affliction.[32] Beauvilliers held that human existence consisted of pain and mortification in the wake of original sin.[33]

The Fall damaged creation so seriously that society was fundamentally disordered. According to Canfield, daily life in the world was unstable and dangerous.[34] For Barbe Acarie, the prevalence of pagans, libertines, and

29. Müller also sees de Sales as ambivalent about the Acarie salon in 1602; see his *Francis*, 14–15.

30. Megan C. Armstrong, *The Politics of Piety: Franciscan Preachers During the Wars of Religion, 1560–1600* (Rochester, 2004), 2–5; Diefendorf, *Penitence*, 87–88; Denis Richet, "Aspects socio-culturels des conflits religieux à Paris dans la seconde moitié du XVIe siècle," *Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 32 (1977) 764–89, here 781–82.

31. Benet of Canfield, *Renaissance Dialectic and Renaissance Piety: Benet of Canfield's Rule of Perfection, a Translation and Study*, trans. Kent Emery, Jr. (Binghamton, 1987), 50, 168.

32. Leon d'Alexis, *Traicté des énergumènes* (Troyes, 1599), 21, 66. Leon d'Alexis was Bérulle's pseudonym.

33. Marie de Beauvilliers, *Conférences spirituelles d'une supérieure à ses religieuses* (Paris, 1838), 223.

34. Canfield, *Rule*, 104.

Marie Catherine de Beauvilliers, abbess of Montmartre Abbey from 1598 to 1656, n.d., sketch, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Marie_Catherine_de_Beauvilliers_abbesse_de_Montmartre.jpg. Artist unknown. Image is in the public domain.

sinners in French culture revealed the preeminence of evil. She also believed that, due to Calvinism, Catholicism faced extinction in the kingdom.[35] Fr. Boucher shared this fear, contending that the Church was in "extreme danger of ruin" on account of the moral and spiritual pollution incarnate in the Huguenots.[36]

Satan was prominent in the *dévots'* theology as well. Canfield believed that the evil one terrorized him during his conversion to Catholicism and seminary studies in the 1580s.[37] Later, his *Rule of Perfection* taught that few Catholics were trained in spiritual warfare, leaving most of the Church vulnerable to the Devil.[38] Similarly, Bérulle deemed Satan exceptionally powerful in human affairs and demonic possession a "GREAT" and "FRE-

35. Madame Acarie, *Écrits spirituels*, ed. Bernard Sesé (Paris, 2004), 53, 61–63.

36. Boucher, *Sermons,* 408.

37. Etta Gullick, "The Life of Father Benet of Canfield," *Collectanea Franciscana*, 42 (1972), 39–67, here, 46, 55.

38. Canfield, *Rule*, 97–98.

QUENT" evil.[39] According to Boucher, Protestants were the offspring of the Devil, profaning Catholic worship throughout France.[40]

Creator-Creature Alienation

The Fall also left the human person disfigured and alienated from God. Bérulle deemed humans "perverse," deserving the "greatest of punishment" from the Creator.[41] Acarie viewed herself as utterly "detestable."[42] Similarly, Canfield held that human nature was "vile," like that of a pig feasting at the trough.[43] In these assessments of human depravity, the soul was not spared. The *dévots* asserted that the human soul, consisting of nothing but "malice," was the "enemy" of God, and that everything in one's soul was "deplorable."[44]

In addition, the Parisians placed God at a vast emotional distance from humanity. They envisioned him as an intimidating monarch, often calling him, "His Majesty." Addressing this royal deity casually caused great harm and, accordingly, one had to avoid offending him at all costs.[45] God was also a judge requiring the faithful to confess even minor transgressions against divine law.[46] When the *dévots* conceived of God in terms of the person of Jesus of Nazareth, this impersonal, juridical view softened, but only slightly. According to Beauvilliers, Jesus was solemn and austere, finding human will and sentiment "odious."[47]

A striking conviction among *dévots* was the notion that God, very protective of his purity, found human imperfection repulsive. Like both Calvinists and, later, Jansenists, the *dévots* deemed grace-nature incompatibility a metaphysical law of sorts.[48] Acarie taught that divinity, devoid of "stain or filth," shunned the unclean.[49] Similarly, Beauvilliers held that Jesus rejected those insufficiently "annihilated" and "purified."[50] Canfield

39. Bérulle, *Traicté*, 22, 39.
40. Boucher, *Sermons*, 90, 211, 223–24.
41. Pierre de Bérulle, *Bref discours de l'abnegation intérieure* (Paris, 1612), 25–26.
42. Acarie, *Écrits*, 30.
43. Canfield, *Rule*, 130, 139.
44. Bérulle, *Bref*, 169; Canfield, *Rule*, 162.
45. Acarie, *Écrits*, 32; Beauvilliers, *Conférences*, 43–44, 84; Canfield, *Rule*, 165.
46. Acarie, *Écrits*, 35; Beauvilliers, *Conférences*, 85, 214; Canfield, *Rule*, 150.
47. Beauvilliers, *Conférences*, 95, 184.
48. Carlos M. N. Eire, *War Against the Idols: The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin* (Cambridge, 1986), 3.
49. Acarie, *Écrits*, 33, 48–49.
50. Beauvilliers, *Conférences*, 45.

maintained that human will and divine will could not coincide in a person, since contraries did not coexist.[51]

The *dévots* also taught that God handled human inequity with violence. Canfield held that the Creator "violently plucks out" men's imperfections and seeks to "tear" humankind from the flesh.[52] Boucher claimed that God used humans to destroy impurity, such as when the Israelites eliminated the Canaanites and Clovis exterminated pagans. Similarly, God led Jacques Clement to murder Henry III in 1589.[53] Divinity also punished human inequity through the natural world, using floods, bears, and worms to kill sinners.[54] Some *dévots* spoke of the divine as a warrior-God, *tout court*; Bérulle, for instance, dubbed the Lord "a God of battle," who descended from heaven to destroy sin.[55]

God as Overflowing, Self-Diffusive Good

Salesian theology strikingly breaks from that of the Parisians in both substance and tone. While the Parisians taught a rigid grace-nature duality, de Sales sees Creator-creation relations overwhelmingly in terms of kinship. This alternative grace-nature theology drives much of his dismantling of their worldview. The bishop begins with a distinct doctrine of God. Rarely speaking of God as punitive or violent, the Savoyard stresses his goodness, abundance, and fecundity. In this regard, Salesian theology is quite Franciscan. Lydia Schumacher has shown how uniquely medieval Franciscans emphasized God's goodness, creativity, and presence in creation.[56] It is this fecundity and "thick" incarnational vision, articulated by Francis of Assisi, Bonaventure, and Scotus, that de Sales champions over the Parisians' fearful dualism.

In his mature theology, de Sales often speaks of God as the supreme Good, calling him "infinite goodness" and the "sovereign Good."[57] For the bishop, God's goodness is synonymous with his love. Moreover, he defines the Good as superabundant and self-diffusive.[58] De Sales expresses this in a manner evocative of Bonaventure's vision of God as the *fontalis plenitudo*,

51. Canfield, *Rule*, 99.
52. Canfield, *Rule*, 99, 164.
53. Boucher, *Sermons*, 90–91, 590.
54. Boucher, *Sermons*, 8, 421–22.
55. Bérulle, *Bref*, 132.
56. Lydia Schumacher, *Divine Illumination: The History and Future of Augustine's Theory of Knowledge* (Chichester, 2011), 115–22.
57. *OEA*, IV, 82, 99, 108, 125, 146, V, 90.
58. *OEA*, IV, 76, 108, VIII, 73.

likening divinity to superabundant waters that provide life and refreshment.[59] Urging Catholics to celebrate this bounty, the bishop rejoices, "How great is the goodness of our Lord!"[60]

This vision of God as diffusive and nurturing informs de Sales's trinitarian theology where fecundity and relationality emerge as divine attributes. To spread his bounty, the Good, who is also Father, generated the Son (or Word) to whom he gives all of himself. Having done so, the Father relished this new experience of his divinity. De Sales praises this divine reproduction, proclaiming, "what joy" there is in "this eternal birth" and in "celebrating it!"[61] As for the Son, he rejoices in the divinity shared with the Father, and the two breathe a loving breath, generating the Holy Spirit.[62] Consonant with Franciscan thought, de Sales affirms this trinitarian creativity as the origin of all love and goodness in creation.[63]

Creator-Creation Kinship

Unwilling to restrain his goodness, the Father determined that he would pour it out beyond the Trinity. Thus, speaking through the Word, he brought into existence countless creatures. In doing so, God powerfully extended his providence over all things.[64] Moreover, in Bonaventuran fashion, de Sales sees divinity permeating all created existence: "Divinity is all in all the world, and all in every part."[65] The bishop also cites Francis of Assisi to affirm the blessedness of creation. The Italian saint loved creatures, "contemplating in them their Creator" and calling them brother and sister in his *Canticle of the Creatures*. He so revered nature, the Savoyard notes, that he moved worms from roads, lest they be crushed.[66]

De Sales celebrates the balance of order and diversity in creation as well. He contends that God adorned nature with pleasing proportions and variety so humankind, delighting in the created order, would turn to its Creator.[67]

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59. *OEA*, IV, 121, 125, 206, 210; Schumacher, *Divine*, 118.
60. *OEA*, X, 278.
61. *OEA*, IV, 203–04.
62. *OEA*, IV, 206–07.
63. Ilia Delio, O.S.F., "Revisiting the Franciscan Doctrine of Christ," *Theological Studies*, 64 (2003), 3–23, here 12; *OEA*, IV, 100–01, 208.
64. *OEA*, IV, 91–92; 100, V, 230.
65. Bonaventure, *Breviloquium*, 2.1.2, trans. José de Vinck (Paterson, N.J., 1960), 70; idem, *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*, 1.14.4, trans. Regis J. Armstrong, O.F.M., Cap. (Washington, D.C., 2020), 35; *OEA*, IV, 74.
66. *OEA*, V, 94.
67. *OEA*, IV, 97.

In these assertions, one hears further echoes of the *Canticle*, as well as of Bonaventure's *Breviloquium* and *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*.[68] The Savoyard also affirms that however diverse plants, animals, and people are, they remain united in being, given their common origin in God. This unity-in-diversity prompts the bishop to exhort Catholics to think of creation as a "*unidivers*" rather than a universe.[69]

Divine-Human Kinship

Salesian anthropology deems humanity the greatest reflection of divinity in nature. Anchored in Gen. 1:26–27, it sees an affinity of likeness between God and humanity. Both God and the human soul, for example, are spiritual, indivisible, and immortal.[70] The likeness of humanity to God makes mankind participants in divine nature and children of a loving Father.[71] Further, because of humanity's likeness to the Father, one has a natural and holy inclination to love him above all things.[72] God, in turn, uses this innate tendency as a handle (*anse)* to pull mankind even closer to him.[73] For the bishop, this kinship and affection should spark confidence and trust.[74]

De Sales asserts that divine-human affinity operates by way of dissimilarity too.[75] As sinful, imperfect creatures, humans differ significantly from the sovereign Good. Yet, humanity's imperfection meshes quite well with God's absolute goodness, for the coincidence of privation with abundance gives rise to a more beautiful and holy reality. The bishop likens this to a mother breast-feeding a child.[76] The encounter of need and sufficiency suits both humanity and God, for humans badly need grace, while God joyfully shares his overflowing abundance. Indeed, the Savoyard holds that the Father "receives greater pleasure in giving than we in receiving."[77] *Contra* the *dévots*, then, divine-human difference is not an ontological

68. Bonaventure, *Breviloquium*, 2.11.2, 101; idem., *Itinerarium*, 1.9.2, 1.15.1, 29, 39.
69. *OEA,* IV, 93.
70. *OEA,* IV, 74.
71. *OEA,* V, 205.
72. *OEA*, IV, 77–78.
73. *OEA*, IV, 84.
74. *OEA*, IV, 74.
75. Lewis S. Fiorelli, "Salesian Understanding of Christian Anthropology," *Salesianum,* 46 (1984), 487–508, here 497; Alexander T. Pocetto, OSFS "An Introduction to Salesian Anthropology," *Salesian Studies* (1969), 36–62, here 48.
76. Suzanne Toczyski, "'Blessed the Breasts at Which You Nursed': Mother-Child Intimacy in St. Francis de Sales' *Treatise on the Love of God*," *Spiritus: A Journal of Christian Spirituality*, 15, no. 2 (2015), 191–213, here 197–98.
77. *OEA,* IV, 75–76.

crisis, but a divinely-affirmed dynamic of the Creator-creature relationship. According to the scholar Alexander Pocetto, the optimism of this Salesian vision is both bold and startling.[78]

Divergent Christologies

In addition to divergent grace-nature theologies, contrasting Christologies elucidate the Salesian dismantling of the Parisians's worldview. While the Fall dominated the *dévots's* view of the human person, the Cross often dominated their Christology. Praising the Cross, they depicted the Passion as Jesus's defining moment, but spoke far less of his birth, ministry, or resurrection.[79] In Jesus's blood and wounds the *dévots's* found divine charity, but less so in his healing touches, provision of food, or raising of the dead.[80] Indeed, Canfield insisted that the only mental images acceptable in prayer were those of Christ's suffering or one's own.[81]

The Cross's dominance in the Parisian imagination amounted to what one might call a *Christology of death*. Beauvilliers held that Jesus taught little but "death" and "destruction" and that Christian love consisted of having a "spirit of death."[82] Bérulle praised the desire to suffer and preached the destruction of self-love.[83] Stressing the pain and torment of Christ, Canfield encouraged Catholics to allow their senses to be put "to death" by God and to exchange a belief in their own "being" with that of death.[84] Deeming martyrdom the apex of Christian love, he returned to Protestant England, his birthplace, in pursuit of it.[85]

Salesian Christology differs from that of the *dévots* in crucial ways. Following Bonaventure, the bishop affirms a holistic Christology in which Jesus's entire life is revelatory and redemptive.[86] In his *Treatise*, de Sales notes how "our Lord practiced all the most excellent acts of love," which,

78. Pocetto, "Anthropology," 48.

79. Over time, Bérulle certainly developed a more balanced and comprehensive Christology. Yet, even his most mature theology of the 1620s emphasized Christ's wounds, agony, and death, above all. See McGinn, *Persistence*, 216–17.

80. Acarie, *Écrits*, 31, 33, 37, 42; Beauvilliers, *Conférences*, 4, 116, 239.

81. Canfield, *Rule*, 204–05.

82. Beauvilliers, *Conférences*, 13, 45, 61.

83. Bérulle, *Bref*, 5, 13–14.

84. Canfield, *Rule*, 141, 205.

85. Gullick, "Canfield," 62.

86. Zachary Hayes, O.F.M, *The Hidden Center: Speculative Christology in St. Bonaventure* (New York, 1981), 28–34.

in sum, constitute the "whole work" of redemption.[87] Christ's Cross is certainly crucial for the Savoyard, but it alone does not encapsulate divine self-giving. His Christology, therefore, emphasizes the Passion, but also highlights how Jesus loved through healing, friendship, and joy. Especially poignant for de Sales are Jesus's affection for Lazarus, Martha, and Mary, his embrace of children, and the repose he offers the beloved disciple at his bosom (Jn. 13:23–25).[88]

When juxtaposed with the death-centrism of Parisian piety, the Salesian theology of Christ emerges as a *Christology of life*. Indeed, it often appeals to Jn. 10:10 in which Jesus declares that he came to give life and to give it more abundantly.[89] To imitate Christ, for de Sales, is to *Vive Jésus!*, and thus embody a love that is active, lively, and affectionate, though suffering and death, too, are integral to Christian faith.[90] In this "ecstasy of life," the charity of Jesus, "presses us" to embrace, serve, and heal others which, in turn, sparks additional expressions of unity and friendship.[91] De Sales compares this interconnected "world of hearts" to a verdant landscape teeming with life.[92]

The Incarnation of the Word

The holistic Christology of de Sales also sees the Incarnation of the Word as the birth of an integral relationship between Christ and Creation. Nothing in Parisian theology troubles the bishop more than its underappreciation of the Incarnation, coupled with an overemphasis on the Fall. Following Franciscan sensibility, he holds that Catholicism must root itself in the power of divine goodness far more than in that of human sin.[93] In response, the Salesian Christology of life celebrates the Incarnation as a stunning outpouring of divine goodness, making permanent God's sovereign and intimate bond with Creation.

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87. *OEA*, V, 229–30.

88. *OEA*, IV, 270, 323, 332, V, 231. Joseph F. Chorpenning, "Lectio Divina and Francis de Sales's Picturing of the Interconnection of Divine and Human Hearts," in: *Imago Exegetica: Visual Images as Exegetical Instruments*, ed. by Walter S. Melion (Leiden, 2014), 449-77, here 457-59.

89. *OEA*, VI, 89, IX, 269, XXV, 22, 303.

90. Donlan, *Zeal*, 104; *OEA*, IV, 24, 305, V, 29, XIV, 286, XV, 144.

91. *OEA*, V, 27, 32.

92. *OEA*, V, 280–81; Wendy M. Wright, *Heart Speaks to Heart: The Salesian Tradition* (Maryknoll, 2004), 3.

93. Delio, "Franciscan Doctrine of Christ," 3–8; Michon, *Mystique*, 282–83.

God could have restrained his liberality after making humans in his image, de Sales teaches. Instead, through an "excess of loving goodness," the Father executed an unfathomable additional act of self-communication: He made divinity in the image of humanity through the Word's Incarnation.[94] Citing Bonaventure's *De Vita Christi*, the bishop describes this mystery as a collective performance of the Trinity in which the Father and Holy Spirit aid the Son in "putting on" the flesh, like two people vesting a third with a coat.[95]

The bishop sees human-divine kinship intensifying radically with the Incarnation. God joined himself so "indissolubly" to humankind, that "never was anything so strictly" bound to humanity. De Sales stresses the eternal nature of the bond: "He who dwelt in himself dwells now in us," and he who "had been only God" will be "for all eternity man too." That God would fuse himself to man astounds the Savoyard. The "source of living water" has "flowed into us" and we must celebrate this "excellent union!"[96]

De Sales insists, more broadly, on an integral relationship between Christ and the entire cosmos. Here the bishop draws on the Franciscan Primacy of Christ tradition. This theology holds that the Incarnation flows primarily from God's loving and self-diffusive nature and that the Incarnate Word serves as both center and summit of all divinity's creative work.[97] God determined, de Sales asserts, that upon communicating himself to humanity through the Son, the universe would exist for and through Christ. Christ is the Alpha or "first-born of every creature," as Colossians 1:15 puts it, from which the created order emanates. He is also the Omega, the terminus of creation which serves him and shares in his glory.[98]

The Primacy of Christ tradition enables de Sales to challenge quite forcefully the *dévots's* approach to the Fall and the Cross. Following Bonaventure and Scotus, the bishop insists that the Incarnation would have occurred without original sin.[99] God foreordained this world for his incarnate Son "prior to Lucifer" and the Fall.[100] Furthermore, humankind

94. *OEA*, V, 230.
95. *OEA*, IX, 448.
96. *OEA*, V, 14, 230.
97. Delio, "Franciscan," 8.
98. *OEA*, IV, 101–03, X, 4, 413.
99. McGinn, *Persistence*, 111–12; Müller, *Francis,* 31; Schumacher, *Divine*, 133.
100. *OEA*, X, 412–13, 415–16.

is actually better off than if Edenic innocence had never been lost. Rather than overcoming divine love, Adam's sin "provoked it," prompting God to apply his restorative healing. Consequently, "human nature has received more graces" than "it would have received if Adam had not sinned." Citing Romans 5:20, the bishop proclaims that where sin abounds, grace is superabundant.[101]

Competing Theologies of Christian Love

With his distinct vision of God, the Incarnation, and Creation, de Sales summons Catholics to a divergent understanding and praxis of Christian love. The Salesian approach to Christian love sharpens his critique of religious violence, enabling him to discredit the militancy of the *dévots* even more thoroughly.

The Parisians's approach to Christian love drew significantly on their view of grace-nature alienation. One had to direct one's affection toward a transcendent God divorced from nature. Accordingly, a disposition of love toward oneself and loving bonds toward others, creation, and society, were deemed very dangerous, as nature's filth impeded the ascent to God. Conversely, hostility and combativeness toward humanity and creation facilitated the journey to divinity. In the *dévots's* daily life, therefore, *purity* often constituted the primary goal of Christian love, *distrust* its attitudinal orientation, and *violence* its embodiment.

De Sales's take on Christian love emerges from both his grace-nature theology and his Christology. Since Creation emanates from Christ and divinity permeates all existence, Christian love must honor both divine transcendence and divine immanence. The Savoyard, therefore, approaches relationships holistically, integrating love of God with that of self, others, and the world.[102] The bishop certainly prescribes prayerful discernment in navigating the world's moral dangers. Yet, he rarely counsels either retreat or combat. In fact, he views the *dévots's* ethic of purity, distrust, and attack as a denial of divine abundance, sovereignty, and presence. Upending this neo-Manichaeism, the Savoyard champions *unity* as the end of Christian love, *trust* as its affective posture, and *embrace* as its ideal embodiment.

101. *OEA*, IV, 104.

102. Jean-Pierre Camus, *The Spirit of St. Francis de Sales*, ed. and trans. Carl Franklin Kelley (New York, 1952), 11; *OEA*, IX, 286–87, X, 265–66.

Purity: The Goal of Christian Love

In her pioneering work on the "Rites of Violence," Natalie Zemon Davis revealed the impact of purity discourses early in the French Wars of Religion.[103] Both Catholics and Protestants, Davis demonstrated, portrayed each other as the embodiment of filth, disease, and evil. These dehumanizing discourses justified violence by portraying it as the cleansing of the pollution incarnate in their enemies.

Similar phenomena persisted among Catholic Leaguers and *dévots* in subsequent decades of the Wars. In the Acarie circle, personal purity often constituted the very goal of Christian love. Barbe Acarie declared that, out of love for God, she would remove all "filth" and "inequity" from her life.[104] For Canfield, perfect love consisted of avoiding imperfection and impurity.[105] Beauvilliers viewed Christian commitment as a "more perfect purity" in thought and deed. For the *dévots*, humanity had been "perfect" in Eden, but subsequently "lost this sanctity." And the love of God demanded that the faithful "recover" the "primitive state" of innocence.[106]

The *dévots's* piety of purity defined not just *personal* devotion, but also a rightly ordered *society*. The love of God, orthodoxy, and Catholic France all required confronting pollution in social and political spheres.[107] Pining for France's pre-Reformation innocence, the Parisians weaponized their purity discourse. Acarie called out the "perfidious" Huguenots for heresy.[108] Bérulle denounced as venomous "vipers" those who doubted the prevalence of Satanic possession, singling out the Catholic physician, Michel Marescot, as a "libertine," "enemy of the Church," and "monkey."[109] Boucher preached that toleration of Protestants would make France a "Spiritual Sodom" and called Henry IV "manure covered in snow."[110]

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103. Natalie Zemon Davis, "The Rites of Violence: Religious Riot in Sixteenth-Century France," *Past and Present*, 59 (1973), 53–91.

104. Acarie, *Écrits*, 72. Acarie also begged God for "purity and innocence." See 31.

105. Canfield, *Rule,* 118, 120.

106. Beauvilliers, *Conférences*, 14, 119, 197.

107. Boucher, *Sermons*, 213–14.

108. Acarie, *Écrits*, 62.

109. Bérulle, *Traicté*, 2–4; idem, *Discours de la possession de Marthe Brossier contre les calomnies d'un médecin de Paris* (Troyes, 1599), 12, 17, 43.

110. Boucher, *Sermons*, 8, 114.

Distrust: The Affect of Christian Love

Denis Crouzet has demonstrated the prominence of apocalyptic sentiment across sixteenth-century France. Central to this mentality was the cosmic battle between God and Satan ushering in the Last Judgment.[111] Strands of this apocalypticism persisted among *dévots*. Canfield approached prayer as navigating the war between light and dark, spirit and flesh. Piety itself was dangerous, resulting in the ruin of souls if executed imprecisely.[112] Boucher viewed reality as a battle of Christ and Heaven against Anti-Christ and Hell. The salvation of countless souls hung in the balance in this cosmic conflict.[113]

Most prominent in *dévots's* affect was an acute distrust of nature, humanity, and society. In daily life, this meant abstaining from dancing, theater, and beautiful sites, whether a country landscape or handsome architecture.[114] This also meant constantly doubting human perception, thought, and knowledge.[115] At times, this distrust morphed into hate. Bérulle taught that self-disgust and love of God went hand in hand.[116] Similarly, Beauvilliers urged the "continual hatred" of self to strengthen one's bond with God.[117]

Distrust of French society ran deep among the *dévots*, as well. Believing France to be plagued by God's enemies, Acarie begged the Lord to save the kingdom from sinners, heretics, infidels, and pagans.[118] Bérulle dismissed Paris's medical establishment, given its ignorance of demonic possession.[119] The *dévots* distrusted and despised Protestants, above all. The Huguenot was a "wolf clothed in sheep's skin" who "raped" Mother Church.[120] As for Henry IV, his alleged conversion from Calvinism to Catholicism in 1593 was fraudulent and there was no greater threat to Catholic France than a heretic king.[121]

111. Denis Crouzet, *Les guerriers de Dieu*, 2 vols. (Seyssel, 1990), I, 184, 194, II, 195.
112. Canfield, *Rule*, 114, 117–18.
113. Boucher, *Sermons*, 129, 601.
114. Acarie, *Écrits*, 82; Beauvilliers, *Conférences*, 31, 64; Canfield, *Rule*, 13, 143, 152.
115. Beauvilliers, *Conférences*, 12; Canfield, *Rule,* 206–12.
116. Bérulle, *Bref*, sig. Aij (recto), 124.
117. Beauvilliers, *Conférences*, 47, 62.
118. Acarie, *Écrits*, 53, 62.
119. Bérulle, *Traicté*, 3.
120. Boucher, *Sermons*, 93, 604
121. Boucher, *Sermons*, 210.

Suffering and Violence as Christian Love

Given that God rejected impurity, and that the human person was vile, the *dévots* faced a daunting "pollution problem." Often the solution for them was to destroy inequity, as they believed God did. "Force yourself to destroy constantly our first father's sin," Beauvilliers taught.[122] This required relentless psychological and physical mortification. Only by "afflicting the flesh" and getting burned in the "fire of abnegation," Canfield asserted, could one become "undefiled" and "stripped of the old man."[123] Similarly, Bérulle held that "continual self-humiliation" and "degradation" alone rendered one acceptable to the Lord.[124]

Be it flagellation, sleep deprivation, or self-denunciation, suffering was widely embraced.[125] Indeed, these "sufferings" were deemed "the very will of God."[126] Some *dévots* even explicitly mandated violence against oneself. Beauvilliers taught that only "those who do violence to themselves" will find God. Canfield agreed, claiming that only Catholics "who do themselves violence" know consolation.[127] The *dévots* held that Christ's Passion justified this embrace of suffering and violence, even teaching that Jesus wanted "infinite sufferings" and "to be treated cruelly."[128] To follow Christ in a saintly fashion, therefore, was to rejoice in pain.[129]

Scholars have suggested that the leading *dévots* limited this militancy to personal piety, neither harming others nor encouraging others to do so.[130] Yet, this is untenable given that Acarie, Bérulle, and others openly demonized opponents, as seen above. Furthermore, Jean Boucher, the associate of the Acaries, explicitly urged social and political violence. Rejecting calls to treat Protestants with Christian *douceur*, the priest countered that both Scripture and saints urged the destruction of evil by holy war.[131] The elimination of heretical pollution required the extermination of

122. Beauvilliers, *Conférences*, 155.
123. Canfield, *Rule,* 151, 164.
124. Bérulle, *Bref*, 32, 136.
125. Bérulle, *Bref*, 15, 20–26; du Val, *Vie*, 22; Optat de Veghel, *Benoît de Canfield: Sa Vie et Son Influence* (Rome, 1949), 85, 89, 102.
126. Canfield, *Rule*, 142.
127. Beauvilliers, *Conférences*, 200; Canfield, *Rule*, 220.
128. Acarie, *Écrits*, 41; Beauvilliers, *Conférences*, 204.
129. Beauvilliers, *Conférences*, 226.
130. See above, n24 and n25.
131. Boucher, *Sermons*, 211–14, 605.

Crispin de Passe (1564 ?–1637), *Portrait de François Ravaillac,* c. 1610, engraving, Bibliothèque nationale de France, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Fran%C3%A7ois_Ravaillac.jpg. Image is in the public domain.

heretics, including Henry IV.[132] The 1590s and early-1600s saw several Catholics attempt to kill the king, as Boucher prescribed. Ultimately, in 1610, François Ravaillac pulled off the assassination, stabbing the monarch to death in Paris.

Love as Unity

De Sales begins his reclamation of Christian love by asserting unity, rather than purity, to be its primary goal. His *Treatise* asserts that "love tends to union" and that unity constitutes the "only end and aim" of love.[133] This understanding is reinforced by the bishop's frequent use of the Song of Songs, which uses intimate and erotic imagery to depicts the soul's union with God.[134] Additionally, the bishop praises the primitive Church

132. Boucher, *Sermons*, 128, 201, 211, 213.
133. *OEA*, IV, 55.
134. *OEA*, IV, 50–51, 304, V, 163.

for modeling unifying love: early believers had but one heart and soul, and Paul urged the preservation of this unity. Importantly, the bishop also stresses that Pseudo-Dionysius, a revered mystic among *dévots*, defined love as a force that endlessly embraces and harmonizes things in unity.[135]

De Sales relies primarily on Jesus to decenter purity in Catholic theology. He insists that Christ desires deeper union with all humankind and is especially concerned about the lost and sinful. "Our Lord" shows "more affection" to the "imperfect" than to the perfect, as he came "not for the just" but for "sinners." After all, Jesus chose Peter, despite his many imperfections, to lead the disciples.[136] The bishop also notes that the father of the prodigal son fully embraced his child, despite his being "soiled" and "foul-smelling."[137] Urging Catholics to abandon "violent aspirations" for "purity and perfection," de Sales recalls Jesus's teaching that heaven rejoices more over one repentant sinner than ninety-nine righteous people.[138]

De Sales rates human division and hate among the most prevalent failures to enact Christian love.[139] This is why, he asserts, that Jesus stressed love of neighbor even more than unity with God.[140] The bishop offers the Trinity as a model for human fellowship: Christians must strive for interpersonal union that resembles the loving bond of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. De Sales appeals to the Incarnation as well. When the Word took on flesh, humanity and divinity became eternally linked.[141] Given the divine presence in every human being, Christians must value deeper unity with all their sisters and brothers. How could Catholics think otherwise when, at the Last Supper, Jesus prayed that all would be one?[142]

Trust: The Affect of Christian Love

De Sales also challenges the Parisians's sanctification of distrust. Encouraging a holistic vision of union with God, others, and oneself, he calls on Catholics to abandon the belief that nature and humanity are fundamentally corrupt or evil. To be sure, de Sales acknowledges humanity's

135. *OEA*, IV, 50–53.
136. *OEA*, VI, 62–63.
137. *OEA*, V, 177–78.
138. *OEA*, IV, 104–05, XV, 102.
139. *OEA*, IV, 53, X, 265, 272–73.
140. *OEA*, X, 266, 279.
141. *OEA*, X, 267, 273–74.
142. *OEA*, X, 266–67.

attraction to evil and the cost of sin.[143] Yet, he insists that authentic Christianity embraces a much broader and deeper eschatological vision. And this vision is decidedly hopeful.

To renew a norm of Christian trust, de Sales relies once more on his view of God as the supreme, superabundant Good. He urges Catholics to awaken their faith in the "sovereign Good." "Entrust yourself fully" to the God of "infinite goodness and mercy."[144] De Sales appeals to the concept of divine providence again as well: "Leave your soul and your body" in "the arms of divine Providence."[145] Have "great confidence," the bishop proclaims, in the "paternal care" and "divine providence" of God.[146]

As for Satan, de Sales holds that he poses little threat to Christians and none whatsoever to God. Here the bishop's holistic Christology comes into play again. The Nativity, the Cross, and the Resurrection all reveal that God's goodness and peace have triumphed over sin and evil.[147] De Sales insists that Satan cannot easily overcome humans. A brief recollection of divine sovereignty and bounty puts one directly in the "Lord's arms," repelling the evil one.[148] Nothing, "not even hell," can separate humanity from God, and those who love the Lord can even mock Satan.[149]

Critique of the *Idolatry of Suffering*

The bishop critiques what one might call an *idolatry of suffering* among *dévots*. Many are attached to "great austerities," the Savoyard laments, convinced that they "must macerate the body to please God;" they seek "extraordinary suffering," deeming it a heroic act of love.[150] Feeling that Jesus has not gifted them with enough pain "to satisfy their fervor," they create their own "crosses," such as harsh fasting and flagellation.[151] With atypical bluntness, de Sales calls this conduct "reprehensible." He also rejects the claim that Jesus desired to suffer.[152]

143. Donlan, *Zeal*, 51.
144. *OEA*, VI, 88, 321.
145. *OEA*, XXVI, 366.
146. *OEA*, VI, 26, 87.
147. *OEA*, IX, 286, 290–91.
148. *OEA*, XXVI, 349.
149. *OEA*, IX, 296, XXVI, 365.
150. *OEA*, V, 329, VI, 248.
151. *OEA*, VI, 109, 447.
152. Camus, *Spirit*, 11; *OEA*, VI, 248.

The bishop firmly discourages the pious pursuit of pain. "I do not think we should ask for suffering," he tells Angelique Arnaud, a forerunner of the Jansenist movement.[153] "I would not ask for mortifications at all," he similarly instructs the Visitandines.[154] De Sales also opposes the habit or practice of mental self-denunciation. In fact, he calls patience with oneself and one's weaknesses a "natural and legitimate" love "commanded by God." This is why Mt. 22:37–39 teaches not only to love God and others, but oneself, as well.[155]

Critique of Violence Against Others

The Salesian vision of love sharply rebukes faith-based violence against others as well. Here the Savoyard relies on two stories from Pseudo-Dionysius. The first deals with a priest, Carpus, who hated a certain pagan for wooing a Christian friend into idolatry. Carpus rose at midnight to pray for their death, only to be corrected by God in a vision. In the vision, the sinners languished on the edge of a fiery pit. Seeing men and serpents pushing them into the abyss, Carpus rejoiced, for he wished the idolators "so much evil." Jesus, moved by compassion, however, saved the pagans and scolded Carpus for his "violence." De Sales concludes that Carpus's "cruelty" and "hatred" have no place in the "gentle charity" of Christian love.[156]

The second account features a monk, Demophilus. When a notorious sinner entered a church seeking the Sacrament of Reconciliation, a certain wise priest welcomed him. Demophilus, however, judging that the sinner profaned the church by coming too close to the altar, fell into a rage. The monk pummeled the man to the ground and denounced the good priest for receiving him. Demophilus then hurriedly removed holy vessels from the altar to purify them. De Sales concludes that the zeal of Demophilus was fundamentally disordered; he sinned gravely by valuing purity and punishment over reconciliation.[157]

The bishop concedes that holy men and women used violence in the past, but holds that, with the birth of Jesus, such aggression became impermissible. De Sales speaks of two spirits or postures, one of rigor and one of *douceur*. In Hebrew scripture, God permitted Elijah, who had the spirit of

153. *OEA*, XVIII, 379.
154. *OEA*, VI, 447.
155. Camus, *Spirit*, 11.
156. *OEA*, V, 220–22.
157. *OEA*, V, 220.

rigor, to punish sinners with fire from heaven. Jesus, as human and divine, however, possessed a superior spirit of *douceur*. The Savoyard cites Lk. 9:52–56 here: James and John, furious that the Samaritans insulted Jesus, wished to strike them with fire from heaven. Yet, Jesus rebuked them, teaching that he came not "to punish sinners, but to draw them gently." The Lord asked James and John, "did you not realize that we are no longer in the time of Elijah?"[158]

Embrace: Praxis of Christian Love

De Sales viewed the brutality of the Wars of Religion as unchristian. He was known, echoing Francis of Assisi, to ask when humanity would achieve a holistic love of God, self, and others.[159] Indeed, the bishop moved toward a universal vision of embrace in his final years, increasingly teaching that Christian love hates no one.[160] "We are all brethren, all of one flesh," he told Jean-Pierre Camus.[161] All humans, without exception, he also taught, "are holy and living images of Divinity," possessing the "same dignity."[162]

The bishop held that Jesus cherished no teaching more than the love of neighbor.[163] Moreover, de Sales deemed this love indistinguishable from that of God. The "love of God is inseparable from love of neighbor" and as one grows or diminishes, so too does the other. Indeed, "loving God without loving others" is "impossible." Citing 1 Jn. 4:20, de Sales taught that those who claim to love the Lord while rejecting their neighbor are "liars."[164] This meant refraining from definitive judgments of others: "we have no right to pry into the secrets of God."[165] Condemning Huguenots, therefore, was wrong, since "divine Goodness does not wish for any to perish," but desires "that all men be saved."[166]

De Sales's vision of embrace served as the capstone of his theology of nonviolence. Once again, he pointed to earliest Christianity as a model.

158. *OEA*, V, 224, VI, 223–24.
159. Camus, *Spirit,* 2.
160. *OEA*, IV, 53, V, 222.
161. Camus, *Spirit*, 25. Camus, Bishop of Belley, was a disciple, friend, and confidante of de Sales, who advocated his beatification and canonization.
162. *OEA*, V, 204, X, 274.
163. *OEA*, X, 266.
164. *OEA*, VI, 426, X, 266, 268–69.
165. Camus, *Spirit*, 52–53.
166. *OEA*, IV, 228.

The disciples, following the example of Jesus, embraced one another when greeting and departing. Further, Paul encouraged Christians to exchange "the kiss" of peace.[167] So too, Catholics were to express affection for others, especially enemies, the sick, and the distressed.[168] Indeed, the faithful were called to establish "loving society" with all, even expressing overflowing affection and goodwill:

> When we see our neighbor who is created in the image and likeness of God, should we not say: Well, look at this creature, does he not resemble the Creator? Should we not throw ourselves upon his face, to caress him and cry over him in love? Should we not bless him a thousand and a thousand more times?[169]

Conclusion

As early as 1591, Barbe Acarie and de Sales viewed the violence of the French Wars of Religion quite differently. Acarie, interpreting the strife in terms of cosmic combat between good and evil, deemed the period an "Age of Gold."[170] She hoped that violent purification would return France to pre-Protestant innocence. In sharp contrast, de Sales lamented the death and suffering, praying that God would take away the "terrors of war."[171] The differences in their perspectives grew steadily over time. In monasteries, parishes, and homes, Acarie and her colleagues trained a new generation to wage war on Protestants, sin, and nature with their militant theology. Before long, the Jansenist movement adopted strains of this militancy, further fracturing French Catholicism. Meanwhile, Catholics continued to demonize Huguenots, paving the way for the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, which legalized the brutal persecution of French Protestants.

Despite the role of Parisian *dévots* in promoting this religious militancy, scholarship and Catholic memory have praised them for sparking the renewal of French Catholic spirituality and culture. This interpretation, however, glosses over the sacralization of death, suffering, and violence in their theology. It also ignores the contemporary incisive critiques of this

167. *OEA*, IV, 52, VI, 61.
168. *OEA*, VI, 58, 438.
169. *OEA*, V, 205–06.
170. Barbara B. Diefendorf, "An Age of Gold? Parisian Women, the Holy League, and the Roots of Catholic Revival," in: *Changing Identities in Early Modern France*, ed. Michael Wolfe (Durham, 1997), 169–90, here 169.
171. *OEA*, XXII, 84. De Sales wrote this for a commencement address in 1591.

militant Catholicism, such as that of de Sales. Troubled by the assassinations of Henry III and Henry IV, as well as the era's wider bloodshed, he taught that the Catholic appetite for destruction could not be squared with the *douceur* of Christ. Drawing on Franciscan heritage, the bishop exhorted the faithful to a joyful, incarnational Catholicism embodied in unity, trust, and embrace. With his theology of nonviolence, de Sales prophetically called the Church to interior reform, discernment, and humility. Some in the "Century of Saints" responded to this call, but many more, it would seem, did not.

Blessed Ivan Merz, University Student in Postwar Paris, 1920–22

(Two formative years in the short life of the naturalized Croatian Blessed One)

ZDRAVKO MATIĆ AND FRANO STOJIĆ*

WITH INTRODUCTION BY STEPHEN SCHLOESSER

Exactly one hundred years ago, the layman Ivan Merz finished his studies at the Sorbonne and the Institut Catholique in Paris and returned to Zagreb. Especially interested in the Liturgy and Eucharistic Adoration, he had studied French literature but also promoted the Croatian issue within the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. He researched French Catholic associations and met numerous French writers and Catholic intellectuals. Upon his return home, he became the mastermind behind Catholic Action in Croatia, holding to the strict directions of Pope Pius XI. He died when he was just thirty-two years old, and was soon pronounced "the Pillar of the Church" in Croatia.

Keywords: Ivan Merz, student, Sorbonne, Paris, Catholic organizations.

Introduction[1]

On June 22, 2003, Pope John Paul II beatified the Servant of God Ivan Merz (1896–1928).[2] The beatification took place in Banja Luka,

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1. Introduction by Schloesser.

2. "IVAN MERZ (1896–1928)," The Holy See, https://www.vatican.va/news_services/liturgy/saints/ns_lit_doc_20030622_merz_en.htm, accessed July 26, 2022.

Bosnia and Herzegovina—Merz's birthplace and childhood home. The pope's opening remarks in his homily implicitly acknowledged the complex religious, ethnic, and cultural diversity of his audience in a country with three "constituent peoples" (Bosniaks, Serbs, and Croats), three official languages (Bosnian, Serbian and Croatian), and three predominant religions (Muslim, Orthodox Christian, and Catholic Christian). He greeted several constituencies: the Bishop of Banja Luka and other Roman Catholic bishops and clergy, Patriarch Pavle (Metropolitan of Belgrade and Karlovci) and other members of the Holy Synod of the Serbian Orthodox Church, other Christian "Ecclesial Communities" of Bosnia-Herzegovina, "members of the Jewish community and Islamic community," and, finally, "the Honorable Members of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina and all the other civil and military Authorities."[3]

2003 marked nearly ten years since the Croatian War of Independence (1991–1995), the Bosnian War (1992–1995)—including the Srebrenica genocide (1995)—and other Yugoslav Wars following Yugoslavia's dissolution at the Cold War's end. In his speech, the Pope evoked this violent past:

> From this city, marked in the course of history by so much suffering and bloodshed, I ask Almighty God to have mercy on the sins committed against humanity, human dignity and freedom also by children of the Catholic Church, and to foster in all the desire for mutual forgiveness. Only in a climate of true reconciliation will the memory of so many innocent victims and their sacrifice not be in vain, but encourage everyone to build new relationships of fraternity and understanding.[4]

He then invoked the importance of Merz's example for postwar reconstruction:

> The name of Ivan Merz has meant in the past a program of life and of activity *for an entire generation of young Catholics*. Today too it must do the same! Your country and your Church, dear young people, have experienced difficult times and now there is a need to work together so that *life on all levels will fully return to normal*. I therefore appeal to each of you; I

3. Pope John Paul II, "Homily for the Mass and Beatification of the Servant of God Ivan Merz," (homily, Banja Luka, Sunday, June 22, 2003, given during the Apostolic Voyage of His Holiness John Paul II to Bosnia and Herzegovina), https://www.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/homilies/2003/documents/hf_jp-ii_hom_20030622_banja-luka.html. Text altered for American usage.

4. Pope John Paul II, "Homily," ¶2.

> invite you not to step back, *not to yield to the temptation to become discouraged*, but to multiply initiatives which will make Bosnia-Herzegovina once more a land of reconciliation, encounter, and peace.[5]

Furthermore, quoting the book of Sirach, the pope expressed his desire that Merz's "memory will not disappear, and his name will live through all generations."[6]

A century after his untimely death in 1928, Merz's complex historical location makes him a suitable figure for the globalized world. He was born into a Bosnia and Herzegovina that had been occupied and later annexed by the Austro-Hungarian Empire. During the Great War, he served in the Empire's army on the Italian battlefront. After Austria-Hungary's defeat, Merz's homeland became part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (officially the "Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes" from 1918–1929) following the 1919 Paris Peace Conference that divided up the former empire.[7] Twenty years after Merz's death—and after yet another world war—the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1945–1992) was established as a Cold War Soviet satellite. Its dissolution would ignite the Yugoslav Wars preceding Merz's beatification in 2003.

However, the multicultural nature of Merz's life and work goes even deeper. After military service in the Great War, he migrated from post-imperial Vienna (1919–20) to Paris (1920–22) where he earned a degree in philosophy. He then took the main ideas of his thesis—"The Influence of liturgy on French writers"—and carried them back to the recently created Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. There he translated postwar French Catholic Revivalism to accommodate his native culture, establishing the "League of Young Croatian Catholics" and the "Croatian League of Eagles" within the Croatian Catholic Action Movement. Their motto reflected his French thesis on the liturgy: "Sacrifice Eucharist Apostolate."[8] This essay will explore Merz's formation in the postwar Parisian Catholic Revival.[9] Merz's cosmopolitan experience was shared by numerous other

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5. Pope John Paul II, "Homily," ¶5, emphasis original. Text altered for American usage.

6. Pope John Paul II, "Homily," ¶4, quoting Sirach 39:9.

7. See Margaret MacMillan, "Chapter 9: Yugoslavia," in: *Paris 1919: Six Months that Changed the World* (New York, 2003), 109–24.

8. See "IVAN MERZ (1896–1928)," The Holy See.

9. Stephen Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism: Mystic Modernism in Postwar Paris, 1919–1933* (Toronto, 2005).

figures during this transnational Catholic epoch.[10] The particularly Catholic arena was itself a microcosm of the much broader 1920s and 1930s context in which Paris—the capital city of the postwar French Empire—was an international crossroads, gathering people from across the globe.[11]

A reviewer of Edward Baring's recent study of the transnational Catholic network that fostered phenomenology notes that Baring's "globalist pluralist method founded on flux" assumes that "ideas, rather than being limited or static, speak across intellectual and cultural boundaries." As a result, "migration and mutation . . . enlarge our heritage. We are all of mixed blood now."[12] Ivan Merz's hybrid Croatian Catholic Revivalism, a migration and mutation of the *renouveau catholique* he encountered in postwar Paris, is one such story of "mixed blood," representative of both the 1920s and the 2020s.

Who was Ivan Merz?

Ivan Merz[13] was born on December 16, 1896, in Banja Luka, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and died on May 10, 1928, in Zagreb, Croatia. His

10. For recent studies, see: Brenna Moore, *Kindred Spirits: Friendship and Resistance at the Edges of Modern Catholicism* (Chicago, 2021); Edward Baring, *Converts to the Real: Catholicism and the Making of Continental Philosophy* (Cambridge, MA 2019); Piotr H. Kosicki, *Catholics on the Barricades: Poland, France, and "Revolution," 1891–1956* (New Haven, 2018).

11. See for example: Bekim Agai, Umar Ryad, and Mehdi Sajid, eds., *Muslims in Interwar Europe: A Transcultural Historical Perspective* (Leiden, 2016); Michael Goebel, *Anti-Imperial Metropolis: Interwar Paris and the Seeds of Third-World Nationalism* (Cambridge, UK, 2015); Jennifer Anne Boittin, *Colonial Metropolis: The Urban Grounds of Anti-Imperialism and Feminism in Interwar Paris* (Lincoln, 2010); Natalia Starostina, "On Nostalgia and Courage: Russian Émigré Experience in Interwar Paris through the Eyes of Nadezhda Teffi," *Diasporas: Circulations, migrations, histoire,* 22 (2013) https://journals.openedition.org/diasporas/213; Katherine Foshko, "France's Russian Moment: Russian Émigrés in Interwar Paris and French Society" (PhD diss., Yale University, 2008); Nadia Malinovich, "Between Universalism and Particularism: Discourses of Jewish Identity in France, 1920–32," *Historical Reflections / Réflexions Historiques,* 32, no. 1: Thematic Issue: "Shifting Boundaries, Rethinking Paradigms: The Significance of French Jewish History" (Spring, 2006), 143–63; Robert Harold Johnston, *New Mecca, New Babylon: Paris and the Russian exiles, 1920–1945* (Kingston, 1988).

12. Stephen Schloesser, "Edward Baring, *Converts to the Real: Catholicism and the Making of Continental Philosophy*" (review), *H-France Review,* 20, no. 213 (2020), 1–7, here 2, 6, https://h-france.net/vol20reviews/vol20no213schloesser.pdf. The term "mixed blood" alludes to Lucien Febvre and François Crouzet, *Nous sommes des sang-mêlés: Manuel d'histoire de la civilisation française*, eds. Denis Crouzet and Élisabeth Crouzet (Paris, 2012).

13. All the materials and documents regarding Bl. Ivan Merz were collected from archives in Paris, Vienna, Trnava (Slovakia), and Prague. Today, there is only one fonds (archival collection), named *OSOBNI DOKUMENTI BL. IVANA MERZA* (PERSONAL

Zoran Homen, *Blessed Ivan Merz,* 2003, created for the beatification of Ivan Merz. Produced with permission from the Postulation for Canonization of Blessed Ivan Merz. Original stored in the Basilica of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, Zagreb.

father Moritz (Mavro) was a German from Plzen in what is now the Czech Republic, an Austro-Hungarian military officer, and the chief of Banja Luka railway station. His mother, Teresa Stern-Mersch, was a Hungarian Jew. The two married in Budapest on January 12, 1896.[14]

Being brought up in a liberal environment, Ivan (born Hans) attended both elementary school and the Grand Royal (Velika Real) high school

DOCUMENTS OF BL. IVAN MERZ); see *Institut Catholique—Faculté des Lettres, 1921/22.,* Arhiv Bl. Ivana Merza, Filozofski fakultet Družbe Isusove, Jordanovac 110, Zagreb [The Archive of Ivan Merz, The Faculty of Philosophy of the Society of Jesus, Zagreb, Jordanovac 110], (hereafter referred to as AIM). Also, the Diary of Ivan Merz (hereafter DIM) is stored at the AIM. Accordingly, the Postulation of Bl. Ivan Merz, today the Postulation for Canonization of Bl. Ivan Merz, is also located in Zagreb, Jordanovac 110.

14. For more, see Zdravko Matić and Frano Stojić, "Moritz Merz, od Pilsena do Zagreba: Životni i ratni put jednog austrougarskog časnika" ["Moritz Merz, from Pilsen to Zagreb: Life and war time (of) one Austro-Hungarian officer"], *Historijski zbornik* [Historical Collection], 68, no. 1, (2015), 31–51.

(est. 1895) in Banja Luka. It was his professor, Ljubomir Maraković,[15] who first noticed his discernment and encouraged him to read literature and keep a diary. Ivan did indeed read a lot of classics, and also developed an interest in learning the Croatian, French, and German languages. When he was sixteen, he fell in love with a girl named Greta Teschner, but she tragically died in July 1913. During a visit to her parents in Travnik (Bosnia), she was raped by a Muslim man and afterwards took her own life.

This occurrence struck Ivan intensely, and he changed radically in the sense of consciousness and faith. He thought about Greta constantly. In 1915, following his parents' wishes, he began his military career at the Military Academy in Wiener Neustadt, Austria. Only three months later, he left and enrolled at the University of Vienna to study Law, this time at his mother's wish. However, in March 1916, Ivan was mobilized and sent to the Italian front. His war experiences in 1917 and 1918 profoundly contributed to his spiritual maturation. Suffering, devastation, and imminent danger brought him closer to God. Before the war he had coined, as his principle of life, the phrase "Goodness-Truth-Love," and the factual miseries of war enabled him to put this philosophy into practice.

After the war, Merz departed to Vienna to study literature, this time on his own desire. According to Msgr. Marin Škarica,[16] during the Holy Week of 1920, he participated in the liturgical spiritual exercises held by Fr. Wilhelm Schmidt, S.V.D. (1868–1954), a teacher of linguistics and

15. Dr. Ljubomir Maraković (1887–1959) was a Croatian writer, literary critic and Catholic activist, one of the founders of the Croatian Catholic Movement. He graduated from German and Slavic studies in Vienna. He was the first editor of the literary magazine *Luč* [Light] and a long-time editor of the magazine *Hrvatska prosvjeta* [Croatian enlightenment]. He had a strong spiritual and cultural influence on Ivan Merz. See *Hrvatski leksikon* [Croatian Lexicon], 2 vols. (Zagreb, 1996–1997, here 1997), II, s.v. "Maraković, Ljubomir."

16. Marin Škarica (1936–2011) was a professor and dean of theology in Split and the first to write a doctoral dissertation on Merz, entitled "Ivan Merz: The Beginner of the Liturgical Movement in Croatia" (PhD diss., the Pontifical Atheneum of St. Anselm, Rome, 1975). The second dissertation was from Božidar Nagy, S.J. (the postulator of Merz's cause in Zagreb), entitled "Ivan Merz, a Man of Faith and an Educator for the Faith" (PhD diss., the Faculty of Theology, Pontifical Salesian University, Rome, 1978). Three more dissertations about Merz were done in later years, see Zdravko Matić, "Ivan Merz and Catholic Action in Croatia" (PhD diss., University of Zagreb, 2005); Stjepan Ribić, "Faith and Reason in the Life and Thought of Ivan Merz" (PhD diss., Pontifical Urban University, Rome, 2007); and Saša Cerej, "Contribution of Dr. Merz and the Croatian League of Eagles to Croatian Culture, Especially Physical Culture" (PhD diss., University of Zagreb, 2013). More recently, see also Marija Lebedina, "Catholicism in French and Croatian Literature of the First Half of the Twentieth Century" (PhD diss., University of Zadar, 2017), https://repozitorij.unizd.hr/islandora/object/unizd:1000.

ethnology and founder of the Anthropos-institut (in 1906) at his missionary order's seminary in Wein-Mödling just outside Vienna. A love and enthusiasm for the liturgy awakened in him, and soon he moved to Paris in order to study French literature and prepare his doctoral dissertation: *The influence of liturgy on French writers from Chateaubriand to date*.

On his return to Zagreb in 1922, he became a French language lecturer at the newly-founded Archdiocesan Grand School (Nadbiskupska velika gimnazija, est. 1922) and the first president of the Croatian Catholic Youth Association. In 1923, he received his Ph.D. from the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Zagreb. With the help of prominent Catholic leaders, Dr. Merz established the Croatian League of Eagles (Hrvatski orlovski savez, H.O.S.), and introduced Catholic Action into Croatia. At the Croatian League of Eagles founding assembly, sixty associations joined, which were the core of future growth. Numerous youth and student societies were transformed into Eagles associations by changing their rules and accepting the Eagles' religious-upbringing, educational, and training systems and work methods. All of this, and especially the enthusiasm of the Eagles themselves, influenced the sudden increase in the number of associations, so that by the end of 1924, the Eagle movement had eighty-three associations. At the end of 1925, the Croatian League of Eagles had 122 associations, and by August 1926, the number had risen to 163 associations.[17]

Merz intensively urged for a non-partisan *Catholic Action* and for the de-politicization of the Croatian Catholic Movement. His most important contribution to the Catholic Church in Croatia is recognized in the field of liturgical renewal and Eucharistic life.

After only six short years back in his native land, Merz died of meningitis on May 10, 1928 at the age of thirty-one. Already widely regarded for his holiness, he was buried in Zagreb's renowned Mirogoj Cemetery (Groblje Mirogoj) in Zagreb. Thirty years later, a procedure was initiated in 1958 to proclaim Dr. Ivan Merz blessed. On December 16, 1977, Merz's remains were transferred to the Basilica of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in Zagreb, where he had received daily Holy Communion during the last six years of his life. On June 22, 2003, Pope John Paul II declared Dr. Ivan Merz a "Blessed" of the Catholic Church at a beatification ceremony in Merz's native Banja Luka.

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17. Zdravko Matić, "Ivan Merz, suutemeljitelj i idejni vođa hrvatskoga orlovstva" ["Ivan Merz, co-founder and ideological leader of the Croatian Eaglehood,"] *Croatica Christiana periodica,* 33 no. 63 (2009), 149–84, here 154, accessed October 16, 2022 https://hrcak.srce.hr/file/64062.

It is not known whether Ivan Merz ever personally met his contemporary, the future Croatian Archbishop Aloysius Stepinac.[18] Researchers agree that both belonged to the Croatian League of Eagles and were present on August 7, 1923, in Zagreb, at the assembly of the Croatian Catholic Youth Association, when the young professor Merz was elected president. Since the twenty-five-year-old Stepinac was present in the assembly, he would certainly have heard Merz's presentations (in the following year, he entered the Collegium Germanicum et Hungaricum in Rome as a seminarian studying for the priesthood). On the afternoon of June 25, 1934, six years after Ivan's death, Stepinac's first visit as the Coadjutor Archbishop (consecrated on June 24) was to visit Merz's sick mother.[19] Nearly a decade later, on May 9, 1943, Stepinac (now archbishop) preached a sermon on the fifteenth anniversary of Merz's death in the Cathedral church of St. Maria in Zagreb. The first public proposal for Merz's elevation soon followed. Stepinac's sermon, published in the magazine *Nedjelja* (Sunday), explicitly raised the topic of Merz's sanctity.[20]

Having concluded this brief overview of Merz's life, this paper now turns its focus back more particularly to his two profoundly transformative years in postwar Paris.

1920: Merz Departs for Postwar Paris

As noted above, Ljubomir Maraković, Merz's professor at the Grand Royal (Velika Real) high school in Banja Luka, was the first to have taken note of and encouraged Merz's gifts. In October 1920, almost exactly two years after the Armistice of November 1918 that ended the Great War, Merz acted on Maraković's encouragement and left for Paris. He was

18. Cardinal Stepinac and Pope Pius XII both advanced to high positions in the Church at a young age. In 1934, Pope Pius XI nominated the thirty-six year old Stepinac as the coadjutor archbishop of Zagreb. At that time he was the youngest bishop in the world. See Francis H. Eterovich, "Spiritual Portrait of Cardinal Stepinac," *Crown and Cross*, 14, no. 3 (September, 1962), 273–87, here 274–75. Eugenio Pacelli (Pius XII) was made bishop at age forty-one. See Ronald J. Rychlak, "Cardinal Stepinac, Pope Pius XII, and the Roman Catholic Church during the Second World War," *The Catholic Social Science Review,* 14 (2009), 367–83, here 367.

19. "Nadbiskup-koadjutor pohađa bolesnu majku dr. Ivana Merza" ["Archbishop-Coadjutor attends Dr. Ivan Merz's sick mother,"] *Nedjelja* [Sunday], no. 27, July 1, 1934, p. 6.

