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CONFRATERNITIES AND MENDICANT ORDERS: THE DYNAMICS OF LAY AND CLERICAL BROTHERHOOD IN RENAISSANCE BOLOGNA

BY

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Andreas Allé was in deep trouble. A long-time brother in the Bolognese confraternity of San Domenico, he had been promoted to syndic when that confraternity merged with the confraternity of the Crocesegnati in 1494. The merger had been in the works for almost a decade, and had gained at least tacit approval from the prior of the Dominican friary and the local inquisitor. In the event, however, a new inquisitor proved unwilling to sanction the merger. The lay brothers had seen three inquisitors come and go since starting their merger talks, and so went ahead with the plan, hoping perhaps that a new inquisitor might see things their way. But there was to be no new inquisitor for twenty years, and the incumbent, Giovanni Cagnati, certainly did not see things their way. The brunt of his disciplinary action fell on Andreas Allé. While the confraternity ratified Allé s authority, the inquisitor issued orders removing him from his post. When Allé refused the inquisitor's demand that he resign, he was summoned before the curia in Rome; ignoring the summons earned him excommunication in November, 1496. The curial court subsequently found in favor of the inquisitor's assertion of authority and so cleared the way for reversing the merger in

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1497.' Why did this confrontation happen, and what might it tell us of the dynamic between mendicants and the confraternities gathered under their auspices?

This paper will look at the dynamic in four ways: first, a brief overview of the spiritual ethos and membership procedures of the confraternities to demonstrate how closely they modeled themselves on the mendicant orders. Second, a brief review of relations between confraternities and mendicant orders during the former's initial expansion in Bologna in the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Third, a closer look at confraternal and mendicant relations through the fifteenth century, when mendicant control is said to have expanded. Finally, comparisons will be made to the situation elsewhere in Italy and in Northern Europe.

The standard source for examining the relationship between lay confraternities and mendicant orders in Italy is Gilles Gérard Meersseman's magisterial three-volume work, Ordo fraternitatis: confraternité e pietà dei laici nel mondo medioevo, published in 1977. Meersseman's close study of lay-mendicant relations is based on extensive archival work but is limited to the Dominican order and the confraternities sponsored and supervised by it. A review of the situation in Bologna and comparisons to other Italian and European centers show that there was no single dynamic between lay and clerical brothers but that different religious orders varied significantly in their relations with confraternities. In Bologna the most amicable relations occurred with those orders which accommodated themselves to two chief characteristics of confraternities—a local focus and lay self-direction—and so reduced

'The folio of records regarding the case is contained among the records of the company founded to succeed the Compagnia della Croce: ASB Dem, Compagnia dei Crocesegnati, ms. 3/6669 (H). According to these documents, the union was first negotiated on July 4, 1485. On June 12, 1494, Andreas Allé succeeded the Crocesegnati syndic Ser Battista de Podio, and on December 17 the final agreement of union was notarized. His authority was confirmed by the newly unified company on January 3 and May 14, 1495. The first Inquisitorial order removing him from his post came on October 30, 1496, the second on November 3. He was summoned to the curial court in Rome on November 5, and excommunicated on November 12. On November 15 the unified company was formally disbanded and the new "Societas Crucis" was erected under the Inquisitor's authority and with possession of the goods formerly held by the earlier confraternity; regrettably, there is no early matriculation list which would help determine how many members of the earlier company were re-enrolled in its successor. Meersseman incorrectly dates the first union agreement as September 17, 1484, and the erection of the new company as August 4, 1497: Gilles Gérard Meersseman, Ordo fraternitatis: Confraternité e pietà nel mondo medioevo (Rome, 1977), pp. 617-621.

their expectations of what confraternities could do for the mendicant house. While all the mendicant orders represented in Bologna had some relationship with lay confraternities, this paper will look only at the Dominicans, the Franciscans, and the Augustinians, since these are the only orders for which there is sufficient documentation from the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries.

First, the spiritual ethos and membership procedures of the confraternities.[2] Throughout this period, the confraternal spiritual ethos was one of regulated private and communal worship which aimed to counter the temptations of the world and to structure a life characterized by inward meditation and outward charity. Confraternal statutes laid out a rhythm of private prayer and self-examination aimed at sanctifying the day and protecting the confratello from evil; these were sometimes modified according to members' education, station, and literacy.[3] In weekly services together, members heard the divine office and engaged in mutual confession of their violations of the brotherhood's statutes. On a monthly or quarterly basis, they made confession to the company priest and received communion from him. At key points in the liturgical calendar, they prayed for dead brothers and performed acts of charity in the broader community. In very general terms, confraternities emphasized either praise or penitence; praising groups were called laudesi after their practice of singing hymns or lauds in honor of Mary, Christ, and the Saints. Penitential groups were called battuti or disciplinan after their exercise of flagellation in public processions or private services in confraternal oratories.

Confraternal membership procedures sought to incorporate the advantages of communal life for those who could not or would not take monastic vows. Mutual support and mutual discipline could be had without these vows, but only if members voluntarily policed themselves quite strictly. Penitential confraternities most closely followed the mendicant model. Those seeking admission had to win nomination, pass an examination of their morals and spiritual condition, and gain the support of a majority of existing members. This allowed them to

[2]At this general level there is little that distinguishes Bolognese confraternal piety and organization from that found elsewhere in Italy and described in some recent published works: Christopher Black, Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century (Cambridge, 1989). James Banker, Death in the Community: Memorialization and Confraternities in an Italian Commune in the Late Middle Ages (Athens, Georgia, 1988). Ronald F. E. Weissman, Ritual Brotherhood in Renaissance Florence (New York, 1982).

[3]Nicholas Terpstra, "Women in the Brotherhood: Gender, Class, and Politics in Renaissance Bolognese Confraternities," Renaissance and Reformation, 26 (1990), 193-212.

enter a novitiate in the confraternity lasting from six to twelve months, after which the whole procedure was repeated. The novitiate allowed both sides to test mutual compatibility and was far from being a formality; in one fifteenth-century Bolognese confraternity fewer—often considerably fewer—than fifty percent of novices applied for full membership/ Those who did and were accepted by the confraternity swore an oath to obey the statutes and the padre ordinario, the chief elected official whom one historian has described as "a kind of lay abbot . . . [with] near-omnipotence in both administrative and spiritual matters."5 Members who repeatedly ignored the statutes and officials were warned privately, then publicly, and, if obstinate, were finally expelled from the brotherhood. Extant Bolognese matriculation lists show that some fifteenth-century confraternities commonly expelled twenty to twenty-five percent of their members for offenses ranging from insubordination to negligence. John Henderson estimates that one fourteenth-century Florentine confraternity expelled approximately sixteen percent of its members annually, most of them relatively recent recruits, and most dropped for negligence.6

The lay brothers' desire to imitate the spiritual exercises and disciplined community of the mendicants is at the heart of the dynamic between the two, and should cure us of any tendency to see confraternities as merely mutual aid societies offering death benefits to artisans. Yet, however strong the pull of mendicant spirituality was, it was shaped by an opposite force. Confratelli did not want to become friars or even tertiaries; of the 416 young people who became members of

'The company in question was S. Girolamo di Miramonte. Its "Libro della Compagnia" (ASB Dem, Compagnia di S. Girolamo di Miramonte, ms. 5/6722 #1) notes by name all those who became novices and those who later took profession as full members of the company. See Tables 3·1 and 32 in my book, Lay Confraternities and Civic Religion in Renaissance Bologna, published by Cambridge University Press in 1995.

'Rab Hatfield, "The Compagnia de' Magi" fournal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 33 (1970), 125.

"SS. Girolamo ed Anna recruited 106 members in the 1440s and expelled 25 by the end of the decade (23.6%);it recruited 67 from 1492 to 1501, and expelled 17 of these by 1517 (25.3%): ASB Codici Miniati, ms. 65, cc. lr-7v. From 1501 through 1555 it took in members at a lower rate, but this had little impact on expulsions; of 151 members recruited, 29 were expelled (19.2%): ASB Dem, S. Girolamo di Miramonte, ms. 5/6722 # 1. Between 1518 and 1570, S. Maria della Carita recruited 146 members, of whom 46 were subsequently expelled (31.5%): BBA Gozz ms. 210 #6. John Henderson, "Piety and Charity in Late Medieval Florence: Religious Confraternities from the Middle of the Thirteenth Century to the Late Fifteenth Century "(Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1983), ? 90.

the adolescents' company of S. Girolamo di Miramonte from the I440's into the early sixteenth century, only eighteen (or 4.3%) became friars.7 For these laymen, the mendicant ethos was combined with a guild ethos which emphasized self-determination and civic solidarity. From the beginning, lay brothers seemed determined to regulate their own affairs, and apparently they preferred to work with those mendicant orders which accommodated that.8

When was that beginning? While allowing for the flexible character and spiritual goals of all medieval corporations, we can nonetheless say that confraternities first emerge as distinct entities in Bologna in the mid-thirteenth century. I would follow here Meersseman's three criteria, namely, that confraternities be defined as organic societies made up of the people of a particular place, such as a city or parish, gathering at regular intervals for spiritual worship, and governed by their own officials under their own statutes. This definition distinguishes the confraternities from more far-flung fratellanze bound to monastic or mendicant congregations by letters of confraternity" but seldom, if ever, meeting together; from guilds and armed societies; and from the prayer unions and informal worship groups organized and supervised by some religious houses.9

All of Bologna's mendicant orders were involved in assisting confraternities in the mid-thirteenth century. The Communal Statutes of 1259 note the existence of two lay Marian societies, one based in the monastery of S. Domenico, and the other at S. Francesco. The statutes identified the Dominican group as an auxiliary arm of the Inquisition; the Franciscan one was likely a gathering of laudesi, since the order was particularly active across Italy in promoting the affective spirituality of these vernacular songs.'" In October, 1260, a penitential move-

Membership in S. Girolamo di Miramonte was restricted to those between ages 14 and 18. Of those who joined religious orders, 9 joined the Canons Regular of S. Salvatore, 5 the Dominicans, 2 the Franciscans, and one the Lateran Canons; one was unspecified. ASB Codici Miniati #65.

"André Vauchez,' Ordo Fraternitatis: Confraternities and Lay Piety in the Middle Ages," The Laity in the Middle Ages: Religious Beliefs and Devotional Practices (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1993), pp. 114-115.

'Meersseman,«/). cit., p. 10.

'"Meersseman believes the Domenico group originated in 1255-56 while two other historians push the date back to 1240-1244. Meersseman, op. cit., p. 1008; Giancarlo Angelozzi, Le confraternité laicali: un esperienza cristiana tra medioevo e età moderna (Brescia, 1978), p. 37; Gennaro Maria Monti, Le confraternité medievali dell'alta e media Italia, vol. I (Venice, 1927), p. 105. For the Franciscan group: Candido Mesini.'La Compagnia di Santa Maria delle Laudi e di S. Francesco di Bologna," Archivum Franciscanum

ment which had begun in Perugia arrived in Bologna; for ten days flagellating men, women, and children processed through the streets, piazze, and churches of the city. The following year a group of them began meeting regularly at S. Giacomo da Savona, the monastery of the newly-formed Augustinian Hermits located just outside the city walls. The Augustinians had little to do with this disciplinati confraternity apart from helping it obtain indulgences. Their solicitude was in part political, as they needed broader civic support to overcome opposition from secular clergy to their plan to transfer the monastery inside the city walls. It appears that the two groups had little relation with each other after the Augustinians moved within the walls in 1267." The Dominicans appear to have sponsored another group of disciplinati in 1262, while new laudesi groups met under Servite and Franciscan sponsorship in 1275 and 1286 respectively. Of these, only the Servite group survived.

After a hiatus lasting a few decades, there was a renewed expansion of confraternities in the early fourteenth century. The largest were laudesi confraternities which recruited members on the basis of the city's four quarters, and which met in and sometimes under the auspices of the quarters' mendicant churches. In the westerly quarter of Porta Stiera a large group began gathering for monthly devotions at S. Francesco sometime shortly before 1317. In Porta Piera to the north, a new group began meeting in the Augustinian church of S. Giacomo. In Porta Ravennate to the east, the Servîtes continued sponsoring a confraternity. The pattern was broken only in the southerly quarter of S. Procolo; no large neighborhood laudesi confraternity gathered in the

Historicum, 52 (1959), 363; Cyrilla Barr, "From Devozione to Rappresentazione: Dramatic Elements in the Holy Week Laude of Assist," in Konrad Eisenbichler (ed), Crossing the Boundaries: Christian Piety and the Arts in Italian Medieval and Renaissance Confraternities (Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1991), pp. 24-26.

I'The secular clergy was by this time already experiencing competition from the Dominicans (arrived 1219) and the Franciscans (arrived 1236). The Augustinians were admitted in 1267, followed by the Carmelites in 1293- Giovanni Ricci, Bologna (Rome, 1980), p. 57. Augusto Vasina, in Autori varii,"Pievi e parrochie in Emilia-Romagna dal XIII al XV secólo," in Pievi e parrochie in Italia nel basso medioevo (sec. XIII-XV): Atti del VI convegno di storia della chiesa in Italia (Rome, 1984), pp. 740-741. The Augustinians provided the confraternity meeting in their church with indulgences from Pope Alexander IV (February, 1261), the Archbishop of Ravenna (March, 1261), the Bishop of Bologna, and the Augustinian order itself (both 1262). Mario Fanti, "GH inizi del movimento dei Disciplinati a Bologna e la confraternité di S. Maria della Vita,' Bolletino della deputazione di storia patria per TUmbria, 46 (1969), 194-196.

church of S. Domenico. S. Procolo was the largest and least populated of the quarters, and attracted a number of flagellant confraternities who orientated their devotions to a number of shrines in the Apennine hills immediately beyond the city walls. Yet so far as we can tell, no confraternities of any description met under Dominican auspices at this time. The Dominican monastery had housed the Inquisition since its inception in 1233, and, according to Lorenzo Paolini, the local friars' vigor in prosecuting heretics had stirred strong resentment and open animosity among the Bolognese through the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[12]

Judging by their statutes, the three confraternities meeting in mendicant churches all had a significant degree of administrative autonomy from their clerical hosts. All took on the name of S. Maria delle Laudi and practiced the frequent public vernacular worship and singing characteristic of laudesi spirituality. All three had a strong civic orientation and soon began operating charitable hostels which demanded a high degree of organization. Since most members were artisans, they invariably adopted the administrative conventions established by contemporary guilds. This underlined their local, lay character, contributed to their longevity, and so distinguished them from the more ephemeral clerically-directed confraternities of the thirteenth century. These three groups all lasted through the course of the century, and there was no significant expansion in the number or memberships of Bolognese confraternities until the early fifteenth century.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century, all the mendicant orders save for the Dominicans had confraternities loosely associated with them. Confraternities expanded rapidly through the century, stimulated by clerics associated with devotional reform movements, and by orders seeking to advance some educational or charitable work. Again, the orders which were most successful were those which accommodated their reform and educational programs to lay brothers' desire for self-determination.

In their preaching and pastoral work, observant friars of all orders emphasized penitence and spiritual discipline. Hence it is not surprising that the confraternities formed or reformed by observants adopted stricter rules for individual and communal life and the penitential exercise of flagellation. A Dominican, Manfredo da Vercelli, established a

[12] Lorenzo Paolini. L'eresia a Bologna fra XIII e XTV secólo, Vol. 1 (Rome, 1975), pp. 5, 78-79.

group of flagellants at S. Domenico in 1418.1? A Franciscan, Bernardino da Siena, reinvigorated one longstanding confraternity around 1430, and inspired the foundation of another two decades later.14 The third, and most influential, cleric was not an observant as such; Nicolo Albergad was prior of the Carthusian monastery outside Bologna, bishop of the city from 1417, and Cardinal of Santa Croce from 1426 until his death in 1443'^ Albergad was a vigorous advocate of contemporary movements of devotional reform such as the cult of St. Jerome and the devotio moderna, which he encountered on numerous diplomatic missions for the papacy to northern Europe." He left a remarkable impact on the devotional patterns of fifteenth-century Bologna. Confraternal reform was only part of a program which included frequent pastoral visits through the diocese, establishing new forms of Marian devotion, introducing the Lateran Canons and the Gesuati into Bologna, and placing a greater emphasis on training both clergy and laity in the fundamentals of Catholic faith. Albergad saw confraternities as vehicles for stimulating lay piety generally, and so he founded or reformed brotherhoods which operated public shrines, conducted major processions in the city, offered catechetical instruction, or operated charitable hostels.'7 Some of these were new, and some were older charitable confra-

'This group may also have had a role in assisting the Inquisitor. ASB Dem 1/6415 #5/1; 7/6421 #3· See also Meersseman, op. cit., pp. 611-614.

|'According to a later company history (which cannot be substantiated by contemporary documents), the brothers of S. Maria della Mezzaratta approached St. Bernardino after he had delivered a course of sermons in Bologna in 1430. Under his direction they took on the devotion to the Holy Name, adopting the YHS symbol which he advocated as an aid to devotion, and adopting the new name of Buon Gesù. ASB Dem, Compagnia di Buon Gesù, ms. 9/7631 #1. AAB Ricuperi Benefician, fase. 665 #4. The old name was not entirely abandoned; revised statutes of 1489 still refer to the "Compagnia di madona sancta Maria da la mezarata dal monte "(BBA Gozz 203 #7).

"Alessandro Macchiavelli, Origine, fondazione e progress! della veneranda compagnia laicale sotto l'ínvocazione de'gloriosi Santi Girolamo ed Anna posta nella via di Bagnomarino (Bologna, 1754), p. 17. Paolo De Totti, Il Beato Nicola Albergati e i suoi tempi (1375-1444) (2 vols; Rome, 1922, 1934). Ludwig Pastor, The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages, 7th edition (London, 1949), 1, 268-269. Denys Hay, The Church in Italy in the Fifteenth Century (Cambridge, 1977), pp. 12,81.

"In a portrait by Jan Van Eyck painted when Albergati was papal legate at the Congress of Arras (1435), the Cardinal was depicted as St. Jerome in his study. Eugene F. Rice, Saint Jerome in the Renaissance (Baltimore, 1985), pp. 109-111.

'The Compagnia di S. Maria degli Angelí (est. ca. 1419) was centered around an image of Mary located on the outer wall of an abandoned church; under Albergati's encouragememj'ratelli organized processions to the annual display of the veil of the Virgin Mary at the nearby church of Santo Stefano, making it more dramatic by adding torches and children dressed as angels and singing laude. The Compagnia dell'Ascensione di Nostro Signore (1426) led processions to the shrine of the Madonna di S. Luca outside the city. The

ternities which had lost their devotional focus. In the latter, Albergad encouraged flagellant subgroups called stretta companies. Members remained part of the larger confraternity, but followed a vita contemplativa of strict devotions and had nothing to do with the vita activa of running the charitable hostel or infirmary." Albergati's model of non-schismatic devotional reform was continued after his death in 1443. Confratelli at S. Francesco initiated a stretta cell in that year and specifically noted the inspiration they had received from Albergad." The Dominicans rewrote the statutes of their confraternity in 1444, hoping to infuse their lay brothers with some of the devotion they had learned upon turning to strict observance in 1427.2" Ten years later two of Bologna's oldest confraternities joined the movement with quite similar sets of devotional exercises enshrined in new stretta statutes.21

Compagnia di S. Girolamo, together with a later offshoot, SS. Girolamo ed Anna, offered catechetical instruction to children by means of a catechism written by Albergati. In 1436 the Compagnia di S. Maria della Morte erected a flagellant stretta subgroup distinct from the larga which ran the confraternal ospedale; Albergati's role in this is unclear, but he imposed a similar division on the Compagnia di S. Maria del Baraccano in 1439. For S. Maria degli Angeli: Cherubino Ghirardacci, Historia di Bologna, Vol. II (Bologna, 1657), pp. 617-618; Giancarlo Roversi, "La Compagnia e la chiesa di S. Maria degli Angeli nella via di 'Truffailmondo," Strenna Storica Bolognese, 12 (1962), 267-298. For the Compagnia dell' Ascensione di Nostra Signore: De Totti, op. cit., 1, 276-277. For S. Girolamo: Giovanni Antonio Vittorio, Origine, fondatione, e progressi della venerabile confraternita di S. Girolamo (Bologna, 1698); Candido Mesini, "La catechesi a Bologna e la prima compagnia della dottrina cristiana fondata dal B. Nicole Albergati,"Apollinaris, 54 (1981), 232-267; Giuseppe Vecchi,"Le sacre rappresentazioni della compagnia dei battuti in Bologna nel secólo ?\?" Atti e memorie della deputazione di storia patria per le province di Romagna, n.s.,Vol. 4 (1951-1953), pp. 181-234. For S. Maria della Morte: BBA Gozz ms. 213, cc. 122'-173v; Mario Fanti,"La confraternita di Santa Maria della Morte e la conforteria dei condannati a Bologna nei secoli XfV e XV7 Quaderni del centro di ricerca di studio sul movimento dei disciplinati, 20 (1978), 49-50. For S. Maria del Baraccano: BBA Gozz ms. 213; BBA Osp ms. 83, c. V, De Totti, op. cit., 1, 283 ?. 1

'"An undated set of statutes which is likely the first statutes of the S. Maria del Baraccano stretta notes that la lore vita fondarono in essi da vita activa a pervenire a vita contemplativa." BBA Osp. ms. 83, c. 1. Similarly, the stretta of S. Francesco professed a desire to "separarci da le cosse mondäne" in their 1443 statutes: BBA B983 c. 57v.

'This group met in a small attic room above the quarters occupied by the larga/laudesi company of S. Francesco in the conventual church of S. Francesco. For the text of its 1443 statutes, with reference to Albergati: BBA B983, c. 55'.

"Meersseman, op. cit., pp. 614-615. Meersseman reprints the reformed statutes on pp. 669-689.

21These stretta cells arose in 1454 within the Compagnia di S. Maria della Vita, which originated in 1261 (statutes reprinted in Angelozzi, op. cit., pp. 118-141), and the Compagnia di S. Maria dei Guarini, which originated in 1298 (statutes in BBA Gozz ms. 210 #11, cc. 169'194v).

The work of Albergati and mendicant preachers suggests that clerics were playing a greater role in confraternal affairs than they had in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. They acted as agents, exemplars, or what might now be called facilitators of what were on the whole consultative or self-generated efforts. Albergati's activist role and wide influence derived both from his ecclesiastical authority and deliberate program and also from his status as a Bolognese citizen of a family long prominent in the city. Moreover, his program of stimulating lay local piety fit both confraternal aims and civic sensibilities. With a single exception, he refrained from imposing change upon confraternities. Yet even Albergati's influence had limits. In 1425, the bishop or a deputy wrote a set of statutes for the Compagnia di S. Girolamo, an adolescent confraternity noted above which had frequently benefited from the Cardinal Bishop's patronage. The statutes are appended with formal approvals from theologians of the Dominican, Augustinian, and Observant Franciscan houses in the city. The date coincides with Albergati's third round of pastoral visits in the city, and approval by the bishop and the three friars suggests that Albergati intended the statutes to be a widely-adopted model for all confraternities in the city. Yet no other companies are known to have adopted the statutes, and even the loyal brothers of S. Girolamo adopted and ratified another set of statutes within a few years.[22] Albergati's decision to gain the approval of Dominican, Augustinian, and Franciscan friars was likely deliberate, since these three were now the most active mendicant sponsors of confraternities in Bologna. The Dominicans maintained tighter control over their confraternities, while the Augustinians and Franciscans more closely followed Albergati's example and provided assistance and guidance without demanding obedience in return. The example of confraternal statutes underlines this; only the Dominicans wrote the statutes which regulated their confraternities. The other mendicant orders typically advised on composition, but ultimately allowed lay officials and the membership generally to decide on statute provisions and ratification. The fate of Albergati's model statutes suggests that most confratelli jealously guarded their autonomy on this point.

The Dominicans were also the most active in establishing confraternities to serve particular ends. In 1451 they established the Compagnia della Croce, the local manifestation of lay auxiliaries to the Inquisition

'The friars who approved the rule were Agnolo da Camorino, a Dominican Master in Sacred Theology; Agostino da Roma Bazaliero of the Augustinians in S. Giacomo; and Jacomo di Primadizi of the Franciscan Observant house, the Osservantia dal Monte. ASB Dem, Compagnia di S. Girolamo di Miramonte, ms. 2/6719, 2, cap. 11-12.

which they were founding across Italy; elsewhere on the peninsula they were also called Compagnie di S. Pietro Martire.23 After four decades, this company attempted the ill-fated union with the Compagnia di S. Domenico noted at the beginning of this paper. The resulting fight demonstrates how firmly Bolognese confraternities wished to assert autonomy, and how firmly the Dominicans were determined to withhold it.24 The two companies had given considerable assistance to the Bolognese Dominicans at considerable expense to themselves, most notably in constructing two prisons (one for men and one for women) for the inquisitor. They wished to unite in order to build new quarters that they could use at any time of day or night without disturbing the friars.

•"Meersseman, op. cit., pp. 619, 783-788. Paolini believes that 1451 marks the revival rather than the origins of the Compagnia della Croce, since its Dominican sponsors did not apply to the Pope and their General for approval of a new group, but for application to it of privileges granted such lay auxiliary bodies in Innocent IVs bull, Malitia huius temporis (May 30, 1254). While the Dominicans likely saw the Quattrocento Crocesegnati as adopting the practical functions of their lay counterparts of two centuries before, there is no archival evidence supporting Paolini's assertion that the latter group is a continuation of the former. Lorenzo Paolini, "Le origini della Societas Crucis G Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa, 15 (1979), 179, 199-200. Nicholas J. Housely suggests that the effort to link the Crocesegnati with their historical forebears was more purely opportunistic: "Politics and Heresy in Italy: Anti-Heretical Crusades, Orders and Confraternities, I200-1500"journal ofEcclesiastical History, 33 (1982), 207-208. It indeed seems likely that the Dominicans resurrected the company in order to answer the pressing need for more prison space, as construction of this space was the first work to which confratelli turned. Meersseman, op. cit., pp. 619, 784. Antonio Battistella,// S. Ufficio e la riforma religiosa in Bologna (Bologna, 1905), pp. 30-33-

"Meersseman reprints S. Dómenteos statutes (pp. 669-689) and asserts that their silence on the role of a Padre Spirituale indicates a significant degree of lay autonomy. In the context of contemporary Bolognese confraternities and their statutes, what is more significant is the small number of lay officials and the lack of a lay financial officer (massaro, depositario) or master of novices. The simplified administration of Ordinario and Sotto Ordinario is more typical of the local convention by which women's subconfraternities are subordinated to and regulated by men's confraternities of which they are a part: Terpstra, "Women in the Brotherhood," pp. 193, 202. Lorenzo Paolini reprints the 1460 statutes of the Crocesegnati ("Le Origini della Societas Crucis, "pp. 222-229), which contain a more well-articulated and responsible administration. He notes, however, that this degree of self-direction was rare when compared to similar groups elsewhere in Italy, and that it was on the way out in Bologna as well; due to "gravi insubordinazioni ... si registra un'evoluzione piii accentrata nellemani dell'inquisitore.piii'verticistica "(p. 223). This is borne out by the 1492 manuscript statutes written in the Inquisitor's hand (ASB Dem, Compagnia dei Crocesegnati, ms. 3/6669 #7). Far lengthier than the 1460 statutes, they emphasize the ultimate authority of the Inquisitor over the membership, officials, and actions of the confraternity (cf. chapters 1,3,4, 6, 7,8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16). Significantly, the notarized document uniting the two companies on September 17,1 494, mentions neither the S. Domenico prior nor the Inquisitor. ASB Dem, Compagnia dei Crocesegnati, ms. 3/6669 item g.

The latter had complained that the noise made at night by confratelli worshiping in their oratory disturbed the silence of the cloister, and they had solved the problem to their own satisfaction by restricting the lay brothers' access to the oratory." The confratelli received a new oratory in 1485, but by then they had already worked out a preliminary agreement merging the two confraternities; they then demanded Dominican approval of their union as a condition for constructing an educational wing for the monastery. The wing was constructed between 1490 and 1493, and, believing they had kept their end of the bargain, the lay brothers proceeded to finalize their union in 1494. Both confraternities' statutes had emphasized obedience to the prior of San Domenico (in the case of the lay brothers of that name) or the inquisitor (in the case of the Crocesegnati); the union document mentioned neither of these officials. Considering the work they had performed for the monastery and the frequent turnover of inquisitors, the lay brothers very likely gambled that the inquisitor would either capitulate or move elsewhere and be replaced with someone more sympathetic.26 As we saw earlier, they were wrong.

While this struggle was going on, the Dominicans were erecting another confraternity, this one dedicated to collecting alms for artisans and master craftsmen unaccustomed to begging (hence called poveri vergognosi, or 'shamefaced poor). Such groups had existed in earlier centuries, but the fifteenth-century revival of this form of charity was stimulated when Antonino Pierozzi, prior of the Dominican convent of San Marco in Florence, established the Buonuomini di San Martino in 1442, choosing the company's members and writing its statutes.

2The dispute ran from 1449 until the confratelli received a new oratory in 1485. ASB Dem, Compagnia di S. Domenico, 1/6415, #4, 6; 7/6421, #3, 5. Meersseman, op. cit., pp. 618-619.

xThe lay brothers of S. Domenico were ultimately responsible to the monastery's prior, and the Crocesegnati to the Inquisitor, yet the Inquisitor pursued the subsequent case against the lay brothers, and focused his attention on a member of S. Domenico. Inquisitors in Bologna in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, with year of appointment, were: Michael de Hollandia (1474); Bartholomeus Comatius de Bononia (1478); Dominicus de Gargnano (1485); Vincentius Bandellus de Castronovo (1490); Hieronymus Albertuccius de Borselis (1493); Johannes Cagnatius de Tabia (1494); Hieronymus Fanctonius deViglierano (1513) "Catologus Inquisitorum Bononiensium ab anno 1273 ",BBA ms. B36 cc.\66'-\(>7'. Hieronymus Albertuccius de Borselis, the Inquisitor who presumably approved the initial union, was a celebrated preacher (who preached in the civic basilica of S. Petronio in 1483 and 1490; see below n. 37), a professor in the University, and a local chronicler whose work has been reprinted: Hieronymus Bursellis, Cronaca gestorum ac factorum memorabilium civitatis Bononie ab urbe condita ad annum 1497, ed. A. Sorbelli, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, vol. 23, pt. 2.

Bologna's Dominicans followed the example of St. Antoninus, appointing the members of the Compagnia delli Poveri O'aadini Vergognosi, writing the company's statutes, and locating it in rooms within the convent so that they could continue to oversee the operation. In this case, however, the highborn lay brothers soon escaped the authority of their mendicant patrons by moving into other quarters shared with another confraternity, and operating their charitable work as a loose extension of the civic government.27 When the Dominicans next organized a confraternity, it was again the local manifestation of a devotion they were promoting across the peninsula. The Compagnia del Rosario arose before 1531 to promote use of the Rosary, but the first local reference to it is the record of a Dominican friar who had been elected confessor of another local confraternity and who attempted to have all its members join the new Compagnia del Rosario.28

The Augustinians and Franciscans had far more peaceful relations with their confraternities. In 1465, the Augustinians of San Giacomo conceded a former hospice to a confraternity which took the name of S. Maria Coronata and later took over maintenance of a major local shrine. Thirty years later, the mendicants of San Giacomo sponsored another confraternity which arose through the powerful Lenten preaching of an itinerant Augustinian friar, Martino Verteile. The rapid swell of members earned this company the title of S. Maria dei Centurati.29 Augustinians supplied various brotherhoods with Padri Spirituali, but apart from this, they appear to have had little to do with confraternities in the city.

2"A review of the problems in dating both the group and its statutes is given in Giovanni Ricci.'T primi statuti della compagnia bolognese dei poveri vergognosi," L'Archiginnasio, 74 (1979), 134-150. See also: Olga Zorzi Pugliese, "The Good Works of the Florentine Buonuomini di San Martino': An Example of Renaissance Pragmatism," in Eisenbichler (ed.), op. cit., pp. 108-109.

2""Io frate Augustino de li frati predicatori de santo Dominico, retrovandomi in Bologna del mille CCCCCXXXI fui fatto confessore de la compagnia de la Madona de la Purificatione la quale se domanda la compagnia de sancto Job . . . Unde io ritrovandomi in el preditto anno nel giorno de la assumptione de la Madona e comunicando li predicti homini de la compagnia de S.Job, finalemente gli proposi il Rosario de laVergine intemerata, se loro eraron contenti de intrar ne la compagnia del Rosario per amor de la Regina di Cieli, unde loro conclusero tuti de una volunta medema esser contenti de intrar ne la deta compagnia ". Cited in Mario Fanti, "La confraternita di Santa Maria dei Guarini e l'ospedale di San Giobbe in Bologna," in Giovanni Maioli and Giancarlo Roversi (eds.), Il Crédito Romagnolofra storia, arte, e tradizione (Bologna, 1985), pp. 449 n.41, 338.

"Giuseppe Guidicini, Cose notabili della città di Bologna (Bologna,1868-1873), II, 235; III, 343; idem, Miscellanea storico-patria bolognese (Bologna, 1872), pp. 363-364. Ugo Santini, Bologna sulla fine del Quattrocento (Bologna, 1901), p. 149.

The Bolognese Franciscans adopted a position somewhere between the close supervision of the Dominicans and the laissez-faire of the Augustinians. Some independent confraternities preferred hiring a Franciscan when looking for a priest. This was the case with Buon Gesù, which, after its reform by Bernardino da Siena, maintained friendly but informal relations with the Franciscans of L'Annunziata, the Observant house established outside the S. Mamólo gate in I473i" Both the laudesi and stretta confraternities of S. Francesco had quarters in the Conventual church, though the latter went to the Observants when hiring a Padre Spirituale. This was not the only time local confratelli disregarded the strained relations between the two parties within the Franciscan order/' When admirers of Bernardino da Siena wanted to erect a company dedicated to their late and recently canonized critic of Conventual laxness, they calmly met in the Conventual church where they planned and, in 1453, built a large chapel. They were assisted in their negotiations with the Conventuals by Cardinal Bessarion, Papal Legate in Bologna from 1450 to 1455, member of the commission which had recommended Bernardino's canonization, and from 1458 Cardinal Protector of the Franciscan Order." The closest the Franciscans came to the Dominican practice of establishing confraternities to fulfill particular aims came with the Monte di Pietà. Franciscan preachers had promoted these small pawnshops for the working poor across Italy, and local organization was often in the hands of a confraternity. Michèle Carcano da Milano (1427-1484) preached at the inauguration of the Monte in Bologna in 1473, but no confraternity was established and the Franciscans were shut out of administration until a reorganiza-

1"An eremitic group of Franciscans separated themselves from local conventuals as early as 1220 and constructed a small shelter on a hill immediately south of the city which is still called "dell'Osservanza"; in 1254 they added a chapel. The group formally joined the Franciscan Observants in 1417. In 1473 the Basilian monks of a monastery just outside the S. Mamólo gate were transferred, and the complex was acquired by the Observant Franciscans. While retaining their hilltop shelter and chapel, they moved into the "new" church which was renamed "L'Annunziata" and which was remodeled and expanded from 1475 onward. Mario Maragi, / Cinquecento anni del monte di Bologna (Bologna, 1973), pp. 43-44.

"The state of relations was no secret to the Bolognese laity. In 1433 and 1454 Franciscan Chapter General meetings were held in the city and at both the Conventuals pressed for suppression of the Observants. John Moorman, A History of the Franciscan Order from its Origins to the year 1517 (Oxford, 1968), pp. 449, 482. Duncan Nimmo, Reform and Division in the Medieval Franciscan Order (Rome, 1987), pp. 604-606,624-636.

"ASB Dem, Compagnia di S. Bernardino, ms. 6/7637. Bessarion arrived as Papal I-egate on March 16, 1450; later that year Bologna held processions celebrating Bernardino da Siena's canonization. Bursellis, op. cit., p. 89, lines 27-29. See also, Tnformazione dell'Creazione della Compagnia di S. Bernardino ", BBA Gozz, ms. 404 #7/2.

tion in 1506 brought in both a confraternity and the Guardian of the Observant house of L'Annunziata as an ex officio member."

This is a summary treatment of a complex topic, but it demonstrates that the Dominicans, Augustinians, and Franciscans adopted quite different approaches in their relations with confraternities. At the risk of portraying these as ideal types, we can see them as stages or points on a continuum. From the mid-thirteenth century onwards, Bolognese Dominicans saw lay confraternities as extensions of the Inquisitorial, educational, and charitable work of the order, and so viewed lay brothers as auxiliaries. As a result they were more prescriptive, intruded more into confraternal administration, and had less success in gaining and retaining lay brothers. The Augustinians adopted a far more laissez-faire attitude, offering shelter and spiritual help when approached, but having little to do with confraternities on a continuing basis. The Franciscans fell in between; they were more active than the Augustinians in initiating confraternities, and seem to have provided priests more frequently. At the same time, they were less prescriptive than the Dominicans. On the whole, both the Augustinians and Franciscans were less demanding and more successful in their relations with confraternities. They implicitly accepted confraternities as self-governing expressions of lay piety, and sought to help without dominating. Both Ronald Weissman in his study of fifteenth-century Florentine confraternities, and Giuseppe Alberigo in his overview of Italian confraternities generally in this period, underline the importance of lay self-direction: denied this, lay brothers lost interest in their brotherhood, which soon disbanded or became a clerically-directed shadow of itself.34 Bolognese laymen and women confirmed this by voting with their feet. Membership records for the Augustinian confraternities have not survived, but as noted earlier, one recruited so many brothers and sisters that it came to be

"Michèle Carcano was a learned and popular preacher who gave sermon cycles in Rome, Milan.Venice, and other centers and who, after a trip to Palestine and contact with the humanist Ermolao Bárbaro in 1461, began advocating erection of Monti across Italy. A Monte was founded in Perugia in 1462 in part as a result of his preaching, and over the next decade numerous others arose in Tuscany and Umbría (1462: Orvieto, Gubbio; 1465: Monterubbiano; 1466: Foligno, l'Aquila, San Sepolcro; 1467: Monte a Terni; 1468: Pesara, Urbino, Cagli, Recanati, Macerata, Assist; 1469: Viterbo, Spello, Fano, Tolentino, Ripatransone; 1472: Sienajesi, Sassoferrato, Cortona). The Bolognese Monte was the first in Emilia Romagna, where it was followed by Cesena (1487), Parma (1488), Piacenza (1490), Ravenna (1492), and Reggio Emilia (1494). Maragi, op. cit., pp. 44-45.

"Giuseppe Alberigo, "Contributi alia storia délie confraternité dei disciplinati e della spiritualità laicale nei secc. XV e XVl" in Autori vari,// Movimento dei disciplinati nel settimo centenario dal suo inizio (Spoleto, 1962), p. 213. Weissman, op. cit., pp. 198-199, 206-208.

known as S. Maria dei Centurad (or St. Mary of the Hundreds). The Franciscans had the largest number of confraternities and the greatest number of members. Of the praising confraternities gathering in its basilica, S. Bernardino counted 82 men and 48 women in 1471, and S. Francesco counted 145 men and 146 women in 1466, ballooning to 427 men and 412 women by 1494. The penitential confraternity of Buon Gesù and the flagellant branch of S. Francesco gathered between 25 and 30 members each in the same period. By contrast, S. Domenico had 25 members in 1485; ten years later its 28 members went into their ill-fated union with the 41 brothers of the Compagnia dei Crocesegnati. These statistics must be taken with caution; the dramatic growth of S. Francesco raises as many questions as it answers, and the Dominicans were hindered at least in part by their sponsorship of flagellant rather than praising confraternities. In Bologna the latter were normally ten to twenty times as large as the exclusive flagellant brotherhoods. At the same time, the statistics point to the problems inherent in using the experience of an order like the Dominicans, with a limited number of small confraternities under relatively tight rein, to generate general truths about mendicant-confraternal relations."

