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President of the

American Catholic Historical Association

1995

The Catholic Historical Review

VOL. LXXXII APRIL, 1996 Ñ072

THE SEARCH FOR AN AMERICAN CATHOLICISM

BY

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Vetera novis augere etperficere

From the very first moment Europeans set foot on America's shores they have sought to adapt their culture and customs to the environment of the New World. This was very evident in the area of religion. For more than one hundred and fifty years Jews in America had to learn how to survive without a rabbi to lead them in prayer. This meant that throughout the colonial period lay men became the dominant religious leaders in the local synagogue. In Virginia the first English settlers wanted to fashion a church that would be in conformity with the Church of England "as neere as may be." Since no bishop was willing to settle in Virginia, this pioneer generation was forced to establish "an Episcopal church without bishops."[1] Because of this situation lay vestrymen took control of church affairs. The first generation of Catholic settlers in Maryland had to learn how to govern a colony in which Protestants outnumbered Catholics. For Cecil Calvert, the founder of

*Mr. Dolan is a professor of history in the University of Notre Dame. He read this paper as his presidential address at a luncheon held in the Atlanta Hilton Hotel on Saturday, January 6, 1996, during the seventy-sixth annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association. He wishes to thank Martin Marty, Walter Nugent, Scott Appleby, John McGreevy, and Kathleen Sprows for their helpful comments on an earlier draft of this address. The Latin epigraph may be translated,"To enlarge and enrich the old with the new."

[1]William H. Seiler, "The Anglican Parish in Virginia," in James Morton Smith (ed.), Seventeenth Century America: Essays in Colonial History (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1959), p. 123, and Daniel J. Boorstin, The Americans: The Colonial Experience (New York, 1958), p. 123.

the Maryland colony, this meant that civil harmony was of primary importance; for this reason religion was to remain a private affair, neither shaping the destiny of the colony nor impeding its progress. The first Jesuits in Maryland were not pleased with this idea. They wanted the Catholic Church and its clergy to enjoy a special place in the new colony, a privileged status that was commonplace at that time in Europe. Calvert would not give in to their demands. If the Jesuits were to remain in Maryland, they would have to do so without any special privileges. The Jesuits stayed, and Catholicism in America became a church free and independent of state control.

Each of these three stories suggests that new models of church and denomination were to emerge in the New World. The first generation of European settlers was compelled to adapt its ways to the challenges posed by the New Worlds geographical, social, and political environment. Thus, the history of religion in America has been a history of the adaptation of the ancient religious traditions, be they Christian, Jewish, Muslim, or Hindu, to the challenges posed by the New World environment. For Catholics their history has been a continuous search for an American Catholicism, a Catholicism rooted in the ancient Catholic tradition but always seeking to adapt itself to the culture of what we now call the United States.

In 1966 I began my graduate studies in the history of American Christianity at the University of Chicago. During these past thirty years the historical study of religion in the United States, and of Catholicism in particular, has undergone substantial change. Many of us have lived through these changes and they have been truly remarkable. The emergence of the new social history in the 1960s sparked an interest in intensive studies of individual communities. With this focus on community studies the local parish became a concern of historians, and this has remained true to the present. For this new generation of historians the religion of the people rather than the activities of the prelates has become a primary focus of study. The growth and development of immigration history sparked an interest in the study of immigrant groups; the emergence of cultural pluralism as the assimilation theory of choice during these years reinforced this scholarly interest in Catholic ethnic groups. This focus on Catholic immigrants has enriched the historical understanding of immigrant Catholicism. Developments in women's history during the past thirty years have also been remarkable; this is slowly but decisively having an influence on the way historians understand and interpret the American Catholic past. Scholars have also shown increased interest in the culture of Catholicism as it is mani-

fested in the religious practice of the people. This has drawn attention to the devotional life of Catholics and has resulted in some insightful studies of popular piety.2

The new Catholic history, however, lacks coherence. In the 1940's and '50's there was a consensus about the history of the American Catholic experience. It had a very institutional focus distinguished by its emphasis on episcopal biography, and it endorsed the concept of the progressive Americanization of the Church and its people. That is no longer true. The variety of topics that historians now study, the differences in their methodologies, and the variety of perspectives and beliefs that they bring to their work has shattered that consensus. This is not peculiar to American Catholic history; it is symptomatic of American history in general, and many historians have lamented this lack of synthesis. Rather than lament the lack of synthesis I would like to offer an interpretive thesis that attempts to bring some coherence to the historical study of American Catholicism.

What I want to argue is that the history of Roman Catholicism in the United States has been a continuous effort to reconcile two very distinct cultures—the culture of Catholicism and American culture. This is what I call the American Catholic dilemma—how to be both Catholic and American.

An important concept in developing this thesis is understanding religion as a cultural system, a system of shared beliefs and values. Such a definition of religion allows the historian to examine a wide variety of issues in the search to uncover the culture of Catholicism at a particular moment in time. Understanding Catholicism in this manner enables the historian to look at the past through a much wider lens; such a perspective allows the historian to go beyond an institutional focus and study Catholicism not as an isolated phenomenon, but as a belief system that is interacting with American culture, an alternative system of values. What happens when this interaction takes place provides the excitement and drama that energizes all historians who seek to understand the past.

2I have further developed this theme in an essay,"New Directions in American Catholic History," in Jay P Dolan and James P. Wind (eds.), New Dimensions in American Religions History (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1993), pp. 152-1 74; an excellent collection of essays on congregational history is the two-volume study, American Congregations, Vol. 1: Portraits of Twelve Religious Communities, and Vol. 2: New Perspectives in the Study of Congregations, ed. James R Wind and James W Lewis (Chicago, 1994).

Another key issue in this argument is an emphasis on the coherence of both an American culture and a Catholic culture. Clearly there have been many subcultures in the United States, and there also have been different ways of being Catholic. Nonetheless, at particular moments in time a recognizable set of beliefs and values gave shape to the culture of the nation. Such a common core of values set Americans apart from people of other nations. In a similar manner historians can identify a shared set of values and beliefs that can be labeled Catholic; this cultural system set Catholics apart from Protestants, Jews, and people of other religious persuasions.

In recent years historians have emphasized the pluralism of the American past, and this has enriched our understanding of the complexity of the nation's history. It also has obscured the coherence and unity of belief and values that did indeed exist in the midst of this pluralism. Certainly I do not want to deny the existence of such pluralism. Rather I want to look at the other side of the story and emphasize the coherence and unity of American and Catholic cultures and what happens when they come into contact with each other.

Religion cannot escape history. It is rooted in culture and is subject to the cultural transformations taking place in a given society at a particular moment in time. What happened when the Catholic religion was transplanted to American soil is the intriguing question that concerns me. In studying the relation between religion and culture I am not suggesting that a one-way relationship exists between religion and culture whereby religion progressively becomes fully assimilated to culture, thus becoming a culture religion. Rather what I am suggesting is that religion, in this case Roman Catholicism, has acquired certain qualities of American culture while maintaining its distinctive Roman Catholic identity. In the process something new has emerged, a Catholicism that is rooted in ancient traditions but has acquired distinctively American features. In other words, the interaction between Catholicism and American culture is not an either/or relation by which religion either becomes a victim of culture and loses its integrity as a system of belief or flees from culture altogether and becomes isolated in its own sectarian enclave. On the contrary, I view the relationship between culture and religion as a both/and proposition whereby religion interacts with the ideas, values, and attitudes of the society in which it lives; in the process of this interaction religion takes on a new shape that integrates the old with the new.

Another way of putting this is to acknowledge that in becoming American Catholics can "adopt the cultural norms of American society,

become fully integrated into American life, and come to think of themselves simply as Americans." But at the same time the culture of Catholicism remains a powerful force that shapes the religious beliefs and values of the people we call Catholic. As Stanley Hauerwas put it so succinctly, As hard as they try to be good Americans, Mary just keeps following them around."[3]

A key issue in this argument is identifying key transitional moments in the history of Catholicism in the United States when Catholics sought to reshape their identity as Catholics. I would argue that Catholics have experienced three such periods of transition. They correspond to the democratic revolution of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the transformation that took place in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and the social change that has taken place in the post-World War II era. These were key moments in the history of American Catholicism when the encounter between Catholicism and American culture was most profound and recognizable. In each of these transitional periods significant changes occurred in the Catholic belief and value system.

Such a statement may seem self-evident as regards the transformation that Catholics have experienced in the past quarter-century, but it was also true for other moments in history when similar cultural shifts took place. A task of the historian is to try to make sense of the past, and I would argue that the profound transformation that has taken place in Catholicism in the United States since the 1950s is not the first major transformation that American Catholics have experienced. At least twice before Catholics underwent a significant cultural awakening and sought to reshape their identity as Catholics and adapt the ancient tradition of Catholicism to American culture. This desire to adapt Catholicism to American culture has been present from the very beginning of American Catholic history; what I want to argue is that at certain moments in this history this desire became much more explicit and widespread among Catholics. Ultimately it led to changes in the Catholic belief and value system.

In emphasizing the importance of these three transitional epochs I hardly intend to suggest that other periods in American Catholic history are less significant and not in need of study. My own work in the

[3]Philip Gleason, Keeping the Faith (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1987), p. 60; Stanley Hauerwas,"A Homage to Mary and to the University Called Notre Dame," South Atlantic Quarterly, 93 (Summer, 1994), 726.

era of the immigrant church surely suggests otherwise.4 What I am arguing, however, is that to understand the relationship between Catholicism and American culture the best place to begin is to study these three historical periods.

I have more fully developed pieces of this argument elsewhere and would now like to outline more briefly what happened in the course of these three periods.5 The age of the democratic revolution 1780-1820, witnessed profound changes in American culture. The American Revolution ushered in a revolution of mind as well as a war for independence. The world was turned upside down, and a new nation appeared. Privilege and deference were cast aside, and freedom, independence, and equality became cherished values of the new republic. People sensed that a "new order of the ages" had arrived and this Latin phrase—novus ordo saeclorum—became part of the nation's seal. The democratic revolution not only transformed the political culture of the nation, but it also altered the American religious landscape. A new populist spirit emerged and it affected all denominations. It was the driving force behind the growth and expansion of Methodism; it gave birth to the Disciples of Christ. It shaped the organization of Jewish synagogues, and it also permeated the Catholic community/'

During these years a lay trustee system of parish government emerged in the majority of Catholic parishes. Elected annually by the adult male members of the parish, lay trustees became very involved in the management of church affairs. A major influence on the development of such a trustee system was the new spirit of democracy that was rising across the land.

Many Catholics in the United States recognized the contrast between a European Catholic emphasis on the authority of the clergy over the laity in church affairs and the importance Americans attached to such values as independence and democracy. Moreover, they realized the need of the Church to adapt itself to the American situation. Mathew Carey, an Irish immigrant who became a prominent Philadelphia Cath-

4See my work, The American Catholic Experience.A History from Colonial Times to the Present (Garden City, New York, 1985).

? have written about the Republican period in an essay, "The Search for an American Catholicism, 1780-1820," to be published in a collection of essays honoring the work of William G. McLoughlin; I have written about the late nineteenth century in an essay, "Catholicism and American Culture: Strategies for Survival," to be published in a collection of essays that examines "Minority Faiths and Protestant Mainstream."

The classic study of religion in this period is Nathan O. Hatch, The Democratization ofAmerican Christianity (New Haven, 1989).

olic, in speaking about the desirability of the Irish clergy to adapt to American culture wrote that "too frequently the relations between the pastor and his flock partake of the nature of extravagantly high toned authority on the one side and servile submission on the other." In the United States people would not accept this. As he put it, "this people never will submit to the regime in civil or ecclesiastical affairs that prevails in Europe." In his opinion "a different order . . . prevails in this country. . . . The extreme freedom of our civil institutions has produced a corresponding independent spirit respecting church affairs, to which sound sense will never fail to pay attention, and which it would be a manifest impropriety to despise or attempt to control by harsh or violent measures. The opinions and wishes of the people require to be consulted to a degree unknown in Europe." As regards bishops, he observed that "an overweening idea of the extent of episcopal authority is not suited to this meridian."7 In Europe the monarchical tradition had left an indelible imprint on both church and state. In Carey's opinion this feudal tradition was not compatible with the American political and cultural environment. Catholics in New Orleans made the same point when they petitioned the state legislature to enact a law that would force the bishop "to govern the Catholic church here in accordance with the spirit of our national customs and political institutions."8 This need for adaptation was paramount in the minds of Catholics across the country.

Catholics wanted Roman Catholicism to be more in step with the times and to breathe in some of the democratic spirit that was blowing across the landscape. In doing so they believed that they would be establishing a "National American Church with liberties consonant to the spirit of government under which they live." The way that this could happen would be for the Church to adopt what they called "republican" principles in the government of the local church.9 These republican principles included the sovereignty of the people, popular

7M. Carey, Address to the Rt Rev Bishop Conwell and the Members of St. Mary's Congregation, February 14, 1821, pp. 3-4; Address to the Right Rev, The Bishop of Pennsylvania and the Members of St. Mary's Congregation, Philadelphia, December 21, 1820, p. i;Address to Rt Rev Bishop of Pennsylvania, The Catholic Clergy of Philadelphia and the Congregation of St. Mary in this City by a Catholic Layman (1822), p. V

"Quoted in Patrick W. Carey, "Republicanism Within American Catholicism, 1785-1860," Journal of Early Republic, 3 (Winter, 1983), 416. Carey's work, People, Priests, and Prelates: Ecclesiastical Democracy and the Tensions of Trusteeism (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1987), has demonstrated the impact of democracy on Catholicism most convincingly.

'Quoted in Carey, "Republicanism Within American Catholicism," p. 417.

elections, religious freedom, and a written constitution. Very American and clearly republican, they provided the rationale for the trustee system and showed how much democratic thought had permeated the Catholic community.

Another major cultural influence during this transitional period was the Enlightenment. Throughout the eighteenth century the ideals of the Enlightenment had a significant impact on many Americans. People began to emphasize the importance of reason in religion; the rights of the individual conscience were another Enlightenment ideal along with religious toleration and the separation of church and state. These ideals shaped American thought and culture at this time and influenced the thinking of many Catholics. An excellent representative of Enlightenment Catholicism was Mathew Carey.

Born and raised in an upper-class home in Dublin, he acquired a fine education and a love for learning that he nourished for the rest of his life. After he emigrated to Philadelphia he became a noted publisher and bookseller and soon became one of the city's leading citizens. He also became an apologist for Catholicism and formed a society to vindicate the Catholic religion from "calumny and abuse." Carey's religion, however, clearly evidenced the influence of the Enlightenment. In his diary he used the language of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, and his motto for life which prefaced his autobiography was a quote taken from the classical writer, Terence: Homo sum. Et bumani a me nil alienum puto. 0 am a man. And nothing human is alien from me.) Carey had a love for learning and education; he was also a strong advocate of the spirit of toleration, which, he wrote, "distinguishes this enlightened age."[10] He had a concern for moral values and confessed that he always wanted "to do good." When he died, the newspaper described Carey as an "esteemed philanthropist" and noted that "the cry of the poor, the widow, and the orphan, was never in vain at his door.""

In some respects Carey was not very different from Benjamin Franklin or Benjamin Rush, two distinguished citizens of Philadelphia with whom he collaborated on various civic causes. Like Franklin, Rush, and many other individuals influenced by Enlightenment thought, Carey be-

"'Carey's Diary is in the Rare Book Room of the University of Pennsylvania. Pertinent examples of his Enlightenment thinking can be found in entries for December 1, 1824, November 2, 1825, and November 15, 1825; see also Mathew duty, Autobiography, Research Classics, No. 1, 1942; also Edward C. Carter, II, "The Political Activities of Mathew Carey, Nationalist 1760-1814" (unpublished dissertation, Bryn Mawr College, 1962), p. 25.

"Nües National Register, 5th Series, No. 4, Vol. 7, Baltimore, September 21, 1839.

lieved in the perfectibility of humankind, the moral need to reform society, and the value of voluntary organizations to attain this goal.

Charles Carroll and his cousin, Bishop John Carroll, were other examples of Enlightenment Catholicism. Their correspondence clearly indicates this, and in many respects they mirror the mental world of Mathew Carey. Like Carey they emphasized the compatibility of Enlightenment values and Catholicism.12 Another area that evidenced the influence of Enlightenment thought was the piety or religion of the people.

Joseph Chinnici, who has written extensively on this topic, argues rather persuasively for an Enlightenment Catholic piety during this era. The eighteenth century was a time when Baroque devotionalism was riding high. As Chinnici notes, this style of piety emphasized "relics, indulgences, pious practices and saints' lives" and it accepted "a penitential system which stressed the sinfulness of the human condition."15 The excesses of Baroque devotionalism led to its demise as the century progressed; as this occurred, the stage was set for the development of a different, more personal style of piety that was rooted in the Christian humanist tradition. Prayer books, sermons, catechisms, and popular apologetical treatises manifested qualities of this style of Catholic Enlightenment piety.

The Enlightenment offered a new way of believing in which people sought to adapt their religion to the modern world. It stamped Catholicism with its distinctive traits and fashioned a reasonable piety during the first transitional era. Like the spirit of democracy, the Enlightenment transformed and reshaped the religion of Catholics.