20. Ante Jerkov cited Stepinac's sermon "Ljudi kreposti i kršćanskog savršenstva usrećuju narode" ["People of virtue and Christian perfection make nations happy,"] in his article, "Zagreb je dostojno proslavio 15. obljetnicu smrti Dr. Ivana Merza" ["Zagreb decently celebrated the 15th anniversary of Dr. Ivan Merz's death,"] *Nedjelja* [Sunday], no. 11, May 23, 1943, pp. 1–5.

accompanied by two other future Croatian scholars, Gjuro Gračanin[21] and Juraj Šćetinac.[22] Thanks to the assistance of Fr. Miroslav Vanino, S.J.,[23] their Parisian studies were made financially possible by the Comité catholique des Amitiés françaises (Catholic Committee of French Friendships), also known as the Amitiés Catholiques Françaises dans le Monde (French Catholic Friendships in the World), still active today.[24] Beginning in 1921, the Amitiés Catholiques was the postwar successor to the wartime Comité catholique de propagande française (Catholic Committee of French Propaganda Abroad) founded in 1915 by Monsignor (later Cardinal) Alfred Baudrillart, rector of the Institut Catholique de Paris.[25] In

21. Đuro (Gjuro) Gračanin (1899–1973) began by studying law in Paris, but under Merz's influence he switched to philosophy in 1922, and in 1925 to pursuing his doctorate in theology studies at the Institut Catholique in Paris. After finishing his dissertation in 1929, he wrote his book, *La personnalité morale d'après Kant: Son exposé, sa critique à la lumière du Thomisme,* for which his now famous mentor, Jacques Maritain (1882–1973), a faculty member at the Institut Catholique since 1914, wrote the preface ([Mignard, Paris, 1929], 7–9, here 7). (For Maritain, see Schloesser, *Jazz Age* Catholicism, 80–81.) In 1954, Gračanin wrote an extensive account of philosophy and theology in Croatia for the International Theological Lexicon. See Đuro Gračanin, *Ozbiljnost nadnaravnog: Članci, eseji, studije* [The seriousness of the supernatural: Articles, essays, studies,] ed. Vladimir Lončarević, [Biblioteka Hrvatska katolička baština 20. stoljeća (Croatian Catholic Heritage Library of the Twentieth Century), 33], (Zagreb, 2018), xi–xii, 259–65.

22. Juraj Šćetinec (1898–1939) was a Croatian sociologist, Doctor of Law and Economics, and university professor. See *Hrvatska enciklopedija* [Croatian Encyclopedia], (Zagreb, 2007), s.v. "Šćetinec, Juraj."

23. In 1919, Fr. Miroslav Vanino (1879–1965) launched the newspaper *Život* [Life], later developed into the prominent *Hrvatska revija* [Croatian Review] for intellectuals. He collaborated on various magazines and published numerous articles and books, and his works were published and edited in Rudolf Koprek and Josip Rožmarić, eds., *Isusovci i hrvatski narod* [The Jesuits and the Croatian People], 2 vols. (Zagreb, 1969–1987).

24. Daniel J. Grange, "Les catholiques français et la coopération internationale durant le premier après-guerre: le Comité catholique des Amitiés françaises," *Relations internationales,* 72, no. 1 [Division et Unité de l'Europe] (Winter, 1992), 443–74.

25. Ironically (given Merz's Austro-Hungarian origins), the propaganda committee was originally founded to counter the impression that France was an "atheistic" anti-Catholic state and that Catholics abroad should cast their sympathies with the (Catholic) Austro-Hungarian Empire and its German ally. In 1922, Baudrillart continued his effort with the launch of the annual *French Catholic Almanac*, yet another publishing effort in service of the *renouveau catholique*. See Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism,* 80–81, 96–100, 127. Alfred Baudrillart (1859–1942) held numerous positions within the Catholic Church in France. Until 1883, he was a professor of Scripture at the École Normale Supérieure in Paris, at which time he moved to the Institut Catholique de Paris (where he was elected rector in 1907). In 1918, following his wide-ranging wartime campaign to rouse international support on behalf of France during the Great War, he was elected a member of the prestigious Académie Française. Soon after, he was consecrated a bishop in 1921, advanced as an archbishop in 1928, and made a Cardinal in 1935. Baudrillart wrote numerous scholarly works in the field

addition, Fr. Bruno Foretić, S.J.,[26] who was Merz's spiritual advisor, also tried to help Merz and his colleagues to get a scholarship. One learns from Maraković's letter to Merz that Maraković urged Fr. Vanino to contact a Mme. Maria de Springensfeld who was a close friend of Msgr. Baudrillart.[27] There are two references regarding Mme. Maria de Springensfeld's relation to Zagreb: one, in 1916, is a piece of correspondence in the Archdiocesan archive in Zagreb (Nadbiskupijski arhiv u Zagrebu); and a second, in 1932, when she visited Zagreb within the context of proposals to declare Thérèse of Lisieux a Doctor of the Church.[28] From the same letter (September 7) of Maraković to Merz, one also learns that Mme. de Springensfeld spoke of not only three scholarships for Croatians, but five.

From another of Maraković's letters to Merz, one also learns that he urged Fr. Foretić to speak to Mme. de Springensfeld in order to ask Msgr. Baudrillart for a scholarship. He knew that Springensfeld had unlimited trust in Fr. Foretić.[29] Ultimately, Fr. Vanino agreed with Baudrillart and Abbé Eugène Beaupin,[30] secretary of the Amitiés Catholiques, to provide scholarships for the three Croatian students. Fr. Vanino was glad that Merz would be going to Paris, and he wrote the following to Fr. Foretić:

> In my conversation with the young man, I realized that he understands what weight the victims bear, such weight which war demands from a soldier, especially from a Catholic soldier, who has to endure moral torment in an environment in which he is alienated from his church. When

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of theology. See *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 2nd ed., 14 vols. (Freiburg, 1957–68, here 1957), II, s.v. "Baudrillart, Alfred." See also Baudrillart, *Les carnets du cardinal Alfred Baudrillart,* ed. Paul Christophe, 9 vols. (Paris, 1996–2003).

26. Fr. Bruno Foretić, S.J. (1880–1945) studied philosophy and theology in Zagreb and Rome. As a priest, he dealt with pastoral work and was a spiritual leader of the Croatian League of Eagles. See *Hrvatski biografski leksikon* [Croatian Biographical Lexicon], 9 vols. (Zagreb, 1983–2021, here 1998), IV, s.v. "FORETIĆ, Bruno."

27. Maraković to Merz on September 7, 1920, stored in Zagreb, AIM; Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism*, 101.

28. Stjepan Razum, "Pisana ostavština Janka Barlèa" ["Written Legacy of Janko Barlè,"] in: *Sveta Cecilija* [Saint Cecilia], 3–4 (2020), 38–48, here 43, https://hrcak.srce.hr/file/364433, accessed October 15, 2022.

Paul Droulers, S.J., "Le Doctorat de Sainte Thèrése de Lisieux proposé en 1932," *Ephemerides Carmeliticae,* 24, no. 1 (1973), 86-129, here 114, https://www.teresianum.net/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/ECarm_24_1973-1_86-129.pdf, accessed October 15, 2022.

29. Maraković to Merz on September 7, 1920, stored in Zagreb, AIM.

30. As a great friend of the Croatians, Beaupin visited Croatia after Merz finished his studies and returned to Zagreb where Merz hosted him. When Merz passed away, Beaupin gave a beautiful testimony about him. See DIM, n.d., p. 414, stored in Zagreb, AIM. See also Msgr. Eugène Beaupin, "Yvan Merz," *Les Amitiés Catholiques Françaises,* June 15, 1928, pp. 2–5.

> I spoke to him in Vienna, I recall, as if through a mist, vividly in my mind as he cited a passage from the *Imitation of Christ* about the saving effects of Christian endurance.[31] Never before had I heard such words being spoken by a layman's mouth. In my heart, I say that I was so surprised at the time that I asked myself, not having known the holy young man well enough, is he just repeating what others have written. . . . I had a feeling as if someone suddenly burst into an unknown place. . . . Later I understood that this God-loving young man [had] reached a higher level of consciousness, to the level of Christian perfection in which the soul views everything from God's perspective and judges everything around itself in relation to the supernatural goal of man.[32]

When Merz found out about his chance to study in Paris, he was thrilled. On September 20, 1920, he obtained a passport which was valid for six months.[33] At that critical historical time, Croatia, having fought and been defeated with the Central Powers as a part of Austria-Hungary's empire, was considered one of the losers of the Great War. By contrast Serbia (having been allied with the Entente Powers and the now defunct Tsarist Russian Empire) had emerged a victor and considered itself the Liberator of the South Slavs. As Margaret MacMillan puts it:

> [As] Austria-Hungary stumbled from one military disaster to the next, its South Slavs turned, many with reluctance, toward independence. The Serbians, temporarily chastened by defeat and by the collapse of their great protector, Russia, were more receptive to the idea of a Yugoslav state. In exile in Corfu, Serb Pašić met with Croat Trumbić and, in July 1918, the two men agreed that Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, including those in Bosnia, whether Muslim or not, would be united into

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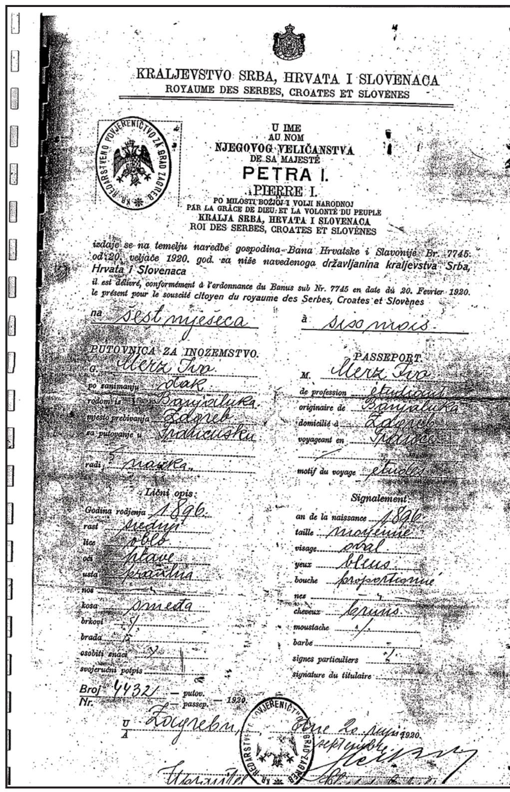
31. Thomas à Kempis, *De Imitatione Christi* (c. 1418–1427).

32. Vanino to Foretić on October 15, 1928, stored in Zagreb, AIM. Original text: "Iz razgovora sam razabrao da taj mladi čovjek osjeća težinu žrtava, što ih rat zahtjeva od vojnika, napose katoličkog vojnika, koji mora trpjeti moralne muke u okolini otuđenoj Crkvi. Dok sam razgovarao s njim u Beču sjećam se kao kroz maglu, živo mi je u pameti, kako je tom prigodom citirao jedan odlomak iz 'Nasljeduj Krista' o spasonosnim učincima kršćanskog trpljenja. Nisam dotad iz laičkih ustiju čuo onakovih riječi, izrečenih s onakvim akcentom. Po duši kažem, da sam u onaj mah bio tako iznenađen, da sam se upitao, ne poznavajući dotad dovoljno svetog mladića, je li to samo literatura. . . Imao sam osjećaj kao da je netko iznenada banuo u kraj posve tuđ. . . Kasnije sam, dakako, razumio da je bogoljubni mladić već tada stupao područjem vrhunaravnog shvaćanja i življenja, dok se napokon uspeo na onaj stepen kršćanskog savršenstva, na kojem duša sve oko sebe promatra u vidu Božjem i sve u sebi i oko sebe ocjenjuje po odnošaju svega prema vrhunaravskom cilju čovjekovom."

33. *Putovnica za inozemstvo, broj: 4432, Zagreb 20 rujna 1920* [International travel Passport. no.: 4432, September 20, 1920, Zagreb], issued by the Kraljevsko Redarstveno povjereništvo za grad Zagreb [Royal Police Trustees for City of Zagreb], stored in Zagreb, AIM.



KRALJEVSTVO SRBA, HRVATA I SLOVENACA
ROYAUME DES SERBES, CROATES ET SLOVÈNES

KR. REDARSTVENO POVJERENIČTVO ZA GRAD ZAGREB

U IME
AU NOM
NJEGOVOG VELIČANSTVA
DE SA MAJESTÉ
PETRA I.
PIERRE I.
PO MILOSTI BOŽJOJ I VOLJI NARODNOJ
PAR LA GRÂCE DE DIEU ET LA VOLONTÉ DU PEUPLE
KRALJA SRBA, HRVATA I SLOVENACA
ROI DES SERBES, CROATES ET SLOVÈNES

izdaje se na temelju naredbe gospodina Bana Hrvatske i Slavonije Br. 7745 od 20. veljače 1920. god. za niže navedenoga državljanina kraljevstva Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca

il est délivré, conformément à l'ordonnance du Banus sub Nr. 7745 en date du 20. Fevrier 1920. le présent pour le souscité citoyen du royaume des Serbes, Croates et Slovènes

na šest mjeseca à six mois

PUTOVNICA ZA INOZEMSTVO.		PASSEPORT.	
G.	Merz Ivo	M.	Merz Ivo
po zanimanju	đak	de profession	étudiant
rodom iz	Banjaluka	originaire de	Banjaluka
mjesto prebivanja	Zagreb	domicilié à	Zagreb
za putovanje u	Francusku	voyageant en	France
radi	nauka	motif du voyage	études
Lični opis:		Signalement:	
Godina rodjenja	1896	an de la naissance	1896
rast	srednji	taille	moyenne
lice	oblo	visage	oval
oči	plave	yeux	bleus
usta	pravilna	bouche	proportionné
nos		nez	
kosa	smeđa	cheveux	bruns
brkovi	/	moustache	/
brada	/	barbe	
osobiti znaci	/	signes particuliers	/
svojeručni potpis		signature du titulaire	

Broj / Nr. 4432 — putov. / passep. — 1920

U / A Zagrebu, dne 20. septembra 1920.

Putovnica za inozemstvo (Passeport) Merz Ivo (Ivan), in Zagreb, September 20, 1920. Reproduced with permission.

Yugoslavia, with the king of Serbia as ruler. Union with Serbia, whatever its drawbacks, seemed less frightening than independence as, at best, a country cobbled together from Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia and, at worst, two or three weak little states. Unwisely, the two sides put off discussing a constitution; the issue of federation (which the Croats and Slovenes wanted) or a unitary state (which of course Pašić wanted) was never settled. Trumbić can have had few illusions about how the Serbians saw the process of bringing together the different peoples.[34]

34. MacMillan, *Paris 1919*, 160. See also 158: "In 1919, when the question of appointing a leader for the delegation going to Paris came up, Prince Alexander of Serbia, who was acting as regent for his senile old father, insisted on Pašić, perhaps to keep him away from Belgrade. To his considerable annoyance, Pašić found that he had to share power with a Croat, Ante Trumbić, the new foreign minister."

More precisely, the constitution was discussed more than once, but hegemonistic Serbia was, as a victor of the war, the sole decision maker. For Merz's part, he had strongly opted for the Croats, especially following the assassination of the Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo, 1914. Merz had imagined the Archduke as a potential future democratizing force who could have brought egalitarian status to the Croats and Croatia.

The young Croatian scholars had uncomfortable experiences upon arriving in Paris. Some Serbian students accused them of being followers of the ill-fated Austrian Emperor Charles I (Hungarian King Charles IV) who reigned from November 1916 until the abolition of the Habsburg monarchy in November 1918.[35] Although the local diplomat wanted to send them back to their Croatian homeland, the attempt was rebuffed thanks to the efforts of Msgr. Baudrillart and Abbé Beaupin. At that time, Paris hosted over six hundred Serbian Orthodox students, who often verbally attacked their relatively few Croatian Catholic counterparts. The Croatian students were also required to put a lot of effort into looking for lodgings and found two short-term housing arrangements. On October 20, 1920, thanks to the efforts of Baudrillart, they were able to move into more stable accommodations for a shared cost of 410 francs.[36]

Merz's Spiritual and Religious Ripening

On December 1, 1920, Merz moved to the domicile of Mrs. J. Michaut, a woman who took care of Croatian students, at No. 1 rue Mayet in the 6th arrondissement, not far from the Jardin du Luxembourg.[37] His room charge was a much more reasonable sixty francs per month. Eight years later, from letters sent by Mrs. Michaut's daughter to Dr. Drago Ćepulić in the months following Merz's death, one can discover that she regarded Merz as an authentic Christian.[38] She wrote,

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35. On April 1, 1922, less than four years after the end of the monarchy, Charles died at age thirty-four of complications from pneumonia. Eight decades later, on October 3, 2004, Charles was beatified by Pope John Paul II and is now venerated as Blessed Karl of Austria. For the Vatican site dedicated to his beatification, see "CHARLES OF AUSTRIA (1887–1922)," The Holy See, https://www.vatican.va/news_services/liturgy/saints/ns_lit_doc_20041003_charles-austria_en.html, accessed October 18, 2022.

36. Merz to Maraković on St. Josaphat's Day (i.e. November 12), 1920, Paris, stored in Zagreb, AIM.

37. DIM, April 21, 1921, stored in Zagreb, AIM.

38. Drago Ćepulić (1893–1976) was an essayist and philosophical writer. See *Hrvatski biografski leksikon,* s.v. "Ćepulić, Drago"; and *Hrvatski leksikon,* s.v. "Znameniti i zaslužni Hrvati," and s.v. "Tko je tko u NDH."

> And I am delighted that you are amassing all these memories that are bound to his persona, because in Paris, in the eyes of everyone that knew him, he lived the life of a saint. . . . He had various fasts, endurances, and all his proceedings were done for the sole glory of the Lord himself. His example ascended to us who knew him for two years as we lived together continuously in our family's circle. And you may remember, Mr. Professor, how my mother scolded him at every meal about how little he ate. Every morning he attended the Mass and received communion, he could be found at the Chapelle des bénédictines on the rue Monsieur, where he went often, or at the Chapelle des Lazaristes on the rue de Sèvres. . . . We, poor sinners, could not comprehend his mortification, as he was so good and gentle to others (*lui si bon, si doux pour les autres*).[39]

Reflecting on Merz's membership in the Société de Saint-Vincent-de-Paul, an association that served the poor, elderly, sick, and helpless,[40] Mrs. Michaut also testified:

> He personally took care of a family, whom he often visited and gave a portion of his already small scholarship. On the larger feasts, in the mornings he would go visit his acquaintances, and would linger and pray with them at Holy Mass and Communion. He made great progress in his studies (completely deserved) but he never bragged about it, [and] we had to find out about his progress from other students. My poor mother was so pleased with him when he brought home his diploma which was folded in quarters. She was afraid that he would damage it, so she took it out and asked him why he folded it. She scolded him and said: If your mother saw what you did to your diploma, she would be displeased because for your parents it is a symbol of your hard work in Paris. And our dear Mr. Ivan replied: Oh, dear mother, this paper has no significance in the eyes of the dear Lord.[41]

For his part, Drago Ćepulić also confirmed these sentiments after Merz's death in the newspaper *Nedjelja* (Sunday): "The following words from

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39. Mrs. J. Michaut to Ćepulić on December 15, 1928, stored in Zagreb, AIM. For the chapels, see Louis Chaigne, *Les Bénédictines de la rue Monsieur: Histoire et vocation d'une chapelle* (Paris, 1950; revised edition, 1988); and Simone Zurawski, "The Chapelle des Lazaristes and Reliquary Shrine of St. Vincent de Paul, 1850 to 1860: An Exposé of Competing Aesthetic Schemes & Their Resolutions in the Alliance des Arts," *Vincentian Heritage Journal*, 36, no. 1 (2021), Article 4: https://via.library.depaul.edu/vhj/vol36/iss1/4/. The Benedictine chapel was especially renowned as a center for converts, both in the late nineteenth century and then again in the postwar period (gathered around Jacques and Raïssa Maritain). See Frédéric Gugelot, *La Conversion des intellectuels au catholicisme en France, 1885–1935*, preface by Étienne Fouilloux (Paris, 1998), esp. 56 ff.

40. Albert Foucault, *La Société de Saint-Vincent de Paul: Histoire de cent ans* (Paris, 1933).

41. Mrs. J. Michaut to Ćepulić on December 15, 1928, stored in Zagreb, AIM.

the Book of Wisdom may be applied to his life: *Consummatus in brevi explevit tempora multa* [Being perfected in a short time, they fulfilled long years] (Wisdom 4:13[42]). And this letter points out that Ivan was not an 'ordinary' Christian, but the Christian who strived for Christian perfection."[43]

At the Sorbonne, Merz registered to study the history of the French language, post-seventeenth-century French poetry, seventeenth-century German literature, ancient Illyrian literature, and a tractate about the French Renaissance masters, Clément Marot and François Rabelais.[44] In addition, he attended classes at the Institut Catholique de Paris where he attended French, Latin, and Greek literature lectures in the Faculté des Lettres.[45] He was pleased with his lecturers, and in a letter to Prof. Maraković he praised Fr. Thomas Mainage, O.P., Fr. Antonin-Gilbert (born Antonin-Dalmace) Sertillanges, O.P., Msgr. Alfred Baudrillart, Abbé Georges Bertrin, and the French linguist Abbé Pierre-Jean Rousselot, as extraordinary.[46] These lecturers facilitated his struggle for a deep piety, combining different liturgical traditions and exercises. They specifi-

42. Translation from New Revised Standard Version (NRSV).

43. Drago Ćepulić, "Uspomene na dra Iv. Merza" ["Remembrances of Dr. Ivan Merz"], *Nedjelja* [Sunday], no. 6, February 10, 1929, p. 2: "Dao Gospod, da nam bude, ako je moguće, sve jasnije, da se na njegov život mogu primijeniti riječi knjige Mudrosti: *Consummatus in brevi explevit tempora multa*. (Sap. 4:13). I ovo nas pismo upućuje na to da Ivan nije bio baš tako 'običan' kršćanin, kako smo ga mi nazivali savjetujući mu neka se stoga ostavi neobičnih napora u težnji za kršćanskim savršenstvom."

44. Année scolaire 1920–1921, Université de Paris, Livret Universitaire, de M: Ivan Merz, stored in Zagreb, AIM. For a contemporary postwar study, see Pierre Villey, *Marot et Rabelais* (Paris, 1923).

45. Immatriculations. Institut Catholique—Faculté des Lettres, (Paris, 1921/22), stored in Zagreb, AIM.

46. Merz to Maraković on St. Josaphat's Day, November 12, 1920, Paris, stored in Zagreb, AIM. These were all important figures in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century *renouveau catholique*. See for example: L'abbé Georges Bertrin, *Les grandes figures catholiques du temps present* (Paris, 1895); Thomas Mainage, O.P., *Les Témoins du renouveau catholique*, 6th ed. (Paris, 1919); Msgr. Alfred Baudrillart, "Pour que dure le renouveau catholique," *Revue apologétique: doctrine et faits religieux*, 35, no. 297 (1922), 193–203. In addition to his scholarly career as a philosopher, the Dominican A.-G. (born A.-D.) Sertillanges was also the director of the Dominican-sponsored Catholic Revivalist journal, *Revue des Jeunes: Organe de Pensée Catholique & Française d'Information & d'Action* [Review of the Youth: Organ of Catholic and French Thought, Information, and Action]. For name change after the Great War, see Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism*, 134, and see entries throughout Schloesser's text and endnotes for publications in the *Revue des Jeunes*. See also Agnes P. Breen, "Louis Bertrand sa contribution au Renouveau Catholique en France" (Ph.D. diss., Fordham University, 1932). Abbé Pierre-Jean Rousselot, professor of experimental phonetics at the Collège de France (Paris), was the publishing director of the *Revue de phonétique: organe international* from 1911 to 1922.

cally influenced him by elaborating and explaining the mystic side of human life.

Now that Merz was able to integrate artistic and aesthetic aspects into his understanding of the liturgy (one might even say his application and authentic living of the liturgy) and work only for Jesus Christ, he was able to forget earthly matters, and his evolution was finished. He was a quick learner and conceptual thinker. He easily divided and reviewed French authors through three categories: liturgical, anti-liturgical, and indifferent. His approach was influenced by the thought of Jacques Maritain who shrewdly constructed an ambiguously antimodernist ultramodernism.[47]

In 1922, Maritain summarized this stance in his book *Antimodern*, an early postwar work framed in remembrance of his boyhood friend Ernest Psichari, killed in the opening days of the Great War.[48] Maritain's combative manifesto read in part:

> That which I call here *anti-modern* might just as well be called *ultramodern*. It is well known, in fact, that Catholicism is as *anti-modern* on

47. Jacques Maritain (1882–1973) converted to Catholicism in 1906 and wrote more than fifty books. See Jean-Luc Barré, Jacques and Raïssa Maritain, *Beggars for Heaven,* trans. Bernard E. Doering (Notre Dame, IN, 2005); and Bernard E. Doering, *Jacques Maritain and the French Catholic Intellectuals* (Notre Dame, IN, 1983). In the 1930s, two of Maritain's books received Croatian translations: *Religija i kultura* [Religion and Culture] in 1935, and *Anđeoski naučitelj: Život i misao Sv. Tome Akvinskog* [The Angelic Doctor: The Life and Thought of Saint Thomas Aquinas] in 1936. The latter incited vehement polemics on whether Thomism was the only true Catholic philosophical worldview between the Dominican Hijacint Bošković and Franciscan Karlo Balić. Their dispute overshadowed all other research of Maritain's philosophy and some valuable contributions, especially in the works of Đuro Gračanin (who was his doctoral student), Stjepan Zimmermann, Dušan Žanko, and Bogdan Radica. See Ivan Čulo, "Recepcija Jacquesa Maritaina u Hrvatskoj tijekom 20. stoljeća" ["The Reception of Jacques Maritain in Croatia during the Twentieth Century"], *Prilozi za istraživanje hrvatske filozofske baštine* [Contributions to the research of Croatian philosophical heritage], 43. no. 1 (2017), 89–279.

48. Jacques Maritain, *Antimoderne* (Paris, 1922). Stephen Schloesser notes: "The book's entire message—its opening manifesto, the patient laying out of hylomorphic theory, and its call to synthesize Catholicism and secular culture—was inscribed within this larger story of sacrifice and the moral imperatives incumbent on the survivors. Maritain wove his reconfiguration of Catholicism within a larger narrative of trauma and memorialization." Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism*, 162–72, here 171; cf. 109. Ernest Psichari (1883–1914) was the grandson of Ernest Renan (1823–1892), a towering figure in French intellectual life and especially notable for his *Life of Jesus* (1863). Psichari became a popular writer and soldier whose works combine militaristic sentiments with a semi-mystical religious devotion. On August 22, 1914, he was killed in the opening weeks of the Great War. See Schloesser, 73–77; cf. 84–85, 87, 89–90, 109, 171, 237–38.

> account of its immoveable attachment to the tradition as it is *ultramodern* on account of its bold ability to adapt itself to the new conditions erupting suddenly in the life of the world. [49]

These kinds of authors prevailed at Institut Catholique, while the Third French Republic's laicist Sorbonne opted for natural scientists. As a consequence, the Institut produced many converts to Catholicism.[50] The reception of Maritain's thought in Croatia may be traced from the beginning of the 1920s. The Croatian professor of apologetics and dogmatics, Msgr. Dr. Matija Petlić (1899–1963), introduced Maritain in 1921 as a major and important Catholic philosopher. Simultaneously in Paris, Merz was studying quite seriously Maritain's thought in his newly-published *Éléments de philosophie* (1921).[51] Philosophical reception of Maritain in Croatia gained prominence in the 1930s when, as a leading neo-Thomist and one of the distinguished figures of the personalist movement, he was recognized as a "Catholic leader in philosophical ideas," "the most prominent exponent of Christian philosophy," "foremost philosopher and convert," "philosophical authority," "[the] famous French philosopher," and so forth, mainly by the Catholic journals *Nova revija* [New Review], *Život* [Life], *Vrhbosna* ["Peak-Bosnia"] (published in Sarajevo), *Luč* [Light], and *Duhovni život* [Spiritual Life].

Merz cherished the Catholic intellectual atmosphere and was pleased with his studies. He wrote to his father Mavro,

> In France, the Catholic spirit of the ages is lively, which is completely different from Germany. In addition to a multitude of splendid gothic churches from the XII and XIII centuries and the great literary works of the XVII century, what the church is experiencing in France today is a triumph. Most modern French thinkers and writers are convinced Catholics which we, for example, do not seem to take notice of. . . .[52]

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49. Maritain, *Antimoderne* (1922), quoted in Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism*, 163, emphasis original. See also Brooke Williams Smith, *Jacques Maritain, Antimodern or Ultramodern? An Historical Analysis of His Critics, His Thought, and His Life* (New York, 1976).

50. As Léon Gambetta famously said of the new Third Republic, "What we propose to do is to apply positivism in the political order." See Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism*, 26. For this standard rhetoric of opposition during the war, see Schloesser, 90–91.

51. Jacques Maritain, *Éléments de philosophie. I. Introduction générale à la philosophie* (Paris, 1921).

52. Merz to his father Mavro on January 16, 1921, stored in Zagreb, AIM. Original text: "U Francuskoj katolički duh vjekovima živo djeluje, posve drugačije, nego u Njemačkoj. Osim mnoštva divnih gotskih crkvi iz XII. i XIII. vijeka i krasnih literarnih djela iz XVII. vijeka doživljava crkva u današnjoj Francuskoj svoje triumfe. Tako su nam npr. najveći moderni francuski mislioci i pisci uvjereni katolici, što kod nas npr. ne zapažamo."

A few days later, on January 20, 1921, he received his father's answer, which delighted him. He wrote in his diary, "My prayers to the Sacred Heart of Jesus have been answered. Dad confessed again after twenty years and received Holy Communion. The supernatural element converted him. Grace. Mom is still in care. The Heart of Jesus, help!" Seven years later when he was seriously ill, his mother converted only through his suffering leading up to an unsuccessful surgery. Before he died, he was happy to write down that his mother had learned the rosary easily and was able to pray "hundreds of *Our Fathers* and *Hail Mary's*."[53]

Delighted with French Christian Culture

In the postwar 1920's, Paris became a European center of international culture, with numerous artistic productions and entertainment sensations. This period lasted until 1929 and was referred to as was referred to as *Les Années folles* (The Crazy Years). American influence was particularly strong due to the presence of expatriates after the war—especially African Americans—and Parisians began to enjoy new customs of entertainment: shows, musicals, concerts, jazz, salon events, new forms of ballets, dances, and so on.[54] Merz came into that vibrant atmosphere as a young Catholic intellectual, strongly interested in French Catholic literature, arts, and traditions.

At that time Catholic intellectual life in Paris sensed a new dimension of spirituality or the supernatural, due to various wartime events connecting the material (physical) and the mystical. Those conditions provided transformative experiences to many thinkers looking for the truth or absolute reality.[55] Merz, too, was a seeker and cared more for

53. DIA, February 13, 1928.

54. See for example: Brooke Lindy Blower, *Becoming Americans in Paris: Transatlantic Politics and Culture Between the World Wars* (New York, 2011); Jennifer Anne Boittin, *Colonial Metropolis: The Urban Grounds of Anti-imperialism and Feminism in Interwar Paris* (Lincoln, NE, 2010); Jeffrey H. Jackson, *Making Jazz French: Music and Modern Life in Interwar Paris* (Durham, 2003); William Alfred Shack, *Harlem in Montmartre: A Paris Jazz Story Between the Great Wars* (Berkeley, 2001); Jody Blake, *Le Tumulte noir: Modernist Art and Popular Entertainment in Jazz-Age Paris, 1900–1930* (University Park, PA, 1999); Tyler Stovall, *Paris Noir: African Americans in the City of Light* (Boston, 1996).

55. For the postwar "génération mystique," see Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism*, 116–19; and Schloesser, "1918–1968–2018: A Tissue of Laws and Choices and Chance," *Theological Studies,* 79, no. 3 (2018), 487–519, esp. 500–06. Cf. Katherine Davies and Toby Garfitt, eds., *God's Mirror: Renewal and Engagement in French Catholic Intellectual Culture in the Mid-twentieth Century* (New York, 2015); Brenna Moore, *Sacred Dread: Raïssa Maritain, the Allure of Suffering, and the French Catholic Revival (1905–1944)* (Notre Dame, IN, 2013); and Moore, *Kindred Spirits*, cited above.

learning and the libraries than for the many amusements 1920s Paris had to offer. On one occasion he wrote to Maraković, "Due to a very pleasant library, it is more comfortable to study at [the] Institut Catholique than at [the] Sorbonne."[56] He became thoroughly familiar with French modern literature thanks to these libraries, and most especially with the works of Paul Claudel, which attracted him the most.[57] Claudel was a towering figure and perhaps the greatest French Catholic poet of the twentieth century, and Merz soon integrated his poems in his own contemplations. During Lent of 1921, Merz translated Claudel's famous *Le chemin de la croix* (Way of the Cross) and chronicled this in his Parisian Diary on April 23, 1921.[58] Merz published this translation the following year, during Lent, in the Croatian Jesuit magazine *Život* (Life).[59] Merz also experienced Gregorian melodies in Paris and came to consider them keys to liturgical renewal.[60]

In July 1921, Merz, Gračanin, and Šćetinec traveled via Bordeaux and Toulouse to Lourdes, where Merz wanted to pray to Our Lady of Lourdes to help heal his ailing eyes. He prayed wholeheartedly for his vision to improve, and, on December 17, 1921, he noted this prayer in his diary: "Jesus Christ, I am asking you to heal my eyes."[61] In Toulouse, on July 27–30, 1921, he attended the thirteenth annual session of the

56. Merz to Maraković on St. Josaphat's Day, November 12, 1920, Paris, stored in Zagreb, AIM. Original: "Radi vrlo zgodne biblioteke, ugodnije je studirati na Katoličkom institutu, nego li na Sorboni."

57. For Claudel, see Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism*, 37, 117, 132, 134, 178, 182, and 379n20.

58. Paul Claudel, *Le chemin de la croix*, ill. Jean Marchand (Paris, 1918). First published in 1911, the book went through several editions including in 1914 and 1918 (during the Great War), especially in this 1918 edition with wood engraved illustrations by Jean Marchand.

59. *Le Chemin de la Croix par Paul Claudel*, Avec des bois gravés au canif par Jean Marchand (Paris, 1918), translated by Ivan Merz in "Paul Claudel: Križni put" ["Paul Claudel: Way of the Cross"], *Život* [Life], no. 7, April 1922, 109–16, https://hrcak.srce.hr/file/91958, accessed October 14, 2022.

60. For the postwar plainchant (Gregorian Chant) revival at Solesmes (the return of the exiled monks from their 1901 exile in England was completed in 1922), Paris, and in the French Empire abroad, see Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism*, 299–303. See also Patrick Hala, *Solesmes et les musiciens. Vol. 2: Les années 20: Claude Debussy, Erik Satie, André Caplet, Yvonne Gouverné, Roland-Manuel, André Gedalge, Louis Maingueneau, Gustave Doret* (Solesmes, 2020); Halas, ed., *Des moines dans la Grande Guerre: Solesmes, 1914-1918: Correspondence de guerre inédite* (Solesmes, 2014); and Louis Soltner, *L'abbaye de Solesmes au temps des expulsions (1880–1901)* (Solesmes, 2005).

61. DIM, December 17, 1921, p. 434, stored in Zagreb, AIM. Original: "Isuse Kriste, molim Te, da ozdraviš moje oči."

"Semaines Sociales de France" (Social Weeks of France) movement.[62] An audience of several hundred from various academic fields attended the congress and a lively debate about injustice in economic relations took place.[63] The speakers included the prominent intellectuals Eugéne Duthoit,[64] Georges Goyau,[65] Georges-Ceslas Rutten,[66] and Max Turmann.[67] Merz noted a great Christian willpower to assist the government in solving the social problems which burdened France. Long and metic-

62. For the Semaines Sociales within the international context of Catholic Action, see Schloesser, "1918–1968–2018," 506–08. For a contemporary account see Jean Terrel, *Les Semaines sociales* (Paris, 1923). For a centennial overview, see Jean-Dominique Durand, ed., *Les Semaines sociales de France: cent ans d'engagement social des catholiques français, 1904–2004: actes du Colloque international d'histoire, 13–16 octobre 2004, [tenu à l'] Université Jean-Moulin-Lyon 3* (Paris, 2006).

63. The theme for the 1921 assembly was "L'injustice dans les relations économiques" [Injustice in Economic Relations]. Themes of all ninety-five annual sessions (from 1904 to 2021) are listed on the website of the Semaines Sociales de France, see: "L'historique des sessions des Semaines sociales de France," Semaines Sociales de France, accessed October 18, 2022, https://www.ssf-fr.org/page/379098-historique-des-sessions

64. Eugéne Duthoit (1869–1944) was a French jurist, Dean of the Law Faculty at the Université catholique de Lille, co-founder of the École des sciences sociales et politiques (in 1894), and president of the Semaines Sociales de France from 1914–1945. See Pierre-Yves Verkindt, "L'Engagement d'un Professeur: La Question Sociale chez Eugène Duthoit, Doyen de la Faculté Libre de Droit de Lille," *Revue d'histoire des facultés de droit et de la science juridique,* 22 (2002), 109-32, https://univ-droit.fr/docs/recherche/rhfd/pdf/022-2002/22-2002_p109-132.pdf, accessed January 29, 2022.

65. Georges Goyau (1869–1939), ecclesiastical historian. After studying at the Lycée Louis le Grand and the École normale, he received his university degree in history and was sent to the École française in Rome for further studies. During World War I, he served in the Red Cross as his physique was too frail for combat duty. From 1927–1938 he was the professor of mission history at the Institut Catholique de Paris. He served the Roman Congregation of Rites as a consultant in historical matters. For more, see Encyclopedia.com, s.v. "Goyau, Georges," accessed January 28, 2022, https://www.encyclopedia.com/religion/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/goyau-georges; and Stephen Schloesser, Review of Jérôme Grondeux's *Georges Goyau (1869–1939): Un intellectuel catholique sous la IIIe République* [Collection de l'École Française de Rome, 38] (Rome, 2007), in *The Catholic Historical Review*, 96, no. 1 (2010), 156–57.

66. Georges-Ceslas Rutten (1875–1952, a Dominican from 1890 onwards) was Director of the General Secretariat for Social Works, Senator of Brabant Province, Belgium, and Doctor in political and social sciences. He earned his doctorate at Louvain in 1900. See Bibliothèque Nationale de France Catalogue Général, Notice de personne, s.v. "Rutten, Ceslas (1875–1952) nom en religion forme internationale," Record ID: ark:/12148/cb124518238, https://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb124518238, accessed October 18, 2022.

67. Max Turmann (1866–1943) was a Catholic sociologist and academic educated at the École normale supérieure. From 1919 to 1923, he collaborated with the magazine *Le Correspondant*. For more, see Bibliothèque Nationale de France Data, s.v. "Max Turmann (1866–1943)," accessed January 29, 2022, Permalink ID: https://data.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb13475861b.

ulous discussions were held, exploring causes of social injustice and creating platforms for shared activities.

Rutten's lecture especially moved him, due to his plea to pay more attention to the labor force. He argued that a worker could be won over only with the help of other workers. Therefore, the duty of every priest was to raise a number of workers, who would then continue to spread the Christian social ideas among their peers. Rutten pushed for a *Presse catholique ouvrière, journalière et indépendante,* arguing that the worker would not believe the Catholic press if it came from the *bourgeoisie*. Merz recorded Rutten's thought that "only a worker would know how to hit other *workers' tones*."[68]

The goal of the conference was not only to send a clear message to the French government on how to solve the accumulated problems, but also on how to address injustice towards the poorest in France.[69] Merz was delighted by the discipline, personal organization, involvement, and hard work of all the participants. Further, he recorded that, "The meals in the garden of the Institut Catholique are especially interesting, where alongside long tables participate hundreds of clergy, male and female laity. Thus, the Semaine Sociale takes on [the] character of a traveling University."[70]

A decade later, Gračanin, in his *Memories of Dr. Ivan Merz* (1933), specified: "Ivan incredibly quickly penetrated to the strongest intellectual circles of Paris where he swiftly met with a wide range of writers and other intellectuals. In a short period of time he learnt about a large number of French Catholic organizations. . . . [In] one day, he would visit ten or more such personalities."[71] Dr. Ćepulić expressed similar memories:

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68. DIM, July 27, 1921, p. 420, stored in Zagreb, AIM. Original: "Jedino radnik zna pogoditi radnički ton."

69. These were central themes for the Semaines Sociales de France in the 1920s. See for example: Eugène Duthoit, *Vie économique et catholicisme. Leçons d'ouverture des semaines sociales de France. 1919–1924. Sources, principes et méthode. Le Problème de la production. L'Injustice dans la vie économique. Comment adapter l'État à ses fonctions économiques. Le Problème de population. Le Problème agraire* (Paris, 1924); Duthoit, *La Crise d'autorité: Les Symptômes. Les Causes. La Recherche des solutions. Leçon d'ouverture à la Semaine sociale de Lyon* (Saint-Amand, Cher, 1925); and Duthoit, *Comment aménager la cité française? Un plan de réformes politiques* (Paris, 1926).

70. DIM, July 27, 1921, p. 420, stored in Zagreb, AIM. Original: "Zanimljivi su objedi u vrtu katoličkog Instituta, gdje sudjeluje uz dugačke stolove više stotina muškog i ženskog svećeničkog i laičkog svijeta. *Semaine sociale* poprima karakter putujućeg Sveučilišta."

71. Đuro Gračanin, "Moje uspomene na ličnost dr. Ivana Merza" ["My Remembrances of the Personality of Dr. I. Merz"], *Katolički tjednik* [Catholic Weekly], no. 25, June 18, 1933,

> Merz was a man who judged everything according to papal decrees. Whoever did not understand it in that way would show that he was no psychologist and did not know him. He was fighting for a pure Catholic Action, independent of any political contaminations[,] and he remained exactly the same as [when] I met him in 1921 on the way from Notre Dame de Lorette in France.[72]

During the celebration of the Association catholique de la Jeunesse Française (The Catholic Association of French Youth), Merz was thrilled to hear Msgr. Baudrillart's speech about Eastern and Western civilizations.[73] It broadened his horizons of the Catholic activities from the Church to all aspects of human life, and he felt the need for public life overall to be inaugurated and permeated by Jesus Christ. He also attended Abbé Beaupin's lectures about patronages[74] at the Catholic Institute. Most likely, it was there that he picked up the fabric of spirituality and coined his own term "harmony of souls." As he envisioned it, patronage

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p. 7: "Ivan je nevjerojatno brzo prodro u najjače intelektualne krugove Pariza, on se brzo upoznao s čitavim nizom književnika i drugih umnih radnika. On je u kratko vrijeme proučio velik broj francuskih katoličkih organizacija. . . . u jednom bi danu znao posjetiti po deset i više takovih ličnosti."

72. Drago Ćepulić, "Uspomene na dra Iv. Merza" ["Remembrances of Dr. Ivan Merz"], *Nedjelja* [Sunday], no. 5, February 3, 1929, p. 2: "Merz je u prvom redu bio čovjek, koji je prosuđivao sve po papinskim odredbama. Tko to ne bi tako shvatio, pokazao bi, da nije nikakav psiholog i da nije njega poznavao. On je boreći se za čistu Katoličku Akciju, nezavisnu od svih političkih natruha, ostao isti, onakav kakav sam ga upoznao godine 1921. putem iz Notre Dame de Lorette u Francuskoj." For Catholic Action, see Schloesser, "1918–1968–2018," 506–10.

73. The Association catholique de la jeunesse française (ACJF) was founded in 1886. See David Colon, "Les jésuites et la Jeunesse catholique en France dans l'entre-deux-guerres," *Histoire@Politique,* 4, no. 1 (2008), 7–7 https://doi.org/10.3917/hp.004.0007. Yves-Marie Hilaire, "L'Association catholique de la Jeunesse française: les étapes d'une histoire (1886–1956)," *Revue du Nord,* 66, nos. 261–62, [Liber Amoricum: Mélanges offerts à Louis Trenard] (Apr.–Sept., 1984): 903–16; and Charles Molette, *L'ACJF (1886–1907): une prise de conscience du laïcat catholique* (Paris, 1968). See also Susan B. Whitney, *Mobilizing Youth: Communists and Catholics in Interwar France* (Durham, 2009).

74. These patronages were educational associations where young people made a vow for the continuity of charitable actions. The cornerstones of the patronages were laid after the French Revolution when two priests, Louis Lallemand, S.J. in Marseille and Guillaume Chaminade, S.M. (1761–1850, beatified 2000) in Bordeaux, dressed like coppersmiths (*chaudronniers*), brought together young people with the aim to educate them properly. For reference with regard to Lallemand and Chaminade, see: Alois Greiler, S.M., *Jean-Claude Colin (1790–1875): Founder of the Society of Mary (Fondateur de la Société de Marie): Descriptive chronology of his life: Chronologie descriptive de sa vie* (CSC Grafica Roma, 2014), https://www.maristsm.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/CHRONOLOGY-FINAL.pdf, accessed October 16, 2022.

encompassed a careful development of the mystic side of young people through more stages, including close association with Frédéric Ozanam and the Vincentian brothers, in order to advocate for love and acts of mercy.[75] This type of order pledged continuity in serving the poor, and Merz considered it to be a guideline for his future plan of action. Therefore he concluded:

> The secret to the patronage's success was the spiritual exercises, so called *exercitia spiritualia,* and of tremendous benefit were *exercitia* of the schoolboys between twelve and fourteen. I was monitoring the effects of the spiritual exercises on each *young soul* and their personal feedback after intrinsic concentration. The patronages resulted in religious and moral upbringing of the young men, now ready for a concrete professional education.[76]

After Claudel's initial impact, Merz was most inspired next by Maritain because his philosophy offered what he had been looking for: the centrality of the Church, liturgy, and spirituality. He was envisioning the role of the layperson in bringing Christian society into the type of life that is lived through contemplation.[77] This stand is visible in Merz's articles published from 1922 to 1925 in *Katolički list* (Catholic Paper), *Posestrimstvo* (Sisterhood), *Luč* (Light), *Život* (Life), and *Hrvatska prosvjeta* (Croatian enlightenment). The writings of the late Charles Péguy, who had been killed in the opening weeks of the Great War and came to be commemorated as a martyr, also influenced Merz with his deep spiritual and patriotic

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75. In 1833, the twenty-year-old Antoine-Frédéric Ozanam (1813–1853), later a literary scholar, journalist, and lawyer, co-founded the Conference of Charity, later the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul, with fellow students. He was beatified by Pope John Paul II on August 22, 1997. Gérard Cholvy, *Frédéric Ozanam, l'Engagement d'un intellectuel catholique au XIXe siècle* (Paris, 2004). See also Foucault, *La Société de Saint-Vincent de Paul,* cited above. As noted above, Merz was a frequent visitor to the reliquary shrine of St. Vincent de Paul in the Chapelle des Lazaristes on the rue de Sèvres. ("Lazarist" is an alternative name for the Vincentian "Congregation of the Mission" [C.M.]).

76. DIM, January 28, 1921, p. 414, stored in Zagreb, AIM.

77. During the time of Merz's sojourn in Paris, Jacques had just achieved fame with *Art and Scholasticism*—significantly indebted to his wife Raïssa—which was published in 1920 directly after the Great War and would go through several revised editions in 1927, 1935, 1947, and 1965. Five years later, the same press published the Maritains' co-written book on contemplation which would also go through revised French editions (in 1933 and 1947) and which was published in 1928 in both English and German translations. See Jacques Maritain, *Art et scolastique* (Paris, 1920); and Jacques and Raïssa Maritain, *De la vie d'oraison* (Paris, 1925). See also Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism*, 119–23, 141–62; and Schloesser, "1918–1968–2018," 504.

teaching.[78] Surprisingly, Merz was also inspired by the works of revolutionary syndicalist Georges Sorel (who died during Merz's second year in Paris).[79] Sorel, a contradictory mixture of Marxism, integral nationalism, and anarchism, is best known for his *Réflexions sur la violence: Les illusions du progrès* (Reflections on Violence: The Illusions of Progress, 1908). He had also been an unlikely onetime collaborator with Péguy at the bimonthly review *Cahiers de la Quinzaine* (Fortnightly Notebooks), and in 1903, he had published *La crise de la pensée catholique* (The Crisis of Catholic Thought). Merz believed that Sorel had helped him recognize social issues and moral borders. Finally, another deceased icon of Catholic revivalism, the writer Léon Bloy,[80] influenced Merz by elaborating the sense of suffering and detecting the motives for conversion.

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78. For Péguy, see Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism*, 37, 75, 75–77, 84–85, 84–85, 88–89, 95, and 135. "In the middle of the war, when victory seemed a distant possibility, Henri Massis tried to make sense out of the horror in *The Sacrifice, 1914–1916* (1917). In this work, Massis's entry dated 8 September 1914 reflected on the recent deaths of [Charles] Péguy, Alain-Fournier, and his dear friend [Ernest] Psichari: "There are few generations who entered into life with such a feeling of renunciation, of humility. [This generation] knew far in advance and for what reason it was born: and thus the sense of these words that one of us said one day: 'We are, he said, a sacrificed generation.'" Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism,* 88.

79. Georges Eugène Sorel (1847–1922) was a French socialist and revolutionary syndicalist who developed an original and provocative theory on the positive, even creative, role of myth and violence in the historical process. See *Encyclopaedia Britannica Online,* s.v. "Georges Sorel," last modified October 29, 2021, accessed January 30, 2022, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Georges-Sorel. The vice president of the Sociological Association in Zagreb, Dr. Ivo Pilar, regarded Sorel as a spiritual father of fascism and bolshevism during his lecture that took place at the same society on February 27, 1930. (See also the Croatian article by Ivo Pilar, "Georges Sorel, francuski socijalni filozof, duhovni otac fašizma i boljševizma" ["Georges Sorel, French social philosopher, spiritual father of fascism and Bolshevism"], *PILAR—Časopis za društvene i humanističke studije* [PILAR—Journal of Social and Humanistic Studies], 10, no. 2 (2010), https://hrcak.srce.hr/file/97379, accessed January 30, 2022.)

80. Léon Bloy (1846–1917) was a French novelist, critic, and polemicist, a fervent Roman Catholic convert who preached spiritual revival through suffering and poverty. As spiritual mentor to a group of friends that included the writer Joris-Karl Huysmans, philosopher Jacques Maritain, and painter Georges Rouault, Bloy influenced their reconciliation with the Roman Catholic Church. Bloy's works are extremely varied in form (novels, pamphlets, journals, and exegeses), but they reveal a powerful unity of thought: through pain and destitution, humanity is redeemed by the Holy Spirit and is awakened to the hidden language of the universe. See Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism*, 37, 65–69, 79–80, 119, 135, 217–19, 224–25, 236, 238, 246, 272, 292, 310, 405–06n39; and Schloesser, "Revelation in History: Displaced Persons, Léon Bloy, and Exegesis of the Commonplace," in: *Revelation and Convergence: Flannery O'Connor and the Catholic Intellectual Tradition*, eds. Mark Bosco and Brent Little (Washington, DC, 2017), 10–50. See also *Encyclopaedia Britannica Online,* s.v. "Léon Bloy," last modified May 19, 2017, accessed January 30, 2022, https://www.britannica.com/art/diary-literature.

Visiting the French Catholic Organizations

In January 1921, Merz visited Mr. Gaëtan Bernoville,[81] the editor of the journal *Les Lettres,* and explained his attitude regarding the Catholic International.[82] According to Merz, "the purpose of this organization is twofold: to raise awareness of Catholic universalism in the disciples of the whole world and to cooperate in joint cultural work and the fight against [a] common adversary. Communist and socialist students have already organized themselves internationally and they will try to pass their reform plans at all international congresses."[83] Whenever he could, he attended the lectures organized by *Les Lettres*, a journal with the ambition to popularize Christianity and intrigue people through contemporary lectures. At the beginning of 1921, Bernoville proposed the organization of a Semaine des Écrivains Catholiques (Catholic Writers' Week) and formed the eighteen-member committee, engaging Maritain to spearhead the project.[84] The first annual Writers' Week took place in mid-May 1921 and, in Bernoville's words, the gathering aimed at unifying "a certain number of writers who represented the new Catholic intellectual generation."[85] The rector of the Institut Catholique, Baudrillart, supported the event and gave his annual sermon for the traditional Mass of the Holy Spirit. Alluding to the Spirit's arrival at Pentecost in the form of tongues of fire, he entitled his sermon "So that the *renouveau catholique* might endure: The Sacred Fire!" Saying that it was not necessary "to abandon our temperament"—that is, the "excessive individualism" that distinguished "all of us Latin peoples"—the rector nevertheless urged his faculty and students to "ame-

81. Gaëtan Bernoville (1889–1960) was the founder of the two most important instances of the "Catholic Literary Renaissance" movement, the journal *Les Lettres* (1913–1931) and the "Catholic Writers' Week," which brought together Catholic writers in congress annually (1921–1927). See Hervé Serry, "Declin social et revendication identitaire: la 'renaissance litteraire catholique' de la premiere moitié du XXe siècle," *Sociétés contemporaines,* 44, no. 4 (2001), 91–109, httpsi://doi.org/10.3917/soco.044.0091

82. DIM, January 24, 1921, p. 414, stored in Zagreb, AIM.

83. Catholic internationalism was initiated by Swiss and Dutch Catholic students, and Americans, Spaniards, French, Belgians, Italians, Germans, Danes, Czechs, Lithuanians, Poles and Hungarians responded. The seeds of the Eucharistic movement, which were sown by Pius X, in a short time gave rise in the student youth across the world to the consciousness of supranational Catholic solidarity. Ivan Merz, "Katolička internacionalna đačka unija" ["Catholic International Student Union,"] *Narodna politika* [People's Policy], no. 129, Zagreb, July 28, 1920, p. 2.

84. Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism*, 126–30.

85. Ibid., 126.

liorate" this individualism. "Catholics, you can, you must and you will become the Super-French [*superfrançais*]."[86] Merz compared this project to the grail because it was built on steady Church grounds.

Merz's other meeting with the Dominicans' *La Revue des jeunes* (Review of the Youth) was also very interesting because Henri Ghéon read some excerpts from the late Péguy's works.[87] Ghéon passionately read his martyred friend Péguy's lines, and Merz commented that, for the first time, he'd met an author who was a fan of young Catholic France. He understood Péguy's point because Péguy placed himself in opposition to Parisian salon society and sharply criticized the intellectual revolution, which had killed the people's faith and destroyed the concept of the nation.

Merz especially liked Péguy's mystical poetry, observing that Péguy—who with a heavy heart had watched the decline of France—sometimes interspersed verses and irony with beautiful hymns. Another attractive characteristic of Péguy's writing were his laments to the Virgin Mary. The spiritual life of the Virgin Mary, after the death of her Son, was shown with suggestive power. She was portrayed, not as an entirely liturgical "Mother of God," but as a French peasant mother who had lost her son."[88]

Finally, Péguy also influenced Merz by arguing that the critical imperative should be the reuniting one's own nation with Catholicism. In 1918, Abbé Louis Rouzic, a popular Catholic revivalist writer, quoted the late Péguy: "'It is necessary that France continue; it is necessary that Christianity continue'—from beyond the tomb the eloquent and patriotic voice of Péguy still cries out to us. 'But France cannot continue without Christianity, and Christianity, which does not come from us, can nevertheless only continue by us.'"[89]

Merz was particularly impressed by a lecture given at the Conférence Olivaint, an association of students established in 1874 in honor of the Jesuit Pierre Olivaint who had been executed during the "Bloody Days" at

86. Ibid., 128–29.

87. For Henri Ghéon (1875-1944), see Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism*, 117–18, 127, 132, 134, 142–43, 182, 198. For Ghéon's conversion testimonial, see Ghéon, *L'Homme né de la guerre: Témoignage d'un converti (1915): Nouvelle édition revue, suivie de fragments inédits d'un carnet spirituel (1916–1918)* (Paris, 1923).

88. DIM, January 22, 1921, p. 413, stored in Zagreb, AIM.

89. Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism,* 95; cf. 89.

the end of the Paris Commune in 1871.[90] The highlighted theme of the lecture was universality, and Merz saw in this theme a Christocentric focus on Jesus Christ.[91] In 1921, representing Yugoslavia, Merz participated in the annual congress of the Union Catholique d'Études Internationales (U.C.E.I., Catholic Union of International Study), held in Paris from April 14–17, 1921.[92] Regarding this event, Merz noted:

> These meetings are convenient because Catholics from different nationalities and other tendencies meet and gain a unique directive for future actions. Though, it seems to me, that a solid international Catholic work cannot be discussed until the Germans are given the right to cooperate. It seems to me that, for this reason, the Lord denied his blessing to all the other international Catholic Actions. I believe that victims will be required in order to implement that idea. The slogan of our Lord Jesus Christ, "Let me be one, just as the Father and the Son are one," is so huge that it would be necessary to establish a specific kind of order, oriented on making French Catholics and German Catholics friends. Oh Jesus, please bless the Franco-German love![93]

On April 27, 1921, Merz wrote a letter about his participation in the Congress to Prof. Maraković, then president of the Croatian Catholic Seniority in Zagreb:

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90. For Olivaint see Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism*, 91–92. The Conférence Olivaint continues its mission to the present, forming youth "for public life and the art of speaking with respect for the values of independence, ambition, and eloquence." See "Conférence Olivaint," Conférence Olivaint, accessed October 7, 2022, https://www.conferenceolivaint.fr/

91. DIM, December 22, 1920, p. 412, stored in Zagreb, AIM. Original: "kristocentrični[.]"

92. "Founded in 1917 at Fribourg (Switzerland), the seat of a Catholic University, on the initiative of the late Baron de Montenach, the U.C.E.I. found wide support among the Catholic intellectuals of several countries. The first general assembly was held at Paris in November 1920. It was followed by sessions at Paris 1921, Fribourg 1922, Milan 1923, Fribourg 1924, Vienna 1926, Warsaw 1928, Fribourg 1934–5." See the entry for "Catholic Union of International Study," League of Nations Search Engine, Institute for European Global Studies, University of Basel, accessed October 7, 2022, http://www.lonsea.de/pub/org/489.

93. DIM, April 23, 1921, p. 417, stored in Zagreb, AIM. Original: "Ovakvi su sastanci zgodni jer se na taj način katolici protivnih nacionalnih i drugih tendenca, sastaju i stiču jedinstvenu direktivu akcije za budućnost. No, čini mi se, o jednom solidnom internacionalnom katoličkom radu ne može biti govora, dok se Nijemcima ne bude dalo pravo sarađivanje. Čini mi se, da Gospodin Bog svim tim internacionalnim katoličkim akcijama u tom slučaju uskraćuje svoj blagoslov. Držim, da se provede jedna ideja, treba žrtava. Parola je našeg Gospodina I. H. 'Daj da bude jedno, kao što je Otac i Sin jedno,' tako velika, da bi skoro bilo potrebno osnovati stanovitu vrstu reda, koji bi se bavio time, da francuske katolike sprijatelji s njemačkim katolicima. Srce Isusovo, blagoslovi francusko-njemačku ljubav!"