Certainly Bolognese confraternities expected a significant degree of independence in running their confraternities; Meersseman notes that even the Dominicans had to give their lay brothers in Bologna more autonomy than was their practice elsewhere.* And Bolognese laymen had no qualms about exploiting the animosity between the two major orders: one of the city's oldest and most prestigious confraternities, S. Maria della Morte, recognized this in the sixteenth century when it opted to draw its hired priest from the Franciscans and Dominicans al-

"These statistics are generated from the following confraternal matriculation records: ASB Dem, Compagnia di Buon Gesù, ms. 3/7625 #9. ASB Dem, Compagnia dei Crocesegnati, ms. 3/6669 g [1494]. ASB Dem, Compagnia di S. Domenico, mss. 3/6669 f [1484] and 3/6669 g (1494). BBA Osp ms. 73 [S. Francesco, 1466]. ASB Codici Miniati ms. 61 [S. Francesco, 1494]. The only other mendicant-related confraternity, S. Maria dei Servi, enrolled 76 members in 1530: ASB Osp, Compagnia di S. Maria dei Servi, ms. 3/188. For additional comparative statistics on confraternal enrollments, see Tables 3.4 and 35 in Terpstra, Lay Confraternities and Civic Religion. For a review of the cautions necessary in dealing with matriculation records, see Black, op. cit., pp. 49-57.

"Meersseman believes that the relatively minor role given to the Padre Spirituale demonstrates "a qual punto le confraternité laicali si erano emancipate dal clero e si governavano autónomamente." This is a few sentences before he notes that the Dominican Inquisitor successfully overturned the union which the companies of S. Domenico and Crocesegnati had negotiated (op. cit., p. 620). On the comparatively lighter hand with which Bologna's Dominicans handled their lay brothers: ibid., p. 614.

ternately, thereby remaining relatively independent of both/7 A similar alternation was followed by civic authorities when choosing mendicant preachers for the civic basilica of S. Petronio, though in this case the Franciscans were clearly favored.3"

The question remains, of course, as to how typical the Bolognese dynamic may have been of conditions elsewhere in Italy and beyond the Alps. The question has no easy answer. The study of confraternities is still relatively recent, and few of the local histories offer comparative analysis of relations between confraternities and the different mendicant orders. Most of the early and standard histories of mendicant orders contain little reference to confraternities or view them from a purely clerical perspective. As James Banker argues, "the study of the confraternities has suffered from a historiographical subordination of the initiatives of the laity to those of the clergy. . . ; this interpretation reduces the participation of the laity in the confraternities to the purposes of the mendicants; the laity are neutered and lack motivation." w As a result, the lay confraternities are often confused with those broader associations of laity which were bound to particular orders and houses for spiritual and financial purposes by "letters of confraternity," but which had no geographical focus, no regular collective worship life, and no independent corporate identity defined by statutes and upheld by lay administrators.40 Meersseman's work avoided some of these er-

' "Nota de Reverendi Padri Spirituali dell'Oratoria della Compagnia, ora Arciconfraternita di Sa. Ma. della Morte," ASB Osp, Compagnia di S. Maria della Morte, ms. 29/632 #5.

"The communal government appointed and paid the preachers for S. Petronio, which had been built on the city's main square as a symbolic statement of its independence vis-à-vis a papacy to which it was nominally subservient and from which it frequently rebelled. From 1393 through 1500,the Franciscans provided 54 preachers, the Dominicans 25, the Augustinians 15, the Servîtes 10, the Lateran Canons 10, and the Carmelites 8:"Oratori sacri che hanno predicato in Bologna nella Perinsigne Basilica di S. Petronio ", BBA ms. B504. See also Diario Bolognese Ecclesiastico, e Civile per I'anno 1770 . . . in Bologna per Lelio dalla Volpe (Bologna, n.d.), pp. 1-7.

"James Banker, "Death and Christian Charity in the Confraternities of the Upper Tiber Valley," in Timothy Verdón and John Henderson (eds.), Christianity and the Renaissance: Image and Religious Imagination in the Quattrocento (Syracuse, 1990), p. 305. Ronald Weissman similarly argues that mendicant control was less significant than often pictured: Ronald F E. Weissman, "Cults and Contexts: In Search of the Renaissance Confraternity," in Eisenbichler (ed.), op. cit., pp. 206-207.

"'Howard Montagu Colvin, The White Canons in England (Oxford, 1951), pp. 258-259. David Knowles, The Religious Orders in England, Vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1955), pp. 282-283. Clifford Hugh Lawrence, Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages (London, 1984), p. 88. Caroline M. Barron,"The Parish Fraternities of Medieval London "in Caroline M. Barron and Christopher Harper-Bill (eds),

rors, but still betrayed a tendency to identify the health and success of a confraternity in terms of its loyalty to the Dominican order. Any independence the lay brothers might show was somehow illegitimate; his description of the fight of Bologna's Dominican confraternities with their clerical overseers has the telling title, "Conflitti e decadenza della compagnia."

These historiographical difficulties notwithstanding, a review of research on Italian confraternities of the late medieval and Renaissance period shows that elements of the Bolognese dynamic can be found across the peninsula. Recent studies of confraternities in Venice, San Sepolcro, and Perugia have underscored the determination of lay brothers to preserve some degree of autonomy from mendicant and ecclesiastical supervision. In his work on San Sepolcro, James Banker has found that confraternities with mendicant connections tended to die out rather quickly, while those which were more clearly autonomous took on significant roles in communal charity and in the public rituals surrounding death. The San Sepolcran laity used confraternities to frame their own sense of the holy, civic community independent from—if not in opposition to—the regular and secular clergy." This effort to put the clergy at arm's length was common. Confraternities in Rome, Venice, and Perugia set quotas on the numbers of clerical members and often limited the roles they could play in the administrative and charitable work of the brotherhoods. Beyond this, documentation is scant and conclusions ambiguous when analysis turns to differences between particular Orders. Massimo Papi's studies of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Florentine confraternities assign temporal priority and spiritual "leadership" to the Dominicans, claiming that their confraternities of the 1240s were the inspiration and model for Franciscan lay brotherhoods of the 1250's and Servite and Carmelite companies of the 1260s-1280s. Dominican leadership, he argues, was based both on spiritual factors and on the Order's early and vigorous involvement in pro-papal local politics, but his extension of this into later centuries sug-

The Church in Pre-Reformation Society (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1985), p. 17. P.J. S.Whitmore, The Order of Minims in Seventeenth Century France (The Hague, 1967), pp. 32-34. William Hinnebusch's two-volume History of the Dominican Order (New York, 1965, 1973) has no reference to confraternities, while John Moorman, in his History of the Franciscan Order, devotes a few paragraphs to them as part of his discussion of Third Orders. Moorman, op. cit., p. 561.

"Banker/'Death and Christian Charity," pp. 31 1-314. Idem, Death in the Community, pp. 174-186.

gests some charisma which is never clearly spelled out." Giovanna Casagrande disagrees. In her analysis of fourteenth-century Perugia, where seven of eleven confraternities were allied to mendicant orders, Franciscans emerge as the earliest and clearest influence in shaping spirituality and religious exercises, while the Dominicans had little to do with lay brotherhoods until the middle of the century. Yet Casagrande is unwilling to invest much significance in this fact, arguing instead that these links were often based on mutual practical needs rather than on the appeal of a particular order's spirituality.[42] And indeed, by the sixteenth century, the Perugian confraternities of S. Francesco, S. Domenico, and S. Augustino had banded together in a union as a means of more efficiently fulfilling their charitable and devotional goals, and of more effectively resisting ecclesiastical supervision. Support for the notion that confraternities took some distance from the divisions between Orders when pursuing their devotional aims comes from Padua. The Confraternity del Gesù, founded or reformed under the influence of Bernardino da Siena in 1423, took up residence three years later in the reformed Benedictine house of S. Giustina da Padova at the invitation of Ludovico Bárbaro. Giuseppina de Sandre Gasparini argues on the basis of testaments and pilgrimages that the lay brothers retained a Franciscan orientation and frequently worked together with other local Franciscan confraternities, notably that of S. Antonio located in the eponymous Conventual house, while remaining under the Benedictine roof. She further argues that the lay brothers also took distance from the splits between local Franciscan Conventuals, Observants, and Tertiaries, and that the friars for their part did not attempt to enlist the confraternities into their internecine struggles; this recalls Bologna's brothers of S. Bernardino who built their chapel at the Conventual basilica of S. Francesco.[44] Padua's mobile Confraternity del Gesù notwithstanding, location of meeting space was usually a critical index of a confraternity's autonomy. John Henderson bases his claim that "mendicants remained the single most important influence for the

[41] Massimo D. Papi, "Le associazioni laiche di ispirazione francescana nella Firenze del Due-Trecento," in M. D'Alatri (ed), *I frati penitenti di San Francesco nella società del Due e Trecento* (Rome, 1977), pp. 225, 239-240. Idem, "Confraternité ed Ordini Mendicanti a Firenze: Aspetti di una ricerca quantitativa," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome*, 89 (1977), 729-731.

[42] Giovanna Casagrande, "Penitenti e disciplinati a Perugia e i loro rapporti con gli ordini mendicanti," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome*, 89 (1977), 715; 719-720.

[43] Giuseppina de Sandre Gasparini, "Benedettini, francescani e confraternité nel Quattrocento padovano," in G. B. G. Trolese (ed), *Riforma della chiesa, cultura e spiritualità nel Quattrocento véneto* (Cesena, 1984), pp. 372-373, 379-380.

foundation of religious confraternities throughout late medieval Italy" in part on the fact that 59% of all confraternities in Quattrocento Florence met in mendicant or monastic houses. Yet there is always a problem in extrapolating too much from Florentine data. Only 19% of Bolognese confraternities in the same period met in mendicant or monastic houses, and Brian Pulían notes that Venetian scuole usually chose to locate in premises of their own outside mendicant and monastic churches.[45] Beyond this, both Pulían and Richard Mackenney have emphasized that Venetian confraternities were more free of clerical control than their Florentine counterparts. Instead, like the San Sepolcran, Perugian, and Bolognese confraternities, the Scuole Grandi expressed a form of "civic Catholicism." "Though not militantly anticlerical, they stood for a species of religious organization that had developed, through the Council of Ten, far stronger links with the state than with the parish, the diocese, or the pope.[46]

Outside Italy the confraternal-mendicani dynamic is even more difficult to trace, both because fewer studies are available, and because confraternities seem to have played different roles depending in part on the state of local ecclesiastical government, and in particular on the existence and health of the parish. Whether or not one accepts John Bossy's view that the late medieval church "was not in actual fact a parochially-grounded institution," in Italy the parish was relatively underdeveloped, and so autonomous confraternities played a larger role in local devotional and sacramental life.4" In northern Europe, parishes were better established and tended to set the geographical boundaries of confraternal life; yet even here the fraternities gave laity a significant degree of administrative authority within the parish. Most modern studies concentrate on confraternities' parochial role and say little or nothing about the role of the mendicant orders as confraternal patrons or promotors. In Liège, confraternities developed within parish bound-

"John Henderson, "Confraternities and the Church in Late Medieval Florence," in W J. Sheils and Diana Wood (eds.), Voluntary Religion (Oxford, 1986), pp. 75-77. Idem, "Piety and Charity," pp. 24, 39 n. 4. Nicholas Terpstra,"Belief and Worship: Lay Confraternities in Renaissance Bologna" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1989), p. 278, n. 101. Brian Pulían, "The Scuole Grandi of Venice: Some Further Thoughts," in Verdón and Henderson (eds.), op. cit., pp. 291-292.

"Ibid., pp. 290-295. Richard Mackenney, Tradesmen and Traders: The World of the Guilds in Venice and Europe, C.1250-c.l650 (Totowa, New Jersey, 1987), pp. 65-73. Idem, "Devotional Confraternities in Renaissance Venice," in Sheils and Wood (eds), op. cit., pp. 94-96. Edward Muir, Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice (Princeton, 1981), pp. 39-40,85-86.

rJohn Bossy, Christianity in the West: 1400-1600 (Oxford, 1985), pp. 62-63.

aries as lay administrative bodies with significant authority over church life and, consequently, a largely patrician administration.48 London's parish fraternities had fewer parochial responsibilities and so gathered a largely artisanal membership for purposes of devotional life and mutual assistance; elsewhere in England, fraternities played a larger administrative and devotional role.49 Across the French province of Champagne, rural confraternities functioned as adjuncts of the parish vestry. A. N. Galpern claims that the friars were also active promotors of confraternities, but the single example he offers is ambiguous, for it shows a lay merchant patronizing confraternities at the Franciscan, Dominican, Augustinian, and Carmelite convents; this would seem closer to the Italian practice, noted above, of playing the orders off against each other in order to avoid falling too far under the control of any single one.5" Those northern European confraternities which went beyond parochial borders tended to be either the indistinct groups of laity bound to an order or house by "letters of confraternity" or burial societies that offered low-cost funerals, and that remembered their departed members in an annual requiem Mass and feast. By the early sixteenth century, these feasts had departed so far from their pious purpose that Erasmus dismissed confraternities as little more than "conventicles of Bacchus," while Luther chastised the twenty-one confraternities of Wittenberg for following a "swinish way of life.""

John Henderson has written of "a general tendency of the Church, and particularly the friars, to increase their control over confraternities in the fifteenth century"; yet significantly, the examples he cites in support of his case deal with the Florentine Dominicans. The Florentine dynamic was complicated by the fact that its leading cleric, Archbishop Antoninus (1446-1459), was a Dominican, and was clearly more prescriptive in his relations with confraternities than was a figure like Nicole Albergati." The state of confraternity research suggests that what is true for Florence is not necessarily true for the rest of Italy or

"1D. Henry Dieterich, "Confraternities and Lay Leadership in Sixteenth-Century Liège," Renaissance and Reformation, 25 (1989), 16-17, 29.

"Barron, "Parish Fraternities of Medieval London," pp. 14, 23-27, 31, 33. Jack J. Scarisbrick, The Reformation and the English People (Oxford, 1984), pp. 19-39.

"A. N. Galpern, The Religions of the People in Sixteenth Century Champagne (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1976), pp. 55,59ff.

"Martin Luther, The Blessed Sacrament of the Holy and True Body of Christ, and the Brotherhoods," trans. J. J. Schindel and Ernest Theodore Bachmann, in Ernest Theodore Bachman (ed), Luther's Works, Vol. 35 (Philadelphia, 1960), pp. 45-73 Henry hea,A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences, Vol. 3 (Philadelphia, 1896), pp. 474-476.

"Henderson, "Confraternities and the Church," pp. 76-77.

Europe, and that what is true for the Dominicans is not necessarily true for other mendicant orders. While itinerant preachers such as Manfredo da Vercelli and Bernardino da Siena, or reforming clerics such as St. Antoninus or Nicolo Albergati might be the catalysts for confraternal foundations or reforms, the ongoing local confraternal-mendicant dynamic still varied widely between cities, orders, and houses, and vigorous defenses of lay autonomy can be documented across the Italian peninsula and, to some extent, beyond the Alps well into the sixteenth century. Bolognese, Venetian, and San Sepolcran confraternities self-consciously modeled their spiritual exercises and communal life on the mendicant example, and just as self-consciously they used guild and civic examples to preserve their lay autonomy and local character. Northern European parochial confraternities achieved much the same end.

The fight between Andreas Allé and the Inquisitor of Bologna demonstrates how tense confraternal-mendicant relations could be. Yet as the only open fight on record locally, it also demonstrates how peaceful the dynamic usually was. Peacefulness depended in part on self-selection; those who preferred a prescriptive Dominican brotherhood over a more autonomous Franciscan, Augustinian, or purely civic brotherhood could use the novitiate to identify the confraternity that best suited their devotional needs. But peacefulness depended equally on the degree to which individual mendicant orders were willing to adapt themselves to lay self-direction and to the realities of local civic-religious piety. The confraternal-mendicant dynamic was clearly complex. A detailed assessment of its complexity can emerge only when more local studies focus on the dynamic, and when works of the depth and breadth of Meersseman's Ordo fraternitatis become available for the Franciscans, Augustinians, and other leading mendicant orders.

SAINT OF AUTHORITY AND THE SAINT OF THE SPIRIT: PAUL SABATIERS VIE DE S. FRANÇOIS D'ASSISE

C.J.T Talar*

> Men may glorify as discoveries some insignificant trifles that supply little or no evidence and bestow the name of new documents on late accounts of doubtful authenticity, [but] there is nothing further to be known concerning St. Francis, and . . . the Bollandists, Chalippe and Papini, writing more than a century ago, knew as much, more or less, concerning St. Francis as we do to-day. In the interval, although we have accumulated a library of works concerning St. Francis, no new fact, episode, or saying had been added to his life.
>
> Mgr. Faloci (1902)

> The criticism of Franciscan origins is still in its infancy.
>
> Paul Sabatier (1901)

The divide separating the two mentalities represented in the epigraph runs like a fault line through later nineteenth-century Roman Catholicism. On many theological fronts—biblical studies, apologetics, ecclesiastical history—proponents of traditional positions who considered everything of fundamental importance to have been said were confronted by partisans of critical methods who saw themselves mapping out little-explored territory. The traditional hagiography was not exempt; it too faced a critical revisionism characterized by methods and a mentality informed by historical criticism.

The often oppositional relations between traditionalists and progressives formed part of the context for Catholic reception of a non-Catholic's biography of St. Francis of Assisi. In November of 1893 Paul Sabatier (1858-1928) published at his own expense his *Vie de S. François d'Assise.*[1] Its author was an unknown; he had published noth-

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[1] At first he did not find a publisher. The *Vie de S. François* was printed at his own expense (more precisely thanks to his wife's money) with the idea of being a kind of spiritual testament ' Maurice Causse, "Le témoignage de Paul Sabatier (1858-1928)" II, *Études théologiques et religieuses,* 66 (1991), 389.

ing previously in Franciscan studies. Yet the book enjoyed an almost instant success; by the following March the biography was translated into English and German. It received sufficient notice from the Vatican to be placed on the Index of Prohibited Books and from the French Academy to be awarded the crown of honor. Even those most opposed to its portrait of Francis acknowledged its influence.2

Both the popularity and the influential character of Sabatier's biography invited comparison with another biography published three decades earlier: Ernest Renan's Vie defésus (1863V It too was prefaced by a critical study of the sources and like Sabatier's effort was suffused with a romanticism that permeated the portrait of its principal subject. While a number of factors have been adduced to account for the success of Sabatier's Vie de S. François,4 the two that it shares with Renan's Vie defésus are worth closer consideration here.

On one level, Sabatier's liberal Protestantism appeared more palatable to Catholics than did Renan's overt rationalism. The former's critical conclusions were less extreme, the treatment of his subject more respectful by comparison. But if the application of the method was more restrained, the spirit which informed the method was no more acceptable. On another level, their criticism converged; it naturalized the miraculous and ultimately rationalized the supernatural.

To Catholic traditionalists historical criticism appeared to be a means of recreating Jesus or Francis into the critic's own image and likeness.

2See inter alia Paschal Robinson, The Real St. Francis of Assist (London, 1904), pp. 23-24; Leo L. Dubois, St. Francis of Assist, Social Reformer (New York, 1906), pp. 249-250.

1Renan also had an interest in Francis of Assisi. Less than a decade before the appearance of Sabatier's biography he republished a study on the saint in his Nouvelles études d'histoire religieuse (1884) [orig. art. 1866]. Given Renan's stature, his treatment of the life-story of Francis had a wide audience, and Walter Seton credits him with having "an immense influence in starting the examination on modern lines of the half-forgotten documents of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries." "The Rediscovery oí St. Francis of Assisi," St. Francis of Assisi: 1226-1926: Essays in Commemoration (London, 1926), p. 251. Renan's influence on Paul Sabatier was more than literary. While a student at the Paris Faculty of Protestant Theology, Sabatier attended Renan's lectures at the Collège de France. He later recounted how he had received from Renan, toward the end of 1884, the mission of studying Francis. See Gabriel Maugain, "Paul Sabatier—Notes biographiques," Revue d'histoire franciscaine, 5 (1928), 5-6. For an example of the comparisons that were drawn between Sabatier's biography and Renan's work see Charles Guignebert, Review of Paul Sabatier, Vie de saint François d'Assise, Le Moyen Age, 7 (March, 1894), 51-52.

'Lawrence S. Cunningham, Saint Francis of Assisi (Boston, 1976), p. 114.

The Lives produced by such critics were less biographical representations of their subjects than presentations of a thesis. As such they took on the character of novels—fictionalized renderings more indebted to authorial imagination than to historical reality. In short, Sabatier, like Renan, had produced a roman-à-thèse. Or, more properly, given reactions to the nuanced conclusions of criticism, a roman-à-hypothèse.[5]

The spirit which traditionalists detected in these works and which made them uneasy was only partly rooted in historical criticism. That spirit also reflected a romanticism which contributed to the Franciscan revival and was a factor in the popularity of both Renan's and Sabatier's Lives. As C. N. L. Brooke has observed, "the nineteenth-century romantics found (or thought they found) a man after their own heart, a lover of mankind, a lover of animals, an apostle of liberty—a liberal romantic in the thirteenth century."[6] Like Renan's Jesus, Sabatier's Francis was a man inspired, possessed of a profound originality, and at odds with the traditional status quo. In short, a romantic hero whose charismatic genius institutional authorities sought to routinize.

A rendering of St. Francis in anything resembling liberal Protestant terms placed him far indeed from traditionalist Catholic preoccupations of the time. Sabatier's portrait invites comparison with that of Léon Le Monnier, whose biography of the saint also appeared in English translation in 1894. It was outfitted with an unsurprisingly Ultramontane preface by Cardinal Vaughan,[7] which indicated the tenor of its Francis. The cardinal took care to point out that

[5] Characterization of Renan's Vie de Jésus as "a miserable novel," and criticism of its author's use of historical critical method and its consequences for the supernatural may be found in Abbé Freppel, Examen critique de la "Vie de Jésus" de M. Renan (Paris, 1864). Freppel's study rode the coattails of the popularity of Renan's book to become something of a publishing success in its own right. Freppel's critique may be taken as both representative of ecclesiastical reaction to Renan and influential in Catholic circles. For extensive treatment of Renan's critics see Vytas V. Gaigalas, Ernest Renan and His French Catholic Critics (North Quincey, Massachusetts, 1972). The novelistic character of Sabatier's effort was noted by the reviewer in Polybiblion, 70 (1894), 509—who also retrieves Renan's Vie de Jésus for comparison. More extensive criticisms along these lines may be found in Robinson, who criticizes Sabatier's book as "a thesis, not a real biography" (op. cit., p. 30; cf. 96-97).

[6] C. N. L. Brooke, "Paul Sabatier and St. Francis of Assisi," in Maurice Sheehan (ed.), St. Francis of Assisi: Essays in Commemoration, 1982 (St. Bonaventure, New York, 1982), p. 42. See also Bernard M. G. Reardon, Religion in the Age of Romanticism (Cambridge, 1985), esp. chap. 9: "Ernest Renan and the Religion of Science."

[7] On Vaughan's Ultramontanism see J. Derek Holmes, More Roman than Rome (Shepherdstown, West Virginia, 1978), esp. chap. V. The obverse of Vaughan's Ultramontanism

> S. Francis, as we might expect, had placed loyal adherence to the Catholic faith and obedience to the Pope in the forefront of his observance, and had made both to be the very Alpha and Omega of his rule. Thus, before asking obedience of his brethren, he begins by himself giving the example of it."

From such a papalist perspective Sabatier's Francis would appear all the more a liberal Protestant placed in a Franciscan habit.

This portrait invites a second comparison, this time with the work of Paul's namesake, Auguste Sabatier. The latter was instrumental in establishing the Faculty of Protestant Theology at Paris after the French defeat in 1870 resulted in the loss of Strasbourg. He later became its dean and gained recognition for his contribution to the theological position termed symbolofideisme." He had taught Paul (no relation) during the 1880s and when the Vie de S.François initially appeared the identity in surname benefited Paul. As a result of the biography's success, however, by the time Auguste's Esquisse d'une philosophie de la religion was published in 1897 it was the familiarity of Paul's name in Catholic circles that helped gain recognition for his former professor, especially in Italy.'" The affinities between the religiosity of Francis in Paul's biography and that of liberal Protestantism in the Esquisse and in its posthumous sequel, Les religions d'autorité et la religion de l'esprit, will constitute the final portion of this study. A comparison of the religiosity of Paul's Francis with that propagated by Auguste Sabatier in his principal books will throw Paul's portrait into sharper relief, rendering both Catholic and Protestant reception of his Life more comprehensible.

was an inability to appreciate issues raised by liberal Catholics. Still less was he able to fathom the mind-set of Protestants. See J. G. Snead-Cox, The Life of Cardinal Vaughan (St. Louis, 1910), II, 398 and 415-416.

"Léon Le Monnier,/iïsfory ofS.Francis ofAssisi (London, 1894), pp. viii-ix.The French original was published in 1889.

"Biographical background on Auguste Sabatier (1839-1901) is given by Jean Réville, "Auguste Sabatier (1839-1901]," in Auguste Sabatier, The Religions of Authority and the Religion of the Spirit (London, 1904), pp. v-x. For contemporary assessments of symbolofideisme see J. Dick Fleming, "The New French School of Theology," Expository Times, 13 (1902), 57-61; A. C. Zenos, "A New Theological Movement within French Protestantism," American Journal of Theology, 6 (1902), 294-304; George B. Stevens, "Auguste Sabatier and the Paris School of Theology," Hibbert Journal, 1 (1903), 553-568. More recent critical discussion of Auguste Sabatier's theology may be found in Thomas Silkstone, Religion, Symbolism and Meaning (Oxford, 1968); Bernard Reymond, Auguste Sabatier et le procès théologique de l'autorité (Lausanne, 1976).

"'Causse, op. cit., III, 511.

Saint of the Spirit

> The conservatives of our time who turn to the thirteenth century as to the golden age of authoritative faith make a strange mistake. . . . There was a genuine attempt at a religious revolution, which, if it had succeeded, would have ended in a universal priesthood, in the proclamation of the rights of the individual conscience."

Vaughan's preface had left little doubt regarding the Francis that would be found in Le Monnier's biography. Likewise Paul Sabatier's introduction gives notice of the Francis to follow. While romanticism clearly suffuses its pages, most of the introduction is taken up with a critical study of the sources.12 In addition to a small corpus of Francis's own writings—which Sabatier found neglected by many of his biographers—the early Franciscan movement produced a number of documents bearing on his life and the early history of the Order. Thomas of Celano, who entered the Order around 1215, produced two biographies. The first was written at the express order of Pope Gregory IX shortly after the saint's canonization in 1228. However, there were gaps in Celano s work where he lacked information. By the time he came to write his second biography additional material had come forth. Much of this material is also reflected in the so-called Legend of the Three Companions. A letter which prefaces this collection identifies it as the work of three of Francis's closest companions: Leo, Rufino, and Angelo, who have gathered their own reminiscences of the saint and augmented them with those of other friars. When Bonaventure was commissioned to write a new life of St. Francis he was able to draw on these sources. After the Order solemnly approved his work in 1263 the following chapter ordered all primitive legends destroyed, according Bonaventuras Life a canonical status and banishing all manuscripts which escaped destruction into archival oblivion. They languished there until resurrected by the Bollandists in the eighteenth century.

In the course of the nineteenth century Celanos Lives appeared once more, and editions of the Three Companions again were available. To minds formed by historical criticism the age and relation of

"Paul Sabatier, Life of St. Francis of Assisi, trans. Louise Seymour Houghton (New York, 1902 [1894]), pp. xii-xiii. The English translation has been checked against the French text. Paul Sabatier, Vie de S. François d'Assise (Paris, 1894).

L2Sabatier, Vie, pp. xxxvi-cxxvi. The English translation presented this portion of the French original as an appendix.

these source documents became important questions. Were portions of Celano s second biography an abridgement of the Three Companions? Or did priority belong to the Vita Secunda, with the purported authorship by the three companions being truly legendary, and the work in reality an expansion of Celano by a thirteenth-century forger? A discrepancy between the letter prefacing the Three Companions, which described the contents of the work, and the actual work appeared to favor its apocryphal character. Another possible explanation was that the document had been mutilated in the course of its transmission. In this case the lack of agreement between letter and document was to be explained by the disappearance of the greater portion of its original material. This led Sabatier to search for the missing chapters, and in a sixteenth-century compilation of Franciscan material, the Speculum Vitae, he thought he found them. The content and style of a large number of chapters of this later work convinced him that they were in fact early and belonged together. He used this critical reconstruction as one of the main sources for his Vie de S. François d'Assise. Il This set Sabatier's biography on a footing rather different from those largely indebted to Celano or Bonaventure as their principal sources. It in part accounts for the rather different portrait of the saint contained there and the influence the book exercised.

In his review of Sabatier's biography A. G. Little termed the section on the critical study of the sources "a model of historical criticism" which illuminated many obscure points.'" Even reviewers who took exception to the spirit which informed the criticism stressed the necessity of taking source criticism into account. The reviewer in Polybiblion observed, "Excepting its spirit, the critical study of the sources must be given to our contemporary hagiographers as a model, given their frequent preoccupation with literary effects and pious considerations over documentation. It would be necessary to bring a proper temperament to both of these elements."'5 Yet while the critical

"Sabatier's intuitive reconstruction appeared to be confirmed when he later discovered a manuscript of the Speculum Perfectionis complete with authorship and date of composition. Of the 1 18 chapters of his postulated source, 116 were to be found in the Speculum Perfectionis, whose author was given as Leo and its date as 1227. The publication of this manuscript touched off further controversy which engaged Sabatier's later career. See Rosalind B. Brooke (ed. and trans), The Writings of Leo, Rufino and Angelo, Companions of St. Francis (Oxford, 1990 [1970]), pp. 4ff. Also Guy Philippart, "Le Bollandiste François Van Ortroy et la Legenda Trium Sociorum," in La "Questione Francescana" dal Sabatier ad Oggi (Assisi, 1974), pp. 173-197.

"English Historical Review, 9 (1894), 747.

'¦¦Polybiblion, 70 (1894), 509.

aspects of Sabatier's biography drew a great deal of attention, there remained a sense that other factors were of significance in shaping his presentation of the saint, and that the latter often stood in uneasy relation to the criticism. Writing from the perspective of several decades, C. N. L. Brooke judged that Sabatier's romantic faith was not always in "perfect harmony" with his critical study of the sources.[16] Closer to the book's original publication Charles Pfister faulted the handling of the sources themselves. He argued that it was Sabatier's preconceived ideal of what was Franciscan or not that regulated his evaluation of the sources, and not the other way round.[17] Or, to combine this with Brooke's judgment, the romantic element in the biography was more determinative than the critical element.

The introduction which displayed Sabatier the source critic also revealed him as the subjective, imaginative historian. An "objective history in which the author would study the people as a chemist studies a body" is Utopian. The perspective and personality of the historian are not incidental to the historical task, for it is necessary to grasp things from the inside. Sabatier's romantic faith finds succinct expression in his statement, "Love is the true key of history."[18] Thus while Sabatier the critic patiently labored to establish the priority of the Three Companions and to reconstruct the early material present in the Speculum Vitae, Sabatier the romantic freely drew upon the legendary narratives of the Fioretti. While straightforwardly admitting their legendary character he goes on to say,

> Yet that which gives these stories an inestimable worth is what for want of a better term we may call their atmosphere. They are legendary, worked over, exaggerated, false even, if you please, but they give us with a vivacity and intensity of coloring something that we shall search for in vain elsewhere—the surroundings in which St. Francis lived. More than any other biography the Fioretti transport us to Umbria, to the mountains of the March of Ancona; they make us visit the hermitages, and mingle with the life, half childish, half angelic, which was that of their inhabitants.[19]

In his review Pfister reproduced this passage and noted the impossibility of demonstrating that the fifteenth-century author of the Fioretti

[16] C. N. L. Brooke, op. cit., p. 45.

[17] Charles Pfister, Review of Paul Sabatier, Vie de saint François d'Assise, Revue critique, 38 (1894), 2: 14-18.

[18] Sabatier, Life, p. xxxi (my translation), xxxiv. Cf. Renan's statement, "One should never write except upon that which one loves." Ernest Renan, Recollections of My Youth, trans. C. B. Pitman (London, 1929), p. xxxvii.

[19] Sabatier, Life, p. 416.

had copied some author contemporary to Francis. The historical veracity of the narratives could not be demonstrated; yet they passed into Sabatier's narrative virtually unaltered.2" Pfister's criticism is indicative: when put to the test, Sabatier's romanticism is often stronger than his criticism.

What picture of Francis emerged from the combination of these two tendencies? Sabatier's use of his reconstructed source toned down many of the miraculous elements found in Celanos and Bonaventuras works. The portrait of Francis is more human, more sober when compared to the traditional hagiography. Yet this portrait also reflects strongly the image of the romantic hero.2' In contrast to ordinary members of his society the romantic hero is a person of individual genius, possessed of an originality that sets him in tension with the conservative forces of tradition and community. As Sabatier represents it, Francis's genius was to have grasped the evangelical ideals of poverty and simplicity, seeking to live those out in a lay fraternity. That ideal brought him into tension with members of his own fraternity (most notably Brother Elias) who aspired to a more traditional conception of monastic life. It also brought him into tension with a hierarchical ecclesiastical structure incapable of fundamentally comprehending that ideal, yet quite willing to employ it for its own ends. (In this capacity Cardinal Ugolino—later Gregory LX—is presented as a foil to Francis.) In this routinization of the originality and genius of the Franciscan charisma it became transformed into virtually the opposite of what Francis originally envisioned. As Cunningham summarizes it, "For Sabatier, Francis, especially in the last years of his life, was a man betrayed and thwarted by his confreres and neutralized by the conservative tendencies of the Roman Curia."22

Certainly all this is very far from the traditional hagiography. Yet there is present a hagiography of a type. Critics have pointed out how uncritical Sabatier was toward Francis. Anything that differed from his hero's aims was suspect, anything that introduced change into Francis's designs devalued. Certain aspects important to the Catholic tradition—and also very important to Francis—remained recessive in the biography. Sabatier's highlighting of poverty threw Francis's devotion

"Pfister, op. cit., p. 17.

2On the romantic hero see Walter L. Reed, Meditations on the Hero (New Haven, 1974), Prolegomenon. John Thiel has placed this conception within a theological/ecclesiological context in his Imagination & Authority (Minneapolis, 1991), esp. chap. 3.

"Cunningham, op. cit., p. 115.

to the Eucharist, his stress on obedience, and his insistence on submission to priests and bishops into the shadows.21 In short, there is a consistent tendency to privilege individual charism over institutionalized tradition; a romantic hagiography is present throughout. Not that Sabatier's contemporaries actually identified his rendition of Francis as that of a "romantic hero." Catholic traditionalists were content to charge that the saint had been transformed into a liberal Protestant.24

Saint of Authority

> [Francis] always spoke of the Cardinal in terms of respect and admiration. He called him his father, and truly, says Celano, he reposed on the bosom of his clemency as an infant sleeps upon its mother's breast. He professed submission to him in all things. When writing to him about affairs of the Order, he put the prophetic superscription, 'To the very reverend Lord Ugolino, Bishop of the whole world,' as though he were already Sovereign Pontiff. In short, he gave him all that was in his power.M

In 1894 there appeared English translations of both Sabatier's and Le Monnier's Lives of Francis. Ultramontane Catholics disturbed by the former would have been reassured by the latter. Its Francis was poles apart from Sabatier's. In part this was due to Le Monnier's recourse primarily to Celanos work and secondarily to Bonaventura's. For Le Monnier, Thomas of Celano was "honesty itself," "a guarantee of the highest authority" and "worthy of all credence."2' Reliance upon his work, especially the second biography, cast Francis in a more traditional mold, emphasizing the miraculous elements in and surrounding his life. It made Francis's sanctity more evident, even destined. To obtain a better grasp of the character of this biography in relation to its principal source we shall retrieve a later article by Sabatier.27 Written to defend his reconstruction of the sources against the criticisms of the Bollandist François Van Ortroy, it contains textual comparisons of the Three Companions and Celano's second biography, together with commentary. Comparison of Sabatier's and Le Monnier's biographies reveals their respective dependence on these sources and how this shaped their depictions of Francis.

"C. N. L. Brooke, op. cit., pp. 48-49; Robinson, op. cit., pp. 45-49.

"Robinson, op. cit., p. 79.

"Le Monnier, op. cit., p. 421.

"Ibid., pp. 10,6.

Taul Sabatier, De l'authenticité de la légende de saint François dite des Trois Compagnons (Paris, 1901 [orig. Revue historique, 75 (1901)]).

Sabatier gives several instances in which textual comparison shows evidence of amplification in service of edification in Celano s version. In the first account given from the Three Companions Francis's mother Pica is surrounded by her neighbors who were indicating to her failings in her son's conduct. Her response is rather natural, being the kind of reply any mother might have made in a similar situation. They arc mistaken; she hopes he will become a child of God ["filius Dei per gratiam"]. Sabatier contrasts this with Celanos text, in which neighbors now compliment Pica on her son's good manners and she becomes a sort of prophetess. In another instance a natural remark made by Francis is transformed in Celano's version into a prophetic statement.2"

In his comments Sabatier points out as a principle of hagiographical criticism that the role played by the miraculous in a document stands in inverse proportion to the document's age. "A document contemporary to the facts that it narrates contains scarcely the seeds of the miraculous."29 On this principle the Three Companions in both of the instances cited is to be preferred to Celano's version.

The relation of sources to respective biographies may be gleaned from a comparison of their presentations of the first of the instances cited by Sabatier in his article. In Sabatier's biography, "when the neighbors told her of Francis's escapades, she would calmly reply, 'What are you thinking about? I am very sure that, if it pleases God, he will become a good Christian.' The words were natural enough from a mother's lips, but later on they were held to have been truly prophetic."1" As Le Monnier recounts it, Francis's parents

> provided him with abundant means, and defended him against the neighbours who, astonished at his prodigality, took upon themselves to make the remark that he lived like a prince. 'What is that to you?' replied his mother; Our son does indeed live like a prince, but have patience, the day will come when he will live like a son of God.' She added that he would be the father of many children for God."

Le Monnier adds that perhaps this was only Pica's maternal love that inspired her statement, or it may have been her recollection of a prediction made by a stranger shortly after Francis's baptism. The man designated the child as one destined to become one of the most perfect

"¡bid. ,pp. 6-7.
"Ibid. ,p. 5.
"'Sabatier, Life, pp. 7-8.
"Le Monnier, op. cit., p. 35.

of God's servants in this world—and disappeared. Sabatier points out the legendary form this episode has assumed and identifies it as the core of a whole cycle of legends that had gathered around Francis's birth in the fourteenth century.12

In his reply to Van Ortroy Sabatier retrieved another critical principle: along with an amplification of the marvelous there occurs a diminution or disappearance of the purely human. He again gives several examples which would find their resonances in the two biographies.11

We have seen that, important as Sabatier's criticism was, his romanticism was more determinative of his presentation of his subject. An analogous judgment may be made with respect to Le Monnier's efforts. His Francis is not simply the product of a different choice of sources to privilege. In contrast to the romantic hero, the "apostle of liberty" whose innovating genius is so highly praised by Sabatier, Le Monnier is concerned to present Francis as standing in loyal continuity with the tradition. One can run down the list of criticisms directed against Sabatier by traditionalists and find that those elements recessive or omitted are present and sometimes privileged in Le Monnier's book. Critics who objected to the relative lack of attention accorded the Eucharist and sacramental practice in general in Sabatier's biography found no similar grounds for complaint in Le Monnier's book. Aspects of Catholic devotion such as those surrounding the Incarnation or angels, merely touched on or passed over entirely by Sabatier, are given their share of attention by the Catholic biographer. While Sabatier focuses on poverty, Le Monnier gives prominence to obedience. For Sabatier Dominic serves as a foil to Francis; he is solicitous of authority and lacks any deep appreciation of poverty such as Francis exhibits. In Le Monnier's account the two saints are in harmony, one that also extends to Francis's relations with his local bishop and with other members of the hierarchy. Where differences do emerge, they are harmoniously resolved. There is nothing of the tension and operating at cross purposes that characterizes Francis's relations with the hierarchy in Sabatier's narrative. Above all, the loyal obedience to the pope, pointed out by Vaughan in his preface, is apparent in the biography as characteristic of the saint. The other aspect particularly singled out by Vaughan also needs to be noted: Francis's orthodoxy. For Sabatier the

"Sabatier, Life, p. 2n.