A belief in democracy and Enlightenment ideals defined American culture at this time. As Catholics interacted with American culture in these decades they endorsed a spirit of democracy in the government of the local church; they also assimilated Enlightenment values and ideals. This was a major reshaping of the culture of Catholicism and it represented an important moment in the search for an American

12See Dolan,"The Search for an American Catholicism, 1780-1820 "for development of the Enlightenment aspect of the Carroll cousins.

"Joseph P Chinnici, "Politics and Theology: From Enlightenment Catholicism to the Condemnation of Americanism," Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism, Working Paper Series 9, No. 3 (Spring, 1981), p. 22; also idem, Living Stones:The History and Structure of Catholic Spiritual Life in the United States (New York, 1989), pp. 1-34; see also Owen Chadwick, The Popes and European Revolution (Oxford, 1981),pp. 3-95.

Catholicism that has been a major theme of the Catholic experience in the United States.

A second key transitional period for Catholics occurred at the end of the nineteenth century and endured until World War I. Historians are in general agreement that these years, from 1880 to 1917, represent a watershed in American history. It was an age of modernity, when profound changes altered the course of American history. During this era the machine transformed the workplace, and huge factories, powered by electricity and employing thousands of workers, transformed the landscape. Reform movements fired the imagination of many Americans who desired to build a better society. Women left the sanctuary of the home and joined these movements; soon they became leaders in the crusades for temperance and woman suffrage. During these years a revolution of the mind also took place. It was an age of new science spearheaded by individuals like Thomas Edison whose inventions changed the way that people lived.

This period was also a critical moment in the history of religion in the United States. As the historian William McLoughlin suggested, this was "a period of fundamental social and intellectual reorientation of the American belief-value system, behavior patterns, and institutional structure." [14] Protestant Americans sought to adapt to these changes, and from this period emerged the social gospel, big city revivalism, new developments in biblical criticism, theological modernism, and fundamentalism. Catholics also sought to adapt to the new social and intellectual environment.

A key issue at this time was the relation between Catholicism and American culture. More than ever before, Catholic intellectuals self-consciously sought to fashion an American Catholicism. Throughout much of the nineteenth century this issue had lain dormant after the transformation of the 1790 s and early 1800's. The issue could never disappear, however, and some individuals continued the search for an American Catholicism. Chief among these was Isaac Hecker. He believed that Catholics must "put aside European ways and adapt to American conditions." His understanding of religion envisioned Catholicism transforming American society. But this could not take place until Catholicism became more American. Only then could it prosper. As his epitaph phrased it, "in the union of Catholic faith and American civiliza-

[14] William G. McLoughlin, Revivals, Awakenings and Reform (Chicago, 1978), p. 10.

tion a new birth awaits them all, a future for the Church brighter than any past."15

This transitional period constituted a watershed in the history of Catholicism. Catholics were more at home now than in the 1840's or '50's. The immigrant church had acquired a definite shape by this time as the national parish complex became a familiar sight in the nation's cities. Institutionally and administratively the Church was developing into a prominent bureaucratic organization. A sizable middle class was also emerging; it was among this group of people that the desire to fashion an American Catholicism was most noticeable.

Archbishop John Ireland was the most recognized leader of this school of thought. Catholicism and America were for John Ireland, a "marriage contracted in heaven," and the relationship between the two was an issue that preoccupied him for much of his life. As he put it,"the Church must herself be new, adapting herself in manner of life and in method of action to the conditions of the new order, thus proving herself, while ever ancient, to be ever new. . . ."16

A major characteristic of American culture at this time was an emphasis on education. A revolution of mind was taking place in these years, and the modern university emerged to lead this revolution. Catholics recognized this and sought to adapt their intellectual tradition to the new age. Scholars such as John Zahm wanted to reconcile Darwinian evolutionary theory with Christian theology. Others became actively self-conscious apologists for modernity and sought to reconcile Catholic beliefs with developments in modern thought. The one area that attracted the most attention was the study of the Bible and the use of a new historical, critical method of analysis. Theologians also sought to teach the modern approach to such disciplines as history, philosophy, and theology. Their goal was, as one of them put it, "not to abandon the old in favor of the new, but rather to interpret with becoming care and reverence the old truths in the light of the new science."17

L,DavidJ. O'Brien, Isaac Hecker.An American Catholic (New York, 1992), p. 154, and William LeRoy Portier, "Providential Nation: An Historical-Theological Study of Isaac Hecker's Americanism" (unpublished dissertation, University of St. Michael's College, Toronto, 1980), p. 320.

"Marvin R. O'ConnellJoi?« Ireland and the American Catholic Church (St. Paul, Minnesota, 1988), p. 193;John Ireland, The Church and Modern Society, Vol. l,p. 107.

'"Quoted in R. Scott Appleby, "Church and Age Unite!": The Modernist Impulse in American Catholicism (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1992), p. 109. An American spirituality was also emerging at this time, see Chmmci, living Stones, pp. 87-134.

The efforts of these scholars to reconcile Catholic belief with modern science came to an abrupt halt in 1907 when Pope Pius X condemned what he labeled Modernism and published a Syllabus of Errors that for the time being effectively put an end to the search for a synthesis between modern thought and traditional Catholic belief. Nonetheless, the search for an American Catholicism continued. An emerging middle class sought to give a Catholic form to American values.[18] One area in which this dialectic between the Catholic value system and American culture took place was gender.

By the 1890s the concept of the "new woman" in American society was commonplace. The new woman "integrated Victorian virtues with an activist social role." Middle-class and educated, she was involved in clubs, settlement houses, colleges, and the professions. Her "special mission in public life was to purify, uplift, control, and reform; to improve men, children and society; to extend the values of the home."[19] The emergence of the new woman was not uncontested. People debated the wisdom and propriety of higher education for women as well as their desire to be preachers, lawyers, or social activists. The emergence of a new female identity and the debate it generated affected much of American society. Within the Catholic community the interest in this issue was widespread.

Recent scholarship has emphasized the predominance of the traditional view of woman in the Catholic community; there is no question that this was the case. Grounded in a Victorian ideology of domesticity, this view championed the home as the proper sphere of woman's activity; this was "her domain, her garden, her paradise, her world," as one guidebook put it. Motherhood was the vocation of choice for women who were idolized as the protectors of the family.[20] Nonetheless, there was a strong current of opinion that supported the idea of woman as activist outside the home. By the 1890's Catholic periodicals were routinely publishing essays discussing the "woman question." Numerous

"See Paul G. Robichaud,"The Resident Church: Middle Class Catholics and the Shaping of American Catholic Identity, 1889-1899" (unpublished dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1989), for an insightful study of this issue.

"Nancy Woloch, Women and the American Experience (New York, 1984), pp. 269 and 270.

"Quoted in Karen Kennelly, C.S.J., "Ideals of American Catholic Womanhood," in Karen Kennelly (ed.), American Catholic Women: A Historical Exploration (New York, 1989). Paula Kane's study of Boston Catholicism stresses the traditional ideology of Catholic womanhood, Separatism and Subculture: Boston Catholicism 1900-1920 (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1994), pp. 145-199.

representative articles can be found in the Catholic World, Donahue's Magazine, and Ave Maria. Lily Alice Toomy was an apologist for the new Catholic woman and a frequent contributor to the Catholic World. In one of her essays she underscored the point that "almost limitless possibilities in the various occupations and professions" have opened up for women; at the Catholic congress held in conjunction with the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 another woman's advocate presented a paper which argued that every young woman "should be taught a profession, business, or trade."[21]

An interesting point about many essays in these periodicals was the desire of the authors to reconcile the ideology of the new woman as activist outside the home with the more traditional view of woman as domestic queen. One writer expressed this ambivalence in the following manner: "... there is no such thing as a new woman; she is just the same one you have known all along since she first sang you to rest. It is her sphere that has become enlarged. . . ." Another author upheld the life of St. Catherine of Alexandria as the model for the "New Woman who is striving for the higher education and greater prominence of her sex. . . ."[22] By de-emphasizing the newness of the new Catholic woman, supporters of an expanded role for Catholic women made the changes they advocated appear less radical. In this manner they sought to blend the traditional view of woman with the new view of woman emerging in American society at this time.

Like other women in the United States at this time, Catholic women were becoming more active outside the home and beyond the family. They sought higher education in colleges established for women; they entered the professions; they joined clubs for women; they were active in the Chautauqua movement and distinguished themselves in the settlement house apostolate. Catholic laywomen also organized citywide charitable organizations, and as one historian said,"they did for the new immigrants what the Vincent de Paul Society did for the older immigrants."[25] The move into the public arena did not go uncontested. Many clergy opposed the idea of the new woman and strongly endorsed the traditional view of woman. Some clergy such as the bishops, John Ire-

[21]L. A. Toomy,"Some Noble Work of Catholic Women," Catholic World, 57 (May, 1893), 234; James J. Kenneally, The History ofAmerican Catholic Women (New York, 1990), p. 91.

"Marguerite Moore, "A New Woman's Work in the West of Ireland," Catholic World, 64 (January, 1897), 458; Mary F. Nixon,"A Saintly Scholar," Catholic World, 67 Uuly, 1898), 452.

"Quoted in Dolan, The American Catholic Experience, p. 329.

land and John Spalding, spoke out on behalf of the new woman who, they believed, would be better educated than her predecessors.

This debate over the propriety of Catholic women entering the public sphere and becoming involved in institutions other than the family was just one more indicator of the efforts that Catholics were making to adapt their belief and value system to the modern culture that was emerging in the United States at this time.

The third major transitional period for Catholics took place in the post-World War II era. The war redrew the map of Europe and transformed international politics. In the United States it was a major turning point; it initiated changes that, as the historian William Chafe argues, "helped to create the structural preconditions for long range developments that would, potentially at least, change America more than almost any event since the Industrial Revolution."[24] Such changes have permeated every aspect of American life. They have transformed life in the kitchen and the bedroom, the schoolhouse and the workplace. Change has also reshaped religion. In the opinion of William McLoughlin the 1960's was the key decade; it produced a "new shift in our belief-value system, a transformation of our world view that may be the most drastic in our history as a nation."[25] I would argue that this shift was underway in the 1950's and became more decisive in the decade of the sixties.

The recent history of American Catholicism must be understood against this backdrop of epochal change. A whole host of forces has reshaped and refashioned Catholicism in the United States. Some of these forces were present in other nations as well and have led to similar transformations of church and religion. But in the United States the changes have had their own history, and the consequences were particularly distinctive for the simple reason that they were linked to the social and cultural forces that were reshaping American society in these decades. In addition to such pivotal changes in American society, the Roman Catholic Church has experienced changes that have been truly revolutionary. The Second Vatican Council launched many of these changes, and they have decisively altered the shape of Catholicism. Many of the issues that Catholics debated in the two earlier periods of transition were once again being discussed. The relation between religion and modern science, the involvement of the Church in the world, a new way of believing and worshiping, the role of women in the

24William H. Chafe, The Unfinished Journey: America Since World War ¡I (New York, 1986), p. viii.

i!McLoughiin, op. cit., p. 179.

Church and society, and the democratization of church government continue to animate the conversations of Catholics across the country.

In seeking to analyze the post-World War II era the historian is at a decided disadvantage. Historians like to have the perspective of the long view of history as the backdrop for analysis, and the past fifty years scarcely provide such a perspective. Moreover, the trends that began to emerge in the postwar era are still in the process of development, and this makes it even more difficult to understand their significance and durability. Nonetheless, enough time has elapsed to enable historians to reflect on the recent past, and surely enough studies, both historical and sociological, have appeared to facilitate such analysis.

Given the vast array of changes in Catholicism in recent years, it is difficult to single out certain transformations from others. Virtually every aspect of Catholicism in the United States has undergone some type of change. The search for an American Catholic identity has challenged educators, liturgists, theologians, and even historians. It has also inspired the people in the pew to seek a prayer life that is meaningful in the context of contemporary American culture. This search is also common to the many different ethnic groups that make up the contemporary mosaic of American Catholicism. It transcends ethnicity and race and has become a concern of Catholics throughout the nation. More than ever before, Catholics are self-consciously seeking to adapt their religion to American culture; in the process they are once again discovering the American Catholic dilemma—how to be both Catholic and American.

One trend that has been very visible in the recent past is the desire for democracy in the Church. Though the Church is not a democracy, nonetheless in a democratic society like the United States it "will become subject to pressures toward greater democratization."[26] This desire for greater democratization was very evident in the republican period, and it persisted throughout the nineteenth century despite the increasing centralization and consolidation of authority in the Church.[27] This desire for a democratic ethos within the Church has emerged once again in recent decades, and it has challenged the authoritarian ethos that has been such a trademark of the Catholic tradition.

26John A. Coleman, SJ., "Not Democracy but Democratization," in Eugene C. Bianchi and Rosemary Radford Ruether (eds.),j4 Democratic Catholic Churcb:The Reconstruction of Roman Catholicism (New York, 1992), p. 226.

27See Jay P. Dolan, "The Desire for Democracy in the American Catholic Church," in Bianchi and Ruether,vl Democratic Catholic Church, pp. 113-127.

Since the 1940's a spirit of populism has swept across the nations landscape. The crusade for civil rights and the women's movement are two examples of this. Such movements, reinforced and enhanced by new communication technology, have changed the political culture of the nation and launched a social revolution that is transforming American society. Catholics have been caught up in these movements, and this surge of democracy has inspired many of them to seek a more active participation in church life. Coupled with this populist spirit is a new theology of the Church that has emerged from the Second Vatican Council; taken together, these two forces have reshaped American Catholicism. The evidence for this is overwhelming.

At the parish level more lay people than ever before are involved in the government of the local church. A study done in the 1980's revealed that three out of four parishes had a parish council. Though many of these parish councils may not be very convincing indicators of the democratization of church life, they clearly indicate that the structures of church government are changing, and both clergy and laity are striving to integrate the new surge for democracy with the tradition of clerical control. National pastoral meetings among Hispanic and African American Catholics, convened after numerous local and regional gatherings of hundreds of elected delegates, are another testimony to the increasing democratization of the Church. The Call to Action meeting that took place in Detroit in 1976 gathered together delegates from across the nation; they debated a variety of issues that had surfaced after two years of regional meetings across the country. Such widespread participation of lay people in an officially sanctioned, deliberative gathering of church leaders was unprecedented in the twentieth century. The three-year process of consultation and discussion that preceded the writing of the bishops' pastoral, "The Challenge of Peace: God's Promise and Our Response," was also unparalleled. The democratic ethos has also transformed religious communities of men and women. At just about every level of church life in this country the spirit of democracy has begun to transform the tradition of Catholicism and reshape it in a manner that mirrors the democratic heritage of the nation.28

Another American tradition that is reshaping contemporary Catholicism is the ethos of individualism. As Robert Bellah put it.'individualism

2"See Jay P Dolan, "American Catholics in a Changing Society: Parish and Ministry, 1930 to the Present," in Jay P. Dolan, R. Scott Appleby, Patricia Byrne, and Debra Campbell, Transforming Parish Ministry (New York, 1990), pp. 296-320, for an analysis of recent American Catholicism.

lies at the very core of American culture. . . . We believe in the dignity, indeed the sacredness, of the individual. Anything that would violate our right to think for ourselves, judge for ourselves, make our own decisions, live our lives as we see fit, is not only morally wrong, it is sacrilegious."29 This spirit of individualism has intensified since the 1960's, and a major reason for this is the educational awakening that has taken place in the aftermath of World War II. This expansion of education has produced a "new class," people with a college education, and they have adopted an individualistic ethos that has "greatly influenced the character of American religion."30 According to one study, "in this climate of expressive individualism, religion tends to become privatized,' or more anchored in the personal realms. Custom and tradition play less of a role in shaping what an individual believes; religious feelings and meanings become, or can become, more a matter of choice and preference."31

There is no doubt that the rising tide of individualism is reshaping American Catholicism. In fact, this may be the most distinctive characteristic of an emerging American Catholic identity. Intellectual autonomy is a key expression of such individualism, and more so than in previous years people are more inclined to challenge and question the teaching authority of church leaders. According to one observer, "thinking for yourself, following your conscience, even disagreeing with the pope: these are perhaps unique freedoms enjoyed by devout American Catholics."32 Such challenging and questioning has become so widespread and commonplace that it is a trademark of contemporary Catholicism in the United States. This is especially true of young Catholics (under age 30) in whom "the values of personal autonomy in forming one's conscience" are so embedded "that formally stated doctrinal and moral imperatives appear to have little or no impact upon many of them."33 The rise in individualism also meant that believing has become more important than belonging. This has weakened the bond between the individual and the institutional church. In fact, belonging to a congregation was, as one study put it, "no longer viewed as a presumed outgrowth of belief; it has become a matter of taste."54 Such cul-

29Robert N. Bellah, Richard Madsen, William M. Sullivan, Ann Swidler, and Stephen M. Tipton, Habits of the Heart (New York, 1985), p. 142.

"Robert Wuthnow, The Restructuring of American Religion (Princeton, 1988), p. 57.

"Wade Clark Roof and William McKinney, American Mainline Religion: Its Changing Shape and Future (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1987), pp. 32-33; this study is a most thorough study of religious individualism.