> From newspaper clippings which I have saved for you, you have concluded that I represented Yugoslavia at the Congress of the Catholic International. The positive result of this assembly was that an objective viewpoint was made on the issue of Ireland (after the *exposé* of the Irishman and the Englishman) and the result is the following: The claims of the Irish people are legitimate, and the politics of England is condemned. The Irish people have the right to be independent and negotiate with the English as an independent people.[94]

In Paris, Merz did not follow only artistic and literary events, but also lectures on social, charitable, theological and anthropological achievements as well as other issues. He wanted to be acquainted with all of the events, so that he could later apply what he'd learned to his homeland's youth organizations. In Toulouse, he visited an agricultural school led by the Jesuits that aimed at educating professionals with a view toward the re-Christianization of French villages.[95]

Merz was particularly impressed by the spirit of living faith pervading the French clergy and French Catholic youth. He was also particularly sad when he heard some dignitaries talking about how much they hated the

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94. Merz to Maraković, April 27, 1921, Paris, stored in Zagreb, AIM. Original: "Iz izrezaka novina, koje Vam spremih ste jamačno razabrali, da sam zastupao Jugoslaviju na kongresu Katoličke Internacijonale. Pozitivni rezultat zasjedanja je taj, da se je zauzelo objektivno stanovište o Irskom pitanju (Nakon exposea Irca i Engleza) i rezultat je sljedeći: Zahtjevi irskog naroda su posve opravdani i engleska politika se osuđuje. Irski narod ima pravo na neovisnost i on može s engleskom državom posve samostalno pregovarati."

Special mention should be made of the Legion of Mary, founded in Ireland in 1921, since it differed from the classical form of Catholic Action exemplified by the Belgian Jeunesse ouvrière chrétienne (J.O.C., Young Christian Workers) by (in the words of Roger Aubert) promoting "a direct and individually exercised apostolate devoted to purely religious ends, without taking on the outward social, cultural, and institutional wrappings of the religious society, and by the fact that it drew its members from all social classes." The J.O.C. began as an experiment in 1913 by a visionary young priest, Abbé (later Cardinal) Joseph Leo Cardijn (1882–1967). It was launched officially in 1925 and reintroduced the next year in France with some not-insubstantial modifications made by Abbé Georges Guérin (1891–1972). Pius XI encouraged the J.O.C. from the outset, ignoring the objections of those who accused it of introducing class struggle into the Church and of "rending the body of Christ." Ten years later the cardinal Secretary of State could write that, "in the eyes of the Holy Father the J.O.C. is a perfect example of the Catholic Action he has made one of the leading themes of his pontificate." Cardinal Gabriel-Marie Garrone (1901–1994) was of the opinion that the J.O.C. of the early days left its mark on Catholic Action for more than a generation. See Roger Aubert, *The Church in a Secularised Society*, [The Christian Centuries, 5], trans. Janet Sondheimer (New York, 1978), 577–78.

95. See José Ignacio García, S.J., "The Contributions of European Jesuits to Environmental Sciences," *Journal of Jesuit Studies,* 3 (2016), 562–76, here, 566–68.

Germans. For him it was absurd, irrational, and unreasonable. His conclusion was that some French had problems with Christian centralism. Regarding Catholic organizations in Paris, Merz's critical judgment always started with the question: "Does the lifeline of the organization rest on original Catholic principles and in harmony with the Pope's documents?"

Of all the Catholic organizations in France, Merz specifically appreciated the work of the Eucharistic Crusade of Children founded by Jesuit Fr. Albert Bessière.[96] He was surprised by the seriousness of the work of the Crusade and in his diary he noted: "At Father Bessières' I reviewed the Apostleship of Prayer and he clarified the Children's Crusade for me. The seven-year-old children begin with asceticism and Christian propaganda among their own comrades. That is magnificent work!"[97] Merz was also intrigued by the organizations that were condemned or temporarily banned by the Popes. For example, *Le Sillon* [The Furrow], founded in 1894 by Marc Sangnier (1873–1950), had been a left-leaning French Catholic movement associated with most of the clergy and condemned in 1910 by Pope Pius X for its liberalism. Bernard Doering notes: "In the political order, the adamant anti-republicanism of Popes Pius IX and Pius X allied the Church with the reactionary antidemocratic forces. The papal condemnation of the Catholic liberal political movement *Sillon* stifled any attempts to create a *rapprochement* between the Church and contemporary politics."[98]

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96. Albert Bessières, S.J., *La Croisade des enfants, ligue eucharistique des enfants pour la victoire de la France, le salut des mourants, la pacification et la restauration chrétienne des patries* [The Children's Crusade, Eucharistic League of Children for the Victory of France, the Salvation of the Dying, the Christian Pacification and Restoration of Nations] (Toulouse, 1917). See also Bessières, *Pour multiplier "le Saint Sacerdoce": Eucharistie et Vocation: La Croisade eucharistique des enfants et les vocations* [For the Growth of "the Holy Priesthood": Eucharist and Vocation: The Eucharistic Crusade of Children and Vocations] (Toulouse, 1925); and Bessières, *Petit manuel de la croisade eucharistique des enfants: Approuvée et bénie par S. S. Benoit XV et S. S. Pie XI.* [Small Manual of the Eucharistic Crusade of Children: Approved and blessed by His Holiness Benedict XV and His Holiness Pius XI] (Toulouse, 1925).

97. Ibid. Original: "Kod P. Bessieresa sam pregledao Apostolat molitve i on mi je rastumačio Dječju križarsku vojnu. Djeca od 7. godina započinju s askezom i kršćanskom propagandom među vlastitim drugovima. Velebno djelo!" See Albert Bessiéres, *"Inter Lilia": figures d'enfants* ["Inter Lilia": Characters of Children] (Paris, 1921). Merz brought this book to Croatia and today it is owned by the Diocesan Library of Varaždin.. See "Ex libris: Ivan Merz" (i.e. a note on the preliminary page, marking that it used to be Merz's book), Orig. Sig: 2L-II-2-28 [Original Signature], Inv. no.: M1392 [Inventory Number], Sig: 6b-I-I-44 [Today's Signature], stored in Varaždin, Diocesan Library of Varaždin, Collection "Ljubomir Maraković," Religious Literature, http://library.foi.hr/lib/knjiga.php?B=573&H=&E=&V=&lok=&zbi=8&item=M01213&upit=, accessed February 6, 2022.

98. Doering, *Jacques Maritain,* 1–2.

Merz also surveyed the program of Action Française on the other side of the ideological spectrum.[99] Action Française was a far-right royalist organization which was led by the antidemocratic Charles Maurras who brought together the French aristocracy.[100] Although Maurras was not a religious believer, he used Catholicism as a means for achieving political goals.[101] As David Carroll writes,

> Even though Maurras was never, strictly speaking, a fascist, he did for a time praise Italian fascism for accomplishing many of the political goals he felt France also had to achieve and could achieve only through the restoration of the monarchy. It would seem that there was no essential difference between Maurras's royalist nationalism and Italian fascism. It reveals that Maurras clearly recognized his own influence on the development of fascism and saw it to be an (incomplete) form of Integral Nationalism.[102]

Subsequently, Pope Pius XI condemned and banned Action Française in 1926, and in that way he catalyzed the great revival of the Catholic spirit in France.[103] In response to the condemnation, Maritain broke with

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99. "*L'Action Française* and its leadership were dedicated to such principles as love of the fatherland, love of religion, love of tradition, love of material and moral order, and hatred and fear of anarchy and of the foreigner, whether internal or external. Only a king, they believed, could provide order against the forces of chaos[;] for this reason, it was imperative that all patriots, Catholics, traditionalists and men of order unite in order to restore the monarchy." Oscar L. Arnal, *Ambivalent Alliance: The Catholic Church and the Action Française, 1899–1939* (Pittsburgh, 1985), 27.

100. Charles-Marie-Photius Maurras, (1868–1952) was a French writer and political theorist, a major intellectual influence in early twentieth-century Europe whose "integral nationalism" anticipated some of the ideas of fascism. In June 1899 he was one of the founders of *L'Action française,* a review devoted to integral nationalism, which emphasized the supremacy of the state and the national interests of France, promoted the notion of a national community based on "blood and soil," and opposed the French Revolutionary ideals of *liberté*, *égalité*, and *fraternité* (liberty, equality, and fraternity). See *Encyclopaedia Britannica Online,* s.v. "Charles Maurras," last modified April 16, 2022, accessed February 2, 2022, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Charles-Maurras.

101. Michael Sutton, *Nationalism, Positivism and Catholicism: The Politics of Charles Maurras and French Catholics 1890–1914* (New York, 2002). For the classic study in English, see Eugen Weber, *Action Française: Royalism and Reaction in Twentieth Century France* (Stanford, 1962).

102. David Carroll, *French Literary Fascism: Nationalism, Anti-Semitism, and the Ideology of Culture* (Princeton, NJ, 1995), 89–90.

103. Shortly afterwards, in 1927, Merz wrote to Msgr. Beaupin from Zagreb and expressed his satisfaction that the Holy Father condemned Action française, which, under the leadership of Maurras, abused Catholicism for its political goals. Completely consistent, Merz also pronounced his very critical judgment on the right-leaning "Catholic movements" in Croatia, as Maritain had in France, saying that he would be the mediator between the

Action Française and set out his position in three separate publications: *Une opinion sur Charles Maurras et le devoir des catholiques* (An Opinion About Charles Maurras and the Duty of Catholics) (1926); *Primauté du spirituel* (The Primacy of the Spiritual) (1927)—as opposed to Maurras's slogan "La politique d'abord!" ("Politics First!")—; and, in collaboration with Father Paul Doncoeur, S.J., *Pourquoi Rome a parlé* (Why Rome Has Spoken) (1927).[104] Roger Aubert summarizes the long view:

> The success of the Sillon and the launching of various other equally active movements were all signs of vitality in a Catholicism which continued to lose in quantity but to gain in quality. The groups in question were often as yet very small, but they were harbingers of a change which, following the First World War, would not be slow to make itself felt.[105]

Talking to French Catholic intellectuals and studying the Catholic writers, the layman Merz was yearning for truth, justice, and righteousness. Afterwards, he meditated about everything, soberly arguing on many Christian fronts.

Merz's Public Appearance and His Relation to the French Catholic Newspapers

Merz was generally inspired by the Catholic movements in France, where the politics were in favor of creating such a Christocentric civilization. The Croatian students had opportunities to promote Catholic principles and publicly speak out about the relationship between the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes and the Catholic religious organizations. Students from Croatian domains used every opportunity to speak to the French associations and the French Catholic newspapers about suppression of the Catholic Church. Although Serbia was a traditional ally of France, in the Catholic tribunes and even in the Catholic press, such Serbian and Yugoslav politics were condemned. French Catholics resented their Orthodox brothers in Serbia for being silent about it and not speaking the language of the Gospel, a language which is known to be well-meaning to all Christians and people of good will.

Catholic movement in Croatia and in other countries—that he desired to work as a kind of coordinator and corrector. See Nikola Mate Roščić, "Laički apostolat Ivana Merza u svjetlu II. vatikanskog sabora" ["The Lay Apostolate of Ivan Merz in the Light of the Second Vatican Council"], *Obnovljeni život* [Renewed Life], Zagreb, 34, no. 4 (1979), 353–65 here 357.

104. Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism*, 189. For both the Action Française movement and newspaper, see also 50–52, 72, 75, 79, 124–25, 143, 189, 194, 204, 240, 246, 250, 252-56, 269, 350nn10-and-11, 397nn19-and-25, 418n164, 407n51, 407–08n52.

105. Aubert, *The Church in a Secularised Society*, 81.

Merz's first public appearance was on April 17, 1920, at 5 rue de Cadet, the new home of the Syndicat des employés du commerce et de l'industrie (Union of Employees of Commerce and Industry) (SECI). Merz's appearance was likely in connection with the Fédération française des syndicats d'employés catholiques (French Federation of Unions of Catholic Employees) which had just been founded during a meeting of Christian syndalists at the SECI on November 1–2, 1919.[106] There he stressed on behalf of the students and foreign pupils that "[the] Catholic confessional organizations are those stations from which a *Republica Christiana* could be developed in the future."[107] He believed that without the Gospel and the promotion of positive principles, it was not possible to build either unity or a civilization of peace. His position was that each country should work on evangelization and work on making people better. Without the unity of peace and love, there is no inter-ethnic or international cooperation.

Without maturity and a high level of responsibility and respect for one's own people, it is also not possible to respect "thy" neighbor, either. On the initiative of Fr. István Kühár (1887–1922), the Slovenian priest and politician in Prekmurje, Croatians prepared a great deal of material and illustrated documents about the attitude of the current government in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes towards the Catholic Church. From April 3 to April 7, 1921, the newspaper *Libre Parole* (Free Speech) published four articles written by its co-director, the ultra-conservative lawyer and politician Joseph Denais. Denais, who believed in the existence of a "Jewish-Masonic plot against France," titled his series *La Yougoslavie menacée de dissolution par l'action et maçonnique anticatholique* [Yugoslavia Menaced with Dissolution by Masonic Anti-Catholic Action]. These articles caught the French public's attention by describing attempts by then-current Yugoslav authorities to resolve the issue by using various types of manipulation and politicization of the entire Yugoslav scene, one such

106. See the finding aid for the Archives of the Confédération française démocratique du travail (CFDT) in FranceArchives: Portail National des Archives, "Collection des publications périodiques syndicales chrétiennes, CFTC et CFDT," accessed October 18, 2022, finding aid ID: FRCFDT_CJ_1-CJ_40, https://francearchives.fr/findingaid/ee271735 d8abba4a9a7a 949f8258dc937bf7e49a. See also Michel Launay, "Aux Origines Du Syndicalisme Chrétien En France: Le Syndicat des Employés du Commerce et de l'Industrie, de 1887 à 1914," *Le Mouvement Social,* 68 (1969), 35–56; and T. B. Caldwell, "The Syndicat des Employés du Commerce et de l'Industrie (1887–1919): A Pioneer French Catholic Trade Union of White-Collar Workers," *International Review of Social History*, 11, no. 2 (1966), 228–66.

107. DIM, April 23, 1921, p. 418, stored in Zagreb, AIM. Original: "Katoličke konfesionalne organizacije one stanice iz kojih bi se imala razviti u budućnosti Republica christiana."

example being their attempts to resolve the Croatian national question within Yugoslavia. Some Catholic organizations were banned from working or were under the government's patronage, and most pupil, student and youth organizations had also been politicized. There was no independence from the political establishment, which aimed to run and supervise all aspects of life. Additionally in Paris, there had been attempts, through local political powers, to stop the publishing of pro-Catholic and pro-Croatian articles in newspapers. Nevertheless, the French editorial teams took a firm stance that they would prevent or delay the publication of an article only in the case of discovery of new facts about the matter being reported on, and not merely unproven slander. Later that month, on April 21, 1921, the daily *La Croix* (The Cross) also published about Yugoslavia and the relationship of the current government to the Catholic believers.

Certainly, Merz and his associates deserve credit in the development of those articles, but it is nevertheless unfortunate that at the time, a great deal of propaganda was being mouthed in *Libre Parole* by ultra-right antisemitic sources (as had earlier been true of the Assumptionists' daily *La Croix* during the Dreyfus Affair). Merz—a man who opposed the politicizing of the Faith to the end of his days—could not have been aware of it. In a letter dated April 27, 1921, Merz immediately informed Prof. Maraković, the president of Croatian Catholic Seniority[108] in Zagreb, about the actions taken:

> We have dedicated the work of our club (Section of the French Students' Association) to the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus. On April 3, on Montmartre,[109] we were carrying glowing candles with the other pilgrims, and the next day a series of articles were written in the *Libre Parole* which

108. Croatian Catholic Seniority was the central organization that was supposed to coordinate the work of the whole Croatian Catholic Movement. The members of the Seniority were prominent Catholic individuals from the ranks of the episcopate, diocesan clergy, monastics (mainly Franciscans and Dominicans) and predominantly lay people. For more information, see Daniel Patafta and Zlatko Matijević, "Hrvatski katolički seniorat (1913.–1941.): Osnovne značajke od osnutka do raspuštanja" ["Croatian Catholic Seniority (1913–1941): Basic characteristics from the establishment up to the dissolution,"] *Croatica Christiana periodica*, 44, no. 85 (2020), 133–46, here 133, https://hrcak.srce.hr/file/366050, accessed October 16, 2022.

109. Merz is drawing here a connection between the devotion to the Sacred Heart and Montmartre. The event with pilgrims would have been at the renowned Basilica of the Sacré-Coeur, i.e., the Basilica of the Sacred Heart on the butte of Montmartre. Begun in 1875 as a response to the Paris Commune (1870-1871) and not completed until 1914, the basilica was consecrated in 1919, the year before Merz arrived in Paris. For the basilica's complex history, see Raymond Jonas, *France and the Cult of the Sacred Heart: An Epic Tale for Modern Times* (Berkeley, CA, 2000).

> informed the "whole world" about the state of the Church in Yugoslavia. The articles from the *Libre Parole* were reprinted in other newspapers and translated into many other languages. In addition, *La Croix* and *Democratia* wrote an article about us (which I sent you). The speech I gave to a Catholic working-class organization will be printed out in excerpts in the *Bulletin des Amiti[é]*s.[110] Šćetinac's extraordinary lecture about our movement during the Great congress of French Catholic youth will be printed in the Annual.[111] In front of a 3,000-people-strong audience, his Excellency Cardinal [Louis-Ernest] Dubois put Yugoslav Catholic Students as a role model for young people all over the world.[112] So, as you see, God's blessing always accompanies our work.[113]

Taking into consideration the difficult circumstances of the Catholic Church and its faithful followers in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, Merz also wrote the following to Prof. Maraković in March 1921:

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110. The *Bulletin des Amitiés* likely refers to *Les Amitiés catholiques françaises: revue mensuelle,* the monthly bulletin of the Comité catholique des amitiés françaises (noted above). See Bibliothèque Nationale de France Catalogue Général, s.v. "Amitiés catholiques françaises," Record ID: ark:/12148/cb326922953, accessed October 13, 2022, https://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb326922953

111. Merz's reference to the "Great Congress of French Catholic Youth" likely refers to a meeting of the Association catholique de la Jeunesse française (ACJF) founded in 1886 (cited above). There are several possibilities for the reference to the "Annual": see Bibliothèque Nationale de France Data, s.v. "Association catholique de la jeunesse française," accessed October 13, 2022, Permalink ID: https://data.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb12310404n, and especially Bibliothèque Nationale de France Data, s.v. "Annales de la jeunesse catholique (Paris)," accessed October 13, 2022, Permalink ID: https://data.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb32693864q. For 1922, see the text authored by Maurice Éblé, doctor of law, former vice-president of the ACJF, and editor-in-chief of the *Annales de la jeunesse catholique: Manuel des cercles d'études*, 3rd edition (Paris, 1922); and Victor Bucaille, *La jeunesse catholique française d'aujourd'hui* (Paris, 1924).

112. Louis-Ernest Dubois (1856–1929) was the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris from December 1920 until his death in September 1929. For Dubois's vital role in the postwar Parisian plainchant (Gregorian Chant) revival, see Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism*, 300.

113. Merz to Maraković from Paris on April 27, 1921, stored in Zagreb, AIM. Original: "Rad našeg kluba (Sekcija francuskog đačkog udruženja) smo posvetili Presvetom Srcu Isusovu. Dne, 3. aprila smo na Montmartu nosili s ostalim hodočasnicima užigane svijeće, a slijedećeg dana je započela serija članaka u 'Libre parole' i—koja je 'cijeli svijet' informirala o stanju Crkve u Jugoslaviji. Iz 'Libre parole' su članci preštampani u druge listove i prevedeni na mnoge jezike. Osim toga, 'Croix' i 'Democratia' napisale su članak o nama (Sve sam vam poslao). Govor koji sam održao u Katoličkoj radničkoj organizaciji biće u izvacima oštampan u 'Bulletinu des Amities,' a Šćetinčevo vanredno uspjelo predavanje o našemu pokretu prigodom Velikog kongresa katoličke francuske mladeži biće po svoj prilici tiskano u *Annalima*. Osim toga je Preuzvišeni Kardinal Dubois pred publikom od 3.000 ljudi stavio Jugoslavensko Katoličko Đaštvo za uzor mladeži cijeloga svijeta. Tako eto, Božji blagoslov posvuda prati naš rad."

> The Catholics of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes are in a difficult position because they are on the border of the East and the West—the Byzantine and Roman civilizations. The Greek schism, which created the most fertile soil for the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, has given the newly created Yugoslav state a lot of power. The State budget allocates a lot of money to the Orthodox Church for the expansion of Orthodox proselytizing propaganda in collaboration with the Freemason lodge, which was declared a state institution in Yugoslavia[,] and the State declared a war on the Catholic Church. The direct consequence of this belief is the closing down of Catholic denominational schools and the racial laws[114] which prevent the free development of the Catholic Church. Croats and Slovenes have for centuries defended Western civilization against the Turkish armies and thereby earned the title "antemurale Christianitatis [Bulwark of Christendom]," and are aware of their traditional duty to defend the West against the destructive eastern culture.[115] Their goal is to seek as many as possible to enter the light of Catholicism among the Eastern nations.[116]

Merz's Way of Reasoning

Regarding Merz's personality, Dr. Gračanin wrote in the years following Merz's death: "If one wants to describe Merz, there are two things that are characteristic about him, [that] he possesses an 'unusual activeness' and his reliance on his inner life (which includes hours of thinking/praying, often on his knees!). From the latter springs all his unusual seriousness

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114. In mentioning the term "racial laws," Merz most likely was referring only to the Serbian policy of suppressing the Catholic faith in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

115. In 1519, Pope Leo X had called Croatia the Antemurale Christianitatis (Croatian: *Predziđe kršćanstva)* in a letter to the Croatian ban Petar Berislavić. See Mitja Velikonja, *Religious Separation and Political Intolerance in Bosnia-Herzegovina* (College Station, TX, 2003), 78.

116. Merz to Maraković from Paris on Easter's Monday, 1921, stored in Zagreb, AIM. Original: "Katolici Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca su u teškom položaju, jer su na granici Istoka i Zapada—bizantske i rimske civilizacije. Grčka šizma, koja je u Rusiji stvorila najprikladnije tlo za boljševičku revoluciju ima u novo osnovanoj jugoslavenskoj državi moć u svojim rukama. Pravoslavna crkva dobiva iz državne kase novac za širenje pravoslavne prozelitske propagande i ona je u zajednici sa framasonskom ložom, koja je proglašena državnom institucijom, navijestila rat Katoličkoj crkvi. Posljedica toga vjerovanja je za sada zatvaranje Katoličkih konfesionalnih škola i rasni zakoni, koji onemogućuju slobodno razvijanje Katoličke crkve. Hrvati i Slovenci su kroz vjekove branili zapadnu civilizaciju pred turskim armijama i time zaslužili pridjevak „antemurale Christianitatis", svijesni su si još uvijek svoje tradicionalne dužnosti, da brane Zapad pred destruktivnom istočnom kulturom i da što više nastoje luč katolicizma unijeti među istočne narode."

with which he faced problems."[117] He was devout, tolerant, gentle, humble, simple, cheerful, moderate, but at the same time decisive, sturdy, courageous, pure of heart, sensible and compassionate. Merz set for himself an expression of Catholic principles which he wanted to follow in life. His maxim was "Catholic or nothing"—*Aut catholicus, aut nihil!*[118] In a letter to his mother who wanted her son "back . . . to normal life,"[119] Merz clearly stressed: "The Catholic faith is my life's calling and it has to be the calling of every other man without any exceptions. Taking into consideration that this life is just a preparation for Eternity, all our efforts should be focused on that."[120]

Writing to Marošević from Paris on Ascension Thursday, 1921, Merz stated: "If it is God's Will, in a few years I hope that we will be able to set strong foundations for a Catholic Movement among the Croats. Now I realize how our movement is based on loose foundations, because the supernatural motives are subordinated to utilitarian ones."[121] Although he was not in Zagreb at that time, he had all the information surrounding the Croatian Catholic Movement. The Croatian Catholic Movement was deeply politicized, and all the organizations were working for the interest of just one political option, the Croatian People's Party (Hrvatska pučka stranka), which was founded by the Croatian Catholic Seniority and other members.

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117. Đuro Gračanin, "Moje uspomene na ličnost dr. Ivana Merza" ["My Memories of Dr. Ivan Merz"], *Katolički tjednik* [Catholic Weekly], no. 25, June 18, 1933, p. 7: "Ako se želi korektno pisati o Merzu, valja istaknuti dvije stvari: neobičnu aktivnost i oslonjenost na unutarnji, nevjerojatno intenzivni život (sati razmatranja, često na koljenima!). Iz ovog posljednjeg izvire sva njegova neuobičajena ozbiljnost s kojom se je suočavao s problemima."

118. Merz's maxim is a variation on "Aut Caesar, Aut Nihil," i.e., "Either Emperor or Nothing." Although the phrase possibly goes back to Julius Caesar in antiquity, it is more often associated with early moderns: Cesare Borgia (1475–1507), Ladislao I d'Angiò-Durazzo (1377–1414), and Isabella of Portugal (1503–1539), wife of Emperor Charles V (1500–1558). Merz likely encountered it while reading about Borgia; see, "'Aut Caesar, Aut Nihil,'" Sophies Werts Knudsen (website), September 1, 2021, https://sophieswertsknudsen.com/aut-cesare-aut-nihil/.

119. Teresa Merz to Merz on November 27, 1921, and November 2, 1921, stored in Zagreb, AIM. Original: "vrati se . . . normalnom životu."

120. Merz to his mother Teresa from Paris on November 6, 1921, stored in Zagreb, AIM. Original: "Katolička je vjera moje životno zvanje i mora to biti svakom pojedinom čovjeku bez iznimke. Budući da je ovaj život samo kratka priprava za vječnost, to je naravno, da sav naš rad ide za tim."

121. Merz to Marošević on the Day of the Ascension of the Lord, May 5, 1921, Paris, stored in Zagreb, AIM. Original: "Ako bude volja Božja, ja se nadam, da ćemo moći za nekoliko godina postaviti snažne temelje Katoličke akcije među Hrvatima. Sada tek uviđam, kako je naš pokret na labavim temeljima, jer su svrhunaravni motivi podređeni utilitarističkima."

In another letter to Marošević sent later that year from Paris on the feast of St. Luke (October 18), Merz succinctly highlighted the largest problem of the Croatian Catholic Movement:

> Catholicism is not going to spread in our nation if there are no workers, worshippers or sufferers. This is one law in the spreading of the Kingdom of Heaven on the Earth. Our movement up to date has created only the first type (worker), and we have shaped in our souls the ideal worker for the Catholic Movement. We prayed less, and we endured more when we had to. The last type is the pinnacle—imitation of the Lord's complete Sacrifice on the Cross. . . . We must comprehend the mystery of His life: which is to suffer for others.[122]

Perhaps the best illustration of Merz's deep religiosity and the great effort he put in the promotion of the Catholic example in Paris appears in Gračanin's 1942 letter (nearly fifteen years after Merz's death) to Fr. Josip Vrbanek, S. J. who had been Merz's confessor after his return to Zagreb. It described the bond between Merz and Abbé Jean Pressoir, Merz's confessor at the Institut Catholique in Paris.[123]

> Father Pressoir looked at the souls with the love with which God looks at them, and he pulled them gently upwards, always higher, but always cautiously. He tried to make them spiritually independent, so that they could manage on their own under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. God's providence brought Ivan into contact with Fr. Pressoir, when Ivan was already highly ascended, under the pleasing leadership of the Holy Spirit's graciousness. Obviously, Fr. Pressoir had fully prepared and strengthened God's chosen one for the activity that was intended for him in Zagreb 1923–1928. It seems that Fr. Pressoir had brought into har-

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122. Merz to Marošević on the Feast of St. Luke, Paris, 1921, stored in Zagreb, AIM. Original: "Katolicizam se u nas ne će širiti, ako ne bude radnika, molitelja i patnika. To je jedan zakon u širenju Kraljevstva Božjega na zemlji. Naš pokret je stvorio do sada samo prvi tip (radnika) i mi smo stvorili u našim dušama ideal radnika za katolički pokret. Molili smo se manje, a trpili smo kad smo morali. Zadnji je tip svakako vrhunac—imitacija potpune Žrtve Spasiteljeve na Križu. . . . Treba da spoznamo misterij iz Njegova života: trpiti za druge." As noted above, Merz was strongly impressed by the writings of Léon Bloy, who had died three years before Merz's arrival in Paris. Bloy was noted for his embrace of the ancient doctrine of vicarious suffering. See citations for Bloy in Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism* and Schloesser, "Revelation in History."

123. Abbé Jean Pressoir (1877–1960), a Sulpician priest and biblical scholar, had been the superior of the Séminaire des Carmes, the university seminary of the Institut catholique de Paris. The seminary had been founded in 1919, the year prior to Merz's arrival in Paris. See entry in the Archives of the Institut Catholique https://bibliotheque-numerique.icp.fr/idurl/1/10627

> monious completeness the well-ordered calm in Ivan's God-immersed mentality, which before Paris had been developing mainly under the direct and uninterrupted guidance of the Holy Spirit, yet also that steely strength and perseverance which does not stop even against the greatest difficulties, when it comes to God's cause. This strength and perseverance is one of the most significant marks of Dr. Ivan Merz, as he was among us in Zagreb 1922/23–1928.[124]

On February 25, 1922, having completed his French literature studies at the Sorbonne and defended his thesis, "Evolution historique de la France" (Historical Evolution of France), Merz became a professor of literature. On April 5, 1922, he reported to Dr. Maraković:

> I got my Diplôme d' études de Civilisation Française "école la mention très bien"[125] (Of the 300 registered students, I was the fourth). This semester, I only enrolled at the [Institut Catholique] because they exempted me from paying the tuition. I had to pay 300 francs for my exam at the Sorbonne and we did not get our scholarships during the vacation so, this semester, I did not register to study at the Sorbonne. Nevertheless, I received permission to attend the courses of the Citicien Français n'a [sic] [at the É]cole Normale Supérieure (Prof. Roquas).[126] Besides that, I hope

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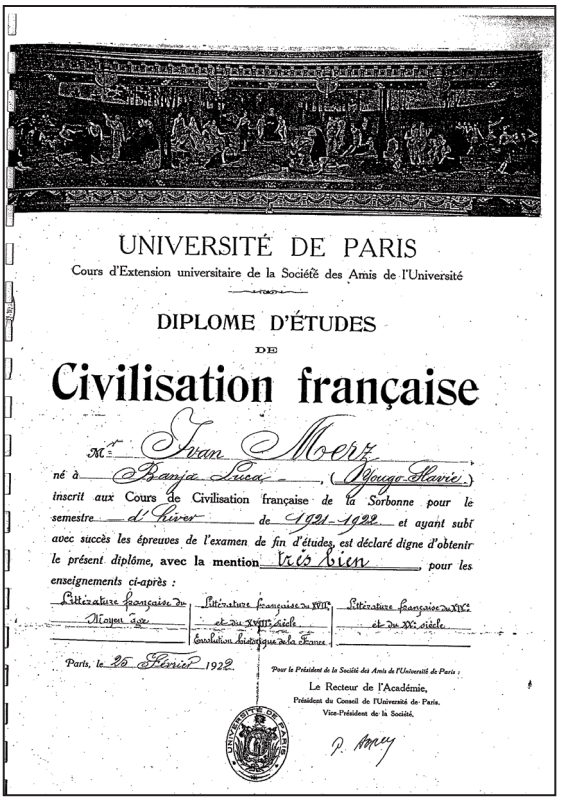
124. Gračanin to Fr. Vrbanek on September 27, 1942, stored in Zagreb, AIM. Original: "O. Pressoir gledao je na duše s onom ljubavlju, kojom ih Bog gleda, te ih je milo gore vukao, uvijek više, ali uvijek i oprezno. Nastojao je duševno osamostaliti, da se i same snađu pod vodstvom Duha Svetoga. Božja je providnost dovela Ivana u vezu s o. Pressoirom, kad se već Ivan pod divnim vodstvom milosti Duha Svetoga visoko uspeo. Očito je o. Pressior trebao ovog Božjeg odabranika potpuno pripraviti i ojačati za onu djelatnost, koja mu je bila namijenjena u Zagrebu 1923–1928. Po svemu se čini, da je o. Pressior u harmonijsku cjelinu sredjene, smirene, u Boga uronjene Ivanove duševnosti, koja se do Pariza razvijala uglavnom pod izravnim i neprekinutim vodstvom Duha Svetoga, trebao unijeti još onu čeličnu jakost i ustrajnost, koja ne sustaje ni pred najvećim teškoćama, kad se radi o Božjoj stvari. Ta je jakost i ustrajnost jedna od najznačajnijih oznaka dr. Ivana Merza, kakav je bio među nama u Zagrebu 1922./23.–1928."

Gračanin's reflection could be confirmed by reading Merz's article "Sticanje podmlatka" ["Acquisition of Young Followers"], published in *Luč* [Light], 4 (1923), at pages 14–16. This was probably Ivan's most significant article in the field of the theory of apostolate, in which he outlined his apostolic methods in working with youth. See Božidar Nagy, "Proljetno i jesensko hodočašće u Mariju Bistricu" ["Spring and Autumn Pilgrimage to Marija Bistrica,"] *IVAN MERZ, 1928–1978: Glasilo Postulature za beatifikaciju Dra Ivana Merza* [Journal of Postulation for the Beatification of Dr. Ivan Merz], 6, nos. 1–2, (1978), 1–52, here 40.

125. In the French system, the *diplôme mention bien* and *diplôme mention très bien* suggest equivalents of "high honors" and "highest honors."

126. The unidentified "Prof. Roquas" is likely Mario Roques (1875–1961), a prolific philologist who had published texts in pre-modern French as well as in Romanian and Albanian. A detailed biographical overview may be found in Alfred Merlin, "Notice sur la vie et les travaux de M. Mario Roques, membre de l'Académie," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie*



UNIVERSITÉ DE PARIS

Cours d'Extension universitaire de la Société des Amis de l'Université

DIPLOME D'ÉTUDES

DE

Civilisation française

M^r Ivan Merz

né à Banja Luca, (Bougo-Slavie)

inscrit aux Cours de Civilisation française de la Sorbonne pour le semestre d'Hiver de 1921-1922 et ayant subi avec succès les épreuves de l'examen de fin d'études, est déclaré digne d'obtenir le présent diplôme, avec la mention très bien, pour les enseignements ci-après :

Littérature française du Moyen âge	Littérature française du XVII^e et du XVIII^e siècle Evolution historique de la France	Littérature française du XIX^e et du XX^e siècle

Paris, le 26 Février 1922

Pour le Président de la Société des Amis de l'Université de Paris :

Le Recteur de l'Académie,

Président du Conseil de l'Université de Paris,

Vice-Président de la Société,

P. Appell

Mr. Ivan Merz, *Diplome D'Études de Civilisation française, Université de Paris,* Paris, 1922. Reproduced with permission.

> that I will get the credentials from Abbé Rousselot (the founder of experimental phonetics, Professor at the Collège de France) in Historical Grammar. Regardless, all of these studies are concentrated around the fact that I would like to obtain the Doctorate in Zagreb.[127]

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des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 105, no. 2 (1961), 349–58, https://www.persee.fr/doc/crai_0065-0536_1961_num_105_2_11355. See also the entry in Bibliothèque Nationale de France Data, s.v. "Mario Roques (1875–1961)," accessed October 13, 2022, Permalink ID: https://data.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb11922571n.

127. Merz to Maraković from Paris in April, 1922, stored in Zagreb, AIM. Original: "Dobio sam Diplôme d' études de Civilisation Française 'colle la mention très bien.' (Bilo je upisano oko 300 đaka, a ja sam bio četvrti po uspjehu). U ovome semestru sam upisan samo na Katoličkom Institutu, jer su me oprostili od školarine. Za polaganje ispita na Sorbonni

After graduation, Merz focused on French literature in order to better prepare his doctoral dissertation. In 1923, Merz defended his dissertation written in French at the University of Zagreb, with the linguist Prof. Dr. Petar Skok as his director.[128]

On December 23, 1922, eleven months after his elevation to the papacy, Pope Pius XI promulgated his first encyclical, *Ubi Arcano Dei Consilio* (subtitled "On the Peace of Christ in the Kingdom of Christ"). Acting on behalf of the Croatian League of Eagles, Merz immediately took the initiative and informed all the Croatian Bishops about Catholic Action's main principle of introducing the role of a priest as a spiritual pastor in every diocese.[129] Therefore, he paved the way for strong Catholic youth

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morao sam da platim 300 Fr., a preko ferija nijesmo dobili štipendije, tako da se ovoga semestra nijesam upisao na Sorbonni. Ipak sam dobio dozvolu da pohađam tečajeve de Citicien Français n'a Ecole Normale Supérieure (prof. Roquas), a osim toga se nadam dobiti svjedodžbu od Abbé Rousselota (osnivač eksperimentalne fonetike, profesor na Collége de France) iz Historičke gramatike. No sav studij ide za tim, da u što kraćem roku mogu da položim doktorat u Zagrebu." For Rousselot see note 46 above.

128. Petar Skok (1881–1956) was a Croatian linguist, Romanist, and Balkanologist who founded the Croatian Romanist Studies. He covered Roman linguistics, Indo-European studies and German studies in Vienna (1900–1904), where he received his doctorate in 1905 from Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke with a notable dissertation on the toponymic issues of Southern France. See *Hrvatska enciklopedija* [Croatian Encyclopedia], online edition (2021), s.v. "Skok Petar," accessed January 29, 2022, https://enciklopedija.hr/natuknica.aspx?ID=56465. During Merz's high school education in Banja Luka, Dr. Skok taught him philosophy and French language. Skok regarded Merz as his best disciple, and later, when Skok was a professor of the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Zagreb from 1919, he supported Merz's intellectual development.

129. Dragutin Kniewald, *Dr. Ivan Merz: život i djelovanje* [Dr. Ivan Merz: Life and Work] (Zagreb, 1932), 162. Stephen Schloesser notes the centrality of Catholic Action in Pius's first encyclical: "However, 'Catholic Action' as a consolidated movement was more properly a post-Great War invention first outlined in detail by Pope Pius XI. Ten months after following Benedict XV on the papal throne (February 6, 1922) and two months after the Fascist March on Rome, Pius promulgated his encyclical *Ubi Arcano Dei Consilio* (*In the Scrutable Designs of God*). "Finally," declared the pontiff, "We include among these fruits of piety that whole group of movements, organizations, and works so dear to Our fatherly heart which passes under the name of 'Catholic Action,' and in which We have been so intensely interested." Pius XI's highly unexpected ascent to the papacy after the untimely death of Benedict XV had brought him face to face with the new world: Soviet Communism and the Communist International (Comintern, founded March 1919) and other effects of the 1917 October Revolution; and now too the triumph of Mussolini and the Fascists two months before *Ubi Arcano*. These new historical realities were direct (if utterly contingent) consequences of the Great War." Schloesser, "1918–1968–2018," 507–08. See also Schloesser, "Reproach vs. *Rapprochement*: Historical Preconditions of a Paradigm Shift in the Reform of Vatican II," in: *50 Years On: Probing the Riches of Vatican II*, ed. David G. Schultenover (Collegeville, MN, 2015), xi–l, here xlii.

organizations under the Pope's and Bishops' explicit direction. Thanks to him, many Catholic associations were formed, but at the same time he was burdened with executive and leadership issues. In this way he was diverted from the education of members, particularly in getting across the spiritual and supernatural values of re-Christianization. Nevertheless, the best ideas survived, and soon he was pronounced the "Apostle of Croatian Youth."[130]

Influences on Later Work

The time of Ivan Merz's stay in Paris was an era of a strong spiritual current in French Catholicism, greatly indebted to converts. At that time the Benedictine influence was very strong in France, and the overall atmosphere was characterized as the internal religious crisis of the European Catholic person. Although the Church in a supernatural and mystical sense had been marginalized prior to the Great War, things began to change in the postwar decade. Out of a positivist and materialistic milieu suddenly arose a hunger for the spiritual, and in that climate of conversion Merz sharpened and deepened his beliefs.

Bearing in mind his later pastoral work in Croatia, Merz chose for logical reasons his doctoral dissertation on the impact of the liturgy on French writers, from the days of Chateaubriand up to his own lifetime.[131] Analyzing about five hundred works by nearly sixty well-known writers, Merz concluded that the liturgy had been the national patrimony of the French people.[132] This profoundly influenced his activities in Croatia, where he promoted the liturgy as a basis, means, and goal of the renewal. Thanks to Merz, the ideas of the Eucharistic Youth Movement in France were transferred to the Croatian youth. These ideas were taken specifically

130. See Ante Vukasović, Ivica Đaković, "Ivan Merz—apostol hrvatske mladeži i nebeski zaštitnik odgojne djelatnosti" ["Ivan Merz—The Apostle of Croatian Youth and Heavenly Protector of Educational Activities,"] *Napredak* [Progress], 144, no. 3 (2003), 383–93, available at http://ivanmerz.hr/staro/knjige_o/Clanci/A_Vukasovic_IM_ap_hrv_mlad.htm, accessed October 15, 2022.

131. François René de Chateaubriand's (1768–1848) publication of *Le Génie du Christianisme* (The Genius of Christianity, 1802) is frequently cited as a pivotal moment for religion in post-revolutionary France. For the wider context of his work, see Michel Despland, "To Interpose a Little Ease: Chateaubriand on Christianity and the Modern World," *Religion & Literature,* 21, no. 2 (1989), 19–44.

132. Marin Škarica, "Ivan Merz: Promicatelj liturgijske obnove u Hrvatskoj" [Ivan Merz—Promoter of Liturgical Revival in Croatia], *Obnovljeni Život: časopis za filozofiju i religijske znanosti* [Renewed Life: Journal of Philosophy and Religious Sciences], 34, no. 4 (1979), 323–37, here 329.

from Bessière's Eucharistic Crusade of Children (discussed above) which Merz liked most because of its distinctly Eucharistic spirit.

So, what influence did Merz's experiences in Paris have on his later work in Croatia? Blessed Ivan Merz, as a shining example of modern holiness, has contributed to the authentic development of the Christian life of many Croatian Catholics thanks to his sojourn in Paris from 1920 to 1922. He was a herald of new times in the Church, in the liturgy, and in the Christian life in general. His studies in Paris were essential for his enormous apostolate in Croatia, and he was further encouraged by Pope Pius XI's encyclical *Ubi Arcano Dei Consilio* (On the Peace of Christ in the Kingdom of Christ, 1922) such that he eventually became a forerunner of the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965). The central ideas of the Council mostly corresponded with Merz's ideas exactly forty years earlier—emphasizing the liturgy as the source and summit of the overall Christian life, as well as the empowerment of Catholic Action, the lay apostolate, the introduction of national languages in the liturgy, and active participation in the Mass.

Due to many organizational problems in Croatia, Merz suffered and endured torment. However, if viewed through the lens of psychoanalytical theory, his heaviest cross was loneliness, and he brought it home from Paris. He liked to steal into the solitude and silence of the Parisian churches, where his spiritual world became more real than anything that physically existed. The fruit of his loneliness was the love that led him to a communion and life with God. He himself made his way into eternity and encouraged many to do the same.

It is possible to identify some summarizing points regarding the Parisian influences on Merz's later work:

• It was only in Paris that the layman Merz deeply understood the idea and institution of the Church. Therefore, he mastered the truths of the holy faith, understanding the Holy Mass as a sacrifice that Jesus received on the Cross. In Paris, Merz began to follow and contemplate the readings from the French Missal, and that Missal remained his faithful companion until his death in Croatia.[133] As soon as he returned, he enthusiastically began to announce the liturgical movement and give liturgical lectures. In Paris, he formulated and harmonized the logic behind the Church and the

133. Josip Vrbanek, S.J., *Vitez Kristov Dr. Ivan Merz* [Knight of Christ Dr. Ivan Merz] (Zagreb, 1943), 133.

Papacy, depoliticized Catholic Action, and promoted contemplation as an essential prerequisite for his work within Catholic Action in Croatia.

• In France he fulfilled his potential in becoming a strict and virtuous modern Catholic intellectual. As Dušan Žanko observed ten years after Merz's death, "He learned how to organize work and memory with extraordinarily rich files, which will be a permanent document of his immense erudition, choice of studies, perseverance and patience."[134] He continued with the same studying habits in Croatia, especially in translating papal encyclicals and directives (including those of Leo XIII, Pius X, Benedict XV, and Pius XI). His work on French literature provided him with a broad knowledge so that he could study Christian philosophy and theology in Croatia and convey the true essence of papal encyclicals. He read the Parisian newspaper *La Croix* daily, translated articles, and used them in his lectures. He always sharply criticized the works of French liberal writers from a moral and ecclesiastical point of view.

• In France he developed a deeply religious way of life, prioritizing his contemplative and transcendental life over his active life. The focus of his renewal was the Eucharistic mystery, adoration, and longing. He used the same line of effort in trying to influence members of the Croatian League of Eagles. He conveyed to young Croats that Mass and Holy Communion were the means of complete spiritual renewal.

• Merz's literary, artistic, and liturgical fields of study in France provided him with a particular transformative experience that enabled him to unite the beauty of art and liturgy. It was that experience on which he based his activities in Croatia, but he always subordinated art to the liturgy. For example, in 1925, he published the hymns of Sts. Apostles Peter and Paul, and also translated the rite for the dressing of novices by Benedictine nuns, taking care to also publish the melody. In 1927, he introduced choral singing in the church of St. Vincent in Zagreb. It was while in Paris that he fell in love with the choir, calling it "Music of the Holy Spirit." Likewise, Merz experienced the true beauty of Gregorian melodies, and in Zagreb he encouraged the Franciscans to perform the first Gregorian chant on Christmas Day in 1924. In the article on Gregorian chant published in Zagreb in 1925, entitled "Art pour Dieu" (Art for God), he mentioned as models the Benedictine monasteries in Solesmes (France) and Beuron

134. Dušan Žanko, "Duša Dra Ivana Merza: Esej u 10-godišnjici smrti" ["The Soul of Dr. Ivan Merz: An Essay on the 10th Anniversary of His Death"], *Život* [Life], 19, no. 5, (1938), 245–73, here 262, https://hrcak.srce.hr/file/90720, accessed May 20, 2022.

(Austria), citing the words of the French Benedictine Dom Prosper Guéranger that Gregorian chant "is first among all Goods."[135] According to Merz, "the sacred was created under the influence of the Holy Spirit having as model celestial melodies, and the Gregorian chant is in a certain sense a reflection of celestial melodies."[136]

• Merz experienced the spirit and richness of the Liturgy following the rituals at the Benedictine Chapel on rue Monsieur, from the Lazarists on rue de Sèvres, from missionaries on rue du Bac, and at the churches of Saint-Sévérin, Saint-Sulpice, and Notre-Dame, as well as the churches in Montmartre and in Clermont. After a regular monitoring of French liturgical customs, he was formed and equipped to share the same sublime liturgical experiences in Croatia.

• In Paris, Merz experienced the singing of the Mass as the ideal for the dignity of the holy rite, and later in Croatia he promoted the social characteristics of that Mass, in terms of growing love, inspiration, harmony, and mutual understanding of different social classes. Therefore, in conversations, lectures, and articles, he consistently called for the renewal of church choirs in Croatia, saying "there is no Heaven without music and singing."

• After meticulous study of study of French Catholic converts' literature, he brought to Croatia the illumination and wisdom of the French manner of Catholicism. He outlined the way of the liturgical and spiritual renewal. He published more than twenty articles in various Croatian journals in which he emphasized the beauty and educational power of the liturgy, drawing from the collected French literature and his doctoral dissertation. For example, citing Paul Claudel, he asserted that "the Liturgy was one of the sources of life that can regenerate all mankind."[137] He wrote

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135. Emil Čić, "Das Zweite Vatikanum Und Die Liturgische Idee Über Die Sakrale Musik in Kroatien" ["The Second Vatican Council and the Liturgical Idea of Sacral Music in Croatia"], *International Review of Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 29, no. 1 (1998), 75–90, here 88. For Dom Prosper Louis Pascal Guéranger (1805–1875) and Solesmes, see Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism*, 30–32, 283, 284, 293, 294, 301, 302, 309, 405–06n39. See also Dom Guy Marie Oury, *Dom Guéranger: A Monk at the Heart of the Church 1805–1875*, trans. Hope Heaney (Fitzwilliam, NH, 2020); Louis Soltner, *Solesmes and Dom Guéranger, 1805–1875*, trans. Joseph O'Connor (Orleans, MA, 1995); and Catherine Bergeron, *Decadent Enchantments: The Revival of Gregorian Chant at Solesmes* (Berkeley, CA, 1998).

136. *Ibid.* 88.

137. Ivan Merz, "Paul Claudel i liturgija" ["Paul Claudel and Liturgy"], *Hrvatska Prosvjeta* [Croatian enlightenment], no. 9 (1923), 414–24, here 420.

about Claudel's "L'Annonce faite à Marie" (The Annunciation Made to Mary) and later saw it in a Zagreb Theater in 1921, translated into Croatian as *Blagovijest*.[138] Merz met Henri Ghéon personally in Paris and later saw his play *Le Pauvre sous l'escalier* (The Poor Man Under the Staircase, 1920) at the Zagreb Theater in 1926.[139] He studied Gheon's efforts about the Catholic theater and tried to find somebody to translate his works.[140]

• In Paris, Merz led an ascetic and restrained life according to strict self-imposed rules. He concluded that it was suffering which had to be his "philosophy of happiness," his first impulse to conversion and also his path to Heaven. He had aching eyes and teeth; he willingly accepted pain with a soul committed to God's providence, especially during his pilgrimage to Lourdes. When quoting Joris-Karl Huysmans, Merz empowered himself as a "mystical lightning rod" which had to suffer in order to remove God's punishment that would otherwise have to fall on human civilization.[141] By the same analogy, he argued that Catholic Action would fail if there were not enough sufferers willing to sacrifice for others.

Ultimately the Holy Church, the Mass, and Transubstantiation became the center of Merz's life in Paris, and afterwards he showed the Croats by his own example how lay people could achieve sanctity of life if they followed Christ.

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138. Dušan Žanko, "O Božjem čovjeku" ["On God's Man"], *Nedjelja* [Sunday], no. 23, June 9, 1929, p. 4. Paul Claudel's renowned play *L'Annonce faite à Marie* (alluding to Luke 1:26–38, the Gospel scene in which the angel Gabriel announces to Mary that she will conceive and bear a son) first appeared in 1912 and underwent later revisions in 1938 and 1948. For the first version and definitive version for the stage, historical notes, and documentation, see Paul Claudel, Didier Alexandre, and Michel Autrand, *Théâtre,* nouv. éd., 2 vols., [Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 72, 73] (Paris, 2011), I. The play has appeared in English translations under the title *The Tidings Brought to Mary*.

139. For this play and others see Jerome Keeler, "Henri Ghéon and His Religious Plays," *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review,* 26, no. 104 (1937), 631–40, here 637.

140 Dragutin Kniewald, *Dr. Ivan Merz, Život i djelovanje* [Dr. Ivan Merz, Life and work], (Zagreb, 1932), 137.

141. Like his onetime friend, Léon Bloy, Joris-Karl Huysmans (1848–1907) also placed the doctrine of vicarious suffering at the center of his hybrid mystical naturalist *(naturalisme mystique)* vision. See Schloesser, *Jazz Age Catholicism*, 39–45; and C. J. T. Talar, "A Naturalistic Hagiography: J.-K. Huysmans' Sainte Lydwine de Schiedam," in: *Sanctity and Secularity during the Modernist Period: Six Perspectives on Hagiography around 1900*, eds. Lawrence Barmann and C. J. T. Talar (Bruxelles, 1999), 151–81.

Conclusion

Two years of study in Paris influenced Merz to join the Croatian Catholic Movement and to establish a Catholic organization of students—laypersons with strong connections to the Pope. The Sorbonne and Institut Catholique immersed Merz in the French postwar *renouveau catholique* and enabled him to deeply understand the liturgy. Scrutinizing French literature made him aware of the necessity of Church reform, so that the community would feel the presence of Jesus Christ more solidly.

Merz's praying habits in Paris were vividly directed towards the liturgy. Every day, he steadily prayed and attended the Holy Mass using his personal Latin-French missal. His parents were in his prayers at all times, especially his mother, for whom he eagerly prayed to convert. Experiences with Catholic converts in Paris helped him understand the Catholic organizations whose practices he later embedded into the Croatian League of Eagles. He also managed to acquaint the French public with the situation at home, where the Serbian government had started to suppress all Catholic organizations, institutions, and communities within the newly established state.

Merz carefully dissected the Eucharistic Crusade and undertook their motto in the shorter version: "Sacrifice—Eucharist—Apostolate." This motto and the new catchphrase, "*Krist živi*" (Christ Lives), were on the fast track to being implemented within the Catholics in Croatia, but bishops and priests were slow to take initiative. Although the Catholic Church in Croatia did not find the balance between material and spiritual, Dr. Ivan Merz did. His key role in operationalizing links between Catholic organizations and the hierarchy of the Church may be a good example for lay work internationally.

"An Empire on which the Sorrow Never Sets": Kenelm Vaughan's 'Confraternity of Expiation' and British Catholic Modernity in Latin America, 1870–1910

MATTHEW BUTLER*

This article studies the transnational expiation movement, or Confraternity of Divine Expiation, that was promoted in Latin America by English priest Kenelm Vaughan c. 1880–1910. It argues that Vaughan's movement represented an unusual amalgam of British imperialism and ultramontane piety, albeit with significant Latin American appropriations. Essentially, Vaughan proposed to funnel Latin American funds and prayers heavenward through the Spanish-American chapel to the Blessed Sacrament that he would build at Westminster Cathedral, thus portraying London as the world's Catholic metropolis. To do this, Vaughan traversed Latin America, recruiting presidents and prelates into his Confraternity and promoting a catholicized version of English imperial claims. The article seeks to contribute to knowledge of Victorian/Edwardian English Catholic culture, Latin American penitential practice and elite diplomacy, and Catholic concepts of nineteenth-century empire.

Keywords: Vaughan, Kenelm; Catholicism; expiation; Latin America; Mexico; Great Britain; empire

Introduction

"I wish you would come back speedily and begin your work in London. Cannot God put it into hearts here to give you what is needed to complete what you have begun so zealously at a distance?" Thus Herbert, Cardinal Vaughan chided his younger brother, Father Kenelm Vaughan (1840–1909), who by the mid-1890s had indeed spent decades traversing Latin America, from Chile to Mexico. Recalling his own mis-

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sionary years in the region (1863–1865), raising funds for his Mill Hill Mission Society, Cardinal Vaughan recalled how he had filled one pocket with alms and another with the crucifixes and pious pledges that Latin American Catholics gave him—"And I have often thought since then that the crosses and mortifications of those years . . . went further." So it must be with Kenelm's scheme: to raise funds to build a chapel of the Blessed Sacrament at Westminster Cathedral and, subsequently, to maintain a bespoke order of priests, the Divine Brotherhood of Expiation. Ensconced in their chapel, its Italian marbling paid for by well-heeled Latin American confreres, the Brothers would keep perpetual, tearful watch over the Blessed Sacrament, atoning for the crime of national apostasy that had begun in Henry VIII's England and spread across the world. It was an ambitious scheme, as extractive as it was emotive and apocalyptic: English priests would funnel Latin American funds and prayers heavenward through the world's major imperial hub, in an effort to wash away modernity's sins and stay the Lord's hand. Yet Herbert grew impatient because neither the chapel nor clergy had materialized, though funds piled up. Kenelm must realize Latin Americans' pious hopes. "It looks almost like a want of faith to delay so many years for the sake of the brass," said Herbert:

> I have just been reading in the Life of Blessed John Colombini [the fourteenth-century Italian saint] that his wife one day reproaching him for bringing all sorts of beggars into her house, and even filthy lepers, he replied 'But did you not yourself pray that I might learn to practise virtue and charity? 'Yes,' she retorted, 'I prayed for rain but not for the deluge.' Apply this to yourself, and come home.[1]

Herbert's own reproach—with its unapologetic anglocentrism, its idea of Latin America as a reservoir of faith, and its pious Italian touches—suggestively frames what was a significant, albeit now forgotten, devotional project. It was not just another example of transnational religion or pious romanization. Rather, Vaughan's expiation movement stands, unusually, as an example of English Catholic imperialism, whose very improbability and the fact that it half succeeded makes it intriguing to historians. And it succeeded because it tapped into a pious modernity complex among elite Latin American Catholics, surprising numbers of whom bought into Vaughan's universal expiation idea in spite of its soft imperialist trappings.

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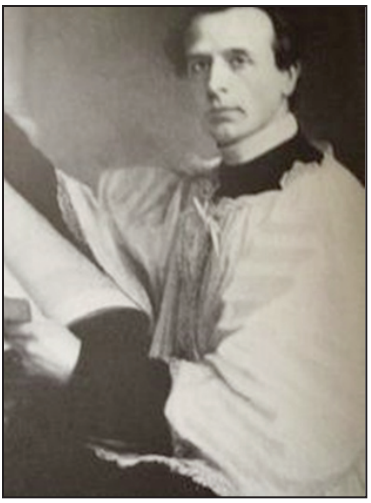
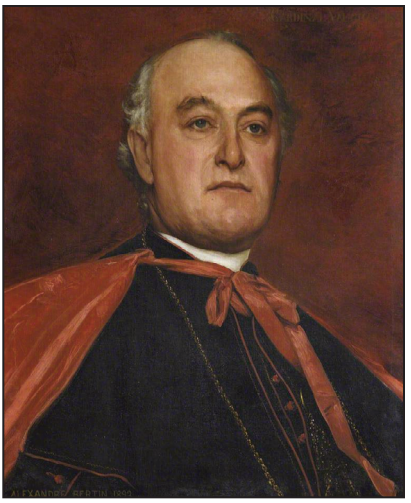
1. John George Snead-Cox, *The Life of Cardinal Vaughan,* 2 vols. (London, 1910), I, 147n1, II, 458–59.





Left: Rev Fr Kenelm David Francis Vaughan. Memorial page for Rev Fr Kenelm David Francis Vaughan (12 Aug 1840–19 May 1909), Find a Grave, database and images (https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/168677273/kenelm-david_francis-vaughan), Find a Grave Memorial ID 168677273, citing Saint Alban's Cathedral, St Albans, St Albans District, Hertfordshire, England; Maintained by Steven Keller (contributor 47478415).

Right: Alexandre Bertin, *His Excellency Cardinal Herbert Vaughan, Archbishop of Westminster (1892–1903),* oil on canvas, 1893. Currently stored in St. Edmund's College, University of Cambridge. Image is in the public domain.

There are perhaps four reasons to disinter Vaughan's movement—the first of which is to finesse the narrative of religious empire. In the nineteenth-century anglophone world, as Colin Barr has shown, we associate diasporic Catholicism with Irishness, not Englishness. Thus, the ascendancy at Rome of Archbishop Paul Cullen saw the projection of a "Hiberno-Roman Catholicism" across the English-speaking world, via the preferment of Irish bishops in the U.S., Canada, India, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand.[2] Conversely, as Steven Maughan well shows, if high British imperialism had a sacred canopy, it was missionary Anglicanism, not ultramontane piety.[3] As we shall see, the

2. Colin Barr, *Ireland's Empire: the Roman Catholic Church in the English-Speaking World, 1829–1914* (Cambridge, 2020), 11–21.

3. Steven S. Maughan, *Mighty England Do Good: Culture, Faith, Empire, and World in the Foreign Missions of the Church of England, 1850–1915* (Cambridge, 2014).