"Sabatier, De l'authenticité, p. 8. He explicitly comments on Le Monnier's work on pages 41-42, turning a comment made by the priest on Celano's biographies to the advantage of the Three Companions as source.

liberal Protestant, the coming of Francis signaled "the end of dogmatism and authority; it is the coming in of individualism and inspiration." While not the creator of the movement, he was "its most inspired singer"—a "precursor of religious subjectivism."14 That this touched on a sensitive nerve is evident in Paschal Robinson's contrast between the image set forth in Leo XIHs encyclical on St. Francis and "the same Saint whom M. Sabatier holds up as an independent, irresponsible, quasi-heretical fanatic!"" This serves to indicate yet once again that hagiographical controversy sinks its roots deep into theology. And theology finds a broader context in the two mentalities mentioned at the outset.

In Imagination & Authority John Thiel has identified two paradigms of theological responsibility. In the classical paradigm orthodoxy is paramount; emphasis falls on the theologian's representative faithfulness to the Tradition. By contrast, the romantic paradigm values originality and creativity on the theologian's part. It is part of the theologian's task to contribute to the development of the Tradition, to relate that tradition to changing needs of faith in the present. The theologian's responsibility, then, entails not simply faithful representation, but encompasses creative reconstruction. In Thiels description the romantic paradigm is clearly linked to traits discernible in Sabatier's rendering of Francis:

> The romantic paradigm assumed that the theologian exercised vocational responsibility as an author whose individual talent contributed something valuable, and even indispensable, to the normativeness of the Christian tradition. . . . This conception of theological authorship stands in sharp contrast to the classical paradigm's suspicion of all nonsupernatural authority and sanctions an understanding of theological responsibility that the classical paradigm would have judged ecclesially anomic.16

The point of this is twofold. First, Sabatier's romanticism pervaded his conception of how one did theology. A fuller elaboration of Thiels description of the romantic paradigm would show, for example, the consonance of critical methods with it. And an exploration of Sabatier's later involvement with Roman Catholic Modernists would further evidence a romantic conception of theology.17 Secondly, with suitable

"Sabatier, Life, pp. 181, 181n.,335.

"Robinson, op. cit., pp. 94-95. The encyclical in question is Auspicato Concessum (September 17, 1882). See Claudia Carlen (ed.), The Papal Encyclicals 1878-1903 ([Wilmington, North Carolina] 1981), pp. 69-74.

"Thiel, op. cit., pp. 23-24.

1'See Paul Sabatier, Modernism, trans. C. A. Miles (New York, 1908).

adaptation, Thiel's observations on theological responsibility could be predicated of hagiography. Indeed, the orientation toward Francis in particular and sanctity more generally flows naturally from an underlying theological orientation. The tenor of Paul Sabatier's hagiography has emerged by comparison with Léon Le Monnier's work. A deeper appreciation of his orientation to theology will emerge from comparing him to his namesake, Auguste Sabatier.

Religions of Authority and the Religion of the Spirit

> Nothing could be more mistaken than the conjecture of certain writers, who, apparently anxious to read the Franciscan movement in the light of their own predilections, have sought to give to the work of the Friars a colour of 'undenominationalism,' and to represent the drift of their preaching as not only rather moral than dogmatic, but as one in which the value of dogma and orthodoxy was discounted to make room for a fuller presentment of the precepts of morality.'"

Cardinal Vaughan's concern for orthodoxy was cast in the mold of Roman Neo-Scholasticism. This set him poles apart from both Paul and Auguste Sabatier, who shared a liberal Protestantism that regarded dogma as secondary and derivative.

The Sabatiers shared not only a common surname but also a common theological outlook. The identity of surname favored the fortunes of the Vie de S. François when it first appeared and its author's reputation remained to be established. The commonality of theological orientation later favored Auguste, particularly in the Italian Catholic circles familiar with Paul's work, after publication of the Esquisse." This liberal Protestantism and its connection to the "romantic paradigm" bears closer examination.

When theologians of the period used the term "criticism," that essentially meant historical research. But the word doubled as a more or less implicit reference to the Kantian critique of knowledge, as that was then understood in France. In his exegetical work, particularly on Paul, Auguste Sabatier had revealed his competence with historical critical

"•Vaughan in Le Monnier, op. cit., p. viii.

"This is reflected in the enthusiastic reception accorded Auguste Sabatier at the seminary in Perugia in 1899, recounted in Paul Sabatier, France To-day: Its Religious Orientation, trans. Henry Bryan Binns (New York, 1913), pp. 202-204. Cf. the excerpt quoted by Causse from a letter of Paul Sabatier to Auguste Sabatier, May 9, 1898, commenting on Italian reception of the Esquisse: Causse, op. cit., Ill, 512.

method.* In the final portion of the Esquisse he laid bare the Kantian framework of his theology. This effectively closed off the intellect as the major avenue taken to effect contact between God and humanity. The debt to Schleiermacher was openly acknowledged in the recourse to the feeling of dependence. However, this engages only the passive side of the religious sentiment; Schleiermacher needs to be completed by adding the active side: "the movement of the soul placing itself in personal relation and contact with the mysterious power whose presence it feels even before it is able to give it a name," i.e., prayer.41 The essence of religion, then, lies in a conscious and willed relation to that mysterious power on which the soul feels itself and its destiny to depend. And the essence of Christianity resides in the consciousness of the filial relation in which the soul stands in relation to the Father. This was the essential element in the consciousness of Jesus, "the distinctive and original feature of his piety."42 To be Christian is to have this filial piety which received its most perfect expression in Jesus reproduced in oneself. In the theology of the Esquisse Jesus came to reveal a paradigmatic religious experience. "He promulgates no law or dogma; he founds no official institution. His intention is quite different: he wishes, above all, to awaken the moral life, to rouse the soul from its inertia, to break its chains, to lighten its burden, to make it active, free, and fruitful."41

Liberal Protestantism thus finds its center in interiority—in the inward piety of the believer. Moreover, this subjective piety is not to be viewed as the effect of an objective revelation which is accorded primacy as its cause. The religious phenomenon is conceived as the inner revelation of God which has as its correlative the subjective piety of the person, and which necessarily seeks and comes to expression in historical religious forms: dogmas, rites, and institution. The latter necessarily

"J. Pédézert observed that Auguste Sabatier "had a very remarkable knowledge of the original text of the New Testament ... he could have been a professor of exegesis as well as dogmatics." Edouard Rod, "Enquête sur Auguste Sabatier," Revue chrétienne, 51 (1904), 11:218.

"Auguste Sabatier.&í/wtae d'une philosophie de la religion d'après la psychologie et l'histoire (Paris, 1901 [1897]), p. 24. An English translation of the Esquisse appeared as Outlines of a Philosophy of Religion Based on Psychology and History (1897). Entire sections of the French original have been omitted, often without indication, and other liberties have been taken with the French text. Accordingly, the French edition has been used as the basis for this section. See William Adams Brown, Review of Outlines of a Philosophy of Religion Based on Psychology and History, in American Journal of Theology, 3 (1899), 626-627.

"Esquisse, p. 184.

"Ibid., p. 193.

draws upon the concepts of a given philosophy or the forms available in a particular culture. As such they are contingent: as intellectual systems change and cultural forms undergo development religious expressions such as dogma must likewise be creatively adapted. The theologian's task as one of creative construction of the Tradition to meet changing times clearly flows from this understanding of religion and Christianity. Its tension with the understanding dominant in Catholicism, already apparent in the Esquisse, is even more explicit in its sequel: Les religions d'autorité et la religion de l'esprit.

To express the relationship between the mystical or interior element in dogma and its external, intellectual expression Auguste Sabatier drew upon the analogue of thought finding its necessary expression in language.[44] Dogma requires yet a third element, however: that of authority. In the first two portions of the sequel he explored the two major expressions of Christianity as religion of authority: Catholicism and Protestantism. Each in its own way invests something external with a supernatural authority. In the case of Protestantism authority is vested in a book. It seeks to contain authority in the words of Scripture through the doctrine of plenary inspiration of the two Testaments. In Catholicism authority is vested in the Church, and ultimately in the Papacy. The doctrine of papal infallibility is but the logical working out of this principle and the counterpart of the Protestant doctrine of plenary inspiration. Any attempt to vest some external agency with final authority is ultimately deformative of a mature Christianity. In concluding his observations on Catholicism, Sabatier remarks, "A supernatural authority in the exterior order necessarily becomes first a political authority, and afterward an oppressive authority. . . . The same supernatural element stiffens the system of authority, exaggerates it, and forbids its reformation."[45]

By contrast, religion of the spirit is founded upon interiority, for the Christian upon the normative and seminal experience of the consciousness of God in the spirit of Jesus. Religious symbols are the always intrinsically inadequate means of communicating that experience. They derive their authority from the ability to successfully do so. If they are no longer capable of doing so, they lose their living character and must yield their place to symbols which are able to func-

[44] "As it is impossible for thought not to manifest itself instrumentally by gesture and language, so it is impossible for religion not to express itself via rites and doctrines." Ibid., p. 293; cf. pp. 308-309.

[45] Religions of Authority and the Religion of the Spirit, p. 144.

tion adequately. Thus, on the one hand, the task of theology is a critical one: to discern what is living and what is dead in the expressions of religion. On the other, the task is a creative one: to create new forms for the gospel to bring it into more immediate contact with the consciences of people in modern society.[46] In short, this is a conception of theology that accords well with the spirit of romanticism.

It also accords well with the spirit that pervaded the *Vie de S. François*. The prominence of the moral element that is evident in Auguste Sabatier's work and that so disturbed Vaughan is paramount in the early Franciscan preaching. It was characterized there as "simple and purely ethical"—free of the "undergrowth of dogma and scholasticism."[47] This flows from Francis's interiority, his piety which "proceeds from the secret union of his soul with the divine by prayer."[48] The tension between the external authority of ecclesiastical office and the interior authority of individual conscience that Sabatier found throughout Francis's life, he finds re-expressed in the saint's Will:

> The individual conscience here proclaims its sovereign authority. . . . When a man has once spoken thus, submission to the Church has been singularly encroached upon. We may love her, hearken to her, venerate her, but we feel ourselves, perhaps without daring to avow it, superior to her.[49]

These indications must suffice to convey something of the many affinities and outright parallels between the work of Paul and Auguste Sabatier. They should also suffice to indicate that the charge that Francis had been presented in liberal Protestant guise was not entirely off the mark. At the time of the biography's appearance its author could state with some justice that he had not represented Francis as a sort of proto-Protestant. For he agreed with Auguste Sabatier that the Reformation had led to the substitution of one external authority for another. This was clearly contrary to Francis, the apostle of liberty. Subsequently he came to see that the criticism of his having presented Francis as a liberal Protestant was more difficult to fend off. In an address given in 1908 he said that if he had indeed Protestantized Francis he regretted it, and would try to repair the fault. But if he was ready to re-examine his

[46] Ibid., pp. 357-362.

[47] Sabatier, *Life*, p. 129 (my translation).

[48] Ibid., p. 194. In doing so, Francis was actualizing in himself what Christ had perfectly actualized in his own life. "The really new thing that Jesus brought into the world was that, feeling himself in perfect union with the heavenly Father, he called all men to unite themselves to him and through him to God" (p. 293).

[49] Ibid., p. 334.

portrait of Francis and to alter it if necessary, his basic theological commitments remained unshaken. For he immediately continued, "Let us hope that the simplicity that I put to this mea culpa will induce my honorable critics to show an equal good will, and that they will cease in good time to believe that they do great honor to St. Francis in representing him as a sort of passive instrument in the hands of the ecclesiastical hierarchy."[50]

[50] Paul Sabatier, "The Originality of St. Francis of Assisi," in Sheehan (ed.), op. cit., p. 33.

GENTLE SKEPTICS?
AMERICAN CATHOLIC ENCOUNTERS
WITH POLYGENISM, GEOLOGY, AND EVOLUTIONARY THEORIES FROM 1845 TO 1875

by

William J. Astorl*

For many Christians, the middle decades of the nineteenth century witnessed new scientific discoveries and theories which appeared to threaten their beliefs. American Protestant responses to these new discoveries and theories, particularly to evolution, have been well studied by historians.[1] In comparison, American Catholic responses have earned far less scrutiny[2] Admittedly, American Catholics wrote comparatively little on science and produced no commentator of St. George Jackson Mivart's stature and influence within the scientific community.[1]

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'James R. Moore, The Post-Darwinian Controversies: A Study of the Protestant Struggle to Come to Terms with Darwin in Great Britain and America, 1870-1900 (Cambridge, 1979); Jon H. Roberts, Darwinism and the Divine in America: Protestant Intellectuals and Organic Evolution, 1859-1900 (Madison, Wisconsin, 1988); David Livingstone, Darwin's Forgotten Defenders: The Encounter between Evangelical Theology and Evolutionary Thought (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1987); Frederick Gregory, "The Impact of Darwinian Evolution on Protestant Theology in the Nineteenth Century," in David C. Lindberg and Ronald L. Numbers (eds.), God & Nature: Historical Essays on the Encounter between Christianity and Science (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1986), pp. 369-390.

'John L. Morrison, "A History of American Catholic Opinion on the Theory of Evolution, 1859-1950 "(Ph.D. dissertation, University of Missouri, 1951); John R. Betts, "Darwinism, Evolution, and American Catholic Thought, 1860-1900," Catholic Historical Review, XLV OuIy, 1959), 161-185; R. Scott Appleby, "Church and Age Unite! "The Modernist Impulse in American Catholicism (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1992); Ralph E. Weber, Notre Dame's John Zahm (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1961).

On Mivart see Jacob W. Gruber,^4 Conscience in Conflict: The Life of St. George Jackson Mivart (New York, 1960). Also useful is Robert J. Richards, Darwin and the Emergence of Evolutionary Theories of Mind and Behavior (Chicago, 1987), esp. pp. 225-229, 354-363- For other English Catholic responses see John D. Root, "Catholicism

American Catholics did, however, produce thoughtful, measured responses which revealed uniquely Catholic concerns in a distinctly American intellectual and social context.[4]

In this article American Catholic responses to science from 1845 to 1859 will be explored first. Polygenism—not geology or evolutionary theories—emerged as the most significant issue. Polygenists denied that all humans were Adam's descendants, some arguing that the different races of man were actually distinct species.[5] Polygenism enjoyed significant support in antebellum America partly for its seemingly scientific legitimation of slavery.[6] Because of the significant support it en-

and Science in Victorian England," Clergy Review, 66 (April and May, 1981), 138-147, 162-170; John Lyon, "Immediate Reactions to Darwin: The English Catholic Press' First Reviews of the Origin of the Species,'" Church History, 41 (1972), 78-93; Alvar Ellegàrd, Darwin and the General Reader: The Reception of Darwin's Theory of Evolution in the British Periodical Press, 1859-1872 (Göteborg, 1958), esp. pp. 38, 61, 98-99, 106-109, 154, 302, 313, 318.

The subtlety and complexity of past relations between religion and science are now well recognized by historians. The most recent and best survey is John Hedley Brooke, Science and Religion: Some Historical Perspectives (Cambridge, 1991). See also the fine bibliographical essay by Ronald L. Numbers, "Science and Religion," Osiris, 2d series, I (1985), 59-80.

[5] William Stanton, The Leopard's Spots: Scientific Attitudes Toward Race in America 1815-59 (Chicago, 1960); David N. Livingstone, The Preadamite Theory and the Marriage of Science and Religion (Philadelphia, 1992); idem, "Preadamites: The History of an Idea from Heresy to Orthodoxy," Scottish Journal of Theology, 40 (1987), 41-66; Peter Bowler, Theories of Human Evolution: A Century of Debate, 1844-1944 (Baltimore, 1986); Reginald Horsman, Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1981); Thomas F. Gossett, Race, the History of an Idea in America (Dallas, 1963); Thomas Virgil Peterson, Ham and Japheth: The Mythic World of Whites in the Antebellum South (Metuchen, New Jersey, 1978). Forrest G. Wood has suggested that Christianity itself—in its ideology, organization, and practice—taught the inequality of races and was therefore racist. See his The Arrogance of Faith: Christianity and Race in America from the Colonial Era to the Twentieth Century (New York, 1990).

[6] There is some debate on this point. Stanton and Peterson (previous note) argue that because polygenism contradicted Genesis, Southerners rejected it, preferring to use Noah's curse of Ham to defend slavery. Horsman agrees that for this reason polygenism was often played down or even ignored in the South, but he suggests that it enjoyed support because it provided a scientific rationale for slavery. Wood (pp. cit., pp. 99-100) mentions that prior to the Civil War, two of the more influential Southern periodicals gave polygenism extensive coverage as a scientific apology for slavery. Lester D. Stephens, in an unpublished paper presented at the Anglo-North American Conference on the History of Science in Toronto on July 27, 1992, argues that because polygenism seemed to justify slavery, it did gain significant support in the South. He shows that the naturalist and Lutheran minister John Bachman clearly believed that polygenism was popular for this reason (and also be-

joyed among some scientists in America (Louis Agassiz being its most esteemed proponent), and, most importantly, because it contradicted church teachings on original sin and redemption, polygenism was seen by American Catholics to be a far graver threat to their faith than geology or evolutionary theories.7 To be sure, the latter in particular presented problems. Such theories contradicted the fixity of species as apparently advanced in Genesis; they (along with new theories in anthropology)" seemed to support the view that humans had progressed rather than degenerated since Creation, and they implied that humans were perhaps not made by God in His image but were merely developed beasts. Serious as these problems were, they nonetheless lacked the extreme perversity of polygenism's threat to the Faith.9

cause it was supported by Agassiz, who was deeply respected in the South). And in a letter to the polygenist Arthur de Gobineau in 1857, Tocqueville stated, "I know that . . . there are, in the southern United States, Christian Priests and perhaps good priests (owners of slaves nonetheless) who are preaching in the pulpit doctrines that no doubt are analogous to yours." From Roger Boesche (ed.), Alexis de Tocqueville: Selected Letters on Politics and Society (Berkeley. 1985),p. 344. It would seem, then, that most Southerners preferred using the curse of Ham to defend slavery, but a significant minority found polygenism to be an attractive alternative. I am indebted to Professor Stephens for sending me a copy of his paper, and to Professor Numbers for drawing my attention to this debate.

'Richard H. Popkin has highlighted the strongly subversive nature of polygenism to Christianity. He sees polygenism as one aspect of preadamism (the others being "higher" criticism of the Bible and the idea that human history preceded and perhaps developed independently of the divine plan in Genesis), which he argues reached its peak of scientific respectability in America in the 1850's. He further argues that Darwinism proved even more successful and subversive than preadamism, but this was not the case for American Catholics through 1875. See his "Pre-Adamism in 19th Century American Thought: Speculative Biology' and Racism," Philosophia: Philosophical Quarterly of Israel, 8 (November, 1978), 205-239. Interestingly, David Livingstone, Preadamite Theory, shows how preadamism could be used to reconcile theories in ethnology and anthropology with Genesis.

"Given his views on the nature of progress, Orestes Brownson in particular was concerned to show that "savage "tribes were degenerate, not primeval, humans. Anthropology was thus Of considerable importance to him. For a concise argument on the importance ofVictorian anthropology see Peter Bowler, "Anthropology and Evolution," Isis, 79 (1988), 104- 107; see also A. Bowdoin Van Riper, Men Among the Mammoths: Victorian Science and the Discovery of Human Prehistory (Chicago, 1993).

This remains true today. As stated in Pius XIIs encyclical Humani Generis, August 12, 1950, polygenism is a "conjectural opinion," and "the faithful cannot embrace that opinion which maintains either that after Adam there existed on this earth true men who did not take their origin through natural generation from him as from the first parent of all or that Adam represents a certain number of first parents." Quoted in Claudia Carlen, LH.M. (ed.), The Papal Encyclicals, 1939-1958 (Raleigh, North Carolina, 1981), p. 182. For a discussion of potential ambiguity in Humani Generis with respect to preadamism see Livingstone, Preadamite Theory, pp. 68-76.

France and Britain offer interesting cases for comparison. In the 1860s polygenism enjoyed strong support within France's scientific community, in part because French anticlericals found it to be an effective weapon against church authority. French Catholics responded by ignoring evolutionary theories (naturalists in France tended to dismiss Darwinism as re-fried Lamarckism) and directed their efforts toward neutralizing the political and theological threats of polygenism to church authority.[11] In Britain, polygenism created few ripples since leading naturalists such as Charles Darwin, Alfred Rüssel Wallace, Thomas Henry Huxley, and Richard Owen opposed it, and, of course, Darwin's ideas, if not Darwin personally, occupied center stage after 1859.

These disparities among Catholic communities suggest that, while the historian might be justified in focusing upon responses to evolutionary matters among audiences in Britain, in America and elsewhere one should adopt a wider perspective. Otherwise, one runs the risk of overstating the importance of evolutionary theories and of overlooking topics of greater relevance to audiences in America, France, and other countries.

The next focus of this article will be on Clarence Augustus Walworth (1820-1900), the sole American Catholic mediator between science and Catholicism. He sought both to convince Catholics that the pursuit of science honored God and to show non-Catholic Americans that the Church respected science and an individual's freedom to reason. Writing in 1863, he reconciled geology with Genesis and summarily dismissed evolution as being a "false start" in science. In marked contrast

[11]The Protestant Paul Broca founded the Société d'Anthropologie de Paris in 1859 to advance polygenism in France; its members were predominantly anticlerical republicans: see Joy Harvey, Evolutionism Transformed: Positivists and Materialists in the Société d'Anthropologie de Paris from Second Empire to Third Republic," in David Oldroyd and Ian Langham (eds), The Wider Domain of Evolutionary Thought (Dordrecht, 1983), pp. 289-310, and Francis Schiller, Paul Broca: Founder of French Anthropology, Explorer of the Brain (Berkeley, 1979). Robert Stebbins suggests that French Catholics, at least through 1875, concentrated on geology and its implications for the earth's age and anthropology for its implications for man's antiquity, maintaining a "calculated silence" with respect to evolution: see his article on "France," in Thomas F. Glick (ed), The Comparative Reception of Darwinism (Chicago, 1974, 1988), pp. 117-163. Also see Harry Paul, The Edge of Contingency: French Catholic Reaction to Scientific Change from Darwin to Duhem (Gainesville, 1979), esp. pp. 43-47; Pietro Corsi and Paul J. Weindling,"Darwinism in Germany, France, and Italy," in David Kohn (ed.), The Darwinian Heritage (Princeton, New Jersey, 1985), pp. 683-729. On the rise of anticlericalism see Owen Chadwick, The Secularization of the European Mind in the 19th Century (Cambridge, 1975), chap. 5.

to this curt dismissal was his lengthy rebuttal of polygenism. He crafted his own theory of variation in nature not to disprove evolutionary theories but to prove all humans were descended from Adam and Eve. With its deeply disturbing denial of the universality of original sin, and in its disturbing use as an apology for slavery by "confederate" ethnologists," polygenism proved far more baneful to Walworth than geology or evolutionary theories.

Unlike Walworth, Orestes Augustus Brownson (1803- 1876), arguably America's leading Catholic apologist from 1845 to 1875, has been much studied by historians. His bitter anti-science rhetoric has been cited as representative of a reactionary and militant mind-set among Catholics.[12] Yet Brownson, at least from the middle 1850s through 1864, sought accord between science and Catholicism. In fact, he urged Catholics to take up science and to direct their efforts toward regaining for the Church the intellectual dominance it enjoyed prior to .the Reformation. Because of his political philosophy, however, he was indomitable in his opposition to evolutionary theories. These for him had an insidious political subtext which could be made to support the Confederacy's seditious political philosophy. Yet through 1865 he was even more adamant in his opposition to polygenism, for it too threatened his politics and, more crucially, Catholic teachings on original sin.

American Catholic responses to science from 1865 to 1875 will be considered next. Whereas the popular press tended to parody evolutionary theories for their implications about man's animal origins, intellectuals raised serious, and uniquely Catholic, theological objections. In

1'Walworth attacked those "confederates" who attempted "to press science into the service of negro slavery." See his Gentle Skeptic (New York, 1863), p. 334, fn. 1.

"Morrison (op. cit., pp. 39-80) portrays him as an extremist who forced the initially tolerant editors of the Catholic World to become increasingly anti-science; Betts shows him dominating the American Catholic response,"sen[ding] forth lightning bolts in defense of the faith" (op. cit., pp. 165-167); Richard Hofstadter in Social Darwinism in American Thought, 1860-1915 (New York, 1945, 1955),p. 26, believed that Brownson represented most Catholics when he categorically rejected geology and biology; Walter J. Wilkins in Science and Religious Thought: A Darwinism Case Study (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1987), p. 48, vilifies him for attacking "Darwinisticism," or the extra-scientific implications of Darwinism, and states that he "set the tone for many religious attacks against Darwin's theory in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries . . ."; Paul F. Boiler, Jr., in American Thought in Transition: The Impact of Evolutionary Naturalism, 1865-1900 (Chicago, 1969), p. 38, states Brownson's belief that evolution, if it was true, negated Christianity was the representative American Catholic response. In contrast, Cynthia E. Russe« briefly mentions the crucial, political nature of Brownson's opposition to evolution in her Darwin in America: The Intellectual Response 1865-1912 (San Francisco, 1976), p. 87.

theory Catholic intellectuals, since they could draw on Scripture and church teachings as equally legitimate sources of authority, had greater flexibility than their Protestant counterparts to negotiate compromises with the doctrines of evolution.[13] In practice, however, they were chary of compromises because evolutionary theories appeared to threaten fundamental church teachings. Moreover, Brownson, who after 1864 conformed to Vatican rulings and returned to conservatism, played a key role in stifling compromises among American Catholics.

In two concluding sections, four generalizations about how Catholics addressed issues of science and Catholicism will be presented, and Catholic attitudes toward science will be compared with those of Protestants. I must re-emphasize that overall, the American Catholic response to science from 1845 to 1875 was muted. Educational and social constraints were crucial here. Few American Catholic intellectuals showed an interest in science because they received no substantial education in the sciences and because they did not consider science to be necessary or effective as an adjunct to faith.[14] A further and crucial limiting factor was the explosion in the size of the Church and its resultant social composition.[15] An overworked clergy preoccupied with parish

[13] Gertrude Himmelfarb, Darwin and the Darwinian Revolution (New York, 1959, 1962), p. 395; EUegàrd, op. cit., p. 38.

[14] Georgetown, a Jesuit academy, seems a lone exception. Students were taught chemistry, physics, and astronomy (there was an observatory on campus), and in 1851 the graduating class publicly performed experiments in chemistry, electromagnetism, and physiology. Perhaps this nineteenth-century science fair was a vestige of seventeenth-century Jesuit "zest for experimental science" and was intended "to be watched and admired, but the outcome of which is irrelevant." Here I borrow from William B. Ashworth jr.'s fine essay, "Catholicism and Early Modern Science," in Lindberg and Numbers, op. cit., pp. 136-166, esp. 154, 156. But perhaps these studies were meant to have a didactic purpose, for students were cautioned to "let modesty of virtue neutralize the arrogance of science." Cited in John M. Daley, Georgetown University: Origin and Early Years (Washington, 1957), pp. 219-249, esp. 238-239. On the narrowness of seminary training see Joseph M. White, The Diocesan Seminary in the United States: A History from the 1780s to the Present (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1989), chap. 6. Catholic higher education was also weak in England and France: see John D. Root, "Catholics and Science in Mid-Victorian England" (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1974, University Microfilm 74-22789), p. 14; Mary Jo Nye,"The Moral Freedom of Man and the Determinism of Nature: The Catholic Synthesis of Science and History in the Revue des Questions Scientifiques," British Journal for the History of Science, 9 (1976), 274-292, on 275.

[15] From 1830 to 1852 the American Catholic Church quintupled in size to 1.6 million members. From 1850 to 1860 churches doubled from 1,227 to 2,517 as church membership rose to 31 million. From 1861 to 1870, 741,000 Catholics immigrated to America. Keeping pace with this growth consumed nearly all of the Church's resources and energies. Statistics from "United States," New American Cyclopaedia (hereafter NAC; 16 vols.;

duties and a laity composed mostly of impoverished and ill-educated immigrants constituted a poor audience for science. And since few Catholic intellectuals had faith in the moral or religious efficacy of science or even of natural theology, they had no reason to encourage science within an immigrant church when their primary concern was to ensure that immigrants learned and kept the Faith.16

American Catholics and Science from 1845 to 1859

American Catholics took their initial lead in addressing issues of science and Catholicism from Nicholas Patrick Wiseman (1802- 1865), the leading Catholic apologist in England and later Archbishop of Westminster. Originally intended for an introductory course on theology at the English College in Rome but given before large audiences in Cardinal Thomas Weld's drawing room in Rome during Lent in 1835, Wiseman's Twelve Lectures on the Connection between Science & Revealed Religion (1836) sought to show that true science never contradicted Scripture.17 In this effort, he confronted evolution (or "transformism" to use the term of the day)18 in its Lamarckian form." He concluded that

NewYork, 1857-1863), XV,813-814;Jay P. Dolan, Catholic Revivalism: The American Experience 1830-1900 (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1978), p. 26; Phyllis A. Gray, "A Survey of Catholic Americana and Catholic Book Publishing in the United States 1861 -1870" (Master's thesis, Catholic University of America, 1950), p. 13. For this last reference I am indebted to Carolyn T. Lee.

"Jay P Dolan, The Immigrant Church: New York's Irish and German Catholics, 1815-1865 (Baltimore, 1975), p. 7.

"'See John D. Yule, "The Impact of Science on British Religious Thought in the Second Quarter of the Nineteenth Century" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 1976, BLLD Accession No. D17081/76),pp. 50-93; Walter (Susan) F. Cannon, "The Problem of Miracles in the 1830's," Victorian Studies, 4 (1960), 5-32 on 17-18.

"""Transformism" was Lamarck's term, and in Britain naturalists spoke of "transmutations." Darwin himself avoided using "evolution" due to its overtones of predictable progress; he preferred "development." Walworth wrote of "progressionists," not evolutionists. On evolution as a concept see Peter Bowler, Evolution: The History of an Idea, rev. ed. (Berkeley, 1983, 1989).

"Lamarck (1744-1829) believed that species progressed by separate acts of spontaneous generation. The general trend of these acts was upwards, but it was not strictly linear since environmental changes intervened and thwarted the tendency to linear progress by creating new needs in species. Species responded to these needs and adapted to their changed environment. These adaptations were passed on by generation. See Pietro Corsi, The Age of Lamarck: Evolutionary Theories in France, 1790-1830 (Berkeley, 1988).

Lamarckism was "degrading," since it sought to show'how man's bodily organization sprung from a casual though natural modification of the ape" and "that the spiritual prerogatives of the human mind are but the extension of the faculties enjoyed by brutes." Theologically untenable, since it implied that humans were merely smarter beasts lacking immortal souls, Lamarckism was further disproved, Wiseman held, by "the experience of thousands of years," since in that time no one had witnessed developments of the type posited by it. He also cited volume two of Charles Lyell's Principles of Geology (1830-1833) for its "full confutation" of Lamarckism.[20]

But it was polygenism more than transformism which worried Wiseman, since in suggesting that not all humans were descended from Adam and Eve, it threatened the foundation of Catholicism: "the deep mystery of original sin, and the glorious mystery of redemption." Forced to develop his own theory of variation to answer polygenism, he proposed that there existed a "perpetual tendency" or "striving" in nature that caused spontaneous variations among all species, including humans. Under favorable conditions, some of these variations were perpetuated. None of these variations, however, affected the underlying fixity of species.[21]

Wiseman set three important precedents for American Catholics. First, he briskly rejected evolutionary theories because they implied that humans were smarter beasts and not spiritual creations made by God in His image. Second, he devoted far more effort to disproving polygenism, since it threatened the linchpin of Catholicism: original sin and Christ's redemption. Here he displayed considerable erudition and originality, using a comparative study of languages to show that it too confirmed that the "entire human race formed originally one family"[22] Third, he made a dedicated effort to reconcile new scientific discoveries and theories with church teachings. He sought peaceful coexistence, not conflict, between science and Catholicism.

Wiseman's pacifism was exchanged for pugilism in the first American Catholic response to evolution in 1847. Three years earlier, Robert

•"'Wiseman, Twelve Lectures on the Connection between Science & Revealed Religion (2 vols.;London, 1836; 6th ed. Baltimore, 1860), I, 172, 174-175.

"Ibid., pp. 136, 191, 223. Wiseman was fortunate in that in the 1830s almost all naturalists upheld monogenism. In particular, he cited the work of Johann F. Blumenbach and James Cowles Prichard as disproving polygenism.

"Ibid., p. 136. Wiseman's use of philology to uphold monogenism was applauded by Presbyterians in America. See Herbert Hovenkamp, Science and Religion in America 1800-1860 (Philadelphia, 1978).

Chambers, a Scottish publisher and science enthusiast, had anonymously published *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*, wherein he suggested that a law of Development, preordained by God, ruled the organic world.[21] Despite advancing a much-contested model of an evolutionary mechanism, and despite being attacked for ignorant scientific blunders, *Vestiges* was sensationally popular.

Perhaps because British scientists castigated *Vestiges*—the geologist Adam Sedgwick for one was apoplectic with rage and wanted it "pulverized"—the British Catholic press ignored it.[24] In parallel with Sedgwick's attack, however, the American Catholic press did its best to pulverize it. In a wide-ranging, twenty-nine-page review, an anonymous reviewer declared that *Vestiges* was "essentially atheistical" and its author sacrilegious. Resorting to caricature, the reviewer claimed that Chambers "placfed] man on a level with cats and toads" and made a goose the mother of the human species. Scripture, supported by natural history and the unanimous consent of philosophers and naturalists (and here the reviewer disregarded Lamarck's dissent), incontrovertibly proved species perpetuated their own kind. This law underpinned all other laws of science and morality. Men like Chambers knew this and reveled in it, the reviewer warned, for they wanted to produce moral chaos so that they would have full rein to satisfy their beastly passions."

So obviously wrongheaded (and dangerous!) was Chambers' theory deemed to be that the reviewer consented to examine it solely "for its connection with geology"[26] Using geological evidence, Chambers had

"Milton Millhauser,/«íí *Before Darwin: Robert Chambers and Vestiges* (Middletown, Connecticut, 1959). Millhaüser does not mention Catholic responses to *Vestiges*.

"Root, op. cit., p. 49.

"Anon. ,"Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation," *The United States Catholic Magazine and Monthly Review*, Vl (May, 1847), 229-257. This magazine, edited by Bishop Martin J. Spalding at Louisville, Kentucky, and Father Charles I. White at Baltimore, was then the flagship of American Catholic periodicals and perhaps the best indicator of "official" American Catholic opinion at a national level. Chambers was in fact seeking to advance a thoroughly secular program of middle-class reforms, which partly explains the invective he earned from conservative religionists. On this see James A. Secord, "Behind the Veil: Robert Chambers and Vestiges," in James Moore (ed.), *History, Humanity and Evolution: Essays for John C Greene* (New York, 1989), pp. 165-194. Adrian Desmond in *The Politics of Evolution* (Chicago, 1989) and other works has further shown that evolution was linked to radical, even atheistic, social reforms.

"The reviewer also rejected the nebular hypothesis, a clear sign of his conservatism, for as Ronald L. Numbers has observed, American Catholics, even Brownson, were generally either indifferent to or supportive of evolution in the heavens, partly because it did not directly contradict Catholic dogma. See his *Creation by Natural Law: Laplace's Nebular Hypothesis in American Thought* (Seattle, 1977), esp. pp. 122-123.

suggested that the earth had developed slowly over countless millennia. For the reviewer, however, geology seemed to confirm biblical chronology and the traditional estimate of the earth's age (about 6000 years). The reviewer proceeded to denounce the two theories most commonly used to reconcile geology with Genesis: the gap theory or the idea that there was a deliberate pause in Genesis between when God created the heavens and the earth and when He created light, and that this defined an indefinite period of time in which the changes observed by geologists took place; and the day-age theory or the idea that the days of creation in Genesis represented geological epochs.[27] These theories were not physically absurd, he admitted, but they were mere hypotheses compared to the irrefutable evidence supplied to Catholics by the Church and Scripture.

In his conviction that geology as yet offered no convincing evidence to contradict a literal reading of Genesis, the reviewer was not alone. The U.S. Catholic Magazine had previously run two articles by a "practical geologist" who had, according to the editors, "completely demolishe[d] the fanciful theories of his compeers [about the high antiquity of the earth] by the rigid application of syllogisms." This "practical geologist" had warned Catholics that if they tolerated compromises like the gap theory, they would ultimately be required "to admit as true all the marvels" of Chambers' Vestiges. His editors agreed, admonishing Catholics to avoid following the lead of "Protestant" geologists, who, in deciding to rely exclusively on their own intellects, "losft] themselves, rambling, perchance, in the empyrean of some nebulous hypothesis."[28]

Such uncompromising expressions of dogmatic literalism touched off a revealing internecine quarrel, for not all American Catholics believed that God created the earth in six days several thousand years ago. Wiseman had subscribed to the gap theory, and the Philadelphia Catholic Herald cited him and chastised the "practical geologist," observing that his literal reading of Genesis was problematic. A "day," the Herald ob-

2"See Charles Coulston Gillispie, Genesis and Geology: A Study in the Relations of Scientific Thought, Natural Theology, and Social Opinion in Great Britain, 1790-1850 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1951); Milton Millhauser, "The Scriptural Geologists: An Episode in the History of Opinion," Osiris, XI (1954), 65-86; Davis A. Young, "Nineteenth Century Christian Geologists and the Doctrine of Scripture," Christian Scholar's Review, 11 (1982), 212-228; James R. Moore, "Geologists and Interpreters of Genesis in the Nineteenth Century," in Lindberg and Numbers, op. cit., pp. 322-350.

¦""Geology Confirming Divine Revelation: A Conversation between a Geologist and a Student of Theology," The United States Catholic Magazine and Monthly Review, IV Ouly, 1845), 431-441; and "Geology at Variance with Scripture," ibid., V (June> 1846), 306-323.

served, is defined by the rising and setting of the sun, which God did not set in the firmament until the fourth "day" of creation. Literal readings of Genesis, moreover, provoked controversy between religion and science which could be easily avoided. What was needed, the Herald stated, was a looser reading of Genesis which allowed room for reconciliation so that geology might remain "subservient to revelation."29

Writing with similar goals just prior to Darwin's Origin of Species, Augustine Hewit defended Catholics against charges of being hostile toward science. Without naming individuals, Hewit claimed it was Protestant clergymen in Britain and America who attacked their own expert geologists, such as William Buckland and Edward Hitchcock, for "betraying the cause of Christianity." Hewit professed he was unaware of any Catholic clergy writing in English who had made similar attacks, and that "confessedly the best book in defence of the harmony of Science and Revelation" was Wiseman's. Hewit himself saw no danger and in fact only further confirmation of church teachings emanating from science in 1859, with one crucial exception: "that of the plurality of the human race." Here was further proof of the serious threat posed by polygenism to Catholicism, for in Hewit's words it was the only scientific theory "advocated by men of eminence" which was "in direct contravention to" Catholic dogma.1"

In summary, from 1845 to 1859 leading American Catholics dismissed Chambers' development hypothesis as theologically unsound and socially immoral; they debated the merits of geology, with some Catholics upholding a literal reading of Genesis11 and some following Wiseman in suggesting a looser reading of Genesis to allow for a much older earth; and they demolished polygenism for the reasons already indicated. From such a limited pool of responses it is difficult to reach a conclusive analysis. Nevertheless, it appears as if American Catholics either distrusted and rejected science or cautiously trusted science while

"'Wiseman, Lectures, I, esp. 281 and 295; Geology," Catholic Herald, XIII (August 28, 1845), 276-277.