"Eugene Kennedy, Tomorrow's Catholics Yesterday's Church (New York, 1988), p. 37.

"Roof and McKinney, op. cit., p. 56.

,llbid., p. 52.

tural adaptation has encouraged the development of a new type of Catholic, one whom Andrew Greeley has labeled "the communal Catholic," a person who is culturally and religiously Catholic but lives on the fringe of the institutional church. The rising tide of individualism has also reshaped ministry in the Church. More so than in the past, each priest is defining his own ministry. Among women religious a similar individualism exists.[35]

This intense focus on the self can be very destructive, and there is obvious need to blend it with the strong communitarian tradition in Catholicism. Such individualism can also be very disruptive within an institution such as the Catholic Church, where authority is such an essential element of its creed. This highlights very clearly the American Catholic dilemma—how can a person be both culturally American and religiously Catholic?

This is not a new question for Catholics. It has been present from the first moment Catholics set foot on the shores of Maryland. Yet, as I have argued in this essay, the issue of the relationship between Catholicism and American culture has become most acute and significant at certain moments in time. Moreover, these transitional moments were central to the historical development of a tradition of Catholicism that would become embodied in American culture. By understanding Catholicism as a culture of belief, the historian is not limited to an institutional focus but is able to study a variety of aspects of this historical tradition and ask different questions of the past. With this perspective historians will not only uncover the richness of the tradition, but they will be better able to understand its relation with American culture. By focusing on major transitional periods in American Catholic history, a new interpretive model is offered to historians that is able to bring some coherence to the study of the past as well as a key to better understanding the present.

[35] See the essays by Appleby, Byrne, and Campbell in Transforming Parish Ministry for the influence of individualism in the area of ministry.

THE IMPORTANCE OF BEING DOCTOR:
THE QUARREL OVER COMPETENCY BETWEEN HUMANISTS AND THEOLOGIANS IN THE RENAISSANCE

BY

Erika Rummel*

In modern usage the "Renaissance Man" is associated with wide-ranging interests and encyclopedic learning, but in the age that brought forth men like Pico della Mirándola and Michelangelo Buonarotti, the ideal of the uomo universale often conflicted with the institutional reality of compartmentalized, hierarchic universities. Records and published polemics from the fifteenth and early sixteenth century document the desire of faculties for a rigid delineation of disciplines and a tendency of university teachers to jealously guard their professional turf against outsiders. The resulting maneuvers and jockeying for rank and position led to dissension and issued in pamphlet wars, in which theologians and humanists often found themselves in opposite camps.[1] In many cases their disputes were pugnacious versions of the conventional laudatio disciplinae; in others the polemics had wider implications. One of the most serious issues involved the question whether the philological method championed by the humanists could be applied to scriptural texts. It was a complex issue touching not only on competency and academic qualifications, but on theological principles as well. Humanists were clamoring for a revision of the biblical text based on a collation of manuscripts and a clear and correct translation follow-

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[1]On this subject see James H. Overfield, Humanism and Scholasticism in Late Medieval Germany (Princeton, 1984);John M. Fletcher, "Change and Resistance to Change: A Consideration of the Development of English and German Universities during the Sixteenth Century," History of Universities, 1 (1981), 1-36; Laetitia Boehm, "Humanistische Bildungsbewegung und mittelalterliche Universitätsverfassung," in The Universities in the Late Middle Ages, eds. Jozef IJsewijn and Jacques Paquet (Louvain, 1978), pp. 315-346; Charles Nauert, "The Clash of Humanists and Scholastics: An Approach to Pre-Reformation Controversies," Sixteenth Century Journal, 4 (1973), 1-18; Erika Rummel, The Humanist-Scholastic Debate in the Renaissance and Reformation (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1995). Some of the material in this article is covered in chapter 4.

ing classical usage. Traditionalists protested that the Bible was divinely inspired and therefore flawless.2 Their notions of textual tradition were hazy, however. Jerome was generally regarded as the "author" of the Vulgate, and any criticism ofthat text was condemned as blasphemy and an insult to the honor of the great Church Father.3 Lorenzo Valla pointedly asked the reactionaries:"What is Holy Writ?"Not every translation of the Old or New Testament qualified for that title, he noted. There were numerous versions in circulation. Where among them was Holy Writ? "Strictly speaking, only what the saints themselves wrote in Hebrew or Greek is Holy Writ," he observed, "for there is nothing in Latin."4 As always, the majority occupied a middle ground between reactionaries and pioneers of textual criticism. They acknowledged that the revealed text had been corrupted by human error and accepted the need for some revision, but rejected radical changes, especially if they affected doctrine. Another question remained undecided: Even assuming that textual criticism of the Bible was a legitimate undertaking, was it within the competency of humanists? Many theologians denied that it was and accused humanists of encroaching on their professional territory.

By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the wariness and misgivings of the theologians had become the stock-in-trade of satirists. The essence of the complaints against "meddling" humanists is captured in an anonymous skit, pitting three theologians against Erasmus and Reuchlin. In this dialogue Magister Lupoldus dissuades the humanists from revising the Bible. "What business of yours is it to correct the Magnificat?" he fumes. The exchange continues:

> Erasmus: What is our business, then? Will you explain this to us, so that we may be made wiser by your counsel and mend our ways.
>
> Lupoldus: Take care of your Latin, compose verses, make grand orations, print books about Latin composition.
>
> Reuchlin: And nothing concerning God?
>
> Gingolphus: Nothing, by the devil! Nothing, for it's none of your business!
>
> Erasmus: Whose business is it then?
>
> Ortvinus: That of the most illustrious and most zealous magistri nostri, who know the art of arguing for and against propositions.5

2Cf. Jerry H. Bentley, Humanists and Holy Writ (Princeton, 1983); Guy Bedouelle and B. Roussel (eds.),íe Temps des Réformes et la Bible (Paris, 1989).

5Cf. Eugene F. Rice, SaintJerome in the Renaissance (Baltimore, 1985), pp. 173-199.

4AnUdOtUm primum, éd. Ari Wesseling (Amsterdam, 1978),p. 112.

"Oialogus novus et mire festivas ex quorundam virorum salibus cribratus in Hutteni Opera, ed. Eduard Böcking (Leipzig, 1859-1870), Supplementa 1:313-

The satirist indicates that the theologians were willing to acknowledge the expertise of the humanists in philology and language studies, but wanted to limit the application of these skills to the secular sphere. Two positions, generally accepted throughout the Middle Ages, supported such a limitation: Theology occupied a unique place among academic disciplines; indeed, it was the "queen" of all sciences; and only those were entitled to discuss, interpret, translate, or paraphrase Scripture, who were divinely inspired, authorized by the Church, and/or academically qualified by a degree in theology. Some humanists challenged these assumptions. They questioned the pre-eminence of theologians over other scholars, and they argued that some of the tasks involved in scriptural studies were a matter of human skill and learning rather than divine inspiration, authorization, or academic standing.

Lorenzo Valla was one of the protagonists in the resulting dispute, in which humanists were seen as the intruders and theologians as the defenders of their traditional territory. He had engaged in textual criticism of the Bible, collating manuscripts of the Latin Vulgate with the Greek Septuagint, noting variants and commenting on the accuracy of the Latin translation.6 His work aroused considerable opposition, as did others of his writings which were seen to infringe on the subject of theology. In his Antidotum, Valla reports that he was called to account. "[I was told] not to put my sickle into a crop that was not mine, to be content with my own field of learning, and to refrain from treating divine law with unwashed hands."7 Erasmus, who edited Valla's annotations on the Vulgate in 1505, defended the Italian humanist's work against charges of professional trespassing:

> Will they maintain that Valla, the philologist, does not have the same right [to treat of Holy Writ] as Nicolaus [Lyra], the theologian? . . . When Lyra treats of words, does he do so in his capacity as theologian? Does he not rather act as a philologist? Indeed this whole business of translating Scripture is the business of a philologist.8

Erasmus voices here the characteristic humanistic position. In so far as the Bible was a text, its interpretation and translation required philological skills, the forte of the humanists.

"The first version of his Collatio was written in the 1440's. Cf. Charles Trinkaus,/« Our Image and Likeness: Humanity and Divinity in Italian Humanist Thought (Chicago, 1970), pp. 572-577, and Alessandro Perosa's edition of Collatio Novi Testamenti (Florence, 1970).

lOpera omnia (facsimile ed. Turin, 1962), l, 356.

"The Collected Works of Erasmus, Vol. 2. (Toronto, 1975), Epp. 182, U. 125-130; Vol. 3 (Toronto, 1976), Ep. 337,11. 881-883.

The phrase "to put one's sickle into another man's crop"—used in reference to Valla's inroad into theological territory—became the catchphrase of theologians protecting their turf. Its literary antecedents have a somewhat different focus. The phrase echoes the prohibition in Deuteronomy (23:25): "If thou go into thy friend's corn, thou mayst break the ears and rub them with thy hand, but not reap them with a sickle." In the Decretals of Gregory IX the expressionyâ/cera mittere in messem aliénant is used in the context of prohibiting ecclesiastics from interfering in imperial elections.9 The phrase is also used, for example, by the thirteenth-century scholastic Rudolfus de Liebegg, who notes that hearing confession is the right of the parish priests. Any outsider usurping this right was "putting his sickle into another man's harvest."10 At the turn of the fifteenth century, however, we find a cluster of passages, in which the phrase is applied specifically to forays of humanists into the field of theology. In 1494 Sebastian Brant, who held a degree in law, published a volume of Varia Carmina, containing a poem entitled Contra Judaeos et heréticos, conceptionem virginalem fuisse possibilem, argumentatio. It was his contribution to a large controversy regarding the purity of Mary. The poem was immediately attacked by the Dominican Wigandus Wirt, who accused Brant of trespassing on theological territory and expressing doctrinally unsound opinions. The relevant passage in Wirt's retaliatory poem runs:

> With unwashed feet and words you touch what is divine,
> and with your oxen plough another's fields;
> unwilling to content yourself with your own lot,
> you put your unfair sickle to another's crop."

The matter ended up in the papal court, where Brant was exonerated of charges of heresy and Wirt obliged to retract his accusations.

We encounter the phrase "to put one's sickle into another man's crop" also in a contemporary controversy at the University of Leipzig. It

'Decretales, Gregor IX, l, tit. VI, cap. xxxiv (Friedberg, II, col. 80).

'"Pastorale novellum, 5.17, verse 1556 (CM 55).

"Illotis pedibus verbis quoque numina tangís
Atque aliena tuis predia bobus aras,
Alterius messem qui falce rescindís iniqua,
Contentus tua vivere sorte nequis.

Carmen patheticum fratris Wigandi (n.p., n.d). I used the copy in the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel. On the course of the controversy, cf. Edwin Hermann Zeydel, Sebastian Brant (New York, 1967), pp. 57-58; Charles Schmidt, Histoire littéraire d'Alsace à la fin du xif et au commencement du xvi' siècle (Paris, 1879, repr. 1966), l, 218ff.

concerned the respective merits of theology and studio, humanitatis. The primacy of theology among the disciplines had been questioned by a poet and was reaffirmed by the theologian Conrad Wimpina in a pamphlet entitled Apologeticus in Sacre théologie defensionem (Leipzig, 1500). He was answered by Martin Polich of Melierstadt, a physician and lecturer in the faculty of arts, who championed the humanities in Laconismus tumultuarius . . . in defensionem poetices (Leipzig, ca. 1501). A friend of Wimpina's, Johannes Seitz, who entered the fray with an open letter Ad praestantem et magnae eruditionis virum magistrum C. Wimpinam . . . (Leipzig, 1500), castigated Polich for instituting a "grammatical dispute," meaning that Polich was using arguments and terms belonging to rhetoric rather than theology and that he was by profession a "grammarian" rather than a theologian.12 Wimpina himself produced an antapology in which he charged that Polich had gone beyond his territory and "with great audacity aimed his sickle at other men's fields."13 The pamphlet war between Wimpina and Polich continued until 1503 when the dispute, which was carried on with considerable venom, was allowed to lapse.

A few years later, the catch phrase shows up in a letter to Reuchlin from Crotus Rubeanus, one of the authors of the Letters of Obscure Men. Crotus reveals an argument which he had with a monk in Mainz, who "spluttered something about you, a jurist, having put your sickle into the theologians' CrOp."14 Reuchlin himself had noted the monopolizing tendencies of the theologians: "They consider no one else learned and set themselves up as the pillars of the church … ; they have harassed a number of jurists and all the poets," he wrote. At first he showed a willingness to defer to the theologians. It was difficult "for a layman and one, moreover, who has been married twice, to explain the subtle points of theology," he wrote to the theologians of Cologne. "I do not claim such competence. … I leave this to your excellent faculty." His attitude changed, however, as the controversy continued. "When I saw the immense stupidity of those great men, whom the common people regard as wise, and the injustice of those hypocrites and their intol-

,2Sig. Aiii recto. The dispute, he said, dishonored theology: "theologiam . . . devirginavit, incestavit, ac caput eius denudavit." It was essential that theological language be used in the disputes concerning theology: "Non sine maximis causis theologicus loquendi modus sub regula missus est a quibus recedere nee loquendo licet" (A iv verso).

"Responsio . . . pro defensione sacre théologie et theologice veritatis (Leipzig, c. 1500), sig. Ai verso, among the prefatory verses. On the controversy, see Overfield, op. cit., pp. 173-185.

"Illustrium virorum epistolae (Haguenau, 1519), sig. zii recto.

érable malice, I found my strength again, took heart and became eager to defy them."The inquisitor, Jacob Hoogstraten, insinuated that Reuchlin was not competent to settle the question at hand. Only the theologian was able to distinguish between truth and falsehood (veritatis a falsitate discretor est); the "grammarian" could only equivocate. Reuchlin turned the question of competency around, asking: "Who set them up as judges over me and the counsel I gave?" He had been asked by the emperor for a legal opinion and had acted within his mandate.15

The phrase "to put one's sickle into another man's crop" appears again in a protest by the Louvain theologian Maarten van Dorp against Erasmus' efforts to correct the Vulgate. Erasmus was then engaged in collating Greek and Latin manuscripts. His research resulted in the publication of the Novum Instrumentum (Basel, 1516), which contained a critical Greek text, faced by a revised Vulgate translation, and followed by annotations justifying his editorial decisions. Long before the edition appeared, Erasmus' enterprise was criticized by theologians. In 1514 Dorp addressed an open letter to Erasmus, questioning the propriety of applying philological principles to the scriptural text. It was not for grammarians "to put their sickles into other men's grain."16 Although Dorp himself was eventually swayed by Erasmus' arguments in favor of biblical humanism and retracted his earlier opposition, his reaction in 1514 reflects the mood of the theologians at Louvain and is the first of a flood of polemical tracts against the fruit of Erasmus' biblical scholarship.

Another instance of the catchphrase being used in the controversy surrounding Erasmus can be found in a letter by Jacques Hasard, a Louvain Dominican. Writing on the subject of textual criticism of the Vulgate in 1520, he attempted to strike a conciliatory note by arguing sometimes in favor of Erasmus, at other times in favor of his critics. In the end, however, he insisted that philologists and theologians must keep to their separate disciplines: "Let each put his sickle into his own crop."17

A similar use of the catchphrase is recorded in Spain. In 1507, Hernando Alonso de Herrera, who taught rhetoric at the University of Sala-

"Correspondance des Réformateurs dans les pays de langue française, éd. Aimé-Louis Herminjard (Geneva, 1866-1897), I, 11, 12; Illustrium virorum epistolae, sig. si verso; Destructio Cabbalae (Cologne, 1519), 4, 6.

"The Collected Works of Erasmus, Vol. 3 (Toronto, 1976), Ep. 347,1. 167.

"Hasardi Angiani Apologia (Louvain, 1520), sig. biii verso. On the brothers Hasard and their criticism of Erasmus, cf. Erika Rummel, Erasmus and His Catholic Critics (Nieuwkoop, 1989),!, 142-143.

manca, attacked scholastic theology, -which he said, was corrupting classical language and philosophy. In his dialogue, Breve disputa . . . contra Aristotil y sus secuaces, one of the speakers castigates John Mair: "There is a difference between your logic and that of Aristotle … ; yours is utterly corrupt, fantastic, and a chimera." Herrera was immediately attacked by colleagues at his university for failing to keep to rhetoric, his subject proper, and "having no scruples to put his sickle into every harvest."[18]

The frequent and international use of the catchphrase shows that the dispute over competency had become a topos. The humanists vigorously combatted the effort of the theologians to circumscribe their activities. Valla's defense of biblical humanism has already been noted. A generation after Valla, Aurelio Brandolini, a Neapolitan humanist attached to the papal court, wrote an "Epitome on the Sacred History of the Jews" based on the Bible and Josephus' history. He, too, faced questions concerning his professional qualifications. In his preface to the epitome, he noted that his critics had used these arguments:

> A person who had not obtained the glory and distinction of a doctorate in theology was not permitted to write anything about sacred matters … ; people like myself who are not doctors of theology (as they call themselves) had no right to deal with sacred matters. This was their task proper and only they were entitled to write about it; others were not.