Vaughans' expiation venture rewires these historical narratives. The brothers created an "Anglo-Hispano-Roman" Catholicism that purveyed ultramontane religious forms on the back of the British commercial penetration of Latin America, with its attendant anglophilia, and posited an imagined prayer community in which English (specifically) and Latin American Catholics would rediscover a natural affinity. There were too many links in this chain for it to hold, yet it gives some insight into how religion supported British soft imperialism in the hispanophonic world and how efforts were made to create a religious imaginary linking England and Latin America. It also shows how "romanization"—the spread of Roman ecclesiastical discipline and devotional taste—became entwined with other, secular, empires. It was not just a religious process.

Relatedly, the expiation project says something about the mechanics of romanization, which really worked through the development of face-to-face transnational networks, not papal fiat. To understand Vaughan's chutzpah, it is important to remember not just how big the Catholic world was but also, in some ways, how small it was. Priests from super-elite families, like Vaughan himself, but also Latin American anglophiles such as Eulogio Gillow, Ignacio Montes de Oca, and the uncle/nephew pairing of Pelagio Antonio Labastida y Dávalos and José Antonio Plancarte y Labastida—to give only Mexican examples—played an outsized role in the devotional changes of their time. Often they were intimates of popes, and fast-tracked into influential positions in the local ecclesiastical hierarchy. Younger brothers and nephews, if less successful—Kenelm Vaughan, Antonio Plancarte—worked under powerful kin, and if they were denied high office they could make names for (or nuisances of) themselves in the politics of piety, working as deans and missionaries. They sometimes carried a sense of invulnerability.[4]

Second, Vaughan's venture increases our knowledge of late Victorian and Edwardian English Catholicism. It shows to full extent the self-confidence felt by English Catholics, elites especially, such that they began to claim for themselves a special role as religious empire-builders. We also see how nineteenth-century English Catholicism's favorite, and now generally

4. Kenelm Vaughan, for instance, courting Mexican Catholics in the Porfiriato (1876–1911), still could not resist intervening in political controversy, as he did in 1894 in a published tilt against Mexico's secular education program, which Vaughan denounced as an "infidel philosophy" promoting "destruction of the Church." Kenelm Vaughan, "What Catholics Have Done for Education in Mexico," *Catholic World,* 59, no. 349 (1894), 120–29.

discredited idea—John Henry Newman's "second spring" thesis[5]—could be repurposed as imperial myth and projected outwards. That, perhaps, gives us some indication of the popular appeal of such a clerical, even providentialist, trope at home.[6] For his part, Vaughan sought to marry the second spring idea to a larger imperial story: imagining England as the world's spiritual as well as commercial apex, he argued that a recovering Albion must use its power to lead fallen Catholic nations out of the wilderness. The Westminster chapel would become the seat of an empire of Catholic sentiment, showing in bricks and mortification that England was again the equal of other Catholic countries, especially France. Indeed, Vaughan was in a race to complete his Byzantine chapel before France could build its Sacré Coeur. This, very clearly, was the language of English exceptionalism, just inverted, reframed as contrition, and stripped of its conventionally Protestant telos.[7]

Third, and as a novel case of Catholic devotionalism, Vaughan's expiation movement complicates the relationship between ultramontane piety and local religion. The idea of a London-based expiation movement was, on the face of it, inseparable from the rise of the ultramontane Church. Expiation seemingly formed part of the family of Sacred Heart-inspired devotions, such as the *Quarante'ore*, that were meant to encourage a doubly intimate, even ecstatically corporal, unity with Christ: Catholics must not merely be moved vicariously by Christ's Passion or bleeding Heart; rather, by performing sacrificial acts in the presence of the Blessed Sacrament,

5. Following full legal emancipation (1829) and the hierarchy's return to English soil (1850).

6. Most historians now stress that English Catholicism was reviving as a devotional, pastoral, and civic proposition from the mid-eighteenth century, at least, and was subsequently boosted by Irish migration to the English northwest: it was not languishing in chains until the bishops returned. See John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community, 1570–1850* (London, 1975), 293–390; J. Derek Holmes, *More Roman than Rome: English Catholicism in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1978); Edward Norman, *The English Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century* (Clarendon, 1984); Gerard Connolly, "The Transubstantiation of Myth: towards a New Popular History of Nineteenth-Century Catholicism in England," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 35, no. 1 (1984), 78–104; Dermot Quinn, *Patronage and Piety: The Politics of English Roman Catholicism, 1850–1900* (Stanford, 1993); Mary Heimann, *Catholic Devotion in Victorian England* (Oxford, 1995), esp. 5–10, and 137–73.

7. The project echoed Cardinal Manning's 1868 speech in Saint James's Hall, where he talked of the light of faith being diffused from Rome and London, the world's spiritual and imperial centers. Cardinal Vaughan himself viewed foreign missionary activity as a chance to globalize Roman-style Catholicism: a "strong papal adherence" was developing in England, he told Lady Herbert Lea, and must be exported and "weaved into all our work, in pagan lands and in the colonies." Holmes, *More Roman than Rome*, 217–18.

they would join Christ in His priesthood.[8] How could such italianate, even Jesuitical, ideas denote an expansive sense of Catholic Englishness? Superficially, Vaughan's scheme seemed slavishly ultramontane. Yet one should note that Vaughan's liturgical performances in Latin American churches, when reported, included distinctively English practices, such as the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament. He was, then, promoting an anglicized Catholicism and hawking popular English versions with an affinity to "Roman" devotional forms. In this sense, Romanization was not just a message but the medium. As stated, Vaughan's project also seemed to replicate the French fashion for national atonement, with the Henrician Reformation standing in for the Revolution (or Commune) as expungeable sin. However, here again, a powerful vein of apocalypticism ran through nineteenth-century English Catholic culture, and bled into Vaughan's movement.[9] Finally, the triumphalism of Vaughan's campaign only makes sense in an English religious context. Indeed, it reflected the contemporary Catholic belief that Anglicanism was expiring and the empire needed a new handmaiden.[10]

The fourth reason to study Vaughan's movement is that it speaks to the co-construction of empire. The Vaughans might have convinced themselves that Latin American Catholics were selflessly willing to help England atone for its Henrician past, or that an English devotional idiom provided a light for the rest of the world—but in fact, the devotional style of the movement ended up being compromised or, rather, attuned to Latin American tastes. Likewise, expiation's geographical scope ended up signifying a fellowship of nations, if not Latin America's developing peer status, with English exemplarity rather downplayed. This explains, perhaps, the surprising enthusiasm of Catholic elites in newly-independent Latin American countries to subvent England's return to the fold. Why send tribute to a new metropolis? The fact that Father Kenelm was Cardinal Manning's chaplain and had a brother for a cardinal helped. He also pitched his idea in a climate of feverish Catholic associationalism in Latin

8. Heimann, *Catholic Devotion*, 32–33.

9. Cadoc Leighton, "Finding Antichrist: Apocalypticism in Nineteenth-Century Catholic England and the Writings of Frederick Faber," *Journal of Religious History,* 37, no. 1 (2013), 80–97.

10. An assumption that peaked with publication of *Apostolicae curae* (1896), a bull that dismissed Anglican orders as invalid and ended the search for Corporate Reunion by liberal Catholics and conservative Anglicans. To some, it seemed that Rome was capitalizing on Anglicans' desire to surrender, a view that was gratifying to Herbert Vaughan and no doubt encouraged his brother's belief that Catholicism could replace Anglicanism as a form of soft empire. Ward, *English Catholic Church*, 369–71; Holmes, *More Roman than Rome*, 223.

America. By supporting him, elite Latin Americans basked in the dual image of global good Samaritans as well as Catholic moderns, or enjoyed feelings of religious parity with the metropolis. Vaughan's crusade suggested national maturity and international kudos: the embrace of "Roman" or "English" fashions could represent a kind of cultural diplomacy from below.[11] At the same time, Vaughan's movement was locally mediated. Indeed, expiation changed in form, becoming less a subscription club than a confraternity (eventually with 7,000 members) that commemorated the dead and reflected local Catholic cultures—although it is true that the South American church histories, in particular, are more complicated than this paper has been able to convey with more limited primary sources. Without intermediaries to translate his project into the vernacular, even so, it is obvious that Vaughan's expiation work would not have gotten very far.

Vaughan's Empire of Repentance: 1878–1884

The Vaughans were born into an old English recusant family which under Elizabeth settled in the parish of Welsh Bicknor (in Courtfield, in Herefordshire). The family fled to Spain after supporting the Jacobite rebellion in the 1740s, with some ending up in the Spanish army—a fact that was made much of later. Herbert and Kenelm's English-born father, Colonel John Francis Vaughan, married the ultra-devout convert Eliza Rolls in 1830: they produced five daughters, all of whom entered the nunnery, and eight sons, six of whom became priests.[12] Kenelm David Francis Vaughan (b. August 12, 1840), the third son, followed his illustrious if uncharismatic older brother, Herbert (1832–1903), who was trained in Rome, made bishop of Salford at Manning's suggestion (1872–1892), and latterly elevated to archbishop of Westminster (1892–1903) and cardinal (1893), having founded the Missionary Society of Mill Hill (1866), forerunner of the Society of Saint Joseph of the Sacred Heart.[13] Father Kenelm, for his part, attended Saint Edmund's College at Ware, an old post-Reformation Catholic school, studied in the French seminary at Rome, and was ordained by his uncle, the bishop of Plymouth,

11. In this it resembled the martyrdoms of Mexican missionaries to seventeenth-century Japan, which showed that New Spain—as a net exporter of martyrs—was leaving behind its subject, colonial status. Antonio Rubial García, *La santidad controvertida: hagiografía y conciencia criolla alrededor de los venerables no canonizados de Nueva España* (Mexico City, 2001). On association fever, see Edward Wright-Rios, *Revolutions in Mexican Catholicism: Reform and Revelation in Oaxaca, 1887–1934* (Durham, 2008).

12. Snead-Cox, *Life of Cardinal Vaughan*, I, 1–8.

13. Snead-Cox, *Life of Cardinal Vaughan*, I, 118–19, 125–38.

in 1865.[14] His ecclesiastical persona blended these recusant and patrician roots. At home, he cultivated the fugitive image of an English mendicant, "sent to beg" in Latin America. In Latin America, he portrayed himself as the Roman envoy who was giving people the chance, for a fee, to alter history by catholicizing the British empire.

By the time Vaughan launched what he initially called his Expiation Work (*obra de expiación*), he was well-known in Latin America thanks to a Bible subscription service, pitched as charity, that he developed in the 1870s. This scheme was born of a newspaper polemic that Vaughan conducted with William Urwick, Anglican reverend of Hatherlow (Cheshire), who had seconded the British Foreign Bible Society's claim that tradition-bound Rome objected to reading the good book. Rome said the Bible was for everyone, Vaughan countered—provided that it *was* the Bible, meaning the Catholic Bible, that they read.[15] The next step was colportage in South America, Vaughan's aim being to produce 50,000 Bibles for sale at 30 cents. Such a project was necessary, he wrote, given the state of biblical knowledge and morality in the Andes, where "novels, romances, and immoral books of all kinds" proliferated, spreading "seeds of Voltaire-ism." As we can see, Vaughan's early sales pitch rested on presumptions of American immorality and ignorance, which required England's role as civilizing, literacy-bringing savior. Vaughan's Bible scheme was first tried, with success, in South America, where the bishops of Caracas, Bogotá, Quito, Lima, Buenos Aires, La Plata, and Santiago—and the presidents of Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia, Peru, Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay—all took out subscriptions.[16]

In 1879, during the early years of Porfirio Díaz's regime, Vaughan took his scheme to Mexico. Here, too, wealthy Catholics were offered the chance to buy tickets (*papeletas*) that would defray the cost of printing economical New Testaments, which they would then be able to distribute among the poor. Archbishop of Mexico Pelagio Antonio Labastida y

14. "Obituary: The Rev. Kenelm Vaughan," *The Tablet*, May 22, 1909, p. 811.

15. Kenelm Vaughan, *The Papacy and the Bible: A Controversy between the Rev. Kenelm Vaughan, of Archbishop's House, Westminster, and the Rev. William Urwick, M.A., of Hatherlow (Reprinted from the Manchester Examiner and Times), with a Preface* (Manchester, 1874). Kenelm Vaughan, *The Popular Uses of the Bible Encouraged by the Catholic Church by the Rev. Kenelm Vaughan* (London, 1873).

16. Kenelm Vaughan, *Tres cartas á los habitantes del Perú por el presbítero Kenelm Vaughan pidiéndoles su ayuda para popularizar las Sagradas Escrituras* (Lima, 1872). Kenelm Vaughan, *Invitación que hace a los fieles el presbítero Kenelm Vaughan para que coadyuven a la obra de la impresión y propagación de las Sagradas Escrituras* (Sucre, 1875).

Dávalos urged people to buy as many as they could, and himself bought numerous *papeletas*. In an open letter, Vaughan appealed to "well-off people" to become subscribers, promising to publish their names in the press. Vaughan's mission was genially controversial. *Ilustración Católica*, for instance, chided the liberal ("Protestant") newspaper, *El Monitor Republicano*, which welcomed Vaughan to Mexico and sarcastically hoped that he would make many friends (but no converts).[17]

Donating Bibles to poor Latin Americans lacked the cachet to draw consistent support from the political elite, particularly as the scheme clumsily disregarded the religious publishing industry in Latin America and insisted that Bibles be printed in London, where "typographical perfection" existed, then shipped to Latin America.[18] Vaughan's other ideas were more gauche. At this time he proposed to build a kind of spiritual gunboat called *The Christopher*—he dubbed it his "Naval Basilica"—and man it with a crew of priests, sailors, and a bishop before sailing up the Amazon and round South America, dropping anchor to deliver sacraments to heathens.[19] On his 1870s Andean tours, Vaughan behaved like an ecclesiastical Indiana Jones, even a grave-robber. On an 1875 journey to Bolivia, he caught fever and survived by riding a mule to the convent at Tarija, near the Argentinian border, where the Franciscan friars restored his health. In the convent library, Vaughan read of the martyred eighteenth-century Jesuit, Julián de Lizardi, killed by Chiriguano people in 1735. Lizardi's resting place was unknown, prompting Vaughan to lead a frantic search for the martyr's tomb. In the crypt of a local church he found a *Hic jacet* ("Here lies") plaque bearing Lizardi's name, and soon had a crew of stonemasons poking holes in the church walls with a crowbar, until at last the catafalque was found in a cavity. Vaughan was not shy about opening the box, happily noting that Lizardi's thighbone still wore its leather cilice and that his coffin contained a palm leaf, symbol of martyrdom. He then tried to expatriate Lizardi's remains to England, but the local bishop put a stop to it and Vaughan had to make do with one amputated finger for his relic. Vaughan was still boasting of his discovery to Mexican reporters years later: a book

17. "Miscelánea: La Propaganda de las Sagradas Escrituras en la Ciudad de México," *La Voz de México*, April 20, 1879, p. 2. Kenelm Vaughan, "Kenelm Vaughan," *Ilustración Católica*, April 20, 1879, p. 254; "La Propaganda Católica de las Sagradas Escrituras en la Ciudad de México," April 22, 1879, stored in Mexico City, Archivo Histórico del Arzobispado de México (AHAM), Fondo Labastida y Dávalos, caja 222/expediente 36, Labastida's 1879 draft.

18. On Latin American print politics, see Corinna Zeltsman, *Ink under the Finger Nails: Printing Politics in Nineteenth-Century Mexico* (Oakland, 2021).

19. "Una Iglesia Flotante," *La Voz de México*, November 29, 1884, p. 1.

he wrote to kickstart Lizardi's beatification contained photos of "barbarous Chinguanos, Indians of Bolivia," replete with spears and loincloths.[20]

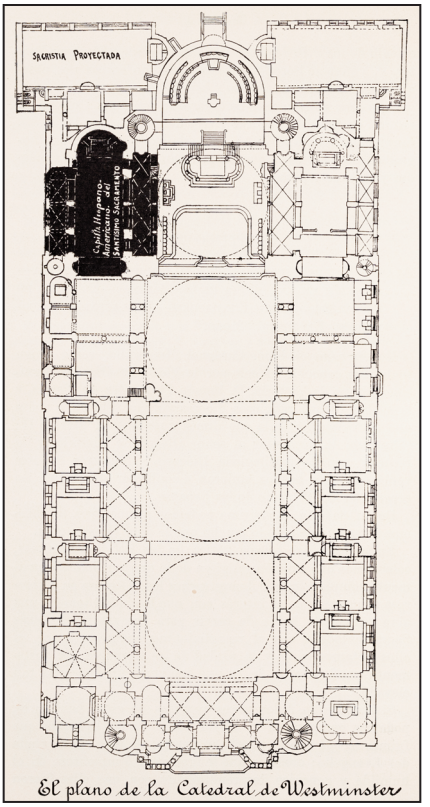
By 1876, however, Vaughan's thoughts were turning to a new scheme, the "system of universal Expiation" that he duly presented to Cardinal Manning and to Pius IX, both of whom gave their blessing. Two years later in Peru, now dubbing himself "Cardinal Manning's private chaplain," Vaughan launched his project with an invitation to his "friends from the Republics of South America" to begin a work to "assuage the Eternal Father's fury at England" for denying Christ's Real Presence in the Mass through act of Parliament. Vaughan then set out his plan to build a society of expiator priests in London and a chapel, paid for by South American Catholics.[21] Apparently Pius IX reassured Vaughan that no work was more pleasing to God. An English version of the project, *A Proposal of a General Expiation*, was published in New York, but there is no evidence that the U.S. hierarchy, clergy, or faithful backed it.[22]

The General Expiation was interesting in how it made Latin Americans complicit in English history and gave Catholic devotionalism a determining, corrective role in world affairs. As Peru's apostolic delegate wrote in the preface, the work must convince God to spare England, as Noah before the flood, for the "deluge of evils" stemming from England's national sin, the Anglican Church (an "apostate schism"). Now Latin Americans had a chance to ensure that the Eucharistic Christ was honored in "the Metropolis where for three centuries due adoration has been denied to that redeeming blood, which washes away sin." Indeed, the opening of a religious house in London's Beaufort Street, near the new cathedral site

20. Kenelm Vaughan, "Extranjero. Como el Sr. Pbro. Kenelm Vaughan Descubrió los Restos del Venerable Mártir Padre Julián de Lizardi, de la Compañía de Jesús," *El Tiempo*, December 1, 1900. *Descubrimiento de los restos del Venerable Padre Julián de Lizardi (de la Compañía de Jesús) y su traslación de Tarija a Buenos Aires por el presbítero Kenelm Vaughan* (Barcelona, 1901), 2–10, 25, 71–76. As an appendix, Vaughan's book reprinted the 1741 Jesuit history of Lizardi, *Vida y virtudes del venerable mártir P. Julián de Lizardi (de la Compañía de Jesús), por el Padre Pedro Lozano (de la misma compañía)*.

21. Kenelm Vaughan, *Breve exposición sobre la formación de una reunión de sacerdotes con el objeto de aplacar la ira del padre eterno contra Inglaterra por haber negado á su único hijo en el Santísimo Sacramento, por Kenelm Vaughan (capellán privado del cardenal Manning), quien espera de sus amigos de estas Repúblicas Sud Americanas se dignen echar los cimientos de esta obra, inscribiéndose como fundadores de la misma* (Lima, 1878).

22. Kenelm Vaughan, *A Letter on the Work of Universal Expiation Addressed with the Approval of His Grace the Most Rev. Archbishop of Baltimore to the Venerable Hierarchy of the United States of America, Assembled at the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1884), 2–3.



Floorplan of Westminster Cathedral showing the "Hispanic-American Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament." Vaughan, *Viajes en España y Sud-América*, p. 52. Image courtesy of Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas at Austin.

at Westminster, would allow priests to train as spiritual athletes, "immolating themselves spiritually in expiation of the sins committed against the Son of God by England" and "going like the ambassadors of nations before the throne of God to ask for the forgiveness of the world's sins and to weep for them with Jesus." It was like a penitent's world's fair, where national cries for forgiveness would be orchestrated, ensuring that "the mercy of He who heeds humble, trusting, and persevering pleas" rained down on England.[23] Vaughan's text gave the Henrician reformation determining power in modern history. Vaughan began by lamenting the "pagan" secularism

23. *Breve exposición*, 5–6, 23–24.

that reigned in schools and universities, and the warfare that had ravaged Europe. For such punishments—though England escaped the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871)—there must have been a major cause. For Vaughan it was surely "the sacrilegious outrages" suffered daily by the Blessed Sacrament in England, which must be expiated through a devotional homage, creating "a chalice of the world's tears" and offering it to God.[24] It was a lot of blame to lay at the feet of Cranmer's *Book of Common Prayer* and its non-realistic theology of the Eucharist.[25] It was nonsensical, too: if Anglican divines could not conjure Christ, weren't their profanations hypothetical?[26]

Really the aim was to cement England's claim as Catholic metropolis on the basis of an historic mistake; and, perhaps, to cement Latin Americans' attachment to the Blessed Sacrament at precisely the moment that this was being challenged by Protestant missionizing. Painful as it was to admit the reasons, Vaughan asserted, England must take the lead in a global expiation: if the English had created wise institutions, they had violated the first commandment by enshrining contempt for the "real and true presence" of Christ in the sacrament in their laws. The English disdained adoration of the Eucharist as an "atrocious crime," Vaughan said; when Christ said "This is My body," England's brazen reply was "It is not." Worse still, Britain's flag now flew over the world, spreading hatred of the Mass. Having incited other nations to rebel against God's Church, "England is called to be the first country to awaken from its death slumber and crimes and offer to God's offended majesty a cup of tears," through a "generous and humble general Expiation." "No country needs expiation more than England," Manning told Vaughan in 1877, because no country enjoyed more wealth or boasted of "three hundred years of schism."[27]

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24. *Breve exposición*, 12–16.

25. Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* (New Haven, 1996), 180–84, 382–83.

26. As Herbert Vaughan wrote to Lord Halifax after *Apostolicae curae* declared that Anglican orders were null and void (1896): "You and I ought to rejoice to think that [English] men have not had the power to profane and dishonour Our Lord in the B. Eucharist during the last three centuries, which they would have had were their Orders valid. Think of how the bread and wine have been treated, not only by clergymen but by sacristans and the people generally, who disbelieved in any real presence. Think of how shocking it would have been if men were actually producing Our Lord—not to be honoured and adored, but in truth to be disowned and dishonoured by themselves and the people." Holmes, *More Roman than Rome*, 223.

27. *Breve exposición*, 16–20.

It was notable at this time that Vaughan justified his appeal to Latin Americans on two pragmatic grounds. One was economic: English Catholics' supposed poverty and low numbers ("English Catholics being very limited in number and most of them being very poor"). All that Vaughan dared to ask of such a tiny, impoverished flock was an "expiation tribute" of sixpence per head. Yet, in fact, by the 1890s there were nearly two million Catholics in Britain, among them forty-one peers, fifty-four baronets, twenty-eight knights, cabinet ministers, and a growing professional class.[28] So a South American might reasonably ask why they were being tapped at £50 to cover the £5,000 cost of Vaughan's religious house. Was it because, as Vaughan claimed, they showed a "great desire . . . to see England return to the faith of Christ, so that its great power and influence disprove the calumnies of today's heretics and atheists, who want to see in Catholicism an obstacle to true progress"? Latin Americans' Eucharistic fervor, Vaughan said, convinced him that God had "destined them to carry out the great change" of saving England. Vaughan's second justification, however, was national competition. The "Monument of Expiation" should be in England, as the world's metropolis, he wrote. "Its location in London" would also create

> a central point where there will be permanent exposition of the Blessed Sacrament and permanent adoration of His Majesty in the whole world's name, as a sign of enduring and universal devotion. In Paris they are building, on the spot where the Communards [sic] committed their horrible crimes, a temple of expiation of the first order, under the protection of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus; so in London, near England's legislative chambers, where three hundred years ago the decree was issued banishing the Incarnate Word in the Holy Eucharist, there shall rise a Westminster Cathedral, a "Monument of Expiation" for the injury done to the Son of God present on the altars.[29]

Vaughan was asking people to pay out of the goodness of their hearts and, additionally, on the premise that English Catholics were both incapable and worldbeaters. It was not surprising that the initial response was not all that was hoped. Newspaper reports—Mexican papers provide an example—give clues as to the project's reception. It was noticeable, first of all, how Catholic newspapers strove to dispel the image of an English empire-builder by latinizing him. When describing Vaughan, for instance, ("tall, slim, clear-eyed"), journalists romanized him. According to *La Voz de México*, Vaughan

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28. Stewart J. Brown, *Providence and Empire: Religion, Politics, and Society in the United Kingdom, 1815–1914* (London, 2013), 410–12.

29. *Breve exposición*, 20–27. Montmartre's Sacré Coeur was not completed until 1914.

"look[ed] like an apostle from the Church's first centuries"; there was "none of the proverbial British reserve" about him, only an "Italian" impetuosity and enthusiasm.[30] This suggested suspicion of the envoys of "powerful Albion," as *La Voz* called England. This second story also offered a labored defense of Vaughan's decision to come cap in hand. Though funds were "easily" obtainable in England, Vaughan desired that "pious Mexico" should have the chance to join a "sublime" endeavor, avenging England's betrayal of the transubstantiated Christ. Yet why England needed Mexico's help was not clear from *La Voz*'s depiction of waning "anti-Catholic fanaticism" under Victoria and of the old religion gushing forth.[31]

Provincial newspaper reports in the 1880s also suggested that Mexican support was top-down and mainly confined to the episcopate. In January 1884, Vaughan celebrated a Triduum in the Sagrario Metropolitano (the parish attached to Mexico City's Cathedral), where he preached alongside Ignacio Montes de Oca y Obregón (the orator-bishop of San Luis Potosí), "the famous [Jesuit] Father [Gerardo] Rivas," and Antonio Plancarte. Clearly, Vaughan needed the help of such influencers, and a pamphlet was soon circulating likening him to the "weeping prophet," Jeremiah. People were also told that they could leave donations with a treasurer, John F. Alsopp, though it is unclear how many did so. Henceforth, *La Voz* reported, Vaughan went "region to region" asking for help to avenge "England's sin," its profaning of the Blessed Sacrament, and its carrying of Protestantism to India, Australia, and elsewhere.[32] Yet it seems that Vaughan was a roving guest of the episcopate as much as anything. In July, he was in Morelia, west of Mexico City, where Archbishop Árciga wrote a pastoral letter endorsing his expiation of the "crimes and profanations" occurring everywhere but "principally in England, since the terrible days of the Anglican schism." By March 1885, Vaughan was in León, in the central Bajío region, where the bishop made a donation and recommended Vaughan's movement to his flock. A month later, Vaughan was in Puebla, southeast of Mexico City, whose bishop also blessed his work.[33]

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30. "El Sr. Pbro. Kenelm Vaughan," *La Voz de México*, January 22, 1884, p. 2.

31. "Editorial. Obra de Exposición General," *La Voz de México*, December 18, 1883, p. 1.

32. "El Sr. Pbro. Kenelm Vaughan," *La Voz de México*, January 22, 1884, p. 2; "La Expiación General," *La Voz de México*, February 1, 1884, p. 1; and "Obra de Expiación General Iniciada por el Pbro. Kenelm Vaughan," *La Voz de México*, February 7, 1884, p. 3. *Obra de la Propaganda Católica de las Sagradas Escrituras en la República Mexicana* (Mexico City, 1879).

33. "La Obra de la Expiación," *El Tiempo*, July 11, 1884; "La Obra de la Expiación Universal," *El Tiempo*, March 28, 1885; "La Obra de la Expiación en Puebla," *El Tiempo*, April 14, 1885.

What Mexican laypeople thought is uncertain, but the anglocentrism was perhaps hard to grasp, especially as it echoed in the organization's devotional practice. There remain only a few accounts of devotional happenings, unfortunately, but those that remain show that these devotions reflected English tastes. In July 1885, for example, in Durango, in Mexico's center north, Vaughan led spiritual exercises on the theme of expiation and received support—money, prayers, advice—from *durangueños*. The bishop praised Vaughan's efforts to end England's centuries-long insult to "His infinite Majesty" and gave 250 pesos to the cause. A better description is found in *El Tiempo*'s report of Vaughan's visit to Toluca, near Mexico City, in October. Here Vaughan led an all-day fiesta in the San José church beginning at 7 a.m. with a performance of Rossini's "Ave Maria," sung by one Stanislas McNutt. There then followed acts of expiation, in the form of recitations. The fiesta continued into the afternoon with male voices singing Charles Gounod's "O Salutaris Hostia," a Rosary, "blessing with the *Santísimo Sacramento*," and a reading of Jeremiah's lamentations.[34] Clearly, Vaughan had imported an English devotion, Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, a superficially ultramontane, extra-liturgical evening service that was rooted in England's recusant tradition and functioned as a popular rival to Anglican Evensong.[35] Sunday Benediction was recorded in Richard Challoner's *Garden of the Soul* (c. 1740), a quintessentially English devotional manual, but which originated in older service orders in the colleges at Douai and St. Omers. Even to Victorian Catholics, Mary Heimann writes, the devotion was associated with miraculous healing. More significantly, it was associated from the mid-nineteenth century with prayers for England's conversion. In 1869, the English episcopate decreed that Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament be performed on second Sundays with "the conversion of England" as its intention. In the 1886 *Manual of Prayers for Congregational Use*, it contained this refrain: "For the conversion of England. Spare, O Lord, spare Thy people, and be not angry with us for ever."[36]

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34. "Correspondencia de los Estados—Durango," *La Voz de México*, November 25, 1885, p. 2. "La Obra de la Expiación Universal en Durango," *El Tiempo*, July 15, 1885. "Función Religiosa," *El Tiempo*, October 1, 1884.

35. The practice is derived from a Eucharistic hymn written by Aquinas. In the English ceremony, the priest takes the Host from the tabernacle and places it in a monstrance on a throne over the tabernacle. The priest incenses the Blessed Sacrament, while the choir sings "O Salutaris Hostia," then the "Te Deum," the Litany of the Blessed Virgin, and a canticle or antiphon, followed by the "Tantum Ergo." The Blessed Sacrament is again incensed, the prayer "Deus, qui nobis" is read, and the priest, mantled with the veil, makes the sign of the cross with the monstrance over the people. This is done in silence, to emphasize that it is Christ the Priest not the human priest who performs the Benediction. Heimann, *Catholic Devotion*, 46.

36. Heimann, *Catholic Devotion*, 52–55.

Said three times and set to French and Italian music, such English devotionalism was perhaps rather alien to Mexican Catholics. There is not much evidence at this point that lay Catholics had taken Vaughan's project to heart. A lone counter-example is found in a verse, "La expiación (poema)," written by Domingo Argunosa. Yet perhaps Vaughan commissioned it—it was read aloud in services launching his work, after all, and someone had it published in the newspapers. The poem began rhetorically, exalting the poverty of the poet's lyre, then rehearsed Jeremiah's call for biblical cities such as Salem to repent. The climactic section, "Siglo XIX," called for a modern expiation: it described humanity's prideful achievements, the vanity of its science, and the "Sodom and Gomorrah" of its cities, where godlessness reigned. It ran:

> Let us unite loyally behind the idea
> Of building a church of "Expiation"
> In the heart of the offending nation
> That insulted the august Blessed Sacrament
> With vile, apostate, and satanic intent
> In the British metropolis over the sea.

The poem closed with a promise that a new Church would arise from the ruined churches of England, where "sacrilegious reformers' hands" had done their worst.[37] It is not so surprising that Vaughan's invitation to Latin American Catholics to assume a transnational identity that was premised on loyalty to a "metropolis over the sea," in reparation for a 350-year old rupture, purely out of love for the Eucharistic Christ, fell on deaf ears. As it stood, Vaughan's imagined Catholic community was, frankly, unimaginable.

Vaughan's *Belle Époque*, 1898–1906

By 1883, Vaughan's movement had raised £5,579, well short of its target. Clearly there was doubt that the requisite sum would be raised, because promotional literature from the time promised founding partners (*socios fundadores*) a refund, plus interest accrued in the London and Westminster Bank, if the work were scrapped. That sounded like investment advice, not a crusade.[38] Yet, as it turned out, when Vaughan's work resumed in 1898 it met with much greater success. There were various reasons for

37. Domingo Argunosa, "La expiación (poema)," *El Tiempo*, November 9, 1884, pp. 1–2: "Unámonos leales a la idea/ de levantar á la 'Expiación' un templo/ En el mismo lugar donde insultaron/ Al Santísimo, Augusto Sacramento/ Con lengua vil, apóstata, y satánica/ Allende la metrópoli británica." The English version above is the author's translation.

38. Kenelm Vaughan, *Catecismo de expiación* (Puerto Rico, 1883), 56.

this. One was his brother's promotion from bishop of Salford (Manchester) to the archdiocese of Westminster (1892), and his elevation to cardinal the following year. The second was that in the interim, Vaughan had formalized his movement. What was initially a "proposal" for, or "system" of, expiation had now morphed into a sodality, the Confraternity of Divine Expiation, which was canonically instituted by Cardinal Manning in 1885 (or 1886); it was then elevated to archconfraternity by Leo XIII (1893), by which time, Vaughan claimed, it was spreading worldwide "like warmth from a fire in the hearts of the faithful." This reorganization was important because it signified Roman status. It also gave expiation a more social, guild-like aspect, which made it more popular. As the archconfraternity handbook put it, there were no membership fees; all that was required was daily performance of a voluntary (everyday) penitence, an involuntary one (abstinence, fasting, or temperance), or the bearing of some burden sent by God (illness, disaster, war). These were simple requirements, such that membership could sit easily with participation in other sodalities, for instance, Blessed Sacrament confraternities, which were still common in Latin America. At the same time, the idea of a special sharing in Christ's Priesthood was emphasized. Confreres were nailed to the cross alongside Christ, as Paul promised (Galations 2:20). For virtuosi, privileges including sensory deprivation, mortification, flagellation, and the wearing of hairshirts or the *catenella* (chain) were permitted.[39] A good death, embraced with the words "Father, to Your hands I commend my spirit," was prescribed. As social, ascetic, and deathbed practices were built in, pejorative references to the Henrician reformers, and the civilizing language of before, were toned down. Instead, confreres were redefined as modern mystics: just as modern cities created fire brigades, they must make spiritual fire brigades to douse Satan's fires with their tears, "with the special aim of saving our brothers' and sisters' souls from being burned by the fire of Hell."[40]

Along with a more exciting devotional identity, there came a social, biblical one, expressed through a flag, badge, and livery. The symbolic language was rather arcane, but perhaps this was to encourage confreres' sense of being exceptional spiritual athletes. In his 1903 book, for instance,

39. As another 1890s text put it, confrères must offer an expiatory sacrifice to God with the intention of expiating the sins of the living and dead, "in union with our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament as the Adorer, the Pleader, and the Victim who offers Himself for the sins of men." Letter from Kenelm Vaughan to Gilman, December 11, 1893, stored in Baltimore, John Hopkins University Sheridan Libraries, Daniel Coit Gilman Papers, folder 1.48–29; Kenelm Vaughan, *The Archconfraternity of the Divine Expiation* (New York, 1893), 1–9.

40. *Archicofradía de la Divina Expiación* (Mexico City, 1905), 3–12, 39–40.

Travels in Spain and South America,[41] Vaughan stated that the sodality's founder was Saint Jeremiah, the Old Testament's "weeping prophet" whose love of the Word was shown in his constant devotions in the Temple in Jerusalem, his lamentations for human wickedness, and his desire to offer himself in sacrifice like a lamb.[42] Confreres were modern Jeremiahs; their signs were the T-shaped Tau cross (the Cross of Saint Anthony), which was supposedly the same shape as the one at Calvary, and *cereus grandifloris*, a cactus that flowered at night, representing Latin American Catholics and the possibility of redemption in the night of human apostasy.[43] The confraternity shield—which showed divine thunderbolts sparing a city that was protected by the cross, the cactus, and the Eucharistic Host—integrated these elements. The triangle, from which the lightning bolts emanated, represented the oneness of the Trinity; the city represented the world; the clouds were the darkness of human incredulity and the rain tears of contrition, shed on the cross; the consecrated Host was a sort of lightning rod. The numerals V and VII represented Christ's five wounds and the confraternity's seven protectors, including Jeremiah. The sodality flag was a rune composed of forty-six symbolic elements that told the story of human expiation.[44]

As his book retold, Vaughan returned to South America in 1898, with the blessing of his brother and Leo XIII, arriving in Buenos Aires that November before touring "Catholic" cities such as Córdoba and Rosario. This time, Vaughan began with a presentation to the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament in the Buenos Aires cathedral and relied on laypeople to evangelize from the get-go. As Emilio Lamarca wrote in *La Nación*, nobody should be surprised that Argentine Catholics were paying for an English cathedral, since English Catholics had been despoiled during the Reformation and were poor. Yet, Lamarca wrote, expiation was most notable for the way that it strengthened relations between Argentina and England, going beyond commercial interests to a place where "sacrifice and selflessness begin, traits characteristic of Christianity." F. Durá in *La Voz de la Iglesia* wrote that the world's future was in England; therefore, it was good for Catholic nations to join in, now that English Protestantism was decomposing. As Durá had it, confreres should pray for England so that

41. Kenelm Vaughan, *Viajes en España y Sud-América: con el objeto de conseguir fondos para la capilla Hispano-Americana del Santísimo Sacramento en la Catedral de Westminster, Londres* (New York, 1904).

42. *Viajes*, 207–15.

43. *Viajes*, 234–37, 239–41.

44. *Viajes*, 241–49.

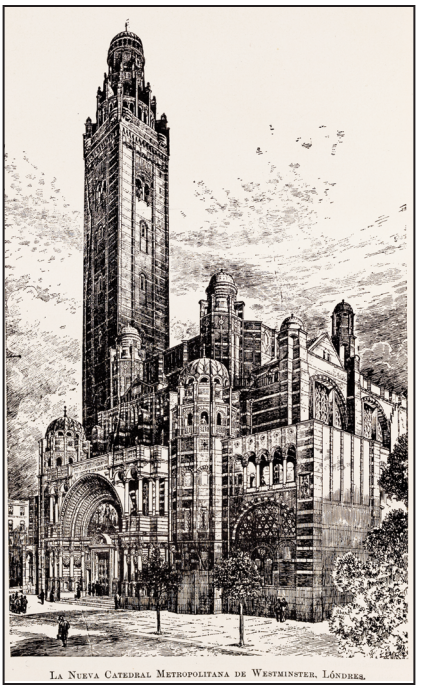
Founder members of Argentina's Confraternity of Divine Expiation, including President Julio Roca and Archbishop Uladislao Castellano. Vaughan, *Viajes en España y Sud-América*, p. 93. Image courtesy of Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas at Austin.

its religious scene realigned with its technical, political, commercial, and sporting achievements. "Blessed will be those who dress in serge, develop their physical strength in athletic games, or inspire their ideals with strong liquor," he wrote: "The future of the human race is in the English race, and

more than that, in the English ideal of life, and since there is no way to avoid what will be, let us anticipate such transformative events." Thus expiation was linked to developing commercial ties, diplomacy, and anglophilia. Perhaps this was why confreres now included former presidents Bartolomé Mitre and Julio Roca, who recalled how Vaughan's great grandfather had answered a call from the Viceroy of the River Plate to defend Spanish territory from Portugal: if Vaughan's ancestor had saved Argentina, was it not "just" to second his descendent's project? Vaughan himself hit on a popular idea—celebrating masses for the souls of dead confreres—and left Argentina with sixty-eight *fundadores*.[45]

In Paraguay, similar results were obtained. Here Vaughan arrived in Asunción before visiting various Jesuit missions by train and reaching Concepción by steamer. Former minister plenipotentiary to England (and student at King's College) Colonel Juan Crisóstomo Centurión backed his initiative, petitioning congress to endorse the work so that Paraguay was among the first nations to support "the great principle of fraternal union among the Latin and Anglo-Saxon races."[46] In Uruguay, too, the confraternity was reframed as a seal of international, implicitly strategic, friendship. Here the president suspended a law prohibiting the disembarcation of foreign religious ministers after a visit from the British diplomat Harrington; *El Bien* wrote that Westminster Cathedral would be a modern Pantheon—just as pagan peoples had wanted a space for their idols there, Christian nations would want to be remembered in London. In Chile also, where Vaughan went next in 1900, fraternal unity was the theme. Here Vaughan visited Santiago and Valparaíso, and ailing president Federico Errázuriz became a *socio-fundador*. Unusually, support for Vaughan became somewhat politicized: after liberal newspaper *La Libertad Electoral* published an attack, *La Tarde* defended Vaughan, stating that he had not come to "beg for a few pounds," but to create union among English and Chilean Catholics. *La Unión* also applauded his efforts to unite "those two races whose weight has so shaped the history of the world," using "the strongest link," i.e. religion. Trade linked Chile to England, it said, but interests changed; a union rooted in Christian fraternity would last. Newspapers reported that Vaughan was now seconded by members of the Spanish colony, Catholic women, and some humble Catholics.[47]

45. *Viajes*, 79–95.
46. *Viajes*, 97–104.
47. *Viajes*, 109–31.



"The New Metropolitan Cathedral of Westminster, London." Vaughan, *Viajes en España y Sud-América*, p. 4. Image courtesy of Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas at Austin.

This pattern repeated. In Peru, which he reached in 1901, Vaughan held a Mass for the dead in Lima, and *fundadores* included high ranking politicians such as Nicolás de Piérola and President Eduardo L. de Romaña. Ex-treasury minister Rafael Quiroz denounced press attacks on Vaughan, mocking liberal incredulity that Peru's Catholics might "spontaneously" support his cause simply "because they believe in those Masses." Why should they submit their morality to the judgment of "so-called *liberals*"? Here, too, there was evidence of broadening take-up. Lima had a lay committee raising funds and the superior of the Capuchin convent presented Vaughan with an *Ecce Homo* painting and some relics to take to London, including a fragment of Saint Rose of Lima. Vaughan also received sixty silver links for making a chain for the lamps in his Westminster chapel.[48] In Bolivia, finally, which he reached in 1902 by steamship

48. *Viajes*, 134–54.

and train, Vaughan got mountain sickness, but nonetheless made it through the mining center of Ororu and Cochabamba, a Catholic, hispanic city, as well many Aymara pueblos.[49]

In South America, then, Vaughan's 1898–1903 tour denoted cultural engagement with empire and was driven by elite anglophilia, self-interest, and a sense of spiritual virtuosity. The years 1903–1906 were spent in Mexico. This trip was also more successful than those that went before, though for different reasons than in South America. Admittedly, the commonwealth idea was again stressed. Building the Westminster chapel was "well within" the gift of Great Britain's Catholic aristocracy, said the *Mexican Herald*, yet the Vaughans were "actuated by devotion to an ideal," to build a "better mutual understanding" between England and Latin America based on faith. It was not Mexicans' money that was sought: they were being invited instead to give "an object-lesson to the English people on the unity and universality of the Catholic faith."[50] As this note in Mexico City's English-language daily implies, however, the campaign also succeeded in so far as it studiously cultivated the capital city's elite, the English colony included.[51] More significantly, expiation practices became Mexicanized and lay-led. In March 1904, a relaunch was announced by a lay committee whose surnames evoked landed wealth and standing: Luis Gutiérrez Otero, Joaquín de Haro, Tirso Sainz, Pedro Gorozpe, Manuel F. de la Hoz, Agustín Caballero de los Olivos, Rómulo Escudero y Pérez Gallardo, Claudio Limón Segui, Angel Vivanco Esteve, and so forth. They lauded Vaughan's idea and Catholic pedigree: his brother was a cardinal, whose support created "infinite horizons" for the project. It was interesting, though, how the committee reclaimed the Vaughans as virtual Latins. The brothers "[a]re English; but their blood is mixed with Spanish blood, and their ancestors lived for years in those Iberian lands, so long distinguished by their intimate and burning Catholic sentiment—as England was in happier days." The Vaughans were a "marvelous" mixture of Spanish fervor and "Anglo-Saxon" energy, "a fusion of the Catholic soul of the Spanish race and the Catholic soul of the Saxon race." Yet their greatest asset was love of the Blessed Sacrament, which led them to offer a "universal homage, in the

49. *Viajes*, 156–62, 185.

50. "For a Religious Ideal: Noted English Catholic Priest Visits Mexico," *Mexican Herald*, May 31, 1904, p. 2.

51. Mexico City is divided up into large neighborhoods called *colonias*, or colonies. Hence "the English colony" denotes an area where many English expatriates resided; it was also shorthand for English people living in Mexico City, and was a term used by journalists and educated people as well as very colloquially.

heart of England, in the dizzying metropolis of human activity, to the Real Presence of Jesus Christ." Prayers of English penitence would ascend to heaven wrapped in the zeal of Latin America. It was a divine idea.[52]

If there were echoes of the Díaz regime's racial theory here, generally the confraternity was becoming Mexicanized in a religious sense. Its literature was now emblazoned with the image of a painting from the church of Tenancingo (Méx.), as used by its Sociedad de Expiación Divina.[53] Second, the movement was now based in the National Monument of Expiation (*templo expiatorio nacional)*, dedicated to San Felipe de Jesús, Mexico's first saint, where Mexican priest Carmelo F. Blay was the contact. Vaughan himself wrote a letter to the archbishop of Mexico requesting the canonical institution of his work in Mexico City's Byzantine church of expiation.[54] He also celebrated a farewell Mass to Mexico there at the conclusion of his visit in February 1906.[55] Third, Vaughan made a point of celebrating masses for deceased *fundadores*, this time in the churches of San Francisco and the Sacred Heart. Though his sermons made the usual points (eulogizing the "Catholic Spanish race" for its loyalty to Christ, asking for help to found a "house of tears" in London), Vaughan was careful to lead prayers for Mexico's dear departed souls: Bishops Labastida y Dávalos (Mexico), Árciga (Michoacán), Loza (Guadalajara), and Fathers Plancarte and Rivas. Seats at these services were organized around a catafalque, ranked by preeminence. Attendees left calling cards inside the church doors to mark their presence. Vaughan's audiences now included someone very prominent: Carmen Romero de Rubio, "Mrs. Porfirio Díaz."[56] Vaughan also delivered sermons in Gante Street, another significant piece of the capital's religious geography: like the *templo expiatorio*, it backed on to the convent of San Francisco, secularized during the 1850s Reform. In different ways, then, Vaughan's work now reflected Mexican tastes and social hierarchies: it felt like a confraternity with its prayers for the dead, and acquired a mexicanized aesthetic. Saving England was even

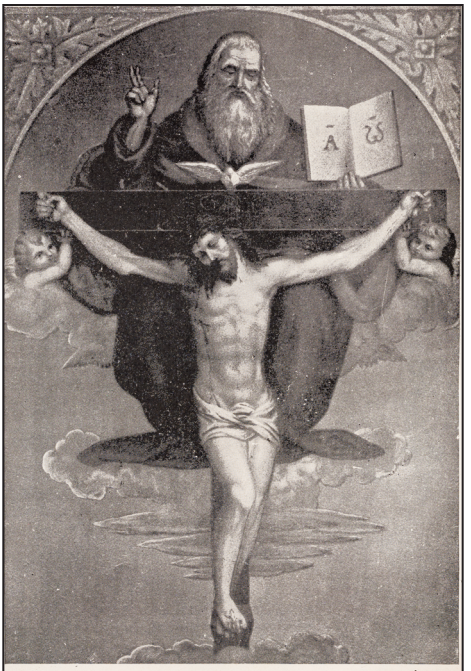
52. "La Misión Social-Religiosa del P. Vaughan," *El Tiempo*, October 22, 1904.

53. *Archicofradía*, frontispiece. *Viajes*, frontispiece.

54. Vaughan to Alarcón, April 5, 1905, Cuernavaca, stored in Mexico City, AHAM, Fondon Próspero María Alarcón, c. 123/exp. 64.

55. "La Misión Social Religiosa del R. P. Kenelm Vaughan: Su Despedida de México," *El Tiempo*, February 25, 1906.

56. "Alocución Prounciada por el Sr. Pbro. Kenelm Vaughan, en la Solemnidad Fúnebre Celebrada en el Templo de San Francisco, de México, el 14 de Junio de 1904, en Sufragio por las Almas de los Socios Mexicanos Fundadores de la Obra de la Expiación," *El Tiempo*, June 16, 1904, p. 1, continues p. 4. "Memorial Services: Soleman Requiem Mass at Sacred Heart on Tuesday," June 13, 1904, and "Mrs. Díaz to Attend," September 28, 1904, *Mexican Herald,* p. 1.



Frontispiece of Vaughan's Chapel of Expiation in Westminster Cathedral. Vaughan, *Viajes en España y Sud-América*, p. 2. Image courtesy of Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas at Austin.

defined as a "Social Religious Mission," a nod to the leonine Social Catholicism that reached Mexico in 1895.[57]

The "British missionary" latterly found ways to make more sophisticated appeals to Mexican Catholics using English historical antecedents. For this, however, he received the support of the best orator in Mexico's episcopate, Montes de Oca, whose role as *socio fundador* he commemorated in September 1904 at a Mass and reception to which Mexican Catholics and members of the British and U.S. colonies were invited. Father Kenelm presented Montes de Oca with a certificate signed by Cardinal Vaughan, and to cement their friendship he and the bishop exchanged pleasantries in each

57. "Father Vaughan's Progress. Has Enlisted Prominent Catholics of Entire Republic in His Chapel," *Mexican Herald*, August 12, 1904, p. 2.

other's languages.[58] Montes de Oca quipped that he expected "no small dose of criticism" in the newspapers for talking in English about religion, yet to him it was joyous to see Catholics from Mexico, England, Ireland, the U.S., and Australia pray together, and for Mexicans to see "that not all inhabitants of those foreign countries have fallen off from the primitive faith, that we are all brethren obeying the supreme head and partaking of the same sacraments."[59] The sermon that Montes de Oca delivered earlier that day, in the Jesuit church of La Profesa, was a highly rhetorical restatement of Vaughan's purpose and was soon published. First Montes de Oca spoke of mighty Albion, "the kingdom that has just conquered the diamond mines of South Africa, which is master of Australia and a great part of Asia, still has possessions in America . . . and is lord of the seas." Yet it was not this England that asked Mexico for help. Then Montes de Oca spoke of medieval England, "Island of Saints," which produced King Ethelred (the pagan who fell at missionaries' feet), Edward the Confessor, Thomas Becket, the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, and the Gothic cathedrals at Canterbury and Rochester. This England, said Montes de Oca, was dead. The country that cried out, Montes de Oca continued, was persecuted England, a land sacked as only Mexico had been during the 1850s Reform. This was the England of Henry VIII's Star Chamber and the dissolution of the monasteries; of Thomas More and Edmund Campion; of martyrs hung, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn, which lived in the shadows until emancipation. Montes de Oca then rehearsed the horrors of Mexican anti-Catholicism, his purpose being, he said, "to make you see the connection between the current Church in Mexico and that of England." Mexico must be the good Samaritan, helping a downtrodden sister church to rise again, promoting a "Catholic renaissance" and establishing a "worthy rival" to the Westminster parliament. In his own sermon, Vaughan now described himself as a simple messenger, wanting to take Mexico's love of the Mass worldwide.[60]

This was altogether a more effective sales pitch—and the numbers do not lie. A breakdown of funds raised in Mexico suggests that the confraternity's base was widening. At the top was a group of ten 600-peso donors, four of them women, including "a distinguished lady" who wished to remain anonymous (though other records show it to be Romero de Rubio), as well as Archbishop Alarcón of Mexico, Montes de Oca, the

58. "La Recepción en Honor del Ilmo. Sr. Montes de Oca," *El Tiempo*, September 6, 1904.

59. "Honor Paid to Bishop," *Mexican Herald*, September 5, 1905, p. 2.

60. *Sermón del Ilmo. Sr. Dr. y Mtro. D. Ignacio Montes de Oca y Obregón, obispo de San Luis Potosí, pronunciada en la Iglesia de la Profesa, el 4 de septiembre de 1904, referente a la misión social-religiosa promovida por el Pbro. Kenelm Vaughan* (Mexico City, 1904), 1–15, 23–38.

British minister plenipotentiary, and various nobs with surnames to match (Braniff, Rincón Gallardo); below them was a tier of 150-peso donors that included various priests, then seven 100-peso donors, all women, and some thirty 50-peso donors, eleven of them women, but also featuring *pulque* baron Ignacio Torres Adalid. Interestingly, the 25, 20, 10, 5 and 1 peso bands contained larger numbers of priests (including the English canon, Thomas Twaites) and women. Some people gave heirlooms, suggesting emotional investment. Domitila Mexemin gave a ring valued at $50, and Father Ángel Genda a crucifix estimated at $250.[61] Buenaventura de Jesús Avalla gave Vaughan a large oil painting by seventeenth-century artist Bernardo Marimón, depicting Christ in the Garden of Olives, Peter with sword drawn, and Judas preparing for the kiss. This picture at one point had hung in the cloister at Tepotzotlán (Méx.), once an important Jesuit novitiate. Sympathetic reporters justified a gift of national patrimony by recalling how it had been "thrown aside" as trash "in the time of Minister Comonfort," that is, during the Reform (1856–1860), when convents were secularized by the liberal government.[62] In sum, expiation was becoming nationalized, and there was some truth in the *Mexican Herald*'s report that "prominent Catholics of [the] entire Republic" supported it.[63] Once again, the campaign's success again drew fire from liberal critics. A newspaper called *El Tercer Imperio* accused Vaughan of collecting funds illegally and extorting a million pesos. This was calumny, Vaughan said, but to end the polemic he was forced to publish his *bona fides* from the archbishops of Westminster and Mexico and Vatican secretary of state Merry del Val.[64]

Conclusion

What did Vaughan's Latin American efforts achieve? When he left South America, he had raised £14,600, with a £3,400 shortfall remaining to

61. "Father Vaughan Receives Gifts for Chapel," *Mexican Herald*, January 7, 1905. Mexico devalued its currency in 1902 to 2 pesos per dollar, so these 1905 gifts (which are given in peso values) would be worth 25 and 125 dollars at 1905 prices—around 850 and 4,500 dollars in today's money, which would have been a considerable amount for a non-wealthy person to donate for the building of a foreign church whose success was anything but guaranteed.

62. "A Valuable Gift. Painting, by Marimón, Presented to Father Vaughan," *Mexican Herald*, November 25, 1905, p. 3.

63. "Father Vaughan's Progress," *Mexican Herald,* August 12, 1904, p. 2.

64. "El P. Kenelm Vaughan," *El Tiempo*, Nov. 16, 1904, p. 1. "Approved by the Pope. Father Vaughan to Push Collection of Funds," *Mexican Herald*, June 21, 1904, p. 2; "Contributions Asked. Clergy Asked to Give to Spanish American Chapel Fund," *Mexican Herald,* October 27, 1904; and "Charges Are Refuted. Father Vaughan Does Not Handle Money Collected," *Mexican Herald,* November 14, 1904, p. 2.

complete the chapel (it cost £18,000) and a huge amount (£20,000) needed to endow the Divine Brotherhood.[65] After some economizing, the Mexican confreres basically rounded off the chapel fund. In his farewell Mass in San Felipe de Jesús, in February 1906, Vaughan revealed that his two-year mission (1904–1906) had raised £1,737 (29,000 pesos), mainly from *socios fundadores*, among them "the most Excellent Señora Doña Carmen Romero de Rubio" and the bishops of Mexico's Catholic heartland (México, Michoacán, Guadalajara, Puebla, and a few others). Yet there were now two local offices for collecting funds, in Mexico City and Guadalajara, and twelve local treasurers remitting funds from central Mexico (Mexico City, Morelia, Puebla, Tehuacán, León, Guanajuato, Irapuato, Guadalajara, Querétaro, Cuernavaca) and the north (Chihuahua, Monterrey).[66]

Vaughan's financial achievements were appreciable, if modest compared to his grandiose goals. Years spent "begging his way from door to door" in Spain and Latin America saw him return to England in 1906 with £18,684 (£2–3 million today), two-fifths from Spain and the rest from Latin America.[67] It paid for decoration of the chapel, not the Divine Brotherhood of adoring priests. The work, carried out from 1904–1908, consisted of metalwork (the gilded, enamel-covered screens and grills that enclosed the chapel, "shutting it off as a Holy of Holies from the transept"); the light-colored marble that decorated the walls and formed a reredos (a "simply conceived altar of Siena, cipollino, and Carrara"); and the wooden altar canopy that hangs from a chain above the table. Winefride de l'Hôpital, Westminster Cathedral's architectural historian, regretted the canopy's "'Roman' type," which contradicted architect John Bentley's design, and the fact that the enamelwork on the chapel gates showed "a sensuous gaiety" far removed from the spirit of the early Church. Instead it was "strongly suggestive of Pompeian work."[68]

For Father Kenelm, however, who lived to see his chapel finished,[69] a high Roman spirit in London was precisely the point. He conceived of Westminster Cathedral as a kind of world's Sacred Heart, pumping out

65. *Viajes*, 185–187.

66. "Fin de la Misión del R. P. Kenelm Vaughan," *El Tiempo*, February 28, 1906; "Father Kenelm Vaughan at Guadalajara Collecting Funds for Westminster Chapel," *Mexican Herald*, October 7, 1905, p. 5.

67. Winefride de l'Hôpital, *Westminster Cathedral and its Architect,* 2 vols. (London, 1919), I, 183–84, 266–67.

68. De l'Hôpital, *Westminster Cathedral*, i. 176–82.

69. Vaughan died in Hatfield on May 19, 1909, "well known and esteemed throughout the Republic." See "Muerte del R. P. Kenelm Vaughan," *El Tiempo*, June 6, 1909.

Roman piety with English industrial might and drawing in a reservoir of penitential adoration from Latin America sufficient to quench the fires of Hell. Undeniably, there was a soft imperial arrogance to it: Vaughan's project advanced a catholicized version of English history, retooled to accommodate both empire and ultramontane Catholicism. It was highly providentialist: England was exceptional as the first country to turn its back on God, and now must be so as the first to atone; English priests were to save the world, leading other nations back from the brink. The trifecta that England might be converted, empire Catholicized, and humanity saved, revealed the oceanic vastness of the Vaughans' delusions. And yet, the scheme revealed the existence of a Catholic concept of empire in late Victorian and Edwardian England, with figures such as Vaughan fighting for influence and resources in parts of the world that seemed more promising than the anglophone Dominions, particularly Spanish America. Latin American confreres, most of them well-to-do, opted in with enthusiasm—but then, they considered that they were buying shares in, and performing, an imperial Catholic modernity, not just subventing a liturgical piece in marble and iron that they might never see. In South America, support came from prelates and presidents, and was part of a broader anglophilia with commercial implications. Expiation was as "English" as soccer, steamships, and railways, but as a practice seemed more confined to the ecclesiastical and political elites. The longer-term and devotional ramifications of Vaughan's crusade there await research. In Mexico, support came from the upper echelons but also parish clergy and pious women. Here the religious element prevailed: Vaughan helped to popularize and mexicanize expiation as a concept, far more than he cemented cultural ties with Albion. Mexico's church of National Expiation, self-consciously modeled on Vaughan's ideas, was built by 1897, thanks to Vaughan's booster friend, Father Antonio Plancarte.[70] Unlikely as it may seem, the penitential Catholicism that boomed in Mexico prior to the *cristero* rebellion (1926–1929) thus had a partly English imprimatur.