"'Augustine Hewit, "Catholicity and Civilization," Brownson's Quarterly Review (hereafter BrQR), January, 1859, pp. 16-37 on 23-25. Author identified from John Joseph Kirvan, "A Bibliography of Paulist Writings to 1895 "(MS thesis, June, 1959, Catholic University of America), p. 30.

"This persisted into the 1860's, for as Walworth observed in 1863, "although many of the most gifted and most eminent divines have long since given in their adhesion [to the high antiquity of the earth], many others still deny it, very excellent minds too in their way, and of good judgment where they are well informed." "The Antiquity of the Earth," BrQR, January, 1863, pp. 29-55 on 39.

firmly subjecting it to revelation and church teachings. Distrust and rejection was best represented by Archbishop Martin J. Spalding, the chief editor of the U.S. Catholic Magazine and a prolific writer of articles in defense of Catholicism. Spalding held that science was another manifestation of the false progress of the age, that it was "inflated and vainglorious in the extreme," and that it sought to reduce religion to a "secondary consideration" or "adjunct" of science.12 Cautious trust and subjection was perhaps more prevalent and was promoted by Brownson (from c. 1855 to 1864) and Hewit among others.11 All agreed, however, that polygenism posed the direst threat to Catholicism. This remained true through 1865, as we shall see in Walworth's and Brownson's writings.

C. A. Walworth: Proselytizer for and Mediator between Science and Catholicism

Clarence Walworth was born on May 30, 1820, in Plattsburgh, New York.14 Of wealthy Yankee and Presbyterian lineage, he was the eldest son of Reuben Hyde Walworth, Chancellor of New York from 1828 to 1848. His budding interest in nature was fostered by his education at the Sloan boarding school in Williamstown, Massachusetts, and at Union College in Schenectady, New York. After graduating as a Phi Beta Kappa in 1838, he followed his father's example and studied law, receiving his license to practice in 1841. Within a year, however, he felt himself called for the ministry in the Protestant Episcopal church. In 1842 he entered the General Theological Seminary in New York City, then the center of the American Oxford Movement. By 1843 he had adopted Tractarian-

""The Spirit of the Age," United States Catholic Magazine and Monthly Review, IV (December, 1845), 749-757, reprinted in Spalding, Miscellanea: Comprising Reviews, Lectures, and Essays, on Historical, Theological, and Miscellaneous Subjects (Louisville, Kentucky, 1855), esp. pp. 385-388.

"Another temperate voice was Father John T. Roddan, editor of the Boston Pilot from 1848 to 1858. In a review titled "The Appeal of Modern Science from God's Account of His Own Creation," which appeared in the Pilot in three parts in April, 1850, Roddan reviewed Vestiges and rejected it since it led to skepticism, but he concluded that "modern sciences, when they are rightly studied, lead to Christianity." Cited in Donna Merwick, Boston Priests, 1848- 1910:A Study ofSocial and Intellectual Change (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1973), p. 27.

"On Walworth see Ellen H. Walworth, Life Sketches of Father Walworth with notes and letters (Albany, 1907); "Walworth, Clarence Augustus," New Catholic Encyclopedia (hereafter NCE; 15 vols.; New York, 1967), XIV, 793-794; Walter Elliot, "Father Walworth: A Character Sketch," Catholic World, 73 (June, 1901), 320-337.

ism, and in 1845 he converted to Catholicism. Ordained in 1848 at Redemptorist College in Holland, he went on to serve as a Redemptorist missionary in England, where he befriended John Henry Newman. Returning to America in 1851, he led a celebrated band of American Redemptorist missionaries, which included Hewit and Isaac Hecker. Hecker and Hewit went on to found the Paulists in 1858, and Walworth joined the new congregation in 1861." Twenty-five missions over the next four years exacted a heavy toll on his health, however. Suffering from malaria and exhaustion brought on by overwork, he returned home to Saratoga Springs in 1865 to convalesce. The next year he became pastor of St. Mary's Church in Albany, New York, serving there until his death in 1900.

Walworth pursued a lifelong interest in science and in particular a serious interest in geology, building his own private geological cabinet and a large library of science books. He also did field work with James Hall, state geologist of New York and America's foremost invertebrate paleontologist.1" He began writing a book on science and Catholicism in the 1850s. By this time Wiseman's Lectures were seen as rather dated, though they were reprinted in America up until 1872.

Walworth finished his book, which he titled The Gentle Skeptic, in 186317 From this book he extracted five chapters on geology and Genesis, which appeared in slightly different form in two articles in Brownson's Quarterly Review.™ From 1844 to 1859 at least sixty books had

"On Catholic missions see Dolan, Catholic Revivalism; on the Paulists see James McVann, The Paulists, 1858- 1970 (2 vols.; New York, 1983).

"Hall was a leading figure in American science, serving as president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in 1856. He converted to Catholicism in 1838, but he was apparently not a pious believer and at some point he ceased to be a communicant of the Church. He refused to discuss evolution. See John M. Clatke.James Hall of Albany, Geologist and Paleontologist, 1811-1898 (Albany, 1921; reprint New York, 1978).

yThe Gentle Skeptic; or. Essays and Conversations of a Country Justice on the Authenticity and Truthfulness of the Old Testament Records, by a Country Justice, edited by the Rev. C.Walworth (New York, 1863). The book proved popular—it was reprinted in 1867 and 1875—and earned favorable reviews in the American Catholic press. See Cincinnati Catholic Telegraph, April 22, 1863, p. 132; Boston Pilot, May 2, 1863, p. 2; New York Tablet, May 2, 1863, p. 10. For the historian this book serves as a window into what educated priests like Walworth perceived were serious stumbling blocks and disturbing recent developments to faith. Besides science, Walworth tackled such vexing questions as the nature of miracles and the extent of biblical inspiration.

"""The Antiquity of the Earth" and "The 'Six Days' of Genesis," BrQR, January, 1863, pp. 29-55; April, 1863, pp. 204-227, respectively.

been published which attempted to reconcile geology with Genesis, but Catholic attempts had been nonexistent.[19] The sole "attempt" written in English or available in translation between Wiseman's efforts in 1836 and Walworth's was the Abbé A. Sorignet's Sacred Cosmogony (1854; English translation 1862). Sorignet held out for a 7000-year-old earth and baldly denied that geology had solid evidence that contradicted Scripture, and in August, 1862, the Baltimore Catholic Mirror crowed that Sorignet had negated "the baseless attacks of the enemies of revealed truth."[40]

Walworth disagreed; he thought that science disproved Sorignet's biblical literalism. He cautioned that while well-informed Catholics would recognize Sorignet's "errors," less knowledgeable Catholics might be misled by them.[41] Granted Sorignet's account did not threaten revealed truth, it did offend scientific truth. For Walworth, the pursuit of science honored God; shoddy science dishonored God. Herein lay a key aspect of Walworth's importance as a mediator; he stressed the sanctity of science to American Catholics.

Walworth loved a challenge; later in life, he would fight for temperance and befriend American Indians and learn their language to better fight for their cause. Convincing Catholics that science was a holy pursuit was a challenge in the 1860s. To this end, he turned the Bible into a repository of natural history, calling the author of Job "a close observer of nature," claiming, "King Solomon could have handed in valuable contributions to our American Congress of Science," and quoting Alexander von Humboldt's praise of the descriptions of nature found in the Bible. He even appealed to sacred Catholic devotions and artifacts by comparing the appearance of certain fossils to rosaries and to mosaic tiles on church floors.[42]

The adroitness of Walworth's attempts to marshal support for science among Catholics was further demonstrated by the literary techniques he used in The Gentle Skeptic. He established a dialogue

"Millhauser, op. cit., p. 47.

'"Sacred Cosmogony; or, Primitive Revelation demonstrated by the Harmony of the Facts of the Mosaic History of the Creation, with the Principles of General Science (St. Louis, 1862). The translator was Peter Richard Kenrick.Archbishop of St. Louis from 1847 to 1895. The Catholic Mirror reviewed it on August 30, 1862.

"Brownson also criticized Sorignet, stating that he was "pedantic and pretentious" and his book was "of no practical value as a medium of harmony" between science and religion. See"Literary Notes and Criticism,"BrQR, October, 1862, pp. 546-547.

"Walworth, Gentle Skeptic, pp. 147-148,246-248.

between two personae: Jonathan Bird, an avuncular justice of the peace and self-professed "lover of young people," and Walter Manly, the son of an old friend of Bird's and an earnest seeker after truth. Walter.'the gentle skeptic" of the book's title, asked Bird for proof of the veracity of the Old Testament. Bird served as Walworth's mouthpiece, and it would be difficult to imagine a more credible witness to testify to the authenticity of the Old Testament. Walter, a "manly noble youth," represented the main audience to whom Walworth framed his appeal—young, intelligent men who in his view had understandable doubts about the Bible. Two other personae—Bird's sister Becky and Susy Brinn—broadened the book's appeal to women. Becky was a "simple" but pious believer who asserted the literal truth of Scripture; Susy was a precocious and playful sixteen-year-old. By interspersing conversation with Scripture and church teachings, and by distancing himself from the action, Walworth increased the accessibility of his book to adolescents and young adults and softened its apologetic tone. His four personae appealed to all segments of his audience: male and female, old and young, traditional and "skeptical."41

Walworth used these personae to good effect when he turned to science in The Gentle Skeptic. He had Walter ask Bird the age of the earth, and Becky hastily replied with the traditional answer of six thousand years. But Bird corrected his sister and embarked on a long discussion of geology. He combined evidence of the slowness of natural processes with physical evidence of rocks and fossils and asserted that the earth was "far older than the Book of Genesis has hitherto been supposed to allow." He stated that the literal reading of God's having created the universe in six calendar days was not imperative since it was not a matter of faith or dogma. Citing St. Augustine, he asserted the "days" of Genesis were not literal days or any measure of time but "figurative or symbolical expressions under which the works of creation are classified."44

"Oliver Wendell Holmes, in a letter to Walworth dated May 25, 1863, told him he had read "a good deal" of the Gentle Skeptic, "and without professing to be convinced, I own that the pleasant temper in which it is written at least secures it a fair hearing."A fair hearing was exactly what Walworth was looking for from the American public. Ellen Walworth, op. cit., p. 157.

"Walworth, Gentle Skeptic, pp. 147-148, 246-248, 289. He would later express this view in a poem titled "The Days of Genesis" whose first five lines were: "Deem not these days primordial spanned by time./ Range not the bells of Genesis to chime/ With science. What are ages, years, or days/ To eyes prophetical, but sacred ways/ to teach high law and holy truth to man?" See his Andiatorocte, or the Eve of Lady Day on Lake George and other Poems, Hymns and Meditations in Verse (New York, 1888), p. 69.

Becky at length became vexed by her brother's discourse, complaining, "You arc leading that young man's mind astray. ... I don't see the use of bringing geologists . . . into religious questions. I never found any difficulties in the Bible." But for Bird, or, in other words, for Walworth, simple faith, sufficient for pious believers like Becky, often proved insufficient when answering skeptics and their questions, gentle or otherwise. In the end, he demonstrated the efficacy of his discourse by having Susy joyfully announce that Walter, no longer a skeptic, had joined her at communion.

To persuade more committed skeptics to assent to his metaphorical reading of Genesis, Walworth used a fourfold strategy. First, he asserted that it was spiritually superior to literal readings of Genesis, since it "gives us a more noble and strictly religious view of the first [chapter] of Genesis." Second, he observed that it was simpler, and thus aesthetically more pleasing, than complex correspondences between the days of Genesis and geological epochs, as had been advanced by the Scottish geologist Hugh Miller in his highly popular Testimony of the Rocks (1857). Third, he claimed that it was not only ancient but also supported by the writings of Origen, St. Augustine, and other Church Fathers. He shrewdly pointed out that with this support from the patriarchs, who "could have had no thought of harmonizing their views with geological data when they wrote," the Church could not be construed as kneeling before scientific authority. And fourth, as a Catholic geologist himself, he observed that it created room wherein a Catholic might "freely follow the light of his science without exposing himself to ignorant charges of infidelity."[45]

While Walworth found room to reconcile geology with church teachings on Genesis,[46] he found no common ground between evolutionary theories and Catholicism. Along with Wallace, Darwin had reopened the debate on evolution in 1859.[47] In the Origin of Species, he theo-

[45] Ibid., pp. 218-219,224.

[46] He also reconciled the Noachian flood with geology, supporting a limited deluge based on Scriptural and scientific evidence. He rejected a world-wide flood since the ark would have proved too small to hold all species, since a geographical study of species' distribution was inconsistent with it, and since traces of it could not be consistently found in geological strata.

[47] A vast literature exists on Darwin. One might best start with Michael Ruse's The Darwinian Revolution: Science Red in Tooth and Claw (Chicago, 1979), and the engaging biography by Adrian Desmond and James Moore, Darwin (London, 1991), which also contains an extensive bibliography.

rized that in the struggle of life, varieties within species which were best suited to their habitat would prevail over their less well-adapted competitors. Over many generations, selective pressure acting in one direction might create a new species. He termed this process "natural selection" and amassed a mountain of supporting evidence. Walworth's science and faith proved sufficient to move this mountain. Consistent with the views of his mentor Hall and other leading American geologists such as James Dwight Dana, he decided that Darwin still lacked proof for development in nature since too many gaps existed in the geological record.[48] Moreover, he admired Lyell and cited his argument "against a progressive development of organic life at successive geological periods" as an alternative to evolutionary theories. He also cited Agassiz, then America's premier naturalist, who had argued against Darwin's view of historical development.[49]

After using Lyell and Agassiz to cast scientific doubt on evolutionary theories, Walworth used theology and the Church Fathers to refute them. He had previously agreed with St. Augustine that the plan of development in the "six days" of Genesis existed in God's mind, and that God instantaneously actualized it in nature. Similarly, he agreed with Agassiz that the plan of development for species existed in God's mind, and that God instantaneously actualized it in nature.11" Walworth rejected evolutionists' claims, then, because they lacked sufficient proof from the geological record, because leading naturalists like Lyell and Agassiz argued against them, and because they confounded the order of plans successive in God's mind with their seemingly (but not actually) successive manifestations in nature.

'"In 1861 Hall wrote, "It is not possible with our present knowledge to trace a gradual or constant progression [of species] throughout all the successive geological periods." "Paleontology," NAC, XII, 681-685. Dana would come to accept a limited version of theistic evolution in 1874; see Edward J. Larson, Trial and Error: The American Controversy over Creation and Evolution (New York, 1985, 1989), pp. 13-14.

'"Walworth, "The 'Six Days' of Genesis," pp. 214-215, 223. In 1863 Lyell changed his mind and cautiously endorsed evolution, but he insisted that natural selection acted as a subordinate cause and man's "moral and intellectual faculties" resulted from the intervention of "new and powerful causes." Moore, op. cit., p. 106.

'"Walworth, "The Six Days' of Genesis," p. 223 Walworth once spent a morning with Agassiz and discussed with him St. Augustine's theory of creation. He also attended at least one of Agassiz's lectures during which Agassiz refuted evolution. However, Walworth rejected Agassiz's "realm-theory" (the idea that God had created eight distinct types of man and assigned them to eight geographical realms on earth), because it contradicted humanity's common descent through Adam and Eve. Ellen Walworth, op. cit., p. 158; Edward Lurie, "Louis Agassiz and the Races of Han" Isis, 45 (1954), 227-242.

But Walworth was not greatly troubled by evolutionary theories. Believing they faced insuperable difficulties, he made only a few scattered comments about them, whereas he devoted five chapters to geology (as an amateur geologist he knew this subject best) and one long chapter to refuting polygenism. His brief and, on the whole, balanced response to evolutionary theories was consistent with the nearly negligible influence they had on American Catholics (Brownson being the one notable exception). Far more disturbing to him was the strong undercurrent of polygenism in American thought, which, as the New American Cyclopaedia observed in 1859, was the "question most exciting interest in regard to the human races at the present day. . . ."51

Walworth was disturbed by signs of a proslavery bias in the writings of "confederate" polygenists, but it was Catholic dogma which formed the bedrock underlying his opposition to polygenism." He was first and foremost a Catholic priest, and while Catholics might liberally interpret Scripture where no certainty, that is, where no Catholic dogma, existed, they must, in his words, "save the great doctrines." The crucial doctrine was the consanguinity of humanity. Like Wiseman he cautioned that polygenism would tear "the whole fabric of the Christian faith."51

To counter polygenism, Walworth, like Wiseman before him, developed his own theory of variation to explain how the races of man had emerged. He posited two types of causes of variation: gradual and sudden. His gradual causes were no different from Wiseman's and included, in Wiseman's words, "a modifying influence in constant action"

""Ethnology," NAC, VII, 306-31 1.

"References to the proslavery bias of polygenists were not uncommon in the literature of the day. The Atlantic Monthly strenuously criticized those who wove together "facts and fancies in Ethnology ... to form another withe about the limbs of the wretched African slave." See "Reviews and Literary Notices," Atlantic Monthly, 7 (April, 1861), 508. American Catholics generally did not support slavery (without the Church taking an official position), nor did they embrace abolitionism: overall they were ambivalent. See Madeleine Hooke Rice, American Catholic Opinion in the Slavery Controversy (New York, }944); Wood, op. cit., pp. 353-365.

"Walworth, Gentle Skeptic, p. 332. Catholics were not alone in their opposition to polygenism. For a well-argued, Presbyterian response see Charles Hodge, "The Unity of Mankind," The Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review, 31 (1859), 103- 149, wherein he states that polygenism "is against the explicit declarations of the Bible, as it subverts the great doctrines of the common apostasy and redemption of the race, and is opposed to the universal faith of the church. . . ." For other evangelical responses see Stanton, op. cit., pp. 164-168.

in nature which caused small variations within species.[54] His sudden cause, however, represented a significant departure from Wiseman:

> Nature does not always work gradually and openly. Sometimes . . . she springs forward to her purpose by a single bound. . . . There is, it seems, in the nature of animals [and man], a certain force. . . . There is doubtless some wise provision in it [the sudden change] to aid them [the new varieties] in the struggle of life. . . . [That] such varieties are sometimes produced suddenly in the process of gestation [is] . . . . proved by facts of actual occurrence in modern times.[55]

This unknown internal force, guided by providence, which caused large variations or saltations within species, helped Walworth answer polygenists. Polygenists had claimed that racial features of Negroes could not have resulted from natural variations among Adam's descendants since their preservation in ancient monuments in Egypt proved there would have been too little time after the Creation for physical processes to work these changes. From this it followed that God had most likely created the races of man as distinct species.[56] But for Walworth it was precisely these racial features which had been produced suddenly in the process of gestation in at least one of Adam's early descendants.

Yet his hypothesis of a beneficial internal force was reminiscent of Lamarckism. More dangerously still, sudden changes during gestation recalled Chambers' argument in Vestiges for embryological saltations as an evolutionary mechanism (though for Chambers these changes were caused by variations in the time of gestation under differing conditions of light and oxygen). However striking these parallels may seem to modern readers, they scarcely troubled Walworth, since he believed species were fixed by God. Furthermore, he asserted that the law of hybrid interfertility "provide[d] for the preservation of each species in its integrity."[57] It is clear that answering polygenism, even if this entailed making less than comfortable parallels with previously discredited evolutionary theories, took priority in his thought because it threatened the very core of Catholic belief. Answering polygenism would also prove to be a priority for Orestes Brownson.

[54] Wiseman, Lectures, 1, 178.

[55] Walworth, Gentle Skeptic, pp. 341-343.

[56] In the main Walworth was responding to Josiah C. Notts and George R. Gliddon's Types of Mankind (Philadelphia, 1854), a formidable, 738-page polygenist tome that passed through ten editions.

[57] Walworth, Gentle Skeptic, p. 344.

O. A. Brownson and the Political Implications of Evolution and Polygenism

Orestes Brownson epitomized the diversity of religious and political life in America in the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century.58 Before his permanent conversion to Catholicism in 1844, he had been a Presbyterian (1822), a Universalist (1824), an Owenite socialist and a member of the Workingmen's Party (1829), an independent minister (1831), and a Unitarian (1832) who in 1836 began his own church by denouncing Catholicism and Protestantism. From 1828 to 1842, Brownson was, by his own admission, a socialist who sought the equality of man through world reform.

Disgusted by the 1840 Presidential election, which in his words was "carried on by doggerels, log-cabins, and hard cider, by means utterly corrupt and corrupting," he began a philosophic study of politics. He soon decided to seek not equality but justice, which he thought could be supplied only by a strong, legitimate government. I became henceforth a conservative in politics, instead of an impracticable radical," he wrote, "and through political conservatism I advanced rapidly towards religious conservatism." He became convinced that humanity could reform itself only with God's help. He then questioned how humans were able to think, and he concluded that just as humans could not progress in politics without God, so could they not think without God.59 It was this political and epistemological search for social progress and certainty which led him to the Catholic Church.'*

As a Catholic, Brownson structured his thought by the formula "Being, or God, creates existence." God's creative act was for him the middle term or synthesizing element in a living dialectic which united Being and existence. This dialectic ruled everywhere. In theology, God's creative act was the Apostolic Succession, which united God and the Church. In politics, God's creative act was a divine constitution, which

"On Brownson's life see, among others, Thomas R. Ryan, Orestes A. Brownson: A Definitive Biography (Huntington, Indiana, 1976).

"Orestes Brownson, The Convert; or, Leaves from my Experience (1857) in The Works of Orestes A. Brownson (hereafter Works; 20 vols.; Detroit, 1882-1887; reprinted New York, 1966),V 43, 121-122, 134.

""Brownson's desire for social progress and reform and his conclusion that they were achievable only with the mediation of the Catholic Church are explored in Mark S. Burrows, "The Catholic Revision of an American Myth: The Eschatology of Orestes Brownson as an Apology of American Catholicism," Catholic Historical Review, LXXVI (January, 1990), 18-43.

united God and society (or nation)."1 In natural history, God's creative act was a germ, which united God and species. While God or Being could exist alone, the Church, nations, and species were organic groups of linked individuals which would cease to exist if separated from God.

With this philosophy firmly entrenched in his mind, Brownson embarked on a bold attempt to convince Americans, "The salvation of the American republic depends on Catholicity." His unique contribution to American politics was to suggest, "Catholics are better fitted by their religion to comprehend the real character of the American constitution than any other class of Americans," and no other government was better suited for the Catholic Church than the American constitutional republic/'2 In the crisis of the Civil War the viability of this republic, and thus of the Church as well, was foremost on his mind.

Brownson developed his politics best in his American Republic: Its Constitution, Tendencies, and Destiny (1865).M He rejected evolutionary theories in this book since their idea of self-development subverted his politics. Evolutionary theories, Darwinism in particular, emphasized progress through harsh competition between individuals and lent credence to the idea that nations were self-developing aggregates of individuals. Brownson, however, saw societies as organic bodies of co-operating individuals which developed in obeisance to divine constitutions. It would be difficult to imagine two more fundamentally opposed world views. Evolutionary theories, especially Darwinism, were consistent with dynamic, individualistic, secular, industrial societies—societies which Brownson loathed.

More loathsome yet was that evolutionary theories, of course by accident, were philosophically sympathetic to the Confederate cause. The Confederacy considered itself to be a new nation (or, to make an analogy tacit in Brownson's thought, a new species) with a new constitution (or germ)." Interestingly enough, from 1828 to 1861 Brownson

'"By nation he meant a society plus its territory; a government drew its authority from a written constitution, itself drawn from a divine constitution. The American Republic, 1865 (reprinted in the Masterworks of Literature Series, ed. Americo Lapati, New Haven, 1972), p. 32.

"Ibid., pp. 225,244.

"This was based on a series of essays he had penned over twenty years earlier on the "Origin and Constitution of Government" for the U.S. Democratic Review. See Henry F. Brownson, "Brownson, Orestes Augustus," Catholic Encyclopedia (16 vols.; New York, 1907-1912), HI, 1-3.

'"Brownson did not use biological metaphors to lend authenticity to his politics; his view of the state as an organism and his use (but not his definition) of "germ," however,

had supported John C. Calhoun's theory of states' rights. Shocked by Southern secession, he modified his politics. He continued to believe sovereignty resided in the states, but now only in the states united as a nation."5 His denial that the Confederacy could ever constitute a valid government was a crucial manifestation of his denial of all forms of self-development, including evolution.

Evolutionary theories were diametrically opposed to Brownson's politics and epistemology; therefore, it was not surprising that his response to them was more detailed and emotional than the responses of other American Catholics. Yet at least through 1865 he devoted even more attention to polygenism, partly because it too subverted his politics.'* Theological concerns took precedence, for like Walworth he observed/Original Sin, the Incarnation, Redemption, Regeneration, indeed all that has hitherto been regarded as distinctively Christian, would have no meaning if the unity of the human race were not a truth." Almost as worrying, however, was that one of the "grand" errors of Greco-Roman civilization had been "its denial or ignorance of the unity of the human race." Monogenism was fundamental to the rights of society, and if America's providential mission was to "continue and complete in the political order the Greco-Roman civilization," as he believed, she had to uphold the unity and consanguinity of the human species.67

The theological and political importance Brownson attached to this issue explained his continued efforts to refute polygenism. "Now, in this case," he cautioned in 1864, "we contend that revelation, sustained by incontestable historical documents, gives the law to the scientific. . . , and as this unequivocally teaches the unity of the race, the scientific cannot deny it." Otherwise during his liberal ' period (c. 1855-1864) he

were similar to biological metaphors used by other American political theorists in the nineteenth century. See William Coleman, "Science and Symbol in the Turner Frontier Hypothesis," American Historical Review, 72 (1966), 22-49·

'"Brownson, Convert, p. 27.

"Brownson's writings are replete with passages upholding the consanguinity of man; examples include (all from BrQR) "Review of J. H. Van Evrie's Negroes and Negro Slavery," April, 1861, pp. 264-267; "Essays on the Reformation," April, 1862, pp. 172-194 on 187; "Emancipation and Colonization," April, 1862, pp. 220-240 on 232; "Review of Charles Lyells Antiquity of Man," July, 1863, pp. 381-382; "Review of C. L. Brace's The Races of the Old World, "July, 1863, p. 382; Orthodoxy and Unitarianism.'July, 1863, pp. 257-289 on 275;"Review of David T. Ansted's The Great Stone Book of Nature," January, 1864, pp. 124-125.

""Faith and Reason," BrQR, April. 1863, pp. 129-160 on 137, American Republic, pp. 212,232.

adopted a conciliatory tone toward scientists, praising them for their great discoveries and valuable correctives to ancient science and for their hard work and dedication, and recognizing their right to rely on their own laws and logical conclusions.68 This represented a significant shift in his thought, for in 1851 he had written that he had found the physical sciences "so unsettled, so uncertain, and changing so often, that we gave them up in despair, and returned to ourselves pretty much to the physics of Aristotle.""

Adopting a more conciliatory tone was one tactic in a conscious strategy by Brownson to secure a fairer hearing for the Church in America and to attract more American converts to Catholicism. As the Church in the 1850s became increasingly the church of the immigrant, the Yankee Brownson began to feel like an outsider. He confessed in a private letter in 1862, I am attempting to gain, what I lost when I became a Catholic, the ears of my own countrymen. ... To succeed in this it is necessary to recognize the modern spirit, & accept it as far as possible."" In this effort he strongly criticized a guideline advanced by the New York Tablet in 1863—that science was wrong whenever it conflicted with Catholicism—stating that such dogmatic guidelines were repugnant to potential converts and that they failed to quiet the doubts of intelligent Catholics who were leaving the Church as a result.'"

Persuading Americans that Catholics were open-minded about science and winning American converts were also part of the Paulists' mission "to identify Catholicity with American life.""2 As a Paulist (and as a Redemptorist before this), Walworth directed his efforts toward fulfilling this mission. In the 1850s, Walworth had earned a reputation for powerful, passionate, even poetic preaching.71 Just as he sought, by the power of his oratory, to persuade Americans to take up the Catholic

"""Review of David T. Ansted's The Great Stone Book of Nature," BrQR, January, 1864, pp. 124-125; see also Works, IX, 266.

"""Literary Notices and Criticisms," BrQR, April, 1851, p. 270.

'Letter from Brownson to Count Charles de Montalembert, April 11, 1862, The Microfilm Edition of the Orestes A. Brownson Papers (19 rolls plus 1 supplementary roll, 1966), roll 5 (correspondence, 1860-1862).

"Science and the Sciences," Works, IX, 255. This article appeared in BrQR in July, 1863, pp. 312-341, under the title "Walworth's Gentle Skeptic."

"Letter from Hecker to Father Rouquette, July 24, 1859, in John T. Ellis (ed), Documents of American Catholic History (3 vols; Wilmington, Delaware, 1987), II, 341. The strength of Hecker's commitment to convert America to Catholicism is well demonstrated in David J. O'Brien's Isaac Hecker: An American Catholic (Mahwah, New Jersey, 1992).

"'See Dolan, Catholic Revivalism, p. 69.

cross, so he sought, by the power of his prose, to persuade Catholics to take up science. If he were successful, images of closed-minded Catholics in thrall to Rome would be effaced by the reality of open-minded Catholics freely pursuing science for the greater glory of God.

In summary, it is clear that readings of Catholics qua Catholics reviling and rejecting science whenever it appeared to conflict with faith are untenably simplistic. Brownson for one displayed a fusion of political, social, and epistemological concerns, informed by a fervent Catholicity, which led him to reject evolutionary theories and polygenism. But, at the same time, he promoted understanding and compromise between Catholicism and science and urged Catholics to master science using the divine light of revelation as a guide. Walworth and his fellow Paulists promoted and urged the same with identical goals of reinvigorating the faith of wavering Catholics and of gaining a more tolerant and hopefully more Catholic American audience. Perhaps their benevolent attitude toward science was in some measure attributable to their varied confessional backgrounds (Brownson and all the Paulists through 1872 were converts); then again, their superior education (at least in terms of breadth) may have played a critical role in shaping their conciliatory approach to science. Whatever the case, we must recognize that the issue was not solely one of Catholic dogma versus science but one where important apologetic and missionary goals often intervened and influenced approaches and responses.

American Catholics, Evolutionary Theories, and Theology from 1865 to 1875

In December, 1864, Pius IX issued the encyclical Quanta cura and its attached Syllabus of Errors. The Syllabus condemned the idea the pope should "reconcile himself to, and agree with, progress, liberalism, and civilization as lately introduced."[74] Brownson, suffering from gout and the loss of two sons in the war and unable to continue publishing his review, was not about to risk excommunication.[75] He conformed to the

[74] The Syllabus of Errors of Pope Pius IX, ed. Robert Hull (Huntington, Indiana, 1926), p. 72.

[75] The threat was real; Montalembert wrote Brownson that "all the most glorious or hopeful [Catholic] names of the present day have been more or less excommunicated, just like you and me," and among the names he listed was Johann Joseph Ignaz von Döllinger, who later was excommunicated in 1871. Letter from Montalembert to Brownson, December 17, 1864, Brownson Papers, roll 6, emphasis in original.

pope's ruling, abandoning his prior attempts to adapt Catholicism to the spirit of the age. He wrote Hecker that he now wanted "to [make] war on the . . . spirit of the age, which I hold is the Spirit of Satan, false & mischievous in its essence. . . ." In another letter he warned Hecker that science was discrediting and supplanting faith, and he asked why Catholics remained silent:

> Why do not the Jesuits take up these great questions that the Savants are grappling with, master them, and refute the scientific infidels on their own ground? Are they overawed by great names? Have they no confidence in faith? Is their own physical science of the same character? ... If I were not more than fifty I would try & master the so-called sciences, and expose them.""

If nothing else, one has to admire Brownson's spirit.

Brownson's new forum was the Catholic World, a Paulist-run periodical begun in 1865. Within its pages, Brownson prevailed in establishing a combative tone between science and Catholicism. To be sure, the Paulists continued to enjoy some success in their efforts to persuade non-Catholic Americans that Catholicism nourished science.77 A profile of their congregation which appeared in the Atlantic Monthly in 1868 depicted them as being "the furthest possible from being alarmed at the discoveries of science" and as denying with "much emphasis and vehemence . . . the common assertion, that the Roman Catholic Church demands of man the submission or abdication of his reason."7"

But apart from the somewhat more mellifluous voices of the Paulists, Brownson's was only the shrillest voice in a predominantly conservative Catholic choir. American Catholics writing in the 1860s and 1870s believed that skepticism and irreligion pervaded America, that this atheistic trend had had its origin in the Reformation, and that the so-called progress of their age was in fact the advance of heresy. Most of these Catholics did not single out Darwin, Herbert Spencer, or other evolutionists; the "heretics" they identified were religious ones: Protestants,

"'Joseph Gower and Richard Leliaert (eds.), The Brownson-Hecker Correspondence (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1979), pp. 238, 245.

"In their efforts they were not unique. Gabriel Motzkin argues that particularly in Belgium, France, and Italy, where anticiericalism, nationalism, and secularization were strong, Catholics sought to show that "the development of modern science could only be understood within the context of Catholic theology and philosophy" See "The Catholic Response to Secularization and the Rise oí the History of Science as a Discipline,"Science in Context, 3 (1989), 203-226.

"James Parton, "Our Roman Catholic Brethren" Atlantic Monthly, 21 (April/May, 1868), 432-451,556-574 on 567. As a free religionist, Parton was no sycophant for Catholicism.

Spiritualists, "higher" critics of Scripture such as Theodore Parker in America and David F. Strauss in Germany; the list went on. One Catholic in 1867 tallied the number of Unitarians, Universalists, Spiritualists, Jews, and Infidels and Skeptics in America and arrived at 10,376,000 unbelievers, or, as he alarmingly exclaimed, nearly one-third of the nation's population."'

Religious heretics were not the only targets these Catholics attacked. They denounced newspapers, schools, Congress—in other words, nearly all societal institutions—for de-emphasizing or abandoning God. Society seemed to be placing its faith not in God but in materialism and consumerism. Science appeared to reinforce this heresy since it was cited in newspapers and periodicals as the exemplar and chief source of progress and materialism.8" Such Cassandra-like warnings of the dangers of science can be seen in the Baltimore Catholic Mirror, which served the archdiocese of Baltimore and the dioceses of Richmond and Wheeling. By 1865 a general scheme had emerged in its pages—evolutionary theories were another aspect of skepticism; evolutionists were lumped together and their arguments lampooned and dismissed for their implications about man's origins from tadpoles—which ruled the Mirror through 1875. The Mirror repeatedly told its readers that evolution was another absurd, pernicious theory developed by atheists and materialists to undermine Church teachings."'

More sophisticated responses were rarer, because American Catholic intellectuals were generally too busy or ill-equipped to tackle science head-on."2 But they did make a few fascinating attempts. Polygenism re-

""Erastus E. Marcy, Christianity and its Conflicts, Ancient and Modern (New York, 1867), p. 445. For similar alarmist rhetoric see Cornelius E Smarius, /Oz'nfs of Controversy (New York, 1865, 1871); T. W M. Marshall, Order and Chaos; A Lecture, Delivered at Loyola College, Baltimore in July, 1869 (Baltimore, 1869, 1875).

""Hecker, not surprisingly, was one of the few optimists. He asserted, "The progress of modern science and thought is unconsciously preparing the way for the triumph of Catholic truth." From "The Future Triumph of the Church," in Sermons Delivered during the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore, October, 1866 (Baltimore, 1866), pp. 66-86 on 82.

"'Baltimore Catholic Mirror, "Revelation vs. The World's Philosophy," June 28, 1862, p. 4 (repeated on June 24, 1865, p. 4); "Skepticism in Society," May 12, 1866, p. 4 (repeated with minor changes in answer to a letter, November 14, 1868, p. 4); "Progressive Aspirations and Modern Civilization," May 20, 1871, p. 4; "The Condition of the Working Classes in England," January 13, 1872, p. 4; "The New School of History," February 3, 1872, p. 4; "Dogma and Dogmatic Teachings," April 20, 1872, p. 4; "Discussion with an Infidel," July 11, 1874, p. 4; "The Anti-Christian Philosophy," October 10, 1874, p. 4.

"They were also probably reluctant to do so. Newman for one believecTthat the papal Munich Brief, made public in March, 1864, implied, "We are simply to be silent while sei-

mained of some concern to American Catholics immediately after the Civil War. In a sermon on June 17, 1866, the Paulist Alfred Young stated in no uncertain terms:

> The doctrine of original sin depends upon the fact of the unity of the human race. Now, there are apparently many different races. . . . Science says to us,'I am not able to show how these could all come from one pair, therefore you must reject your doctrine of original sin as false and unfounded.' Science elevates itself as the God of Truth upon a throne which it is obliged almost daily to abdicate. . . ."*

Statements by American Catholics against polygenism became increasingly scarce, however, after 1865s4 Once slavery was outlawed, the monogenist/polygenist debate lacked the political urgency and high emotion generated in antebellum years, but, more importantly, scientific support for polygenism was undermined by Wallace in 1864 and by Darwin in 1871."5 Meanwhile, as Darwin's and Spencer's evolutionary theories attracted vociferous supporters in postbellum America, Catholics gradually came to grips with the implications of evolutionary theories for church teachings and authority.

Reflecting their skills and concerns, Catholics stressed theological rather than scientific implications of evolutionary theories (and they

entitle investigation proceeds—and say not a word on questions of interpretation of Scripture. . . ." Cited in Wilfrid Ward, The Life of John Henry Newman (2 vols.; London, 1912), I, 642. He apologetically wrote Walworth in 1866 that he dared not formally or openly support his book, "first in consequence of the scandal that it would (needlessly) give here,—and next because I should be involved in a controversy for which I have neither time nor relish nor strength." He did not elaborate on the nature of this scandal or controversy, but one might surmise he wanted both to avoid rankling the church hierarchy in Rome and to prevent potentially divisive debates on issues of science and Catholicism within the English Church which the Church's opponents could possibly exploit. For Newman's letter see Ellen Walworth, op. cit., p. 194.

"'Alfred Young, "The Gospel According to Man; the Religion of the Day," in Sermons Preached at the Church of St. Paul the Apostle, New York, during the Years 1865 and 1866 (New York, 1866), pp. 342-343.

"'Brownson wrote his last detailed defense of monogenism in 1867: see "Faith and the Sciences," CW 6 (December, 1867), in Works, IX, 268-291 on 279-285.

"Wallace used natural selection to explain the origin of racial characteristics among humans, whereas Darwin used sexual selection, a concept he introduced in Origin of Species but which he developed in far greater detail in his Descent of Man in 1871. For Wallace's monogenist argument see Martin Fichman, "Ideological Factors in the Dissemination of Darwinism in England 1860-1900," in Everett Mendelsohn (ed.), Transformation and Tradition in the Sciences (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 471-485 esp. 474-47Í

rarely tailored their response to a particular theory)."*' For instance, if the principle of like producing like broke down in nature, perhaps it also broke down in the supernatural realm. If so, this called into question Apostolic Succession. That the spiritual authority and power which Christ gave the Apostles has been passed on unbroken through the centuries in the Catholic clergy is an idea that is fundamental to church authority. Evolutionary theories, however, implied a discontinuity in Apostolic Succession, or at least they undermined an analogy theologians sometimes made between constancy of generation in the natural world and its continuity in the supernatural Church. Here was a matter of utmost sensitivity, and John Henry Newman expressed his unease when he wrote Walworth in 1866, "None but an infallible authority can separate Apostolical tradition from hereditary beliefs, and till this is done, we must be at sea how to think and how to speak.""7

Apostolical tradition was further linked to the rigid hierarchy espoused in the Great Chain of Being. Questioning the integrity of this hierarchy was seen to lead to instability, uncertainty, and the devaluation of man. It also could be seen as obliquely threatening the elevated role of priests in this hierarchy as Christ-sanctioned mediatory agents between man and God."8

Evolutionary theories also threatened an analogy sometimes made between a son's filiation to his father and Christ's filiation to God. As Hewit explained:

> The law of generation in the physical world . . . represents some divine and eternal principle. . . . Man generates the image of himself, in his son, who

""This was not unusual, for as Robert M.Young has stated," We make a sharp distinction between the evolutionary theories of Darwin and Spencer, but their ideas were routinely conflated in the public mind. Moreover, the participants in the scientific debate itself considered their ideas to be far closer together than our tidy categories seem prepared to allow." See his chapter "The Historiographie and Ideological Contexts of the Nineteenth-Century Debate on Man's Place in Nature," in Mikulás Teich and Robert M.Young (eds.), Changing Perspectives in the History of Science: Essays in Honour of Joseph Needham (London, 1973), pp. 344-438.