Brandolini scoffed at this insistence on academic qualifications:

> Nowadays academic honors are conferred on anyone on account of power, wealth, or patronage, so that I cannot see how they can be proof of learning. . . . On the other hand, there are many great scholars who do not have academic titles. … It is not right that doctors rather than scholars should be entitled to write (magis doctoris esse quam doctt); nor is the man who lacks academic honors less competent to take this field than the man who walks around puffed up by such honors and the title of doctor."

Other humanists adopted Brandolini's pun doctor/indoctus in diatribes against theologians. In 1517 Herrera complained that the theologians at Paris were "careless doctors, not to say unlearned" {doctores negligentes, por no dezir indoctos). A year later Hütten joked in the Nemo

""Breve disputa . . . contra Aristotil y sus secuaces" (1517), texted. Adolfo Bonilla y San Martin in Revue Hispanique, 50 (1920), 61-196. The quotations are on p. 176 and p. 67, note*.

19MS Bibl. Vat. Ottob. Lat. fols. 3 recto—4 verso; on Brandolini see Trinkaus, op cit., pp. 601-613.

that it was more important to be doctor than doctus. In 1519 Juan Luis Vives applied the pun to the theologians of Paris in his oration Contra pseudodialecticos.[20] In 1520 Hermann Buschius noted than an academic degree was no guarantee of knowledge. Sometimes the holders of doctorates were "the greatest boors, if you take away their title and unmask them, as it were."[21]

In addition to discounting the value of academic qualifications, Brandolini had made another point: every Christian was entitled to study the Bible; and a strict separation of biblical studies from other disciplines was impossible. His question, "Why do you suspect that I am not a theologian, when you know that I am a Christian?" anticipates by some fifty years Erasmus' dictum that "every Christian can be a theologian."[22] The sentiment is echoed by Otto Brunfels, who wrote to Wolfgang Capito in 1519: "Anyone who has even a modicum of learning can be a theologian." The only additional requirement was a Christian spirit, "to meditate day and night on the law of the Lord."[23]

As we have seen, the difficulties encountered by Valla and Brandolini in Italy were shared by Herrera in Spain. His compatriot, Elio Antonio Nebrija, also faced criticism because he had trespassed on theological territory. A manuscript containing his notes on scriptural usage was seized by the Inquisitor Diego de Deza around the turn of the century. Fortunately for Nebrija, Deza was replaced by Ximenes de Cisneros, the co-ordinator of the Complutensian Polyglot and a man favorably disposed toward biblical humanism. The manuscript was returned to Nebrija and eventually published under the title Tertia Quinquagena. In an apologia addressed to his new protector, he related that he "had been accused of impiety because, relying only on grammar, he had dared to touch Holy Writ, of which he knew nothing." He mused that he could have avoided trouble had he busied himself with frivolous stuff: "If I had spent my time on fables and the figments of poets, had I wasted good time on writing stories, everything would have been wonderful . . . and everyone would have loved and praised me and congratulated me on such nonsense." Nebrija accepted the restrictions that prohibited the laity from pronouncing on theological questions, but pointed out that textual criticism fell within the philologist's domain: "What? Will Anto-

[20] Herrera, op. cit., p. 125; Hütten, ed. Booking, I, 178; Vives, ed. Charles Fantazzi (Leiden, 1979), pp. 75-77.

[21] Epistolae aliquot eruditorum virorum . . . (Basel, 1520), p. 173.

[22] Erasmus in Paraclesis, ed. Heiko Holborn (Munich, 1933), p. 145, l. 3; Brandolini, MS Bibl.Vat. Ottob. Lat.fol. 5 recto.

[23] Confutatio sophistices . . . (Basel, 1519), sig. a iii recto.

nio Nebrija be refused permission to discuss orthography, when a scribe is permitted to corrupt every third word?" "I insist," he wrote, "that in tackling Scripture I am not transgressing the limits of my domain."24

The dispute over competency and academic qualifications is also reflected in the Letters of Obscure Men, which gives us the satirical version of the Reuchlin affair. In one letter a fictitious correspondent relates a dinner conversation in which the theologian Petrus Meyer, Stadtpriester of Frankfurt and a supporter of Hoogstraten, challenged Reuchlin's qualifications. An unnamed guest had declared that Reuchlin was more learned than Meyer.

> Then Magister Peter replied: "I'll be hanged if that is true! Holy Mary! Dr. Reuchlin is a mere child in theology—a child knows more theology than Dr. Reuchlin. Holy Mary! mark my words, for I have experience, and he knows not a whit of the Book of Sentences. Holy Mary! there's subtle stuff for you! Thou canst not pick that up like grammar or poetry! I could easily become a poet if I would . . . But what is that to the purpose? Let him propound me a thesis in theology, and argue pro et contraF™

This fictitious incident is paralleled by a historical encounter that shows the misgivings of some theologians to engage in dialogue with non-professionals. In The Benefit of Liberal Education, the English diplomat and scholar Richard Pace relates that he was discussing Erasmus' edition of the New Testament with a Scotist,"a professor of theology, as he boasted." He tried to elicit a comment about Erasmus' alleged heresies from his conversation partner, but the Scotist demurred, noting: "Your Lordship is no theologian. I am a scholar, I would have you know, I have read at Pisa."26

It is important to note, however, that the misgivings of theologians were not merely a matter of clerics trying to fend off laymen. Erasmus is a case in point. He was a priest and a member of a religious order, yet subjected to charges of trespassing, since he lacked the necessary credentials to satisfy the theologians. He had studied for some years at Paris but departed without a degree. He later obtained a doctorate at

"Apologia earum rerum quae Uli obiiciuntur, ad . . . Franciscum Ximenez (n.p., n.L). I used the edition in the British Library. The quotations appear in an autograph letter on the page facing sig. ai recto and from the text at sig. ai recto. On Nebrija's battle against the traditionalists, cf. Francisco Rico, Nebrija frente a los bárbaros (Salamanca, 1978).

"Epistolae obscurorum virorum, ed. Francis Griffin Stokes (London, 1909), 15.

l('De fructu qui ex doctrina percipitur, ed. and trans. Frank Manley and Richard Sylvester (New York, 1967), pp. 118-?9.

Turin per saltum, that is, without fulfilling residence requirements. For this reason, presumably, he did not become a regular member of the faculty of theology at Louvain, but was given a kind of adjunct status.27 He soon discovered that his title and position did not carry weight with Paris theologians. Noël Béda, who as syndic of the faculty of theology at Paris, wielded considerable power, failed to recognize him as a "fellow-theologian" (syntheologus).2S In fact, he was incensed that Erasmus—in his opinion nothing but a philologist—would meddle in matters outside his expertise. Erasmus' Paraphrase on Luke had been brought to his attention in 1524 by a printer who was looking for endorsement from the faculty. Far from providing such an endorsement, Béda chided the author severely. "There are people," he said, "who, being competent in the humanities and in language studies, have undertaken to discuss all sacred matters." These "theologizing humanists" looked down on the scholastics, saying that they were "not competent in their own field, grew old in a jungle of arguments and sophisms, and had barely reached the threshold of the divine Word."29

A few years earlier Diego López Zúñiga, a graduate of the University of Salamanca living in Rome, had attacked Erasmus on similar grounds. The Dutchman had overreached himself in attempting to expound Scripture. Not content with the fame he had gained among humanists, he decided to follow in Valla's footsteps and embark on scriptural studies as well. In a critique of Erasmus' annotations on the New Testament, Zúñiga wrote: "I am very surprised at the man, for in this enterprise he substituted boldness for wisdom. Until then he had always dealt with secular authors and learned secular eloquence from them; proud of his pure style he thought he was permitted to tackle anything and everything."30

The Paris doctor Pierre Cousturier likewise snubbed Erasmus. He voiced suspicions about his academic qualifications and contempt for this "new type of professor" and his alma mater, the University of

27He describes his position as cooptatus, but it is unclear what privileges or duties this involved. The Collected Works of Erasmus, Vol. 5 (Toronto, 1979), Ep. 643,1. 11.

i8Cf. Erasmus' complaint, Opus epistolarum Des. Erastni Roterodami, ed. Percy Stafford Allen (Oxford, 1906-1958), Vol. 6, Ep. 1581,1. 21.

29In the preface to his Annotationum . . . in Des. Erasmum liber (Paris, 1526), sigs. aal verso—aa2 recto. On Béda see James K. Farge, Orthodoxy and Reform in Early Reformation France (Leiden, 1985), esp. pp. 186-196.

30"Annotationes contra Erasmum Roterodamum in defensionem tralationis Novi Testamenti (Alcalá, 1520), sig. Ai verso. On Zúñiga's controversy with Erasmus, see Rummel, Erasmus and His Catholic Critics, 1, 145-178.

Turin—"a hapless university for granting a degree to such an antitheologian." In his opinion, he was merely "a grammarian who knows nothing about dialectic philosophy and theology, yet presumes to tackle everything."[31] In an earlier work against new translations of the Bible, De tralatione Bibliae, he lashed out against meddling humanists in general. They were

> vain and presumptuous men who treat Holy Writ arrogantly and without respect, who interpret it perversely and teach and boast of what they have never learned, . . . who do not realize there is a difference between faith and theology and that if someone is a believer it does not immediately follow that he is a theologian.[32]

When the faculty of theology at Paris publicly censured Erasmus' works in 1531, the examiners were not content to point out errors in individual passages in his writings, but issued a general warning to biblical humanists: "Those who believe that a knowledge of Greek and Hebrew is the equivalent of consummate theology should take note that those who know languages but have not received instruction in the discipline of theology are to be considered philologists (grammatici) not theologians."[33] We may see in this the hand of Noël Béda, who a few years later, in 1534, lodged a formal complaint against the lecteurs royaux at what was to become the Collège de France. He asked that they be prevented from using scriptural texts in their courses. He expressed indignation that "simple grammarians or rhetoricians who had not studied in the faculty of theology had the gall to give public lectures on Holy Scripture and to interpret it … an action that might lead to serious consequences with respect to the faith and the Christian commonwealth." He pointed out that the lecturers had not been certified by the faculty of theology, which had sole jurisdiction over religious instruction. He feared that these dilettantes, "who perhaps have no understanding of theology," might criticize the Vulgate and apply human skills to an inspired text, "presuming to correct the said translation, as did Erasmus, Lefèvre, and others, to the great detriment of Christendom."[34]

In delineating their discipline, theologians distinguished not only between graduates in theology and scholars in other disciplines and be-

"Antapologia (Paris, 1526), fols. 62 recto, 58 recto. On Cousturier's controversy with Erasmus, see Rummel, Erasmus and His Catholic Critics, II, 61-73.

32De tralatione Bibliae (Paris, 1525), fol. 99 recto.

"Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami Opera Omnia ed. Jean Leclerc (Leiden, 1703-1706), LX, col. 922 C-D.

34Text in James K. Farge, Le parti conservateur au XVI' siècle: Université et Parlement de Paris à l'époque de la Renaissance et de la Réforme (Paris, 1992), p. 121.

tween laity and clergy, but also within the clergy, between pastoral and teaching mandates. In some cases, it appears, they claimed precedence over ecclesiastical judges, whatever their position in the church hierarchy, in the sense that they saw their learned opinion as the basis of the sentence handed down in ecclesiastic courts. An anecdote related by Hermann Buschius illustrates this attitude. At one stage in the Reuchlin affair, the Bishop of Speyer rendered a verdict in favor of Reuchlin and in condemnation of Hoogstraten. As usual, the bishop's verdict was posted on the church doors. A priest reading the verdict was apparently harassed by representatives of the Hoogstraten camp. "Hey you!" they shouted. "Why are you looking at that stuff? Why don't you read this here [the verdict of the Paris theologians] instead? "When the man declared that he would rather read "apostolic letters than those of the Parisians," they berated him: "What? You dare to put the verdict of the boy-bishop of Speyer ahead of one rendered by eighty doctors of theology from Paris?" According to Buschius, they proceeded to cut up the bishop's notice. When asked whether they were not afraid of being censured for their act of disrespect, one of them shouted "in the hearing of more than three hundred people: ? don't give a hoot for all the censures of the pope."5 An even more striking illustration of this attitude, which places the judgment of theologians above that of apostolic leaders, is an exchange between Erasmus and Cousturier. Erasmus had rejected Cousturier's criticism of his New Testament, noting that it had been endorsed by Pope Leo X. Cousturier failed to be impressed. "Leo was no theologian," he wrote. "He had no experience in such matters; he was therefore not capable of rendering a valid judgment."36

The authority of the theologians in matters concerning doctrine—especially theologians at prestigious universities, such as Paris, Cologne, or Louvain—was imposing and weighted by tradition. The magistri at Paris, we read in the Chartularium of the university (1414), are "clearly the foremost scriptural scholars. No one would say that they make mistakes or are mistaken … ; even the Holy See is neither reluctant nor embarrassed to consult them."37 What may have been taken for granted in the fifteenth century, was questioned in the sixteenth century, however. The authors of The Letters of Obscure Men thumbed their noses at this proud assertion. The self-assured question, "Don't you know that [this is the decision of] the University of Paris, where the theologians

"Illustrium virorum epistolae (Haguenau, 1519), sig. yl recto.

%Antapologia, fol. 153 recto.

3' Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis, eds. H. Denifle and A. Châtelain (Paris, 1897), IV, 295.

are learned and zealous and cannot err?" is answered with a derisive: "The University of Paris is the mother of all foolishness."38 In another satire, entitled Contra sentimentum Parrhisiense and dating from 1514, the Parisian doctors are lampooned for demanding unquestioning obedience, "as people who know everything and are ignorant of nothing."39 Similarly, Herrera scoffs at the notion that the judgment of the Parisians is authoritative: "Here in Spain they think that the honorable school of Paris has eyes like Lyncus and never relaxes its attention." In reality the faculty was full of careless and ignorant men.40

The theologians fiercely defended their traditional power and privilege. In a controversy spanning the years 1522-1527, between the faculty of theology at Paris and one of its members, Jacques Merlin, we find frequent mention of the deference owed to the Paris doctors. Pierre Lizet, at the time avocat du roi, emphasized the reputation of the faculty, si grosse et grande. He called for corporate loyalty and the suppression of any internal criticism, for "if they are permitted … to attack and debate the verdicts of the faculty, their spiritual mother, we run the risk that others will show contempt and it will command no respect."[*] In another case, against Guillaume Briçonnet, the reform-minded Bishop of Meaux, Lizet argued:

> When the theologians are assembled in the name of Christ, they are able to decide and determine in the form of a censura concerning matters of Christian doctrine that are ambiguous. One assumes that the Spirit promised by Christ in his love for his Church will not be absent. . . . The Church has many prelates who do not have the gift of teaching doctrine (talentum doctrine). For this reason the magisters and professors of theology serve as their assistants in doctrinal pronouncements regarding anything ambiguous in the faith and in the Christian religion.42

Lizet's colleague, Noël Béda, claimed nothing short of infallibility for theologians speaking ex cathedra:

> I admit that professional theologians (gradu tbeologt) are human and often act in a manner incompatible with the dignity of their profession, but when they discuss matters of faith in council (in communi magistrorum con-

"Epistolae obscurorum virorum, ed. Stokes, 1.22.
"Hutteni Opera, ed. Böcking, Suppl. II, p. 322.
*See above, note 18. The quotation is on p. 125.
41Farge, Le parti conservateur, p. 93-
42Ibid., pp. 71-72.

> sessu)—believe me, dear reader, I speak from experience—the truth prevails.[45]

Edward Lee, who became involved in a controversy with Erasmus, while studying at the University of Louvain,[44] passes a similar value judgment. In his critique of Erasmus' edition of the New Testament, he expresses indignation at the humanist's lack of respect for the scholastic tradition. He defends the authority of the theologians in the strongest terms:

> There can be no doubt that anyone is a heretic who rejects the doctrinal teaching of theologians, when they act in their proper professional capacity and in matters concerning faith and morals. . . . Who else but these professors would be called upon by councils to identify and destroy heresy … ; if you deprive them of the authority to decide … to whom will you concede this authority? Will you concede it to popes? But that is the same as conceding it to the professors, for popes make no doctrinal decisions without them. The Church does not rashly decide or reprove but exercises judgment. And whose judgment, I ask you, if not that of the theology professors? . . . Popes make decisions by virtue of their authority; theologians base their decisions on judgment. If judgment does not precede authority, it is plainly deficient and therefore useless.[45]

This key passage puts the respective functions of members of the church hierarchy and members of theological faculties in perspective. According to Lee, the theologians examine a case and render a verdict; the pope and bishops hold executive power. He clearly expects ecclesiastical judges to consult with professional theologians and hand down judgment in accordance with their opinion.

The quarrel between theologians and humanists at the universities was not only over power and authority but also over prestige. The position of theology, once the undisputed Queen of Sciences, was frequently challenged in Erasmus' age. The climate of anticlericalism in the face of widespread corruption and the increasing momentum of the reform movement no doubt also affected the position of theologians at

"Annotationum . . . in Iacobum Fabrum Stapulensem libri duo . . . (Paris, 1526), fol. 2 verso.

44Lee later had a distinguished diplomatic and ecclesiastical career, obtaining the archbishopric of York in 1531. On his controversy with Erasmus, see Rummel, Erasmus and His Catholic Critics, 1,95-120. Cecilia Asso, La teología e la Grammatica: La Controversia tra Erasmo ed Edward Lee (Florence, 1993).