70. "¿Por qué no se ha de hacer en México cosa semejante? ¿No ha pecado México? ¿No ha sido una nación ingrata con Dios y con los hombres? Tenemos un santo compatriota, ¿quién le ha levantado un templo en la República? Un templo, pues, en honor del protomártir mexicano, San Felipe de Jesús, donde día y noche esté manifiesto Jesús Sacramentado, a dónde sólo se vaya a orar, donde los fieles no pueden tener sino motivos de fervor, expiación, y arrepentimiento, no puede dejar de ser sino agradable a los ojos de Dios," Plancarte diarized after meeting Vaughan in 1884. See Aureliano Tapia Méndez, *José Antonio Plancarte y Labastida, profeta y mártir* (Mexico City, 1973), 208–09.

The Maryland Province during the Civil War and the beginning of Boston College: A Translation of the *Historia Provinciae Marylandiae ab anno 1862 ad annum 1868*

Andrew Gaudio*

This document, translated into English, provides a detailed account of the adversities endured by the Jesuits of the Maryland Province in Frederick, MD, Washington, DC, and Boston during and immediately after the Civil War. It focuses on the requisitioning of the Frederick Novitiate as a military hospital, the construction of St. Aloysius Hospital in Washington, and the struggles the Jesuits faced in Boston prior to the establishment of Boston College. It records a holistic depiction of the experiences of the members of a religious community in a border state who were caught in the middle of this maelstrom.

Keywords: Civil War, Jesuits, Maryland Province, Frederick, MD, Washington, DC, Boston College

Introduction

Preserved in the Archives of the Maryland Province of the Society of Jesus, which are housed at Georgetown University Library, is an anonymous Latin document titled *Historia Provinciae Marylandiae ab anno 1862 ad annum 1868*.[1] It furnishes a fascinating account of the impact of the

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1. *Historia Provinciae Marylandiae ab anno 1862 ad annum 1868*, stored in Washington, D.C., Georgetown University Library, Booth Family Center for Special Collections, Maryland Province Archives Society of Jesus, Box 81, folder 4. The cover page for this report is blank except for the brief title *Prov. Marylandiae Hist. Dom 1862–1868*, [Report on the House of the Province of Maryland 1862–1868], while the heading at the top of the first page where the text begins is *Historia Provinciae Marylandiae ab anno 1862 ad annum 1868* [Report on the Province of Maryland from the year 1862 to the year 1868]. It is unclear why this document has two varying titles—one with *historia domus* and the other with *historia provinciae*. A *historia domus* is a report on a Jesuit house and usually comprises a detailed account of the activities and experiences of that specific residence whereas a *historia provinciae* typically records the events of a particular Jesuit province. Since this report is not solely concerned with

Civil War on the Jesuit Province of Maryland and of the hardships which this conflict imposed on the Jesuit community. The report can be roughly divided according to various events, with each covering a specific geographic section of the Maryland Province (which also comprised the New England states until 1926). The first section focuses on the takeover of the Jesuit house in the city of Frederick, Maryland for use as a military hospital, the daily tasks of its members, and the inconveniences endured there. Next, the author recounts the construction of St. Aloysius Hospital in Washington, D.C. and the dedication of the Catholic community towards its erection. The last five pages relate the founding of a seminary (which ultimately closed) in Boston to provide religious education for Catholics at a time when public education there was largely controlled by Protestants, and also mention the establishment of Boston College.

Training to become a Jesuit is focused on the objective that members will "be able with the help of God to benefit both their own souls and those of his neighbors."[2] The sheer number of wounded troops resulting from the Battles of Sharpsburg and Antietam fought in close proximity to Frederick, and the United States Government's decision to commandeer the Jesuit residence there as a military hospital for those soldiers, meant that the majority of the work towards the aforesaid objective during the last four months of 1862 would encompass tending to these injured men from both Union and Confederate armies. In describing these duties, the author lists the ranks of the Jesuits including novices and juniors, and uses other specialized vocabulary. A brief overview of Jesuit formation—the training required to become ordained as a Jesuit priest—will elucidate these and other terms in addition to the general path to the priesthood.

The first part of Jesuit formation is "novitiate," and this term also refers to the building where novices (those who are in this stage) reside. In novitiate, one first learns about the Order in detail and studies the Jesuit constitutions and other fundamental documents. Novices are also introduced to Jesuit history, make spiritual exercises over the course of thirty days, and perform apostolic tasks which may include placing themselves among the poor, working in hospitals, and going on a pilgrimage. The novitiate building is sometimes called a house of probation because these two years provide a timeframe which allows the novice to confirm the call to become a Jesuit and

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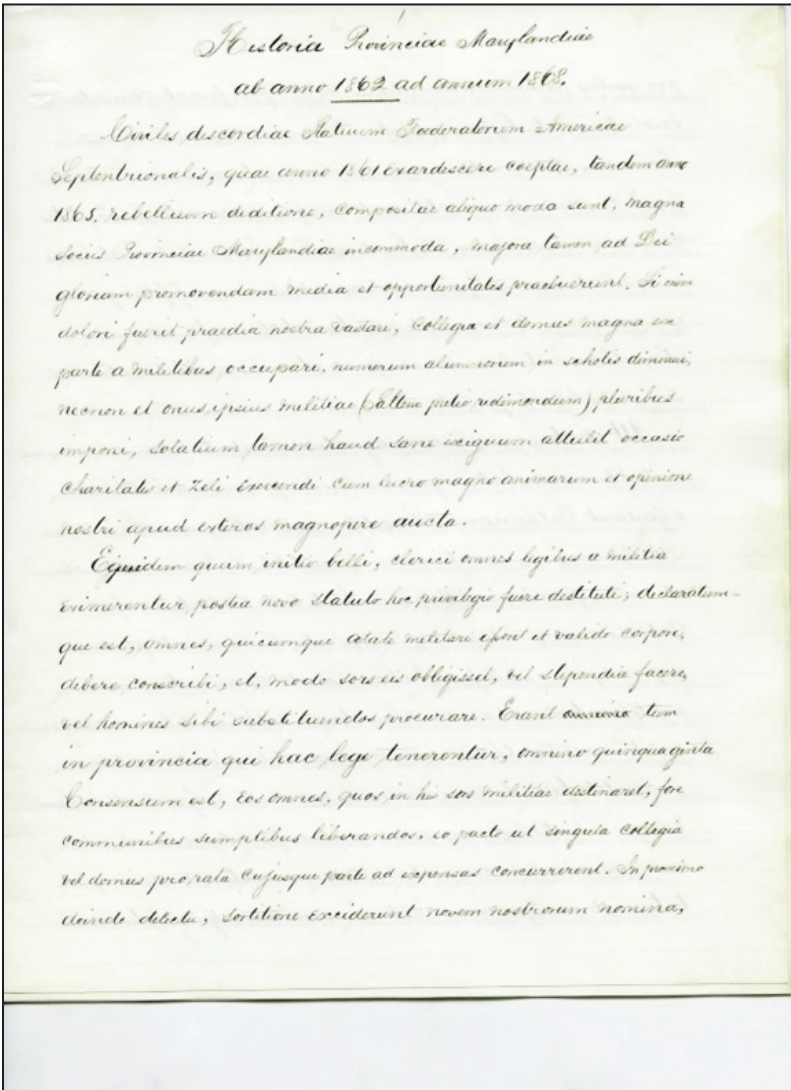
the residence (novitiate) in Frederick but also discloses affairs across the Maryland province in Washington, DC and Boston, the title of *Historia Provinciae Marylandiae* is more apt.

2. *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and their complementary norms: a complete English translation of the Official Latin texts,* ed. John W. Padberg, S.J. (Saint Louis, MO, 1996), 132.



Historia Provinciae Marylandiae

ab anno 1862 ad annum 1868.

Civiles discordiae Statuum Foederatorum Americae Septentrionalis, quae anno 1861 exardescere coeptae, tandem anno 1865, rebellium deditione, compositae aliquo modo sunt, magna Sociis Provinciae Marylandiae incommoda, majora tamen ad Dei gloriam promovendam media et opportunitates praebuerunt. Si enim dolori fuerit praedia nostra vastari, Collegia et domus magna ex parte a militibus occupari, numerum alumnorum in scholis diminui, necnon et onus ipsius militiae (saltem pretio redimendum) pluribus imponi, solatium tamen haud sane exiguum attulit occasio charitatis et zeli exercendi cum lucro magno animarum et opinione nostri apud exteros magnopere aucta.

Equidem quum initio belli, clerici omnes legibus a militia eximerentur postea novo statuto hoc privilegio fuere destituti; declaratumque est, omnes, quicumque aetate militari essent et valido corpore, debere conscribi; et, modo sors eis obtigisset, vel stipendia facere, vel homines sibi substituendos procurare. Erant autem tum in provincia qui hac lege tenerentur, omnino quinquaginta. Consensum est, eos omnes, quos in his sors militiae destinaret, fore communibus sumptibus liberandos, eo pacto ut singula Collegia vel domus pro rata cujusque parte ad expensas concurrerent. In proximo deinde delectu, sortitione exciderunt novem nostrorum nomina,

Page from *Historia Provinciae Marylandiae ab anno 1862 ad annum 1868,* stored in Washington, D.C., Georgetown University Library, Booth Family Center for Special Collections, Maryland Province Archives Society of Jesus, Box 81, folder 4. Author unknown.

to determine whether he is a good fit for Jesuit life. After completion of novitiate, novices profess First Vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, and begin the next phase of formation: two years of humanistic studies, called "juniorate."[3] Those in juniorate—called juniors—typically study rhetoric, including both Latin recitation and written composition, along with some Greek. The purpose of this linguistic training is to ensure that theological texts can be read in their original languages when they are encountered later in theologate. Following juniorate comes "philosophate," a three-year period during which a Jesuit studies philosophy, including physics, metaphysics, and ethics. Next is "regency," which primarily entails two to three years of teaching at a Jesuit school but may also involve working in various ministries. The purpose of regency is to bring about apostolic maturity and foster the continued growth of spiritual life.[4] "Theologate," the fifth stage of formation, comprises three years of theological study, after which there is the ordination to the priesthood. After ordination, the final stage is called "tertianship," which is a third year of probation. The aim of this third year is the renewal and deepening of the religious spirit and takes place at a house of probation where, as novices, they initially began their spiritual journey.

Since a humanistic education constitutes such a large portion of training, a system delineating the rules for the curriculum of Jesuit colleges and universities was standardized in the second half of the sixteenth century, culminating in the *Ratio Studiorum,* or plan of studies. The *Ratio Studiorum* discusses in detail the succession of classes and subjects which Jesuits must study on the path to ordination. These include Latin and Greek grammar, rhetoric, philosophy, theology, and possibly medicine and law. There was no age requirement for each class, also known as a grade. A student progressed to the next level when the teacher assessed that he was ready to move on to the subsequent prescribed grade. Latin grammar itself was divided into three classes: *infima grammatica* (lower grammar), *media grammatica* (intermediate grammar), and *suprema grammatica* (advanced grammar). According to the *Ratio Studiorum*, the focus of *infima grammatica* was to provide a thorough knowledge of the key tenets of language and syntax. After having completed this and the next two grades, the *media grammatica* and *suprema grammatica*, the student was expected to have a complete knowledge of grammar, which would provide the foundation for the classes to follow. These grammar classes were taught in a *collegium*

3. Those who have completed the novitiate portion of formation up to ordination are referred to as scholastics. As scholastics, Jesuits complete four stages of formation: juniorate, philosophate, regency, and theologate.

4. *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, 169–70.

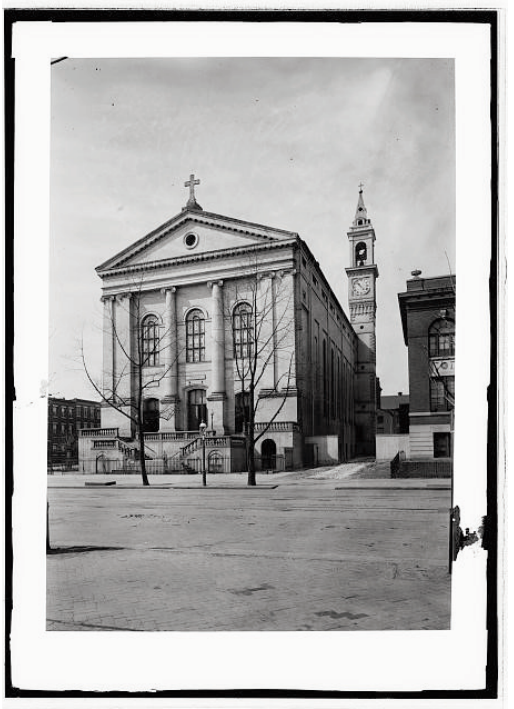
inchoatum (elementary college) or a secondary school and were often completed before entry into the novitiate. During juniorate, juniors took either a class of rhetoric or another in the humanities. In the Frederick Novitiate, once the novices completed their two years of probation and professed First Vows, they entered into the juniorate for another two years where they studied rhetoric, after which they were sent to Jesuit colleges in the province (Georgetown or Gonzaga College) to study philosophy and—after completing regency—theology.[5]

Even though apostolic service, which entails assisting the sick and needy, is a crucial principle of Jesuit life, the months between September and December of 1862 created circumstances which nearly exceeded the overall capacity that the Frederick Novitiate had to supply such care, and also produced much disarray in the regular activities of the members living there. The scenes described in Frederick bear witness to this disorder caused by the War. While the addition of hundreds of sick and wounded soldiers over those aforesaid months provided innumerable opportunities for novices, juniors, and priests to perform charitable duties, it was also deleterious to the pedagogic endeavors which their formation required. The loss of nearly half of the rooms (*dimidia fere pars aedium*, as the author says) of the Novitiate for use as a hospital disrupted the quotidian commitments of prayer, contemplation, and study. The following testament to this dislocation is found in the obituary of one Jesuit, Father Francis O'Neill, which states that during these months when he was in the second year of his juniorate in Frederick, "students were so cramped for space that one room was converted into a combined study hall and dormitory, where, seated on the side of his own bed the bothered writer had to use the neighboring one as a makeshift for a desk, and under such untoward circumstances, attempted to evolve Ciceronian periods or Latin Alcaics."[6]

While a major theme throughout this document is Jesuit enthusiasm for charity, another equally prevalent theme is the author's concern for the improved image and reputation of the Jesuits among outsiders which was influenced by their efforts in serving infirm soldiers and in realizing the possibility of a Catholic education in Boston. In these instances, the author

5. The emphasis which Jesuit education placed on mastering Latin grammar and composition is reflected in the excellent quality of the Latin of the *Historia Proviniciae Marylandiae*. The author faithfully adheres to classical grammatical constructions and syntax throughout the text.

6. Edward I. Devitt, "Obituary of Father Francis J. O'Neill," *Boston College Stylus*, 18, no. 6 (1905), 12–17, here 15.



Photograph by the National Photo Company depicting the exterior of St. Aloysius Church, published between 1909–1919. Photographer is not known. Image is from the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division. (https://www.loc.gov/item/2016820718/)

is keen to highlight the praises and gratitude offered by public officials to their labors. These exultations are mentioned when he describes the establishment of the makeshift hospital in Frederick, that "*gratias amplissimas egerunt duces et officiales omnes, et in publicis soliis nostrae hospitalitatis et amoris patriae encomia cumulata sunt*" ("all leaders and officials gave very substantial thanks, and praises were heaped on the public records of our hospital and for our love of country"). Other occurrences evoking commendation are the construction of St. Aloysius Hospital in Washington, D.C., which Abraham Lincoln himself visited to bestow his personal congratulations for their excellent work, and the diligence and determination the Jesuits demonstrated in founding a college in Boston—an endeavor which the author claimed had managed to soften the hearts of the city's Protestant leaders towards Catholics.

A Report on the Province of Maryland from the year 1862 to the year 1868

The civil unrest of the United States of North America which began to flare up in the year 1861 until the year 1865 with the surrender of the rebels, in some way had mitigated great inconveniences for the members of the Maryland Province, yet it provided greater publicity and opportunities for advancing the glory of God. Even if it had been a cause for grief that our farms were ravaged, our colleges and great house were occupied by a portion of the soldiery, the number of pupils was diminished in our schools, and likewise the burden of the army itself (at least their entire expenses were to be repaid) was imposed on many, nevertheless the occasion for charity and for exercising enthusiasm with great benefit for our souls, and the vastly improved opinion of ourselves among outsiders, certainly contributed in no small way to our meager comfort.

Indeed, at the beginning of the war, all clerics were exempt by law from military service. Afterwards childless men were included in this newly established law and it was declared that everyone, whosoever may be of military age and of sound body ought to be conscripted, and now a lottery would obligate them to either serve in the military or to obtain men to be substituted for themselves.[7] At that time there were those in the province who were bound by this law, a total of fifty it was assessed. All of those whom the lottery would designate for military service will be exempted by shared expenses, with the arrangement that every college or house agree to pay the costs according to each one's calculated responsibility. Then in the most recent conscription, by lottery they selected nine names of our men, for whom the cost of redemption according to the manner which had been agreed upon, was procured.[8] Nonetheless the houses of the province were crushed by this expense, which, in addition to charity of [supplying] provisions and other things, burdened them beyond their breaking point, whereupon a journey was made to a familiar refuge for us during difficulties, to the nurturing spouse of the Blessed Mother of God. Before supplications were made everywhere throughout the province and confidence had not deceived those who at that time were compelled to military service by lottery, due to special preference and

7. This new law is the Enrollment Act of 1863, signed into law by President Lincoln on March 3, 1863. However, a provision in the law allowed for a draftee to find a suitable substitution for himself or to pay a sum of three hundred dollars to evade the draft entirely.

8. See Appendix B, *An act for enrolling and calling out the national Force, and for other Purposes . . .*

Historia Provinciae Marylandiae ab anno 1862 ad annum 1868

[page 1] Civiles discordiae Statuum Foederatorum Americae Septentrionalis, quae anno 1861 exardescere coeptae, tandem anno 1865 rebellium deditione, compositae aliquo modo sunt, magna sociis Provinciae Marylandiae incommoda, majora tamen ad Dei gloriam promovendam media et opportunitates praebuerunt. Si enim dolori fuerit praedia nostra vastari, collegia et domus magna ex parte a militibus occupari, numerum alumnorum in scholis diminui, necnon et onus ipsius militiae (saltem pretio redimendum) pluribus imponi, solatium tamen haud sane exiguum attulit occasio charitatis et zeli exercendi cum lucro magno animarum et opinione nostri apud exteros magnopere aucta.

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various pretenses, the men were released without payment by leaders of the Republic themselves.[9]

Thus as this was benevolently happening to us, (besides divine will, as we suppose) this notable and apparent kindness was arousing inspiration, which the presence and zeal of the Catholic priests brought forth to soldiers in the army. Father Francis McAtee, from our province, provided very fine work in this region. From the beginning of the war, he was sent into the camps to assist with the spiritual needs of Catholic soldiers—the admirable man remained with indefatigable energy until there was peace, always with unvanquished patience both in mortification and unremitting charity, not only for Catholics and common soldiers but also for non-Catholics and military leaders. Father Joseph O'Hagan likewise tended to the same ministry for the entire duration of the war. Besides those two, who for almost two years had lived among the soldiers and met all the hazards of war, sometimes a third was added to them for one or two months, to be available to help the Fathers with their toils and dangers. Even five other Fathers themselves throughout the province, near to whom there were camps or sick men among the soldiers, actively and fruitfully made time for the same employment.[10]

Because a mention was made about the sick, it will be valuable for this work to touch upon certain details which reveal how much in this country the providence of God will have suddenly appeared out of the calamity for

9. That is to say, before the Jesuits could send people out to ask for the necessary funds to pay the fees for the men to stay home, the government thankfully re-exempted the men in question; Fathers Pierre-Jean De Smet and John Early appealed to Edwin Stanton, Lincoln's Secretary of War, who was able to exempt Jesuits without having them pay the three-hundred-dollar fee per draftee. See Catherine O'Donnell, "Jesuits in the North American Colonies and the United States," *Brill Research Perspectives in Jesuit Studies,* 2, no. 2 (2020), 1–112, here 58 doi: https://doi.org/10.1163/25897454-12340006.

10. In 1861, the Maryland Province had seventy-seven priests, two of whom were documented as having worked as military chaplains. Francis McAtee served with the 31st New York Infantry from October 30, 1861 to June 4, 1863; Joseph O'Hagan with the 73rd New York Infantry from October 9, 1861 to September, 1863, and returned to the service of the Maryland Province after rising to tertianship in 1864–1865. Chaplains in the Union Army were elected by the regiments themselves, while hospital chaplains were selected by the president. As noted later in the *Historia*, Bernardine Wiget was appointed chaplain of the newly constructed St. Aloysius Hospital by Abraham Lincoln. The position of chaplain was commissioned with a rank equal to that of a captain of the cavalry because it was determined that a chaplain needed a horse, which this commission provided. Gerard Giblin, "American Jesuits as Chaplains in the Armed Forces: 1775–1917," *Woodstock Letters*, 111, no. 2 (1962), 101–12, here 108.

ab ipsis Repuiblicae rectoribus, speciali favore et variis praetextis rationibus, sine pretio liberati fuerunt.

Ut ita benigne nobiscum ageretur, praeter coelestem, ut putamus, instinctum movebat insigne et evidens beneficium quod militibus afferebant Catholicorum Sacerdotum in exercitui praesentia et Zelus. Praeclaram in hac parte operam praestitit P. Francisceus McAtee, de nostra provincia. Ab ipso inchoato bello in castra missus ut Catholicorum militum inopiae spirituali subveniret, permansit usque ad pacem, indefesso labore, invicta semper patientia et mortificatione, et assidua charitate, non Catholicis solum et vulgari militi sed et Acatholicis et ducibus admirabilis. Idem ministerium pariter toto belli tempore exercuit cum laude et fructu P. Josephus O'Hegan. Praeter hos duos, qui per quatuor fere integros annos, inter milites versabantur, omnia belli discrimina obeuntes, quibusque tertius interdum per unum alterumve mensem adjungebatur, sociis **[page 3]** laborum et periculorum futurus, quinque vel sese alii per provinciam Patres, quibus proxima erant castra aut valetudinarii militum, eidem ministerio strenue et fructuose vacabant.

Quoniam de valetudinariis mentio facta est, operae pretium erit ad quaedam particularia descendere, quae ostendant quantum in hac patria calamitate micuerit Dei providentia

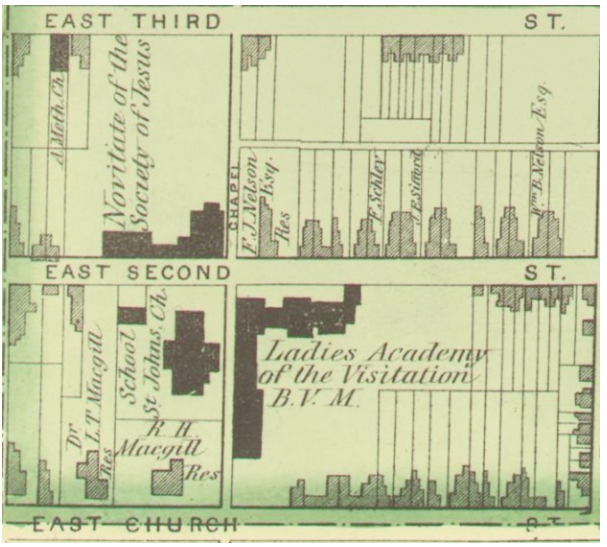
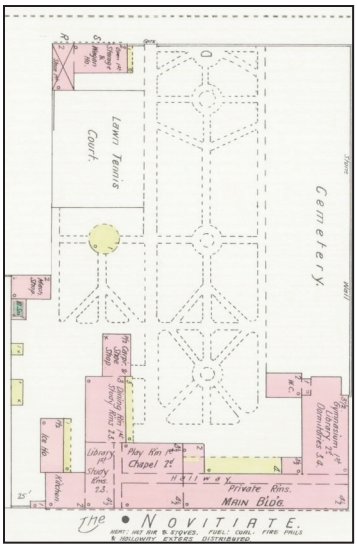


Image taken from the *Atlas of Frederick county, Maryland, from actual surveys by, and under the directions of D. J. Lake . . . assisted by H. E. Blakeman, assisted by W. G. Hard* (Philadelphia, 1873) which depicts the neighborhood plan containing the Frederick Novitiate and its proximity to the Visitation Academy. Portions of both the Novitiate and Academy were requisitioned and together comprised General Hospital No. 5.

the salvation of many, and in what manner His utmost goodness will have suddenly appeared to our men, so that anyone may be worthy of His glory [i.e., may be converted to Catholicism].

Around the end of the year 1862, there was a very severe battle not far from Frederick, in a place almost unknown before, now famous because of this battle, which is called Antietam from the river flowing through the field. From this and [from] another battle waged a few days earlier at South Mountain, the number of wounded so increased that, due to a scarcity of hospitals, it was necessary to occupy the homes of private residents to care for them. Our house of Probation [i.e. the Novitiate] in Frederick, as it is among the most spacious buildings in the small city, was the first to be occupied. Almost half of the rooms were converted into a military hospital, with the remaining rooms providing our entire household an adequately small space. Spiritual profit compensated this weariness with a reward which the mercy of God allowed us to acquire by this employment for about four months. Even in our house



Left: Image taken from *Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Frederick, Frederick County, Maryland* (New York, 1897) depicting a detailed view of the layout of the Frederick Novitiate as it appeared in 1897. The image denotes the gardens, cemetery, and the specific uses for each of the rooms. Image is from the Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division. (www.loc.gov/item/sanborn03603_003)

Right: Undated image of the exterior of the Frederick Novitiate from T. J. Campbell, "A New Landmark on the Hudson," *The Messenger*, 39, No. 2 (1939), 141–56, here 144. Photographer is not known.

pro salute plurimorum, et qua ratione Ejus summa benignitas nostris uti dignatus sit ad Ipsius gloriam.

Circa finem anni 1862, acerrime certatum est non longe a Fredericopoli, in loco prius fere ignoto, nunc ob hanc pugnam celebri, qui a rivo Campum interfluente Antietam vocatur. Ex hoc et altero praelio paucis ante diebus ad South Mountain facto, ita excreverat vulneratorum numerus, ut in penuria nosocomiorum necesse fuerit domus privatorum in eorum commodum usurpare. Nostra domus Probationis Fredericopolitana, uti inter aedificia parvae urbae spatiosa, in primis occupata fuit. Dimidia fere pars aedium in valetudinarium militare conversa est, reliqua domo nostram universam familiam satis anguste recipiente. Taedium hoc cum lucro compensavit fructus spiritualis quem Dei misericordia, in hac occupatione quae quatuor circiter mensium fuit colligere licuit. In nostram enim,

and in another which is nearby, the house [the Visitation Academy of the Sisters of Charity] which the Salesian Mothers recently built and have designated to the education of committed girls, up to 1,500 wounded and sick were received there. And because enough had not yet been provided for them with regard to both necessary provisions and medicines for which there was a need, those of them who were not injured attended to the charity of our men, and ample resources were sufficiently offered with enthusiasm. Immediately from our provisions their needs were lightened. They [i.e. those not seriously injured] were sent away so that everyone—however many Fathers, juniors, coadjutors, and novices were in the house—could take care of them [i.e. those in critical condition]. While the Fathers stood by the dying for the entire time, they received the confessions of Catholics, and they cleansed unbelievers and those resembling unbelievers [i.e. those whose religion could not be ascertained or who did not seem to be Catholic] from their heresy with baptism and restored them to the church. Brothers, taking turns night and day, watched over the afflicted, washed their wounds, administered medicines at the advice of a doctor, revived and comforted the mournful and weary, and—as the occasion arose—each one according to his own position roused the men to good results with sermons and prepared them for the sacraments. Reverend Father Provincial who himself was present at the auspicious event managed everything and he led the surviving men by example. The Lord God equally disperses our obedience to be compensated by this generous reward. Out of those men, about 150 lie dead, all of whom ended life in the true religion with only one exception. More than one hundred were baptized. Most who had abstained from the sacraments for many years returned to the sacred tribunal of penance. Notable among the dead who had converted to the faith (and with a blessed departure from life) was a man originating from Germany, who formerly had been a preacher in the Lutheran church. After his position was relinquished and the previous habit of his life was concealed, he served as a common soldier. By the governance of divine providence, he was struck by a fatal shot and was brought to our house to receive life and health indeed not for his body, but for his soul. Lying down with sluggish infirmity he learned the true religion both by instruction and example. After having cursed his heresy, he renounced it from his heart, and after a confession of his entire life, the Holy Eucharist was restored to him. While dying, he rejoiced within himself, determined to enjoy that which he always had in his desire; namely that he would be restored by the communion of the Lord's own body.

et in aliam, quae vicina est, domum quam nuper aedificaverant Matres Salesianae et institutioni puellarum ipsis commissarum **[Page 4]** destinaverunt, usque ad mille quingentos, vulnerati et, infirmi recepti sunt. Et quia ipsis nondum satis provisum fuerat tam de necessario victu, quam de medicamentis quibus opus erat, deerant etiam qui ipsorum aegra corpora, curarent nostrorum charitati et zelo materia satis ampla oblata est. Statim e nostro penu sublevatur eorum egestas; mittuntur ut ipsis inserviant omnes quotquot in domo sint Patrum, juniorum scholasticorum, coadjutorum et novitiorum. Dum Patres omni hora morientibus assistunt, confessiones Catholicorum accipiunt, infideles et resipientes ab haeresi baptismate abluunt et ecclesiae reconciliant, Fratres die noctuque in vices afflictis advigilant, vulnera lavant, potiones ex medici prescripto administrant, moestos et fatigatos recreant et solantur, et ut occasio ferat pro suo quisque gradu homines ad bonam frugem sermonibus excitant et ad sacramenta instruunt. R. O. Provincialis qui felici casu aderat, omnia disponebat reliquosque exemplo praeibat, Aeque distulit Dominus Deus liberali praemio hic nostrum obsequium remunerari. Ex illis hominibus, ad numerum centum et quinquaginta morti occubuerunt, quorum omnes, uno tantum excepto in vera religione vitam finiverunt. Plus quam centum baptizati. Ad sacrum poenitentiae tribunal reversi plurimi qui per longos annos sacramentis abstinuerant. Notabilis inter conversos ad **[page 5]** fidem et felici exitu vita defunctos fuit vir Germania oriundus, qui praedicator olim in Lutherana secta extiterat, ab relicta cathedra et priori vitae instituto celato, tamquam gregarius miles merebat. Divina gubernante Providentia, fatali ictu percussus, in domum nostram apportatus est, non corporis quidem, sed animae vitam et sanitatem recepturus. Lenta enim aegrotatione decumbens veram religionem et doctrina et exemplo didicit; haeresim ex corde detestatus abjuravit, et post totius vitae confessionem Sacra Eucharistia refectus est. Moriens gavisus est se certo frui eo quod semper in desiderio habuerat; ut scilicet communione Corporis Domini sui reficeretur.

Among all of our men, this charity was advantageous and invigorating for their great improvement and praise. All leaders and officials gave very substantial thanks, and praises were heaped on the public records of our hospital and for our love of country. Often it happened, after our house had been relinquished by us, that the doctors who were placed in charge of the general hospital, asked some of our youths to be sent to more burdensome feeble patients needing to be healed. So many experienced men among them demonstrated assiduity and resourcefulness.

In the same year 1862, our Fathers in the city of Washington, which is the seat of our national government, were ordered to concede their church for the use of infirm soldiers. It was learned that the ministers, as the Protestants call them, had been the cause that this edict was issued. What's more, all assemblies of the heretics in the city were filled; and the officials were grieving at the mistake that the edict had been lenient towards Catholic churches.[11] For this reason, they moved all of our belongings so that our most beautiful church [St. Aloysius Church] would be converted into a hospital for all soldiers. With this order having been carried out more successfully than they had dared to hope, they thought to themselves that this affair had run its course. They triumphed about the desecration and despoiling of this celebrated temple. Yet this did not satisfy their ill-will. With this command having been received, and on the specified day when the church had to be surrendered, the Fathers asked whether it would be permitted for them to preserve the sacred church, on the condition that a new, sizable and convenient hospital would be built within a defined span of time. It seemed like an impossible condition because only a period of one week was granted, while it was required that the building be six hundred feet in length and twenty-six feet wide.[12]

Nevertheless this promise—which the Fathers made only by relying on God and piously confident in the generosity of the faithful, and confident in the associates themselves whose souls are in purgatory from this

11. Up until this point the Catholic churches, unlike the Protestant churches, had been spared from being requisitioned for use as hospitals.

12. The numbers provided here stand at odds with other figures. St. Aloysius Hospital comprised three long frame buildings rather than just one. George Anderson provides in his article a plan of St. Aloysius Hospital which indicates each frame building had dimensions of 26 feet by 202 feet. It seems that the author considered all three buildings in aggregate when listing the dimensions. George M. Anderson, "Bernardine Wiget, S.J., and the St. Aloysius Civil War Hospital in Washington, D.C.," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 76, no. 4 (1990), 734–64, here 743.

Magnae apud omnes aedificationi et laudi fuit haec nostrorum opportuna et actuosa charitas. Gratias amplissimas egerunt duces et officiales omnes, et in publicis soliis nostrae hospitalitatis et amoris patriae encomia cumulata sunt. Accidebat saepe, postquam relicta nobis nostra domus fuisset ut medici ordinario nosocomio praefecti, rogarent aliquos nostros juvenes mitti ad molestiores infirmos curandos, tanti eorum sedulitatem et sollertiam experti faciebant.

Eodem hoc anno 1862, Patres nostri in urbe Washingtonii, quae sedes est gubernii nationalis, jussi suntecclesiam in usum infirmorum militum cedere. Compertum est ministros, uti vocant Protestantes, in causa fuisse, daretur hoc edictum. Enimvero occupata erant omnia in urbe hereticorum conventicula; et dolebant **[page 6]** magistri erroris Catholicis Ecclesiis parcitum fuisse. Ideo omnia movent ut nostra omnium pulcherrima Ecclesia in valetudinarium convertatur. Mandato edito, prospere ultra quam ausi, essent sperare, rem sibi cessisse putant, de hoc nobili templo profanato et deformato triumphant. Non tamen invidiae eorum satisfactum est. Imperato accepto, et die quo tradenda esset Ecclesia indicto, rogant Patres, ut sibi liceat eam sanctam servare, ea conditione, ut novum valetudinarium amplum et commodum intra tempus definitum instruatur. Videbatur impossibilis condicio; unius enim dumtaxat hebdomadae spatium dabatur, dum requireretur aedificium longitudine sexcentorum pedum, latitudine viginti sex. Promissum tamen, quod nonnisi Deo freti, et pie fidelium liberalitati confisi, animabus quoque purgantibus pactione suffragiorum sibi sociis adjunctis, Patres fecerant,

agreement—was fully kept. The agreement which had been reached was made known throughout the city no sooner than they rushed to help, collecting money and labor—not only Catholics whom religion compelled, but also some Protestants, persuaded by benevolence towards our religion. By a large margin, more were offering themselves to work than could be employed for the benefit of the space and for the opportunity to do useful things. Only those who were excluded by necessity withdrew from that place, weeping vehemently. Those who were actually allowed to work, about two hundred in number, worked with such ardor that it could be said that everyone completed in one day what paid workers would have achieved in three. You would have seen among the laborers many very honorable citizens of rank who gave a generous effort in addition to those prepared for the unusual work—digging ditches, carrying loads, splitting wood. At one point we knew that among some workers were the highest commanders of the military, that by changing their clothes this fact might not have been recognized, although it was noticeable with astute attentiveness.[13] Nor does all the merit go to men. Distinguished women arrived with their servants to provide assistance for preparing and serving food. Let it be apparent how devotedly everything had been accomplished in the meantime from this one fact—in the morning the laborers, while preparing for work, were arranged in rows behind a likeness of the crucifix as they sang litanies. In this way the building was completed in five days, better according to the opinion of the officials themselves than buildings which public architects could have constructed in other places within a similar timeframe. By no means is it easy to say how much admiration the success of this endeavor might have inspired in laypeople, and since then how much esteem for us and for the Catholic religion has increased among the foremost men. At our discretion, our religion was entrusted to those prescribed details which were of concern to us in the new hospital, namely that the different wards were labeled with the names of our saints, and that the care of the sick and the management of personal property and other various tasks were left to religious women. The President of the Republic himself came to visit the new building and congratulated us. He appointed Father Rector Bernardine Wiget as chaplain, ordering that by his own judgment he apply to a religious purpose whatever was brought into the

13. In a letter to Provincial Paresce, Father Wiget mentions that he noticed General Charles P. Stone among the laborers: "General Stone (famous for his imprisonment after Ball Bluff's [sic] affair) worked Saturday a great part of the day (incognito). He was one of the most industrious workmen handling lumber and making himself useful everywhere. We all took him for a Confederate paroled prisoner. . . ." Anderson, "Bernardine Wiget, S.J. and the St. Aloysius Civil War Hospital," 744.

plene servatum est. Non enim prius per urbem divulgatum est ad quam condicionem ventum fuerit, quam accurrerint pecuniam et laborem conferentes, non Catholici solum quos religio urgebat, sed et protestantes aliqui, benevolentia erga nostros adducti. Multo plures ultro sese offerebant ad laborem, quam qui possint, pro spatii commoditate et utensilium copia occupari. Qui necessario excluderentur, nonnisi vehementer **[page 7]** dolentes loco cedebant; qui vero laborare permitterentur, numero quasi ducenti, tanto ardere operabantur, ut diceretur singulos uno die perficere quod mercenarios tres dies teneret. Inter laborantes vidisses multos honestiores gradus cives qui stipem liberalem dederant accinctos insuper ad insuetam operam, terram fodere, onera portare, ligna scindere; novimus fuisse quondam inter alios ex summis militae ducibus, veste mutate ut non agnosceretur, strenua tamen diligentia conspicuum. Nec viris omnis pars meriti. Nobiles matronae advenerant cum famulis ut cibis parandis et ministrandis operam darent. Quam devote interea peragerentur omnia, ex hoc unico appareat; mane euntes operarii ad opus, ordinibus dispositis post Crucifixi imaginem, cantantes litanias procedebant. Ita quinque diebus fuit completum aedificium, melius ipsorum officialium judicio quam quae, simili fine, aliis in locis architecti publici construxissent. Haud facile dictu est, quantum hic rei successus externis admirationis injecerit, quantumque inde exaucta sit apud primores nostri et catholicae religionis existimatio. Arbitrio nostro permissa est dispositis eorum quae nostra interessent in novo valetudinario, ut scilicet Sanctorum nominibus signarentur varia cubicula; ut religiosis feminis Cura aegrorum et rei familiaris administratio committeretur, et ejusmodi alia. Novum aedificium visitatum venit, ipse Reipublicae **[page 8]** Praeses; gratulatusque nostris, Patrem Rectorem Bernardinum Wiget valetudinarii Praefectum Spritualum designavit, jubens ut ipsius arbitrio quaecumque ad religionem pertineret in illo

hospital. Moreover, he approved by his authority the specific name of Saint Aloysius, given by us, so to speak, to the hospital. By this authority which was bestowed upon the Father Rector—and with the highest favor he was disposed [i.e. the rector was greatly supportive and amenable] to all arrangements under his authority—he made such use of his appointment that with complete freedom he watched over sick soldiers everywhere, [and] administered the sacraments to them, at the same time keeping watch lest anyone by hatred of our religion be denied the sacraments. With such a plan and with the highest assiduity and care, he carried out his very successful ministry until the end of the war.

Meanwhile in Georgetown, the war did not free our men, exempt from public service, from inconveniences, nor did it free others from comforts for the benefit of their souls. From the beginning, our men were compelled to supply lodging for healthy soldiers and then refuge for feeble soldiers. For many months, almost one third of the college was occupied.[14] For a few weeks, the church was occupied. There, temporary damage was perhaps greater than in the other houses of the province, on account of a longer occupation of the college and the hindrance of the schools. Indeed, there was no interruption of their operation, but the number of alumni was reduced. Neither fervor nor an abundance of delight waned from the Fathers towards the sick.

Now we must turn to the dangers of daily life in which our men were engaged regarding the management of citizens. Evidently in many places, especially those which were close to regions where there was fighting, even if there was no tension of war, people were nevertheless divided by hatred and suspicions. In one region there were bitter disagreements and continual discontent, repeated attempts of sending aid and assistance to the enemies. In another region—which indeed was stricken by the most important events, the strict vigilance, the frequent trouble of inquiring, the sometimes savage punishments particularly in Baltimore, Washington and Georgetown where the seats of our Province are—most of those with whom we engaged either in the schools or in the churches supported the rebels in their enthusiasm and minds. In truth very many youths, formerly our scholastics or from families well connected to us, had followed the encampments. And because no reasonable mind among any of us agreed with either region, rather it was the most hateful region which held the

14. The college referenced is Georgetown College, which later became Georgetown University.

gererentur; nomen praeterea Sancti Aloysii a nostris datum tanquam valetudinario proprium sua auctoritate probavit. Hac quae Patri Rectori collata est, summoque favore quo deinceps ab omnibus in Potestate constitutis est habitus, ita usus est ut perfecta libertate aegros milites ubique inviseret, ipsisque sacra ministraret, simul advigilans ne quis odio religionis a sacramentis prohiberetur, tali ratione summa assiduitate et diligentia ad finem usque belli ministerium exercuit fructuosum.

Georgiopoli interea, bellum nostros neque ab incommodis immunes, neque a solatiis in lucro animarum alienos reliquerat. Hospitium ab initio validis, refugium deinde invalidis militibus, praebere coacti sunt. Per plures menses tertia fere pars collegii, per aliquot hebdomadas Ecclesia, occupata fuit. Damnum temporale illic forte quam in aliis provinciae domibus, majus fuit, ob longiorem collegii occupationem, et impedimentum scholarum. Harum quidem nulla facta est interruptio, minoratus vero est alumnorum numerus. Patribus in ministeriis erga infermos, nec zelus defecit nec abundantia fructuum. **[page 9]** Veniendum nunc est ad quotidianae conversationis pericula quibus in illa dispensione civium, homines nostri agitabantur. Multis videlicet locis, praecipue quae regioni ubi pugnabatur vicina erant, etsi armorum non esset contentio, odiis tamen et suspicionibus dividebatur populus. Ex una parte murmuratio continua erat et acerbae querelae, opis et auxilii hostibus submittendi crebra tentamina; ex altera, quae nempe summa rerum potiretur, severa vigilantia, perquirendi frequens uexatio, saevae interdum animadversiones Baltimori praesertim, Washingtonii et Georgiopoli ubi praecipue sunt sedes Provinciae, maxima pars eorum quibuscum nobis sive in scholis sive in ecclesiis agendum esset, studiis et mentibus cum rebellibus erant; permulti vero juvenes olim scholares nostri, vel ex familiis nobis maxime conjunctis, castra illa secuti erant. Accedit quod et plerisque nostris haud aequus erga ambas partes animus, sed potius odiosa quae

greatest sway. No place was safe from surveillances by scouts—a wicked meaning for a pleasant moderate word. Consequently, while those who felt that they were overwhelmed, particularly women, came to us for consolation or advice, or even for unrestrained weeping and lamenting, it was such a difficult time that circumspectly and carefully it was agreed that anyone who did not wish to be lacking in the duty of charity and compassion would not, being suspected of this, evade those giving orders.

Foremost, there was the remarkable wisdom of Reverend Father Provincial which was of great benefit and assistance during these circumstances. Then there was the aptness for managing and influence of Associate Michael O'Connor, and of the rector of Georgetown College, Father John Early. Yet, even—as we ought to recognize with a grateful frame of mind—with those men or with any refined prudence of our men, it happened that some were entangled in these dangers. However, the loving providence itself of the highest God and of the most blessed Virgin, spouse of Saint Joseph, maintained our continually invoked protection and protected us and our duties.

These tasks, which are the usual duties of our ministry of spiritual men especially experienced in teaching and in conducting missions to the people, were not disregarded due to the clamor of the war and weaponry. For each of these years now completed, twenty-four religious families were employed by our officials in these exercises, in addition to the clergy in the dioceses themselves. More often than we could pay those asking for a small sum, we were called to teach people in the missions. We were always collecting the fruit which was abundant in these types of missions, where the more they compelled us to praise the admirable goodness of God, the more they roused vigorous grief due to the necessity of our omissions, and due to a scarcity of workers for such an abundant harvest.[15] In fact in each mission, twenty, thirty, or even up to fifty marriages were reaffirmed. Many were called back for penitence, not only after fifteen or twenty but also after thirty years of separation from the sacraments. Also, a large number of Protestants were converted to the faith.

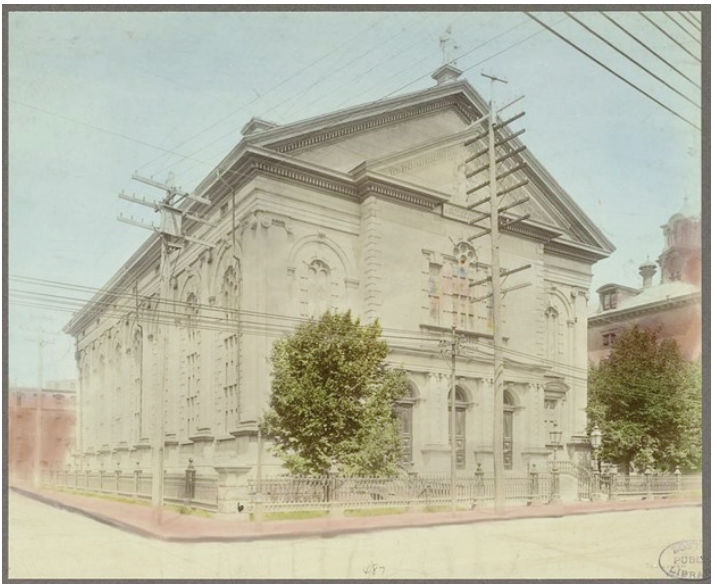
In Boston (as it was already noted in the report to the superior of the province) in 1860, a seminary was established—by the approval and guidance of Reverend Father Felix Sopranis, visitor to all provinces and missions in North America—where our youths from this entire region all live

15. The omissions refer to the fact that the Jesuits were spread too thinly to attend to all of their duties, and therefore had to exclude some.

summam potestatem teneret. Nullus interim locus ab observationibus emissariis tutus; facilis moderati verbi mala interpretatio. Dum igitur ad nos venient qui opprimi se sentirent, mulieres praesertim, vel consolationis vel consilii, vel etiam liberae lamentationis et querelarum causa, difficile erat ut ita circumspecte et custodite responderetur, ut qui officio charitatis et misericordiae deesse nollet, suspectus imperantibus non evaderet. Magno usui et praesidio in his rerum adjunctis fuit in primis eximia R. P. **[page 10]** Provincialis prudentia, deinde dexteritas tractandi et auctoritas ejus Socii P. Michaelis O'Connor, et Rectoris Collegii Georgiopolitani P. Joannes Early; nec tamen, uti grato animo agnoscere debemus, ex illis aut ulla humana nostrorum prudentia stetit ut nemo fuerit iis periculis implicatus. Ipsa autem Dei summi amans Providentia et Beatissimae Virginis Sponsi Sancti Josephi patrocinium constanter invocatum servavit et custodivit nos et nostra.

Non sunt propter belli armorumque strepitus omissa quae sunt ordinaria nostri ministerii opera spiritualium praecipue exercitorum tradendi, et missiones ad populum habendi. Singulis ex sese annis modo transactis, nostris usae sunt moderatoribus in illis exercitiis religiosae familiae viginti quatuor; clerus insuper in sese dioecesibus. Saepius quam pro exiguo numero potuerimus rogantibus satisfacere ad populum in missionibus instruendum vocabamur. Fructus semper abundantes quas in hujusmodi missionibus colligebamus, quo magis nos laudare coegerint admirandam Dei bonitatem, eo vehementiorem excitarunt dolorem de necessario praetermissus, et de paucitate ad tam copiosam messem operariorum. In singulis **[page 11]** enim revalidata erant matrimonia viginti, triginta, vel etiam usque ad quinquaginta; ad paenitentiam revocabatur multi, non post quindecim aut viginti solum, sed et post triginta annos abalienationis a sacramentis; magno etiam numero Protestantes ad fidem convertabantur.

Bostonii uti jam ex superiori Provinciae historia notum est, anno 1860 apertum fuerat, approbante et dirigente R. P. Felici Sopranis, visitatore omnium in America Septentrionali provinciarum et missionum, seminarium, ubi nostri juvenes ex universa hac regione,

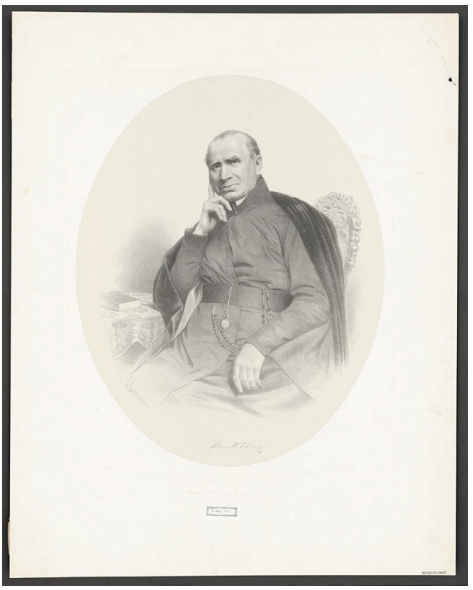


Photograph of the exterior of the Church of the Immaculate Conception on Harrison Avenue in Boston, built in 1861, photograph taken between 1861–1895. Photographer is unknown. Image is from the Boston Public Library, Boston Pictorial Archives. (https://ark.digitalcommonwealth.org/ark:/50959/d217t646m)

together and are kept busy by the spirit and life of the Society while they study philosophy and theology. Having begun under favorable circumstances, it experienced fruitful progress for three years in these matters which at any rate pertain to the pursuit of knowledge, religious discipline and education. Nevertheless, this experiment quickly began to reveal that there were too many difficult pecuniary conditions for this burden (as the region of the province was weighed down beyond its limit) to be sustained. In fact, nowhere are the necessities for living sold more expensively than in that city. Certainly however, amid the difficulties of the war, it was impossible to meet the expenses of that house from its proceeds alone.[16]

Therefore, after this became well known and considered among his advisors, Reverend Father Provincial determined—having pressed forward

16. See Appendix B, notes for Edward I. Devitt, "History of the Maryland–New York Province: XVI Boston College and Church of the Immaculate Conception Boston, Mass 1863–1914."



Lithograph by Leopold Grozelier, showing Father John McElroy, the founder of Boston College, ca. 1860. Image is from the Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division. (https://www.loc.gov/item/2003688870/)

dum philosophiae et theologiae studerent, omnes simul viverent et in spiritu et vita Socieetatis exercerentur. Fausto auspicio inceptum, felicem per tres annos progressum habuit in iis saltem quae ad scientiarum studia et ad religiosum disciplinam et educationem pertinent. Experientia tamen cito patescere coepit conditiones pecuniarias nimium difficiles esse, ut illud onus, quasi supra modum gravaretur area provinciae, sustineri posset. Nullibi enim carius quam in illa urbe venduntur res vitae necessariae; maxime autem inter angustias belli, res impossibilis erat expensus illius domus occurrare ex reditibus solis.

Re igitur bene perspecta et cum consultoribus suis examinata, judicavit R. P. Provencialis,

with the greatest possible hope of opening the seminary at another location and at a more favorable time—that it was necessary as a justified precaution and for the security of the province, to abandon this nascent endeavor at the present time. Consequently, in the year 1863, other superiors of ours in the region requested that they wished to provide a space and seminary for their Bostonian scholastics.[17]

After two years, that is to say in the month of September in the year 1865, a new college was begun for lay people in Boston in the place where the seminary had been.[18] In its first year, only the foundation of the *infima grammatica* was established by the school. One by one in the following years the other classes were added, until in this year [of] 1868 the college will have attained the grade of the class of humanities.[19] The difficulties which hindered this college in the beginning strongly suggested that nothing should be omitted on our part which was conducive to the successful outcome of the college. Of course the Bostonians were boasting, (not entirely to cause injury) about their public schools—gatherings of great generosity and much intellectual activity—which not only ordinary boys but also boys of the highest rank attend. The expensive and especially spacious buildings are constructed mainly for the use of the schools. Their teachers are selected with great care and are handsomely compensated. The condition and curriculum of the schools are carefully inspected and maintained. They supply books and clothes to poor students out of kindness so that they are not prevented from attending the schools. Whatever policy was established for the schools in Boston maintained its authority from their status, wealth, or influence. Without a doubt very few Catholics who

17. This new seminary which the author mentions is what is now known as Boston College. The Boston Scholasticate was defunct in 1863 due to financial difficulties brought on by the Civil War. After its closure, the attending students from the Province of Maryland, Missouri and New Orleans were transferred to Georgetown College in Washington, DC, while those from the New York and Canada Mission were sent to Fordham University. John S. Ryan, "Our Scholasticate—an account of its growth and history to the opening of Woodstock, 1805–1869," *Woodstock Letters*, 33, no. 2 (1904), 131–54, here 147. See also Appendix B, the notes on Nathaniel I. Bowditch, *An Argument for a Catholic Church on the Jail-Lands*.

18. Devitt later states that Boston College was opened to secular students on September 5, 1864. Devitt, "History of the Maryland–New York Province," 403–05.

19. After completing the *infima, media*, and *suprema grammatica* classes, the student was expected to have a full knowledge of grammar, after which came the grade of the class of humanities, which has been described as "midway between grammar and rhetoric, perfecting the one, preparing for the other." Miguel Bernad, "The Class of 'Humanities' in the *Ratio Studiorum*," *Jesuit Educational Quarterly*, 15, no. 4, (1953), 197–205, here 197–99.

(spe maxime probabili nisus seminarii **[page 12]** alio loco et tempore auspicatius aperiendi) justae providentiae esse et securitati Provinciae necessarium, opus inchoatum in praesenti relinquere. rogatis igitur aliis nostrorum in regione superioribus ut suis vellent providere scholasticis anno 1863 clausum et semenarium Bostoniense.

Duobus postea annis, mense scilicet Septembri anni 1865, inchoatum est Bostonii in loco quo fuerat seminarium, collegium novum pro externis. Initium primo anno factum est a schola dumtaxat infimae grammaticae. Singulatim sequentibus annis additae sunt caeterae, donec hoc anno 1868 ad Humanitatis gradum cursus attigerit. Difficultates quae in exordio huic collegio adversabantur, fortiter suadebant ut nihil omitteretur eorum quae ex nostra parte ad prosperum illius successum spectarent. Quippe gloriantur Bostonienses, neque omnino injuria, de suis publicis scholis, magna liberalitate multoque consilio constitutus, ad quas non mediocres solum, sed et summae condicionis pueri accedunt. In harum scilicet usum, sumptuosa et maxime commoda construuntur aedificia; magistri magna cura seliguntur et munifice remunerantur; ordo et disciplina scholarum sedulo inspicitur et conservatur. Pauperibus, ut a scholis non prohibeantur libros et vestes gratis praestant. Stabat porro pro scholis quidquid Bostonii dignitate, divitiis aut **[page 13]** gratia auctoritatem haberet. Perpauci nimirum Catholici,

were in that city (as though in a more respectable place) were generally in agreement with the Protestants on this sentiment.[20] In truth the entire remaining multitude of the faithful [Catholics] were illiterate and of poor status, and had no say to overcome this widespread attitude.

And the fact should not be overlooked that by necessity we must exact payment from our students, while in the Boston schools all are taught free of charge. Therefore, with our vigorous efforts and diligent labor it was necessary to strive for circumstances to be equal for both parties, if they wish to favorably compete with the Boston schools which are so greatly praised. It will easily be seen from the present state of the college how greatly divine providence has been kind in this endeavor, and how much (absent of other aid) it has assisted our work by its blessing. Already one hundred pupils are counted in these various schools and everyone admires their progress in letters, piety, goodness and sophisticated habits.

Perhaps it will not be judged by this endeavor that there are circumstances—if a few are added—which demonstrate the good disposition of the Bostonians towards us and show that our work there is not entirely useless.[21] And in the first place let there be support for almshouses which have been so greatly abundant, and support for the debt which had been run up to the sum of 162,000 dollars for the construction of the church [of the Immaculate Conception]. In only five years, of the money collected by Catholics, 90,000 dollars were paid back so that now only 70,000 dollars are owed. Secondly, it has been noted for a long time that above all there were Catholics in this city who had hatred and contempt for Protestants. This has now changed so greatly that they freely come to our church on Sundays and on feast days, and they conduct themselves respectfully until the divine rites are completed. They attentively listen to our preachers and not a small number have taken up the faith by listening to us. The Fathers even had listeners or saw the highest ranking men of the State of Massachusetts and of the municipal offices of Boston assisting with the sacred duties, which you must say is something quite new in that city and region. We were even amazed a second time that that privilege was granted to us, that in our public hospital, which was close to the church, they read the

20. The word "sentiment" refers to the previous sentence—that any policy made for the Boston Schools was held to be authoritative because of the wealth and influence of the Protestants. Catholics didn't agree with the way policies were made and imposed upon the Boston schools.

21. That is to say, that there were circumstances (notwithstanding the two attempts to found the seminary, the first a failure and the second successful) which demonstrated that the attitudes of Boston Protestants towards Catholics were beginning to change for the better.

qui in illa urbe honestiori quasi loco erant, Protestantibus in hac fere sententia congruebant; reliqua vero fidelium multitudo tota erat exiguae condicionis et illiterata, et nullo pondere ad opinionem communem vincendam.

Nec omittendum quod nobis pensio esset necessario a scholaris exigenda, dum in illis scholis gratuito omnes docerentur. Strenuis igitur conatibus annitendum fuit nostris, et diligenti labore adaequandae utrinque condiciones, si cum scholis adeo laudatis feliciter concurrere vellent. Quantopere in hoc benigna fuerit divina Providentia, quantumque, alia, ope deficiente, nostrorum operam sua benedictione adjuverit, ex praesenti colligii statu facile videbitur. Centum jam in diversis scholis numerantur alumni; eorumque in litteris, pietate bonisque et urbanis moribus profectum, omnes domi forisque admirantur.