" "Letter from Newman to Walworth," May 16, 1866, in Ellen Walworth, op. cit., pp. 193-194.

""Arthur O. Lovejoy, The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1936); Louis Heylen, The Progress of the Age, and the Danger of the Age: Two Lectures Delivered before the St. Xavier Conference of the St. Vincent de Paul Brotherhood in the Hall of St. Louts University (Cincinnati, 1865), p. 25; Augustine F. Hewit, Problems of the Age. With Studies in St. Augustine on Kindred Topics (New York, 1868), pp. 129,138.

> is . . . similar and equal to himself in his rational nature. As St. Paul says, the principle of this paternity must be in God, and must therefore be in him essential and eternal."

Christ, as God's son, is equal to God because God (and therefore man) reproduces the image of Himself. To be sure, evolutionary theories did not directly attack Apostolic Succession and the Trinity. But by undermining natural analogues that served to illustrate these theological tenets, evolutionary theories were perceived as perilous by Catholic theologians.

The first detailed critique of Darwin's and Spencer's theories by an American Catholic also exhibited a characteristically Catholic concern for theology. Coming in 1869, ten years after Darwin's Origin, this review would probably have been put off even longer if not for a chance illness. James Keogh (1834-1870), the reviewer, was a brilliant professor of dogmatic theology who had edited two Catholic newspapers in the 1860s." Ill health forced him to retire in 1868, and this and his unsuitability by temperament for parish duties gave him what nearly all American Catholic intellectuals lacked: time to study science and to compose an extended critique of evolutionary theories.

In keeping with Catholic teachings on the corruption of nature after the Fall, Keogh suggested that animals and plants had degenerated in nature since Creation, with "favorable modifications" actually being reversions to prelapsarian perfect types. Hence, the true struggle in nature was against degeneration, with natural selection tending to preserve those organisms which varied least. Besides claiming that his theory harmonized better with Genesis and the crucial dogma of original sin, Keogh claimed that it was scientifically superior to evolutionary theories on two counts. Evolution, he suggested, relied on occult concepts of nature striving, of "aptitudes "in nature." Degeneration and reversion, however, were purely physical processes. And while evolutionary theories were logically inconsistent in positing that evolved parts of an organism were correlated to other parts not yet in existence, reversion logically explained correlation.92 Brownson was impressed, saying

"Hewit, op. cit., p. 86.

"On Keogh see A. A. Lambing, "Biographical Notice of Dr. Keogh," A History of the Catholic Church in the Dioceses of Pittsburgh and Allegheny (New York, 1880), pp. 90-94; J. J. Hennesey'KeoghJames,"NCE, VIII, 162.

"This is truer of Spencer's theory than Darwinism. Keogh was reviewing works by both men.

"James Keogh, "The Immutability of the Species," CW 9 (November and December, 1869, February, 1870), 252-267, 332-346, 656-673, esp. 255, 261, 263-265, 659.

Keogh s theory echoed his own theory that "savages" were degenerate, not primeval, humans, and that both his and Keogh's theory were "far better sustained by well-known facts and incontrovertible principles," that is, far better sustained by Scripture and church teachings, "than either the theory of development or of natural selection.""5

Keogh's untimely death in 1870 was a significant loss for the Church. Had he lived, he would have had to confront two new books published in 1871: Darwin's Descent of Man and Mivart's On the Genesis of Species. They marked a new phase in evolutionary debates. More important to Catholics was Mivart's effort. He demoted the importance of Darwinism, stating that natural selection acted during evolution but played a secondary role. He theorized that a force internal to organisms was a great, perhaps the main, determining agent in evolution. Upon external stimulation, it caused saltations or large, sudden changes in species. Mivart could not isolate or identify this force, but he believed it worked by design and was explicable by natural laws yet unknown. To Catholics his most radical claim was that evolution was God's way of creating species, which he supported with citations from Augustine, Aquinas, and Francisco Suarez. He stunned Catholics further by asserting that man's body had evolved from inferior species, but he assured them that man's soul and ethics were not byproducts of evolution, as Darwin would soon claim in the Descent of Man."4

The Catholic World remained silent on evolution from March, 1870, to May, 1873, a lull perhaps attributable to the staying power of Keogh's theory. In May, 1873, an article on "The Evolution of Life" appeared, which reviewed Mivart's and Darwin's books. The anonymous reviewer applauded Mivart, saying he had "dealt his [Darwin's] theory blows from which it will not recover." But on balance the reviewer was sympathetic to evolutionary theories. He advised Catholics that they could accept evolutionary theories, even Darwinism, as long as they remembered that the creation of man's soul by God was "an absolute scientific certainty" and man's moral nature and intellect were not products of evolution.'5

By affirming that evolutionary theories were compatible with Catholicism, this reviewer broke from all previous American Catholic

"Hereditary Genius," CW 11 (September, 1870), 721-732, in Works, IX, 401-417 on 415.

"St. George Jackson Mivart, On the Genesis of Species (New York, 1871), pp. 16-17, 116,242-243,281-282.

""The Evolution of Life," CUT 17 (May, 187.3), 145-157 on 148, 151, 154.

responses. That this represented a lapse in sound judgment was soon concluded by the Paulist editors of the Catholic World, perhaps because they received a sharp rebuke from Brownson. In his revived Review, Brownson thundered that natural selection and evolutionary theories were "irredeemably false, and arc to be as unqualifiedly condemned as any erroneous theories ever broached." Brownson, in one of those minor ironies of history, unknowingly imitated Thomas Henry Huxley, scrutinizing Mivart's citations from Augustine, Aquinas, and Suarez and concluding that they in no way supported evolution.[96]

After this withering retort, the Catholic World recanted its brief tolerance of evolutionary theories in August, admitting that there was a germ of truth in them but affirming that most theologians agreed that God had created the principal species of the animal kingdom. And while the article in May had depicted Darwin as a gentleman, this latest article depicted him as "too proud to listen to God's Word," a diabolical figure who "sometimes assumes the garment of light, and puts on an appearance of virtue."[97]

This conservative revanche was reinforced in 1874 and 1875 in response to John Tyndall's "Belfast address"[98] and John William Draper's History of the Conflict between Religion and Science. Tyndall and Draper claimed that a tyrannical and superstitious Catholic Church had, throughout history, retarded scientific progress.[99] Catholics grew increasingly dismayed between 1875 and 1877 as Draper's book passed through eight editions. As one Jesuit priest told American Catholics in 1875, Draper's History was "pre-eminently the most trashy" book in modern history, and scientists were "wonderfully a unit against revealed religion. . . . [And] as regards dogmas. . . , they regard them with ill-concealed scorn."[100] Draper's, Tyndall's, and Huxley's anti-Catholic

[96] "True and False Science," BrQR, July, 1873, pp. 367-398, in Works, IX, 497-528, esp. 523-528.

[97] "More about Darwinism," CW 17 (August, 1873), 641-655, esp. 646,641.

[98] Presbyterian responses to Tyndall's address are discussed in David N. Livingstone, "Darwinism and Calvinism:The Belfast-Princeton Connection," few, 83 (1992), 408-428.

[99] This anti-Catholic rhetoric was part of a larger effort by these men to expunge theology from scientific theorizing and to organize and professionalize biology. See Frank M. Turner, "The Victorian Conflict between Science and Religion: A Professional Dimension," Lsis, 69 (1978), 356-376. Huxley's contempt for Catholicism went deeper in that he sought to undermine church authority in all realms of thought. See Ruth Barton, "Evolution: The Whitworth Gun in Huxley's War for the Liberation of Science from Theology," in David Oldroyd and Ian Langham (eds), The Wider Domain of Evolutionary Thought (Dordrecht, 1983), pp. 261-286, esp. 262.

[100] E R Garesché, Science and Religion: The Modern Controversy. A Lecture delivered

polemics and the use of evolutionary theories "as a weapon of offence by irreligious writers""" convinced American Catholics that the Church's conservatism was justified."12

After 1875 American Catholics struggled as much to answer anti-Catholic polemics as they did to respond to evolutionary theories. With few intellectuals educated in science and even fewer scientists, American Catholics could not influence evolutionary debates within or without the scientific community. Instead they defended the faith against the scurrilous charges of Draper and company."'5 Perhaps their innermost worries about evolutionary theories were most clearly revealed in a short poem in 1875 entitled, significantly, "Turning from Darwin to Thomas Aquinas":

> Are we but apes? Oh! give me, God, to know
> I am death's master; not a scaffolding,
> But a true temple where Christ's word could grow.""1

Catholics and the Relationship between Faith and Science

One can make four useful generalizations as to how American Catholics collectively addressed issues of science and Catholicism from 1845 to 1875. First, in the Church Catholics believed they possessed Truth. They trusted the Church—the one true apostolic church—to arbitrate disputes over the meaning of revelation. Its rulings, enshrined in Catholic dogma and doctrine, provided transcendent criteria by which

before the Young Men's Sodality of St. Xavier Church, 2d ed. (St. Louis, 1876), pp. 8-9, 18, 21,27.

""Mivart, op. cit., p. 25.

""Huxley and Tyndall wrote against theology, not religion, and used agnosticism as a weapon against Catholic theology. See Bernard Lightman, The Origins of Agnosticism. Victorian Unbelief and the Limits of Knowledge (Baltimore, 1987). Frank M. Turner suggests that scientific naturalists like Huxley and Tyndall focused on attacking Catholicism because they felt that Anglican divines' efforts to counter Anglo-Catholic ritualism were inadequate and ineffective. See his Contesting Cultural Authority: Essays in Victorian Intellectual Life (Cambridge, 1993), p. 83; idem, Between Science and Religion: The Reaction to Scientific Naturalism in Late Victorian England (New Haven, 1974).

"'In this effort Wiseman's lecture in 1853 on science and religion was reprinted to show that "Science has nowhere flourished more, or originated more sublime or useful discoveries, than where it has been pursued under the influence of the Catholic religion." Wiseman, Science and Religion. A Lecture, delivered at Leeds, England (St. Louis, 1876), p. 7.

""Anon., CW, 20 (March, 1875), 809.

they judged the truthfulness of knowledge. Those scientific theories which they could not reconcile with church teachings, such as polygenism, they rejected forthwith. Those that they could reconcile, such as geological theories that predicted that the earth was hundreds of millions of years old, they provisionally accepted or at least tolerated.

In exploring scientific theories for which the Church had not issued official pronouncements, Catholics like Walworth and Mivart used patristic writings as a guide. In this way they demonstrated continuity with the past and respect for church authority. One must recognize that this was not a propitious time to be seen as challenging church authority. But in another sense the time was right for the Church to stress its God-given authority. By stressing this, the Church attracted converts like Newman, Brownson, and Walworth who were looking for certainty in an age that otherwise appeared to offer only ambiguity.

A second and related generalization is that, whereas Catholics expected the Church to speak authoritatively, they expected scientists to speak modestly. In part this was due to their belief that, in the Catholic tradition of disputation and deductive reasoning, they had superior conceptual skills with which to interpret their divinely inspired evidence from Scripture and church teachings. Scientists, however, seemed to dismiss these without benefit of a hearing, even persisting in making imprudent claims while impudently ignoring or even attacking Catholicism. Because they played down, or ignored, or even denigrated theological and moral issues, scientists such as Darwin proved they were unreliable witnesses whose ultimate aim was vile and irreligious.

A third generalization is that Catholics accepted without question God's dominion over nature and His divine superintendence of the Church. They therefore judged pernicious and offensive to Faith those scientific theories which seemed to restrict or exclude God's dominion or to rule out divine superintendence and the existence, comprehensibility, and constancy of miracles (as represented most powerfully by transubstantiation during Mass).[15] For example, evolutionary theories, and in particular Darwinism with its unpredictable and profligate variations, appeared to cast doubt on God's dominion and diminish the need for divine intervention and miracles in the natural world. Catholics, therefore, distrusted it.

[15] For defenses of transubstantiation as transcending the realm of the sensible, that is, of science, see Brownson, Works, IX, 290 and 389.

A fourth generalization is that Catholics were not concerned about the integrity of science. Revelation and church teachings, not science, provided the true point of departure for living one's life, to include the study of nature. This may seem obvious, but for Catholics (and, of course, for many Protestants as well) a diligent pursuit of spiritual development and salvation took precedence over pursuing science.

Catholic and Protestant Attitudes toward Science Compared

As suggested previously, American Catholics tended either to distrust and reject science or to cautiously trust science while firmly subjecting it to revelation and church teachings. One should not adhere slavishly to this, however. For example, it obscures changes of heart; Brownson's case provides a reminder that Catholics could move from reactionary skepticism to cautious approval back to an even more reactionary skepticism. But it does have the advantage of correcting the malicious and misleading "warfare" rhetoric of Draper, Huxley, and others without trivializing the often intense skepticism and suspicion expressed by some Catholics toward science.

Archbishop John Hughes, the most prominent Catholic prelate in America in the 1850's and early 1860s, expressed this intense skepticism and suspicion in a sermon in December, 1860:

> Human reason . . . never can be established as competent to decide any thing . . . even the natural mysteries around us. Can any one explain to me, by human reason, what is a blade of grass, what is the nature and operation of the fruit-bearing tree, or the fruit itself? Reason knows nothing about it. . . . Reason in the Catholic Church is placed in its proper sphere, and it is protected within that sphere; but, aside from that it leads men astray, because the pride of man's heart often spreads mists over the skies."""

For Hughes, God's Word and Works, when removed from church control, produced not faith and facts but disputed readings and contentious theories, the futility and deviltry of which were amply demonstrated by the proliferation of and dissension among Protestant sects. Hughes's "mists "which led men astray were reminiscent of the previous warning from the editors of the U.S. Catholic Magazine that prideful Protestant

"""Lawrence Kehoe (ed.), Complete Works of the Most Rev. John Hughes, D.D., Archbishop of New York (2 vols; New York, 1864), II, 330-331.

naturalists who relied overmuch on reason often lost themselves in nebulous hypotheses.

A profound distrust of natural theology followed from such sentiments. "We do not agree," Brownson declared, "with those Christian apologists who tell us that the tendency of the sciences is to corroborate the doctrines of revelation." He further declared, "We have read [William] Paley, the Bridgewater Treatises, . . . and always with the feeling that they take for granted the very point to be proved. . . ; the decided tendency of all English science is in a materialistic and an atheistic direction. "" Newman made similar declarations, warning that natural theology did "little towards keeping men from infidelity, or turning them to a religious life" and "this so-called science tends, if it occupies the mind, to dispose it against Christianity." He confessed, "I have ever viewed it with the greatest suspicion," in part because it tempted one to exalt private reason over God's revelation.'""

Such declarations demonstrate that natural theology was too personal and man-centered for most Catholic intellectuals (Walworth providing a noteworthy exception). That is, there was too much private judgment in it; it was too much like Protestantism. It was lacking that sense of spiritual mystery enshrined in Catholic dogma that required not reason but faith. To be sure, some Protestant intellectuals, particularly evangelicals, also expressed reservations about natural theology and carefully qualified their claims concerning its efficacy. "" But few if any Protestants claimed that natural theology was valueless or even morally dangerous. Whereas for Protestants natural theology could serve hermeneutic and exegetic functions, helping them to arbitrate

""'"Faith and the Sciences," CW, December, 1867, in Works, IX, 268-291 on 289; "True and False Science," BrQR, July, 1873, in Works, IX, 497-528 on 509.

""Newman, "The Usurpations of Reason," in Fifteen Sermons preached before the University of Oxford, between AD. 1826 and 1843, 3rd ed. (London, 1872), esp. pp. 70-72; "Christianity and Physical Science," November, 1855, in The Idea of a University, 3rd ed. (London, 1873), esp. pp. 451-454. For a discussion of Newman's, John Keble's, and Edward Pusey's attitudes toward science see Walter (Susan) F. Cannon, "The Normative Role of Science in Early Victorian Thought," Journal of the History of Ideas, 25 (1964), 487-502, esp. 49.3-498; also see Tess Cosslett (ed), Science and Religion in the Nineteenth Century (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 20-23.

""John Gascoigne, "From Bentley to the Victorians: The Rise and Fall of British Newtonian Natural Theology," Science in Context, 2 (1988), 219-256; Michael Gauvreau, "The Empire of Evangelicalism: Varieties of Common Sense in Scotland, Canada, and the United States," in Noll et al. (eds), Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond, 1700-1990 (Oxford, 1994), pp. 2 19-252, esp. 234-240.

doctrinal disputes,"" Catholics had their Church and believed that spiritual faculty alone could infallibly judge spiritual truth.

Significantly, after Wiseman's Lectures in 1836, which was not a work of natural theology, Catholics produced no book-length study written in English of issues between Catholicism and science until Walworth's Gentle Skeptic in 1863.'" A lack of trust in the efficacy of natural theology was not the sole reason for this dearth, however. And confessional allegiances alone do not explain it."2 It was reinforced by the sharply different levels of scientific expertise possessed by the two religious populations in America and Britain. Walworth's efforts to harmonize science with Catholicism illustrated this difference. Like Wiseman, he never found time to update the science in later editions of his book. Aside from Mivart's contribution, Catholic efforts in science were brief forays compared to the extensive campaigns mounted by Protestants. Wiseman and Walworth may have wanted to study science more deeply, but the Church needed men of such temerity and erudition for parish and other church duties.

But then how does one account for Walworth's bold effort? As I have suggested, the motivation lay partly in the missionary goals of the Paulists to win a fairer hearing from and perhaps the confessional allegiance of non-Catholic Americans. In wooing sympathizers and potential converts, Walworth and his fellow Paulists, joined by Brownson through 1864, demonstrated considerable respect for science, thereby reassuring Americans that the Church respected an individual's freedom to reason and was not composed of hidebound papists.

Yet Walworth unconsciously highlighted the exceptional nature of his efforts in a remarkable apologetic passage with which he concluded his book: 'For the honor of His holy Word, and for no other end, have we wandered beyond the natural bounds of our own profession, to study

""For the various uses to which natural theology could be put see John H. Brooke, Indications of a Creator: Whewell as Apologist and Priest," in Menachem Fisch and Simon Schaffer (eds), William Whewell: A Composite Portrait (Oxford, 1991), pp. 149-173.

'"Through 1875, only one additional study was published: Father Gerald Molloy's Geology and Revelation (London, 1870), which was a work of pure concordance restricted to geology. Molloy concluded that Catholics could adopt either the day-age or gap theory to reconcile geology with Genesis.

'"Perhaps this dearth was in some way attributable to the use of deistic forms of natural theology in school curricula which, if not anti-Catholic, were at least insensitive to Catholic concerns. On the struggle over school curricula see James Hennesey./traer/'c«« Catholics: A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States (New York, 1981), p. 108.

the rocks. . . ."'" By comparison, for Protestant preachers the study of nature was a respectable, even laudatory, pursuit which for some seemed almost inseparable from their ministerial duties and which assuredly did not require any explanation. In essence Walworth was a devotee of natural theology, bearing witness to the wise design of the great Architect exhibited everywhere in nature."[4] Whereas in a Protestant context this was unexceptional, in a Catholic context it was exceptional.

These confessional disparities were made manifest in the different approaches of American Catholics and Protestants to evolutionary theories. As I have shown, American Catholic intellectuals tended to criticize evolutionary theories on theological grounds. Jon Roberts has suggested that American Protestants, at least from 1859 to 1875, tended to criticize evolutionary theories on scientific grounds. They believed that evolutionary theories had to be spurious, given their belief that science necessarily confirmed theology."[5] This difference in approaches reflected fundamental differences between Catholicism and Protestantism. Catholicism emphasized certainty through revelation and church teachings, with science playing essentially no role. Protestantism, however, was based more on common-sense realism and reverent studies of nature. Catholics and Protestants spoke different languages in which different stresses were laid on the role and value of science.

To conclude, 1876 would witness Brownson's death, Huxley's triumphal lecture tour of America, and the consignment by the Church of Draper's Conflict to the Index of Prohibited Books. The following years saw science become increasingly persuasive and predominant, while the Church embarked on a neo-Thomist revival led by Leo XIII in 1879. This revival solidified impressions formed by Draper, Huxley, and others that Catholics were enemies of science and progress. But while recognizing that some Catholics like Brownson, for complex reasons, at times saw science as the enemy, other Catholics like Walworth avoided conflict and saw science as serving Catholic purposes. Clearly, a confluence of concerns and motivations, reflecting a distinctly American and Catholic context, combined to form the varied responses of American Catholics to science from 1845 to 1875.

'''Walworth, Gentle Skeptic, p. 366.

''See Walworth, "The Book of Nature," in Sermons Preached at the Church of St. Paul the Apostle, New York, during the year 1863 (New York, 1864), pp. 269-284.

'''Roberts, op. cit., pp. ix-x.

BOOK REVIEWS

Medieval

Grecs, Occidentaux et Turcs de 1054 à 1453: Quatre siècles d'histoire de relations internationales. By Basile G. Spiridonakis. [Institute for Balkan Studies, 239] (Thessalonike: Institute for Balkan Studies. 1990. Pp. 291, maps. Paperback.)

It should be stated at the outset that this is a very disappointing book; the author has not carried out original research; he seems to have avoided reading the original Greek, Latin, and Oriental sources and has accordingly written a "study" based on modern scholarship. This is, of course, a severe limitation. It is, in fact, questionable whether any contribution can be made by anyone who has chosen to confine himself to modern assessments of this crucial period and refuses to listen to the eloquent testimonies of our plentiful sources but relies heavily on secondary assessments. Yet the author of this opusculum has chosen this flawed approach and simply restates (and follows slavishly) the well-known views of A. E. Vacalopoulos, who has sought the origins of the modern Greek nation in the Palaeologan coda of the Eastern Roman Empire; and Spiridonakis does so uncritically, failing to detect the problems with the views of Vacalopoulos, whose hypotheses are thus elevated to the status of a sacred text.

If there is one unifying theme in the book it is its author's conviction that we are faced with an unquestionable continuity when we look at Greek civilization and, in the opening passages, he spends a great deal of time to refute the outmoded theories of J. P. Fallmerayer. This nineteenth-century scholar is not the only victim, as Spiridonakis goes on to castigate the views of a number of scholars, from the time of Gibbon onward; his victim from the twentieth century seems to be Romily Jenkins. One may claim that certain extreme views need constant correction, but Spiridonakis' approach often amounts to rhetoric and cannot be disguised as scholarship. In fact, the author admits in his introduction that his view of events is quite subjective. It is this subjective element, one would suppose, that allows this author to express anti-Western, even anti-Catholic sentiments, especially in the sections devoted to the Crusades.

This book is not recommended. It is not a scholarly work; very often it

degenerates to an anti-Western and a pro-Turkish propaganda. It may very well express the personal opinion and the highly biased views of its author, but it has nothing to offer to the scholar, the historian, the educated average reader, the undergraduate, or the graduate student. Spiridonakis has failed to take advantage of authoritative modern scholarly works; he has carried out no original research of his own; he has not even consulted the primary sources; and he is guilty of making factual errors. The less said about this pamphlet, the better.

Mr. Spiridonakis is to be congratulated for having successfully seen his work through the readers of the Institute of Balkan Studies. Unfortunately, it is the sad duty of this reviewer to report that the work in question has so many short-comings that it cannot be recommended to any intelligent reader. It is a subjective pamphlet, amounting to a polemic, that contributes nothing to our knowledge of medieval history.

Marios Phiuppides

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Petrus Alfonsi and His Medieval Readers. By John Tolan. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 1993- Pp. xvi, 288. «34.95.)

Few details are known of the life of Petrus Alfonsi, a convert from Judaism, who after emigrating from Spain entered the service of Henry I of England and later settled in France. Nevertheless Alfonsi played a major role in introducing Latin Christianity to the philosophical and scientific wisdom of the Islamic world.

Alfonsi typified the interplay of faith and reason in twelfth-century Europe. His *Dialogi contra Iudaeos* argued that Judaism was at odds with reason and that many stories in the Talmud were ridiculous. While providing his readers with an accurate summation of Muslim doctrine, he condemned Islam in the strongest terms, describing Muhammad as a false prophet and his religion as wholly irrational and superstitious. Christianity was preferable to both Judaism and Islam, because its doctrines (including the Trinity) were in harmony with reason.

Alfonsi digressed at some length to discuss Arabic science, arguing for example that the world was round, not flat. His translation and adaptation of al-Khwarizmi's astronomical tables, however, was full of errors. Tolan makes the point that Alfonsi's conclusions were not grounded on experimentation and observation, but were deduced from certain fundamental premises.

Alfonsi's other great work, the *Disciplina clericalis*, is a collection of thirty-four fables drawn from oriental sources, intended to explicate moral principles presented by the teacher or philosopher to his pupil. Alfonsi's purpose was clearly didactic, even though he included some humorous or bawdy tales.

Aside from the careful summary of Alfonsi's main ideas, Tolan's book is especially valuable because he demonstrates how later generations used Alfonsi as an authority. The number of surviving manuscripts (about 160) of the Dialogi and the Disciplina clericalis testifies to Alfonsi's popularity especially in England and northern France. The Victorines found Alfonsi's ideas on Judaism helpful for their exegesis of the Old Testament. Others, such as Roger Bacon, were attracted by his scientific contributions. Most, however, found in his Dialogi an arsenal of anti-Jewish and anti-Islamic arguments and shaped his work to their own purposes. Vincent of Beauvais, for example, eliminated the dialogue form and turned the Dialogi into a straightforward attack on Judaism. In like manner Jacques de Vitry recounted many of the stories in the Disciplina clericalis.

Tolan provides us with the first Latin edition and English translation of Alfonsi's Epístola ad Peripatéticos, a treatise chastising French scholars for their smug refusal to receive the more up-to-date scientific knowledge that he was prepared to impart. A descriptive catalogue of extant manuscripts of the Dialogi and the Disciplina clericalis and a discussion of other works attributed to Alfonsi are included in the appendices. Illustrations of Alfonsi's map of the world, the orbit of the sun, and the climates are noteworthy.

Despite some repetition, Tolan's study places Petrus Alfonsi firmly in our perspective as an essential intellectual connection between the Islamic and Christian worlds of the twelfth century.

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The Language of Sex. Five Voices from Northern France around 1200. By John W. Baldwin. [The Chicago Series on Sexuality, History, and Society.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1994. Pp. xviii, 331. »37.50.)

Same-Sex Unions in Premodern Europe. By John Boswell. (New York: Villard Books. 1994. Pp. 390. «25.00.)

The Language of Sex, a carefully circumscribed and meticulously documented work by an accomplished scholar, is an admirable example of research into a subject recently troubled by partisanship and unscholarly propaganda. The "five voices" of the title are (1) those of the moral theologians, notably Pierre the Chanter, Robert of Courçon, and Thomas Chobham, supplemented by that of Marie d'Oignies, a married conversa; (2) of the physicians in the tradition of Galen; (3) of Andreas Capellanus, the contemporary exponent of Ovid's view of the arts of love; (4) of Jean Renart, the pseudonym of the author of the Roman de la Rose, supplemented by his sources, the Tristan legend, the Lai de Lanval of Marie de France, and the writings of Chrétien de Troyes; and (5) of the fabliaux of Jean Bodel, probably a jongleur of Arras,

who began this new genre. The first three voices speak Latin, the last, two varieties of French. The period concentrated on is 1185 to 1215; the place, France, meaning in particular Brittany, Champaign, Normandy, and Paris. Baldwin, already known for his work on the Chanter, treats his data cautiously, is generous in his arguments, and modest in his conclusions. The Language of Sex is a measured work of mature erudition.

Baldwin consciously resists imposing modern categories on his material. I note a single deviation: he refers to the Fourth Lateran Council's requirement of annual confession as establishing "the mechanism to supervise the sexual lives of lay men and women throughout Latin Christendom" (p. 226). That is a Foucaultism, a transformation of a medicinal sacrament in the understanding of its sponsors into a tool of control. The only other point where it seems to me one might resist his observations Is his contention that the five voices, when compared and juxtaposed, "point to a center where presumably lies social reality" (p. 238). I am not persuaded that one can go from the texts to a center of social reality. Andreas Capellanus worked in a special genre, and the seriousness of his intentions has been much disputed. The physicians handed on ancient lore. The romantic writers wrote for a special courtly audience, the theologians for another specialized group; the fabliaux aimed for a laugh. The effort to distill practice from the varied voices seems to me mistaken and unnecessary; it is enough to show the range of discourse that creates a five-part fugue.

Certain points of agreement among them do emerge that it is important to underline: The biology inherited from Galen assumed "the normative and superior role of the male body"; Aristotle's biology enhanced this view (p. 231). The conclusion corrects the distortions of Ranke-Heinemann, who sees the medieval sexual ethic as the product of the conspiracy of male celibates. Baldwin also finds "a presumption of heterosexuality" (p. 229); "all unequivocally agreed on one common conclusion: in accordance with traditional Hebraic-Christian antipathy, they judged all homoerotic relations to be the most reprehensible of sexual behavior" (p. 229). This conclusion is indirectly pertinent to an evaluation of the second book treated in this review. I would add that a range of sexual conduct celebrated in modern literature—incest, masochism, masturbation, pedophilia, and sadism—do not appear to interest any of the authors, and they take marriage to be a lifelong heterosexual union without divorce. The fabliaux that often use adultery and/or priestly fornication for their fun depend for surprise and shock upon a framework in which the actions depicted were departures from the norm.

John Boswell's Same-Sex Unions in Premodern Europe makes use of eighth-to-sixteenth-century Greek and Old Slavonic manuscripts containing religious rites "for making brothers." Urging the ambiguity of terms relating to love, marriage, and sex, Boswell rejects any translation that states this literal purpose (pp. 3—17, 182). In his hands, the rites become a blessing of homosexual

unions. He does not succeed in putting this interpretation into a context intelligible within the customs, language, and theology of the times and places he is studying. His failure is adequately demonstrated by Brent D. Shaw in his review in The New Republic, July 16 and 25, 1994, pp. 33—41.

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Clare of Assist. By Marco Bartoli. Translated by Sister Frances Teresa, O.S.C. (Quincy, Illinois: Franciscan Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 244. «21.95 paperback.)

The First Franciscan Woman: Clare of Assist and Her Form of Life. By Margaret Carney, O.S.F. (Quincy, Illinois: Franciscan Press. 1993. Pp. 261. $12.95 paperback.)

Clare of Assist: A Biographical Study. By Ingrid J. Peterson, O.S.F. (Quincy, Illinois: Franciscan Press. 1993. Pp. xxviii, 436. «20.95 paperback.)

Over the past two decades, the English-speaking world has witnessed a veritable explosion of interest—both scholarly and popular—in medieval religious women. But until recently, there has been a notable gap in this literature. Especially when one compares the number of studies on Benedictine women and Béguines, there was a real dearth of research into their impressive Franciscan counterparts. This was due partially to a lack of readily available sources, remedied only in 1989 with the appearance of Regis Armstrong's Clare of Assist: Early Documents. But a deeper reason was the inherited tendency of Franciscan scholars to view Clare as simply a passive disciple of the almost mythic figure of her fellow Assisian. Her life was viewed as just a chapter in the story of Francis. Thus one of the most important fruits of the eighth centenary observance of Clare's birth (1993/94) was the decision of the Franciscan Press of Quincy University to publish these three important studies. Each of them has its unique strengths; together they go a long way toward remedying this lacuna in medieval scholarship, at last providing a rich introduction to this important thirteenth-century woman.

Marco Bartoli's biography appeared in Italian in 1989, and quickly has become the standard work on Clare in that dominant language of Franciscan research. Bartoli is a disciple of the late great medievalist Raoul Manselli, and his approach shares his master's strengths: a thorough immersion in the primary texts and a rich background in medieval Italian social history. He has produced a portrait of Clare that is well documented, clearly written, and rendered here in an excellent English translation. Its merits are clear, but it also has several defects. The first is rather technical, but it is surprising that in his otherwise fine introduction to the sources on Clare, Bartoli should accept so uncritically the traditional attribution of her Legend to Thomas of Celano (p. 4), even though he is later forced to admit that the author of that

work does not appear to appreciate certain key elements of Clare's spirituality (pp. 48, 64, 124). Do not these discrepancies support a different hypothesis: that the Legend's author was not Thomas, and in fact may not have been a Franciscan at all? Two other omissions are more serious. Bartoli presents only a very cursory treatment of Clare's composition of a distinctive form of life for herself and her sisters (pp. 177-180), a fact which severely limits his analysis of that critical document. Finally, the author evinces virtually no awareness of the recent research on the religious experience of medieval women, especially that emanating from the English-speaking world.

These two latter defects are remedied respectively by the contributions of Carney and Peterson. Carney's study, originally presented as a doctoral dissertation at the Institute of Franciscan Spirituality in Rome in 1989, is an in-depth exposition of Clare's Rule. Beginning with an excellent critical discussion of the relationship of Francis and Clare in the sources, Carney goes on to describe the historical development of her Rule, emphasizing her active responsibility for framing a distinctive form of life for herself and her sisters. This is illustrated through an examination of three central facets of the Rule: poverty, mutual charity, and collaborative governance, which clearly demonstrate Clare's genius in synthesizing "the evangelical ideals of Francis, the new forms of urban female religiosity, and the best wisdom of the monastic tradition to create a new and enduring order in the church" (p. 19). Here Carney neatly situates Clare's work as the centerpiece of a "tryptic," framed by the existing "economic, social, and canonical situation of medieval women" on the one hand, and the historical development of the Friars Minor during the critical period after the death of Francis on the other (p. 99). Clare is thus shown to be not simply Francis's "little plant," but a vigorous and creative interpreter of his charism for her own community and the Franciscan movement as a whole.

Peterson's attractively compelling biography provides a real counterpoint to Bartoli's, clearly reflecting the author's wide reading in the vast recent literature on the world of medieval religious women. Contrary to the traditional portrait, here Francis does not enter the scene until a hundred pages of text have shown that Clare had already forged a devout penitential life, similar to the Béguines, for herself. Indeed, Peterson wonders whether Clare decided to follow Francis, or that their relationship might have been "the other way around, that Francis formed a spiritual brotherhood in imitation of the noble ladies of Favarone's house?" (p. 5). Most of the remainder of the book is composed of brief chapters which nicely unfold various dimensions of Clare's religious life and spirituality. Yet, despite all the evocative richness of this study, it does have several shortcomings. Unlike Bartoli and Carney, the author's primary field of research has not been the Franciscan tradition, a fact evident in a number of small errors. There is no evidence, for example, mat Francis's mother was French (p. 83), or that Clare's father was a count (p. 18); Hugolino dei Segni was not yet Pope Gregory LX when he "imposed

the Benedictine Rule" on Clare (p. 21). More disturbingly, Peterson's desire to depict Clare as a strong, independent figure at times leads her to extrapolate from the sources much too eagerly. For example, the acts of canonization certainly show that Clare led a penitential life before meeting Francis, but do they really speak of a Beguine-like community "coming together frequently for common spiritual exercises" (p. 92)? Also, a critical chapter has Clare professing "private vows" of poverty and virginity before meeting Francis (pp. 101—106). The sources certainly show that Clare committed herself to celibacy while in her family home, but her own sister clearly testified that Clare's decision to sell her inheritance was only after Francis had convinced her to do so, a reference which the author skips over (p. 102). There is no "edge of humor" in the fact that Francis preached to a religious Clare (p. 105), for as she herself might express it, she was not yet converted to the poor Christ. It is, after all, misleading to assert that "Clare's sainthood is valid in her own right without a Francis of Assist" (p. 2). Clare may well have become a saint without him, but it would not have been through what she came to prize as her path to holiness. But even if the reader is forced to disagree with some of Peterson's conclusions, the work is well written and thoughtful, providing an important new perspective on this great spiritual figure.

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A Moral Art: Grammar, Society, and Culture in Trecento Florence. By Paul F. Gehl. (Ithaca, New York. Cornell University Press. 1993. Pp. x, 310. «38.95.)

In an excellent study of grammatical instruction in Florence in the fourteenth century, Paul Gehl has demonstrated the conservative nature of that century's grammatical instruction. He has also shown that the teachers of reading and the slightly more advanced teachers of grammar had blanched out most of the classical mythology and morally controversial classical authors that were part of the traditional medieval curriculum. Grammatical instruction in Florence remained infused with a moralism that derived from its monastic origins but was made even more rigid under the influences of a conservative merchant community and mendicant ideology.

Gehl has compiled a census of manuscripts of texts used by grammarians in Tuscany in the fourteenth century mat serves as the evidential spine of the book. Through a statistical, codicological, and textual analysis, as well as use of other traditional sources, Gehl has shown the nature of schooling in Florence, including which texts were employed and in what sequence, and the purposes that the texts served for the grammarians. One gains the sense that he has recaptured the actual social process of the education of the seven-to-twelve-year old boys of Florence. Gehl calls his works "a case study of edu-

cational conservatism in action" (p. 1). The study of grammar was conservative in several ways. First, despite the aforementioned deletions, the curriculum remained the inherited system of the high Middle Ages with the same texts at the core. Thus, the Florentine child progressed from a prayer book for learning the alphabet followed by a short grammatical text (Donatus or Donadello) that was first memorized and then on to one or more late classical or medieval moralizing poems (Epigrammata of Prosper of Aquitaine, Fables versified of Aesop, Dittochaeon of Prudentius, Disticha of Cato). Attesting to this conservatism is the fact that only one of the texts used in the Florentine curriculum was written after 1210. Secondly, at all stages instruction and the texts were permeated with Christian doctrine and traditional moralism. Through grammatical instruction and its texts the individual became involved in the monastic project of rejecting the world, and through the acquisition of a learned language he prepared a self dedicated to God. Moreover, the methods of instruction remained the same repetition and memorizing found in the earlier period.

It should be evident that Gehl's grammarians were not humanists. But this book aids in understanding how in the fifteenth century a more classical curriculum triumphed. It demonstrates that the fourteenth-century grammarians failed to reform their curriculum and instruction to incorporate or address the burgeoning vernacular culture or restructure moralism to meet the aspirations of a civic merchant society. Dependent on their students' parents for fees and with the modest incomes and social status of the other artisans, not to mention scarcely higher educational training, the Florentine teachers of reading and grammar were ill-equipped to restructure education in Florence. In the fourteenth century the more radical and esteemed grammarians were to be found in university and provincial towns. Gehl implies thereby that Renaissance classical education found its roots outside of Florence or in efforts to resolve the contradictions inherent in Trecento Florentine culture.

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Wallfahrt und Alltag in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit: Internationales Round-Table-Gespräch, Krems an der Donau, 8. Oktober 1990. [Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Sitzungberichte, 592. Band; Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, Nr. 14.] (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. 1992. Pp. 351. Paper.)