"Annotationes in annotationes Erasmi (Paris, 1520), fol. 71 verso.

the universities. They, too, were criticized and ridiculed as tools of a corrupt and parasitical establishment. The scholastic method was under attack, moreover, and its teachers depicted as quibbling sophists, who deliberately obfuscated the issues and made no useful contribution to the Christian commonwealth. The magistri feared for their authority. An anonymous dialogue, probably from the hand of Crotus Rubeanus, lampoons these fears. The dialogue purports to represent the minutes of a faculty meeting, in which the theologians discuss how to deal with the menace posed by the biblical humanists. Hoogstraten, who chairs the meeting, expresses anxiety that "those pseudoscholars will come and take away our kingdom."[46] Erasmus spread the same malicious message:

> The theologians do not like to see a text corrected, for it may look as though there were something they did not know. It is they who . . . build up this great threat to the Christian faith; they who cry 'the Church is in danger' (and no doubt support her with their own shoulders, which would be better employed in propping up a dung-cart) and spread suchlike rumors … for the people take them for great divines, and they wish to lose none of this reputation.[47]

Hermann Buschius echoes this view in a letter to Eucharius Henner. Applying to the theologians a rebuke meant for the Pharisees, he writes: "They are afraid of losing the first seats in the synagogue . . . the places of honor at suppers, and the salutations in the market-place,' if those whom they regard as nothing but poets and grammarians gradually gain trust and authority."[48]

The academic hierarchy, which gave first place to the theologians, dictated a certain protocol, which gave them a visibly privileged position. In the constitution of the University of Alcalá, for example, we read the following instructions about the seating arrangement to be observed at academic dinners:

> Let the regents in theology sit next to the rector on his left and right, each according to the length of their tenure as regents; then the other doctors of theology according to the date of their graduation or incorporation into the university; next the masters of arts who are regents … as for the [remain-

"The satire is entitled Concilium Theologistarum, English trans, in Erika Rummel, Scheming Papists and Lutheran Fools: Five Reformation Satires (New York, 1993). The quotation appears on p. 56.

"The Collected Works of Erasmus, Wo\. 3 (Toronto, 1976), Ep. 337, 11. 843-850.

"Epistolae aliquot eruditorum virorum . . . (Basel, 1520), p. 171.

> ing] graduates, let the bachelor formatus in theology precede the magister of arts, the magister the theologian, who is a bachelor non formatus.49

The insistence by theologians on having their rank observed and their authority recognized in a tangible manner, is satirized in the Letters of Obscure Men. One correspondent reports with great indignation that someone at the University of Leipzig had had the audacity to suggest "that in academic processions the poets ought to take precedence over the magisters and licentiates."50 One might regard this as satirical fiction, if a similar incident were not documented in the Acta of the University of Louvain of August 3, 1520.51 There we read that the theologians caused a disturbance over matters of protocol on the occasion of a graduation ceremony:

> A great difference of opinion and a great deal of contention arose concerning the order in which the faculty would walk in procession. … A complaint was subsequently brought forward by some faculty members, more particularly from the faculty of theology, that in the graduation procession of a doctor of civil law, the faculty of law was to take precedence over the faculty of theology, which is regarded as most absurd.

The university acted in the time-honoured fashion of all institutional bodies: it struck a committee to investigate the matter.

The conflict between humanists and theologians over competency and academic qualifications is informed by a number of factors, ranging from resistance to change, awe of what was considered the revealed text or deference to Jerome, the reputed author or revisor of the Vulgate, but also insistence on the primacy of theology over other disciplines and the delineation of subject areas. Some of these concerns had a long history. As the humanists did not fail to point out, Jerome had been subjected to some of the same charges as they themselves. The issues resurfaced and attained new prominence in their own time. They came to a head at the beginning of the sixteenth century in Northern Europe, where theologians traditionally held the balance of power but humanists were now emerging as a force to be reckoned with. These were the conditions that ignited the conflict, and the Reformation, which gave many of the issues a confessional angle, added fuel to the debate. Indeed, some humanists claimed that the opposition of the

"Universidad Complutense: Constituciones originales Cisnerianas, ed. Ramón González Navarro (Alcalá, 1984),p. 216.

v'Epistolae obscurorum virorum, ed. Stokes, 1.17.

"H. de Jongh, L'ancienne faculté de théologie de Louvain (repr. Utrecht, 1980), pp. 21*-21*.

theologians to studia humanitatis amounted to a conspiracy, an attempt to link humanism with heterodoxy in order to discredit it. Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa is one of several humanists giving voice to this opinion. "The scholastic theologians of our day form a solid phalanx to fight language studies and persecute them as if they were the cause of all schisms and heresies."52 The tensions caused by the demand of humanists that philology be given a place in biblical studies and the corollary that they—the experts in the field—be allowed to play an active role, were relieved only gradually. As an increasing number of theologians acquired language skills and philologists could be recruited from their ranks, the argument that textual criticism was the business of philologists rather than theologians became idle. Thus the theologians were able to accommodate the demand for textual criticism and editorial authority while maintaining their monopoly over biblical studies.

^Apologia adversus calumnias . . . (s.l., 1533),sig. Dv verso.

FROM UNCERTAINTYTO OPPOSITION: FRENCH CATHOLIC LIBERALS AND IMPERIAL EXPANSION, 1880-1885

BY

Alfred Perkins*

In the century since France embarked on the quest for new overseas possessions, historians have examined the "new imperialism" from many angles—its causes and justifications, its theorists and pressure groups, its governing arrangements, and, most recently, the resistance from native populations. Yet even now, three decades since the territories thus acquired re-emerged as independent states, relatively little attention has been given to the early opponents of overseas conquest. What little attention anti-imperialists have received has centered on the Extreme Left. Almost totally ignored have been those on the Right who, for quite different reasons, were hostile to imperial expansion.1

In the absence of thorough study, historians have generally believed that French Catholics, virtually all of whom were on the antirepublican Right throughout the 1880's, favored expansion because it would benefit missionary activity. Consequently, the extensive criticism of imperialism voiced by the Right during the decade has commonly been ascribed to mere partisanship, an effort to weaken the Republic by discrediting the overseas policy of the moderate republicans who held power. Though such generalizations are not totally unfounded, they mask a more complex reality. In fact, Catholics were not of one mind regarding expansion; neither were they so limited in their motivations, nor so static in their thinking. Far from being universally approved, imperial policy divided the faithful at the very time unity was of prime concern.

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'Charles-Robert Ageron has recognized "a weak anticolonial current among Catholics." Yet in his collection of readings on anti-imperialism, of twenty-two documents before 1900, only three are drawn from the Right. See his L'anticolonialisme en France de 1871 à 1914 (Paris, 1973), pp. 35-37.

During the 1880's the Church in France faced its most severe crisis since the Great Revolution. With majorities in the Chamber and the Senate, and one of their own in the Elysée Palace, republicans mounted in 1879 an aggressive campaign to reduce the Church's influence in French society. In the forefront of this campaign were the two most able republicans, Léon Gambetta and Jules Ferry, leaders of the two parliamentary groupings that together were labeled "Opportunists."2 The anticlerical agenda concentrated initially on creating a system of free, mandatory, and secular primary schools, and enforcing restrictions on religious orders, with other initiatives to be taken as the decade advanced. These measures were strenuously opposed by Catholic clergy and laity alike, but their efforts were hampered at the national level by political disunity.

Separated into three camps—Legitimist, Orleanist, and Bonapartist—Catholics did not agree on even the most basic constitutional questions. Even after the chief Bonapartist claimant was killed in 1879, and the last of the Bourbons died in 1883, antirepublican Catholics failed to unite behind the Orleanist pretender, the Count of Paris. Divided in political loyalties, and in the vision of society that underlay such allegiances, they were also at odds on key policy matters. Among the most bitterly contested issues was the extension of French authority in Africa and Asia.

This article deals with one side of that controversy. Focusing on liberal Catholic responses to events in Tunisia, Egypt, Madagascar, and Annam, it describes the emergence of an oppositionist view that was cogently reasoned, vigorously argued, and, after initial uncertainty, consistently followed. Those who came to adopt this position, financially well-connected and generally forward-looking as they were, proved quite impervious to the economic and other arguments advanced by the champions of expansion. The roots of Catholic anti-imperialism, this study contends, are to be found in the liberals' understanding of contemporary international affairs, the propagation of the faith, and, implicitly perhaps, France's future role in the world.

It was shared ideas and perspectives, reinforced by professional and social connections, rather than formal organization, that gave liberal

"Opportunists" was a label applied to republican moderates who constituted the largest grouping on the parliamentary left in the 1880's. Used in a positive sense, it suggested political realism, willingness to compromise. When used by their opponents, the term connoted a lack of principles, or worse.

Catholics their coherence as a group. Like their intellectual forebears—Dupanloup, Lacordaire, Montalembert—liberals of the eighties believed the Church needed to adapt to at least some aspects of modern society, while not compromising the fundamentals of faith and morals. Convinced parliamentarists, they clustered to the right of center, hoping to replace the Republic with an Orleanist monarchy. As notables, they were suspicious of political democracy, concerned about social stability, disquieted by all forms of demagoguery.

By the early eighties Catholic liberals had begun to decline in political strength, but they were still a significant force. In the Chamber they held perhaps twenty seats. They were stronger in the Senate, where their most eminent spokesmen were Vincent Audren de Kerdrel, leader of its antirepublican bloc, and Albert, duc de Broglie, twice prime minister in the previous decade. Not central to the liberal coterie, but increasingly aligned with it after 1883, were Senator Charles de Chesnelong, dubbed the "lay leader of French Catholics," and his associate in religious causes, Emile Keller, deputy for Belfort. Yet the importance of the liberals lay not so much in their parliamentary numbers as in their social prominence, mental acumen, and influence among the educated and talented elite like themselves. Monsignor Maurice d'Hulst, for example, Rector of the Catholic Institute of Paris and a close friend since boyhood of the Count of Paris, was a conspicuous member of the liberal camp. Three of France's five cardinal archbishops—Guibert of Paris, Langénieux of Reims, Thomas of Rouen—were also widely regarded as liberals. Among the laity a substantial number of journalists and other writers were committed to the liberal position.'

For making their views known, liberal Catholics had ready access to the rostrums of the Senate and the Chamber, important pulpits and diocesan publications, and the boards and conferences of various religious and charitable organizations. In addition, they published two daily Paris newspapers, Le Français and La Défense sociale et religieuse, and the prestigious fortnightly, Xe Correspondant} With these assets, and the distinction and high visibility of their leaders, the liberals were well placed to play an influential role in the debate on imperial expansion. As the focus of that debate shifted—from Tunisia to Egypt, to

'For these individuals see Gustave Weill, Histoire du catholicisme libéral en France (Paris, 1909), and Adrien Dansette's two-volume Religious History of Contemporary France, trans. Jon Dingle (New York, 1961). Extensive biographies have also been published on Chesnelong, d'Hulst, and Keller.

'Jean Marienval, Sur l'histoire de la presse catholique en France (Paris, 1936), pp. 31-32.

Madagascar and Annam—their thinking passed through successive stages.

France's advance into Tunisia in 1881 found liberal Catholics with no set views on expansion. Though extending French control eastward from Algeria had been randomly discussed since the 1878 Congress of Berlin, the idea had not captured popular imagination. Thus when the government of Jules Ferry first sent troops into the Regency, ostensibly to punish nomadic tribes marauding across the Algerian border, liberals were somewhat surprised but generally supportive. As it became clear, however, that Ferry intended to establish permanent control, they began to express mixed feelings. While acknowledging that the new possession might prove beneficial, they were unsure what form acquisition should take; both a protectorate and outright annexation posed serious difficulties. One journalist, uneasy about Ferry's inexperience in foreign affairs, declared that France was being led light-heartedly down a road toward "adventure or misadventure."[5] Another commentator, confident in early April that Parliament would prevent the government from becoming too deeply involved in North Africa, argued a fortnight later that only the government could decide the proper limits of action.[6]

Liberal Catholic ambivalence did not end with the formal establishment of French authority in Tunisia, proclaimed in the treaty signed at Bardo in May. Yet no Catholic publication editorialized against the treaty, nor did any Catholic deputy or senator vote against its ratification.[7] Opposition would not have been popular, for though the expedition far exceeded the originally stated aims, and though it did reveal some military unpreparedness, it appeared at first to be a major, and cheaply won, success. A series of uprisings, beginning less than two months after Bardo, soon destroyed that illusion. When a second, more extensive campaign to pacify the countryside became necessary, liberal spokesmen like the duc de Broglie were able to articulate their concerns more fully.

[5]Joseph Dermis, editor-in-chief of La Défense sociale et religieuse (hereafter cited as ZX>sr), April 6, 1881.

[6]August Boucher, regular political columnist for Le Correspondant (hereafter cited as LC). See CXXIII (April 10, 1881), 191 and (April 25, 1881), 383.

[7]The Senate approved the treaty unanimously; in the Chamber, only Clemenceau cast a negative vote. André Daniel (A. Lebrun), L'Année politique: 1881 (Paris, 1882), p. 136. For representative commentary by liberal Catholics, see LC, CXXIII (May 25, 1881), 761; Le Français, May 29, 1881 (hereafter cited as LF).

From the outset Broglie had not favored the expansion of French power in North Africa. He had voiced no public objection, however, believing that once political and diplomatic commitments were made there, France should remain.8 Nevertheless, several aspects of the new protectorate left him profoundly troubled, as he explained in a lengthy Senate address on July 25. Ruled by the Bey of Tunis, a nominal Ottoman vassal, Tunisia had served as a buffer zone between French territory and the lands of the Sublime Porte, Broglie reminded his colleagues. Now the Sultan was an angry next-door neighbor. Moreover, France's conquest was a severe affront to Ottoman prestige, likely to set off anti-European violence across the Muslim world. Such an outbreak could require further French military action, which would be difficult to confine to Algeria and Tunisia. For France to become so deeply engaged in North Africa might be pleasing to "other powers," he suggested, referring to Bismarck's Germany. Concluding, he called attention to recent criticism of France's Tunisian venture in the House of Commons. Such negative views were cause for particular concern, he emphasized, given the importance of preserving favorable relations with Great Britain.9

With his extensive experience in national and international affairs, which included service as ambassador in London and as foreign minister, Broglie spoke with authority. His words, a skillful blend of statesmanlike analysis and partisan criticism, commanded attention, and they were faithfully echoed in the liberal Catholic press. National elections for the Chamber were to be held the following month, and as the campaign progressed through August, Tunisia became an increasingly heated issue. Without denying the value of the new acquisition, liberal Catholics, along with other segments of the Right, depicted the whole undertaking as an example of republican bungling and adventurism. In the two weeks between the first and second ballots Le Français, which served as Broglie's unofficial sounding board, devoted one-third of its lead editorials to Tunisia. Dropping its usually sedate tone, the paper charged shrilly that Ferry and his friends, in order to avoid disturbing the voters, were deliberately suppressing bad news from the protectorate and postponing necessary military actions there. La Défense, taking a similar line, warned that an electoral victory for "Gambetta and

"Broglie explained his view in private conversation with Paul Cambon. See Cambon's Correspondance, 1870-1924 (Paris, 1940-1946), l, 191.

9AnHaleS du Sénat: Débats parlementaires, Sénat, July 25, 1881.

company" would mean sooner or later the full mobilization of the army.10

The Right failed to make Tunisia an effective campaign issue, but the campaign itself, coinciding with the latter stages of the conquest, undoubtedly stimulated thinking about imperial expansion in general.11 Establishment of the protectorate raised pressing questions about the desirability and scope of French activity outside the Continent. For Catholic liberals, those questions had not been resolved by the time Tunisia began to fade from the headlines. At the end of 1881 most were not opposed in principle to overseas expansion, but they doubted France's domestic and external circumstances would allow it. Troubled, moreover, by the way the government had acquired new territory with minimal parliamentary consultation, they feared such a coup de theatre might serve as precedent for similar initiatives in the future.12

These deep reservations notwithstanding, astute leaders like Broglie realized that opposing governmental initiatives too strenuously might appear unpatriotic, especially when troops were engaged overseas. Hence, they portrayed Tunisia and later ventures as matters of republican policy, for which republicans alone were responsible. This approach left Broglie and his friends free to capitalize on the mistakes and difficulties of their opponents, without requiring a clear statement of their own position. When key votes were being taken in the Senate, they tended to abstain rather than cast a positive or negative ballot that could be misinterpreted.13 The tactic was dictated both by partisan considerations and basic ambivalence about expansion itself. That ambivalence disappeared in the Egyptian crisis of the following year.

"LF, September 1-4, 1881;LDsr, August 8-9, 1881.

"Boucher acknowledged the failure in LC, CXXV (September 10, 1881), 963-964.

'2LF, May 29, 1881; Broglie reiterated the concern in his Senate address of July 25, 1881. A stunning exception to this attitude among liberals was the Archbishop of Algiers (soon to be the Cardinal Archbishop of Carthage and Algiers, and Primate of Africa), Charles-Martial Lavigerie. An ardent patriot, Lavigerie was a persistent and persuasive advocate of French expansion in North Africa. Ferry and Gambetta recognized his great knowledge and influence and, their anticlerical policies in the Metropole notwithstanding, supported his missionary activities and relied heavily on his advice regarding Tunisia. For a fascinating account of the Cardinal's role in the establishment and consolidation of the protectorate, see the thoroughly researched and insightful monograph of J. Dean O'Donnell, Lavigerie in Tunisia (Athens, Georgia, 1979).