Non judicabitur forsan abs re esse, si pauca addantur, quae bonum erga nos Bostoniensium animum indicent, nostrorumque laborem illic non omnino inutilem esse ostendant. Et primum sit subsidium eleenosynarum quae adeo abundantes fuerunt, et aeris alieni, quod in aedificanda Ecclesia conflatum fuerat ad summam centum sexaginta duo millium scutatorum, quinque tantum annis ex Catholicorum collatis pecuniis soluta sunt, nonaginta millia **[page 14]** scutatorum ita ut jam septuaginta millia scutatorum tantum debentur. Deinde famosum diu fuerat Catholicos in hac urbe potissimum odio despectuique Protestantibus esse; quod nunc adeo mutatum est, ut libenter Dominicis festisque diebus ad nostram ecclesiam veniant, reverenterque dum divina mysteria peragantur, se gerrunt; nostros praedicatores attente audiunt, nec pauci jam fidem ex auditu susceperunt. Patres etiam auditores habuerunt vel sacris officiis adstantes viderunt supremos status Massachusettensis et civitatis Bostonii magistratus, quod sane novum quid in illa urbe et provincia dicas oportet. Mirati iterum sumus vel illud privilegium nostris concedi, ut in publico nosocomio quod nostro Ecclesiae vicinum est,

mass on Sunday with a certain solemnity, although nonetheless not very long ago it was hardly permitted for a Catholic priest in such a location to administer the sacraments. If we assert that this new benevolence towards our religion must not be insufficiently attributed to our endeavors, perhaps it is due to arrogance. But yet recently in a public speech, a certain distinguished man among the Bostonians declared that "the church," that is to say "of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, had been the reason that the disposition of the Bostonians towards Catholics has been mitigated." While outsiders are invited to that church, which we dedicated in the name of the Immaculate Conception under God due to the splendor of the building, the honor of the ceremonies, and the dignity of the holy sermons, nonetheless by careful and indefatigable enthusiasm the Christian faithful are taught and nurtured by the piety of the Fathers. Congregations of men, women, and of youths of either sex of the institute flourish independently, and the devoted frequentation of the sacraments is increased annually.[22]

Even the Sunday school, as they call it among us, stands out and more than 800 boys and girls are counted in it. The catechisms are taught. They are informed about good customs with appropriate encouragement. Once a month they are purified by rites. They have a library crammed with books specifically suited for their enjoyment and comprehension, and therefore they are denied access to the public libraries which are open to everyone. This is done with the best intention so that younger children in our buildings can assemble at night for a few hours to read or to debate and hold a discussion on some proposed question either on religion, on sciences and literature, or on the experiences and course of daily life.

22. For a direct account which illustrates how Protestants in Boston viewed Catholics, see Appendix B, notes for Nathaniel I. Bowditch, *An Argument for a Catholic Church on the Jail-Lands.*

missam die Dominica cum quadam solemnitate legerent, quum tamen non adeo multum abhinc, vix ac ne vix quidem permitteretur Catholico sacerdoti in tali loco sacramenta ministrare. Hanc recentem erga nostram religionem benevolentiam, non parum nostris tribuendam esse si nos affirmaremus, arrogantiae forsan daretur. Sed tamen nuper in concione declaravit quidam inter Bostonienses conspicuus, "Ecclesiam" scilicet "Patrum Societatis Jesu, causam fuisse ut mitigaretur erga Catholicos animus Bostoniensium;" Ceterum dum splendore aedificii, decore **[page 15]** ceremoniarum et dignitate sacrarum concionum invitantur exteri ad illud templum, quod Deo sub Immaculatae Virginis nomine dicavimus, diligenti nihilominus et indefesso Patrum zelo domestici fidei in pietate instruuntur et foventur. Congregationes virorum, matronarum, et utriusque sexus adolescentium separatim institutiae florent, et augetur quotannis devota sacramentorum frequentatio.

Schola etiam Dominicalis, ut vocant apud nos extat, atque in ea pueri pullulaeque supra octingentos recensentur. Docentur ii catechismi; ad bonos mores informantur adhortatione opportuna. Semel in mense sacris proluuntur. Habent et bibliothecam libris refertam ad eorum usum et captum praecipue accomodatis, atque ita a publicis bibliothecis, quae omnibus prostant, aditus ipsis procluditur. Optimo etiam consilio id actum est, ut juniores in aedes nostras sub noctem conveniant per aliquot horas ad legendum vel ut disceptent ac verbis agitent quaestionem aliquam propositam sive de Religione sive de scientiis ac literis, vel de quotidianae vitae usibus ac regimine.

Photograph of Father Edward Ignatius Devitt while he was president of Boston College, ca. 1891. Photographer is not known. Image is from the Boston College University Archives, Boston College faculty and staff photographs 1872–2012. (https://library.bc.edu/iiif/view/bcimage_7104)

Appendix A: The Likely Author of the *Historia*

This report, penned in a quite attractive cursive, supplies no name for its author. Yet, the details and circumstances of the life of a particular Jesuit, Father Edward Ignatius Devitt, correspond remarkably closely with the events recorded in the *Historia* and thus suggest that he is this document's author. A Canadian by birth, Devitt was born on November 26, 1840 in Saint John, New Brunswick. His family repaired to Boston's North End when he was a small boy, where he graduated from Boston High School in 1857. In 1859 after completing two years at Holy Cross College in Worcester, he sought to enter the Jesuit Order, and on July 28 of that year his application was accepted. Thereupon he entered the novitiate in Frederick, Maryland. While a novice and junior (1859–1863), Devitt experienced firsthand the jarring impact of the Civil War. His observation that 1500 wounded soldiers were received *in nostrum enim, et in aliam, quae vicina est* (even in our house and in another which is close by) supports his authorship of this report, since he refers to the Novitiate as *nostrum* (our house), which is corroborated in the *Catalogus Provinciae Marylandiae*

Societatis Jesu which lists him as a novice in the Novitiate during 1860–1861 and as a *rhetoricae auditor* (student of rhetoric) there during 1862–1863. The 1500 figure which is noted also accurately reflects the statistics from the Records of the Medical Director's Office, Frederick, Maryland, which document that 1,565 wounded and sick soldiers were treated at the Novitiate, suggesting that he had an intimate familiarity with the operations of this makeshift military hospital.[23]

After these tumultuous years, Devitt became professor of classics and mathematics at Washington Seminary, the forerunner of Gonzaga College High School—a position which he occupied until 1869. Later in 1891 he was appointed vice rector of Boston College and was eventually made its president, a position from which he stepped down in 1894. With an aptitude and inclination for the study and preservation of history, he turned to colonial Maryland and American Catholic Church history as the primary subjects of his attention. He was editor of the *Woodstock Letters* from 1879–1882. Peter Masterson, who wrote Devitt's obituary, mentions that he had "a natural instinct to preserve every document of the least importance, that there was in him a curiosity to know and a talent to investigate the beginning of things."[24] When speaking about Devitt's career between 1863 and 1869 as a teacher at the Washington Seminary, he also relates that

> Though of fearless opinion and independent view, he shunned notoriety. Hence it is not remarkable that the diaries and other records of [Gonzaga] college at this period make no mention of his name. Perhaps his

23. The only Catholic buildings in Frederick to be requisitioned as a military hospital were the Novitiate and Visitation Academy of the Sisters of Charity, according to the Records of the Medical Director's Office, Frederick, Maryland, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives, Washington, DC. These two buildings comprised General Hospital No. 5, as it was so called by the United States government—"general" because it treated both Union and Confederate soldiers. The Novitiate section of the hospital was in operation from September 18, 1862 until its closure on December 31, while the Visitation Academy opened on the same day as the former and ceased operations on January 13, 1863. The available hospital records indicate that a total of 1,565 patients were treated in this facility. Records for the week of November 7, 1862 show that there were seven surgeons and assistant surgeons; two hospital stewards; 70 male nurses; 14 cooks; two medical cadets; and that the hospital had a capacity of 517. The ratio of deaths was 3.12 for 1,000 men. Unfortunately, the numbers of female staff were not kept. As each of the hospital's buildings closed, the remaining patients were transferred to other war hospitals in Frederick. In total there were seven general hospitals established in 1862 in Frederick and at least nineteen private houses were used to treat officers. Terry Reimer, *One Vast Hospital: The Civil War Hospital Sites in Frederick, Maryland after Antietam* (Frederick, MD, 2001), 72–82.

24. Peter V. Masterson, "The Rev. Edward Ignatius Devitt, S.J. (1840–1920)," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, 31, no. 4 (1920), 261–75, here 272.

> own talent for recording the necessary details as important to the future historian was not instinct in all his brethren, or to him was committed at this time the "historia Dom.," but it is disappointing to find that so capable a young scholastic goes unmentioned in the official records of these years.[25]

The *historia domus* Masterson referenced is most likely the document translated here, since the end date of its subject matter is 1868—the year before Devitt ceased teaching in the nation's capital. At one point, 1868 is referred to as *hoc anno* (in this year), thus providing the year of composition and denoting a timeframe in which the events of the war would still have been relatively fresh in his mind. Between 1895 and 1913 he frequently contributed to the American Catholic Historical Society. He was also a member of the Columbia (Washington, DC) Historical Society and the Maryland Historical Society. Yet, some of his contemporaries did not hold in high regard his ability to commit his thoughts to writing. In an observation on his alleged communicative shortfalls, his capacity to explore the past is again underscored:

> Never possessing marked literary gifts, and being endowed rather with unusual powers for investigation than elegance in expression, he failed here to meet the high hopes held forth by his brethren, for a complete record of the Maryland Province from the hand so well equipped to write it.[26]

It is worth noting too that the available obituaries and anecdotes about the lives of Devitt's confreres during his time at the Novitiate (1859-1863) indicate that none of them shared such a profound dedication and penchant for history to the extent that he did. It is these attributes, namely his longing for historical inquiry and preservation, the fact that he was a participant in tending to wounded men at the Frederick novitiate, and his proclivity for anonymity (the *Historia* provides no author) which suggest that Edward Devitt is this document's author.

Appendix B: Further Reading List with Annotations and Additional Explanatory Notes

- An Act for enrolling and calling out the national Forces, and for other Purposes, Pub. L. Nos. 37–75, Stat. 12 (1863), pp. 731–37

  Section 1 dictates:

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25. Masterson, "The Rev. Edward Ignatius Devitt," 265.
26. Masterson, "The Rev. Edward Ignatius Devitt," 274.

> All able-bodied men citizens of the United States, and persons of foreign birth who shall have declared on oath their intention to become citizens under and in pursuance of the laws thereof, between the ages of twenty and forty-five years, except as hereinafter excepted, are hereby declared to constitute the national forces, and shall be liable to perform military duty in the service of the United States when called out by the President for that purpose (731).

Moreover, in section 12 of this law the president is granted the authority to set the number of men required to serve for each congressional district, whose names were drawn by lottery (733). In the case of the district containing Frederick, Maryland, fifty Jesuits were eligible to be conscripted, but only nine were selected. A provision in the law allowed for a draftee to find a suitable substitution for himself or to pay a sum of three hundred dollars to escape the draft altogether.

- Andrew Dinan. "Latin and the American Civil War," *The Classical Journal*, 113, no. 2, (2018), 202–33.

This essay focuses on the use of Latin during the Civil War. Numerous examples of Latin poems, inscriptions, letters, reports and essays are included. There is a substantial discussion of Jesuit Latin records on the Civil War including *litterae annuae*, *diaria*, and letters between Jesuits and their superiors in Europe. The *Historia Provinciae Marylandiae* is referenced in this source.

- Edward I. Devitt, "History of the Maryland-New York Province: XVI Boston College and Church of the Immaculate Conception Boston, Mass 1863–1914," *Woodstock Letters*, 64, no. 3 (1935), 399–421.

This section of Devitt's History supplies background information on the incipient stages of the Church of the Immaculate Conception and the Boston Seminary, the precursors to Boston College which are referenced in the *Historia*. In March 1853, John McElroy purchased twenty tracts of land in a section of the city then known as the Jail Lands (on former Leverett and Wall Streets), currently in the vicinity of Staniford and Merrimac Streets in Boston's West End, to develop a boys' school and church. However, the city's Protestant residents objected to the acquisition, and the town council through a legal technicality prohibited any such construction. Faced with this opposition, Father McElroy sold the land in April, 1857. Soon afterwards, he purchased land that was a filled-in portion of South Bay (at the intersection of Harrison Avenue and Concord Street on

Boston's South End). In 1858, construction began on the Church of the Immaculate Conception and the college, which was completed in the summer of 1860. In September of the same year, the Boston Seminary, as it has sometimes been called, opened as a scholasticate for Jesuit students studying philosophy and theology (400–05).

- Gilbert J. Garraghan, *Jesuits of the Middle United States*, 3 vols. (New York, 1938), II, 160.

Though discussing the Society in the Midwestern states, volume II, chapter XXII on Jesuits and the Civil War provides important contextualization regarding the ways in which Jesuits navigated the tempestuous American political landscape. For example, in a letter to Thurlow Weed, the influential member of the New York State Assembly, Father Pierre-Jean De Smet, a prominent figure in the Missouri Mission, references canon law when inquiring as to any possible absolution from conscription (II, 160).

- James M. Matthews, ed., *Public laws of the Confederate States of America, passed at the first session of the first congress; 1862: Carefully collated with the originals at Richmond* (Richmond, 1862).

In contrast to the Enrollment Act of 1863, the conscription laws of the Confederacy provided for occupational exemptions. The Confederate congress passed the bill, "An act to exempt certain persons from the enrollment for service in the armies of the Confederate States," which was signed by Jefferson Davis on April 21, 1862, and which absolved clergymen from conscription (51–52).

- Nathaniel I. Bowditch, *An Argument for a Catholic Church on the Jail-Lands* (Boston, 1853).

The purchase of twenty lots of land by John McElroy for the construction of the Church of the Immaculate Conception and a boys' school in a section of Boston formerly known as the Jail Lands resulted in a legal challenge in which the city's (Protestant) majority city council sought to deny John McElroy the use of the lots to construct the aforesaid church and school. The council had initially decided that only private residences could be built on those parcels of land. However, before the owner of those lots, a man named Mr. Amee, sold them to John McElroy, the city voted to permit the construction of a church on them. Yet, almost immediately after Mr. Amee and John McElroy finalized

their transaction, the city council rescinded their vote to allow a church to be constructed on those recently purchased lots, on the grounds of alleged false representations made by Mr. Amee, though what these were is never explicitly stated. This rescission was in large part based on a petition to municipal authorities from local residents who sought to stymie the encroachment of the growing number of Catholics in their neighborhood. Nathaniel Ingersoll Bowditch (1805–1861), a Protestant himself and a prominent Boston lawyer—the son of the famous mathematician also named Nathaniel Bowditch who wrote a still-used navigation manual—gave an address to the city council expressing his support for the construction of a Catholic church in this neighborhood, wherein he put forth telling observations about the city's increasing Catholic population in Boston and the overall contempt which Protestants held towards Catholics during the 1850s:

> Numbering nearly fifty or sixty thousand, they have but very few churches; and their ranks are increased by annual immigration, and by individuals who for years have suffered from want and oppression in other lands, and who have not enjoyed the advantages of those means of improvement and culture which are here within reach of almost everyone (11).

He later adds that should the Catholic population become the majority in Boston, that there need not be any fear of them suppressing other religious groups, and that only Protestant partiality is to be a cause for concern:

> The question to-day is merely whether a Catholic Church is a nuisance? To-morrow the like question may be asked as to any other church. Where can the line be drawn? If we refuse to the Catholics, in this their day of weakness, the permission now asked, how can we object to their doing the like by ourselves should they acquire, as they very probably may in a few years, the numerical ascendency over all the other religious societies in our city? For one, I have, however, no apprehension that the fires of persecution will ever be kindled among us, except by Protestant prejudice (13).

Bowditch also comments on the piousness of the Boston Catholics which underscores the devotion mentioned in the *Historia*:

> As a member of my father's family, I resided for years in the immediate vicinity of the Catholic Church in Franklin Place. The sidewalks were each Sunday crowded,—it may be, inconveniently obstructed by its overflowing congregation. Made up almost wholly of the poorer laboring class, they were yet dressed in their best attire, and were uniformly decent and serious. The sight of those worshippers kneeling even on the outside

> steps to receive the benediction of their priest, was to me always an edifying spectacle. That multitude, so full of devotional fervor and sincerity, shamed the comparatively thin attendance and the apparent apathy too frequently observable in our own places of worship (14-15).

- Paul Shore, "The Voices of Memoria: Diaria, Historiae, and Annuaria as Records of Experience in the Pre-suppression Society" (paper, presented at *the Fifth Annual International Symposium on Jesuit Studies, Engaging Sources: The Tradition and Future of Collecting History in the Society of Jesus, [Proceedings of the Symposium held at Boston College, June 11–13, 2019])*, and published in *International Symposia on Jesuit Studies*, March 1, 2021, pp. 1–17, https://doi.org/10.51238/ISJS.2019.01.

This paper offers an outline on and emphasizes the significance of the different types of Jesuit historical writing during the first two and a half centuries of the Order's existence. These include the *historia domus*, *historia collegii*, *diaria*, *memoria* and *litterae annuae*.

- Robert E. Curran, *Shaping American Catholicism: Maryland and New York, 1805–1915* (Washington, DC, 2012).

Twelve essays in this book explore the origin and development of Catholicism in Maryland and New York. Much of the subject matter comprises the social and political history of the Church in the nineteenth century. The sixth essay, "The First American Jesuit Province and the Shifting Center of Catholicism," discusses mid-nineteenth century nativism and anti-Catholic discrimination as well as the Jesuits' attitudes and sympathies towards the Union and Confederacy, which are topics relevant to the *Historia*.

- Thomas R. Bevan, *220 Years . . . A history of the Catholic community of the Frederick Valley* (Frederick, MD, 1977).

This book lays out the history of Catholicism in Frederick, Maryland from the 1740s until the 1970s. It is a valuable resource for the local Catholic history of western Maryland's largest city. Of particular interest is the history of the Frederick Novitiate, which it meticulously documents from its inception in 1833 until its closing in 1903. The narrative is furnished with many photographs and primary sources.

Book Reviews

General

The Slaves of the Churches: A History. By Mary E. Sommar. (New York: Oxford University Press. 2020. Pp. [viii], 268. $38.95. ISBN 9780190073268.)

This book addresses the way the Church treated the issue of slavery from the time of Jesus until the late medieval commencement of the Atlantic intercontinental slave trade, but it goes into detail only through the mid-thirteenth century, the period of the classical canon law. Indeed, the principal texts that the author marshals are canonistic, but for the earliest period, she looks at other writings of both the Church Fathers and subsequent leading clerical figures. The author's characterization of her work as an "analysis" appears several times in the text, but I found it difficult to justify this description. For, to the extent that the book has value, it is in its referencing passages from letters, conciliar collections, etc. that in one way or another touch on churchmen's ideas about slavery. More particularly, she indicates those parts of certain texts that address the naturalness or unnaturalness of slavery, the various processes of manumission, and the legal doctrine of the inalienability of church property and its relation to the slaves owned by individual churches and churchmen. It is useful to have all of these passages noted and summarized, but this does not constitute analysis (see especially, pp. 68–72).

Imprecision is a characteristic feature of the author's remarks. A favorite locution is "a lot of" (for example, pp. 59, 60, 99, 115, and 227), but other phrases and words, like "pretty much" (p. 102) and "often" (p. 116), weaken the prose. "Abolition" and variants of the term are also favorites (pp. 18–19, 28, 35, 56, 66, 99–100, 101, 153, etc.). For the author is on a quest to find abolitionism in the past. When she cannot find it, she laments the inhumanity of churchmen who owned slaves or who refused to manumit them or who manumitted only with conditions in line with the inalienability of church property. When she finds a normative statement that appears to be in favor of abolition, she refuses to believe it. Writing of Gregory of Nyssa's *Fourth Homily on Ecclesiastes*, she acknowledges that his discourse "certainly does sound a lot like abolitionist thinking" (p. 99). However, she immediately adds, "he never actually called for a change in the economic practice of using slave labor." Later (p. 101), she repeats that Gregory "was not an abolitionist. [He] lived in a world where the idea of abolishing slavery was not something that could have even been imagined." If so, then why search for it and tediously remind one's readers that X was not an abolitionist, Y was not an abolitionist, and on and on?

Let us assume for the moment that the author's clerical actors were genuinely unable to think abolitionist thoughts. It is nevertheless the case that, as Professor

Sommar documents, several of them admonished their flock to treat their slaves with kindness. Now, the normative moral principles underlying such admonitions do not mean that the slave owners to whom they were addressed followed the advice. Nor does it preclude the possibility that the churchmen were hypocrites and treated their slaves poorly. However, it is a far cry from conceding these *possibilities* and writing a statement, in this case with regard to the Carolingian period, that churches, as "the owners of vast agricultural estates that employed thousands of unfree laborers . . . behaved no differently toward their servile personnel than did the secular owners of similarly large establishments" (p. 244). The author marshals no proof to establish the accuracy of this statement, which is really an accusation. It is an accusation grounded in the belief that free-born Romans had "contempt" for slaves in the ancient world and that this negative attitude persisted among the Catholic clergy for more than a thousand years, that is, until more than a millennium after the decline of the Western Empire.

"Contempt" is a strong term. What is the evidence? "A late Carolingian preacher," the author informs her readers, "exhorted his listeners: 'May your *servi* and your *ancillae* and your oxen and asses and horses have rest on the Lord's day and on saints' days, in the same way that you do.'" The author's interpretation of this quotation is tendentious and wholly unsympathetic. She reads it as contemptuous: "To this man [the preacher], *servi* were merely two-legged beasts of burden" (p. 176). Or, to cite another example, the author writes of John de Grandisson, the bishop of Exeter, and his manumission of a *servus* with this explanation for his act. "[W]e cannot hold it unprofitable to us or to our church of Exeter to restore to you your natural liberty and moved by piety." Professor Sommar is merciless. She embeds the bishop's remarks in her own slanted prose [italicized here]: "*Now that you are in your fifties and have no family and no real skills,* 'we cannot hold it unprofitable to us or to our church of Exeter to restore to you your natural liberty *[so that you will have more opportunities to support yourself, given the circumstances]* and moved by piety'. *In other words, this poor man had become a burden to the church of Exeter, so Grandisson set him free to starve on his own*" (p. 234). This is intolerable—and it stems from a fundamentally misplaced conflation of slavery and serfdom (and an equally misplaced dependence on H. S. Bennett's dyspeptic interpretation of the passage that he quotes in *Life on the English Manor*[1]). Bishop John freed a *serf*, meaning, among other things, that he delivered him from his labor services. It was a charitable act, not a sentence to death by starvation.

The bishop's words (in Bennet's translation, which Professor Sommar references), are in fact worth quoting in full:

> Whereas thou, being now come to thy fifty years, hast no longer any wife or offspring lawfully begotten of thy body, and art so insufficient in worldly

1. Henry Stanley Bennett, *Life on the English Manor: A Study of Peasant Conditions, 1150–1400* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p, 283.

> goods that thou must needs live from thine own labour, and knowest no art but that of a boatman, having learned none other from thy youth upward, therefore we cannot hold it unprofitable to us or to Our Church of Exeter to restore thee to thy natural liberty. Wherefore, in order that thou mayest be able to labour more freely and seek thy daily food and clothing by boatmanship, in consideration of the aforesaid facts and moved by pity, We do hereby, insofar as pertaineth to Ourselves, manumit thee and restore to natural liberty both thyself and all goods and chattels whatsoever, occupied or possessed by thee in any manner, specially reserving for Ourselves and Our successors and Our Church the patronage of thyself and all thine offspring if perchance thou do beget any such.

In other words, as I understand this, relief from the serf's uncompensated obligations to the bishop and cathedral of Exeter would give him the opportunity to expand his compensated services as a boatman.

All of this brings me to my penultimate point. Professor Sommar eschews the use of the word "serf" and thus elides two centuries of scholarship that have tried to plumb the differences between the two systems as ideal types and as practices of subordination. A brief appendix (pp. 259–63) is insufficient, in my view, to justify this elision.

Last but not least, as with the issue of contempt, Professor Sommar seems inclined to show a certain charitable condescension to her actors in the past. She does so by reifying us moderns who seem to have a universally shared manner of thinking and acting that differentiates us from men and women in the past. "[T]hey did not condemn everything that a modern person might object to" (p. 64). Augustine's belief that slavery is retribution for sin is an argument that "may still be somewhat unsettling to the modern reader" (p. 86). Thirty-nine lashes "may sound severe to a modern reader" (p. 115). "This often-cited canon [against harsh punishment like amputation of slaves' limbs] causes the modern mind to wonder" (p. 148). "It is hard for post-Enlightenment minds to understand this [the medieval transactional view of heaven]. The modern Western heaven is not a very businesslike place" (p. 204). Similar locutions may be found on many other pages (pp. 48, 67, 92, 103, 175, 218 and elsewhere). Perhaps I am tilting at a rhetorical strategy of some sort. If so, the strategy troubles me deeply, as do so many other matters in this book, but I will stop here.

Princeton University William Chester Jordan

Vestire a modo altrui: Dal sumptus *medioevale al* luxus *d'età moderna tra diritto e morale*. By Cecilia Natalini. (Naples: Editoriale Scientifica. 2020. Pp. x, 218. €14,00. ISBN 978-88-9391-709-4.)

This book primarily addresses students and historians of law, but any historian using or citing sumptuary legislation may profit from reading it. Although it offers

a highly particular (and questionable) genealogy of legal thought on northern Italian urban statutes limiting ostentatious display—chiefly targeting women's clothing, but also extending to public displays of mourning and marital alliances—this study usefully excavates some moral logics underpinning such legislation and aspects of their political influence on conceptions of the state.

The author, jurist and legal historian Cecilia Natalini, opens with a critique of contemporary historiographical emphasis on the ineffectiveness of this sumptuary legislation. Casting it as reductionistically rooted in eighteenth-century German scholarship theorizing state power, Natalini proposes reconsidering this legislation from the perspective of its medieval communal origins in admonishing, rather than commanding, individuals to do good. She poses two questions. First, when and why did the question of *sumptus* (cost, expense) become, in reality, a question of *luxus* (excess or extravagance)? This necessitates considering the position of the Christian church on *luxus*: was it always synonymous with sin? Second, what is the relationship between Christian morality, individual liberty, and public discipline that centuries of *ius commune* judicial experience bequeathed to modern jurisprudence? In brief, she argues that theologians did not treat *luxus* as synonymous with sin and that debates about *sumptus* really became focused on superfluity in the thirteenth century. Natalini believes that an important heritage of the medieval *ius commune* tradition is the modern western tension between Christian morality, individual liberty, and state authority.

The author traces an evolutionary process that begins with Isidore of Seville's distinction between what is necessary (clothing) and not (ornament) as well as his emphasis on the uses of wealth (rather than the morality or immorality of wealth per se). It continues across the Gregorian Reform (from the school of Chartres to Peter Damian and to St. Bernard), through the twelfth century (Gratian's *Decretum*, Alan of Lille's *Summa de arte predicatoria*), and into the thirteenth, where the thought of Pope Innocent III accelerates the "giuridicizzazione" of the problem of *sumptus*/expense. Natalini leans heavily on this recent neologism from contemporary Italian politics (sometimes in the form of "giuridizzazione") to trace the translation of Christian morality through law into political economy: medieval *sumptus*, a matter of religious morality and the salvation of the community through obedience to God, becomes early modern *luxus*, a matter of civic conscience and the well-being of the community through obedience to the state.

The crucial turning point and figure in this evolution is St. Thomas Aquinas, whom Natalini credits with using the Aristotelian distinction between *ethos* and *hexis* to establish that the quality or status of the person determines what constitutes appropriate use of ornament, which itself is neither a virtue nor a vice. According to the author, this *dottrina tomista*, with its emphasis on variability, inspired judicial reflection and, ultimately, early modern attempts to legislate limitations on attire appropriate to every human status. Natalini discusses Henry of Susa (Hostiensis), Ubertus of Cesena, Giovanni d'Andrea, Alberico of Rosciate, and, of course, Bartolus of Sassoferrato, highlighting problems of jurisdiction,

proof, and the relation of public and private rights. She then uses the sumptuary legislation of Forlì from the fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries to illustrate some fruits of this long evolution in one concrete case and closes with reflections on Antonio Roselli's 1447 *consilium*, *De ornatu mulierum*.

If approached as an extended essay or thought-piece, the work can sensitize historians to the theological and legal issues raised by medieval and early modern sumptuary legislation. It is not, however, convincing as intellectual history. How, for example, could the *dottrina tomista* be the "new impulse" driving the legal thought of Henry of Susa (Hostiensis) on sumptuary law when Natalini grounds the Thomist "doctrine" in Aquinas's *Summa* (c. 1265–1274) and Susa's cited *Summa* is dated to c. 1230–1253? The author also gives no consideration to political developments within the urban republics producing sumptuary legislation. Should not sumptuary legislation in the second half of the thirteenth century be placed in the context of the rise of *Popolo* movements within these cities and their anti-magnate legislation? In sum, Natalini's narrative regarding the importance of Christian thought to the birth of the modern state and its legal foundations will please those already convinced of this position but will not win any converts to this view.

University of California, Berkeley Maureen C. Miller

Propaganda Fide, Volume I: *La congregazione pontificia e la giurisdizione sulle missioni.* By Giovanni Pizzorusso. (Rome: Edizioni Storia e Letteratura. 2022. Pp. 427. €48.00. ISBN 978-8893-5959-64.)

The idea of the conversion of the non-Christians, making their salvation possible, is a fundamental concept of the Christian church, whose missionary drive can thus be traced back to its very origins. In the sixteenth century, the opening of new missions in the Orient and the Iberian expansion into the Americas made the Holy See acquiesce to the *padronato* regime, which de facto entrusted to the Iberian regular orders most missionary activity. The bull *Exponis Nobis Nuper Fecisti*, commonly known as *Omnimoda* (May 10, 1522), officially granted unlimited powers to the missionaries. It was partially curtailed by the bull *Cum Onerosa Pastoralis Officii Cura* (December 12, 1600). Soon afterwards, the Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide," officially established by Pope Gregory XV on January 6, 1622, became a main element in Rome's attempt to regain its centralizing role in the missionary activity and to contain the power of the Iberian crowns. Propaganda was meant to propagate the faith where the Gospel had never been preached (infidels, heathen); to defend Catholic minorities in non-Catholic human environments (Muslims, Anglicans, Confucians); and to reclaim the erring flock that had abandoned the true faith (heretics, schismatics)—an "immense" (p.113) task that the pope had entrusted to a dozen or so cardinals and a few bureaucrats who were housed in a Roman palace located a few yards from the Spanish Steps. Propaganda's top cardinal (the Prefect) and the Secretary (the workaholic Francesco Ingoli from 1622 to 1649 (p. 120) met practically every day in a *congresso*; the full house met once a month in *congregazione generale*. The pope had the last word, although regular

udienze only began in the 1660s. (This routine went on almost unchanged until the early twentieth century.)

Giovanni Pizzorusso is an early-modern historian who has moved from an initial interest in one of the Catholic peripheries—the Americas—to a deep knowledge of the inner working of the Holy See in its relationship with the global world. He has now produced the first volume of a major synthesis of the history of Propaganda such as has never been written before, one that is likely to remain the fundamental point of reference for all historians who will write on the history of the Catholic missions for decades to come. This volume describes why and how Propaganda was founded, how it was financed, its role within the Roman bureaucracy, its relationship with other Roman ministries (mainly the nunciatures and the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office) and with the regular orders (mainly the Jesuits and the Capuchins). To be sure, *Propaganda Fide* is not an original work, in the sense that Pizzorusso has revised eighteen articles, chapters, and conference papers that he had published or presented between 1998 and 2016—hence some repetitions here and there. Still, his texts have been reworked in such a fashion as to provide the reader with a new and coherent interpretation of the history of the Congregation and of its role within the Roman bureaucracy and the world of missions. Furthermore, all his texts *were* original when they were written. To this day, they remain unsurpassed and provide the ground for a major historiographical reappraisal of the role of Propaganda. In the book, they are preceded by a lengthy interpretive introduction which is completely new.

Pizzorusso well describes how, in an amazingly unchanging fashion, for about three centuries Propaganda officials centered their overall strategy of worldwide evangelization around some long-term objectives that can be thus summarized: (i) the dissemination of the Tridentine pattern as regarded rites and sacraments (such as marriages and baptisms); (ii) the replacement of the European clergy through the creation of an autochthonous clergy, their "most ambitious" but "eventually illusory" endeavor (p. 202); (iii) the use of vernacular languages, alongside Latin, as a necessary step in any "foreign" relationship; (iv) the organization of well-structured territorial churches consisting of bishops, vicars apostolic, prefects apostolic, and apostolic missionaries; (v) the collaboration with the regular orders as much as the latter allowed (Jesuits and Dominicans were particularly jealous of their prerogatives); (vi) the gathering of missionary information and the careful keeping of an institutional memory of it.

A few pioneer Québec and American scholars who had realized that the history of the Catholic missions did not stop at the door of the Society of Jesus—such as Conrad-Marie Morin (1906–84), Lucien Campeau (1914–2003), Charles Edwards O'Neill (1927–2009), Lucien Lemieux (1934–2020), and Robert Frederick Trisco—had made significant use of the Propaganda archives. Later, researchers would start off by looking up their topic of interest in the appropriate chapter of *Memoria Rerum* (1971–76). This was a collective *magnus opus* put together by Josef Metzler, O.M.I. (1921–2012), Propaganda's archivist from 1966

to 1984. However, most of them took advantage of the riches of the Propaganda archives to illuminate, in greater detail, the history of their own country, their order, their mission or character of choice. None had placed the Congregation itself at the center of their scrutiny and had looked to the outside world with the eyes of those Propaganda bureaucrats who produced their responses to local situations by evaluating concomitant experiences, past and present (p. 29). This more refined perspective is, in fact, what Pizzorusso has achieved during over three decades of focused research—his extensive archival references and footnotes are a testimony to Pizzorusso's thoroughness and dedication. (Hopefully Volume II will carry a full bibliography.)

To be sure, *Propaganda Fide* is not a chronicle. The book is thematically organized, and any quick overview would not do justice to its richness. Let us just mention some of the book's main historiographical novelties or reinterpretations, none of which a researcher would find by identifying his or her chapter of choice in *Memoria Rerum* or even by reading its 4,550-odd pages cover to cover. Missionaries did not really make any distinction between distant and "internal" missions (pp. 19, 220, 307); indeed, distance was not a decisive factor in selecting and assisting missions (p. vii). Conflict is less a feature of the missionary world than it appears to be, because "normal situations" produce less documentation (p. 313). With regard to the Society of Jesus, commonly regarded as Propaganda's *bête noire*, the Congregation's anti-Jesuitism is a useless abstraction that must be placed in a prosopographical context that re-evaluates the role of personalities (pp. 111, 362–384); furthermore, the suppression of the Society (1773–1814) must be regarded as an interlude of "no great significance" (p. 403). Most significantly, the activity of Propaganda, in conjunction with the Holy Office—in spite of the latter's eminent role of guardian of the true doctrine—shows that the imposition of canon law and the dissemination of the Tridentine pattern went along with a continuous adaptation to local situations, so that "missions became the lieu of exception, not of the rule" (p. 195, but see also pp. 72, 189, 193, 216–219, 297).

Pizzorusso makes rare, if any, explicit concessions to fashionable or politically correct historiographical trends. Although the necessary link between missionary dissemination and colonial expansion is often mentioned—see for example the pages on the missionaries' "double" loyalties (pp. 231–241)—the word "colonialism" is used sparsely, and the word "inculturation" only once (p. 229). There is also a fleeting mention of the "global or connected histories," again in one sentence only (pp. 189–190), whereas the direct influence of French and Italian church historians such as Bernard Dompnier, Claude Prudhomme, and Adriano Prosperi, or of the Spanish legal historian Eutimio Sastre Santos, is more evident and explicitly acknowledged.

Even such a good book leaves room for improvements. On the substantial side, this reviewer would have liked a more detailed description of the apostolic faculties (spiritual powers), which are also missing in the Index as a separate entry. (Baptisms and Marriages are also missing, though Languages and Rites are there.)

The twenty-six doubts on baptisms and marriages among the Indians of Canada, assessed in Rome in 1702, had been submitted by the bishop of Québec, Jean-Baptiste de La Croix de Chevrières de Saint-Vallier, not by the Jesuits (p. 85). The early seventeenth-century mission of Avalon was in Newfoundland, not in Nova Scotia (p. 292). The archival references to Michele Di Pietro's *Geografia Ecclesiastica* treatise are garbled. Finally, although the book is remarkably almost free of typos, there are a few names that need to be revised, either in the text or in the Index: The correct forms are Jean-Olivier Briand, Joseph-Marie Chaumonot, Michel Gazil de La Bernardière, Karen Ordahl Kupperman, Bernard Picques, and Jan Philipp Roothaan. Finally, Giovanni Damasceno Bragaldi is indexed as Damasceno (a common occurrence in his times), but his real family name was Bragaldi.

In conclusion, *Propaganda Fide* is a major piece of historical scholarship in the field of early modern history, the history of the Catholic Church and of the Holy See—in particular Propaganda and the Holy Office—missionary studies, and the history of mission fields around the world. Its author and its publisher must be warmly congratulated. We eagerly look forward to the publication of Vol II.

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Kindred Spirits: Friendship and Resistance at the Edges of Modern Catholicism. By Brenna Moore. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2021. Pp. 322. $32.50. ISBN 9780226787015.)

In *Kindred Spirits*, Brenna Moore boldly theorizes and accomplishes a genuinely global Catholic intellectual history for the 2020s. Moore examines an international network of writers, theologians, artists, and activists between 1920 and 1960. The sprawling diversity of identities, crossing and hybridizing religious, ethnic, racial, gender and sexual borders, is unified by Catholicism's global reach and inexhaustible capacity for accommodating local contexts. Although the figures were dispersed in places as distant as Chile, Egypt, France, Jamaica, and Russia—as well as Chicago and New York—they all shared the city of Paris at some time in their lives. Moore comes to this story with authority stemming from her 2012 monograph *Sacred Dread: Raïssa Maritain, the Allure of Suffering, and the French Catholic Revival (1905–1944)*. In that work, Moore's unpacking of Maritain's richly textured life led her to explore the roles played by salons organized by women. Salons—and their cultivation of friendships—served as sites of refuge and belonging for ex-patriots, émigrés, and exiles (like Maritain herself). Nearly a decade later, Moore has built on this foundation as she pushes Catholic intellectual history beyond these earlier borders.

Moore argues for the category of "friendship" playing a vital role in analyzing this global community and, more particularly, "spiritual friendship" as the binding force. On one level, this actively chosen spiritual kinship—hence, *Kindred Spirits*—gave participants a shared identity and belonging that transcended passive forms of

blood inheritance in both families and nations. Not surprisingly, medievalist imagery pervaded their discourse as Christian monastic life was explicitly contrasted to the nuclear family's rise in modernity. Transnational kinship not only permitted *difference* between friends—it cultivated and celebrated that *difference*. This "resistance" to homogeneity manifests itself especially in often complicated relationships defying predictable categorizations. Although the prominent French Islamic scholar Louis Massignon was known for his same-sexual orientation, his most profound friendship in this book is with Mary Kahil, a Syrian-born, Egyptian feminist activist in Cairo. Meanwhile, he confessed that "being with his wife and three children felt like he was undergoing Chinese torture, his face getting eaten by a rat"—complicated kinships. (p. 21)

On another level, this heterogenous community both stood apart from as well as interacted with the more homogenous institutions that form the largely clerical loci of traditional Catholic intellectual history: religious orders (e.g., Dominican and Jesuit), seminaries, schools, parishes, and other ecclesiastical settings. The centers for these kindred spirits were "off-center": women-led salons, clandestine resistance movements, the Dar-el-Salem in Cairo, Catholic Worker Houses of Hospitality in the USA, and Latin American base communities. However, as Moore's *Sacred Dread* already demonstrated, these two spheres—clerical and lay—did not form a simple binary opposition. Far from being hermetically sealed, they interacted, overlapped, and mutually nourished. When, for example, the Jesuit (later Cardinal) Jean Daniélou was a guest at Marie-Magdeleine Davy's salon outside of Paris, he encountered a much wider range of intellectuals than he might have found in circles closer to home.

As a corollary to friendship, women play leading roles in Moore's account as the founders, patrons, organizers, and sustaining forces of these "off-center" centers. (Her method evokes Dena Goodman's groundbreaking study in *The Republic of Letters* [1994], a revisionist history of the French Enlightenment in which women's salons blurred boundaries between public and private spheres.) For example, Moore's genealogical excavation of rarely recognized figures uncovers the Chilean poet Gabriela Mistral. Mistral surprisingly alters received narratives of Jacques Maritain's influence since she was largely responsible for the dissemination of his Christian democratic thought in Latin America. Moore observes: "we have histories on mothers who passed on their faith to their children, nuns who staffed orphanages, grandmothers who filled the pews, but very little on modern religious women who were *intellectuals*, the critical thinkers of their time." Even though "women were earning doctorates in religious history and theology by the 1930s," much of their writing "still remains unpublished, cataloged confusedly, if at all, and untranslated." (p. 25)

Thirdly, along with friendship and women, Moore highlights the complexities of ethnic and racial difference, especially in colonial contexts. Particularly noteworthy is her astute identification of "global Catholicism" as both "colonial" and "exilic." As a result, the descriptor *global* "is too passive as a starting point." (p. 6)

These figures all had ties to Paris primarily because it was the metropole of the colonial French Empire at the height of its extension (having gained additional territory as victor's spoils after the 1914-18 Great War). Recalling again the example of Kahil and Massignon: "just as Kahil was trained in the French piety that came to the Arabic world through colonial missions, Massignon's religious imagination was inflected with the sounds, texts, languages, and people of Kahil's Arabic world, all of which was made possible by French colonialism." (p. 7) However, colonialism divided even as it united, and the exiles, refugees, and activists also became familiar with anti-imperialist and antiwar movements around the world—both *Friendship and Resistance*.

Interwar Paris was especially known for *l'internationalisme noir*, a center for diasporic Black internationalism that drew North African colonists and African Americans (like Josephine Baker and demobilized Great War soldiers) seeking refuge from Jim Crow. One particularly rich group included Paulette Nardal and her cousin Louis Thomas Achille, Black Catholic intellectuals from the Caribbean who "held an important inter- and intraracial salon grounded in friendship." Here they hosted Jamaican Claude McKay "along with a cadre of progressive [French] Dominican priests, whom they considered their 'Catholic family' while abroad in France." (p. 27) Moore's juxtaposition of McKay's and Jacques Maritain's experiences as émigrés in the USA is especially instructive. Maritain became a "well-connected and beloved white European Catholic" with invitations to teach and lecture at numerous prestigious institutions. By contrast, when McKay arrived in 1912, "he was allowed entry only if he agreed he would never apply for public assistance." And unlike the independently wealthy Maritain, McKay "really needed" public assistance after he returned to the USA from Europe in the depths of the Great Depression. (p. 28) Destitute and desperate, McKay moved to a labor camp for the unhoused and addicts and eventually died young in Chicago. Juxtaposing McKay and Maritain complicates the intellectual history of mid-twentieth-century Catholicism.

The incorporation of mostly forgotten marginal figures not only expands the narrative and makes it factually truer. Precisely because of porous borders, margins are frequently the site of unusually productive creativity. (The spirits of Mary Douglas and Michel de Certeau animate this book: all margins are dangerous.) Invoking John Connelly's *From Enemy to Brother* (2012), Moore recalls that "it was on the margins of official Catholicism and national centers of power—the converts, émigrés, and 'border transgressors'—who brought a more empathetic perspective of Jews and Judaism to the table, the willingness to identify with the dispossessed." (p. 30) Echoing her book title's *Edges*, Moore summarizes: "By examining carefully chosen *viewpoints along its edge*, we engage in a fuller, more complete reckoning with the twentieth century, its traumas, violence, and its instances of creativity and courage, especially when we bring to the surface a wider cast of characters who were not at the centers of ecclesial or academic institutions of power." (pp. 31–32, emphasis added) Moore's reflections on the crucial role of archives in this task of excavation, surfacing, and revealing—and especially her own archival experiences—are highly recommended reading for any graduate student in this early twenty-first century.

Moore's book finds kindred spirits in Edward Baring's *Converts to the Real* (2019) and Sarah Shortall's *Soldiers of God in a Secular World* (2021). All three works manifest the irreducibly critical roles played by transnational networks and friendships in intellectual histories of twentieth-century Catholicism. Reading this generation's narratives so sensitively attuned to global migrations, mutations, and mixtures calls to mind the title of Lucien Febvre's and François Crouzet's long-delayed posthumous publication: *Nous sommes des sang-mêlés* (2012). We are all of mixed blood now.

Loyola University Chicago Stephen Schloesser, S.J.

Ancient

The Crucified Book: Sacred Writing in the Age of Valentinus. By Anne Starr Kreps. [Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2022. Pp. 186. $65.00. ISBN 978-0-8122-5387-0.)

According to the *Gospel of Truth*, preserved in Nag Hammadi Codex I ("Jung Codex"), "Jesus appeared. He rolled himself in that book and was nailed to a tree and published the edict of the Father on the cross" (1). This striking image of the crucified Jesus as a crucified book inspires Anne Starr Kreps's innovative study of scriptural practices among Valentinians and other Christians and Jews of the second and third centuries. Kreps contributes significantly to recent scholarship that revises the standard narrative of the emergence of Christian scriptures and the development of the canon. Valentinian Christians, Kreps argues, effaced the distinctions between human being and text and among Christian, Jewish, and other revelatory books: "The body-as-book, then, signaled a mode of holy book that resisted Irenaeus's call for a fixed collection of written texts" (p. 117).

The Crucified Book consists of four chapters divided into two parts and framed by an introduction and conclusion. The two chapters of part 1 focus on Valentinus and the Valentinians. Chapter 1 studies closely two passages that present Jesus's death as the publication of a book; Kreps contextualizes this image within Jewish and Christian interpretations of Wisdom in Proverbs 8 and within Roman book culture. Although she admits that it cannot be proved that Valentinus wrote this work, she accepts his authorship and says that attribution to another Valentinian would not affect her reading (p. 19). Chapter 2 examines the implications of understanding the book as at once divine, human, and textual for how Valentinian Christians wrote, read, and transmitted sacred texts (their scriptural practices). The fragments of Valentinus, Heracleon, and Ptolemy evince an openness to the continued dissemination of revelation in multiple books.

Part 2 considers early Christians who opposed the Valentinian scriptural program and Jews whose practices resembled those of the Valentinians. Chapter 3 shows that the heresiologists Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Epiphanius recognized the Valentinians' fluid approach to scripture, claimed that it led to contradiction and

error, and opposed it with the notion of a limited canon. Kreps suggests that the Jung Codex provides evidence for the persistence of the Valentinian "theory of open revelation" in fourth-century Egypt (p. 87). Working from two rabbinic stories of "Jewish sages mutating into scrolls upon their timely deaths" (p. 92), Chapter 4 argues that the rabbis also developed a "corpora of living books" with illuminating similarities with and differences from Valentinian practice (p. 114).

A summary cannot capture this book's many stimulating ideas, nor can it replicate its lucid, often eloquent prose. Kreps works easily with sources in Greek, Latin, Coptic, and Hebrew, and she adduces revealing comparative materials from across the Mediterranean; the book fulfills the Divinations series' goal of "rereading late ancient religion." I might complicate Kreps's account by placing the Valentinians Ptolemy and Heracleon closer to Irenaeus and farther from Valentinus (*Gospel of Truth* and fragments) than she does; for example, I think that when Ptolemy invested authority in "the words of our Savior," he had in mind written gospels, not oral traditions (p. 57). Nonetheless, as Kreps notes, I coined the term "scriptural practices" a decade ago as an invitation to scholars to write less teleological histories of the New Testament and early Christian literature. *The Crucified Book* represents precisely the kind of work that I hoped to see. I enthusiastically recommend it to historians of Christianity interested in textuality, canon formation, and what we used to call "Gnosticism."

The Ohio State University DAVID BRAKKE

Origen. *Homilies on the Psalms: Codex Monacensis Graecus 314.* Translated by Joseph W. Trigg. [The Fathers of the Church, Volume 141.] (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press: 2021. Pp. xii, 486. $45.00. ISBN 978-0-8132-3319-2.)

One of the most exciting events in recent patristic scholarship was Marina Pradel's 2012 discovery of twenty-nine of Origen's homilies on the Psalms, hiding in plain sight in the manuscript collection of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich. The eminent scholar Lorenzo Perrone quickly and conclusively identified these anonymous homilies as belonging to Origen, delivered in Caesarea near the end of his life. In collaboration with Pradel, Emanuela Prinzivalli, and Antonio Cacciari, Perrone rapidly produced an excellent critical edition.[1] Thanks to Joseph Trigg, these homilies are now available to an English-language readership. Together with Trigg's learned introduction and illuminating notes, they provide a new window onto the work and the world of one of the Church's most influential teachers.

1. Origen, *Die neuen Psalmenhomilien: Eine kritische Edition des Codex Monacensis Graecus 314,* ed. Lorenzo Perrone with Marina Molin Pradel, Emanuela Prinziavalli, and Antonio Cacciari [Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte (GCS) Neue Folge, Band 19, Origenes Werke XIII.] (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), henceforth cited as "*Psalmenhomilien.*" For the identification of their author as Origen see *Psalmenhomilien,* pp. 4–17.

For Origen, the Psalms were not primarily *liturgical* texts. As Trigg observes, there is very little evidence of Christian liturgical use of the Psalms in the third century (p. 20). Instead, Origen regards the Psalms as "patterns" for imitation (*Hom Ps* 15.2.4), *pedagogical* texts that guide the soul's deification by forming how one speaks. (Karen Jo Torjesen's classic study of Origen's hermeneutic procedures, which begins with an analysis of the Psalm homilies then extant in Latin translation, remains an excellent guide to these new Greek texts.[2]) These new homilies show how much Origen envisioned deification as a process of *linguistic* formation. Even when the proper speaker (*prosopon*) of a psalm is the divine Logos, Origen teaches human beings how to use and imitate his divine words as they come to share his divine nature.[3]

As Trigg rightly emphasizes, the Psalms (like the rest of the Septuagint) were often a culturally and linguistically alien literature to Origen's third-century Hellenized community (pp. 10–12). Trigg aims to preserve the Septuagint's linguistic difficulty, sometimes leading to translations that will sound clunky to the ears of modern readers, accustomed to smoothed-out contemporary translations, as in his rendering of Psalm 15:57b (LXX): "yet also until night my kidneys disciplined me" (p. 61). Origen brings the full weight of his grammatical training to bear resolving linguistic difficulties, from infelicitous Hebrew syntax to unfamiliar words, some of which Origen correctly recognized as novel coinages (*Hom Ps* 36.1.1).

The homilies also contain familiar defenses of Origen's strategy of reading allegorically, sometimes tinged with humor. As Trigg observes, "[Origen] asks those who resist figurative interpretation if they actually think that the angels have kitchen utensils for cooking manna or a brass section that will play the trumpet of doom" (p. 8). Trigg's translation happily eschews the unhelpful term "literal."

I cannot agree, however, with Trigg's distinction between *lexis* (wording) and *rheton* (statement):

> [Origen] uses the grammatical term *lexis* to refer to the actual words of Scripture and *rheton* to refer to the immediate, intuitive sense of those words. The first two columns in the *Hexapla* are the *lexis* in Hebrew letters and transliterated in Greek characters. The remaining columns translate the *rheton* of that *lexis.* The *rheton* is simply what the words say, even if it ascribes a "hand" to God or "doors" to heaven. (pp. 31–32)

Trigg is right that Origen always distinguishes the words of scripture from their immediate sense when taken at face value. But for Origen, *rheton* too refers to the actual words themselves. Thus when exhorting his hearers to memorize scrip-

2. Karen Jo Torjesen, *Hermeneutic Procedure and Theological Method in Origen's Exegesis* (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1986), esp. pp. 22–48.

3. Cf. Mark Randall James, *Learning the Language of Scripture: Origen, Wisdom, and Exegesis* (Leiden: Brill, 2021).

ture, Origen says, "Often someone comes seeking to understand concepts laid up in the Holy Scripture . . . but not knowing an evangelical statement [*rheton*], nor remembering an apostolic logos. . ." (*Hom Ps* 80.2.5). To memorize the evangelical *rheton* is simply to learn the *words* of the gospels. By contrast, to signify the immediate understanding of the words, Origen can use either *lexis* or *rheton,* usually in a prepositional phrase. For example, to interpret "wealth" as ordinary material wealth is, Origen says, to say what "the wording by itself [*he lexis autothen*] contains" and to address "the statement as it stands [*eis to rheton*]" (*Hom Ps* 36.3.6).

Trigg leaves untranslated that most flexible and important of Greek words, *logos,* because its myriad senses are so often intertwined in Origen's usage. Trigg also never capitalizes it, in order to preserve the "characteristic and significant ambiguity" as to whether Origen has in view the divine or the human logos. "[W]hen Origen speaks, he anticipates that his own logos, that is, the homily that he is giving, will mediate, in part, the divine logos" (p. 31).

These fascinating homilies are full of new insights into the thought of one of the most exciting and influential early Christian teachers. By producing this precise and erudite translation, Joseph Trigg has done a great service to all who are interested in Origen's work.

Independent Scholar MARK RANDALL JAMES
Washington, D.C.

Death of the Desert: Monastic Memory and the Loss of Egypt's Golden Age. By Christine Luckritz Marquis. [Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2022. Pp. 224. $65.00. ISBN: 9780812253627.)

"When Scetis was laid desolate, he left crying, saying, 'The world has lost Rome, and the monks Scetis'" (*Apoph. patr.* coll. alph. Arsenius 21). Readers of the *Sayings of the Desert Fathers* will be familiar with their nostalgic tone and vague historicizing. Most scholars have followed Hugh Evelyn-White's explanation that such anecdotes ultimately look back to the abandonment of the original monastic desert communities of Nitria, Kellia, and Scetis in northwest Egypt after three successive "barbarian" raids in the early fifth century. Those mentioning the death of a desert father named Moses and his disciples during a barbarian attack would seem to support that reconstruction. Marquis, however, argues that we have been misled by deliberate efforts of the later monks who crafted the *Sayings* collections in Palestine to forget the gang violence that Bishop Theophilus of Alexandria instigated against the settlements in 401 A.D., due to their regard for Origen and protection of Origenist monks. The collections themselves are not anti-Origenist, Marquis maintains, but seek to construct a more comfortable, if still remorseful, remembrance of a ruined utopian experiment. "Through memory sanctions and nostalgia, emerging out of and in response to acts of violence, the *Sayings* collections became textualized, portable images of a paradise lost" (p. 156).

This is a deeply researched, heavily theorized, fascinating, and provocative book. I am not entirely persuaded by its historical contention that stories of barbarian attacks against the monk Moses were constructed to displace memories of episcopal violence, or that Evelyn-White's reconstruction should be dismissed as pure speculation: *Sayings* quoted by Marquis herself refer to a series of attacks ("first," p. 115; "third," p. 117), and ancient towers at the sites, though not securely dated, indicate the possibility of them happening.[1] Indeed, the sentences in the last chapters of Marquis' book are full of speculations and conditional constructions (e.g., "quite plausibly would have," p.145). Yet her reasoning is always cogent, and in any case, there are really two books here. Her first three chapters, on the desert in the monastic imagination, on psalmody and prayer as ascetic weapons, and on the problematic role of memory in monastic training, will be essential reading for those interested in understanding early monastic culture. This is because of their novel focus on the theme of violence. Marquis made me appreciate how extensively this culture was infused by imagery and instructions involving or promoting violence, against oneself as much as against one's demons. Such emphasis could, of course, lead to fanaticism and mob violence, but what Marquis brings out (partly by using her own translations of Greek, Coptic, and Syriac *Sayings*, whose force has been softened and obscured by other translators) is how intrinsic such language was not only to traditional educational practices but also to the Psalms, to Evagrian theories, and to the ways monks were taught to imagine how to transform themselves and their desert from an abode of demons to one of angels. Marquis then relates all this to practices of *damnatio memoriae* against idols both internal and external. It is a shame that this central theme of the book is not signaled in its title, because it explores episodes and dimensions of late antique religious violence that have been ignored by recent scholarship on the subject.

Indiana University Bloomington Daniel F. Caner

Medieval

Aristocratie et sainteté à Byzance (VIIIe–XIe siècle). By Sophie Métivier. (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes. 2019. Pp. 312. €75,00. ISBN: 9782873650353.)

This book explores the relationship between the middle Byzantine aristocracy and holiness, a subject that has not been treated systematically until now. Sophie Métivier focuses on the period between the end of iconoclasm (843 AD) and the eleventh century, and she recognizes one major internal evolution: a first stage (ninth century), when new figures of saints emerged who may be characterized as *saints aristocrats*; and a second stage when, on the one hand, hagiographic writing passed into the hands of the officials in the administration and, on the other hand, the figure of the aristocratic saint was normalized with its insertion into the traditional patterns of holiness in the *Synaxaries* (tenth-eleventh centuries).

1. Hjalmar Torp, "Murs d'enceinte des monastères coptes prímitifs et couvents-fortresses," *École française de Rome. Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 76 (1964), 173–200.

In the introduction, the author tackles the theoretical question of how to define aristocracy and holiness and their place in the accomplishment of power, considering the saint as a figure from whom authority emanated and the aristocrat as a wielder of power, even independent of that held by the emperor. She presents different definitions of the aristocracy in Byzantium in order to retain in her analysis one of the broadest: she basically identifies the aristocracy with those who held economic or political power, but also office-holders in the civil or military administration, who managed power in the name of the emperor or who acted according to their own interests.

The first chapter examines the texts which, according to Métivier, constitute cases of the aristocratic saint (Eudokimos, Philaretos, Kallistos), as well as groups of such martyrs (the martyrs of Bulgaria in 811 and 813 and those of Amorion in 838), and certain empresses (Theophano). Their holiness was not always obvious, and it was monastic constituencies that contributed to its elaboration. In the following chapter, she examines the role of families in the development of the model of aristocratic saints, including certain figures linked to the restoration of icons in 843. In the third chapter, Métivier examines how aristocratic environments (indeed, certain learned dignitaries) become a site for elaborating hagiographical writing, even without the protagonist of their texts being an aristocratic saint, except in the case of the "sanctity" of Symeon Metaphrastes as elaborated by Michel Psellos. The fourth chapter explores the relationship between aristocratic holiness and the imperial model, exploring the characteristics of imperial holiness. It reaches the conclusion that the aristocratic saints do not constitute copies of imperial holiness (which is otherwise rare or even non-existent in Byzantium). The fifth chapter examines the presence of holy aristocrats in the *Synaxaria* which feature the end of this hagiographical "aristocratic exception." The conclusions that follow summarize the main theses of Métivier's analysis. The book ends with an appendix dedicated to the edifying story of Metrios, the father of the *parakoimomenos* Constantine who made his career in the court of Leo VI.

While the existence of an aristocratic hagiography remains a disputed and debatable subject, given that the texts presented are very particular and even peculiar (as the author herself stresses, for example about the *Life* of Philaretos or the *Life* of Theoktiste) and that the aristocrats evoked are dignitaries and intellectuals from the middle class (Michael Psellos) and not the upper echelons of power, this book constitutes a good presentation of middle-Byzantine hagiographic production, featuring fine and in-depth analyses and relevant remarks on texts and authors. It largely contributes to the rehabilitation of hagiographic discourse as a source for the social and cultural history of Byzantium and renews the discussion on the relationship between the emperor, the aristocracy, and the holiness. This limited presentation does not reveal the richness of the contents or the depth of the investigation carried out with confidence and success by Sophie Métivier.

National and Capodistrian University of Athens CHARIS MESSIS

Religious Horror and Holy War in Viking Age Francia. By Matthew Bryan Gillis. (Budapest: Trivent Publishing. 2021. Pp. 158. €37,00. ISBN: 9786156405197.)

This short book analyzes a series of texts from the period 880-920 against the backdrop of the Viking invasions of Continental Europe. It is based on "horror theory," the notion that some writers use exaggerated rhetoric to elicit horror in their audience in order to provoke a response from them. The author contends that this was a new development in the late ninth century whereby various Carolingian authors used monstrous imagery to intensify dramatically the negative portrayal of Scandinavians, and particularly wayward Franks, found in earlier texts.