This collection of essays takes as its general topic the religious mentality of the common people in medieval and early modern Europe. The particular

interests of its editors, Gerhard Jaritz and Barbara Schuh, however, provide a more specific focus: the pervasiveness of pilgrimage practices and beliefs in the everyday life of ordinary laymen. Recent publications by Jaritz (Zwischen Augenblick und Ewigkeit: Einführung in die Alltagsgeschichte des Mittelalters, 1989), Alf Lüdke, (ed., Alltagsgeschichte: Zur Rekonstruktion historischer Erfahrung und Lehensweise, 1989), and Hans-Werner Goetz (Leben im Mittelalter, 1986; English translation, 1993) have sought to direct attention to "everyday life" as a useful category of historical research, and this approach provides the volume's underlying conceptual framework. The choice of pilgrimage as the subject matter, on the other hand, reflects Barbara Schuh's interest in saints' cults and popular religious mentality, and her essay on what is 'everyday' and 'unusual' in German miracle reports provides a suggestive model for how to analyze such sources. Following in the footsteps of Ronald Finucane (Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England, 1977) and Pierre-André Sigal (L'Homme et le miracle dans la France médiévale, 1985), she uses quantitative techniques to separate practices and perceptions that were repetitive, habitual, and routine—and therefore 'everyday'—from those that were truly out of the ordinary.

Four other essays also make some use of miracle reports as sources for the popular culture of medieval pilgrimage. Ronald Finucane revisits the cult of Thomas Cantilupe, which he discussed in Miracles and Pilgrims, to investigate more fully how knowledge about the saint's cult was disseminated to peasant communities at a distance from the shrine in Hereford. Harry Kühnel, who wrote the volume's preface, and Constanze Hofmann-Rendtel both discuss the use of textual or visual "advertising" to promote pilgrimage shrines and compete for pilgrims' offerings. Maria Wittmer-Butsch investigates the psychology of miraculous healing at medieval shrines, relying in part on concepts derived from Freud and Jung.

Another five contributions focus more narrowly on the concept of pilgrimage itself. In the book's first essay Wolfgang Brückner criticizes the notion of pilgrimage in modern social history, arguing that a fixation on cult sites as opposed to the religious life of the pilgrims themselves has led to serious distortions of the medieval experience. Not every site that attracted throngs of people or that had a miracle book was strictly speaking a pilgrimage. What defined a true pilgrimage was organization and regularity. Bernhard Schimmelpfennig echoes this theme in an essay on the regularity of medieval pilgrimages. Klaus Schreiner adds a fine discussion of the ambivalence of late medieval authorities toward peregrination and of their attempts to distinguish between praiseworthy and illicit pilgrimages. In addition, Jan van Herwaarden considers medieval pilgrimage shrines from the point of view of their social prestige, and Christian Krötzl investigates differences in pilgrims' perceptions of distance and what they thought was "far away."

Two final essays concern themselves with the nature of our sources about medieval pilgrimage and how much they can tell us about everyday life. Using

ideas from Brian Stock (The Implications ofLiteracy, 1983) and H. U. Gumbrecht, Friederike Hassauer discusses orality and literacy in the sources concerning the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, warning that only rarely does true insight into everyday, oral culture emerge from hagiographie texts. Miracle books, however, emerge as one possible exception to this generalization. Peter Spangenberg analyzes the Old French miracles of the Virgin as a form of literary mediation between the internal world of the individual pilgrim and the complexities of external society.

AU in all, although the level of interest in everyday life varies considerably from essay to essay, the collection as a whole provides valuable insight into some of the newest trends in the study of medieval pilgrimage.

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Disciplina dell'anima, disciplina del corpo e disciplina della società tra medioevo ed età moderna. Edited by Paolo Prodi with the collaboration of Carla Penuti. [Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico, Quaderno 40.] (Bologna: Società éditrice il Mulino. 1994. Pp. 963· Lire 80,000 paperback)

This large volume brings together thirty-three papers arising from a conference held at Bologna in 1993. The contributions, by Italian and German scholars almost exclusively, all appear in Italian. Some are over-long, insufficiently focused, and might have benefited from greater editorial intervention, to remove the impression of a postgraduate desire to elaborate bibliographical references rather than engage in critical, selective presentation of a precise argument. But within the volume there are also some very valuable papers. The starting-point of most of the contributions, indeed, is the argument that a medieval concept of discipline, originally a monastic procedure, it is suggested, for inculcating self-discipline in fact in novices, was gradually extended in the later Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and the early modern period to non-monastic groups and individuals, eventually to whole parts of a society and to entire societies. Not all the writers agree that the courts of rulers came to play a different, additional role in this extension, but most accept, where appropriate, that the Renaissance introduced new emphases of an educational nature into the concept of discipline, distinct from either a monastic or a 'courtly' tradition of the Middle Ages. After the introduction of Paolo Prodi himself, a first section concentrates on questions of methodology, some of it rather abstract, though the name of Foucault also inevitably occurs, as naturally enough throughout the volume.

The second section of the book begins with the clearly outstanding contribution of Adriano Prosperi, which provides a much-needed examination, conducted with his usual exemplary precision and insight, of the relationship

between the Inquisition and clerics administering the sacrament of confession, in this case essentially in Counter-Reformation Italy. Not for the first time in his writing, a personal and brave note is also struck, in a truly moving way, in his concluding observations on possible effects of the evolution of Italian religious practice on the present state of Italian society. After some other valuable contributions, for example on priesdy formation in the Counter-Reformation or the developments allowed to female communities in the same period, another fine piece is offered by Louis Châtellier, tracing the extension by the Jesuits of the ideal of religious discipline to a practice open to lay members of the confraternities directed by the Society of Jesus.

In a third section interesting papers include those on writers such as Della Casa, Machiavelli, Guicciardini, and Castiglione, and on changing attitudes to and disciplining of the poor. In the penultimate section the legislation of the Medici grand-dukes of Tuscany after die Council of Trent is analyzed, for instance, and the powers of cardinal legates at Bologna are discussed, while there is also treatment of food supply and sumptuary laws as methods of social control and policing. The final section includes an important review by Gian Paolo Brizzi of the development of colleges and their internal discipline both witíiin and without larger universities in the medieval and early modern period, while provision for female orphans in early modern Florence and the gradual reception of Tridentine marriage discipline at Bologna are also addressed. A consideration of the evolution of the University of Wittenberg in the early Reformation, set in a wider German context, represents one of die most interesting of those papers throughout the volume which draw on German radier than Italian evidence. The education of young men, whether noble or not, is also naturally the subject of other papers in this last section of this book. A greater editorial selectivity and intervention to produce more concise papers in some cases might have made the total contribution of die volume to study of an undoubtedly important theme even more impressive.

A. D. Wright

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Finzione e santità tra medioevo ed età moderna. Edited by Gabriella Zarri. (Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier. 1991. Pp. 570. Lire 69,000 paperback)

This volume contains twenty-two studies of a crucially important but neglected subject, the transformation on the official level of the definition of sanctity that happened in the early modern era. The book grew out of a meeting of scholars convoked to discuss the problem and a subsequent meeting at which the results of their research were compared. This process established the coherence of the volume, whose themes die editor presents concisely in her opening essay, while warning against reading the volume as if it were a "kaleidoscope" without firm structure (p. 9).

The audiors chart the evolution of the definition by paying attention principally to its verso side, that is, by examining the change in definition of sanctity's opposite number as it moved from "false" to "simulated" sanctity. Among the contributors are some well known on this side of the Atlantic, almost guaranteeing beforehand the high quality of the product—Zarri herself, for instance, and André Vauchez, Adriano Prosperi, Gianvittorio Signorotto, Anne Jacobson Schutte, and Mario Rosa. While the book has as its central theme the change of die idea of sanctity or phony sanctity, it for the most part arrives at conclusions through die analysis of specific cases, often with explicit correlation to the great shifts in culture and religious sensibilities of those centuries. The shift in understanding of what constituted sanctity was emblematic of the larger shifts. This makes the book an important contribution to the social history of that long era.

With one exception, all the articles diat deal with cases deal with women. Thus the volume makes a similarly important contribution to women's studies and to the history of male-female conflict. The juridical expression of the shift, nonetheless, provides a touchstone throughout for testing its course, especially in the important norms laid down by Urban VIII in the early seventeenth century and by Benedict XIV in the mid-eighteenth. The volume terminates at that date with Rosa's excellent analysis of Pope Lambertini, but, signincantiy, the last name he mentions, the last to appear in the whole book is Bernadette Soubirous.

Zarri briefly describes the essence of die shift in her introductory essay (p. 19); others give it substance in detailed studies and indicate its complexity, and Prosperi generalizes about it most effectively, relating it even to changes in ecclesiastical historiography. What was the shift? In die earlier phase the concern with the issue was more "dieological," that is, intent on distinguishing "true" sanctity, inspired by God or the Holy Spirit, from "false" sanctity, inspired by the Devil. Within this framework visions and prophecies, for instance, were taken as marks of holiness—or as marks of diabolical intervention, with witchcraft one of its important manifestations. In the later phase the concern was more "moral" (or psychological or juridical), that is, intent on distinguishing real sanctity, which consisted in the practice of the virtues now in an heroic degree, from "simulated" sanctity, manifested in visions and prophecies resulting from self-deception or deliberate deception of odiers. The sunny side of this change was that inquisitors and others on their own came to disbelieve in witchcraft, seeing those accused of it as sick rather man under the power of the Evil One. The shadow side was a depreciation of mystical experience as at best incidental to Christian holiness, seen ever more definitively in moral terms.

My description does litde justice to the complexity of this shift, nor does it indicate how tenacious was the older view, with conflicts of definition troubling even religious orders like me Jesuits, as Signorotto sensitively describes some seventeenth-century cases in Milan. My description does little justice to die vivid detail die audiors provide, like Peter Dinzelbacher's de-

scription of how Anna Laminit deceived practically every member of the imperial court until her fraud was uncovered. The cases are consistently fascinating, and they open new vistas into the complicated relationships between confessors and penitents, between inquisitors and the accused, between official definitions and the sensus fldelium.

I cannot recommend this volume highly enough. Like any good book, of course, it raised further questions. Of all the authors, only Jean-Michel Sallmann examined any cases of sanctity supposedly simulated by men. Further comparisons would surely be enlightening. I was struck, moreover, diat in effect only Prosperi mentioned Erasmus as pertinent to the evolution of die new ideal. No one spoke more insistently that the Prince of the Humanists on social virtue as constitutive of what it meant to be a good Christian—or had less to say about mystical experience.

Teresa of Avila's name occurs often in die volume, but in passing. Central to the new ideal was obedience—to one's superiors, to one's confessor—as the litmus test of sanctity rather than rapture and ecstasy. Teresa herself vigorously espoused this viewpoint, and I do not think it can be attributed to her writings being "forced" (coacta) from her by her confessors, to use Romeo De Maio's expression quoted by Schutte (p. 330). It would dierefore be helpful to correlate the writings of Teresa and her like widi die other evidence and arguments so ably presented in this volume.

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Medieval and Renaissance Letter Treatises and Form Letters. A Census of Manuscripts Found in Part of Western Europe, Japan, and the United States of America. By Emil J. Polak. [Davis Medieval Texts and Studies, Volume LX.] (Leiden: E.J. BrUl. 1994. Pp. xvii, 475.)

This volume constitutes the second part of a monumental effort to publish organized inventories of the extant manuscript evidence relating to die medieval arts of letter-writing and secular oratory, the ars dictaminis and the ars arengandi. The results of Professor Polak's research for France, Austria, (West) Germany, and Italy, whose libraries contain die richest coUections of manuscripts on these arts, wiU be pubUshed in a third volume.

The present volume, like its predecessor dealing with Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union (see ante, LXXX [January, 1994], 139—141), is largely a result of the author's visit to hundreds of libraries in Western Europe and die United States. In the cases of Japan and Greece, however, die information was obtained by correspondence. As widi the first volume, the manuscript census includes (1) the ars dictaminis widi its treatises, manuals, and die-

tamina or model letter collections; (2) the ars epistolandi, the art of letter-writing of the Renaissance humanists (fourteenth to seventeenth century); and (3) the related art of ars arengandi or the art of secular oratory for judicial, political, academic, and social purposes, together with model speech collections or arenge. Compared with the first two categories, the number of manuscripts in the third is relatively small, because this genre of rhetoric was largely limited to the central and northern Italian communes.

I particularly wish to acknowledge Professor Polak's wisdom in including Renaissance material in his census of manuscripts. Scholars have come to see that there was no sharp break between medieval and Renaissance letter-writing as was formerly believed and that in the area of official correspondence medieval formulae appear to have persisted down to the end of the fifteenth century. Professor Polak's census will be of special importance in the study of the stylistic developments in this latter category of letter in the early modern period.

When completed, these volumes wiU be the indispensable guides to that which in many areas of Western Europe provided the fundamental orientation for the study of rhetoric in the Middle Ages. Even where Cicero's De inventione and the Pseudo-Ciceronian Ad Herennium were taught as well, their lessons were used selectively according to the needs of the medieval arts. Professor Polak's census in its finished form will document almost twenty-five hundred manuscripts written from the twelfth to the seventeen century in an area running from England to the present-day Czech Republic. This volume and its two companions will be of lasting benefit to medieval and Renaissance scholarship.

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The Diocese of Barcelona during the Black Death: The Register "Notule Communium" 15 (1348—1349). By Richard Francis Gyug. [Subsidia Mediaevalia, 22.] (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. 1994. Pp. x, 526. 894.50.)

Studies that bring medieval documents to the scholarly public are always welcome, and this calendar of documents from the exceptionally rich Barcelona diocesan archives, second in the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies' series of the episcopal communia or general registers, records the activities of the diocesan curia during the worst of the Black Death. Although many scholars of church history may not realize it, Barcelona's diocesan archives provide a truly amazing array of documents, many in series which continued uninterrupted for centuries. If these could be made generally available for study, scholars, especiaUy social historians, could learn a great deal

about diocesan life and administration, and diis knowledge would enhance our understanding of the medieval church in general. Unfortunately, very few documents have been published, and much of the secondary literature is not readily available in North America. The fact that eleven years have elapsed since die first volume of this series of registers appeared gives a clue about likelihood of a flood of these archival records in print. Nonetheless, even tastes from this important archive provide welcome additions for study.

The book is divided into three sections. The introduction contains a brief history of the Diocese of Barcelona, with special attention given to die functioning of the episcopal curia. Dr. Gyug explains die registration of documents and their survival up to the present time. This particular set of registers primarily records the filling of benefices, and the curia was especially active in this area as a result of the Black Death, which hit Barcelona as it did much of die rest of Western Europe, causing die deadi of perhaps one-diird of its population. Clerics were certainly not immune to its force, and many of them died, leaving an increased workload for the diocesan staff, which may itself have been reduced for die same reason. Documents relating to benefices are not the only type of document to appear, and the otiier types are simUar to those published by Professor J. N. HiUgardi and GiuUo SUano in Communia 14. Many of these documents would normally have been registered in coUation registers, but diese two series were conflated during the plague and for several years following it.

Part One contains the calendar of documents, where Dr. Gyug summarizes the contents of each entry. Most of the documents are written in die formulaic legal language used by ecclesiastical courts, and they include all die documents generated by the process of filling a vacant benefice, from presentation through instaUation. This register contains 1,036 documents on 131 folios, and many of die entries are only a few lines long, containing die names, churches involved, and actions taken, widiout the full texts of letters as diey appeared in earlier registers and would appear again later in the century.

Although not every entry is translated in full in the calendar, about forty-five representative documents and the curia's more unusual activities are edited, in Latin, in Part Two of the volume. Using diese and the numerous documents published in Communia 14, one would have a very good idea of the register's contents, even if one missed certain nuances. A very useful feature of the calendar of Communia 15 is the cross-referencing of its documents. This helps die user keep track of the people and places appearing in this often daunting mass of documents, and adds substantiaUy to its usefulness.

This register adds a great deal to our knowledge about the Barcelona church. Let us hope diat scholars will use it to integrate the Catalonian church into church history in general and that the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies will make more of the registers available.

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Calendar of the Letters of Arnaud Aubert, Camerarius Apostolicus, 1361-1371. By Daniel WiUiman. [Subsidia Mediaevalia, 20.] (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. 1992. Pp. xii, 525. »4950.)

Arnaud Aubert had a glittering career at the papal court in Avignon. It helped that he was the nephew of Pope Innocent VI. It was under his uncle that he rose to become archbishop of Auch and papal chamberlain, the latter an office which Williman fairly describes as "first in discretionary powers" among the functions to which exalted curiáis might aspire. But Arnaud had clearly made the office his own in more ways than one since he was continued in its tenure by his uncle's successors, Urban V and Gregory XI. Moreover, he held this pivotal office at a crucial period in its development. Clearly, records of Aubert's activity as chamberlain would be of some interest to historians. We owe to the work under review notice that such records have survived.

The principal object of this work is to present a calendar of 878 documents constituting the surviving record of the administrative and judicial activity of Arnaud as papal chamberlain from 1361 to 1371. The nature of these important documents had not been previously recognized; WiUiman is in some sense their discoverer. He has culled them from a variety of registers in the rich series preserved in the Vatican Archives. In this work, he presents calendars, or full English summaries, of aU the documents and prints mose of them which he finds particularly interesting in their original Latin. The calendars are preceded by a magisterial introduction which Uluminatingly places Arnaud Aubert and the documents within the web of familial and institutional relations at the Court of Avignon. The documents are made even more readily accessible by an abundance of careful indices.

A slight objection may be raised to the use of the term 'letters' to describe the contents of the Calendar. A more neutral term like 'acts' might more fairly have described the range of material presented here, which includes notarial instruments and other legal documents which do not readUy fit under the rubric of 'letters.' The chamberlain's office was concerned pre-eminently with financial matters, and so these acts concern primarily the raising and allocation of funds. But these documents, and their calendars, are far from arid. Amid expected attempts to coUect provisions, spoUs, and taxes of various sorts, one also finds high pohtics and the practice of loyalty toward friends and subordinates. These documents are quite as vivid and interesting as any in the papal registers and are somewhat less formulaic, even though they may have played a role in the establishment of cameral forms for the rest of the fourteenth century and beyond. WiUiman has done a great service by providing us with a thoroughly reliable and easUy consultable edition of these documents. The staff of the Department of Publications of the Pontifical Institute has served him weU in the production of a most handsome and carefully edited volume.

A stronger objection may be raised to the choice to present the documents

in chronological order rather than to respect the sequence in which the documents were enregistered in their various registers. It is hard to see what particular advantage there is to a chronological arrangement. Hardly any reader is likely to approach the Calendar with the desire to read aU the entries in chronological sequence. More typicaUy, one uses this type of work to trace some person in whose career one is interested or in pursuit of some specific subject; such investigations are not particularly assisted by arranging the material chronologicaUy. Whatever advantage may accrue from such a choice of arrangement, the cost ought not to have been the impossibUity for the reader of easily re-establishing the structure of the registers themselves and the relationship in which these documents stand to each other within the actual registers. Scholars with an interest in such matters wUl not be greatly aided by WUliman's work.

Despite mese (slight) criticisms, WUliman's generous work should prove a precious addition to the wealth of calendars of papal registers that do so much to facUitate the study of the Avignon Papacy and, indeed, of the fourteenth century as a whole.

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The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c 1400—c 1580. By Eamon Duffy. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 654. »45.00 cloth; »18.00 paperback.)

Historians have always questioned traditional beliefs and interpretations about the past. Some offer new insights or emphasize neglected aspects of the human story, and others, iconoclastic in approach, radicaUy reshape one's understanding of events. Very seldom, however, do the findings of revisionist historians touch a nerve outside the academic profession. Eamon Duffy's recent book on the English Reformation, however, proves to be an exception. It has created a stir within English ecclesiastical circles and has forced some to re-examine the causes, motives, and events associated with the separation from Rome during the sixteenth century. The Tablet, a Roman Catholic publication, recently noted that the preface to the 1995 edition of the Church of England Yearbook drew attention to revisionist historians, especially Eamon Duffy, who have questioned some Anglican views about the Reformation. In his recent book, Duffy argues that the pre-Reformation CathoUc Church was not as corrupt as some historians have believed, and he also casts doubt on the belief that the Reformers performed valuable services by reviving a moribund church. If this interpretation is correct and if Anglican history needs re-examination, then, the preface pointed out, Eamon Duffy's book has important ramifications in the area of ecumenism.

The Stripping of the Altars, despite its length, wiU appeal to both the

professional historian and to anyone interested in English ecclesiastical history. After an informative introduction, Duffy, a fellow of Magdalene CoUege, Cambridge, divides this important contribution to sixteenth-century England into two parts. In the first, he skillfully sketches the structures of traditional religion, especially the beliefs and practices of the laity in the parishes of East Anglia, up to 1536. "It is the contention of the first part of die book that late medieval Cadiolicism exerted an enormously strong, diverse, and vigorous hold over die imagination and die loyalty of die people up to the very moment of the Reformation" (p. 4). The second part detaUs the reforming and disruptive policies of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Elizabeth I. The break widi Rome represented a violent rupture, and occasioned some opposition to the policy of the Reformers. Moreover, Mary's brief reign and the restoration of Cadiolicism met with success. This view of die EngUsh Reformation, consequentiy, contradicts those historians who portray the Roman Church as corrupt and believe diat the dismantling of the traditional reUgion was supported by die laity.

The liturgy of pre-Reformation England played an important part in the lives of the laity; it provided a meaning and purpose for dieir existence. Duffy describes die importance of the liturgical calendar, emphasizing certain feast days and Holy Week devotions, and he concludes that the liturgical cycle paraUeled die rhythms of life. Moreover, literacy and die impact of the printing press, die importance of the Mass, die idea of "corporate Christianity," die cult of die saints, prayers, the relation of religion and magic, and popular beliefs concerning death and purgatory all contributed to die connection between religion and the concerns of the laity.

The Hertrician revolution, to use the audior's description, began to alter and change the religious fabric of die nation. Duffy's description of Henry's attack on traditional religion covers familiar ground. The role of Latimer, Cranmer, and Cromwell, as well as reforming policies directed against the monasteries, feast days, and the cult of saints, receive attention from the author. Loyalty to traditional practices, however, continued to survive, and the PUgrimage of Grace (1536-37) reminded royal officials of mat attachment. After die deadi of Henry VIII in 1547, "who, for all his cynicism and hatred of die papacy, remained attached to much of die traditional framework of Cadiolicism" (p. 448), the changes in religion, for example, the dissolution of chantries and the appearance of the two prayer books, became more dramatic during the reign of Edward VI. But some popular resistance stUl continued. Mary's re-establishment of Roman Cadiolicism was followed by Elizabeth's attacks against parochial CadioUcism, which also faced some opposition.

Along with historians such as J. J. Scarisbrick and Christopher Haigh, Eamon Duffy has looked at the events of sixteenth-century England and has come up with new interpretations and conclusions. Not surprisingly, the audior critiques die work of A. G. Dickens. Duffy criticizes Dickens's interpretations of the changes in the preambles of Tudor wUls as an indicator of anti-Catholic

sentiment and scolds him for ignoring die positive aspects of Mary's brief reign. Moreover, medieval Catholicism was not totally bankrupt. According to Duffy, "It has been one of the principal contentions of this book, however, diat into the 1530s the vigour, richness, and creativity of late medieval religion was undiminished, and continued to hold the imagination and elicit the loyalty of the majority of the population" (p. 479).

Duffy presents his arguments is a convincing and intelligent manner and successfully chaUenges some accepted tenets of Reformation historiography. His description of traditional religion, especially the chapters on die Mass and die saints, is exceptionally good and shows the vitality of die pre-Reformation church. Keith Thomas's book on refigion and magic makes an excellent companion volume to Duffy's discussion on liturgy. The local or parish environment was the arena where the reforming policies touched the lives of the people, and the audior's description of parish life, worship, and the opposition to the new Tudor policies is entertaining and informative.

In addition to an impressive list of secondary sources, Duffy skUlfuUy uses wills, churchwardens' accounts, parish and gild records, primers, and a weakh of contemporary printed evidence to support his arguments. He does not rely exclusively on die printed word. The faithful also learned the fundamentals of their faith from paintings, carvings, and the glass in their churches, and die inclusion of photographs of ecclesiastical art which has survived gives important pictorial proof to Duffy's contention that parish life on the eve of the Reformation was not in decay. This is an important book and a significant contribution to Reformation studies. No serious student of the period can avoid confronting the arguments presented in uiis work.

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Language and Learning in Renaissance Italy: Selected Articles. By John Monfasani. [Variorum CoUected Studies Series, CS 460.] (Brookfield, Vermont: Variorum, Ashgate Publishing Company. 1994. Pp. xii, 338. Í8995.)

John Monfasani himself notes diat this collection reflects two of his interests, Renaissance rhetoric and the cultural world of his earliest subject, George of Trebizond. Variorum has given him a chance to coUect these studies and to update them with Addenda et Corrigenda. Since some of these articles are very technical, it is well that he has placed die studies of most general interest at eidier end to frame the rest. Readers unwiUing to embark on discussions of topics like Anti-Quintilianism should, nonetheless, read the first study, "Humanism and Rhetoric." For the ecclesiastical historian, the pay-off comes at die end, where rhetoricians prove to have written on homiletics and where rhetoric plays a role in die earliest curriculum for Jesuit schools. On the way to die last article, readers might want to read the two reviews of editions of

Lorenzo Valla, whose writings from his Neapolitan days challenged not just die pretensions of the religious but even the fllioque. (Interested scholars also should read Riccardo Fubini, "Lorenzo VaUa tra U Concilio di BasUea e quello di Firenze, e il processo deU'Inquisizione," in Conciliarismo, stati nazionali, inizi dell'umanesimo [Spoleto: Centro di Studi suU'Alto Medieoevo, 1990].) Also of importance are "A Description of the Sistine Chapel under Pope Sixtus IV," which helps us date die construction and the earlier works of art more accurately, and "Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite in Mid-Quattrocento Rome," which casts light on "the Renaissance unmasking of the Dionysian corpus as apocryphal." I caU particular attention to the concluding study, "The Fraticelli and Clerical Wealth in Quattrocento Rome," because it highlights the tensions between the professed ideals of the vita apostólica, represented by the mendicants, and the curial ethos, "which differed little in its attitude toward wealth and display from the courts of princes. Anyone who has read Pius IPs unsympathetic account of Nicholas of Cusa's outburst against curial opposition to reform is aware of how this conflict of values helped undermine Rome in the period culminating in the Reformation crisis. (A bit more might have been done with die FraticeUi problem during die reign of Nicholas V, especiaUy the trial in Fabriano; see Charles Burroughs, From Signs to Design: Environmental Process and Reform in Early Renaissance Rome [Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1990].) Some of Monfasani's articles are hard to foUow because of their technical detail, but there are important insights offered even in these. The best, however, including "The First Call for Press Censorship," can be read with both enjoyment and profit. As usual, Variorum's price is painful for die individual to contemplate.

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Early Modern European

Julius II: The Warrior Pope. By Christine Shaw. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell. 1993. Pp. viii, 360; 23 black and white plates. $3995.)

As the title of this book suggests, Christine Shaw views Julius II (ca. 1445—1513, pope from 1503) as primarily a political figure whose preferred tools for achieving his primary goal of restoring die temporal authority of the pope over die Papal States were diplomacy and warfare. WhUe her central thesis may seem to have come out of nineteenth-century historiography, her treatment is at times original because she has used new sources and challenged a number of oft-repeated dicta about this pope.

Shaw's research has been conducted principally in contemporary diplomatic reports: mostly printed coUections for Florence, Venice, Spain, France, and

the Empire, and archival materials for Milan, Mantua, Ferrara, and Bologna. Her use of the previously neglected reports of die agents of the Sforzas and Gonzagas has aUowed her to trace in detail Giuliano deUa Rovere's checkered career as a cardinal and to detect patterns of behavior that would continue into his pontificate. Because these reports concentrated on poUtical affairs, the image of deUa Rovere that emerges is almost exclusively that of a poUtical figure. Given her topic of the forty-two-year career of a cardinal and pope, her work in the Vatican Library and Archives is surprisingly limited—she provides only twenty references to five codices of papal briefs in the Vatican Secret Archives and cites not one of the over one-hundred Vatican Registers for the pontificate of Julius II.

On the basis of firsthand diplomatic reports, Shaw is able to chaUenge some commonly held views about Julius II. She finds little evidence for the claim mat as a young cardinal he was serious, studious, and sober, and notes instead his penchant for display, lack of academic interests, and affair witíi a mistress that begot his daughter Felice. WhUe he later provided for FeUce an Orsini husband and for a niece and nephew other Roman matches, he tempered his nepotism. He appointed never more than two nephews at a time to the Sacred College and was restrained in conferring on his ungrateful and disloyal nephew Francesco Maria deUe Rovere fiefdoms in the Papal States. His relatives had Uttle influence in shaping papal policy, and he seldom used mem to win support for his plans. Nonetheless, his concern to further the interests of his famUy took precedence over his desire to free Italy of foreign domination. The famous words, "fuori i barbari," so often associated with JuUus in history books, Shaw cannot find to have ever been spoken by him. IronicaUy, as Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, he had urged the French to invade Italy to depose Alexander VI and establish their rule in Naples. As pope he also urged the French, Spanish, Germans, and Swiss to fight on Italian soil and acquiesced in their territorial claims. Italian patriotism was not a high priority with Julius II.

Shaw finds Uttle evidence that JuUus II saw himself as a second Julius Caesar. WhUe humanists, artists, and architects may have played with such an idea, JuUus was not inspired by and even rejected various imperial-theme proposals. The corridor linking the Vatican palace with the Belvedere he described not as the recreation of an imperial palace but as a via. His entry into Bologna was not modeled on the ancient triumphs of Roman emperors but on die traditional papal procession to take possession of the episcopal throne at the Lateran. He saw himself as the city's Uberator, not its conqueror. His papal name ofJuUus was as close as he could come to his baptismal name of Giuliano without reviving the name of Julian the Apostate.

Having exhausted other means to regain control of the Papal States, Julius was ready to resort to the mUitary. He flattered his vassal Alfonso d'Esté with the gift of the Golden Rose (gold metal fashioned into flower petals, stem, and leaves, and not a "jewel" as on p. 256), but in the end sent an army against

him when he refused to obey orders. The pope took Perugia without a fight, entering it surrounded by a strong military guard, contrary to Machiavelli's famous account in the Discorsi. As head of the Papal States, Julius insisted on having his own army, but could never find effective commanders for it. The victories he won depended on assistance from his aUies. Shaw caUs him the "warrior pope" not only because of such memorable incidents as his personal supervision of the siege of Mirándola, but also because of his deep interest in such military things as fortresses and strategy and his personality which was more given to action than to diplomacy.

While references to the religious dimensions of Julius H's personality and career are scattered through the book and notably found in its final paragraphs, the pope is never seriously treated as a religious figure. Thus, for example, his efforts to promote a reform of reUgious orders, especiaUy of the Franciscan of which he was a member (?) and as cardinal functioned as its protector, are never explored. Nor is mention made of his setting up the missionary Church in America and reluctantly granting to the Spanish monarch patronage rights over it. But for someone primarily interested in the political career of Julius II, Shaw's book provides a weU researched, carefuUy reconstructed account that incorporates new findings and interpretations.

Nelson H. Mlnnich

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The Reformation in National Context. Edited by Bob Scribner, Roy Porter, and Mikulás Teich. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 236. »54.95 hardcover; »17.95 paperback.)

This volume is part of a series that places various cultural movements, such as the Renaissance, the Scientific Revolution, the Enlightenment, and Romanticism into their national contexts. Scribner (Porter's and Teich's roles are not immediately evident) has assembled a steUar, aU-European group of experts, each of whom presents both a summary and an interpretation of the Reformation in the light of the latest, confession-surmounting, often socially oriented, and inevitably revisionist historiography—historiography in which many of these authors have themselves played a significant part. As Scribner notes in his summing up (p. 215), the Reformation did have a "distinctive face" in each of its various settings.

AU the contributions are of creditable quaUty. Scribner lists for Germany several features that created "a bundle of enabling preconditions" (p. 15), among them its developed urban life and its superfluity by 1520 of university-educated men who were discontented with the humble positions available to them and the corrupt ecclesiastical system. In his Ust of twelve characteristics of reform (pp. 15-25), he includes gender differences and communal im-

pulses. In Switzerland (Kaspar von Greyerz) too die Reformation was chiefly an urban movement, often resisted in the countryside; from its inception it subjected its adherents to strict discipline and moral control, using matrimonial courts in the service of die latter.

Mark Greengrass places the Huguenots in a heavily political milieu. He hints diat the French Reformation might have gained wider popular support had not its neo-Stoic leaders been deeply afraid of disorder. Writing of the Low Countries, Wiebe Bergsma contests die rapid Protestantization of Pieter Geyl and L. J. Rogier, according to which die state imposed reform on die populace. Calvinism spread slowly and with difficulty. Lacking a state church, many people refused to make a choice. Patrick Collinson gives us a historiographie capsule on the English Reformation. He reaffirms the "late Reformation," aided in its evolution by the words of Cranmer's traditional, yet Protestant liturgy.

In Scotland (Julian Goodare) lairds in opposition to the francophile crown joined with Protestant cells in key towns, which "captured die regime from outside" (p. 99), using anti-French feeling to spread the faith and rigid parish discipline to consolidate it.

Scandinavia (Ole Peter GreU) does not present a unified case. King Christian IH of Denmark had to overcome aristocratic resistance to reform. In Sweden, Gustav Vasa, religiously noncommittal but desiring full control of the church, was pitted against reformers Olaus Petri and Laurentius Andreae.

In writing about Bohemia, Frantisek Kavka maintains die nationalist position diat the Reformation began there, not widi John Hus but with John Milic. AU its theological earmarks were first formulated there, culminating in Lukas of Prague (d. 1528). Katalin Peters' whiggish-sounding account of die Reformation in Hungary arouses skepticism. Were the common people indeed deeply attracted to the new theology? This essay requires a longer critique. In Poland (Janusz Tazbir) the Reformation was but an episode in an area long accustomed to religious divisions. Those who espoused it chiefly wished to defend noble privilege and exert pressure on the Catholic clergy (p. 178).

In her treatment of Italy, Silvana Seidel Menchi dismisses the Reformation as "a few short-term sensations," a "non-event." She nevertheless delineates three phases. Henry Kamen insists that Spain was and remained in the sixteenth century a liberal society! But in the end he concedes that the Inquisition was something of a hindrance to dissent.

In his overview, Scribner reminds us of the substantial "mediating role of humanism" throughout Europe (p. 217). And he voices his conviction once again diat nearly everywhere, die Reformation had a harder time establishing itself in the countryside than in the city.

College and university teachers would be weU advised to adopt diis excellent coUection as a means of providing their students widi a geographicaUy

and modally broader introduction to the Reformation than is normally possible.

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The Quest for Becket's Bones: The Mystery of the Relics of St. Thomas Becket of Canterbury. By John Butler. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1995. Pp. xii, 180. $25.00.)

In 1992 two men, searching for the bones of St. Thomas Becket, attempted to break into a tomb in Canterbury Cathedral. The continuing debate over the existence and location of Becket's bones forms the subject matter of Butler's book. He begins with a careful and detailed recounting of the murder and burial of Becket using medieval sources. Butler establishes die credentials of his chroniclers and their proximity to die scene diey are describing, a practice he repeats diroughout the book. Advancing to 1538, he reconstructs die bones' loss when Henry VIII orders the destruction of English shrines. The question remains whether Henry burned or buried the bones.

The continuing argument over die bones' whereabouts began widi the discovery in 1888 of a shallow grave close to Becket's original tomb, a grave in which bones, including a skuU, were found. Identified as the skeleton of a man about fifty years old and of great strength and height (whose head could have been wounded with a sword), a description suggesting that the bones were Becket's, the discovery set off a debate that continued untU 1952. In 1949 these bones were again disinterred, but eventuaUy an examiner concluded that they could not have been Becket's. Butler leaves the reader with questions about the identity of die bones and about what happened to die archbishop's: in short, he does not attempt to force closure of what remains open.

The book might have profited from tighter organization (there is some repetition) and from a chronological table and a list of its principal characters. Butler seems to have two conflicting purposes: to present a complex and scholarly argument about die bones in which readers might expect a straightforward presentation of all evidence and to present the unfolding of a mystery story with a surprise ending that would require selective presentation of information at various times during the story.

Despite these quibbles (also, one illustration is mislabeled), the book merits commendation. It is well-researched, and its complexity derives partly from die presentation of a plethora of characters and contradictory evidence. Butler demonstrates historical expertise in die several periods with which die book is primarUy concerned, placing each actor in die religious and political context

that may have influenced him. He juxtaposes people and their arguments, not attempting to provide simple answers to complicated questions, and reiterates and outlines the main debates often. Butler leaves die reader with suggestions about several possible locations of Becket's bones.

Teachers in research mediods courses could use the book as a model of careful and endiusiastic scholarship. Although graduate students interested in historical research might profit more from it, the general reader wUl find the book, as the author Eamon Duffy says, "a gripping story and a good read."

M. Diane Krantz

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The Phoenix and the Flame: Catalonia and the Counter Reformation. By Henry Kamen. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 527. $45.00.)

Can one say that the Counter-Reformation succeeded if forty years after the CouncU of Trent it was stUl possible to find cathedral canons trying to murder their own reforming bishop? Is die faUure of the Council of Trent made evident by the remark made by a Spaniard to a Jesuit superior: "I reaUy don't know why the fathers of die company go to Japan and the Philippines to look for lost souls, when we have here so many in die same condition who do not know whether or not they believe in God"?

A decade ago Gerald Strauss generated a significant controversy when he proposed in Luther's House of Learning (Baltimore, 1978) that die German Reformation had failed in many ways. Henry Kamen has now made a similar claim about Catholic attempts at reform widi this impressive study of the Counter-Reformation in Catalonia. Whether or not mis book causes a comparable debate remains to be seen. On page after page, Kamen detaüs the myriad ways in which the objectives of reforming clergy were frustrated in Catalonia. As there is no denying the fact diat die CouncU of Trent brought about significant changes in Catalonia, argues Kamen, there is also no denying die fact that "generations were to pass before die aspirations of Trent could be implemented, if indeed they were ever put into practice" (p. 431). The greatest change, according to Kamen, took place in die realm of worship, in the standardization of the liturgy and in the vivification of die sacraments of penance and marriage. Almost everything else that has been traditionaUy touted as a success—the reform of die clergy, die improvement of lay morals, the intensification of piety—turns out to be an Ulusion. Stereotype after stereotype is demolished: even die dreaded Spanish Inquisition turns out to be a paper tiger. Only the Jesuits seem to weather Kamen's acid test, standing out as die one undeniable success story of die Catholic Reformation.

The weight of the evidence marshaled by Kamen is staggering. Nonedieless,

as was die case widi Strauss in Germany, die nature of the sources used wUl undoubtedly raise questions about the validity of the author's conclusions. In one important way, Kamen's perspective is simUar to that of the Tridentine reformers diemselves. It is assumed throughout the study that the process of reform took place from die top down, as some sort of spiritual Reaganomics. Drawing upon archival and printed sources that reflect die reforming clergy's frustrations may provideTüs with a clearer view from one vantage point—and a most important one at that—but perhaps not from other vantage points. The search for indices of change and proofs of cause and effect is itself a narrowing of vision, as William Christian so aptly put it in his Local Religion in Sixteenth Century Spain (Princeton, 1981, p. 4): budding a picture of rural Catholicism from inquisition files—or, in this case, from visitation reports and reforming treatises—"would be like trying to get a sense of everyday American political life from FBI files."