13In the Chamber abstention was less frequent, particularly after 1882. The proper action for Catholic lawmakers in such matters was the subject of much discussion in the religious press, beginning in November, 1881, and extending through 1885.

Before the pacification of Tunisia was completed, France had to deal with a burgeoning problem in Egypt. There anti-European feelings, sparked by actions of the Anglo-French Debt Commission and fueled by the conquest of Tunisia, had developed into a nationalist movement with Pan-Arab overtones. By late 1881 insurgent forces bent on removing Egypt from foreign tutelage seemed strong enough to reduce the Europeanized khédive, Tewfik, to a mere figurehead. Preservation of the Anglo-French condominium required decisive action by those two powers to bolster the khedive's authority.

Exactly what course France should follow could not be agreed upon, and successive premiers pursued different strategies, none of which worked well. Ferry, having lost much of his support over Tunisia, was forced to resign the premiership following the fall elections. Léon Gambetta then formed his Great Ministry" in November. Gambetta was planning a military intervention, in concert with Britain he thought, when he lost a vote of confidence in January, 1882. His successor, the overly supple Charles de Freycinet, rejected that course, and when xenophobic riots led to bombardment of Alexandria by British warships, he refused to order a nearby French squadron to participate in the action. Driven from power in July, Freycinet was replaced by the lackluster Charles Duclerc, who watched complacently as British forces under General Garnet Joseph Wolseley smashed the insurgent army at Tel-el-Kebir and occupied the country. Those events, as it turned out, marked the beginning of British control of Egypt and the loss of France's privileged position there. Subsequent governments, of which Ferry's second ministry was the most notable, tried to force London to share control, but their efforts met with little success. France never regained the influence she exercised in Egypt before 1882. The developments of that year were important in many ways; for the formation of the Catholic liberals' attitude toward imperialism, they proved decisive.

As the crisis moved from one stage to another, the liberals discounted every approach to a solution. In Pan-Arabism they recognized an anti-European and anti-Christian force that could not be ignored. Yet they feared that vigorous French action in Egypt would set off new politico-religious disturbances in Algeria and Tunisia. Military intervention by the Ottoman Sultan, which Freycinet considered supporting at one point, was similarly unacceptable, primarily because Bismarck seemed to favor it. Emphasizing the diplomatic complexities of the Eastern Question, they cautioned against any action, unilateral or bilateral, that might offend other interested states. Involvement of the other powers

in efforts to find a solution they regarded as inevitable; in France's ability to effect a favorable outcome they had little faith14

In fact, liberal Catholics rejected every initiative pursued, or even seriously considered, to protect French interests in Egypt.15 Nor did they propose any other course of action. Behind such consistent negativism lay a simple explanation—the crisis baffled Broglie and his associates as much as those who exercised power. Even as they blamed Gambetta, Freycinet, and others for indecision, liberal spokesmen were not at all sure which measures to suggest. Lacking an alternative strategy, they adopted a public posture of "leaving to those who have monopolized power the full responsibility for their policy."16

Uncertainty led to acquiescence in the face of British advances. After the bombardment of Alexandria, it became increasingly clear that French authority would not be re-established. The liberal Catholic press then began to argue against binding commitments in Egypt, a tactic described euphemistically as preserving France's "diplomatic and military freedom."Yet liberals did not expect, nor did they favor, resolute action. Even before the landing of Wolseley's troops, weeks before Tel-el-Kebir, liberals were resigned to the elimination of French power in Egypt.17

Underlying this cautious outlook was a careful analysis of France's position in the European arena. For most French statesmen, military inferiority vis-à-vis Germany was a fundamental consideration, but for liberal Catholic leaders, it caused constant, pervasive anxiety.18 Accustomed to dealing with issues of national and international importance, that group regarded Germany as a far more serious threat than did their less knowledgeable countrymen. Genuine understanding ofthat threat, they believed, led to inescapable conclusions. First, France must do whatever was necessary to avoid further diplomatic isolation. Among the European states only Germany and Britain seemed strong enough

"ÍDsrJanuary 19 and May 13, 1882;iC, CXXVII (May 5, 1882),751-752;i/; May 27 and June 22, 1882.

"Broglie conceded that joint intervention with Britain would have been the only straightforward policy, but military and diplomatic considerations, as well as the belief that France would be forced into a subordinate role, prevented him from endorsing such action. Achille Biovès, Français et Anglais en Egypt, 1881-1882 (Paris, 1910), pp. 207-208.

"ÍD^June4, 1882.

^LDsr, June 14 and July 19, 1882. LC, CXXVII (June 10, 1882), 911.

'"For an excellent treatment of this subject, see Allen Mitchell's The German Influence in France after 1870 (Chapel HiU, North Carolina, 1979), pp. 144f.

to pursue an independent foreign policy. Threatened by one of these powers, France must cling to the other. Preservation of British friendship was of paramount significance. Second, France must husband what military strength she had. Any projection of military or naval strength overseas would weaken her on the Continent. Though some leaders on both the Left and the Right continued to use the rhetoric of revanche, such thoughts were far from the minds of Catholic liberals. Not revanche, but national defense, was their preoccupation. France's long-term welfare depended, they were convinced, on the maintenance of close ties to Britain and conservation of limited military and fiscal resources.[19]

The Egyptian crisis posed a dilemma for Catholic liberals precisely because they could not reconcile these two fundamental considerations with the protection of France's position in the khedivate. Spreading insurgency, the crumbling authority of Tewfik, and the need to keep Suez under European control made prompt military intervention necessary. At issue was not whether intervention should occur, but what form it should take. Liberals could not support action by the Sultan, for if it succeeded, French influence in Egypt would be undercut and her prestige throughout North Africa damaged. Intervention by France alone or in league with Britain they ruled out due to considerations of national defense, as well as uneasiness over the likely reactions of the other powers. Unilateral British intervention, on the other hand, would leave France with a greatly reduced role at best. And even that option involved risk, for unless Britain felt strongly supported by France on the diplomatic plane, strained relations could still result. No matter what possibilities they contemplated, Broglie and his friends found no way to square the basic principles of their foreign policy with the preservation, much less the extension, of French authority. Confronted by uncomfortable choices, they came to the conclusion that France's political interests along the Nile could not be retrieved.

Beyond the specific difficulties, the significance of the Egyptian crisis for Catholic liberals lay in the fact that it crystallized attitudes toward imperial expansion. Early in 1882, they were skeptical of such undertakings; by the end of that year skepticism had become general hostility.

"These points were made repeatedly in the liberal Catholic press from 1882 on. See, for example, LDsr, July 19, 1882, and August 8, 1883;ii? July 26 and November 30, 1883; H. de Bizemont, "La France en Afrique," LC, CXXX Ganuary 10, 1883), 81. Also LC, CXXXII (August 25, 1883), 765; CXXXIII (November 10, 1883), 567-584; CXL (August 10, 1885), 568.

Though they professed no opposition in principle to the acquisition of new territory, their denials of anti-expansionist sentiment were far from convincing. Their true feelings were revealed by their constant appeals to caution, frequent reminders of the nation's military weakness, repeated references to the expense of conquest, and insistence on preserving British good will no matter what.

The emergence of anti-imperialist views among Catholics was typified by the diocesan weekly of Rouen, see of the liberal archbishop Cardinal Benoît Léon Thomas. In mid-1881, ?a Semaine religieuse du diocèse de Rouen had greeted the news of Bardo with enthusiasm, affirming that the Tunisian protectorate was "righteous and consistent with our noblest traditions."20 Fifteen months later, in the aftermath of Tel-el-Kebir, the paper proclaimed that France could no longer attempt "bellicose adventures," and called for a return to the "wise, circumspect, and far-sighted policy" followed by Presidents Thiers and MacMahon in the 1870's. "In our present situation," it warned, "any policy of action would be senseless and fatal temerity. . . "21 Such appeals to prudence became increasingly urgent as French activity intensified in Madagascar and Southeast Asia.

France had exercised a nominal protectorate over the northern portion of Madagascar since 1842, but her presence there had been manifested primarily through the missionary activities of the Society of Jesus. In the early 1880's French influence was challenged as the most powerful native tribe, the Hovas, attempted to extend their control from the central plateau to the coastal towns in the north, and to exclude Europeans from land ownership in the interior. Supporting the Hova initiatives, if not inspiring them, were British subjects on the island, particularly representatives of the London Missionary Society. This large and wealthy organization had gained considerable sway at Tananarive, the Hova capital; indeed, the Society's success throughout the island was closely tied to the ascendancy of that tribe. Thus underlying the conflict between Paris and Tananarive were two interlocked questions. Was the dominant religious influence on the great island to be French Catholicism or British Methodism? Was France's limited author-

20May21,1881,p.497
"August 26, 1882, pp. 805-806.

ity to be preserved, or even extended, or was it to be replaced by that of Great Britain?22

The French role in Madagascar became an issue only a few months after Tel-el-Kebir. At an early stage liberal Catholics made clear their priorities in the matter. While France's "traditional rights" should be maintained, as Le Correspondant put it, "With the same care we must attend to our relations with this England from which our enemies would like to separate us." Such a separation "would cut us off from the only quarter in which France still has a friendship to preserve."23

Preoccupation with London's attitude and concern over military commitments abroad continued as the conflict with the Hovas intensified. A French naval squadron bombarded and seized two Hova coastal strongholds, confiscated files of the British consul, and arrested a Methodist missionary on suspicion of conspiracy—actions that led to a sharp confrontation between the French commander and the captain of a nearby British warship. When rumors spread of a French march on Tananarive, Le Correspondant warned that dispatching troops to the interior would be "painful" and "reckless," while Le Français lamented the "disagreeable friction" with Britain that occurred whenever France intervened overseas.24 Several months later the comte Albert de Mun, a gifted orator and prominent advocate of conservative and Catholic causes, made an impassioned speech in the Chamber, calling for use of the force necessary to establish French sovereignty over "that Great Land, over Eastern France."25 Commenting on the address, Le Français agreed that French rights should be protected, but concluded flatly that the course de Mun proposed was not "possible and practicable."26

By mid-1885, after the Hovas had expelled French Jesuits from the capital and the military situation had reached a stalemate, Paris pressed for a settlement with Tananarive.27 Months of negotiations finally pro-

22G. Grandidier, Le Myre de Vilers, Duchesne, Galliéni: Quarante années de l'histoire de Madagascar (Paris, 1923), pp. 1-5; T. F. Power, Jules Ferry and the Renaissance of French Imperialism (New York, 1944), pp. 115-120; Emile Lecanuet, L'Eglise de France sous la Troisième République (Paris, 1910), II, 250-258.

"LC, CXXIX (December 10, 1882), 1024.

24LC, CXXXI (June 25, 1883), 1151; LF, July 14, 1883.

"Annales de la Chambre des Députés: Débats parlementaires, Chambre, session of March 24, 1884.

MMarch 26, 1884. See also LC, CXXXV (April 10, 1884), 191.

] The expulsion of the Jesuits from Tananarive had been preceded by their expulsion from their houses in France in 1880. In the latter instance Ferry had been a central figure; in the former, their displacement was an unintended, and undoubtedly undesired, result of his Madagascan policy. The irony in this will not escape the reader.

duced an inconclusive treaty. Though it allowed France to maintain a resident-general in the Hova capital and provided for an ill-defined "right of protection," it left many critical questions unsettled.28 Neither arms nor diplomacy had produced success, and Catholic liberals made much of the fact.

Le Français took the lead in denouncing the whole Madagascan enterprise, stressing that nothing was to be gained from overseas expansion except a permanent financial deficit at home and political impotence abroad. In the light of France's current vulnerabilities, its editorials charged, the republicans' engagements on the island had been a mistake from the outset. Their "senseless" policy had led into an impasse, from which the nation could escape only by choosing between "an adventure and a retreat." The treaty with the Hovas merely opened the way for further disagreements, potential conflict with another European power, and a more serious intervention "then truly under the pain of dishonor." When the treaty came before the Chamber, Le Français insisted, the antirepublican minority should oppose it, while making clear that the Right was not responsible for "the frightening complications that the very near future reserves for us."29

Such forebodings were not unfounded, as subsequent events were to prove, but the liberals' judgment must be seen in a larger context. Their anxieties about actions in Madagascar undoubtedly were reinforced by the far-reaching initiatives taken simultaneously in Southeast Asia. Indeed, for that group and for Frenchmen in general, Madagascar was almost a sideshow in comparison with even more controversial activities on the Asian mainland. Nor should it be overlooked that 1885 was a critical election year; liberals expressed opposition to expansion so vigorously in part because they hoped to exploit the issue to maximum electoral advantage. But the effects of related ventures and partisan exaggerations aside, the liberal camp opposed advances in Madagascar primarily out of regard for British sensitivities. To these Anglophiles, continuing good relations with France's only potential ally was more important than extending her foothold on that distant island. Similarly, preservation of British friendship took precedence over defense of French missionaries against their Methodist rivals. Though not indifferent to the religious dimension of the Madagascan question, these

'"Christian Schefer, D'Une Guerre à Vautre (Paris, 1920), pp. 132-134; S. H. Roberts, History of French Colonial Policy, 1870-1925 (London, 1929), II, 381-382.

"July 26-30, 1885; December 24, 1885; February 26-27, 1886. Essentially the same view was expressed in LDsr, December 25, 1885, and LC, CXUI (February 10, 1886), 578.

Catholic sophisticates did not consider the extension of national power essential to the propagation of the faith. They regretted the Jesuits' expulsion from their mission post, but they did not allow that development, with all its symbolism and implied consequences, to override their basic aversion to overseas risks. That concern crested with Annam.

Territorial expansion in Southeast Asia was at the center of one of the most bitter controversies in the early history of the Third Republic. Conquest in Indo-China was the issue that led to the fall of Ferry's second government, just as Tunisia brought down his first. Indeed, most of the arguments about imperial policy, from 1883 to the end of the decade, focused on Asia. On the Left the contention separated Opportunist from Radical republicans; on the Right it widened the cleavage between liberal and conservative Catholics. Throughout the period the liberal faction remained staunchly opposed to advances there.

The liberals, though not overly concerned about offending Britain in that region, were deeply worried about possible conflict with China, nominal suzerain over the area. Chinese hostility had been their chief worry a decade earlier when the duc de Broglie himself had held the premiership and directed foreign affairs. At that time French traders and officials in Cochinchina had attempted to establish French authority in Annam, including the northern province of Tonkin. Broglie, preoccupied with restoring France's security on the Continent, had been disinclined to support such initiatives. Instead he had agreed in 1874 to a vague convention with Beijing that allowed France to trade and maintain small garrisons in several Tonkinese ports, and to provide protection to all of Annam if needed. In fact, the Treaty of Saigon brought France neither sizable advantage nor unwanted responsibility; it represented essentially an indefinite postponement of any ambitions in the region. To Broglie and his friends, continued postponement, continued caution remained the best policy in the 1880s.

What became the "Tonkin question" opened with the ambush of a French military contingent sent in the spring of 1883 to explore and secure the Red River delta. Jules Ferry had regained the premiership in February, and the first months of his second ministry saw heated debate about how best to avenge the incident. Fearful of deeper engagement far from home, Le Français spoke for "those timid patriots" who preferred that France not mix colonial and Continental policy "at such an unpropitious time." Even if China had no friends and all Europe favored French advances, even to Beijing itself, "We would still beseech the Re-

public … to avenge our honor at Hanoi, maintain the treaty of 1874, preserve our rights, negotiate an arrangement for the rest, attempt nothing more, and wait for the future."[30] Six months later, as military activity in Tonkin increased, a series of Le Français editorials condemned those efforts and called for the "strong and courageous wisdom to resist a policy which will compromise the destinies of the patrie."[31]

While the columnists of Le Français and other liberal Catholic organs sought to build anti-imperial sentiment, the group's political leaders worked toward the same end. In the Senate the duc de Broglie played the principal role, developing a line of argument adopted by others on the Right beyond his immediate circle. Territorial expansion at the present time, he contended, was essentially a republican policy, the lamentable result of inexperience in affairs of state and disregard for other national concerns. Such ventures were not only fraught with danger; they were doomed to failure by republican incompetence. Ferry's refusal to state clearly his goals in Tonkin, and his deceptive requests for military funding in small increments, were evidence of general shortsightedness and incoherence of policy. If able men held power, and if France's international situation were less precarious, the acquisition of new possessions might be supportable. But under current circumstances, the Right had an obligation to dissociate itself entirely from such endeavors.[32]

In all the fervent argument that Tonkin generated, Broglie led Catholic liberals against overseas aggrandizement. Time and again he took the Senate rostrum to criticize the government's policy. He knew of nothing "more chimerical and dangerous," he told his listeners, than the pursuit of empire. To seek compensation abroad for the strength France had lost in Europe, as colonial enthusiasts advocated, was "to go against all the lessons of history and all the teachings of reason."[33] A candidate for re-election early in 1885, the due made antagonism to empire a keynote in his campaign. Failing to retain his Senate seat, he ran later in the year for the Chamber of Deputies. In that campaign as well he emphasized the importance of repudiating "overseas adventures" and concentrating national energies and resources at home.[34]

«June 20, 1883; see also May 28 and 30, 1883.