Gillis takes as his starting point a capitulary of Carloman II from 884, in which Frankish soldiers and magnates are denounced as "flesh-eating, blood-drinking robbers" (p. 35). He goes on to discuss contemporary hymns, sermons, and the poem *The Wars of The City of Paris* by Abbo of Saint-Germain and highlights similarly graphic imagery within them. This is not therefore a study of events but of the response to them. The book is not interested in establishing what the Frankish nobility or their troops were guilty of, or whether their behavior was any worse than that of their predecessors. Its focus is the way in which they were described. It is an interesting and thought-provoking claim, and although the Annals of St. Vaast are not one of the texts under discussion and are therefore only cited in passing, there is undoubtedly a greater horror rhetoric in them than in the parallel Annals of Fulda, St. Bertin, or Xanten.

Sometimes the approach can lead to the unquestioning repetition of contemporary claims: that during the siege of Paris Abbot Ebolus "could skewer seven Danes with a single arrowshaft," for instance (pp. 79–80). In particular, no consideration is given to the fact that poems (which many of the texts are) do not have the same aims as chronicles, so that the "sword and cudgels" said in a poem to have killed Fulco of Rheims in 900 almost certainly differ from the lances described by Flodoard because of the influence of Matt. 26:47 and 55 (pp. 50, 54).

The book performs a valuable service by focusing on a series of texts which are by no means unknown but not often analyzed to this degree (with the possible exception of Abbo's long poem). Lengthy quotations are helpfully reproduced, translated, and then rephrased, though it would have been good to see a greater critical engagement with both the texts themselves and the secondary literature relating to them. There is no shortage of this, as the extensive footnotes make plain: these alone make the book a very useful resource for those who would take further the ideas set out within its four chapters.

In this context it is important not to misunderstand the book's claims. Contrary to the blurb on the back cover, the author is careful not to claim that the religious horror imagery in these Carolingian texts definitely influenced, still less directly led to, the theology of the Crusades. There is for one thing little evidence that they were widely read: a complete text of Abbo's poem survives in only one

manuscript, for example. Rather, Gillis shows how these texts foreshadow later medieval developments, and are worth studying in their own right. Moreover, they offer a valuable insight into the mentality of a Frankish populace and especially clergy traumatized by internal strife and Viking invasions.

Fryske Akademy, Leeuwarden SIMON COUPLAND

Reason and Revelation in Byzantine Antioch: The Christian Translation Program of Abdallah ibn al-Fadl. By Alexandre M. Roberts. [The Berkeley Series in Post-classical Islamic Scholarship.] (Oakland: University of California Press. 2020. Pp. xvi, 357. $95.00. ISBN 978-0-520-34349-8.)

Roberts's monograph offers an erudite study of an important but hitherto neglected branch of the great medieval translation movement that brought ancient Greek learning into the Arabic literary tradition. The book's focus is the intellectual program of one particular translator, ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl, a Melkite (Arabophone Chalcedonian Christian) who flourished in the mid-eleventh century in the Syrian city of Antioch. Over ten chapters, the book introduces the reader to Ibn al-Faḍl and his historical setting, situates his translation program in the context of contemporary Byzantine attitudes to knowledge and religion, and demonstrates his grounding in several Greco-Arabic philosophical and scientific disciplines. Roberts accomplishes the last task through historically and philologically detailed readings of the textual commentaries that Ibn al-Faḍl scattered throughout his translations.

The Greco-Arabic translation movement has received considerable scholarly attention and retains an interest to wider publics for its role in the transmission of ancient Greek learning to the Latin West. Roberts, however, pushes this historiography into uncharted territory by leaving behind the translators of Abbasid Baghdad and taking up a figure who, while committed to bringing Greek knowledge into Arabic, translated only biblical and patristic texts and disparaged the value of pre-Christian philosophical doctrines. Roberts's reader should not underestimate the considerable work that the study of a little-known figure like Ibn al-Faḍl required, as none of his translations has been published in a critical edition; Roberts has pored over a host of manuscripts in multiple libraries in order to come to an evaluation of Ibn al-Faḍl's intellectual world, and the textual excerpts that Roberts edits, translates, and analyzes throughout the monograph are not accessible elsewhere (for which reason I would have liked a larger typeface for the Arabic passages). This comprehensive study of a figure whose own works have received only piecemeal critical attention is an impressive achievement.

Although Ibn al-Faḍl asserted the superiority of Christian knowledge over that of the ancients, Roberts ably demonstrates that this attitude was paradoxically grounded in a good deal of Greco-Arabic philosophical learning, especially in logic. Ibn al-Faḍl disparaged certain metaphysical and cosmological doctrines of the ancients but made use of their argumentative methods. Such a perspective was characteristic of a pan-religious intellectual elite, including Muslims such as al-

Ghazālī, Jews such as Sa'adya Gaon, and Byzantine Christians such as Niketas Stethatos, across the eastern Mediterranean. Painting a picture of this wider intellectual world while simultaneously offering such a detailed individual study is one of this book's great strengths.

The details may at times be too much for a non-specialist reader. Explication of textual parallels and sophisticated Aristotelian concepts is necessary in the book's core chapters, as it allows Roberts to highlight the contours of Ibn al-Faḍl's intellectual lineage. But the extensive summaries of Ibn al-Faḍl's translated texts and the standard works of the Byzantine ecclesiastical curriculum in chapters 2 and 3, for example, might have been abbreviated. Roberts' argument that Ibn al-Faḍl sought to make a specifically Byzantine version of an "elite scholarly education" accessible to Arabic speakers (p. 180), which Georgian monks were doing for their own language community at precisely the same time, appears relevant to recent debates on the nature of empire and nation in medieval Byzantium, but this avenue is left largely unexplored.

Reason and Revelation remains a truly impressive scholarly accomplishment. This rich portrait of a previously neglected figure, requiring impressive command of both classical literature and Arabic manuscript studies, should inspire future work on the fascinatingly multi-lingual, multi-religious traditions of learning that bridged the medieval Mediterranean's many worlds.

The Catholic University of America Lev Weitz

The Sacred and the Sinister: Studies in Medieval Religion and Magic. Edited by David J. Collins, S.J. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2019. Pp. 304. $80.95 hardcover, ISBN 978-0-271-08240-0; $45.95 paperback, ISBN 978-0-271-08241-7.)

Inspired by and in honor of the scholarship and mentorship of eminent medievalist Richard Kieckhefer, this interesting collection of essays explores the "interplay between holy and unholy, sacred and profane, and supernatural and natural in the history of 'Old Europe'" (p. 9). The essays illuminate well the sometimes carefully delineated, sometimes highly fluid, and sometimes quite muddled boundaries between such concepts. For example, Elizabeth Casteen's insightful examination of the use of the term *raptus* in high medieval legal and hagiographic texts reveals not only the term's varied meaning from rape to rapture but also how this variation influenced the *vita* of Lutgard of Aywieres, who experienced *both* the criminal and mystical violation of her body. Maeve B. Callan provides a detailed history of the seemingly suspicious and scandalous early and medieval Christian practice of *syneisaktism*, the partnership of religious women, often vowed virgins, with religious men. Callan's exploration offers a welcome new perspective on this ancient religious tradition, whose practice was often decried by medieval writers. Grounded in a careful analysis of the court records of late medieval Nuremberg as well as the extant theological and magical texts in Germany and continental

Europe, Anne M. Koening's cultural history of the relationship between magic and madness in late medieval Germany surprisingly reveals that, a few intriguing cases aside, magic was not often considered as a cause of madness. However, in the late fifteenth century, just as an interest in the influence and dangers of magic intensified, one can also discern an increase in cases which did link magic to madness. Koening also shows that despite a rarity of cases which directly link magic to madness, common associations between magic and madness did exist in a variety of popular and elite genres. Framed by a thoughtful, yet concise, introduction, this collection illumines the scope of Kieckhofer's influence as well as a deftness for conveying medieval experiences and understandings of seemingly incongruous aspects of life.

Iona University DANIEL THIERY

Wege der Integration: Das Papsttum und die lateinische Kirche Apuliens in normannischer Zeit (1059–1189). By Claudia Alraum. (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2022. Pp. xi, 256. €36.00. ISBN: 9783515132343).

In this revised version of her 2015 doctoral thesis, Claudia Alraum seeks to examine the relations between the papacy and the south Italian region of Puglia in order to shed light on the process whereby relatively peripheral regions of Christendom became more closely linked with the popes and integrated into the mainstream of the medieval Roman Church. To this end she examines three aspects of this process: first, the development of written communications (*Schriftlichkeit*), largely the production of papal bulls for Apulian churches; second, physical communication between the two, whether papal visits to the region or Apulian prelates visiting the papal court; and finally, the emergence of papal judges-delegate during the later twelfth century as part of the growing system of canonical jurisdiction by the papacy. Among the issues discussed is the grant of the *pallium* to Apulian archbishops, treated as part of the chapter on the physical relations between the popes and Apulia–which particular section is perhaps the most interesting of the whole book.

The treatment of these various themes is thorough, and they are carefully related to the wider context of overall developments within the Church. Scholars will find this book very useful as a quarry for evidence, not least the lengthy appendices listing the papal bulls on which the study is based. One must admit, however, that its scope and impact is more limited than appears at first sight. To begin with, there is the limited geographical scope of the inquiry, for this book is not in fact even about Apulia as a whole, but only the central part of that region, namely the ecclesiastical provinces of Bari, Trani, and Brindisi (the last a very restricted one) and the exempt bishopric of Monopoli. There is no discussion here of either the Capitanata, where the dioceses were mainly subject to the archbishop of Benevento, or of southern Apulia–the ecclesiastical province of Taranto and the Salento, where the Greek Church still flourished. Furthermore, the documentation from the region under discussion is limited. The ecclesiastical archives of the dioceses of Bari and Trani have largely survived, and there are fragmentary remains

from Brindisi, transmitted almost exclusively by early modern antiquaries, but almost nothing from any of the subordinate bishoprics. So the discussion of surviving papal documents is *ipso facto* misleading, and our picture inevitably partial. What we have here is fundamentally a discussion of only three archbishoprics. Furthermore, while Alraum makes comparisons with other parts of Christendom, she is less adept at placing her Apulian material within a south Italian context. A particular example comes with papal visits to the region, which were frequent in the period before the schism of 1130. Yet how useful is discussion of such visits to Apulia alone, without locating these within the broader context of papal policy towards southern Italy as a whole? Calixtus II, for example, spent about sixteen months (a third of his pontificate) in southern Italy, but made only two visits to Apulia, each of about one month. His successor, Honorius II, spent twenty-one months in the south, much of this time at Benevento, which was a papal possession, but only a month in Apulia. It is all very well discussing what the popes may have done when they visited (central) Apulia, but this is only a very partial guide to their relations with the south Italian Church. Furthermore, while Dr. Alraum has undoubtedly based her study on the primary evidence, her analysis hardly breaks new ground. Even the discussion of the *pallia* draws heavily upon the work of Erich Caspar (long ago) and Alessandro Pratesi (more recently). Other aspects, notably the physical connections between the papacy and the local Church and the development of papal judges-delegate were discussed, at length and with reference to the *Mezzogiorno* as a whole, by the present reviewer in his 2007 book on *The Latin Church in Norman Italy*, which Alraum mentions in her introduction and then studiously ignores. And, more generally, the author does largely rely on German-language secondary literature. To some extent this is understandable, for general developments within the Church, but the failure to consult other scholarship on southern Italy, especially in English, can lead to pitfalls. Thus Andrea, Archbishop of Bari in the 1060s, is described, following Alexander II, as "an upholder of Church reform" (p. 108), but as Joshua Prawer showed, he subsequently converted to Judaism and fled to Egypt, which can hardly have been the reform that the pope had in mind!

University of Leeds Graham A. Loud

The Deeds of the Abbots of St. Albans. Translated by David Preest and edited by James G. Clark. (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2019. Pp. xvii, 1008. $225.00. ISBN: 9781783270767).

This book of over 1000 pages is a huge achievement. It makes readily available in translation, along with an extremely useful introduction and remarkably extensive notes, one of the most interesting and lively accounts of a monastery from medieval England. As the editor says, it is full of vivid stories, told in vivid prose. We hear, for example, of Abbot Robert having travelled to Scotland and reached Dunfermline, when his trip was interrupted by news of a lawsuit: "He had just washed his hands there and was thinking about taking his place at table, when, to his amazement, a boy rushed up to him, all in a hurry and out of breath, and

handed him a letter from Prior Simon. Having read the letter, the abbot went into action at once with no further delay. He sent back the dishes of food, mounted his horse and ordered his men to follow him with all speed. They carried out his orders and on the same day on which the boy arrived at Dunfermline, the abbot crossed back over the sea and arrived at his lodging mightily hungry" (pp. 266–67). The Latin text of the *Gesta abbatum* was published in three volumes by Henry Thomas Riley in the late 1860s. These Rolls Series volumes are readily available online, to use alongside this translation. Moreover, the introduction returns to the manuscripts, in particular for help with the early process of composition, and there are, at the end of each account of an abbacy, textual notes explaining variants. The introduction is also very informative on, for example, the shifting relationship between abbot and convent (p. 18). It may be that more could be said about the processes of writing and re-writing. Some of the vocabulary of the early part of the text, which Matthew Paris said derived from an ancient roll of Bartholemew the clerk, who served Adam the cellarer, may indicate thirteenth-century rewriting. It would also be interesting, for example, to compare exhaustively the direct speech put into characters' mouths in this text and in Matthew's other works. Constraints of space may explain any limits on the introduction, full as it is. Still more informative are the notes, sometimes taking up more than half the printed page. These are a treasure trove of information, especially about aspects of monastic life such as blood-letting (p. 319 n. 54). The translation omits a significant number of documents that the various authors of the *Gesta* included. This is understandable, given the length of the volume (see p. 37), but may not reflect the priorities of those writing, or using, the *Gesta* in the medieval period.

The translation reads very fluently, as illustrated by the passage quoted above. At places one might suggest improvements. For example, "ad mensam eorum" means something rather more specific than "to their demesne" (p. 138). One might expect an abbot to take up the "pastoral care" rather than the "pastoral cure" (p. 146). "Fidelitate et servitio" surely means "fealty and service" rather than "loyal service" (p. 213; cf. p. 210); "contra juris ordinem" would be better as "against due process" rather than "against the law of the land" (p. 254); "contra vadia et plegia" means "against gages and pledges," not "against vows and pledges" (p. 473).

Inevitably, too, in a work of this length, there are slips or inconsistencies. Versions of names sometimes vary for no clear reason; thus on p. 69 the fifth abbot is called both Eadfrith and Ædfrith. The index and the footnotes to Robert, earl of Leicester, are inconsistent, the index being misleading. Odo of Bayeux is, correctly, earl of Kent in a footnote, wrongly count of Caen in the text (p. 124). But overall the production standard of the volume is high, and pleasingly some illustrations are provided. This very impressive volume will deservedly make the *Gesta* more widely used.

University of St. Andrews JOHN HUDSON

The Congregation of Tiron: Monastic Contributions to Trade and Communication in Twelfth-Century France and Britain. By Ruth Harwood Cline. [Spirituality and Monasticism, East and West.] (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press. 2019. Pp. xiii, 210. €89.00. ISBN 978-1-641-89358-9.)

Ruth Harwood Cline's study of the Tironensian Order's expansion and economic activities during the first century or so of its existence is one clearly grounded in a deep familiarity both with the relevant primary sources and with the geography of the wide swathe of western France, Britain, and Ireland in which the order's houses were located. The Tironensians offer a rich and promising source base for any scholar of medieval monasticism. The abbey of Tiron was founded ca. 1109 about thirty miles to the west of Chartres, in a "swampy, forested, brigand-infested valley unsuited for vines or wheat" (38). Despite this, Tiron rapidly became the mother abbey of an order with dozens of affiliated houses such as Le Tronchet and Bois-Aubry, France; Kelso, Scotland; and St. Dogmaels, Wales.

Over the course of *The Congregation of Tiron*'s seven chapters, Cline sketches a portrait of both the abbey and of its associated congregation. First, she analyzes the role which Tiron played in the reform movement of the twelfth century, before moving on to assess the nature of the "Tironensian identity," the presence of women in the early order, and the contributions of key figures to the congregation's development, such as founding abbot Bernard of Abbeville and his successor William of Poitiers. The two longest chapters consider the Tironensians' expansion and economic activities in France and Britain—from grain production to horse breeding to providing supplies and care both spiritual and medical for weary sailors—and how patronage, particularly royal patronage, could shape those activities. A brief concluding chapter considers the Tironensians' post-medieval history until the dissolution of the mother abbey during the French Revolution. Two appendices discuss papal confirmations and disputes respectively.

Readers will doubtlessly find the many tables and maps in chapters 5 and 6, which document the Tironensians' expansion, to be very useful reference points. Anyone who has spent time poring over a set of charters in conjunction with a modern map or a topographic dictionary to pinpoint the location of a now-vanished monastic grange will appreciate how much time and effort went into producing them. Cline's concluding wish, that this book will "break ground for future research" (179), will undoubtedly be fulfilled based on these resources.

Yet equally the reader may find themselves wishing that the author had spent a little more time in explicitly exploring the source base, particularly the many charters which are often referenced but rarely thoroughly analyzed. The suspicion must remain that the charters—and other documentary sources, such as Tiron's "cartulary", actually a work assembled from a variety of medieval sources by a scholar in the nineteenth century (p. 3)—have a richer story to tell than what is conveyed by the tables, maps, and listings of landholdings alone. The enumeration of the order's holdings would have been stronger if tied back more often to Cline's underlying

arguments. Moreover, the reader might have wished for more interrogation of several terms used by Cline, such as "Celtic abbeys," "Normanization," and indeed "Tironensian identity."

Despite these caveats, *The Congregation of Tiron* is successful in its reconstruction of the many and varied economic activities in which the Tironensian Order engaged during the High Middle Ages, and Cline makes a convincing case for the importance of the order to the history of the economic development of the twelfth century.

SUNY Geneseo YVONNE SEALE

Hildegard of Bingen, Gospel Interpreter. By Beverly Mayne Kienzle (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2020. Pp. xix, 216. $95.00. ISBN: 9781978708013).

Hildegard of Bingen is a difficult figure to write about. She is most often identified as a visionary because this is the format in which she writes her three most famous works: *Scivias* or "Know the Ways," the *Liber vitae meritorum* (often translated as Book of the Rewards of Life, but perhaps more accurately rendered as the Book of Life's Meritorious Behaviour), and the *Liber divinorum operum* or "Book of Divine Works." This volume by Beverly Kienzle argues that she should primarily be seen as interpreter of Scripture, above all on the Gospels. This modest sized monograph is organized into three sections. The first offers an introduction to her life and works, with a chapter on her epistemology, intriguingly subtitled "From Revelation to Conversation," the second introduces her homilies on the Gospels, the third considers her reception and legacy. As she explains in her introduction, her goal is three-fold: to assert the centrality of Scripture for understanding her visions and writings, the originality and coherence of her theological teaching, and the multiplicity of exegetical forms that she employed to communicate that teaching. Kienzle's volume is mercifully free of the gushing enthusiasm found in many publications about her among some of her devotees. If there is a difficulty in her structure it is that its first and third sections relate to Hildegard as a whole, while its second section is concerned only with her homilies on the Gospels. While it is good to draw attention to these homilies, the reader would like to know about how Hildegard evolved in interpreting the Gospels in her output as a whole.

The opening chapter about Hildegard's life and works is certainly well-informed about her literary output, without advancing any guiding theme about its development. While Kienzle makes only passing mention of Hildegard's writings about the natural world (*Causes and Cures* and *Physica*), these texts articulate insights about the natural world likely collected before the visionary experience that she celebrates at the opening of *Scivias*. Kienzle's chapter on Hildegard's epistemology rightly draws attention to her debt to monastic tradition in reading Scripture. Her subtitle, "'From Revelation to Conversation," brings out the extraordinary record of Hildegard's engagement with contemporaries. One would like to know more, however, about the place of the Gospels in visionary writings as a whole, not

just in her homilies. The chapter on her Gospel homilies reflects on Hildegard's response to a range of Gospel passages, bringing out her debt to what Gregory the Great had to say on these aspects. Kienzle shows how Hildegard weaves themes from the Gospels rather than explicating specific passages, with particular attention to how the Holy Spirit works through the natural world. Comparison could be drawn between her teaching and that of Hugh of St Victor about the history of salvation as involving creation and restoration. What Kienzle hints at is that Hildegard's genius is not so much doctrinal as narrative, that she tells the story of redemption not through abstractions, but through imagery about the natural world, and the need for life to return to a world troubled by sin.

The final section of this book, on Hildegard's Reception and Legacy provides much fascinating detail about how a figure once considered bizarre has become a doctor of the Church, and an emblem of spirituality drawn from the natural world. While more could be said about Hildegard's perception of the natural world in her reading of Scripture and of the Gospels in particular, Kienzle has laid a foundation on which others may build.

Monash University Constant Mews

Saint Dominique en Languedoc: Les commencements de l'ordre des Prêcheurs. Edited by Gilles Danroc and Daniel Le Blévec. (Fanjeaux: Center of Historical Studies. 2021. Pp. 398. €28,00. ISBN: 9782956897224.)

Every year since 1966 the Centre d'études historiques de Fanjeaux (sponsored by the Université de Toulouse II-Jean Jaurès, the Université de Montpellier III, and the Centre Inter-universitaire d'Histoire et d'Archéologie Médiévales) has published a scholarly tome in its *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* series. These publications are dedicated to the medieval religious history of the Midi region of France. *Saint Dominique en Languedoc* is the fifty-sixth volume in this series. Edited by Gilles Danroc and Daniel Le Blévec, it is comprised of twenty articles pertaining to the life of Saint Dominic and the beginnings of the Order of Preachers.

Saint Dominique en Languedoc should be seen as an homage to the Dominican historian Marie-Humbert Vicaire, O.P. (1906–1993). A student of Pierre Mandonnet, O.P., whom he succeeded as Professor of Church History at the University of Fribourg, Vicaire spearheaded the twentieth-century *ad fontes* movement for the Order of Preachers. Simply put, his *Histoire de Saint Dominique* (1957) helped to launch modern Dominican historiography. In an introductory study, Jean-Louis Biget masterfully examines the significance of Vicaire's life work ("Le Père Marie-Humbert Vicaire, historien de saint Dominique," pp. 11–34).

The present collection has three parts: "Dominique, de l'Espagne au Languedoc," "L'Action de Saint Dominique dans le Midi," and "Aux Origines de l'Ordre des Prêcheurs." To give a sense of the contents, a representative article for each section follows:

The first section's "Schéma chronologique de la vie de saint Dominique" (pp. 33–50), by Simon Tugwell, O.P., provides a year-by-year chronology of St. Dominic's life (1170/4 to 1216) supported by primary sources. It is a most helpful presentation of what one is able to say with confidence about the events in the life of St. Dominic. Gilles Danroc's "Saint Dominique dans le Midi. La nouvelle mission de prédication en Lauragais (1206–1213)" (pp. 225–237) highlights three moments that significantly affected the contours of Dominic's Order: Dominic and Bishop Diego's public confrontation with the Cathars in Montpellier and the choice of itinerancy and mendicancy to support the credibility of their preaching; the conversion of the "jeunes filles repenties de Fanjeaux" and the beginnings of Dominican monastic life for women at Prouilhe; and Dominic's taking the role of vicar *in spiritualibus* for Carcassonne's Bishop Gui des Vaux-de-Cernay in 1213–1214. (At Carcassonne, Dominic would choose preaching for conversion rather than preaching for the Albigensian crusade.) "Aux origines de l'ordre dominicain: l'évêque Diègue d'Osma et ses liens avec Cîteaux" (pp. 311–320) by Anne Reltgen-Tallon signals the critical role Bishop Diego played in establishing what would become the Dominican Order and highlights the choices the friars would make in contrast to the Cistercians and the other monastic Orders.

Lastly, readers will be edified by the biographies and *curricula vitae* of recently deceased Dominican historians which are included in this volume, viz.: Benoît Montagnes (1924–2018), Björn Halvorsen (1939–2007), Guy-Thomas Bedouelle (1940-2021), and Élie-Pascal Épinoux (1958–2009).

Saint Dominique en Languedoc advances our understanding of the context of the founding of the Order of Preachers and the historical conditions and personalities which affected its initial evangelizing efforts. It is a valuable contribution to the legacy of Père Vicaire and a fine example of twenty-first-century historiography of Saint Dominic and the Order of Preachers.

Oak Park, Illinois RICHARD PEDDICORD, O.P.

The Conformity—Francis of Assisi: Early Documents; Manifestation, Proclamation, Exaltation. By Bartholomew of Pisa. Translated by Christopher Stace. Edited by William J. Short. (Hyde Park, NY: New City Press. 2020. Pp. l,755. $184.85. ISBN: 9781565482029.)

The original three volumes of *Francis of Assisi*: *Early Documents* (1999-2001) set a new standard for the translation and study of documents by and about Francis of Assisi in English and significantly impacted the study of Franciscan sources. This fourth volume continues that legacy but in a different way. The first three volumes in the series contain what were then known to be all the works of Francis, the major Franciscan hagiographical and liturgical texts, select papal documents, and excerpts from other sources. The original three volumes can be thought of as the "Bible" of Franciscan studies. This fourth volume, roughly equal in size to the original three, includes just one, obscure book, Bartholomew of Pisa's (d. 1401) *The Conformity*.

The Conformity's sheer size might suggest that in place of a full translation, selections from the text would have been sufficient. While I (and the delivery man) had this thought when the volumes arrived, I understand better why the whole work merited publication after sifting its 1,755 printed pages and 213-page downloadable index. As Carolly Erickson explains in an essay referenced by the introduction, *The Conformity* is not a typical saint's *vita* but a theological treatise meant to defend "the thesis that Francis 'conformed' himself to Jesus in every aspect of his life."[1] Perhaps for this very reason, the work took on "a deliberately encyclopedic scope."[2] As a result, virtually anyone working on the Middle Ages has a reason to open *The Conformity*. The text offers a complex Christology, expertly displays the medieval use of typology and the senses of Scripture, brushes against philosophical and legal issues, provides an interpretation of the Franciscan rule, offers unprecedented amounts of information about the persons in the order and the places they inhabited, and gives an interpretation of the Christian spiritual and moral life. It is all here; hence the need for that very useful and lengthy index.

While the volume's clear and helpful introductory materials convinced me that *The Conformity* deserves publication and study, I have some criticisms about the parts of the volume I read closely. The translation is very readable (an achievement), but this readability, and perhaps the consultation of the first Italian translation, mean that readers should consult the Latin of the current critical edition when closely studying a given passage. There is also a striking difference in layout between this volume and the first three. Whereas the original three volumes italicized Scripture and put Scripture references in the margin, volume four puts Scripture in quotation marks and puts the references in the footnotes. Similarly, the prior three volumes placed cross-references to other texts translated in the series in the margins, while volume four places cross-references in the footnotes. These decisions make Volume IV less user friendly than the prior three. This volume does retain an important feature of the first three: the use of maps, employed to great effectiveness in the eleventh "fruit," *Francis the Sender of Missions*. Overall, Stace's translation and Short's introduction will help call attention to this largely forgotten but important text of the Franciscan tradition and enable it to be taught in classes. The timing is right. While studies on the "historical Francis" will always have their place, new energy has emerged around the "Prayed Francis"—Francis as understood through liturgy, devotion, and ultimately theology. *The Conformity* will be a major source for that important direction in Franciscan studies.

The Catholic University of America Joshua C. Benson

1. Carolly Erickson, "Bartholomew of Pisa, Francis Exalted: De Confromitate," *Mediaeval Studies,* 34 (1972), 253–74.

2. *Ibid*., p. 258.

Henry III: The Rise to Power and Personal Rule, 1207–1258. By David Carpenter. [Yale Monarchs Series.] (New Haven and London: Yale University Press. 2020. Pp. 800. $23.00 paperback. ISBN: 9780300259193.)

David Carpenter has devoted his life's work to King Henry III (r. 1216–1272), eldest son of King John and Isabelle of Angoulême. This book—the first volume of a two-volume biography—covers Henry from his birth to the year of what Carpenter calls "The Revolution of 1258" (also known as the Second Barons' War). Carpenter's earlier book, *The Minority of Henry III* (1990), covered the time between 1216 and 1228 in 400 densely packed pages. A collection of essays, *The Reign of Henry III*, was published in 1996. Thus the scholarly community has had to wait thirty years for Carpenter to address in detail this unusual king, whose fifty-six-year reign spanned more than half the thirteenth century. The second volume, covering 1258 to 1272, is presumably forthcoming.

I use the word "detail" deliberately, because Carpenter's work—both the book on the minority and the present volume that clocks in at over 750 pages—is a granular study of the grainiest variety. It is impossible to describe in a review of this length the sheer quantity of detail Carpenter provides. One reason for this is his own obsession with the reign. Another reason is Henry III himself, who oversaw the enormous expansion of the English chancery in the thirteenth century and the consequent survival of a vastly larger body of public documents than in previous reigns. Even as I am grateful for Carpenter's tracking of every royal activity for every month of Henry's reign after he assumed independent control in 1225, I was weighed down by it. Carpenter decided to present a narrative string of facts, peppered with the opinions and gossip of medieval chroniclers, especially Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris—themselves highly influential historians of their era—that offers mountains of detail but not much in the way of analytical discernment. This could be considered traditional history at its best, but perhaps also at its most traditional.

For readers of this journal, Henry III is important because of his patronage of Westminster Abbey, his notable piety, and his embrace of Edward the Confessor as his and his family's personal saint. Henry III was, indeed, a genuinely pious man, one whose faith was never brought into question, even as his judgement frequently was. Carpenter acknowledges Henry's devotion to the Church, featured in a chapter on its own, "The Piety of Henry III," while at the same time subtly denigrating it by contrasting the king's lack of interest in martial activities with his enthusiasm for church beautification, almsgiving, and generosity to mendicant friars of all kinds. In making this contrast, Carpenter draws from similar criticisms voiced by chroniclers like Matthew Paris.

Carpenter's own indecision about Henry (was he a good king or a bad king?) is particularly in evidence when he juxtaposes the political crises Henry did a poor job of managing with the king's interest in domestic decorative arts, especially after his marriage to Eleanor of Provence and the quick inflation of his family. Carpenter

is as unimpressed with Henry's homebody-ness as his monastic chroniclers were and he spends little time on the possible reasons for the king's obsession with supporting and sustaining his extended family. Carpenter adopts the standard masculine tropes of martial success and vigorous physical activity as legitimate assessments of a monarch, thus refusing to question the conclusions of men whose lives were spent in cloisters and far away from contact with women and families. In this day and age, it might be useful to raise an eyebrow to such presentations. Henry's own growing dependence on his wife, a very intelligent and opinionated woman who was twelve at the time of their marriage—he was twenty-eight—was, as usual, added to the list of the king's sins of "simplicity" and "immaturity" (read: his lack of interest in warfare was seen as a mark of stupidity and naivete), an assessment Carpenter does not entirely eschew.

This book is, along with his study of the minority before it and the final volume of Carpenter's three-part magnum opus will be, essential reading to anyone whose research focuses on the British Isles in the thirteenth century. It is a true culmination of one historian's life's work, and I look forward to seeing the final volume—with perhaps a more thorough evaluation of this long-lived king's reign—in print.

University of Missouri–Kansas City Linda E. Mitchell

The Avignon Popes and Their Chancery: Collected Essays. By Patrick Zutshi. (Florence: SISMEL. Edizioni del Galluzzo. 2021. Pp. xiv, 466. €68,00. ISBN: 9788892900646.

Starting with John XXII (1316–34), the popes of Avignon built up a remarkably elaborate administrative machinery that generated a voluminous body of official paperwork, on which so much of the study of the Avignonese papacy rests. The essential connections between the two–that is, the institutions of the papal bureaucracy, on the one hand, and their documentary output, on the other–has long stood at the heart of Patrick Zutshi's scholarship. In this volume Zutshi presents twenty essays, all but two of which have been previously published, here revised, updated, and organized into a cohesive (if not *quite* fully monographic) study of "the largest and perhaps the most complex of the various departments within the Roman curia" (p. 4) at fourteenth-century Avignon, the chancery. The result is a brightly lit window into the inner workings of the single most advanced and sophisticated administrative system of the European Middle Ages, from one of the leading scholars in the field.

The essays gathered together here span much of Zutshi's career. Chapters 13 and 19 first appeared in the late 1980s; chapters 9 ("At the Point of Death: Licences to Choose a Confessor *in mortis articulo* Issued by the Avignon Popes," pp. 179–203) and 12 ("The Autograph Letters of the Avignon Popes," pp. 241–252) were written for the book (2021). Following a foundational first chapter (a crystalline introduction to the high and late medieval papal chancery and the different types of documents it produced), the book is thereafter divided into five thematically organized sections. The first contains five chapters—one of which (no. 3)

was coauthored with the late Peter Linehan–which concern themselves with "Petitions and Registers" (pp. 27–138). Chapters 7–9 pertain to "The Chancery and Its Production" (pp. 141–203); chapters 10–12, to "The Role of the Pope" in the production of chancery output (pp. 207–51). Zutshi's long-standing interest in the Avignon papacy and England is evinced by five chapters (13–17) on "Papal Letters and English History" (pp. 255–357). Neatly, the final three chapters (18–20) address "Papal Letters for the University of Cambridge," where Zutshi served for years as Keeper of Manuscripts and University Archives.

The sometimes byzantine intricacies of the curia and its departments can be daunting, but Zutshi is a sure and steady hand. An institutional scholar in the tradition of Guillaume Mollat, he guides readers easily through the chancery, its workings, and the different types of its documentary products. Zutshi has a superb sense of the bureaucratic spirit that animated the Avignon papacy and communicates it with clarity and precision. His work is everywhere informed by meticulous textual scholarship. Zutshi is never far from the manuscripts—indeed, most chapters contain appendices in which he presents exemplars of the documentary texts he elucidates. Much more than simply a useful assemblage of previously published works, *The Avignon Popes and Their Chancery* stands as the first major, stand-alone, monograph-length study of its subject, in any language (p. ix); as both a supremely informative overview and an eminently informative reference work, it will long be essential reading for scholars of the later medieval papacy and of medieval institutional history more broadly.

University of Louisville BLAKE BEATTIE

Piers Plowman: The A Version. By William Langland. Translated by Michael Calabrese. (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press. 2020. Pp. xlvii, 160. $34.95. ISBN 978-0-813-23343-7.)

Piers Plowman *and the Reinvention of Church Law in the Late Middle Ages*. By Arvind Thomas. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 2019. Pp. xiv, 267. $81.00. ISBN 978-1-487-50246-1.)

For those capable of appreciating it, *Piers Plowman* is arguably the most compelling work of medieval English literature. The tautology of that claim conveys the major conundrum of teaching this sprawling, allegorical, theologically sophisticated, prosodically intricate, visionary work of Middle English alliterative verse. If you teach premodern literature at the undergraduate level, you have to assume zero prior familiarity with not only the text but also all relevant context.

So how does the college teacher attract students to a poem that requires competency in Middle English, a feel for alliterative poetry, familiarity with Christianity, and an appreciation of allegorical imagination? By eliminating two of these hurdles—the linguistic and the religious—Michael Calabrese aims to make the book-length poem accessible. For his translation in modern English, Calabrese has chosen an early version of the poem, the A-text, which was "published" on its own

before two later versions (B and C) roughly doubled the length of the work and added manifold layers of theological depth and complexity. Although the shorter A-text introduces the religious personifications Holy Church, Saint Truth, and Scripture, as well as the ambiguously Christian Piers Plowman, it is possible to focus, without loss of sense, on universal themes, such as "the historical treatment of the poor, and the eternal human quest for honesty, equity, and compassion in social relations" (xix), as Calabrese's introduction and notes suggest.

As a translation, this text is a tremendous success. As an undergraduate introduction to *Piers Plowman*, however, the volume leaves much to be desired. The introduction assumes far too much prior knowledge to be useful as a startup kit for undergraduates. For example, it makes passing reference to "a corpus of Lolland [*sic*] sermons" (what is a corpus?) as part of a "critical movement that readers will recognize as anticipating Protestantism" (p. xxi). But only if the reader knows what Protestantism is. The section on the translation itself is nearly as long as the rest of the introduction, which skimps on historical and religious orientation (assuming, for example, that the reader knows what "vernacular" means).

I wish I had Calabrese's translation of the C-text to teach in the classroom. *Piers Plowman* attains its stature of imaginative virtuosity only at its full length, when the characters introduced in the A-text are allowed to explore the theological and moral landscape introduced there. What we really need is a student edition of *Piers Plowman* C, the most mature version of the poem, with facing-page Middle and Modern English, in a translation as fresh and alliteratively lively as Calabrese's, ideally incorporating and updating Derek Brewer's introduction and notes. For now, I will continue to assign the Norton B-text and recommend that serious new readers buy both George Economou's translation of C to read alongside the Brewer Middle English edition.

If the translation assumes the literature classroom, Arvind Thomas argues compellingly that *Piers Plowman* ought also to be read by scholars of canon law—not only because it contains and comments on legal material but especially because it "co-produces" late-medieval interpretation and application of church law. To put it bluntly, *Piers* belongs to the corpus of canon law as much as Gratian's *Decretals*. This might sound like a stretch, but the best evidence we have for early copying and ownership of *Piers* manuscripts places the text in the scriptoria and libraries of canonists. Thomas marshals ample evidence, both internal and external to the text, that *Piers* must be considered an integral part of the late fourteenth- and fifteenth-century English practice of penitential law. The chapter on poetry as an exercise of penitential satisfaction extends (and could have been supported by) this reviewer's examination of poetic making and satisfaction through the lens of the tropological interpretation of scripture, such that the poem circulates the letter of the law through a life of making, thus enlivening the letter with spirit, turning words into works of penitential satisfaction.

University of Pittsburgh Ryan McDermott

The Virtues of Economy: Governance, Power, and Piety in Late Medieval Rome. By James A. Palmer. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2019. Pp. xi, 258. $53.95. ISBN: 9781501742378).

Rome during the fourteenth-century Avignon papacy has been viewed as a "sleepy half-ruined medieval city" (p. 1) without the vibrancy, power, and character that the pope's presence conveyed. James Palmer's book, *The Virtues of Economy*, revisits Rome during this period and portrays a remarkably different picture. Palmer examines a world of "baronial" families, non-noble elites, and mercantile groups that thrived and shaped a communal society politically, spiritually, and materially. Those with wealth contributed to the greater good through actions such as bequests and the establishment of private chapels, linking civic virtue with spirituality, or the purchase of sanctity following a life in the rough world of wealth acquisition. Alternatives to these power bases could be found in female populations of widows, daughters, holy persons, and religious communities, who were among the recipients of material benefits, but who held strong spiritual leverage. Even widespread societal violence was tempered by elaborate peacemaking rituals. In observing the "politics of the everyday" (p. 2), Palmer shows that a diverse spiritually or religiously oriented lay culture, which prevailed during the papacy's absence, "paved the way" (p. 2) for the pope's return and rulership by a single figure.

Palmer approaches his subject through quotidian sources, private contracts, transaction and marriage records, and wills, for example, to garner a picture of Roman life apart from the papacy. He relies on notarial documents, which he notes have been virtually untapped. The sources inherently provide a perspective that could not have been achieved through institutionally oriented documents.

Palmer's work is divided into three parts with six core chapters. The first part provides a valuable overview of late medieval Rome, and its physical, political, societal, and spiritual composition, including the striving for legitimacy by non-ecclesiastical ruling groups. The second part examines a "spiritual economy" (*passim*) based in materiality, namely wills, testaments, and the dedication of private chapels, with numerous examples from the period. The third section considers female life, particularly certain leading female religious figures and their communities, but also women of questionable repute. It also considers institutionalized violence and ritualized peacemaking, including arbiters, confessions, penance, and verbal declarations of family and family-like bonds. Ultimately for Palmer, the "spiritual economy" extended into the public good and good governance, presumably by spreading material and civic benefits that supported the general welfare and a stable society.

Rome's communal period, with its mixed noble and non-noble aristocracy, commercial interests, personal and civic expressions of virtue or piety based in material wealth, honor violence and peacemaking, issues of women, and the ultimate transition to a singular ruler (in Rome's case the pope), appear not unlike other Italian cities of the period. Palmer establishes and explores the various sectors and roles in the type of detail that notarial documents provide. Daily life emerges.

Roman individuals become animated in their worldly actions, counterbalanced by their striving for a greater good, or civic virtue and good governance. Forms of spirituality permeate the actions of even the roughest characters. A lay spiritual society essentially carries on apart from the pope and ecclesiastical hierarchy.

Palmer uses alternative definitions of terms, however. "Economy," employed in the title and variously throughout, as in "spiritual economy" or "economy of violence" (*passim*), differs from its traditional meaning, focusing instead on governance or management. "Virtue" also assumes political, social, and business meanings beyond its moral or religious denotation. Yet, Palmer reveals that the pope's absence during the fourteenth century did not render Rome empty or chaotic. What he demonstrates is an active and relatively orderly lay society with an intertwined spiritual and material base that maintained Rome's religious legacy during the papacy's absence, and which provided a solid foundation for the pope's successful return.

George Mason University Marie D'Aguanno Ito

Early Modern European

Encountering Water in Early Modern Europe and Beyond: Redefining the Universe through Natural Philosophy, Religious Reformations, and Sea Voyaging. By Lindsay J. Starkey. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. 2020. Pp. 274. €106.00 hardbound. ISBN: 9789462988736.)

> He gathereth the waters of the sea together as an heap:
> he layeth up the depth in storehouses. (Psalm 33:7, KJV)

Lindsay J. Starkey's consideration of the thoughts of Europeans "from the patristic period through the sixteenth century" regarding water casts a new light on scriptural verses like this. "Both the Book of Genesis and Aristotle's *Meteorology* provided explanations of how water related to the earth," she writes, "including why water did not currently submerge dry land" (p. 10).

Genesis 1 speaks of water's place. So does Aristotle, for whom our world was comprised of four elements, each tending toward its natural place in the universe: earth, downward; water, downward (less strongly); fire, upward; air, middling. Moreover, Starkey notes, for Plato the elements were all matter variously compacted. Water, "when it is compacted, we see (as we imagine) becoming earth and stones," he said, and "when it is dissolved and dispersed, becoming wind and air" (pp. 222–23). "Inflamed" air becomes fire; "condensed" fire becomes air. The idea thus arose that fire occupied the greatest volume of all the elements, and earth the least. Therefore, as John of Sacrobosco (thirteenth century) said in his long-lived astronomy textbook, concentric spheres of fire, air, and water should surround a central sphere of earth.

Where then is the water that should submerge the earthy sphere? Genesis 1:9 suggests it was *gathered together unto one place*. Thus, Starkey writes, "something currently kept the water back from the land (p. 158)"—in *an heap*.

What is this something that spares humanity from "the experience of living like fish (p. 158)"? Sacrobosco noted merely that this is so. Some writers granted that, despite elemental earth's heaviness, the earthy sphere might float in the water (owing to internal cavities, etc.). But writers from Martin Luther to the Jesuit philosopher Benedict Pereira (1536–1610) said God holds back the waters. Here lies Starkey's focus. Since it is "as clear as day that the water in the high sea stands much higher than the dry land (p. 142)" (said the sixteenth-century preacher Johannes Rauw), the sea becomes visible proof of God's existence. Luther said that, "it is most true that the sea is much higher than the earth (p. 61)," so today God's power and presence are displayed as clearly as at the Red Sea's parting.

Voyages of discovery ended that display—continents were discovered where only the unfathomable (truly) depths of the watery sphere should have been. America makes it clear, said Nicolaus Copernicus in his 1543 *De Revolutionibus*, that our world is no watery ball with some rock in it, but a rocky ball with some water on it.

Unfortunately, *Encountering Water* lacks illustrations of the world as a watery ball with some rock in it, and its expansive bibliography lacks David Wootton's 2015 *The Invention of Science*, which would have shown Starkey some—like from the Jesuit astronomer Christopher Clavius's (1538–1612) prominent commentary on Sacrobosco. Wootton treated all this material. He also connected Copernicus's spinning Earth to his ball of rock (a water ball seems an awkward spinner). Starkey misses this.

Starkey also misses some basic science. Water standing higher than land might indeed be "clear as day." Atmospheric refraction delays sunsets by lifting sunlight over the "geometrical" horizon. Across the ocean's expanse, that refraction also lifts miles of water into view—seemingly higher, perhaps, than the land. The ideas Starkey covers involve more than Genesis and Aristotle.

Nevertheless, read Starkey's book (available electronically through many libraries). See the waters of the Old Testament—

> *Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further:*
> *and here shall thy proud waves be stayed* (Job 38:11)

—in a new light.

Vatican Observatory CHRISTOPHER M. GRANEY

Grace and Conformity: The Reformed Conformist Tradition and the Early Stuart Church of England. By Stephen Hampton. [Oxford Studies in Historical Theology.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 2021. Pp. 424. $99.00. ISBN 9780190084332.)

In his *Grace and Conformity*, Stephen Hampton rightly identifies an important lacuna in scholarship of the early Stuart Church of England. Where a great deal of

energy has been devoted to more-and-less conformist puritans and to the rise of Laudianism, much less focus has been given to those Calvinists who sought actively to promote the Church as both an episcopal and reformed institution. The impression—at least tacitly—has often been that such 'moderates' (a word carefully avoided by Hampton) were lukewarm careerists. On the contrary, Hampton argues, the reformed conformist tradition (RCT) was a "distinct religious identity" and its members were 'conscious' that they were neither puritan nor Laudian, and "were, in significant respects, opposed to both groups" (p. 24). Indeed, for Hampton, they were a combative bunch, defending their vision of a reformed Church of England against opponents to the left and right, at home and abroad, and dead as well as alive.

The strengths of the book are conspicuous. There can be little question that the 'reformed conformists' are an under-studied milieu, and that their marginalisation has leant an air of unreality to previous analyses of the early Stuart Church. Hampton's theological grasp is excellent, and I am entirely convinced by his central argument, that the RCT was characterised by great "intellectual liveliness" and "inventiveness", as well as internal "diversity" (p. 176). In tacit contrast to the arid, managerial approach of Elizabethan equivalents like Whitgift, Hampton paints a picture of an uncompromising, self-confident network of authors, as keen to evangelise and to shape pastoral strategies as they were to uphold abstract reformed orthodoxies. At times, the evidence that he provides is truly striking. For instance, when I read that Daniel Featley defended Christmas day commemorations (against puritans) on the grounds (against Laudians) that they contributed to a believer's sense of assurance and understanding of perseverance, I felt that a strongly distinctive viewpoint was being communicated (p. 282).

In some respects, though, Hampton's study leaves key questions not only unanswered but also, at times, unasked. Hampton's focus is on ten individuals, who he tells us are "representative" of the RCT. However, most of these—Joseph Hall, Thomas Morton, Samuel Ward, George Downame, John Davenant, George Carleton, John Williams—were bishops, while two others—John Prideaux and Richard Holdsworth—were eminent academics. But this is, to say the least, a top-slice even of the university-educated elites who necessarily populate studies of early modern historical theology. So concerned is Hampton to establish the internal coherences and dynamics of his RCT sample that he draws almost no links between them and other contemporary/historiographical groupings. Throughout the book I was left wondering whether particular RCT positions were distinctive to them, or something that we might not have found in almost identical form among the community of largely conforming puritans. It would also have been interesting to see Hampton discussing how far his account of reformed conformists connects with Judith Maltby's analysis of a more broad-based "prayer book protestant" movement. While Hampton's close reading of theological meanings is exemplary, it can result in a narrow, dense feel at times, and I would have liked to see him stepping back to create links to and comparisons with other tendencies within the contemporary spectrum of theological beliefs and identities.

My most consistent nagging doubt, though, revolves around Hampton's handling of the concept of "conformity." He tells us that his subjects were "confident that the Reformed theology that they were defending was the official orthodoxy of the English Church" (p. 110). But what precisely were they conforming to here? To the interpretation of the king, reflecting the Church's Erastian structure; or to the doctrinal architecture of the Elizabethan Religious Settlement (ERS) itself? It would seem that Hampton means the latter. But he is curiously silent on the question of whether his subjects genuinely believed the ERS to be inherently reformed, or to be a messy fudge that needed to have meanings made for it. At times he writes about "polemical strategies" (p. 148), and attempts to "define conformity" (p. 216)—a much more creative enterprise than merely seeking to *defend* conformity—but without pausing to tease out the implications. There is, I would argue, quite a big difference between conforming your own views to a body of authoritative documents, and attempting to make those documents conform to you. The implication, not developed by Hampton, may be that the RCT was rather less conformist than the term usually implies. Despite his claim that "grace and polity went hand in hand" (p. 298), the relationship between the two was more vexed than he seems willing to admit. As Hampton himself says, the "effectiveness" of the 1626 Proclamation "in silencing the voice of Reformed Conformity . . . should not be overstated" (p. 176), as writers like Davenant and Ward found clever ways of skirting around the edges of the royal will. Likewise, we have Williams deftly avoiding the issue of Laudian altar placement in the Chapel Royal by advising that the king's own preferences should be ignored by the wider population in favour of the "laws, rubrics, canons and proclamations" of the Church itself (p. 232). It is also curious that only in a footnote does Hampton acknowledge that none of Williams, Hall or Morton actually enforced Laudian altar policy in their own dioceses (fn.180, 376).

Although Hampton's study of reformed conformity is in many ways brilliant, especially when it comes to the detail, on a broader level it all feels curiously unproblematic. There is little sense here of how his subjects must have struggled with divided loyalties, or indeed been forced to make difficult choices. One stark fact not mentioned is that, with the partial and complex exception of Williams, all of Hampton's exemplars who lived to see the outbreak of the civil wars, threw their lot in with the royalist cause. I would not crudely suggest that this shows that the RCT, in the end, preferred episcopacy to the reformed theology of grace. It does, though, underline that the harmonies that reformed conformists tried desperately hard to generate were deeply contingent, and involved scooping together forces which were pulling slowly—and then very quickly—apart. In sum, Hampton has done a wonderful job of sketching the contours of the reformed conformist position; but the next stage must be to infuse it with the ambivalences and dilemmas which surrounded conformity itself.

Regent's Park College, University of Oxford LEIF DIXON

Catholic Survival in Protestant Ireland, 1660–1711: Colonel John Browne, Landownership and the Articles of Limerick. By Eoin Kinsella. (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2018. Pp. 323. $115.00. ISBN 978-1-78327-316-4).

The historiography around Catholic Ireland, the 1688 Revolution and the Jacobite cause has been notoriously susceptible to capture by romantic and heroic narrative. Even much modern scholarship tends to fix closer attention on the militants and the martyrs, on the 'wildgeese' who took flight from Irish shores rather than the grittier lives of those who remained at home. As Eoin Kinsella remarks, a perception lingers that Irish Catholicism had drifted into a 'moribund' condition by the beginning of the eighteenth century, stripped of its natural lay leaders and left languishing in the hands of the timid, the enfeebled, and the compromised.

Kinsella's book supplies a commanding corrective to these well-worn motifs. Its particular focus is the County Mayo notable John Browne: lawyer, large-scale landowner, and experimental ironmaster, who threw his weight behind the Jacobite resistance of 1689, but then became intimately involved in negotiation of the articles of surrender signed at Limerick in 1691. The details of Browne's life offer arresting subject matter. But Kinsella's study moves beyond the realm of biography, and uses Browne's career as a springboard to examine larger themes in the political, legal, and social history of Irish Catholicism, on either side of the Revolution. In particular, he identifies Browne as a foremost representative of the "new interest" of propertied Catholics who had acquired estates taken originally from co-religionists amid the upheavals of the Civil Wars and the Cromwellian conquest. As agricultural improvers, experimental capitalists and principled supporters of the Catholic Church, the "new interest" subvert many of the established social and political categories that have framed studies of seventeenth-century Irish politics. Between 1685 and 1689, its upholders found themselves in an excruciatingly ambivalent position, when the Catholic resurgence under James II prepared the ground for the revocation of the mid-century territorial settlements, and so threatened the foundations of their own landed property.

If the Revolution put paid to this particular peril, its outcome menaced Irish Catholic interests—new and old alike—with other existential threats. Deftly interweaving between Browne and the larger world that he sought to steer and direct, Kinsella explores the political thinking that underpinned the articles of surrender, at Limerick and in other defeated strongholds of the Jacobite cause. The book sheds essential new light on the networks of lawyers, bankers, middlemen, and agents who sought to convert the Articles into a full and permanent platform for Catholic security in Ireland, and so offer their co-religionists a viable alternative to Jacobite militarism. Active on both sides of the Irish Sea, the lobbyists of the 1690s pitched their arguments to meet the pragmatic sensibilities of a Williamite government contending with the pressures of international war. But Browne and his associates struggled against the revanchist Protestant spirit invigorated in the Dublin Parliament. By 1714, new waves of penal legislation had stifled any possibility of embedding the Articles of Limerick as the wellspring of a new political order in Ireland.

Kinsella's book makes an accomplished contribution to the study of Irish politics, religion, and society, and the impact of the 1688 Revolution. With forensic insight into hitherto neglected source material, it demonstrates at once the robustness of Catholic "accommodationist" politics in the 1690s, but also the fragility of that position. Without civil and legal fortification for their liberties, Catholic loyalty to the post-Revolution order was challenged by the continuing appeal of the Jacobite opposition, and, at other extreme, by the temptation to pull away from religious allegiances altogether. By 1800, John Browne's great architectural legacy, Westport House was well-established as one of the social and cultural centres of elite life in West Ireland. As Marquises of Sligo, his descendants brought to fruition Browne's plans for the social and political advancement of a once-minor gentry dynasty. But by this point, they were firmly ensconced within the fold of the Protestant ascendancy.

Fitzwilliam College, Cambridge GABRIEL GLICKMAN

LATE MODERN EUROPEAN

Converts to the Real. Catholicism and the Making of Continental Philosophy. By Edward Baring. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2019. Pp. 504. $49.95, £39.95, €45.00. ISBN 978-0-674988-37-8).

In this monumental work of transnational intellectual and institutional history, Edward Baring maps the Catholic network that made possible the diffusion of phenomenological thought and hence the making of Continental philosophy. This network of schools, scholars, conferences, and publications grew in response to Pope Leo XIII's mandate for an international neoscholastic revival in *Aeterni Patris* (1879). The Catholic quest for the "real," both epistemological and ontological, soon led to exchanges far beyond creedal boundaries. Neoscholastics (and later, Christian existentialists) made common cause with similar quests by German thinkers. As a result, argues Baring, "The Catholic reception of phenomenology was a subterranean but massive structure, linking many of the most important developments in the history of twentieth-century philosophy"—"the first continental philosophy of the twentieth century was Catholic. (p. 20).

Baring's archeological and genealogical method meticulously excavates innumerable places, persons, and events. In the 1880s, new establishments included the Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C. (1887), the Theological Faculty in Swiss Fribourg (1889), and the Institut Supérieur de Philosophie in Louvain (1889). The "topology of Catholic intellectual networks made Louvain a model for progressive neo-scholastics around the world," including the United States, Brazil, Spain, Bohemia, Germany, and especially Milan's Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore. (p. 36) National compositions of student bodies grew increasingly diverse. At the Great War's outbreak in 1914, foreign students in Louvain made up one-sixth of those taking the baccalaureate, and a third of doctoral students. By 1930, fifty-seven of Louvain's 160 students came from abroad, including those from Bengal, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Yugoslavia.

As institutional establishments catalyzed publishing ventures, neoscholastic reviews arose in Belgium, France, Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Spain. These journals formed a transnational network in various ways, including publications (frequently translated) by foreign authors. (Baring's study required an impressive linguistic diversity of primary sources.) For example: Léon Noël's Francophone work on the German Edmund Husserl traveled from Louvain to neoscholastic centers in Milan and Madrid before arriving in German speaking Vienna, capital of the Austro-Hungarian empire. Multilingual migration "suggests that the transnational bonds linking one neo-scholastic to another were often more robust than those linking them to secular philosophers writing in the same language" (p. 53).

The exchange was also transatlantic. *The Modern Schoolman*, founded in 1925 by Jesuit philosophy students at Saint Louis University, reached out to Munich for a contribution from fellow Jesuit Erich Przywara, editor of *Stimmen der Zeit*. Przywara's essay appeared in 1934 (in English) as "Edmund Husserl." In 1937, another article on Husserl appeared in *The New Scholasticism* founded ten years earlier by the American Catholic Philosophical Association. Its author, Kurt F. Reinhardt, a German-born student of Husserl and a Catholic convert, had emigrated to the U.S. and started teaching at Stanford University in 1930. In 1939, Alberto Wagner de Reyna, having earned his doctorate at the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú and become one of Latin America's most prominent Christian existentialists, published *La Ontología fundamental de Heidegger* in Buenos Aires.

Neoscholastic networks also provided venues for women scholars. In 1916, Edith Stein completed her doctoral dissertation under Husserl, joined the faculty at Freiburg and served as his teaching assistant until 1918. In 1922, Stein was baptized Catholic, having been drawn by phenomenology and scholastic thought to conversion. Her 1929 contribution to Husserl's seventieth birthday Festschrift (edited by Martin Heidegger) became the "most famous and influential confrontation between Husserl and scholasticism" (pp. 74–75). In 1932, at Milan's Cattolica, Sofia Vanni Rovighi reviewed the international Société Thomiste meeting held outside Paris in *Rivista di filosofia neo-scolastica*, Six years later, she published *La Filosofia di Edmund Husserl*. In 1933–34, the German Hedwig Conrad-Martius—Edith Stein's baptismal godmother—published her argument connecting Heidegger with "Aristotelian-Thomist ontology" in the Parisian journal *Recherches philosophiques*. In 1945, after two years under arrest in Milan following Italy's surrender, Benito Mussolini was executed. Also in Milan that same year, Vanni Rovighi published her introductory book *Heidegger*.

The quest for (and claim by) the "real" could lead to tragic outcomes. In 1933, the year Hitler became Germany's chancellor, Przywara's Jesuit confrere Alfred Delp (a future colleague on *Stimmen der Zeit*'s editorial board) published an article on Martin Heidegger, later expanded in his dissertation *Tragic Existence* (1935). Baring notes that "Delp's work was translated and diffused faster than Heidegger's" and "reviewed extensively around Europe." In 1935 it was translated for the French Jesuits' *Archives de Philosophie* (founded in 1923); and in 1936 translated again for

The Modern Schoolman (where Przywara had published two years earlier). Alexandre Kojève, the Russian émigré Hegelian at the École Pratique des Hautes Études, "wrote his most extensive and direct analyses of Heidegger in response to none other than the neo-scholastic Alfred Delp and his book *Tragic Existence*" (pp. 238–39). When the 1936 published version seemed insufficient, Kojève wrote "a considerably longer response to Delp." However, this response was only published posthumously in 1993, forty-eight years after Delp's 1945 execution by the Nazi regime. One year before Delp's death, Paul-Louis Landsberg, a seminal figure in developing the philosophy of personalism, died for the Resistance at the Oranienburg concentration camp. Edith Stein (who had become a Carmelite nun) also died in a concentration camp, executed at Auschwitz-Birkenau (in occupied Poland) in 1942. A half-century later, she was canonized by the Polish Pope John Paul II (Karol Wojtyla), a scholar profoundly influenced by phenomenology and personalism.