Though some may take issue with the larger conclusions reached in this book, few, if any, wUl be able to contradict Kamen's evidence. By focusing on the small rural town of Mediona, Kamen is able to analyze virtuaUy aU attempts at reform, not just in this tiny community, but in Catalonia, in Spain, and in Cadiolic Europe as a whole. This book reveals the inner workings of the process of reform as a power struggle on multiple levels. It also sheds abundant light on die local dimensions of Tridentine CadioUcism, and on the variety of ways in which reforms could be accepted or thwarted. A case in point is the issue of Masses for the dead. Kamen finds that in Mediona and rural Catalonia diere was no significant increase in request for postmortem Masses, and no overt compliance with Trent's orders to eliminate "superstitious" Mass cycles, such as the St. Amador trentals (a cycle of diirty Masses in which specific prayers and numbers of candles were required, and which were believed to guarantee the soul's unconditional release from purgatory). Elsewhere in Spain at diis very same time, as other studies have shown, things were quite different. In Madrid and Cuenca, for instance, requests for postmortem Masses in testaments increased exponentially after 1565, and the condemned St. Amador trentals vanished completely. It is precisely by pointing to local variations such as these diat Kamen renders the concept of a monolithic, universal, vigorous, and successful Counter-Reformation harder to defend than ever before.

In sum, diis is a landmark achievement in the study of Catalonia, Spain, and die Counter-Reformation. Any scholar of early modern history who aspires to true erudition will have to read this book, and be chaUenged and humbled by it.

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Wondrous in His Saints: Counter-Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria. By PhUip M. Soergel. [Studies on the History of Society and Culture, 17.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 239. »38.00.)

This book makes a significant contribution to our understanding of the origins and success of the Counter-Reformation in sixteenth-century Germany. Using printed pUgrimage books, PhUip Soergel shows how the deeply ingrained habit of peregrination characteristic of late medieval Bavaria was revived after 1560 and transformed into the cornerstone of renewed CathoUc piety. Key to this transformation was the rehabUitation of miracles and exorcisms as proof of the on-going validity of CathoUc tradition. Playing on Protestant anxiety over the lack of "stunning miracles of confirmation" and a widespread fear of the devil, Bavarian propagandists promoted traditional pUgrimage practices as "spiritual medicine for heretical poison" and an antidote against diabolical attack. Buoyed by the support of the Bavarian dukes, especiaUy Albrecht V (1550—1579), these writers fused the political and religious interests of the duchy into a potent source of Counter-Reformation ideology.

At the core of the book and of Soergel's argument is an analysis of Martin Eisengrein's influential pilgrimage book, Our Lady at Altötting, first published in 1571 and reprinted at least ten times before 1625. Eisengrein (1538—1578), a Lutheran convert, was a vigorous defender of Catholic orthodoxy. CaUed by Albrecht V from Vienna to Bavaria, he became a member of the theological faculty at the University of Ingolstadt, provost of Altötting, and ultimately superintendent of the University. His pUgrimage book, Soergel argues, signaled the emergence of a new genre of popular CathoUc apologetics which has retained its vitality in Bavaria to the present day.

To revive the pUgrimage to Altötting and establish a new identity for the shrine, Eisengrein created a new, mythic history that tied the cult to the earliest days of Bavarian history. Drawing on the work of Aventinus, he represented the chapel as the central locus of Marian patronage and divine protection for the duchy for over a millennium. Faithful to orthodox Christianity in the face of constant challenges and trials, its survival over a thousand years is the best testimony to Catholic truth. To support this historical claim, Eisengrein concluded the work with a coUection of recent wonders, including Peter Canisius' famous exorcism of Anna von Bernhausen in 1559. A noble lady in a household of Johann Fugger of Augsburg, Anna was exorcised of seven demons in Altötting's chapel in a dramatic ritual lasting two days. Such achievements, Eisengrein argues, prove the continued veracity of Catholic tradition and offer a means of defense against the devU unavailable to Protestant heretics.

In the book's concluding chapters Soergel examines the pamphlet war set off by the publication of Eisengrein's book and the arguments used by Protestants to counter this new Catholic offensive. He then shows how numerous other Bavarian shrines, following Altötting's example, created new mythic

histories to justify their existence and efficacy as centers of orthodox spirituality. He concludes by suggesting that "The pUgrimage book thus reinforced the notion of geography as a 'sacred landscape' divided into places of 'hot' and 'cold' spiritual power," and that to this day "these perceptions survive . . . not as some kind of residual carryover, but as a dynamic part of Bavarians' daUy religion." In other words, Bavarian CathoUcs stiU inhabit a sacral landscape defined by pUgrimage shrines, and their religious history is not dead, but part of a living past.

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La vie religieuse dans la France méridionale à l'époque moderne. Actes du coUoque organisé par le Centre d'Histoire Moderne en 1990. Edited by Anne Blanchard, Henri Michel, and Elie Pélaquier. (MontpeUier: Université Paul Valéry. 1992. Pp. 266. Paperback.)

These fourteen essays, although weighted heavily in favor of exploring the southern French Catholic Counter-Reformation rather than the Protestant experience (twelve out of the total), focus on very specific questions. So, representing the smaU Protestant selection, Michel Peronnet questions the validity of the phrase "Provinces-Unies du midi" not as it was first coined by Jean Delumeau, but as it was expanded by Janine Garrisson to link Calvinism, democracy, and revolt inextricably. Didier Poton, in a rather rambling contribution, studies the role of the petty Protestant nobüity in one smaU but important cévenol town, Saint-Jean-du-Gard, and reflects upon the many dilemmas—social, ecclesiastical, monarchical—confronting them. Robert Sauzet's brief but suggestive piece on the conversion of a lax priest to the Huguenot camp provides a good transition to the Catholic Midi, and aUows him the twofold purpose of probing the intolerant attitudes over several centuries of the minority nîmois Catholics, while also revealing the unevenness of Catholic reform.

If the Counter-Reformation holds pride of place, the different offerings are designed to illuminate the many facets of this complex movement. Focusing on MontpeUier, Ghislaine Fabre, Thierry Lochard, and Jean Nougaret in two separate complementary articles gauge its political and architectural impact on the medieval city and municipal authorities. Another set of articles by Xavier-Louis Azéma and Anne-Marie Duport recount the troubled beginnings of the Ursulines in MontpeUier and the Jesuits in Nîmes. Two suggestive articles by Isabelle Gestone, exploring the Jesuit use of the dieater at Avignon to celebrate the Revocation, and Patrick Julien, studying a growing Christocentrism during the eighteenth century in Marvejols, underscore the attraction of a reinvigorated Catholicism, and its abUity to reinvent itself through new

or restored cultural forms, in this case, die theater and confraternities. In a brief contrapuntal piece that evokes the protective powers of saints Sébastien and Roch in the Minervois is Hélène Berlan's timely reminder of die continuing power of an older folkloric religion widiin reformed Cadiolicism. A final cluster of four articles focuses on charity and cultic worship. Claude-Marie Robion's contribution is designed to give a panoramic view of die female confraternities inspired by Saint Vincent in die Aude, their success in the seventeenth century, and their slow decline in the eighteendi. Denis Fontaine analyzes die sudden popularity of Saint Joseph in RoussUlon at die end of die sixteendi century, connecting die saint's rising star to reformed Carmelite and Franciscan spirituality, initiatives of the secular clergy, and confraternities associating him with two powerful Tridentine images, die Holy FamUy and die Eucharist. Marie-Hélène Froeschlé-Chopard's two-part article first explores the popularity of die confraternity of the Rosary in eastern Provence during the same timeframe, and dien, analyzing altarpieces, argues for an underlying iconographie unity in the portrayal of the Virgin and the people who surround her expressive of the contradictions implicit in rosary worship. The coUection is concluded, oddly enough, widi a summary of Jean Georgelin's discussion of the Midi clergy's varied response in 1790 to the CivU Oath.

These articles underscore the local diversity of a spiritual movement diat continues, ironically, to be thought of in uniform and universalist terms. They also implicitly question whedier we should think of diem as expressions of an underlying Midi culture. Such speculations should have informed an introduction or conclusion, togedier with a discussion of the essays and the organization of the book. In diis sense the contributors of this solid collection have not been well served by dieir editors.

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Visite pastorali ed elaborazione dei dati. Esperienze e metodi. Edited by Cecilia Nubola and Angelo Turchini. [Annali deU'Istituto storico italo-germanico, Quaderno 34.] (Bologna: Società éditrice U Mulino. 1993· Pp-448. Lire 50,000 paperback.)

Conoscere per governare. La diócesi di Trento nella visita pastorale di Ludovico Madruzzo (1579—1581). By Cecilia Nubola. [Annali deU'Istituto storico italo-germanico, Monografía 20.] (Bologna: Società éditrice U MuUno. 1993. Pp. 647. Lire 60,000 paperback.)

Ten years ago Ugo Mazzone and Angelo Turchino explored the use of pastoral visits for shedding light on die post-Tridentine church and religiosity in Le visite pastorali. Analisi di una fonte (Annali deU'Istituto storico italo-germanico, Monografía 18 [Bologna: Il Mulino, 1985]). The two volumes under present consideration continue diat examination. The first, die Visite pastor-

ali, contains fifteen articles by the participants in a 1991 seminar in Trent on using database computerization for the study of pastoral visitation records. The second, Conoscere per govemare, results from CecUia Nubola's computerized research on the pastoral visits in the diocese of Trent. Taken together, these volumes provide both the theory and practice for conducting this type of "historical science."

In his general introduction to the Visite pastorali, Angelo Turchino asserts that pastoral visits, by their nature, lend themselves readily to computer analysis. The information contained in pastoral and apostolic visitations, which are usually responses to various questionnaires, is suited to being grouped and sorted into related categories pertaining to issues of concern to the post-Tridentine church, for instance, the condition of the churches, clerical income, education, abuses, or lay offenses. Limited to time and place, me pastoral visit can be an extremely rich source for the study of local religion.

The contributions of the first section of the Visite pastorali focus on the methods employed and data amassed in the study of pastoral records in (mostly) post-Tridentine Italy. CecUia Nubola led this section with a summary of her work on the visit of Ludovico Madruzzo, illuminating the rationale behind the creation of her data files, and including two long appendices in which she set out the principal files and much of her raw data. The next five articles foUowed a simUar format, including a discussion of method and experience, graphs, charts, maps, and long appendices of sample files and data. Rosella Tarchi wrote on the visits to the diocese of Florence by Alessandro de Medici in 1589; Monica Marocchi on the apostolic visit of Alessandro Musotti to the diocese of Imola in 1599; Giovanna Gamba and Daniele Montanari on the diocese of Brescia in the sixteenth century, and Angelo Giorgio Ghezzi on the apostolic visit of Gerolamo Ragazzoni to MUan in 1575—76. These authors described the chaUenges faced when attempting to create a computer program—by definition dependent on standardized language—which could handle and make sense of the typical irregularities in the pastoral visits related to differences in the condition of the documents, paleography, ecclesiastical Latin which may have been improperly learned, partial visits, or missing data. Writing on computer methodology and pastoral records, Achille C. Varzi warned that the irregularity of the records and their linguistic variation turn the use of a computer database into a project which is often far too complex for the computing, paléographie, and linguistic skills of the typical historian.

The second section of the volume contains fewer charts, graphs, and data, and sets out, rather, both the findings and methods of additional area studies. Giuseppina De Sandre Gasparini, who examined several pastoral visits to the Véneto in the Quattrocento, warns researchers against using the records only as raw data. She advises researchers to find out as much as possible about those who asked the questions. What was the particular context for the visit? What was the agenda of either the bishop or his delegates? An understanding

of this background will help determine the contours of the database program. In her study of the Veronese diocese in the mid-fifteenth century, Marianna Cipriani moved beyond pastoral visits and entered data from other ecclesiastical records into her database. The Swiss parishes in the diocese of Como, a visit to the diocese of Umbría, the churches in Tortona, and several dioceses in Sicily were surveyed by Brigitta Schwartz, Luisa Proietti Pedetta, Paolo Paoletti, and Gaetano Zito respectively. Each attested to the particularity of both the region and the pastoral records studied, and delineated the difficulties encountered in devising an appropriate database. Livio Sparapani wrote about the significance of pastoral visitation records as a "cultural patrimony," whUe Emanuele Boaga, co-editor of a guide to the diocesan archives in Italy, listed the 150 archives which contain pastoral visits. The volume concluded with an announcement by Turchini, Nubola, and Francesco Ricci that researchers at the Istituto Storico Italo-Germanico are creating a data center for the study of all the pastoral visits, and that they hope to make them available on microfilm and CD-Rom before long.

The second volume for review, Conoscere per govemare, converts the theory related to computers and pastoral visits into practice. Using the six volumes of visitation records generated by Bishop Madruzzo and his delegates during their visit to the diocese of Trent in 1579—1581, Cecilia Nubola has reconstructed the principal lines of diocesan organization at the time. The first few chapters provide the background and context for this study, by describing the diocesan structure, the German and Italian ethnicity of the diocese, as well as the visit, its visitors, and the questions which drove it. These questions were directed at learning more about the material structure of the churches, including their furnishings and property; the training of priests, especiaUy as it related to the cura animarum; and the conduct and religious practices of the laity. Further chapters survey the data resulting from the responses to these questions, including information related to the cathedral church, chapter, and clergy, the ecclesiastical patrimony and its management, the diocesan clergy, their formation, education, moral practices, and careers, the belief and practices of the laity, and lay organizations such as confraternities and hospitals. WhUe these subjects and categories of study are not new, Nubola's use of the computer database allows for a more complex statistical analysis of the records. By using the database she has generated numerous tables and charts which compare, for instance, by region or parish clerical residence, German and Italian parishes, diocesan libraries, the education of priests, and clerical income. The result of her study is a thick and lengthy description of the diocese at the moment of the visit.

From these two volumes, it becomes evident that employing a computer database gives the researcher more flexibUity and speed in this type of analysis. But this type of programmatic research, as the authors of these volumes have indicated in theory and practice, does not work magic. Although analysis of this sort yields thick description of a particular time and place, it is stiU left

to the historian to construct meaningful categories and to interpret and explain the data.

Michelle M. Fontaine

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St. Gregory's College, Seville, 1592-1767. Edited by Martin Murphy. [Catholic Record Society Publications (Record Series), Volume 73-] (Available from William Dawson and Sons Ltd., Cannon House, Park Road, Folkestone, Kent CT19 ISW, England. 1992. Pp. viii, 223. 843.00.)

"This weU researched volume provides much valuable information concerning a relatively little-known English coUege in Andalucía. Founded by Robert Persons during the last decade of the Elizabethan war against Spain, when Seville was the commercial center of a grand overseas empire, this college was dedicated (along with others in Douai, Rome, VaUadolid, and later Lisbon) to preparing priests to minister to the embattled Catholic community at home. For its first half-century St. Gregory's reputation flourished and attracted students drawn by the city's cultural ambience and its proximity to the Spanish Jesuit faculty at the college of St. Hermenegild. It benefited particularly by the generosity of the municipal and diocesan leadership as weU as of merchants and local aristocrats. However, after the 1640's the college's finances were jeopardized when the Andalucian economy plunged into a deep depression, whUe the English civil war and the piracy and naval warfare of the Atlantic made the difficult voyage to SeviUe far more perilous than usual, so that enrollment faltered badly. "By 1693 the college ceased to be English in all but name." For the next twenty years, it received no students from the British Isles and later, from 1710 to 1767, "St. Gregory's was defacto an Irish College," as Ireland sent a small but regular number of students while England did not. In 1767 with the suppression of the Jesuits the college was closed, but most of its archives and revenues were transferred to the English college at VaUadolid.

Murphy's editorial scholarship is exemplary. His introduction includes a concise history of the coUege and it humanistic course of studies proved by its success in the various literary competitions in SeviUe. There are fuU detaUs of the surviving resources of its archive, Usts of the contemporary English Jesuits serving the EngUsh merchants and travelers in the region, and titles of the pamphlets printed in SeviUe about EngUsh Catholic affairs. Unfortunately, the official register of the coUege has not survived, but Mr. Murphy has painstakingly traced from a wide range of sources the names and backgrounds of its English and Irish members over its 175 years of existence. A brief sample of the noteworthy would include: Andrew White, the pioneer chaplain of the Catholic colonists of Maryland; WiUiam Atkins, the author of the earliest Eu-

ropean account of die pirate state of Saley in Morocco,* and Thomas Hussey, founder and first president of Maynooth college. Two others later stirred up the fires of controversy: Richard Smith, the future bishop of Chalcedon, and Thomas White, alias Blacklow, a close friend of the Jansenist Arnaud, whose books were also condemned in Rome. There is a long appendix of rare documents on various phases of die college's troubled history. This is a slender volume, sed multum in parvo.

Albert J. Loomie, SJ.

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The Americas in the Spanish World Order: The Justification for Conquest in the Seventeenth Century. By James Muldoon. (PhUadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 239. $32.95.)

This book is a careful summary and analysis of Juan de Solórzano Pereira's defense of Spain's title to the New World in his De IndiarumJure (1629-1639), better known by scholars in its Spanish version, Política indiana (1647). The work has long been regarded as an audioritative commentary on and digest of the Laws of die Indies. Muldoon's study concentrates on the second book of the first volume of De Indiarumfure, dealing with die legitimacy of the Spanish conquest of America and assessing the ten basic arguments defenders of the conquest had offered in the past to justify it. Muldoon observes that the format of die work is that of a medieval legal treatise, "posing questions, arranging arguments pro and con, citing audiorities, and, finaUy, drawing conclusions in the manner of medieval scholastic philosophers and lawyers." Having surveyed die arguments in me literature on the debate, Solórzano rejected nine of the commonly stated Spanish titles to the New World, accepting only the tendí title, grounding Spanish possession of the Americas on Pope Alexander VI's grant. "His intention," says Muldoon, "was to justify continued Spanish possession of the Americas and to provide a basis for opposing any attempts by other European rulers, Catiiolics or Protestants, to acquire territory in the New World widiout papal or Spanish permission." Muldoon notes, in diis connection, diat die event that prompted die writing of Solórzano's book was the publication of Hugo Grotius's famous Mare liberum (1609), which denied the legitimacy of Spain's and Portugal's claims to the newly discovered lands on die basis of the papal grant.

Muldoon observes in passing that mere are significant differences between die Latin and Spanish versions of Solórzano's work, reflecting a fairly common tendency of Spanish authors of the time to delete from vernacular texts material that crown or church might regard as subversive or offensive. In So-

*See Martin Murphy (ed.), "A Relation of the Journey from St. Omer to Seville, 1622, by Thomas Atkins," Camden Miscellany XXXII (Camden Fifth Series, Royal Historical Society [London, 1994]), pp. 191-281.

lórzano's case this may be more significant than Muldoon recognizes, and makes a comparison of his treatment of the dispute over Spain's titles to the New World in the two texts wortiiwhUe. Thus in die De Indiarum Jure, Bartolomé de Las Casas's positions on diese matters, as summarized by Muldoon, are stated quite fairly and objectively, witiiout animus, and Muldoon notes that Solórzano generaUy accepts Las Casas's views. But in die Política indiana. Solórzano endorses Sepúlveda's argument that the natural inferiority of the Indians required their subjection to Spanish tutelage, supports his view diat the bestial customs of the Indians provided a just cause for war against diem, and rejects Las Casas's claims that Spanish tyranny had destroyed a multitude of Indians, attributing their decline to dieir own vices and God's punishing hand.

The difference between Solórzano's treatment of diese issues in the Latin text, meant for a small learned audience, and the Spanish text, meant for a much broader readership, suggests the decisive change in Spanish politics and die Spanish climate of opinion since the great Las Casas-Sepúlveda debate of 1550. The time was past when Spanish kings, fearing die rise of a powerful colonial seigneurial class, could support Las Casas's attack on the encomenderos and permit publication of tracts diat proclaimed tiieir crimes to the world. Spain, in full-economic, military, and political decline, on the defensive or in retreat in the Old World and die New, was now increasingly intolerant of dissent. Both the Latin and Spanish texts of Solórzano's work, in different ways, reflect seventeenth-century Spain's new, aggressively defensive spirit in response to attacks on Spain's work in America or questioning of its claims to exclusive possession of die New World.

Muldoon argues that the overall significance of the De Indiarum fure is that it "provided a conception of world order based on a set of premises derived from thirteenth-century scholastic, especiaUy canonistic, thought," diat such a conception provided a theoretical basis for the government that the Spaniards sought to construct in America, and that in fact "die Spanish tried harder dian any other people in die sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to reconcile economic and moral interests in the conquest of die New World." Las Casas, the great realist, who in his last wUl and testament prophesied divine retribution for Spain's colonial sins, would have strongly dissented from this conclusion.

Benjamin Keen

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Processi del S. Ufflzio di Venezia contro ebrei e giudaizzanti (1642—1681), Volume XI. Edited by Pier Cesare Ioly Zorattini. [Fontes S. Officii Venetiarum ad Res Iudaicas Spectantes, Vol. 11. Storia deU'ebraismo in Italia, Studi e Testi, XV, Sezione Véneta, 12.] (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore. 1993. Pp. viii, 258. Lire 75.000 paperback.)

This is the eleventh volume in a distinguished series which prints the complete texts of aU the Venetian Inquisition trials dealing with Jews and accused judaizers from 1548 through 1681.

The cases in diese last forty years were not of great significance, which is part of the story. There were several denunciations concerning feigned, forced, and/or sincere conversions. For example, a Jew converted to Christianity divorced his Jewish wife, then married a Christian for financial reasons. The Christian wife accused him of continuing to be a practicing Jew and attempting to persuade her to become a Jew. Eidier the Venetian Inquisition took no action, or else die documents are missing. Anotiier case involved die accusation diat a Ferrara Jew had kidnapped his sister, who intended to become a Christian, had taken her to the Venetian ghetto, and promised her in marriage to a Jew. The outcome is unclear. A Christian servant woman working for Jews in the Venetian ghetto ceased to be a practicing Christian, went to the synagogue and foUowed Jewish dietary laws, and was promised financial aid to flee to the Levant. When she repented, the Holy Office absolved her widiout a formal trial.

A couple of cases dealt widi accusations of magical practice. Abraham, who worked for a Christian printing press, cooked in oU the heart of a rabbit for nine mornings while pronouncing curses over it in order to free his wife from infernal spirits. The remedy did not work. The Holy Office sentenced him to spiritual penances for engaging in magical practices.

The often incomplete investigations and the mUd inquisitorial actions suggest two conclusions, according to Ioly Zorattini. First, die Venetian Holy Office had lost interest in pursuing accused judaizers. The Venetian ghetto was now an integrated center of Jewish life where New Christians were reabsorbed into the Jewish community and lived quietly. Second, whereas a hundred years earlier die Inquisition would have had considerable jurisdiction when Jews were accused of iUegal activities, now Venetian civil magistracies took charge. It appears diat the Venetian Republic had consolidated everything having to do with Jews into the hands of civU organs, thus leaving the inquisition widi little to do. FinaUy, the documents show considerable social interaction between Jews and Christians.

The trials and supplementary documents are meticulously transcribed and accompanied by good notes and comprehensive bibliography. This has been a distinguished series since die first volume appeared in 1980; indeed, this reviewer praised volumes 1, 2, and 10 in diis journal (Vols. LXVIII [AprU, 1982], 365-366; LXXII [January, 1986], 145-146; and LXXX [January, 1994],

164-165). In a brief preface Professor Ioly Zorattini congratulates tiiose who have assisted in the preparation of diese volumes and the organizations which subsidized research and publication. Professor Ioly Zorattini also deserves congratulations for conceptualizing and realizing a fine project.

Paul F. Grendler

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Inventaire analytique de documents relatifs à l'histoire du diocèse de Liège sous le régime des nonces de Cologne: Giuseppe-Maria Sanfelice (1652—1659). Translated from Italian and Latin with introduction by Frédérique Donnay. [Analecta Vaticano-Bélgica, deuxième série, Section B: Nonciature de Cologne, VIL] (Rome: Institut Historique Belge de Rome; Turnhout: Brepols Publishers. 1991. Pp. 427. 1050 BF.)

La correspondance d'Andréa Mangelli, Internonce des Pays-Bas (1652—1655). Translated from Italian and Latin with introduction by Lambert (Henri) Vos, O.S.B. [Analecta Vaticano-Bélgica, deuxième série, Section A: Nonciature de Flandre, XV.] (Rome: Institut Historique Belge de Rome; Turnhout: Brepols Publishers. 1993. Pp. 451. 2100 BF.)

Although die nuncio was at Cologne and the internuncio at Brussels, dieir relatively brief careers at their respective posts saw diem confronted with similar administrative tasks. There was the perpetual conflict between secular and ecclesiastical audiority, in die instance of Cologne between the nuncio and die elector, in die case of Brussels between the viceroy appointed by the Spanish monarch and the internuncio. In all cases each party and his staff attempted to enlarge its traditional jurisdiction or at least to prevent encroachment on what had been die customary spheres of state and church. This was a continuous process with neidier party relaxing its vigilance and using every device imaginable to gain advantage over or outwit the opponent. In Mangelli's case he might have die verbal approval of die Spanish regent, but this was by no means the end of the process because the Councils of Brabant or of Flanders or die ruler's privy councU could (and did) claim provincial privileges enshrined in custom and in particular in the Joyeuse Entrée. Added to this were the privileges and exemptions of cathedral canons, rural deans, heads of monastic orders, and even those of individual parishes. So much for die Church's being an absolutist institution!

Jurisdictionalism was one concern of die Church's representatives, purity of doctrine yet anotiier. For the most part purity of doctrine in his era meant die condemnation of Jansenism, which in turn meant meticulous enforcement of the bull condemning it (Cum occasione, 1652). Both ecclesiastics appear to have assumed the right of Rome's condemnation on the universal acceptance of papal infallibility (by no means accepted automaticaUy until 1870)

and to have regarded members of the Society of Jesus as the only upholders of sound doctrine.

MangeUi had far more trouble widi suspected Jansenists because Louvain was in his sphere of audiority. The dieological faculty there was, according to die internuncio, dioroughly infected. SimUarly, the archbishop of Malines, Jacob Boonen, as well as the bishops of Ghent and Ypres, die latter presiding over die scene of Cornells Jansen's labors, were not only firmly allied witíi die Jansenist party but did everything in tiieir power to see that diose sympatiietic to Jansen's positions were appointed to governing and teaching posts. What both representatives of the Holy See faUed to realize was mat Jansen had based his Augustinus on die Saint's teaching on grace so that anyone who rejected Jansen by definition rejected Saint Augustine, an unthinkable position to all parties, Jesuits included. In addition, MangeUi had to deal widi die obviously delaying tactics from die civU authorities in Brussels, who on one pretext or another simply refused to demote Jansenist-inclined professors at Louvain. The civU authorities would claim diey were unable to act without die sanction of Madrid and, failing this, without die approbation of die councils of Brabant or of Flanders. In otiier words botíi Sanfelice and MangeUi, representing die centralizing tendencies of Rome, found diemselves confronted by entrenched privUege and custom, much of it at one period or anodier confirmed by Rome itself. The struggle against eidier real or alleged Jansenism could be carried to ludicrous lengdis as in die case of the bishop of Ypres who successfully wimstood MangelU's desire to see Jansen's epitaph removed from its location for fear it would contribute further to die spread of heretical opinions.

Not to be denied is die fact that bodi papal representatives were excellent diplomats loyaUy serving die Holy See. They were keenly aware that Protestantism (chiefly as Calvinism) could gain at die expense of the CathoUc reUgion, as in fact happened in many cases, but direct confrontation and die use of condemnation enforced by die secular authorities diey handled gingerly so as not to create unnecessary difficulties. Both were adept at forwarding die cause of Rome's jurisdiction whether it was a question of episcopal nominees, heads of religious orders, cathedral canons, or university professors.

It is difficult to discern die point of diis series. Synopses of correspondence, principaUy between the nuncios on die one hand and the secretary of state and die head of Propaganda on die otiier, as in the Sanfelice volume, and to a lesser extent on die career of MangeUi, leave much to be desired. Why not publish the correspondence, at least the significant letters, in die original languages as long as one takes die trouble to read the letters and make synopses of mem in French? Is it possible Belgians or European scholars in general are as linguistically impoverished as Americans? True, some of die documents in their original language are given in die annexes (for the SanfeUce volume, pp. 361—409, 385—434 in the MangeUi), but odierwise one must rely on faith and assume the French version in the synopses is true to the original. One

might think a series which is probably die recipient of a subvention of combined church and state could see its way clear to presenting die documents in dieir archival form.

S. J. Miller

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L'erreur et son juge. Remarques sur les censures doctrinales à l'époque moderne. By Bruno Neveu. [Istituto Italiano per gli Studi FUosofici, Serie Studi XIL] (Naples: Bibliopolis. 1993. Pp. 758. Lire 160.000 paperback.)

In a yet-to-be-written historical survey of the concept of Magisterium in the Catholic Church an important chapter wUl be devoted to the issues related to Jansenism. This is the indisputable conclusion of Professor Bruno Neveu's erudite monograph. His work is a progressive survey diat approaches the question of magisterial pronouncements, more precisely the discernment of dieological "error," from the perspective of Jansenism. In die background is an issue still famUiar to most students of church history: die five propositions condemned by the buU Cum Occasions and their relationship widi Augustinus, the book written by Cornelius Jansenius. Most probably me propositions came from theses defended by students of the Faculty of Theology of Paris, who had chosen them for their ambiguous expression: diey could have a good Augustinian sense, or they could be interpreted in a bad, unorthodox way. They offered, therefore, the matter for a brilliant exercise in theological dispute. It was the heretical sense that was noticed and eventually condemned in Rome by a special commission that prepared the dogmatic constitution Cum Occasione of Innocent X (1653). The document made a connection between die book and die propositions, but not an expUcit one; diis was established by a commission of French bishops who declared them excerpted from Augustinus. EventuaUy diis association was declared by Alexander VIFs Ad Sacram; he also demanded in his Regiminis Apostolici an inward acceptance of this fact. The Jansenists had two reasons to chaUenge these decisions. First, they maintained an orthodox sense of the propositions, based upon Augustinian theology; second, they denied the presence of die propositions in the incriminated book. In odier terms, they suggested that die Roman decisions were flawed and even possibly wrong.

That diis question of authority was at least as important as the issue of grace has been perceived often by historians, but never has anybody tried to observe it from widiin, as it were, in bringing together aU die elements of a very intricate issue. This Neveu accomplishes in a very meticulous and systematic way. His first chapter ("Vestigia") is a description of the traditional system of theological censures elaborated by universities. The second ("Antiquitas redux") shows how die development of positive theology, associated with

religious controversy, brought forth a renewed interest in the writings of the Church Fathers and an absolutization of their authority. This happened, the author shows in the next chapter ("Ars censoria"), at a time when the technique of qualifying theological error was becoming very precise, even persnickety, as he exhibits in his examples. Now applied by the inquisitorial institutions, especiaUy Roman (Chapter Four, "Pervigil argus") this procedure, aU negative, it must be stressed, was the way the papacy intervened in dogmatic matters, thus expressing her teaching authority. This claim to definitive (and sole) command over doctrine was supported by the stUl undefined but very strong notion of infaUibUity. It explains the prudence of the Roman judges in preparing a decision and also their inflexibUity in defending it; it also justifies the atmosphere of secrecy surrounding it. For there was more than a mere mechanism of qualification of errors contained in excerpts from a particular work, since in the process—this is the book's main thesis—the "organe de la foi" (p. 757) expressed a judgment over the meaning of these particular extracts. The issue is explored thoroughly in the last chapter ("Sensus et sententia"), where the author examines historical and theological content of the Jansenist quarrel over the five propositions and brings together the main examples of pontifical intervention, from Baius to Fénelon, that support and Ulustrate Neveu's interpretation.

This book, written by one of the best experts on seventeenth-century Catholicism, has been prepared by several learned articles on some of the issues that are presented here in harmonious unity. This cohesion comes mostly from the fact that the author adopts an unabashed Tridentine perspective, that accords to the "teaching organ" of the Church the sole responsibUity for the preservation of orthodoxy and definition of doctrine. Such a treatment does not seem partial or even partisan due to the deep knowledge of the other position, Jansenist or GaUican; it actually provides for a very serious and meaningful confrontation of the perspectives that so seriously divided Catholic inteUigentsia: on one hand, a holistic and rather flexible perception of dogma, that recognized in the teaching church, viz., the papacy and their advisers, a special responsibility to protect the Christian faith, on the other, a somewhat fundamentalist conception of theology, as a science based on sources, the Bible, the Fathers, and a rigorous, rationalistic methodology in the hands of qualified professionals. Here, Neveu excels in exposing how the theological approach of Arnauld, Nicole, and their disciples was totaUy out of synchronism with the Roman customs, and their perpetual arguing was totally unappreciated in a milieu much more attentive to a canonical way of proceeding. The work, therefore, represents an exceptional contribution to the unfrequented field of historical theology, bringing together rare examples and forgotten citations. It also has a great deal to offer to the many historians for whom Jansenism is stiU an enigma. By taking to pieces the persistent issue of authority and showing its precedence over precise theological matters, Neveu helps to understand the social and political impact of the quarrel and also its

longevity. His own enthusiasm in presenting his case is a tribute to his dedication; it also shows that the most intricate issues can spark those who take them to heart.

Jacques M. Gres-Gayer

The Catholic University of America

La Correspondance de Pasquier Quesnel: Inventaire et Index Analytique, II: Index analytique. 2 volumes. By Joseph A. G. Tans and H. Schmitz du Moulin. [Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique, Fascicules 77 and 78.] (Brussels: Éditions Nauwelaerts; Louvain: Bureau de la R.H.E. 1993. Pp. ix, 566; iv, 567-1175. Paperback.)

In a review of the first volume of the inventory of Quesnel's correspondence (ante, LXXVIII [July, 1992], 462), I expressed some frustration mat the actual documents would not be published. This frustration is partially abated by the quaUty of the analytical index prepared by H. Schmitz du Moulin and the late J. A. G. Tans. It is indeed a tribute to the lifelong dedication of the Dutch professor to provide for a better knowledge of this important figure of Jansenism.

What makes this index so satisfactory is the precision of the entries by names, places, book titles, and themes. The references are given in chronological order, often distinguishing subthemes. An indication is usually given as to the identity of the names, which in itself is very useful. It is clear mat the entire correspondence has been extracted in an inteUigent, exact way, and these indications reported in the index provide for a practical means to access Quesnel's letters. It seems that in order to avoid too many repetitions the editors have limited the number of references; it is useful, therefore, to cross-check keywords, as more information may be discerned in this way. Each reference cites by number an entry in the inventaire, where the date and the name of the correspondent wiU be found. This may help the researcher to locate the document and eventuaUy be given access to it.

As such, the Analytical Index offers a fascinating overview of the riches of Quesnel's correspondence, of the quantity and quality of his correspondents. It also gives a fairly precise idea of the content of these letters, of the wealth of information that can be extracted from them. More than ever it cries for an edition of this important corpus.

Jacques M. Gres-Gayer

The Catholic University of America

Intelligence and Espionage in the Reign of Charles II, 1660—1685. By Alan Marshall. [Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 334. $5995.)

Alan Marshall breaks new ground in this first substantive analysis of intelligence-gathering and espionage during the reign of Charles II. Nearly a quarter of the book is devoted to the role of the secretaries of state as the principal officials responsible for this work Marshall gives particularly high marks to Joseph Williamson, whom he ranks widi Francis Walsingham and John Thurloe as die forefathers of the English intelligence system. Yet diat system failed to check the blatant use of spurious allegations during the investigation of the Popish Plot, and WUliamson, who appears to have been skeptical of the charges, failed to take a pubUc stand and expose their falsity. Thus at one of the most critical moments of the reign, die inteUigence system faUed, perhaps in part because it could not evaluate die anti-CathoUc charges, but also because of a faUure of nerve on Williamson's part. MarshaU is perhaps too forgiving in his treatment of WUliamson.

Marshall provides intriguing analyses of die government's use of the post office to obtain intelligence by monitoring the maus, and of the recruitment, support, and use of spies and informers. Charles' regime typically employed eighteen to twenty-two spies, some of whom were volunteers whUe others were coerced into serving or recruited by oüier spies. The government compensated the spies at wUdly varying rates, but in general the remuneration was not substantial. MarshaU devotes much of his study to biographical summaries of the spies and their work, providing rich detail about botii domestic and foreign intelligence-gadiering.

Much of die evidence MarshaU employs is difficult for historians to assess, as indeed it was for contemporaries, and honest disagreements are inevitable. Marshall rightly argues that it was in the spy's self-interest to be truthful in his reports. The greatest strengtii of this study is MarshaU's astute analysis of die government's espionage activities and personnel, but the book is plagued by serious problems, including factual and bibUographical errors. Some involve such elementary facts as the number of "actual risings"; MarshaU erroneously includes Dublin in 1663, when in fact die government arrested conspirators before they could rebel, and he inexplicably omits the substantive Scottish rebeUion in 1679 diat required an army from England to suppress. An odierwise fascinating chapter on assassination faUs even to mention die most spectacular assassination of the reign, namely, diat of James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews, in 1679. Marshall virtuaUy ignores what may have been die most significant poUtical murder of the reign—that of Arthur Capel, Earl of Essex. (Marshall at first dismisses the possibUity of murder in a footnote, but later decides, in another footnote, that Essex might have been murdered.) The Swiss town of Vevey, where Ludlow and ouier exües took up residence,

erroneously appears as "Vervay" and "Vevay." Some of Marshall's characters are inadequately identified: Mr. Knowles is Hanserd KnoUys; Mr. Thorne is George Thorne; Mr. Lawrence is Richard Lawrence; all were nonconformist ministers. Marshall is so intent on tarring me with the brush of whiggery that he retitled one of my books to give it a whiggish flavor! I was astonished to read that "in [my] view die agenda was already set and that it aU must inevitably end in 1776 and another, but more long-lasting, 'glorious revolution' " (p. 13). In fact, I would argue strenuously against such an interpretation. The errors, misrepresentations, and critical omissions mar a book that otherwise has much to offer.

Richard L. Greaves

Florida State University

The Church of England c. 1689-c. 1833: From Toleration to Tractarianism. Edited by John Walsh, Colin Haydon, and Stephen Taylor. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 372. $6995.)

Ecclesiastical historians have devoted Uttie scholarly attention to die Church of England during the Hanoverian era. To date, Norman Sykes's 1934 publication, Church and State in England in the Eighteenth Century, remains die only comprehensive monographic study of eighteenth-century Anglicanism. Presenting die most current research and historiography on this neglected theme, John Walsh, Colin Haydon, and Stephen Taylor offer an anthology of richly detailed essays designed to reassess die conventional view of the Georgian Church as a static, indifferent, and corrupt institution.

Beginning widi a sound overview of the Church during the 'long' eighteendi-century (i.e., c. 1689-c. 1833), the editors divide the book into diree parts, widi each part containing several essays examining specific aspects of die Hanoverian Church. Contrary to die somnolent, irreverent entity portrayed by Victorian churchmen, these essays demonstrate that the Georgian Church was a vital force in English ltfe. Between the Revolution Settlement of 1689 and die Tractarian movement of the 1830's, the established Church faced many new social and political developments. Protestant dissenters received legal protection to worship outside of the Anglican fold. Increased urbanization created a need for energetic clergymen to serve parishes in rapidly growing towns and cities. Clerical pluralism and non-residence existed in many parts of die kingdom, particularly, as Vivian Barrie-Curien reveals, in die diocese of London (pp. 86-109). SimUarly to the Restoration Church, poUtics remained inextricably linked to religious issues characterized by conflicts between High Church Tories and Whig Low churchmen. Throughout the period, the three principal schools of Anglican churchmanship—High Church, Low Church, and Evangelicals—competed for the hearts and minds of clergy and laity alike. But religious labels should be used cautiously, for as

John Walsh and Stephen Taylor observe, "What makes the taxonomy of Church groups particularly difficult is the way in which political definitions became periodically entangled with religious ones" (p. 34).