"December 20, 1883;other editorials on December 17-21.

"Annales du Sénat: Débats parlementaires, Sénat, December 20, 1883.

»Ibid., December 11, 1884.

"Summaries of his campaign speeches are in LF, September 24, October 4, 7, and 18, 1885. See also LDsr, October 15, 1885.

The position taken by Broglie and his associates brought them into sharp conflict with ultraconservative Catholics. The most influential Catholic daily, L'Univers, was staunchly and indiscriminately imperialistic. The same was true of La Croix, the widely circulated daily published by the Assumptionist fathers, and the fortnightly Revue du monde catholique. In the Chamber the only deputy who was also a bishop, Mgr. Charles-Emile Freppel of Angers, spoke passionately and often in favor of aggrandizement, and Albert de Mun was equally enthusiastic. For these extreme conservatives, overseas conquest was not a narrow republican interest as the liberals claimed, but a national imperative, consistent with France's past glories and present needs.35

This dispute between Catholic liberals and ultraconservatives emerged into public view late in 1883, and became ever sharper during the next two years.36 On one occasion Freppel's appeals for national unity in support of empire elicited jeers and catcalls from his fellow deputies on the Right. He was even accused of selling out to the Republic in hopes of advancement to a more prestigious see and the cardinalate.37 The ultras, on the other hand, were not slow to attack those who rejected an expansionist policy. L'Univers questioned Broglie's ability to conduct national affairs, spoke of his "blindness" in 1874, and condemned his Treaty of Saigon as "disastrous from every point of view."38 La Croix charged that those who voted against moving forward in Tonkin were overly influenced by partisan interests. Men of the Right should be men of principle, La Croix insisted, not of party.39 Freppel, for his part, complained privately about the "miserable policy of the Broglies and the Kerdrels," which could result in a "disastrous, perhaps mortal blow" to monarchism if the Republic were able to gain Tonkin.40

"Freppel's fifteen Chamber addresses on imperial policy are collected in his Oeuvres polémiques (11 vols.; Paris, 1882-1893)- See especially those of December 18, 1883; October 25, 1884; and December 21, 1885. Freppel's and Mun s views were extensively reported and editorially praised in L'Univers.

56FOr the pro-expansionist position, consult L'Univers and La Croix, December 9-11, 1883. See also Le Monde in that period.

'The incident, December 18, 1883, was widely reported in the Catholic press, and is treated more completely in Eugène Terrien, Monseigneur Freppel (Paris, 1932), ?, 435-438,531.

'"December 24, 1884.

"December 21, 1883.

"Etienne Cornut, Monseigneur Freppel (Paris, 1893), pp. 366-367. It is significant that imperial policy divided devout Catholics most sharply in 1885, precisely when various leaders were making extraordinary efforts to achieve unity. The controversy raised a critical question of political strategy—whether antirepublican Catholics should engage in "systematic opposition" or oppose only those government policies to which they genuinely objected. Interestingly enough, it was those who were most strongly antirepublican who rejected "systematic opposition."

The deep emotions stirred by the controversy were further revealed by developments at Le Monde, a daily of moderate Catholic opinion, neither liberal nor ultraconservative. The paper was edited and published by the devout and conciliatory Ferdinand Levé, an early and outspoken advocate of expansion. Le Monde had consistently championed aggressive prosecution of French interest in Tunisia, Egypt, Madagascar, and Indochina. Levé lost financial control of the paper in 1883, however, and editorial policy soon passed into the hands of an administrative council. That council included a number of prominent liberals—Audren de Kerdrel, d' Hülst, Keller, Chesnelong.41 Thereafter Le Monde became increasingly hostile to overseas conquest.42

Late in 1885 a conflict that had been seething just below the surface at Le Monde broke into the open. By that time the national controversy over imperialism, building for over two years, had reached its highest pitch. Following a military setback at the Tonkinese village of Langson (the significance of which was vastly exaggerated at first), Ferry had been driven from power in March. Street demonstrations in Paris at the time had been so large and noisy as to suggest a popular uprising was at hand.43 Elections in October had weakened the Opportunist supporters of expansion in the Chamber, and by December it appeared that anti-imperialists of the Extreme Left and the antirepublican Right would combine their negative votes to reverse governmental policy. Extraordinarily close votes were expected on key funding measures for Madagascar and Tonkin.44 With France's imperial future in jeopardy, Ferdinand Levé restrained himself no longer.

In an editorial that blazed across three-fourths of the front page, Levé attacked all those elements of the Right whose "repressed passions" caused them to try "to stifle in [French] hearts the only virtues that can uplift conquered peoples: national pride, a bellicose spirit, the desire for expansion and productivity. . . ." National and Catholic policy, he insisted, required "the definitive occupation of Tonkin." Instead of sup-

""The new leadership, realizing that LF was too strongly identified with de Broglie, hoped to make Le Monde a more effective alternative to L'Univers. Chanoine Cordonnier, Monseigneur d'Hulst: Sa vie, ses luttes, son rayonnement (Paris, 1952), pp. 167-171; Gustave Gautherot, Emile Keller (Paris, 1922),p. 295;IC, CL (January 25, 1888), 22.

"Levé's views are typified in editorials of December 9-11, 1883. For the contrast, consult editorials of July 23 and October 18-29, 1884.

43Henri Leyret, Waldeck-Rousseau et la Troisième République (Paris, 1908), p. 460; Emile Marcère, Entretiens et souvenirs (Paris, 1894), II, 29-30.

"Charles de Freycinet described those debates on imperial policy at the end of 1885 as some of "the most impassioned and stirring" France had ever witnessed. Souvenirs (Paris, 1913),p.321.

porting that policy, many on the Right had aligned themselves with the Radicals in a "monstrous coalition" aimed at abandonment of the territory. Even Le Monde's administrative council had attempted to force him to take an anti-imperialist line. Refusing to do that, he announced his resignation as the paper's political director.45

The "abandonment" that Levé feared did not take place. In the Chamber's critical vote, three days after his fiery last editorial, credits for Tonkin were approved by a four-vote margin, and French troops were able to maintain their positions there.46 It is doubtful, however, that total withdrawal was the Catholic liberals' goal. They certainly favored substantial troop reductions, implying gradual evacuation from more advanced areas, but recall of all troops would not have won their approval. Their exact aims in Tonkin were not evident at the end of 1885, since they offered no alternative to governmental policy. They probably would have been content with the maintenance of a limited presence there, a holding action of indefinite duration. What they opposed, clearly and unremittingly, was any attempt to extend France's authority.47

Levé was not entirely accurate when he wrote of a "monstrous coalition" between part of the Right and the Radical Left. Catholic liberals, and others on the Right, did vote with the Radicals against expansionist ventures at critical times, but there was no apparent plan to co-ordinate the efforts of disparate factions. And it is clear that the thinking that underlay Catholic anti-imperialism was quite different from that of the Radicals. Like the Broglie coterie, Georges Clemenceau, Camille PeIletan, and their friends were wary of dispersing France's limited resources abroad, but that was not their paramount concern. Indeed, international affairs interested them far less than domestic matters. They opposed overseas conquest partly because it was a distraction, a diversion of attention from the agenda they wished to pursue at home. Their fundamental objections were philosophical—establishing domination over African or Asian peoples was against their democratic principles. Hence, their opposition was more definitive, more polemical, critical not just of the circumstances and timing of imperialistic initiatives, but of imperialism itself.48

"Le Monde, December 20, 1885.

46In a 274-270 vote, Freppel sided with the government; Mun abstained. Annales de la Chambre des Députés: Débats parlementaire, Chambre, December 24, 1885.

"LF, December 22-25, 1885;LDsr, December 4 and 23, 1885.

"Jacques Kayser, Les grandes batailles du radicalisme (Paris, 1962), pp. 123-130.

Among parliamentary leaders of both the Left and the Right, partisan considerations undoubtedly played a part in the opposition to expansion, as ultraconservatives charged. Yet the extent of that partisanship should not be exaggerated. While political concerns may have been primary for some leaders on the Right, that was not true for the principal Catholic liberals. The statements of Broglie and others that they would support an expansionist policy if their friends controlled the government should not be taken at face value. Their objections were more substantive than that, too deeply rooted in experience, personal temperament, and historical perspective.

Their experience as analysts and molders of public policy, particularly during the 1870's, was a critical factor in the anti-imperialism of liberal Catholic leaders. The traumas of that decade still dominated their thinking. Relentless German pressure, combined with an acute sense of national weakness, had restricted France then to a reactive role in international affairs. During the eighties, when their opponents exercised power, Catholic liberals continued to think no other role was possible. Indeed, Bismarck's success in maintaining the Republic's isolation on the Continent, and the growing estrangement from Britain after 1882, only reinforced that view. Deeply suspicious of the Iron Chancellor, they regarded his suggestions that France seek territorial compensation abroad as a trap, designed both to disperse what limited military strength she had and to alienate Britain even further.49

Close relations with London had to be the cornerstone of French foreign policy, the liberals believed, for there was no other way to avoid complete diplomatic isolation. If the threat from across the Rhine was axiomatic, the need for British friendship was its corollary. The acquisition of colonies should be avoided, they were convinced, largely because it might jeopardize relations with France's only potential ally. In the light of the steady deterioration of those relations, from the 1882 bombardment of Alexandria to the standoff at Fashoda in 1898, it is hard to fault the liberals' analysis or contest the essential correctness of their warnings.

Yet these Anglophiles carried their commitment to the British connection to inordinate lengths. Overly sensitive to British opinion, they became uneasy whenever the London press voiced displeasure over French actions. And when British and French interests came into conflict overseas, as they did in Egypt, Catholic liberals were disposed to

«ÍC, CXXXVII (October 25, 1884), 380.

make extraordinary concessions to retain British good will. Even as Ferry tried to protect French investments in negotiations following the British occupation, liberal journalists commended him for accepting "the sacrifices . . . forced on him in these circumstances." Whatever "ephemeral differences" there might be with Britain now, they reminded their leaders, "If ever equilibrium is to be restored [among the European powers], the day when this happy event is accomplished will find us hand-in-hand with our neighbors across the Channel."[50] Seeing France as inevitably dependent on Britain, they were hostile to any initiative that might offend her. This outlook, closely intertwined with their Germanophobia, sprang from both their experience and their reason.

The tendency to discount reason, and the failure to think through long-range consequences, were among the chief criticisms anti-imperialist Catholics leveled against their opponents. Inclined toward prudence and moderation themselves, they were profoundly troubled when others undertook distant ventures with no apparent limits in mind. Men of the juste milieu, they worried about the emotional appeal of empire, and were apprehensive that governmental excesses might result from an inflamed public opinion. Whether the fires were lit by anticlericals like Gambetta, or fellow Catholics like Freppel or Mun, made little difference.

These qualities of temperament and outlook also characterized their religious beliefs. Many Catholic liberals were personally devout, to be sure, and no one defended the faith against anticlerical attack more actively than a Chesnelong or a Keller. Yet theirs was not the vigorous and elemental faith of the readers oî L'Univers and La Croix. This difference in religious sensibility largely explains why liberals did not generally regard the advance of the flag overseas as necessary to the propagation of the faith.

France's "Catholic and civilizing mission" in the world was a doctrine most liberals were not inclined to credit, at least not as justification for a policy of expansion. In their judgment, those committed to such a mission failed to comprehend the tenacity of native cultures and beliefs, just as they underestimated the diplomatic and military complications of extending French power outside Europe. Drawing on the lessons of Algeria, liberals saw the establishment of political control over hostile populations elsewhere in Africa and in Asia as a daunting

KLQ CXXXV (June 25, 1884), U36;LF, June 18, 1884.

task. Conversion of conquered peoples to Western ways they expected would be even more vexing. Those who minimized the probable difficulties, they dismissed as "naifs."[51]

This is not to say that the liberals were indifferent to the worldwide efforts of Catholic missionaries, the great majority of whom were French." But they were far less exuberant about such activities than more conservative believers, and their publications gave only limited coverage to the missionary enterprise. Nor were liberals persuaded by the expansionists' argument that mission stations were vulnerable without a strong military presence to protect them. When native persecution of missionaries and their converts broke out in Annam, following French advances there, liberals contended that military action was the cause of anti-Catholic violence, not the solution for it.[53] And while the vicissitudes of French Jesuits expelled from Tananarive were sympathetically noted in the liberal media, the same publications consistently opposed a military advance to the Madagascan interior, which might have allowed the mission stations to reopen. In matters of foreign policy, Catholic liberals did not readily commingle religious considerations and other political concerns. Their understanding of national purpose and the nature of policy-making was too subtle for that.

Beyond experience, beyond temperament and religious sensibility, the anti-imperialism of liberal Catholics was rooted in their historical consciousness. Students of history, they brought to discussions of national policy a depth of perspective probably unmatched by other opinion-makers in their time. In this regard, the contrast with the pro-expansionists of an ultraconservative stripe is instructive and striking. Many of the latter favored an activist policy abroad for reasons they scarcely examined, reasons partly nostalgic. In their minds the acquisition of colonies was associated with the most glorious days of the ancien régime, when a vast empire had been one of the marks of French grandeur. To that earlier period and that earlier empire, ultras appealed continually as precedent and justification for conquest in the 1880s. Strongly wedded to tradition, and regretting the disappearance of much

"Louis de Chauvigny, "L'Armée coloniale," LC, CXXXIX (April 25, 1885), 464. EmUe Keller had arrived at this view even before the 1880's. See his Le Général de la Moricière (Paris, 1874), pp. 154-156.

,2James P Tudesco, "Missionaries and French Imperialism: The Role of Catholic Missionaries in French Colonial Expansion, 1880- 1905 "(unpublished dissertation, University of Connecticut, 1980), pp. 29-41.

,SLF, September 25, 1885; LDsr, December 24, 1885; Le Monde, October 20, 1885, and December 25-27, 1885.

that they treasured, ultras seized on overseas aggrandizement as a source of reassurance in an uncertain world.

Broglie and his associates, on the other hand, were not the sort to clutch at symbols, to be swayed by slogans or misled by dubious historical analogies. Their disposition was not to retreat into a lamented past, but to comprehend the present and come to terms with irresistible change. Their tendency to view events in historical context was fundamental to their thinking about France's future and her possibilities for empire. Unlike Catholic imperialists, they seem to have sensed that the 1870's marked a disjunction in French history. Haunted by the events of that decade, they were convinced that France in the eighties lacked the material and moral strength necessary for a vigorous policy abroad. Moreover, as their persistent pleas for caution suggest, some had begun to wonder if France's relative weakness were not to be the permanent state of things.

Across the Rhine, across the Channel, even across the Atlantic, rival nations were building bases of economic and demographic power France seemed unlikely to equal. Without comparable domestic strength, the most perceptive observers realized, France could play no more than a secondary role in international affairs. Entry into the race for colonies, they feared, would hasten, not reverse, that eventual outcome. The opposition of liberal Catholics to imperial expansion rested, finally, on shattered confidence. Beneath the explicit objections they put forward, lay doubts that would not go away and pessimism that could not be overcome.

THE SEVENTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Report of the Chairman of the Committee on Program

The Association met along with the American Historical Association at a cluster of downtown hotels in Atlanta between January 4 and 7, 1996. Catholic historians arriving from freezing northern cities marveled at the mildness of the air, the feeling of spring, and the ferment of Olympic fever that has seized the city. By the end of the conference they were intellectually uplifted but meteorologically downhearted. A night of heavy rain and a sudden freeze turned the city into a treacherous ice rink, closed the airport, and compelled members to spend a great deal longer waiting to get home than they would have chosen. But at least this enforced leisure gave them the chance to reflect on the papers they had heard in the foregoing days.

The first session, held on Friday morning, addressed "Vatican Diplomacy and the Dictators." Professor Stewart Stehlin of New York University presided. Professor William Roberts of Fairleigh Dickinson University spoke first, on "Ercole Cardinal Consalvi and Napoleonic France." Next, Professor Frank Coppa of St. John's University, New York, spoke on "Pietro Cardinal Garparri and Mussolini's Italy," and third Professor Joseph Beisinger of Eastern Kentucky University addressed "Eugenio Cardinal Pacelli and Hitler's Germany." Each of these papers considered the role of leading Vatican diplomats and showed that these three Vatican Secretaries of State were able to negotiate an advantageous position for their Church despite having to work under difficult and sometimes hostile conditions. Questions from the commentator, Dr. Richard Wolff, and from the audience centered on the relationship of trust between the Secretaries and their respective pontiffs, and on the moral dilemmas inherent in negotiating compromises with these dictatorial regimes.