The Spaniard Xavier Zubiri also exhibits history's long arm. After having earned his licentiate studying Husserl at Louvain, Zubiri submitted his doctoral dissertation in 1921 in Madrid, "the first extended treatment of Husserl in Spanish." (p. 70) Five years later, after growing doubts about Husserl's neoscholastic suitability, Zubiri wrote that the task for the "contemporary soul" was to reach "real being." Twenty years later, in the wake of civil war and world war, Zubiri again framed philosophy as "a study of 'the real *qua* real'" (pp. 71–72). Baring ends there but the story continues. In 1965, Zubiri directed a dissertation on his own work written by Ignacio Ellacuría, the future liberation theologian. In 1989, having emigrated across the Atlantic, Ellacuría was assassinated in El Salvador with five Jesuit confreres at the Universidad Centroamericana "José Simeón Cañas." Quests for the real could exact a price.

Baring's work illustrates the kind of network tracing found in publications from Dena Goodman's *The Republic of Letters* (1994) to Paula Findlen's edited *Empires of Knowledge: Scientific Networks in the Early Modern World* (2019). The digital mapping revolution has enhanced visualization of networks (e.g., Stanford's Republic of Letters projects at republicofletters.stanford.edu). Networks reveal how ideas migrate and mutate in transmission and reception. More poignantly, mapping renders visible figures who, although made invisible by time's passing, once played vital roles in creating today's structures. Baring's map brilliantly illuminates the neoscholastic network that connected global Catholicism for over eight decades. "And though this would be cold comfort to a Mercier, a Gemelli, a Przywara, or a Maritain," Baring concludes, "Thomism continues to deserve the title *philosophia perennis*, thanks to its contradictory afterlives in secular thought" (p. 349).

Loyola University Chicago STEPHEN SCHLOESSER, S.J.

American

Subversive Habits: Black Catholic Nuns in the Long African American Freedom Struggle. By Shannen Dee Williams. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press. 2022. Pp xxiii, 394. $109.95. ISBN 978-1-4780-1557-4.)

When Sister Mary Antona Ibo took a walk in Selma, Alabama, in March of 1965, she electrified the nation. Not only was an Ibo, dressed in full habit, walking in the front line of a nationally-televised civil rights demonstration; she was also an African-American. White Selma was certain that she was a fraud—an out-of-state militant dressed up in sister's clothing. But even life-long Catholics outside the South were stunned. Few had ever seen a "Negro nun," to employ the parlance of the era. Many, in all likelihood, did not know that such women existed. But exist they did—there were roughly 1,000 women religious of African descent in the country in 1966, the year the American sister population reached its peak. Although probably none of them had previously demonstrated publicly in the cause of civil rights, Shannon Dee Williams makes clear that they and their predecessors were civil rights activists of the first order. "Rather than being politically neutral or significantly late to the fight for racial justice, as many have argued," she writes, "these Black sisters were already veterans of a long and tenuous freedom struggle within the Church" (p. 8).

The first two chapters of Williams' book trace the history of African-American women religious prior to the Second World War. Nearly every black sister in this period belonged to one of the eight congregations for women of African descent founded between 1829 and 1922, the handful of exceptions involving women who could pass for white. Every so-called white congregation prior to the 1940s maintained an explicit color bar, even those that ministered to African-Americans; it was not until 1946 that the Sisters of St. Mary, an originally German nursing order in St. Louis, became the first to open its ranks to black candidates. But even this seemingly admirable decision bore the taint of racism: the congregation's leadership had initially assumed that its black candidates would eventually form a segregated community of their own. That the first black candidates themselves, along with St. Louis's Archbishop—later Cardinal—Joseph Ritter, successfully resisted the plan signaled the advent of changing times, as did the announcement later in 1946 by several additional all-white orders that they too would now consider black applicants.

What is usually seen as a liberalizing trend continued throughout the 1950s, at the end of which over half of the nation's women's congregations had repudiated the color bar. But as Williams makes clear, progress was achingly slow. Formally "color blind" congregations not infrequently limited admission to one or two black candidates per year and sometimes openly favored the light-skinned. Even more egregious, "many early Black sisters in white orders faced routine physical bullying, deliberate ostracism, their white counterparts' refusal to use the same bathroom facilities as they did, and racist verbal taunts" (p. 129). Williams' evidence in this

regard, while emotionally powerful, is too thin to justify terms like "many" and "routine." But who can doubt that such things happened or that convent life for these pioneering sisters was apt at its best to be painfully lonely? Those who persevered in their vocations bore grace-filled witness to a spiritual discipline fully equal to that of the bravest participants in the non-violent phase of the Southern civil rights movement.

Williams's final chapters deal with the increasingly turbulent years after 1965, when both non-violence and integrationist goals came under potent challenge. She focuses especially on the 1968 formation of the National Black Sisters' Conference (NBSC) and its efforts to ensure the survival of black urban Catholic schools and to bring those schools under black control. These chapters are the most vibrant of the book, powerfully evoking period passions—passions that led, among other things, to an even higher rate of departure from religious life for black sisters than for white. But told as they are from the almost exclusive perspective of NBSC activists, these chapters also include some troubling instances where Williams quite one-sidedly impugns the motives of white Catholics usually admired for their work in support of racial justice. (Sister Margaret Traxler, with whom one of Williams's informants had apparently quarreled, comes in for particularly rough treatment.) Many such Catholics had serious misgivings about Black Power rhetoric and ideology. But does this constitute irrefutable evidence of a lingering allegiance to white supremacy? Williams has done a great service by so eloquently telling the stories of a hitherto unrepresented group, and we are obliged to take her insights seriously as we think about the Catholic past. But we must also be willing to temper our judgments by engaging that past on its own terms, in all its tangled complexity.

The Catholic University of America (Emerita) LESLIE TENTLER

Faith and Power: Latino Religious Politics Since 1945. Edited by Felipe Hinojosa, Maggie Elmore, and Sergio M. González. (New York: New York University Press. 2022. Pp. 352. $35.00. ISBN: 978-1-479-80452-8.)

Through faith, individuals convert and change their lives. *Faith and Power, Latino Religious Politics Since 1945* provides examples of how, through faith, Latino believers have come together and gained power to change their churches and their social and political communities. The premise of the twelve contributors to this volume is that faith motivated individuals to organize and challenge ecclesial and social structures to enrich their worship experience and improve the exigencies of making a living and finding security. The editors tapped researchers in Mexican immigrant and Chicano/a and Puerto Rican history, sociology, and anthropology to provide meaningful and often poignant glimpses of outsiders struggling against different establishments—sometimes succeeding, sometimes barely getting a foot in the door, and sometimes fighting valiantly while the ground changed under their feet.

Here are some glimpses of issues covered: In Chicago, as elsewhere in the Northeast and Midwest, Latino/a latecomers moved into parishes established by

European immigrants traditionally served by their own clergy of priests and nuns. While these churchmen and women often saw the new faithful under their care as an added burden, some bishops and pastors responded by finding priests to celebrate the Eucharist in Spanish and by initiating structural changes to respond to the spiritual and economic needs of the new parishioners. In Durham, North Carolina, an entirely different conflict emerged as Mexican immigrants began attending a historically Black Catholic church which the African American community had created out of self-pride in an age of violence and discrimination. As the neighborhood's Latino/a presence grew, the pastor accommodated the newcomers with a bilingual Mass, but a new parish priest acceded to the parish council's recommendation to end the bilingual liturgy. The *Mexicanos* stormed out with their image of Our Lady of Guadalupe that they had been allowed to display in the church. There are other stories of high drama, such as the use of *Via Crucis del Inmigrante* procession in Pilsen to protest the housing crisis of that Chicago barrio.

Using the topical divisions of Place and Politics, Freedom Movements, and Immigrant Transformations, the writers cover the wide span of history since 1945, illustrating the diversity of the Latino/a community in faith expressions and social and political concerns across the nation. *Faith and Power* provides an excellent collection of case studies relevant in courses in American church history and religious studies and in Latinx survey classes that might otherwise overlook the important role of religion. The collection will surely inspire further research as well.

In an afterword, Geraldo Cadava, a historian whose books investigate Hispanics in politics, admits that after reading this book he understood the extent to which he overlooked the role of faith in Latinos' struggle for inclusion and self-assertion. Indeed, *Faith and Power* makes a compelling argument that faith, which brings about personal conversion, also inspires wider communal change.

University of the Incarnate Word Gilberto Hinojosa

Apostles of Change: Latino Radical Politics, Church Occupations, and the Fight to Save the Barrio. Felipe Hinojosa. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 2021. Pp. xvi, 238. $45.00. ISBN: 978-1-477-32198-0.)

Felipe Hinojosa's *Apostles of Change* is a game-changer in how we view U.S. Latina/o history. In this meticulously crafted and researched book, the author urges his reader to move beyond the single-origin narratives that historians tend to embrace and retell about movements, in favor of a more complex, multi-layered story of "the thousands of small moments that gave birth to the Latina/o freedom movement" (p. x). Rather than focusing on one movement and a handful of mostly male leaders, Hinojosa shows us that "small but politically vibrant moments" form the impetus and stuff of a broader freedom movement (p. x).

Apostles of Change is a must-read for anyone interested in U.S. Latina/o history and in how Latinas and Latinos worked to raise awareness of the entanglements of

racism, white privilege, and institutional churches' complicity in perpetuating broken systems. Hinojosa's book is a call for revisionist histories that runs parallel with his interlocutors' calls for concrete changes in their institutions and communities. The stories that Hinojosa shares with his reader are about "the struggle to wholly transform the sacred space of the church, to move it into an embrace with its community, and to liberate it from its own strictures" (p. x).

The book opens by quoting a statement from the 1969 Armitage Methodist Church in Chicago on its willingness to engage with grassroots anti-poverty measures rooted in social justice. White, liberal congregations such as this one, Hinojosa shows throughout the book, were spurred by Latina/o-led church occupations and protests by that directly challenged churches' racist theologies and actions. Hinojosa begins the book with this particular vignette, and with 1969 as the start date, when churches "became strategic sites, indeed sacred places, where radical groups staged their movements and proclaimed their message of community control and power to the world" (p. 3).

As many historians have chronicled, the late 1960s and 70s were decades of protest as Black Americans across the United States called attention to the inhumane, violent, racist treatment of nonwhite people, and churches were epicenters of the grassroots and widespread Black Civil Rights movement. But what scholars have not spent nearly as much time on, as Hinojosa convincingly argues, are the parallel Brown-led religio-spiritual protests of systemic racism and oppression and of oppressive institutional religion.

The four core chapters of the book are deeply researched and compelling case studies of moments and components of what Hinojosa terms the "Latina/o freedom movement" which initiated a coming together of Brown, Black, and White social justice-focused individuals in a rainbow coalition of activists. Hinojosa offers four case studies of U.S. cities that were sites of Latina/o freedom movement protests and occupations. This freedom movement gained momentum in the late 60s and early 70s, and was comprised of young radical Latina/o leaders who deployed church occupations and disruptions in order to challenge the ways that the societal status quo seeped into churches and church politics. Hinojosa convincingly shows the reader that each of these moments, while on their own seemingly small and considered by some to be insignificant, built upon each other to form a pan-American Latina/o freedom movement.

Hinojosa's first case study is the Lincoln Park, Chicago seminary occupation by Puerto Rican, Mexican, Black and White allies in the Young Lords, where de jure "urban renewal" qua de facto urban removal was directly challenged by the young activists who occupied McCormick Theological Seminary, then a bastion of white liberal Protestantism. Meanwhile, in Los Angeles Latinas/os were organizing their own protests of institutional racism and negligence of nonwhite Catholics and people. A peak moment for Los Angeles Latina/o freedom movement was Católicos por la Raza's gathering outside LA's wealthy St. Basil Catholic Church.

The two other case studies discuss actions at the People's Church in East Harlem, and the Mexican American Youth Organization (MAYO) takeover of the Christ Presbyterian Church in Houston. In each of his case studies, Hinojosa shows the ways that the discriminatory and racist structures of Protestant and Catholic churches were challenged by laywomen and men in a pan-ethnic, ecumenical Christian, grassroots movement.

Apostles of Change also digs into lived religion of Latinas/os. Hinojosa focuses on what everyday people do and what they say—and he takes them seriously as makers and shapers of history. As the sociologist of religion Nancy T. Ammerman has written in *Studying Lived Religion: Contexts and Practices*, "To study religion in this way is to expand our lenses beyond the official texts and doctrines so as to see how ideas about the sacred emerge in unofficial places" (p. 5). Professor Hinojosa most certainly "expands our lenses" and opens the reader's hearts and minds to a rich world of Latina/o-led grassroots organizing, protests, and calls for justice in religious spaces. Their cries for restorative justice are powerful, and I am grateful to the author for his revisionist work that is essential reading for anyone interested in U.S. history.

The University of Iowa Kristy Nabhan-Warren

Meatpacking America: How Migration, Work, and Faith Work to Divide the Heartland. By Kristy Nabhan-Warren. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2021. Pp. xxii, 280. $19.95. ISBN: 978-1-469-66349-4.)

In *Meatpacking America: How Migration, Work, and Faith Unite and Divide the Heartland*, Kristy Nabhan-Warren examines a diversity of Catholic devotion across rural Iowa. Taking a lived religion approach that is sensitive to race and migration, she joins Bethany Moreton and Nicole Kirk (among others) in advancing the study of the "religiosity of workplaces" (p. 6). Thinking about Catholicism's long-standing minority status in Iowa alongside the state's place as a secondary destination for refugees and economic migrants, she purposefully asks, "Are inclusive religious and workspaces possible in the twenty-century United States?" (p. 65). Ultimately, Nabhan-Warren argues, inclusive spaces are possible with "close working relationships" (p. 65) and, most importantly, a deep, hands-on investment among and across those at the top of the meatpacking industry, community leaders (e.g., laity, business) and slaughterhouse laborers.

Seven years of ethnographic research and "voluntary immersion experiences" (p. 57), including a fifty hour-workweek shadowing laborers that can "resemble meat ninja warriors" (p. 171), bolster Nabhan-Warren's claims. In the vein of anthropologist Steve Striffler's *Chicken: The Dangerous Transformation of America's Favorite Food* (2007), an ethnography of the poultry industry, she devotes an entire chapter to describing "hot side" labor (e.g., "the kill floor" p. 180) and "cold side" labor (e.g., "boning chucks and ribs" with USDA inspection, p. 191). Nabhan-Warren offers readers smelly, aching, viscose-thick description of *the how of reli-*

gion—how higher ups' unequivocal acceptance of religion on company property is intimately tied to inter-corporate "evangelical Christian terminology" and a multi-generational "Faith at Work movement" (pp. 109–11); and how time-sheet-holding HR personnel oversee devotional acts, including when Muslim women modify workspace to observe Salat, or prayer (pp. 165–66).

While we do not hear from the women themselves about working with pork and creating locker-cum-sacred space amidst stubborn stenches and stains, Nabhan-Warren's perceptive observation of non-Christian practice illustrates what one can miss when pursuing a study focused on Catholicism in U.S. workplaces. Indeed, in the introduction, the author offers a refreshing and straightforward explanation of the conceptual shift she decided to take once field research had shown her that keeping Catholicism in the spotlight, as she had initially intended, was impossible. Many of the slaughterhouse laborers with whom she worked, and the majority nationwide, are Latinx; but it goes without saying that not all Latinx are Catholic, or even Christian for that matter. Moreover, her steadfast attention to the broader history of refugee resettlement in Iowa, acknowledging the migratory legacies of the Bracero Program (1942–64), and the winding life stories of laborers from the Congo, Burma-Myanmar, Somalia, Sudan, and Vietnam, for example, open up generative pathways for future research.

Nabhan-Warren had to pivot, and she did so with admirable transparency, especially when it came to acknowledging her own race, class, and citizenship privileges. Her self-awareness is painstaking, almost too careful, but productive, nonetheless. She introduces the term "politics of inclusivity" (p. 52) to grapple with the antagonistic residue of racial politics that make inclusivity, religious and otherwise, challenging. In other words, workplace leaders may dutifully sanction religious practice among a global labor force, but that inclusivity does not necessarily hold off-site. That point is crystallized when a chance encounter between "white" Iowans and a non-white woman produces palpable tension in the basement of a Catholic parish—in theory, an inclusive space. That vignette further reminds us that inclusivity is not just participatory, it is inherently spatial—and spaces have existing claim histories.

That chance encounter is telling, and *Meatpacking* could do with more of those moments, but the organization of the book makes it hard. For the record, we should not overlook the fact that Nabhan-Warren carried out years of research and that the Covid-19 pandemic made finishing up and rounding out her stellar study and writing-up process even harder. She spends a lot of time with older generations of Iowans to shine light on Catholic history, which is productive and an overall goal of the book. Still, the life stories of "refugees," which Nabhan-Warren defiantly (in the most positive sense of the word) defines as "all of the brown and Black women and men who come to America for a better life [. . .] whether or not they have officially been granted the status of refugee by the U.S. government" (p. xii), sometimes read as compartmentalized toward the end of the study. Focusing on "refugee" experiences during the pandemic and acknowledging the support offered

by "white Iowans" gives Nabhan-Warren the opportunity to offset taken-for-granted generalizations about rampant xenophobia in a red Midwestern state. Moreover, devoting the last chapter of *Meatpacking* to the experience of Reyna—an indigenous Guatemalan woman of Q'anjob'al heritage facing tragic emotional and material consequences of ICE raids and deportation—invites reflection on the ways in which faith-based solidarity, in rural Iowa, at work and elsewhere, is unlikely ever just Catholic.

Meatpacking is a book worth teaching. It is suitable for undergraduates because it invites students to think about race, place, and labor, with and beyond Iowa's Catholic past. It is also highly recommended for graduate courses focused on method in the study of religion. Nabhan-Warren's monograph does not fully disentangle the challenges that accompany religious inclusivity in the workplace, but it exemplifies the flexibility, investment, and empathy necessary to advance the conversation.

George Washington University Elaine A. Peña

Latin American

Orígenes del culto a nuestra señora de Guadalupe, 1521–1688. By Gisela von Wobeser. (Mexico City: UNAM/ Fondo de Cultura Económica. 2020. Pp. 249. $14.00 (Amazon) paperback. ISBN: 78-607-16-6400-0.)

There will never be enough books published on the cult of the Virgin of Guadalupe to satisfy our curiosity about Mexico's most popular devotion. Each generation of devotees requires its own perspective and understanding of the religious and cultural significance of such a long-standing emblem of Mexican identity. This most recent enquiry by historian Gisela von Wobeser will remain valid for years to come as a blend of sound research and straightforward narrative that many people will find informative, readable, and trustworthy.

Von Wobeser begins with the transformation of the indigenous site dedicated to a native goddess into a place of worship of the most orthodox Catholic figure of the Virgin Mary and ends in the late seventeenth century, documenting in full the initial and defining period of the cult. The most significant feature of the worship of Guadalupe is the changes of a site dedicated to a pre-conquest deity to one dedicated to Marian worship. This process of transformation owed much to the manipulation of facts and beliefs by the most powerful men of the newly established Church who succeeded in making a smooth transition between cultures. Discarding several unfounded historical myths, the author sticks to well researched facts on the personalities involved in the process of supplanting the worship of Aztec Tonatzin with that of Guadalupe. By the mid-seventeenth century the site had become the natural bridge between the indigenous worship and the new religion and was thoroughly "Mexican" rather than indigenous or peninsular Spanish. Among other topics the author analyzes how the European image of a woman sur-

rounded by the sun evolved into the Mexican image. Since worship enters through the eyes, this attention to the new image is a point worth mentioning in this review. She also discusses matter-of-fact issues such as the adjudication of the name of Guadalupe by sixteenth-century Archbishop Alonso de Montúfar as a device to confer the image rank by associating it with a well-known Spanish icon and capture economic support for it.

The fast popularity of the site and the image in the second half of the sixteenth century was buttressed by its reputation for "miracles." They helped to strengthen the new worship in a period when material and personal favors were essential to gaining ground among the populace. Historical records gathered by the author cite popular practices such as nocturnal peregrinations involving all ethnic groups and social classes, including the viceroys and the highest ecclesiastical authorities, helping to make Guadalupe a site open to all. There were challenges and controversies, though. Franciscans opposed the secular church's support of the miracles attributed to the icon on grounds that such doctrines were misunderstood by the indigenous so recently converted. There was no harmonious acceptance of the worship owing to ecclesiastical apprehension about the potential dangers of fast conversions and "popular" cults.

Those issues notwithstanding, by the mid-seventeenth century the historical record of the miracles and the eulogy of the Virgin in Nahuatl and Spanish had created a formidable and socially strong foundation for the devotional cult. The author reviews the works and arguments of several key authors and their contribution to the "apparitionist" literature that cemented the worship. The cult of Guadalupe was the testing ground for the process of introducing a new religion to the indigenous population and to those who, not being indigenous, were the first generation of migrants to the new land. Von Wobeser makes clear that the support given by the local intellectuals in the first half of the seventeenth century was essential in having the worship accepted. She gives full attention to the so-called "apparitionist" writers who recorded miracles and apparitions of Mary as Guadalupe and placed them within the Christian tradition. This is a carefully researched study of the process of worship substitution similar to that experienced in the rest of the Americas and the Philippines. It assesses the indigenous as well as the Spanish traditions in a readable style and should appeal to the general and academic readership. I highly recommend it.

Arizona State University, Emerita ASUNCIÓN LAVRIN

Mexican American Religions: An Introduction. By Brett Hendrickson (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon; New York: Routledge, 2021. Pp. xiv, 219. $42.95 paperback. ISBN: 9780367250133.)

While I am seldom a fan of textbooks, I wanted to read this survey to ground my new project on Latino Catholic ministry. Happily, I found a very readable, succinct, and jargon-free survey of Mexican American religions, in the broadest sense. One expects chapters on indigenous roots and evolving Catholic institutions and

practices for Mexican people. More surprising are several chapters on Protestantism and Mexican adherents of non-Christian faiths, as well as the growing number of Mexican American "nones." Brett Hendrickson builds on the premise that "religion and ethnicity are coconstitutive" or inextricably linked in personal identity (p. 2). For readers new to the history of people of Mexican descent, this is an essential starting point. The weave of religion and ethnicity is likewise crucial to understanding the American Catholic church. Today, Mexican Americans and other Latinos are literally the future of Catholic life in the U.S.

The book's first half moves chronologically from indigenous Mesoamerica, Spanish evangelization, and the church in independent Mexico. The post-1848 chapters cover people and places more squarely in the U.S., yet the transnational movement of religious people courses through the book. The second part features more topical chapters, for example on the civil rights movement or *curanderismo* (healing). Hendrickson, who explored Mexican American ethno-medicine in a previous monograph, takes on the complex topic in an effective way for the many readers unfamiliar with these practices. Much of the book centers on Texas and the Southwest, with occasional forays north to *Chicago católico*.

About half of the book squarely examines Catholics, though most chapters reflect on Catholicism to some degree. The author often considers the contrasts between the official Church and lived religion. On nineteenth-century Mexico, he notes that "the religion of the people," despite the decline in official presence, proved "a durable anchor in changing times" (p. 55). After the U.S. acquisition of Mexican territory in 1848, "Mexican residents of the annexed lands became religious minorities in a nation that purported to uphold religion toleration and freedom" (p. 62). Hendrickson is spot on about the early twentieth century, when the U.S. Catholic Church "did not always do enough to welcome and include Mexican American Catholics into parish life" (p. 77). After 1965 a clear shift took place with the emergence and increasing influence of Latino prelates, theologians and bishops.

Two compelling chapters focus on Protestants. Mainline denominations such as Methodists and Presbyterians converted relatively small numbers of Mexican people. Hendrickson stresses that conversion to Protestantism can be a double-edged sword, hastening integration into mainstream American Protestant norms, but can also "alienate one from one's Catholic family" (p. 91). Evangelical churches, including Pentecostalism, draw in a greater number of Latinos. Much of the early history is truly a "phenomenon of the borderlands" (p. 111).

Mexican American Religions is well suited for college teaching with its brief chapters of uniform length. Hendrickson punctuates the book with well-chosen quotations from primary sources that can generate fruitful class discussions. Each chapter concludes with a one-page "Religion in practice" section—a quick dive into illustrative topics, ranging from New Mexican *penitentes* and colonial Mexican nuns, to Cesar Chavez's marches-cum-pilgrimages and song traditions of evangelical *cristianos*.

Standing at the fruitful crossroads of history and religious studies, this book can serve as a textbook for religious studies, history of American religion, or for coursework in pastoral ministry. I strongly recommend *Mexican American Religions* for clergy and other professionals needing a primer on Mexican Americans and religion. The book offers a thoughtful review of the scholarship and an up-to-date bibliography for further reading.

Albion College DEBORAH E. KANTER

Notes and Comments

Association News

2022 ACHA Prize and Award Winners:

The ACHA is pleased to announce several awards and is grateful for the diligent work of the judges this year.

The ACHA awarded three Research and Writing Grants for Summer/Fall 2022: Christine Hwang (University of Michigan), Daniel Rietze (Brown University), and Jorge Ivan Puma Crespo (University of Notre Dame).

The John Tracy Ellis Dissertation Award assists a graduate student working on some aspect of the history of the Catholic Church. Richard Yoder, doctoral candidate at Pennsylvania State University, is this year's winner for his dissertation, "Unorthodox Flesh: Gender, Religious Convulsions, and Charismatic Knowledge in Early Modern France."

The Cyprian Davis, O.S.B. Prize recognizes works in progress that promise to make significant contributions to the study of the Black Catholic experience. The prize is awarded in conjunction with the Cushwa Center at the University of Notre Dame. This year's winner, announced in March 2022, is Julia Gaffield, Associate Professor of History at William and Mary for her book project, "The Abandoned Faithful: Sovereignty, Diplomacy, and Religious Jurisdiction After the Haitian Revolution."

The Helen and Howard R. Marraro Prize in Italian History is given annually to the author of a book that is judged by a committee of experts to be the most distinguished work dealing with Italian history or Italo-American history or relations that has been published in a preceding twelve-month period. This year's award goes to Margaret Meserve, University of Notre Dame, for *Papal Bull: Print, Politics, and Propaganda in Renaissance Rome*, published by Johns Hopkins University Press.

The John Gilmary Shea Prize and the Peter Guilday Prize have not yet been announced.

2022 ACHA Awards of Distinction:

Distinguished Teaching: Kristy Nabhan-Warren, Professor, V.O. and Elizabeth Kahl Figge Chair in Catholic Studies, The University of Iowa

Distinguished Scholarship: Caroline Walker Bynum, Professor Emerita, Institute for Advanced Study

Distinguished Service: Institute for Black Catholic Studies, Xavier University of Louisiana

ACHA 2023 Annual Meeting Registration

The 103rd ACHA Annual Meeting will be held in conjunction with the AHA Annual Meeting January 5–7, 2023 at the Loews Philadelphia Hotel. Registration is possible through the ACHA website (https://achahistory.org/philadelphia 2023/) or by e-mailing Charles T. Strauss, ACHA Executive Secretary-Treasurer, at cstrauss@achahistory.org.

The ACHA tradition of remembering our colleagues who have passed away this year will continue at the closing liturgy on Saturday, January 7, 2023 at 6:00 PM at Old St. Mary's Church, 252 S. 4th Street. Please send names for this remembrance to cstrauss@achahistory.org.

Mount St. Mary's University CHARLES T. STRAUSS

ACHA Election Results:

As the convener for the elections board for the American Catholic Historical Association, I would like to thank all the candidates who ran in this year's election and made this such a strong field. It is my pleasure to welcome three new members to the ACHA's Executive Council. Dr. Karen Park is Associate Professor of Theology and Religious Studies at St. Norbert College. Dr. Tuan Hoang is Associate Professor at Pepperdine University, where he teaches in history, humanities, Great Books, and American Studies. Our graduate student representative, Sofia Maurette, joins us from the University of Maryland, where she is a Ph.D. candidate in the Spanish and Portuguese Department. The committee is also excited to announce the next Vice President of the ACHA, Dr. Anthony Smith of the Department of Religious Studies at the University of Dayton. Dr. Smith, who studies cultural constructions of Catholicism(s) in twentieth-century America, recently served as chair of the conference committee for the 2022 ACHA Winter Meeting in New Orleans. I would like to thank the entire Elections Committee, including Kate Dugan of Springfield College, Kyle Roberts, recently appointed Executive Director of the Congregational Library and Archives, and Mike Pasquier of Louisiana State and Vice President of the ACHA, for their work on the committee. We would also like to thank ACHA president Brenna Moore for her work with the committee and, of course, Charles Strauss for doing so much to keep the election running smoothly.

College of the Holy Cross JUSTIN POCHE

CANONIZATIONS

On Octoer 9, 2022 Pope Francis canonized two new saints: St. Artemide Zatti (1880–1950) and St. Giovamnni Battista Scalabrini (1839–1905) in a ceremony at St. Peter's Basilica.

Zatti was born in Boretto, Reggio Emilia, into a poor large family. He had to drop out of school to work to help the family. In 1897 the family emigrated to Argentina to join a relative in the town of Bahia Bianca where the local parish was run by the Salesians of Don Bosco. Artemide worked in a hotel and brick factory. Inspired by the ministry of the Salesians, he entered their novitate in 1900. But he had diffuculty with his studies and in 1901 contracted tuberculosis caring for a priest. Through the intercession of the Blessed Virgin Mary he was cured and in 1911 he became a professed Salesian coadjutor brother, gaining skills as a pharmacist, nurse, and hospital administrator. For forty years he dedicated himself to the care of the sick in Viedma and neighboring areas in central Argentina, personally visiting them and caring for their various needs. After a fall from a ladder, he was diagnosed with liver cancer and died on 15 March 1951. As archbishop of Buenos Aires, Jorge Maria Bergoglio helped advance the cause of his beatification in 2002 and as pope presided over his canonization.

Scalabrini was born in the town of Fino Mornasco near Como in Lombardy, one of eight children. He distinguished himself in school, became a diocesan cleric in 1860, and was ordained a priest in 1863. His bishop appointed him professor of Greek and history at the St. Abundius seminary and later its rector. In 1870 he was made pastor of a parish where he promoted catechesis and lectured on the work of the First Vatican Council. This brought him to the attention of Pius IX who appointed him bishop of Piacenza in 1876. He was an indefatigable pastor, conducting in person five pastoral visitations of his 365 parishes. He was a model shepherd, showing great concern for the poor and for the religious education of the laity. He became deeply concerned for the welfare of Italian emigrants, founding two religious orders to care for them: the Missionaries of St. Charles Borromeo (1887) and the Mission Sisters of St. Charles Borromeo (1895), and the lay Saint Raphael Association (1887). He visited the United States (1901) and Brazil and Argentina (1904) to promote the care of Italian immigrants. He declined promotions to archbishop, patriarch, and cardinal. He had a reputation for holiness and was know as the "Apostle of Migrants." He died in 1905, was beatified in 1997, and canonized in 2022, being dispensed from the requirement of a second miracle.

The Archdiocese of Madrid has begun the diocesan phase of the canonization process for Father Sebastián Gayá, one of the main developers of the Cursillo (short course) in Christianity, an ecclesial movement that had its beginnings in Spain in the 1940s and today has spread throughout the world.

Gayá was born on the island of Mallorca in 1913. After a few years in Argentina, where his parents had emigrated, he returned to Spain in 1926 to pursue his priestly vocation and entered the seminary in Palma de Mallorca. Considered the main person who formulated the Cursillo, Gayá was ordained in the midst of the Spanish Civil War on May 22, 1937. Within the context of Catholic Action, he launched a new method of announcing the Gospel in the 1940s. In the preparatory phase for the Great National Youth Pilgrimage to Santiago de Com-

postela that took place in 1948, other formats of Christian spiritual revival were developed that, adapted and modified, led to the Cursillo in Christianity.

The first Cursillo, certified as such by the Vatican, was held at the Monastery of San Honorato in Mallorca on the weekend of January 7–10, 1949. It was the first of the initial twenty, and, only five years later, 100 Cursillos had been given. Transferred to Madrid in 1957, Gayá recommended that many priests should give the Cursillo, preparing them for the pastoral care of the Spanish emigrant population in those years, a circumstance that led to the international expansion of the Cursillo. In Latin America, the first country to receive this new method of evangelization was Colombia. A decade later it was already present on practically the entire continent. The Cursillo expanded to Europe first in Portugal, Austria, and Italy in 1960 and was brought to Eastern Europe beginning in 1974. The Cursillo came from the United States to the Philippines in 1962. In Africa, the movement has reached countries such as Angola, Mozambique, Tanzania, Nigeria, and Togo. In 2004, the Pontifical Council for the Laity recognized the World Organization of the Cursillo Movement as "a structure for the coordination, promotion, and dissemination of the experience of the Cursillos in Christianity, having the character of a private legal entity" and "the approval of the statute of the aforementioned organization."

"Raise the banner of hope every morning," Gayá encouraged wherever he went. He chose as his priestly motto "I have become all things to all men, that I might by all means save some" (1 Corinthians 9:22). Appointed honorary prelate by the pope in 2005, Gayá died at the age of 94 in Mallorca. His remains rest in the Monastery of San Honorato, where the first Cursillo was given.

RESOURCES AND FELLOWSHIPS

The Texas Catholic Historical Society has created a Facebook page: https://www.facebook.com/TXCatHis. It has been designed and will be maintained by student interns of the University of Texas at Austin and will include archival material, book reviews, a cathedral series, and more. New content will be uploaded weekly. Students and teachers are encouraged to send event information, relevant news stories, or publications.

Catholic Historical Research Center of the the Archdiocese of Philadelphia is featuring an exhibition of photographs taken by Robert Halvey, the freelance photographer of the *Catholic Standard and Times*. The photographs are taken from the Robert and Theresa Halvey Photograph Collection, comprised of approximately 16,000 records, also known as events, that contains an estimated 350,000 negatives total, documenting Catholic life in Philadelphia between 1935 and 1999. In addition the Center is providing maps of the parish boundaries from different points over the history of the archdiocese (1891, 1921, and 1971). The maps are available on line (View the 1971 parish boundary map here: https://www.google.com/maps/d/viewer?mid=1kAuttxjUNIOTogr05zzDB31kB9gq4myC&usp=sharing; View

the 1921 parish boundary map here: https://www.google.com/maps/d/viewer?mid=12hZun1-1hUN1DowqK7ICETiiYl4dIndo&usp=sharing; View the 1891 parish boundary map here: https://www.google.com/maps/d/viewer?mid=1Yhysl8mMehtqFoBYKT5_WX0uHKT4O-pB&usp=sharing). For parish pre-1919 sacramental records, visit https://www.catholicheritagearchive.com/—the records are indexed and keyword searchable.

Sangalli Institute Award for Religious History: in collaboration with the Department of University and Research of the Municipality of Florence, it offers to young Italian and foreign researchers the possibility of publishing two books concerning religious history from the Middle Ages to the Contemporary Era, in an inter-disciplinary and inter-religious perspective. The essays will appear in a dedicated book series of the Firenze University Press. Deadline: November 1, 2022. Visit: https://www.istitutosangalli.it/wp-content/uploads/2022/09/Sangalli-Institute-Award-2022-Call-for-publications.pdf.

The American Philosophical Society has awarded seven long-term APS Library & Museum 2022–23 fellowships, two digital humanities fellowships, and forty short-term fellowships and internships for scholarly research in the history of science, Native American studies, and early American history. Guidelines and access to APS online application portals are available at: www.amphilsoc.org/grants/research and www.amphilsoc.org/grants/fellowships. For more details and up-to-date deadlines for APS Library & Museum fellowships, please email alink@amphilsoc.org.

PUBLICATIONS

The papers presented at the conference of the Internationale Gesellschaft für Konziliengeschichtsforschung that was held in Dresden from September 30 to October 2, 2021, have been published in Heft 1 of Volume 51 (2021) of the *Annales Historiae Conciliorum.* Following the introduction by the organizers of the conference, Johannes Grohe and Thomas Prügl (pp. 1–10) are: "Monks and Monasticism at the Early Ecumenical Councils," by Richard Price (pp. 11–20); "The Reception of Nicaea and the Development of Monasteries under the Arian and Nicene Bishops," by Luise Marion Frenkel (pp. 21–38); "Conciliar Vigilance and Monastic Property in Visigothic Hispania," by Pablo C. Díaz (pp. 39–52); "Consecrated Women, Monks, and Priscillianism in the Hispanic-Roman/SuevicVisigothic Councils," by Alberto Ferreiro (pp. 53–82); "Der Mönch Maximus Confessor (662) und die Autorität von Synoden," by Heinz Ohme (pp. 83–110); "I concili carolingi e la genesi di alcuni trattati anti-eretici. Il caso di Rabano Mauro, Gotescalco e Ratramno di Corbie," by Lukasz Zak (pp. 111–32); "Il ruolo dei monaci al concilio di Pisa del 1135," by Filippo Forlani (pp. 133–58), and "Generalkapitel der Orden und Konzilien im Mittelalter. Ein struktureller Vergleich," by Gert Melville (pp. 139–71).

"Building Bridges and Paving the Way: Dominicans at the Frontiers of Catholic Christianity" is the theme of Volume XL (2022) of *Dissertationes Histor-*

icae, published by the Institutum Historicum Ordinis Prædicatorum (Angelicum University Press, Rome). The editors are Viliam Štefan Dóci, O.P., and Thomas Prügl, with the collaboration of Gabriel Jordan Theis, O.P. Following the editors' introduction (pp. 9–18) are "Albert the Great on Aristotelian Political Vocabulary: Three Examples from the *Commentarium in octo libros politicorum Aristotelis,*" by Andrea Colli (pp. 21–38); "Ordnung und Anzahl der Tugenden: Thomas von Aquin als Brücke zwischen Aristotelischer und moderner Tugendethik," by Kathi Beier (pp. 39–56); "Űber das Denken hinausdenken. Die henologische Űberwindung der Metaphysik bei Berthold von Moosburg," by Martina Roesner (pp. 57–76); "Der Dominikanerorden und die 'Bosnische Kirche' im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert im historischen Kontext," by Petar Vrankić (pp. 77–129); "Francisco de La Cruz OP (ca. 1529–1578): 'Prophet' einer neuen Christenheit in der neuen Welt und erstes Opfer der Inquisition in Lima," by Mariano Delgado (pp. 129–48); "Physical Body Culture as Part of the Education of the Youth: A 'Cross-Frontier' Apostolate by the Dominicans in France and beyond (ca. 1850–1950)," by Dries Vanysacker (pp. 149–66); "Dominican Parishes in the Province of Colombia: A Matter of Discussion and Misunderstanding between French and Colombian Friars in the Period 1938–1949," by Juan Francisco Correa Higuera, O.P. (pp. 167–82); "Die Inkarnationstheologie von Marie-Dominique Chenu (1895–1990)—Dogma und Pastoral diesseits und jenseits der Grenzen der 'Chrétienté'," by Michael Quisinsky (pp. 183–204); "At the Frontiers of Dialogue: The Contribution of Remi Hoeckman OP to Ecumenical and Jewish-Christian Relations," by Anton Milh, O.P. (pp. 205–28); and "The 'Muslim tradition' of the Dominican Order," by Jean Jacques Pérennès, O.P. (pp. 229–42).

The *Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique* has presented three articles under the heading "De la cathèdre aux cathedrals" in its issue for October-December, 2021 (Volume CXXII, Number 4). After a *liminaire* by Robert Le Gall, "La cathèdre de l'évêque" (pp. 5–7) are "La cathédrale, cœur spirituel du diocèse. Approche canonique," by Éric Besson (pp. 9–26); "Quelques réflexions autour du chevet de la cathédrale Saint-Étienne de Toulouse," by Christophe Balagna (pp. 27–56); and "Huysmans, la cathédrale de Chartres et la littérature (ecclésiastique) du XIX^{e} siècle," by Gaël Prigent (pp. 57–82).

A *dossier* organized by Florian Gallon, Yoan Mattalia, and Isabelle Réal on "Le monachisme féminin dans l'Europe Méridionale au Moyen Âge" has been published in the issue for July–December, 2021 (Volume 133) of *Annales du Midi.* The articles are divided into three sections after an introduction by Isabelle Réal: I. Le monachisme féminin au haut Moyen Âge: Italie, péninsule Ibérique, Midi de la Gaule: Eleonora Destefanis, "Monastères féminins vie économique et culture matérielle au haut Moyen Âge (VI^{e}–X^{e} siècle): un apercu sur le cas italien" (pp. 313–316); Florian Gallon, "Les femmes au monastère dans la péninsule Ibérique du haut Moyen Âge: forms de vie sexuée et cohabatation sexuelle" (pp. 337–62); Isabelle Réal, "Le monachisme féminin dans le Midi de la Gaule au très haut Moyen Âge (V^{e}–début VIII^{e} siècle)" (pp. 363–396); II. Topographie et architecture des monastères féminins: Christian Geensbeitel, "Topographie et architecture des

monastères féminins en Aquitaine (XI^{e}–XIII^{e} siècle): un dossier lacunaire" (pp. 397–424); Claude Andrault-Schmitt, "La matérialisation de la subordination et de le stricte cloture à Coyroux d'Obazine: XII^{e} ou XIII^{e} siècle?" (pp. 425–48); Haude Morvan, " Une architecture monastique au féminin: les dominicaines et les clarisses dans le Sud-Ouest de la France au Moyen Âge" (pp. 449–484); III. Les monastères de femmes: des affaires de famille": Cécile Treffort, "De Radegonde à Audégarde: les premières fondations monastiques féminins d'Aquitaine du Nord (VI^{e}–début du XI^{e} siècle)" (pp. 485–508); Yoan Mattalia, "Beaulieu, une maison féminin de l'Ordre de l'Hôpital de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem dans le diocèse de Cahors (XIII^{e}–XIV^{e} siècles)" (pp. 509–534); and Mèlanie Chaillou, "Sous la garde des nonnes: le cimetière privilégié de la 'tour des Lautrec' dans l'abbaye de Vielmur (XIII^{e}–XV^{e} siècle)" (pp. 535–562).

The eighth centenary of the Franciscan presence in Portugal is commemorated in thirteen articles in the issue of *Itinerarium* for January–June, 2018 (Volume LXIV).

"1622–2022, IV Centenario di Fondazione della Congregazione per l'Evangelizzazione dei Popoli" is celebrated in three articles in the first number for 2022 (Volume LXV) of *Urbaniana University Journal*: Roberto Regoli, "Lo stato dell'arte degli studi sulla Congregazione di Propaganda Fide tra XIX e XX secolo" (pp. 217–250); Mariano Delgado, "Josef Schmidlin und die Propaganda: von der Festschrift zur Dreihundertjahrfeier (1922) zum Konflikt" (pp. 252–262); and Mario L. Grignani, "Unità, universalità ed efficacia. Il progetto di riorganizzazione dell'*Opera della Propagazione della Fede* discusso a Propaganda Fide il 12 gennaio 1920" (pp. 263–310).

Obituaries

The Rev. Thomas A. Lynch
(1966–2022)

The Reverend Thomas A. Lynch, a priest of the Archdiocese of New York and a longtime member of the American Catholic Historical Association, died on April 28, 2022, after a long illness. Father Lynch was 55.

Born in the Bronx, New York, Father Lynch earned bachelor's degrees in Spanish and philosophy from Manhattan College, the Bronx. In 1988, the future-Father Lynch entered Saint Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie, Yonkers, New York, earning an M.Div, as well as an MA in theology (Church history). Ordained to the priesthood by the late John Cardinal O'Connor on May 9, 1992, Father Lynch was assigned as parochial vicar to Holy Family Church, the Bronx. The cardinal assigned Father Lynch to graduate studies at the Catholic University of America beginning in the fall of 1994, where he studied under Msgr. Robert F. Trisco and Nelson H. Minnich. Father Lynch focused his studies and research upon Francis Cardinal Spellman (1889–1967), sixth archbishop of New York.

In 1998, Cardinal O'Connor appointed Fr. Lynch professor of Church history and later director of pastoral formation at Saint Joseph's Seminary until 2006. From 2006 to 2007, Father Lynch served as administrator of Nativity Church, New York City. Father Lynch was subsequently assigned as pastor of Our Lady of Angels Parish, the Bronx, Immaculate Heart of Mary Parish, Scarsdale, New York,

and in 2020, named pastor of Holy Family-St. Gregory the Great Parish, New York City.

In July, 2012, the Bishop of Raleigh, the Most Reverend Michael Francis Burbidge, appointed Father Lynch to the Historical Commission of the Cause for the Beatification and Canonization of the Servant of God Father Thomas Frederick Price. Father Price was the first native-born priest ordained for service in North Carolina and later became a co-founder of the Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America (Maryknoll). He died in China in 1919. Father Lynch attended meetings of the commission in Raleigh and at the Maryknoll headquarters in the State of New York and contributed to the work of the commission that was completed when the diocesan phase of the Cause was concluded in March, 2018. All the findings were submitted to the Congregation (now Dicastery) for the Causes of Saints.

Father Lynch possessed that unique gift of combining scholarship with pastoral solicitude. Beloved among the priests and people of the Archdiocese of New York and beyond, Father Lynch formed countless future New York priests and guided souls with mercy, quiet kindness, and an intense joy, even in the midst of great suffering.

Father Lynch is survived by five brothers. His mother Margaret Lynch died on April 30, 2022—two days after the death of Father Lynch.

Father Lynch was buried in the family plot at Gate of Heaven Cemetery, Hawthorne, New York.

"May you live in peace this day,
may your home be with God in Zion,
with Mary, the virgin Mother of God,
with Joseph, and all the angels and saints."

(Prayer of Commendation, Pastoral Care of the Sick: Rites of Anointing and Viaticum, 1983).

Hyde Park, New York THE REV. MICHAEL P. MORRIS

[credit: Georgetown University, Office of Mission and Ministry]

The Rev. John W. O'Malley, S.J.
(1927–2022)

John W. O'Malley, S.J., died on September 11, 2022, in Baltimore, aged 95, after a brief illness. A scholar of Renaissance humanism, Fr. O'Malley numbers, internationally, among the most distinguished church historians of his generation. Reflecting both his scholarly accomplishment and his talented commitment to the *sodalitas litterarum*, he held the presidencies of this journal's sponsoring organization (1990) and of the Renaissance Society of America (1998–2000). He was an elected member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (1995), the American Philosophical Society (1997), the Accademia di San Carlo (2001), and corresponding fellow of the Pontifical Committee for Historical Sciences (2012). Both societies of which he was president offered him their lifetime achievement awards (2012 and 2005, respectively), as did the Society for Italian Historical Studies (2002). In 2016, the graduate school of Harvard University awarded him its highest prize for scholarly achievement by a graduate, the Centennial Medal.

Fr. O'Malley was born in 1927 in Tiltonsville, Ohio, the only child of Charles O'Malley, a candy merchant, and his wife Elizabeth. His entrance into the Jesuit order in 1946 was delayed by a semester after his high school graduation so that he could remediate his deficient Latin, and he was ordained a priest in 1959. He earned his doctorate in 1965 at Harvard University under the direction of Myron P. Gilmore with a dissertation on church reform in the thought of the Augustinian churchman and Renaissance humanist Giles of Viterbo. Archival research into Giles's thought brought him to Rome while the Second Vatican Council was in session, and this exposure to the council shaped his life-long passion for church

councils and reform, historical and contemporary. He participated in two of his order's General Congregations (1975, 1983), both of which he attended with Jorge Mario Bergoglio, the future Pope Francis, and the latter of which brought the papal intervention into the order's governance to an end. His principal faculty appointments were at the University of Detroit (1965–1979), Weston Jesuit School of Theology (1979–2006), and Georgetown University (2006–2020).

Fr. O'Malley's name appears as author on the covers of twelve monographs and five volumes of his own collected works. He edited or co-edited eleven additional volumes. He penned over 150 articles, both scholarly and popular, innumerable book reviews, and a memoir. His name graces the front matter of a book series he founded and a Festschrift dedicated to him. A full review of his scholarly contribution cannot be achieved in a single tribute; here it will be epitomized with reference to four major scholarly themes. First, built on the groundwork laid in his study of Giles, Fr. O'Malley's second monograph, *Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome* (1979), investigated sacred oratory at the papal court in the decades on either side of the year 1500 according to variations in style that he identified as thematic and panegyric. *Praise and Blame* underscored fundamental associations between reforming agenda and rhetorical style. The twenty pages of its second chapter, which elucidate the epideictic sermon according to six characteristics, exemplify hallmarks of Fr. O'Malley's own expository style, consistently incisive and lightsome such as is rarely found simultaneously in academic prose. *Praise and Blame* also planted seeds that came to later fruition in *Four Cultures of the West* (2004) and constructed the barbican from which he assayed the three councils—Trent, Vatican I, and Vatican II—in courses he taught for decades to Jesuit scholastics and other students at Weston and in the writing that occupied him especially in late career. Indeed, his last published article, appearing in the Jesuit periodical *America* this past June, was on the history of papal power in relation to these three councils.

Second, fourteen years separate *Praise and Blame* from his next monograph *The First Jesuits* (1993). This work situated the foundations of the Society of Jesus in the context of a developing Renaissance culture, which both shaped and was shaped by the burgeoning order. The work shattered old chestnuts about the order's inception in relation to the Counter-Reformation, a term whose usefulness to describe Catholicism in the sixteenth century, he later argued in *Trent and All That* (2002), was fundamentally inadequate. It further charted with new precision why, how, and in what form the Jesuits became involved in the schoolwork for which the order had not been founded but became so renowned. The American Philosophical Society awarded *The First Jesuits* its prestigious Jacques Barzun Prize in Cultural History. The monograph's successful reception inspired Fr. O'Malley, with colleagues, to organize two highly influential conferences at Boston College, which—with their subsequent volumes of papers, *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts* (1999, 2006)—demonstrated decisively that "Jesuit Studies" was a research field with interdisciplinary attraction and significant scholarly implications.

Third, Fr. O'Malley's returned again and again over his career to the history of the arts in Christianity. He broke into the field in 1983 with his supportive

response to Leo Steinberg's then provocative interpretation of the *ostentatio genitalium Christi* in Renaissance art. One more recent, edited volume representative of his artistic interest is *Art, Controversy, and the Jesuits: The* Imago primi saeculi *(1640)* (2015). The *Imago* itself was produced by Flemish Jesuits to celebrate the centenary of the order's founding. Fr. O'Malley explained in his introduction its value to research was not only as "an 'image' of the first century of the Jesuit order," but also as "an image of baroque literary, artistic, and religious culture at its height." Fr. O'Malley was especially gratified by his collaboration with the press at St. Joseph's University on the "Early Modern Catholicism and the Visual Arts Series," in which the *Imago* appeared and which includes to date seventeen other volumes.

Fourth, Fr. O'Malley retired from Weston in 2006 and agreed to a three-year transitional appointment at Georgetown. The transitional period lasted fourteen years and saw the publication of seven monographs and two edited volumes. These are all the works of a senior scholar, the harvest of decades of research, analysis, reflection, and teaching. They are all of course deeply learned, but also in each case he made his incisive points accessible to a broader readership with the clarity of his prose. What one newspaper reviewer enthused of one obtains of them all, "he tells a good story." Most deal with church councils and the papacy, two with the Jesuit order. He himself would name *What Happened at Vatican II?* (2008), the first of five books he published in his ninth decade of life, as the most important. Fr. O'Malley's answer to the question he posed in the title—put simply, that a lot happened—had two dimensions: one had to do with the content of its declarations; the other, with the way it expressed itself, that is, its style. In both respects, by Fr. O'Malley's reckoning, Vatican II did much that was historically distinctive, and the work can be taken as an expression of his professional sympathy with Giuseppe Alberigo's project, foregrounding as it does discontinuities between the council and its predecessors.

While his academic positions allowed his direction of only a few dissertations, Fr. O'Malley was much sought after as a committee member by dissertators across the country and as a director of many master's theses at Weston. He was so sought after not only because of his erudition but also because he was so encouraging. His infamous question to students and colleagues alike, So what? was always delivered with a disarming smile. That question, with the discerning conversation in which it was embedded, helped advance the projects of many junior and senior colleagues alike.

Fr. O'Malley's appeal to colleagues and students sprang from more than his unsurpassed scholarship and his cheerful collegiality. Quite simply he enjoyed life, he enjoyed people, and to be around him was enjoyable in all respects. Italophile to the core, he would surely approve its being said of him that he was *un uomo che sapeva apprezzare egualmente il raffinato e il triviale*. On the one side, his leisure time was arranged around the seasonal offerings of the ballet, the opera, and exhibitions of fine art in Boston, New York, and Washington. Puccini and Mozart were his personal favorites at their art. On the other, he had a weakness for vampire films;

he was merciless to opponents at the poker table; and he impishly savored the coarse, comradely banter of the regulars—Chesapeake Bay watermen all—at his favorite barbershop in Annapolis. These touches of humanity, this enthusiasm for life, made him not only esteemed but also cherished by those who knew him.

In his final days, he consoled distressed friends, "It is time to move to the next chapter." Two art reproductions that hung on the walls of his rooms first in Cambridge, then in Washington, and finally in Baltimore, help us unpack those unfussy, closing remarks and teach us something still more about this self-described "archenemy of the superfluous word." The artworks were Hans Holbein the Younger's *Erasmus of Rotterdam* (*scribens* (1523)), which hung over his desk, and the detail of Christ's visage from Piero della Francesca's *Resurrection* (1460), which hung over his bed. The first—his favorite humanist, bar none, in profile—recalls so much of what Fr. O'Malley's life as author and teacher has been, and the second offers a sign of where he hoped his life was headed. As we regard Fr. O'Malley's passing, we may thus imagine that as Clio weeps, the angels surely rejoice.

Georgetown University DAVID J. COLLINS, S.J.

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AMERICAN

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Other Books Received

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Barett, James R. *History from the Bottom Up and the Inside Out: Ethnicity, Race, and Identity in Working-Class History.* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press. 2017. Pp. xx, 283. $27.95, paperback.)

Benders, Alison M. *Recollecting America's Original Sin: A Pilgrimage of Race and Grace.* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press. 2022. Pp. xii, 158. $19.95 paperback.)

Betzer, Sarah. *Animating the Antique: Sculptural Encounter in the Age of Aesthetic Theory.* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press. 2021. Pp. xiv, 258. $124.95.)

Chia, Edmund Kee-Fook. *World Christianity Encounters World Religions: A* Summa *of Interfaith Dialogue.* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press. 2018. Pp. xx, 252. $29.95 paperback.)

Declerck, Leo. *Mgr. J. Willebrands et la Conférence Catholique pour les Questions Œcuméniques: Ses Archives à Chevetogne.* (Leuven: Peeters. 2015. Pp. 372. €56.00.)

Del Noce, Augusto, and Carlo Lancellotti, eds. *The Age of Secularization.* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017. Pp. xxx, 270. $34.95, paperback.)

D'Emilio, John. *Memories of a Gay Catholic Boyhood: Coming of Age in the Sixties.* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press. 2022. Pp. xii, 208. $29.95.)

Drapac, Vesna, and Gareth Pritchard. *Resistance and Collaboration in Hitler's Empire.* [Studies in European History.] (London: Palgrave Macmillan. 2017. Pp. xx, 208. $29.65, paperback.) In Chapter 6, "Beyond Resistance and Collaboration," there is a section on "The Catholic Church in Hitler's Empire" (pp. 138-61).

Faggioli, Massimo. *The Apostolic Constitution "Preach the Gospel": Praedicate Evangelium.* With an appraisal of Francis's Reform of the Roman Curia. (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press. 2022. Pp. lvi, 116. $19.95, paperback.)

Hollenbach, David, S.J. *Humanity in Crisis: Ethical and Religious Response to Refugees.* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press. 2019. Pp. x, 198. $39.95, paperback.)

Kalisch, Hannes, and Ernesto Unruh, eds. *Don't Cry: The Enlhet History of the Chaco War.* Translated by Nicholas Regan. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2022. Pp. xx, 290. $39.95 paperback.)

Killen, Patricia O'Connell, and Mark Silk, eds. *The Future of Catholicism in America.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 2019. Pp. xvi, 368. $35.00 paperback.)

Lahner, Julian, Marion Romberg, and Thomas Wallnig, eds. *Kirche und Kloster zurischen Aufklärung und administrativen Reformen. Church and Monasteries between Enlightenment and Administrative Reforms.* [Das Achtzehnte Jahrhundert und Österreich, Band 36]. (Vienna and Cologne: Böhlau Verlag. 2021. Pp. 297. €45.00.) Aufsätze: Martin Scheutz, "Klosteraufhebungen in den österreichischen Erblanden unter Joseph II. im Blickwinkel von Material und Spatial Turn—ein Forschungsdesiderat" (pp. 13–35); Reinhard Ferdinand Nießner, "'Archytas von Tirol!' Der Ex-Jesuit Franz von Zallinger und die Katholische Aufklärung" (pp. 37–64); Maria Teresa Fattori, "Das Pfarramt nach dem Trienter Konzil zwischen Meritokratie und klerikalen Status aus Sicht der römischen Kurie" (pp. 65–82); Dennis Schmidt "'Bedauernswürdige Freunde, wenn ihr die Wohlthat Josephs nicht erkennet.' (Die Diözese Seckau im josephinischen Jahrzehnt)" (pp. 83–102); Markus Debertol, "Konjunkturen, eines Feindbildes: Die Mönchssatire 'Monachologia' und ihre Nachleben" (pp. 103–127); Christine Schneider, "Die Aufhebung der Wiener Frauenklöster—Aus der Perspektive der Betroffenen" (pp. 129–143); Serena Luzzi, "In Praise of the Sacristan Prince, or: Setting out to Secularize Eighteenth-Century Italy" (pp. 145–160).

McCarten, Anthony. *The Pope: Francis, Benedict, and the Decision that Shook the World.* (New York: Flatiron Books. 2019. Pp. xxii, 234. $26.99.)

O'Connor, David. *A Priestly Pilgrimage: The Experiences of a Diocesan Priest in Times of Change and Challenge.* (Natchez, MS: Ronnoco Press. 2021. Pp. 396. $19.95 paperback.)

Sandow, Robert M., ed. *Contested Loyalty: Debates over Patriotism in the Civil War North.* (New York: Fordham University Press. 2018. Pp. xii, 314. $65.00.) Religious aspects are treated by Sean A. Scott in "'Patriotism Will Save Neither You Nor Me': William S. Plumber's Defense of an Apolitical Pulpit" (pp. 168-97), and by Ryan W. Keating in "'All of That Class That Infest N. Y.': Perspective on Irish American Loyalty and Patriotism in the Wake of the New York City Draft Riots" (pp. 239–67).

Spagnolo, Carlo. *Il voto apolitico: Il sogno tedesco della rappresentanza moderna (1815–1918).* [Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento, Monografie, 68.] (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino. 2017. Pp. 302. € 26,00 paperback.)

Van Zeller, Dom Hubert. *We Work While the Light Lasts.* New Edition. (Stamullen: The Cenacle Press at Silverstream Priory. 2022. Pp. xiv, 214. $€14,95 paperback. First published in 1950.)