What emerges from diis volume is a rehabilitated image of die eighteenth-century Anglican Church. Despite abuses such as pluralism and non-residence, Jeremy Gregory and Mark Smith describe the pastoral zeal of the Anglican clergy. Whatever their dieological and devotional tendencies, many clergymen conscientiously performed their parochial duties. Sunday schools and charity schools were created, and clerics emphasized catechetical instruction in ordiodox Anglican beliefs. In some localities such as die parochial chapelry of Saddleworth, much attention was given to building and repairing parish churches. An expanding population, among other things, forced church audiorities to increase parish space. Thus, centers of Anglican pastoral activity and extensive church building, such as Saddleworth, counter the traditional view of a negligent and lax Hanoverian Church.

SimUar essays by John Spurr, Craig Rose, and Elizabeth Elbourne show the centrality of Anglican lay and clerical voluntary groups in English religious life. For example, die Societies for die Reformation of Manners (SRM) promoted godly living and die reform of people's behavior. Many lay Anglicans formed voluntary associations to express their piety and to spread holiness and devotional practices within the Church. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) stressed holy Uving, instruction in die Anglican catechism, and the performances of charitable works. Comprised of predominantly lay members, the SPCK believed that works of charity and the teaching of Anglican orthodoxy "would reassert the spiritual and political primacy of the Church of England in the nation" (pp. 179-180). The Church Missionary Society (CMS) was organized by Anglican Evangelical Clergy for die purpose of spreading Christianity to Africa and India. As a result, conversions to Anglicanism would be possible as would the strengthening of British imperial interests. The Georgian Church dius developed an Anglican missionary culture.

Historians of English Catholicism wiU find this volume of limited value for studying the plight of die eighteentii-century Cadiolic community. Only Jan Albers's essay, " 'Papist traitors' and 'Presbyterian rogues': Religious identities in eighteenth-century Lancashire" (pp. 317-333), accords sufficient treatment to the relationship between Roman Cadiolics and AngUcans in die heavUy Cadiolic county of Lancashire. Religious stereotypes, particularly of Cadiolics, were commonplace in English society and were usually animated by events such as the 1715 and 1745 Jacobite rebellions. But in a period of general religious tolerance and moderation, acts of violence against members of reUgious sects and their property were rare. Since the chronological scope of these essays ends at the beginning of die Oxford Movement, the dieological and liturgical impacts of Roman CadioUcism upon die Anglican establishment are never examined.

Two main conclusions may be derived from these essays. First, the evidence presented by recent historians does not fit the negative historiographical view of die eighteendi-century Church. Second, despite the existence of church groups along devotional and dieological lines, diere was a broad doctrinal consensus within Anglicanism diat remained untU the Tractarian Movement of the 1830's. As Peter Nockles argues in his essay, "Church parties in die pre-Tractarian Church of England 1750-1833: The 'Orthodox'—some problems of definition and identity" (pp. 334-359), party identities and conflicts were a central part of Georgian Anglicanism. The Tractarian Movement did not create party strife, but only made it more pronounced as churchmen were forced to choose clear positions on dieological issues.

Overall, these essays provide a total reassessment of the significance and image of the eighteenth-century Church of England. Each essay draws upon a wide array of sources to show that the Church, far from being negligent and in decline, was actively engaged in die social, cultural, political, and spiritual life of the EngUsh nation. The extensive use of diocesan records, manuscripts, pamphlet literature, and recent doctoral research greatly enhances die value of this book. However, more work is needed in diocesan and local county archives. While diis is essential for further investigation of diis subject, these essays are a solid foundation for any historian planning to undertake a much-needed comprehensive and updated study of die Hanoverian Church.

Emil Anthony Ricci

Villanova University

Die Berichte der Pastoralvisitationen des Görzer Erzbischofs Karl Michael von Alterns in Kärnten von 1751 bis 1762. By Peter G. Tropper. [Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, PhUosophisch-historische Klasse, Historische Kommission; Fontes Rerum Austriacarum, zweite Abteilung; Diplomataria et Acta, Bd. 87.] (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. 1993. Pp. lvi, 582. Paperback.)

This is a work for die specialist in one of the several areas of historical studies—die historian of die Austrian Church, perhaps, or the social historian of eighteenth-century Austria. It contains as its core the records of die pastoral visitations undertaken during the years 1751, 1756, and 1762 by Archbishop Karl Michael von Attems of die parishes in die newly erected archdiocese of Görz, which lay in the Austrian province of Carindiia (Kärnten). The text is in Latin, with introductory material in German.

In 1752 die ancient patriarchate of Aquileia was suppressed: in its place arose in die Venetian portions die new archdiocese of Udine, and in the Austrian portions die archdiocese of Görz. Karl Michael von Attems (1711-1774), a native of Görz and a member of the Austrian aristocracy, was die

first archbishop. His see encompassed the northeastern Alpine region where the Romance, Germanic, and Slavic worlds meet. About two-thirds of the population were Slavic (Slovene and Croatian); most of the remaining, Romance (Friulian and Italian). Even in the northern portions of the archdiocese surveyed in this volume, in the then and present province of Carinthia, few of the people spoke German as their native tongue. This work, then, is a study of borderlands. In his introduction, Mr. Tropper mentions the existence of simUar resources for other parts of the archdiocese, and indicates an interest in future pubUcation. We may, then, see additional volumes of outer visitation records.

Although this is not a work for the historical dilettante, a close study of its wandering text is rewarding to the serious student. Pastoral visitations of this sort exhibit considerable data about the condition of the Church, such as clerical personnel, material condition of the church fabric, financial status of the ecclesiastical bodies visited, popular beliefs, religious practice, and the multipucity of religious usages. Consequently, the results of this study should be of interest not only to the student of the institutional Church, but also of popular reUgion, social conditions, and economic circumstances in this border Alpine region during the middle years of the eighteenth century.

Among the interesting pieces of information gleaned from the documents and summarized by the editor, one finds that of the 1,665 baptisms performed in die year 1762, only 77 (or 4.6%) were of illegitimate chUdren, a decrease from 7.7% for the year 1756. In 1756, in the sixty-three parishes visited, there was a population of 56,290, of which all but forty were members of the Church. Not counting the four religious houses in the region, there were exactly eighty priests serving this part of Carinthia, with an average age of 45.9 years, and an average income of 250 florins. Such information concerns the social historian perhaps even more than the ecclesiastical historian.

On a larger scale, we see in the work of Archbishop von Attems an example of the more pastoral orientation of the episcopate in the second half of the eighteenth century, noted not only in Austria but throughout the Holy Roman Empire, reflecting the spread of the CathoUc Enlightenment. Other examples which come to mind include Adam Friedrich von Seinsheim in Würzburg, August von Limburg in Speyer, Franz Egon von Fürstenberg in Paderborn and HUdesheim, and MaximUian Franz of Austria in Cologne and Münster. Pastoral visitations, diocesan synods, and active encouragement of charity took the place of impressive buildings and princely grandeur for these prelates.

Peter Tropper is weU qualified to undertake the work here presented. He has published four previous volumes, all on the condition of the Church in Carinthia during this period. This work wiU make a welcome addition to research coUections.

William C. Schrader

Tennessee Technological University

The French Disease: The Catholic Church and Irish Radicalism, 1790—1800. By Daire Keogh. (Dublin: Four Courts Press. Distributed by International Specialized Book Service, Inc., Portland, Oregon. 1993· Pp. xü, 297. $39.50.)

The political status quo of many European societies was transformed in the 1790's by the influence of revolutionary France. Ireland was not exempt, even diough, unlike the Low Countries, die Rhineland, or Italy, it had no extended period of French intervention. French example together widi the prospect of French invasion combined to make a radical reordering of Irish society seem feasible. One source for the impulse for change was a group of radicals mainly from professional and mercantile backgrounds (and mainly Protestants or Dissenters) whose inspiration and anti-establishment ambitions mirrored those of their revolutionary counterparts in other countries. Their main focus of activity was die Society of United Irishmen. The Catholic population, subjected by law to political and educational disabUities, had an obvious interest in change. After a trickle of concessions, including die granting of die vote in 1793, Catholics seeking fuU emancipation became aware that die government had no more to offer them and moved into an often ambivalent aUiance widi the United Irishmen.

Dáire Keogh explores die consequences of diese developments for die Cadiolic clergy in Ireland, and does so with admirable clarity, conciseness, and authority. The destruction of the ecclesiastical establishment in France, culminating in the mass expulsion of non-juring priests in 1792, left churchmen in no doubt about the implication of die "French disease." The French invasion of die Papal States and dien of Rome itself, foUowed by die sending out of Pope Pius VI as "a poor fugitive priest through die world," cast the British state as the protector of die Catholic Church in its time of direst need. In diese circumstances die Irish bishops aligned diemselves ostentatiously on the side of die British government and the status quo in Ireland. When an filiated French force did land at KiUaIa in September, 1798, the local bishop, Dominic Bellew, conducted himsetf in such a way as to leave himself open to accusations of disloyalty. And in 1797 the Bishop of Waterford, Thomas Hussey, reflecting die attitudes of his mentor, Edward Burke, had voiced discontent at continuing Catholic disabUities. These lapses apart, the hierarchy under the moral and inteUectual leadership of John Troy, Archbishop of Dublin, preached and wrote in most unequivocal terms of the duty of loyalty to die government of King George III. Most notably, on Christmas Day, 1796, witii a French naval force riding in nearby Bantry Bay, Bishop Moylan of Cork issued an outspoken denunciation of French treachery. This stance enabled the bishops to win government permission and public funding for the establishment of a national seminary at Maynooth in 1795.

The response of the laity to die bishops' assertions of loyalty was less satisfactory. As the decade progressed it became evident diat large swatiies of the population were being politicized by the radicals and were being left

unmoved by reminders of French atrocities against religion. The priests unlike die bishops had to take account of popular attitudes. The surviving evidence is scanty, but it seems clear that whUe some were as loyal as any bishop, not a few priests joined in the popular (and largely clandestine) mobUization and diat these included some active propagators of die revolutionary cause. Caught between civil and religious audiority on die one hand and the frequentiy menacing demands of radicalized parishioners on the odier hand, the priests were in an unenviable situation. One of many valuable features of this book is a survey of die seventy or so priests (four percent of die total) impUcated in die rebellion which eventually erupted (and was suppressed) in die summer of 1798.

This very fine book is written for the initiated, insofar as it presumes famüiarity with the Irish history of die period. There is extensive use of bodi civil and ecclesiastical archives.

R. V. Comerford

Saint Patrick's College, Maynooth

Late Modern European

Crime, Disorder and the Risorgimento: The Politics of Policing in Bologna. By Steven C. Hughes. [Cambridge Studies in Italian History and Culture.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 286. $54.95)

There is always die danger diat a monograph diat evolved from a Ph.D. dissertation dealing widi a narrow theme in a small geographical area wUl confront the reader widi an impenetrable tiiicket of detaU, only tangentiaUy relevant to anything of importance. Happily for students of the Risorgimento that is far from true in the case of Steven Hughes's impressive study of crime and disorder in Bologna from die late eighteenth century untU the unification of Italy. At no point does die wealth of archival material he mined, or his close examination of die style and fluctuating intensity of Bolognese crime and disorder, obscure the core dieses he presents. While by no means embracing a Marxist interpretation, he joins those who emphasize the importance of social rather than ideological factors in affecting the outcome of the Italian national movement. Furthermore, he convincingly demonstrates how his work not only supports but adds new dimensions to John Davis's much broader study, Conflict and Control: Law and Order in Nineteenth Century Italy (1988).

During the ancien régime papal absolutism was dieoretical rather than real; die Bolognese elites, like those elsewhere in the papal domains, enjoyed and jealously guarded their autonomy, which included sharing responsibility for die maintenance of public order. The French conquest brought a bureaucratic,

centralized system which Consalvi, anxious to promote papal power, pragmatically preserved wherever feasible. Hughes stresses that die papacy's assumption of a monopoly of police power, except in Rome itself, carried with it a monopoly of responsibUity. The faUure of die central government to provide the order and security deemed essential by the elites destabilized it. Dismayed by the ineffective and arbitrary papal police, angry at their diminished role in a centralized system controUed by Rome, and fearful of die criminality and sporadic radicalism of the lower classes, especiaUy after 1848, die elites came to embrace a cautious, liberal reformism which gradually led them to look to Piedmont for safety.

The author makes a contribution to our understanding of the 1831 and 1848 revolutions in Bologna by showing that fear of anarchy was "a prime mover" in sparking an interlocking series of events that led from die formation of citizen patrols to a reluctant seizure of power by the elite. Indeed, the establishment of a Civic Guard in Bologna in 1847 triggered an Austrian reaction which had national repercussions. Although die study reveals corruption, brutality, and poUtical repression, it is fair and balanced throughout, eschewing the depiction of unrelenting Roman tyranny diat liberals frequently present. In fact, one often sympadiizes with die struggle of a succession of papal authorities who sincerely tried widi inadequate resources to reform the system. The shifting variety of security organizations between 1815 and I860, along with the fact that die police and the armed "public force" in Bologna had different but, it seems, overlapping responsibilities, can occasionally create difficulties, but the work is finely written and the chapter-ending conclusions are models of clarity. This monograph demonstrates the need for simUar regional studies.

There are useful charts and references to die many archives consulted. There is no general bibliography, which would have been helpful.

Raymond L Cummings

Villanova University (Emeritus)

Interpreting American Democracy in France: The Career of Edouard Laboulaye, 1811-1883. By Walter D. Gray. (Newark: University of Delaware Press. 1994. Pp. 178. $3350.)

In this clear and compact book, Walter D. Gray looks at one of die forgotten luminaries of nineteendi-century France. In die 1850's, 1860's, and 1870's, Edouard Laboulaye was the successor to TocquevUle—the uncontested authority on American history and politics in France. He was also, like TocquevUle, an ardent defender of the American constitution. During die Second Empire, he was a prominent symbol of opposition, lecturing on the virtues of a broad suffrage, a bicameral legislature, decentralized government, and

property rights as Professor of Comparative Law at the Collège de France. A newspaper article from 1869 reported on Laboulaye's course on American poUtics: "So great was the demand of seats that many would wait through the hour of the lecture before him___ Young and eager faces were seen beside those who wore the shrewder expression of years. Rough, uncultured men mingled their hearty applause with die more cultivated and high-bred" (p. 30). As a liberal who was more concerned with establishing checks on power than on transferring power absolutely to the people, Laboulaye was an outsider not only to the Empire but also to the French republican tradition. Though he became a senator for life during the Third Republic, his views were out of step again with the times, particularly on religious matters. For Laboulaye was a devout Catholic in a country in which Catholicism and republicanism were considered inherently antithetical. He condemned French Catholics for their opposition to democracy and French democrats for their anticlericalism. He underscored the fact that Catholic culture flourished in the American republic; indeed, he believed mat America showed that democracy and the true spirit of Christianity were naturaUy compatible. But his efforts were futile. A polarization was inevitable. French Catholics were shocked by the Paris Commune in 1871 when the archbishop of Paris and fifty priests were held hostage and later shot. Speaking of the Republicans, Gambetta told the Chamber of Deputies in 1877: "there is one thing which—equal to the Ancien Régime—disgusts this country ... it is clerical domination!" And he added the deadly words, "It is rare indeed for a Catholic to be a patriot." The imagined menace of Catholicism was indeed one of the central themes, one could even say one of the sources of legitimacy, of the Third RepubUc.

Laboulaye took his stand on the issue of education; he opposed the laws of the 1870's making Catholic schools and universities illegal. As Gray shows, Laboulaye lost the fight but he raised some interesting points in political theory: "Laboulaye's opposition to [Jules] Ferry's legislation was that it infringed on the rights of others. The state had the right to maintain a school system, but others also had the same right___ The omnipotent state was for him inconsistent with liberal principles and harkened back to the worst days of the French Revolution. He also opposed the compulsory inculcation of laic ideology" (p. 127).

Laboulaye had many interests, and not aU of his schemes were failures. He conceived of the idea of the Statue of Liberty and founded the Franco-American Commission to raise funds for the project. He was also a successful novelist. Paris in America, his story about an imaginary voyage to a Utopian community in New England, went through thirty-four French editions. The only shortcoming of Gray's book is that he teUs us little about this work and little in general about the idiosyncratic and fantastical sides of the professor's imagination. In fairness, it must be added that only a massive study could do justice to the work of the prolific Laboulaye. Gray has succeeded in bringing to light

the career and political commitments of this intriguing figure who has been ignored for too long.

Daniel Gordon

Harvard University

Ketzer oder Kirchenlehrer? Der Tübinger Theologe Johannes von Kuhn (1806—1887) in den kirchenpolitischen Auseinandersetzungen seiner Zeit. By Hubert WoU. [Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Zeitgeschichte, Reihe B: Forschungen, Band 58.] (Mainz: Matthias Grünewald Verlag. 1992. Pp. lvii, 395.)

This weighty volume with 2026 footnotes has one major flaw recognized repeatedly by its author: he has had no access to the largest collection of primary sources. The archives of the Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith (the former Holy Office) remain inaccessible. [The coUections of the Vatican Archives are opened to 1922, but those of the Congregation are available only to those duly authorized by the Congregation itself—and that seldom includes scholars interested in publishing.] Nonetheless, the volume is worth reading as a well-researched, weU-put-together piece of the intellectual and political history of nineteenth-century European Roman Catholicism.

Johannes von Kuhn was a professor on the theological faculty of Tübingen, much respected in his own time, much neglected since the triumph of Neo-Scholasticism. He was involved in German poUtics after the Revolutions of 1848 as a member of the new Württemberg Parliament until 1852. There he most often took the side of the monarch. Although Kuhn firmly believed in Roman authority when it came to church doctrine, he also beUeved strongly in the importance of a monarch in preserving and protecting Christian society. He was, like most Roman Catholics of his time, deeply skeptical of democracy, beheving it to be more mob rule than effective governmental form. He thus walked a thin line in a political world stUl divided by Febronians and Ultramontanists.

Kuhn was a complex man. He believed firmly in academic freedom and resisted any attempt to impose an oath of loyalty to the decrees of Trent. His review of David Friedrich Strauss's Leben fesu was sympathetic to Strauss. Yet he joined vigorously in the condemnations of both Hermes and Günther. He was not reticent in trying to sUence those within the Church with whom he did not agree. Gracious and understanding to those outside the Roman tradition, he was most demanding of those who wished to remain within that tradition. Although at one point actually considered for appointment to the episcopacy, he was later accused of heterodoxy. Kuhn's theology, only briefly treated in Wolfs volume, caught the eye of the Neo-Thomists, who found it did not successfuUy walk the tightrope between fideism and rationaUsm.

Again, the telling documents are not available, but Wolf makes a credible case that Kuhn was under investigation less because of his theological stance—which few but German professors of theology would read and understand—and more because he was caught in die politics of Rome which was anxious to repudiate any connection widi die modern world. Kuhn was spared condemnation, according to Wolf, not on the merits of his own dieological position but because die Jesuits connected to the Congregation of die Holy Office (and its most powerful members) were unwüling to concede victory to die Redemptorists who had been Kuhn's accusers. Of course, again, diis remains speculation. The records that would prove it have not been found.

Even widi a one-sided documentation, however, diis is the well told story of the nineteendi-century power struggle witiiin Roman Catholicism as it played out in and affected the lffe of one man, Johannes von Kuhn. That man dedicated his life to a Church that was stUl so shaken by die hostility of the Enlightenment and French Revolution that it was skeptical of any attempt to deal widi die modern world. It was also a Church diat turned most harshly on any of its own who tried to address diat modern world. It is die story of one of diose who tried to speak die Gospel in a language its despisers might better understand. Kuhn wanted to serve what he believed to be Truth found within Roman Catholicism. He denounced otiiers when they strayed from the path he thought he saw clearly. When his own thought came under scrutiny and he narrowly escaped condemnation himself, Kuhn never wrote again, never raised his voice again. Even widi the declaration of papal infallibility which he had opposed long before its definition, Kuhn wrote not, spoke not. One cannot help but wonder what might have been Kuhn's story had he chosen to speak.

Wolf does an exceUent job of portraying the intellectual currents of die time and die intellectual story of this one man who was caught in those currents. In the end, however, die story points to another trudi that transcends the time in which it is written: die intrigue of a church bent on preserving and protecting itself in a changing world—a world it refuses to recognize—and die pain that church causes in its own ranks when it attempts to measure aU tiiought by one system of diought. This is die poignant story of a man who tried to speak die Gospel in his time only to discover, as had and would many otiiers, that his diought was found wanting by the very church he was attempting to serve.

Adam Bunnell, O.F.M.Conv.

Washington Theological Union

The Convert Cardinals. John Henry Newman and Henry Edward Manning. By David Newsome. (London: John Murray. 1993. Pp. xii, 418.)

The Convert Cardinals is a fascinating and admirable double biographical study. David Newsome has previously distinguished himself in the biographical

genre with studies of die WUberforces and ofA. C. Benson. But die formidable goal of treating botii Newman and Manning, both long-lived giant-figures of great achievements, in die same volume makes Newsome's success here aU the more remarkable. He undertook this study in part because the reputations of the two English cardinals have for many been "finalized" and polarized for over a century. It is an indictment of die disciples of botii men diat Newsome was compelled to write an introductory chapter of twenty-one pages to establish the validity of sketches that are neidier abuse nor panegyric. Some Newmanians in recent decades have made objective, balanced scholarship difficult with their insistence on almost unqualified adulation and protectiveness and reliance almost exclusively on Newman's own words and self-judgments.

David Newsome is neither a Newmanian, nor a Manningite, nor a Roman Cadiolic, but a balanced admirer and critic of botii Newman and Manning. And he uses many other sources than diese two men for his characterizations and judgments. They are nicely placed in tiieir historical contexts, which the reader is surprised to find are often very simUar.

This joint study is broadly and humanisticaUy oriented, widi discussion of such diverse topics as personalities, marriage and celibacy, Evangelical backgrounds, conversions, preaching, asceticism, ecumenism, social Christianity, poetry, etc. Newsome may not enter very deeply into die theological contributions of die two men, but these other subjects are just what are needed for discovering the real persons and even for approaching their theologies. His insights into the exaggerations in Newman's rhetoric are especially fine.

The dramatic center of Newsome's study is die relationship of Newman and Manning: their interwoven journey is skiUfuUy traced. Even students of these two figures wUl be enlightened by the shared ideals and hopes. There was once some warmtii in their friendship, with even more affection than Newsome allows. Both were authority-minded thinkers but with important differences. And diese became magnified when Manning entered into hierarchical power and Newman languished in his "exUed" life in Birmingham. They could no longer communicate or work togetiier.

Newsome freely makes many judgments about dieir virtues and deficiencies. Vatican CouncU I was Manning's councU, and his great social work widi the poor earned him the love and respect that climaxed at his funeral in 1892. But Newman's councU was Vatican CouncU II, and the influence of his writings wUl never die. Both were guUty of self-wül: Manning was proud and Newman unforgiving. Newsome concludes his assessment by aUowing diat Newman has the stronger claim for saindiood, but "diis does not mean diat he was necessarily die greater man." This balanced kind of judgment is typical of Newsome's entire work, and it is refreshing.

Edward E. Kelly

St. Louis University

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Association News

The American Catholic Historical Association was represented by Charles E. Nolan, archivist of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, as its delegate to the installation of Bernard Patrick Knoth, S.J., as the fifteenth president of Loyola University in New Orleans on October 28, 1995.

The president of the Association for 1995, Jay P Dolan, appointed last autumn two more members of the Association to the Committee on Program for the annual meeting that will be held in New York on January 3-5, 1997, namely, Mary Elizabeth Brown of the Center for Migration Studies and Ralph William Franklin of General Theological Seminary. The appointment of the chairman, Jo Ann Kay McNamara, was announced in the October issue of this journal (p. 649).

Meetings, Conferences, Programs, and Sessions

The theme of the dies academicus of the Accademia di S. Carlo that was held in the Ambrosian Library in Milan on November 10-11, 1995, was "Le visite pastorali di S. Carlo Borromeo." The prolusione was delivered by Pamela Jones on "Federico Borromeo scrittore religioso e mecenate d'arte: il frutto maturo di un umanesimo cristiano." At the first session papers were read by John Bossy on "Visite pastorali, tradizione locale, nuovi modelli"; by Bruno Maria Bosatra on "La normativa borromaica sulle visite pastorali: concili, sinodi, istituzioni"; by Angelo Turchini on "Il questionario' borromaico delle visite pastorali"; and by Danila Ghezzi on "L'istituzione dei visitatori regionari: una nuova figura di ojficialis vescovile nel dialogo fra centro e periferia." In the other session briefer papers were read on the impact of the pastoral visits in the different local situations of the diocese; the use of sources, research experiences, and open questions were discussed.

A session entitled "Pious Legends and Hagiography in Colonial Latin America" will be part of the annual meeting of the Conference on Latin American History at the Marriott Marquis Hotel in Atlanta, Georgia, on January 6, 1996. The chairman will be John E Schwaller of the University of Montana, and the presenters will be Ron Morgan of the University of California at Santa Barbara, Stafford Poole, CM., of Los Angeles, and Alejandro Garcia Rivera of the Jesuit School of Theology, Berkeley.

"Crucibles of Conflict: Religious Confrontation and Compromise in Late Me-

dieval and Early Modern Europe" is the topic of the twenty-sixth annual conference sponsored by the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies at Ohio State University. The conference wUl be held on February 22-24, 1996. Further information may be obtained from the Conference Co-ordinating Committee of the Center at 306 Dulles Hall, 270 West 17th Avenue, Columbus, Ohio 43210.

The fifteenth annual conference sponsored by the Center for Medieval Studies of Fordham University will be devoted to "Learning, Literacy, and Gender in the Middle Ages" and will be held at the Lincoln Center Campus on March 29-30, 1996. Inquiries may be addressed to the director of the Center, H. Wayne Storey, at Keating Hall, Room 107, Fordham University, Bronx, New York 10458.

The Center for Renaissance Studies at the Newberry Library will present a program on "Gender and Religion "on May 13-18, 1996. Clarissa Atkinson of the Harvard Divinity School will speak on "Sanctity and Sexuality: Reading Gendered Meanings in Medieval Christian Texts," and Janel Mueller of the University of Chicago on "Problematics of Gender in Women's Religious Writings of the English Reformation." Requests for further information should be addressed to the Center at 60 West Walton Street, Chicago, Illinois 60610; telephone: 312-255-3514.

The next conference of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association will be held on June 2-3, 1996, at Brock University, St. Catherines, Ontario. Papers dealing with the history of Catholicism or Catholics in Canada will be presented. Proposals for papers or for theme sessions or round tables should be submitted either to the president of the Association, Margaret F. Sanche, at St. Thomas More College, 1437 College Drive, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan S7N 0W6; telephone: 306-966-8914; fax: 306-966-8904; E-maU: sanchem® sask.usask.ca.; or to the president-general, Terence Fay, S.J., Suite 500, 10 St. Mary Street, Toronto, Ontario M4Y 1P9; telephone: 416-968-3683; fax: 416-921-1673; E-mail: tfay@epas.utoronto.ca.

A seminar-workshop on "The Relevance of Nineteenth-Century Catholic Theology for the Twenty-first Century" will take place at Boston College on September 18-20, 1996. Proposals and abstracts of papers should be submitted by February 15 to Donald J. Dietrich, Chairman of the Department of Theology, Boston CoUege, Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts 02167; telephone: 617-552-4799; fax:617-552-0794.

The Society for Confraternity Studies will sponsor sessions at the Sixteenth Century Studies Conference in St. Louis on October 24-26, 1996. It will welcome papers on all aspects of Mediterranean and North European confraternities from 1450 to 1650; it is planning special sessions dealing with (1) chUdren and confraternities, (2) artistic patronage in confraternities, and (3) charity in the Renaissance confraternity. Proposals should be submitted by March 15 to Nicholas Terpstra at Luther College, University of Regina, Regina, Saskatchewan S4S 0R1, Canada; telephone: 306-585-5047; fax: 306-585-5267; E-mafl: Terpstra@max.cc.uregina.ca.

Beatifications

During the Mass that Pope John Paul II celebrated on the parterre in front of St. Peter's Basilica on October 1, 1995, he beatified 110 Servants of God. Sixty-four of them were French priests who in obedience to Pope Pius VI had refused to take the oath demanded of the clergy and for this offense were forced along with 765 other non-juring priests and religious to embark on two former slave ships anchored at the mouth of the Charente in the spring of 1794. One of them was Jean-Baptiste Souzy of the Diocese of La Rochelle, whose bishop appointed him vicar general of the deportees. They were massed together in the most appalling conditions, treated with brutality by the crew, virtually starved, and even forbidden to pray together. After ten months 547 had died, including Blessed Souzy, who was buried in the sand on Madame Island (off the coast of Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia), and sixty-three of his companions, who came from thirteen other dioceses of France and twelve religious institutes.

Another of the newly beatified is Pietro Casani (1572-1647), who was born in Lucca and there entered the Congregation of the Blessed Virgin, founded by St. John Leonardi. After the founder's death his congregation was joined to that of the Pious Schools, whose founder, St. Joseph Calasanz, appointed him rector of San Pantaleone, the headquarters of the Pious Schools. He helped to transform the institute from a simple secular congregation without vows to an order with solemn vows. For thirty years St. Joseph Calasanz continued to give Father Casani increasing responsibUities, appointing him first rector of the mother house of San Pantaleone, first assistant general, first novice master, and first provincial of Genoa and Naples, commissioner general for the foundations in Central Europe, and the first candidate to succeed the founder as vicar general. He was noted for his practice of religious poverty, his devotion to the teaching of poor children, and his eloquence in preaching. During the troubled period of the Pious Schools, when the order was reduced to a simple congregation without vows, Father Casani was taken prisoner, stripped of his office of assistant general, and abandoned by friends and patrons. He died attended by St. Joseph Calasanz, who initiated his cause for beatification but himself died ten months later.

The remaining forty-five were Spanish priests, religious, and laymen martyred during the Civil War. Anselmo Polanco Fontecha, an Augustinian missionary and then Bishop of Teruel, and his vicar general, Felipe Ripoll Morato, both remained in the city when it was taken by the Republican army in 1938. Polanco refused to withdraw his signature from the Spanish bishops' collective letter denouncing the persecution of the Church, and Ripoll stood by him; they were imprisoned for thirteen months, and at the end of the war in 1939 they were used as a shield by disbanded soldiers and shot in a gorge near Gerona. Nine other martyrs were Diocesan Worker Priests, a community dedicated to the promotion and formation of aspirants to the priesthood whose members developed their own ministry in this apostolate. Its director general, Pedro Ruiz de los Paños y Ángel was slain in Toledo on July 23, 1936, and his eight companions

were kiUed on other days in the same year. Dionisio Pamplona and twelve other Clerics Regular of the Pious Schools devoted their lives to educating youth; Blessed Dionisio was rector of the school and parish priest in Peralta de la Sal, Huesca, when he was arrested and tortured; all thirteen were shot to death in 1936. Carlos Eraña Guruceta, a Basque, and his two companions, Fidel Fuidio and Jesús Hita, were lay Marianists also devoted to teaching. Eraña was distinguished among the first generation of Spanish Marianists. When his school, the prestigious Colegio de Nuestra Señora del Pilar, was requisitioned, he felt hunted in Madrid and made a dangerous journey to Ciudad Real to seek help from his former pupils, but he found that the two schools in that city had already been seized and the communities scattered. There he and his two confrères were imprisoned in hatred of the faith; he was executed on September 18, 1936, near Alarcos, and the other two were martyred shortly thereafter. Angeles de San José Lloret Martí was superior general of the Sisters of Christian Doctrine, the congregation of which her sixteen companions were also members. They conducted catechesis and persevered in their work in spite of the difficulties of the war. When they were obliged to leave their generalate, they formed a community led by Mother Angeles de San José. They were imprisoned for four months, during which they even knitted jerseys for the militiamen, and were slain as a community in the autumn of 1936. Lastly, Vicente Vilar David, born in Manises,Valencia, was educated by the Piarists and studied engineering. He worked as an industrial engineer in the family ceramics firm and held several important municipal posts, in which he put Catholic social teaching into practice. He spread a Christian morality and outlook among his peers and was known for his charity to the poor. In addition to his constant efforts for the workers, he was involved in parish undertakings and Catholic youth groups. He married Isabel Rodes Reig. He remained steadfast in his convictions and activities in spite of the growing antireligious sentiment. He attempted to save persecuted priests and offered them hospitality. Unafraid, he continued to lead a normal life rather than hide as may did for fear of arrest. He was taken away and shot to death on February 14, 1937. Had he not been martyred, his cause for beatification could have begun with the canonical process to recognize the heroism of his virtues.

Prizes

The American Philosophical Society presented the first Jacques Barzun Prize in Cultural History to John W. O'Malley, SJ., of the Weston School of Theology, and to Roger Chickering of Georgetown University on April 20, 1995.

California Mission Period Study Project

In order to document, preserve, and interpret the historical resources of the Spanish/Mexican period in CaUfornia, the State Office of Historic Preservation in 1993 created a Baja/Alta California Mission Period Study Project. Since 1994

the State Office of Historic Preservation has been working with the Commission of the Californias to establish formal contacts with state agencies in the states of Baja California-Sur, Mexico. The first phase of the project has been the identification of the El Camino Real Heritage Corridor. The Corridor is defined as a geographic region united by the historic El Camino Real-Misionero, the California mission trail stretching from Loreto, Baja California, to Sonoma, California. Some segments have been marked and identified under scenic and historic highway designations. Since many historic sites of this period are now surrounded by modern development, the goal is to create a network of independent heritage projects within the corridor. Every historic mission, pueblo, presidio, and many Indian sites are adjacent to the historic El Camino Real-Misionero. Some sites have direct historic connections to Baja California, having been founded or settled by missionaries, soldiers, and indigenous people from the peninsula. A Baja California Mission Studies Association is being formed in the Baja California peninsula to link those who share a common interest in the historic sites of this period. The year 1997 will mark the 300th anniversary of the founding of the first mission in the Californias at Loreto, Baja California-Sur, and the inauguration of El Camino Real-Misionero. The California Mission Studies Association will hold its annual conference in Loreto in 1997. The office of Historic Preservation is working with researchers, museums, and local and regional historical and cultural organizations, as well as with the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (the federal preservation agency of Mexico), to identify potential projects. Museums and cultural and historical organizations wishing to participate should telephone Suzanne Guerra at the Office of Historic Preservation: 916-653-9432 or -9824.

Newspaper Database

A comprehensive database containing references to early Catholic events in Canadian history found in Toronto, Kingston, and Montreal newspapers from 1822 to 1901 has been completed. It was a joint research project of the Archives and the Historical Office of the Archdiocese of Toronto. The database consists of almost 11,000 records, each of which contains a synopsis of the news item, the newspaper in which it appeared, the date of the issue, page number, information about the paper itself, and the repository in which it is stored. Some of the more important articles have been copied verbatim. The records can be searched by newspaper, date, or subject; there are more than 2,000 subject headings such as churches, personalities, dioceses, and religious orders. The majority of the entries concern the history of the dioceses of Hamilton, London, St. Catherines, and Toronto, but events from other parts of Canada and from Rome are included. This database is owned and administered by the Archives of the Archdiocese of Toronto; searches are conducted by the archives staff. Researchers who wish to avail themselves of this aid should write to the Archives.

Publications

A double fascicle (1 and 2) of Volume LXIII (1993) of Studi Storici dell'Ordine dei Servi di Maria is devoted to "San Pellegrino Laziosi e il Santorale dei Servi nel Trecento." The main articles are as follows: Davide Maria Montagna, O.S.M., "Il santorale dei Servi di santa Maria sino a fra Pietro da Todi (1314-1 344)" (pp. 9-28); idem,"Ln Legenda bead Peregrini de Forlivio: perdita e ricostruzione" (pp. 35-50); and Odir Jacques Dias, "Atti dei processi di canonizzazione per il beato Pellegrino: inventario sommario della documentazione conservata a Roma e a Parigi"(pp. 61-72).

To honor James H. Smylie of Union Theological Seminary in Richmond on the occasion of his double retirement—as E. T. Thompson Professor of Church History and as editor of American Presbyterians since 1968—the fall, 1995, issue of that journal (Volume 73, Number 3) is devoted to him. After a preface, "James Smylie, Patient Teacher," by Louis Weeks, and an introduction, "James Smylie, Teacher, Mentor, and Colleague," by Frederick J. Heuser, Jr., six of Professor Smylie's own articles are reprinted, viz., "Charles Nisbet: Second Thoughts on a Revolutionary Generation" (pp. 145-154);"Madison and Witherspoon: Theological Roots of American Political Thought" (pp. 155-163); "Uncle Tom's Cabin Revisited: The Bible, the Romantic Imagination, and the Sympathies of Christ" (pp. 165-175);"Philip Schaff, Ecumenist: The Reunion of Protestantism and Roman Catholicism" (pp. 177-186);"American Religious Bodies, Just War, and Vietnam "(pp. 187-202); and "Church Growth and Decline in Historical Perspective: Protestant Quest for Identity, Leadership, and Meaning" (pp. 203-2 18). These essays were selected to reflect the breadth of the historian's interests and scholarship. His editorship of American Presbyterians will end with the spring, 1996, issue.

"Social Activism" is the theme of the issue of the U.S. Catholic Historian for summer, 1995 (Volume 13, Number 3), which contains the following articles: Ilia Delio, O.S.F.,"The First Catholic Social Gospelers: Women Religious in the Nineteenth Century" (pp. 1-22); Manuel S. "Jeff" Shanaberger," Edward McGlynn: A Missionary Priest and His Social Gospel" (pp. 23-47); Dominic Scibilia, "The Christological Character of Labor: The Theology of Mary Harris ('Mother') Jones" (pp. 49-61); Margaret M. McGuiness, "Body and Soul: Immigration and Catholic Social Settlements" (pp. 63-75); Elizabeth McKeown and Dorothy M. Brown, "Saving New York's Children" (pp. 77-95); Ray Wortman, "Coughlin in the Countryside: Father Charles Coughlin and the National Farmers Union" (pp. 97- 120); John Samuel Tieman,"The Origins of Twelve-Step Spirituality: Bill W and Edward Dowling, SJ." (pp. 121-135); and Jeffrey M. Burns, "Eugene Boyle, the Black Panther Party and the New Clerical Activism" (pp. 137-158).

Obituary

Mary Philip Trauth, S.N.D., passed away in her sleep on October 2, 1995. Sister was born in Newport, Kentucky, on December 10, 1923, attended Notre

Dame Academy in Covington, Kentucky, and professed vows with the Sisters of Notre Dame on August 12, 1943. After earning a B.A. degree in history at Villa Madonna College in 1946, she began teaching at Notre Dame Academy. During summers she did graduate work in history at the Catholic University of America. In 1952 she began a long career in the History Department at Villa Madonna College (now Thomas More College). She received her M.A. degree in 1953 and her Ph.D. in 1958. Her dissertation, "Italian-American Relations, 1861-1882," was published in 1958 and reprinted in 1980.

Sister Mary Philip fervently believed in lifetime learning and service. She attended many summer seminars on Russian history, political science, and archival management. She took courses in several foreign languages and computer systems. Besides chairing the History Department for several terms, she served as archivist for Thomas More College, the Diocese of Covington, and her province of the Sisters of Notre Dame. For three years she held a position on the executive board of the Kentucky Humanities Council. Sister won the college's Teacher-of-the-Year Award in 1976 and became professor emérita in 1991.

Sister published Eurasia: The First Frontier in 1968. The Kentucky Encyclopedia, American National Biography, and The New Catholic Encyclopedia include articles by her. She also wrote many abstracts for Historical Abstracts and America: History and Life. In addition to the American Catholic Historical Association (since 1955), she belonged to the American Historical Association, the United States Catholic Historical Society, Phi Alpha Theta International Honor Society in History, the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Phi Alpha Delta Law Fraternity, the Society of American Archivists, the Association of Catholic Diocesan Archivists, and the Kentucky Council on Archives.

Sister Mary Philip Trauth touched the lives of thousands of students and buUt a wide network of friends. Those who knew her will remember her as an amazingly caring, concerned, enthusiastic, and energetic person.

Thomas More College John Cimprich

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