At the same time, nearby, a second group went "In Search of Southern Catholic Parish History," under the chairmanship of Professor Michael Namorato of the University of Mississippi. The session featured three presentations on different approaches to studying parish history in the South. The first was an overview of existing Southern parish histories by Dr. Charles Nolan, the Archdiocesan Archivist of New Orleans, who also offered the example of St. Mary's Parish in Natchez, as a theological and historical model for study. Second, Professor Richard Tristano of St. Mary's College of Minnesota presented his study of

the Holy Family Parish in Natchez as a case study in microhistory, and third, Professor Virginia Meacham Gould of De Kalb College, Georgia, presented her study of Catholic families and communities of free creóles of color in antebellum Mobile, Alabama, and Pensacola, Florida. The commentary, from Professor James M. Woods of Georgia Southern University and from the audience, emphasized the papers' innovative, scholarly perspectives and the need for additional sound historical studies of Southern congregations in general.

That afternoon the ACHA and the American Society of Church History held a joint session on "The Varieties of American Catholic Politics," chaired by James T. Fisher, Danforth Professor of Religion at Saint Louis University, before a large and enthusiastic crowd. Presenting papers were Jeffrey Marlett of Saint Louis University, Professor Paula Kane of the University of Pittsburgh, and Professor Timothy Sarbaugh of Gonzaga University. In "Ascetical Romanticism: Revisioning Isaac Hecker's Political Theory," Mr. Marlett argued that Isaac Hecker, long after his conversion, remained deeply influenced by Methodist-inspired reform politics as well as by the romantic spirituality of Transcendentalism. Ms. Kane, in "Our Bodies Politic: American Catholic Women and Their Histories," provided a Lacanian reading of recent church documents concerning the role of women and argued for greater attentiveness to theoretical insights linking gender and religious studies. Mr. Sarbaugh's paper, "John F Kennedy and the Politics of Religion, 1946-1960," presented an interpretation of the "religious issue" as it was understood both by Kennedy himself and by non-Catholic pundits and political figures in the years leading up to his election to the Presidency in I960. The commentator, Professor Roy P. Domenico of Northeast Missouri State University, skillfully linked these papers together thematically, while providing fresh perspectives from the history of European Catholicism.

The members of the association gathered at 4:45 to discuss business and hear reports on its progress over the year. They then repaired to another room at 5:30 for a convivial social hour.

The next morning, Saturday, January 6, Professor Philip Gleason of the University of Notre Dame presided at a session on "Catholic Ideology at Home and Abroad in the 1940's: Catholic Higher Education and the Missionary Impulse." Unfortunately, Melissa Larriviere of Fordham University was unable to present her advertised paper on Iona College. In her absence, and lacking a paper on that subject, Professor Gleason spoke briefly on another topic dealing with higher education and American Catholic ideology in the 1940's, viz., the participation of Catholic college students in the formation of the National Student Association in 1946-47. The other scheduled paper was "With the Passionists in China: Creating and Sustaining an Image of Catholic Foreign Missions in The Sign Magazine, 1940-1950," which was presented by Robert Carbonneau, CR, of the Passionist Historical Archives. In detailing the coverage of missionary activities in China in The Sign during the crucial decade of the 1940's, Father Carbonneau urged the importance of such publications as a neglected historical source both for events in China and for American Catholic reactions to world

affairs. The commentator, John Witek, SJ., of Georgetown University, endorsed that point and elaborated on other matters touched upon by Father Carbonneau. The audience, though small (fifteen to twenty persons), responded with enthusiasm, offering comments and asking a number of questions.

At the same time, a panel presided over by Professor Evelyn Hu DeHart of the University of Colorado was discussing "Jesuit Higher Education and Rationalism." Paul Shore of Saint Louis University discussed "Ex-Jesuits in Bohemia During the Period of Suppression, 1773-1814." The continuing presence and influence of proscribed Jesuits in Bohemia in particular, but also in Austria in general, was quite remarkable. Dauril Alden, Professor of History at the University of Washington, presented his research on "The Expulsion of the Jesuits from the Portuguese Assistancy: the Role of the Prelates." The Portuguese background to the expulsion was complemented by a case study in Brazil. Professor Charles Fleener of Saint Louis University, as commentator, attempted to assess the influences of regalism and rationalism on the expulsions and suppression between 1759 and 1773. A lively discussion followed the formal presentations.

The presidential luncheon was held at 12:15, with William Callahan, Professor at the University of Toronto and President of the Association, presiding. Members were also privileged to have with them the Archbishop of Atlanta, The Most Reverend John F. Donoghue, who gave the benediction and welcomed the Association to his archdiocese. After the feasting Professor John Howe of Texas Tech University, Lubbock, presented the report of the John Gilmary Shea Prize Committee, and awarded the prize to Professor Marvin O'Connell of the University of Notre Dame. Father O'Connell thanked the committee and the members and said how gratified he felt at this recognition. Professor Paul Grendler of the University of Toronto then gave the report of the Committee on the Howard R. Marraro Prize, which was won this year by Paula Findlen of the University of California at Davis. Unfortunately, she was not present to accept the award but she wrote a gracious letter of acceptance and thanks, packed with puns, which Professor Grendler read with relish. The retiring President of the Association, Professor Jay P. Dolan of the University of Notre Dame, brought the meeting to a climax with his presidential address, "The Search for an American Catholicism," in which he summarized recent developments in Catholic historiography and pointed to ways in which recent changes in the Church have helped to change historians' ideas about its past.

Members moved to another conference room to hear amplifications of Professor Dolan's theme in "Speaking Personally: American Catholic Social Thought in the Mid-Twentieth Century," with Professor Una Cadegan of the University of Dayton presiding and an audience of about thirty-five. Dr. Chris Shannon spoke first, on "A New Individualism? Jacques Maritain's The Person and the Common Good' explaining the principles of Personalism which the French convert and philosopher introduced into the United States as a counterweight to American ideas of individualism. Professor Eugene McCarraher of Villanova University delivered "Setting the Earth on Fire: The Radical Journey of Paul Hartley Furfey," in

which he explained Furfey's idea of a "supernatural sociology" and urged its continuing relevance for Catholic scholars today. Professor David O'Brien of the College of the Holy Cross gave an urbane and insightful commentary and the audience at once directed a succession of searching questions at the speakers, which they answered with imagination and flair. In the remaining half-hour the audience and panel members digressed on the question, raised by Professor McCarraher, of the Catholic scholar's responsibilities to his Church and creed.

The following morning, Sunday, Bennett D. Hill, O.S.B., celebrated Mass for the living and deceased members of the Association. The two final sessions were held at 11:00, both in conjunction with the American Historical Association. The first was "Hispanics and the Catholic Church in the Modern Urban South: Tampa and Houston," with Professor John McGreevey of Harvard University presiding. Father Michael J. McNally of St. Charles Borromeo Seminary, Philadelphia, summarized his recent work on Cuban Catholics in Tampa's Ybor City neighborhood, emphasizing how an initially anticlerical Cuban culture became more tied to the Catholic Church over the course of the twentieth century. Professor Robert Trevino of the University of Colorado at Colorado Springs scrutinized perceptions of Mexican-American Catholics in Houston, tracing how the language used to describe "poor" Mexicans shifted over time. Professor McGreevey offered a brief comment on the increasing recognition by Catholic historians of the Hispanic presence in the American Church, prior to a spirited question and answer session.

At the same time the joint panel on "Women and Ecclesiastical Authority" offered new research insights into the varied roles of women in the medieval and early modern Latin Church. The session was chaired by Professor Maureen Miller of Hamilton College, who also offered thoughtful comments on the three papers. In "Millennial Women: Lay Leaders of the French Church, 900-1500," Professor Mary Skinner, now teaching at Elmira College, illustrated from charters the mediation between family and church undertaken by both rich and poor women. In an increasingly bellicose eleventh century she found many women acting alone or with their children to found, endow, and transfer privately held ecclesiastical properties to new monastic foundations. Professor Sandra McEntire of the Rhodes College English Department, in her paper "Julian of Norwich, Margery Kempe, and the Resisting Body," showed how these fourteenth-century mystics integrated, reinterpreted, and resisted traditional theological attitudes toward women. Julian developed a theology of physicality and of likeness between God and humanity that allowed her to perceive a feminine aspect of the Trinity in the motherhood of Jesus. Timothy Cross, who is finishing his doctorate and teaching at Columbia University, in "Du Debvoir des Filles: Lay Women and Catholic Reform in Early Modern Liège," explored the roles of lay women in sixteenth-century Liège, where the very dominance of Catholicism denied women opportunities to be martyrs in resisting Protestantism. Nevertheless, in institutes like that of the Blessed Virgin, founded by Mary Ward, in the still vital Béguines, and in mixed confraternities and tertiary orders, women without taking solemn vows found opportunities for communal reli-

gious life and an active apostolate in education, nursing, and work with prisoners and the poor.

The committee, whose members were Professor Robert C. Figueira of Lander University, Professor Kenneth Gouwens of the University of South Carolina, and the undersigned, was effectively assisted by Monsignor Robert Trisco and Maryann Urbanski in the Executive Office. Association members were genial and enthusiastic—about thirty gathered informally for dinner on the last evening of the conference. As the howling wind rose outside, several of them remarked that the Program Committee Chair was lucky to live barely two miles from the conference site and would be home and snug after just ten minutes' careful driving. He found himself incapable of denying it.

Patrick Alutt, Chairman
Emory University

Report of the Committee on Nominations

In this election 345 ballots were cast. The results are as follows:

For First Vice-President (and President in the following year):

Uta-Renate Blumenthal, The Catholic University of America	178
Bernard J. McGinn, University of Chicago Divinity School	162

For Second Vice-President:

Donald E Crosby, S.J., Concord, California	148
Francis J. Weber, Archival Center of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles	173

For the Executive Council (three-year term, 1996, 1997, 1998):

Section G.

Paul Misner, Marquette University	206
John P Rossi, La Salle University	118

Section II:

Sandra Yocum Mize, University of Dayton	161
Margaret Susan Thompson, Syracuse University	154

For the Committee on Nominations (three-year term, 1996, 1997, 1998):

Patricia Byrne, S.SJ., Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut	158
Maureen C. Miller, Hamilton College	169

COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS
Jodi Biunkoff, Chairman
University of North Carolina, Greensboro

Thomas R. Greene
Villanova University

J. Dean O'Donnell
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg

Report of the Committee on the John Gilmary Shea Prize

The John Gilmary Shea Prize for 1995 is awarded to Reverend Professor Marvin R. O'Connell of the University of Notre Dame for his book Critics on Trial: An Introduction to the Catholic Modernist Crisis, which was published by the Catholic University of America Press in Washington, D.C., late in 1994. This work has been judged to be the best of the twenty-six books on the history of the Catholic Church broadly considered which were entered in the competition this year.

Father O'Connell has examined the events and persons associated with the Catholic Modernist crisis. The story in its intricacy winds through late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century secular and ecclesial culture and is complex. The author successfully offers a cohesive narrative despite the fact that the Modernist Movement was never as neatly circumscribed as past church crises. The Modernists themselves who emerged in France, Italy, and England dealt with abstruse issues that had as their only referent point a response to such cultural phenomena as "process," historicism, and the modern fascination with subjectivity. Father O'Connell has told the story of the Modernists rather than simply analyzing the phenomenon called Catholic Modernism. He has offered a chronological narrative that helps us to understand the theological analyses that have been offered by such scholars as Alec Vidier. Using varied document collections, Father O'Connell has described the process of this human drama that will continue to be debated.

Donald J. Dietrich, Chairman
Boston College

John Howe
Texas Tech University, Lubbock

James M. O'Toole
University of Massachusetts at Boston

Report of the Committee on the Howard R. Marraro Prize

Scholars, princes, and others in seventeenth-century Italy became fascinated with the natural world. Ulisse Aldrovandi at Bologna, Father Athanasius Kircher, SJ., in Rome, and many others searched out unusual plants, animals, rocks, and curiosities of nature. They put their treasures on display in that new gathering place of savants, the museum of natural history. Paula Findlen's Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1994), describes this effort with great authority and verve. She documents an emerging scientific methodology with a wealth of erudition and detail. The American Catholic Historical Association is pleased to award its 1995 Howard R. Marraro Prize to Professor Paula Findlen of the University of California at Davis.

Alexander J. DeGrand
North Carolina State University
Donna Gabaccia
University of North Carolina, Charlotte
Paul F. Grendler, Chairman
University of Toronto

Report of the Delegate to the Joint Committee of Catholic Learned Societies and Scholars

The Joint Committee of Catholic Learned Societies and Scholars, of which the American Catholic Historical Association is a constituent member, is charged with facilitating dialogue and exchange between the Catholic scholarly community and the American Hierarchy.

This exchange is accomplished principally through the agency of the Commission of Bishops and Scholars, a group jointly sponsored by the Committee on Doctrine of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops and the Joint Committee. The Commission is composed of bishops appointed by the Committee on Doctrine and representatives of the Joint Committee. The purpose of the Commission is to serve as a standing cooperative structure to assure continued interaction and collaboration between bishops and scholars.

Since its inception in August, 1987, the Commission has met annually, usually in conjunction with the November meeting of the N.C.C.B. in Washington, D.C.most recently on November 16, 1995.

The greater part of the work of the Commission has been dedicated to the planning and evaluation of regional colloquies sponsored by the Commission. The purpose of these colloquies is to address topics of concern and interest to

the bishops of a particular region with the resources and perspectives of the Catholic scholarly community.

In the coming year, the Commission will sponsor a colloquy in October, 1996, in the San Francisco Bay area for the bishops of California, the Pacific Northwest, and the Mountain States. The input of the bishops of these regions is being solicited as to topics they would like the colloquium to address.

Jeffrey von Arx, SJ., Delegate
Georgetown University

Report of the Secretary and Treasurer

Our only previous meeting in Atlanta was held twenty years and one week ago. It is easy to remember these dates, for the fifty-sixth annual meeting came at the end of the Holy Year of 1975 and the seventy-sixth occurs at the beginning of the centenary of the modern Olympiads. In spite of the relative paucity of members of the Association in the Southeast, we have again followed our general practice of choosing the Committee on Program from the city or region in which the meeting is to be held; I am grateful to Dr. Patrick Allitt for consenting to be chairman and to the two South Carolinians who have served with him to present us with an appealing variety of topics and participants.

Since we met in Chicago a year ago, the Association has embarked on a new venture that was originated by the Executive Council last January, namely, the John Tracy Ellis Memorial Fund, intended to aid doctoral students engaged in research for dissertations in the field of ecclesiastical history. Our president, Professor Dolan, appointed his colleague and a past president of the Association, Professor Philip Gleason, chairman of the committee authorized by the Executive Council, and then appointed ten other members to the committee. Professor Gleason composed a letter describing the fund and soliciting contributions and had it printed along with a reply card. These materials were then shipped to the Executive Office, where the bulk mailing was prepared. Envelopes were addressed with adhesive labels not only to the members of the Association but also to other persons whose names were on mailing lists purchased from the National Catholic Educational Association, the Council of Societies for the Study of Religion, and the Catholic Theological Society of America and given by the Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism. The filled envelopes were sorted and bundled according to postal regulations by a graduate student of church history in the Catholic University of America, Ms. Susan Korlan, and were taken in numerous and heavy bags by me to the main post office in Washington. In this way 3,634 pieces were sent out by third-class mail on June 8, but so far only 203 responses have been received. The amounts contributed ranged from one thousand dollars down to ten, and the average was $106. Each contribution has been gratefully acknowledged with a printed note composed by

Professor Gleason and mailed from the Executive Office. Temporarily the receipts are deposited in a separate money market checking account at the Signet Bank, where they are earning interest. Unfortunately, the net total remaining after the expenses were deducted has not yet reached $20,000. The Executive Council is now deliberating on possible ways of proceeding in order that the capital fund may be augmented and the availability of the first grant may be announced as soon as possible.

As we have done almost every year in the past, we have also undertaken a membership campaign. Our president composed a letter in which he asked each member to nominate others for membership. This letter was then printed in Washington and sent out in a separate mailing; a reply card and envelope were enclosed. So far 137 usable nominations (after those of persons who were already members were eliminated) have been received. Professor Dolan composed a second letter in which he invited each one nominated to become a member of the Association; a copy of the printed program of this meeting was enclosed as an illustration of the Association's activities. Since this operation was carried out in the late autumn, only a few applications have been returned so far, but more can be expected in the near future. We urge those who have not yet recommended any of their colleagues, friends, or students to collaborate in this enterprise. Those who are proposed from now on will be invited by the new president of the Association, Professor Callahan.

These two undertakings have notably increased the work of our capable and resourceful office secretary, Miss Maryann Urbanski. She has again been assisted during this fall semester by a work-study undergraduate, Miss Christina Mary Sinck, to whom also we owe sincere thanks.

The other, proven ways of gaining new members that have been regularly pursued in the past have again been effective this year, especially the custom of inviting each reviewer of a book in the Catholic Historical Review who is not a member of the Association to become one when we send him or her tear sheets of the published review. All spontaneous inquiries, of course, are answered promptly and personally.

In consequence of these labors, we have enrolled seventy-two new members, of whom one is a life member, namely, Professor Paul Rich of the Universidad de las Americas in Cholula, Puebla, Mexico. Nineteen of them are students. The number of new members, however, is considerably lower than that reported last year (105), of whom twenty-three were students. Six other persons who had been members but had discontinued their membership for a year or more have renewed it. Last year there were exactly twice as many renewals. At least four of these six acted in response to the letter sent them by our membership director, Professor Erving E. Beauregard.

Against the gain of seventy-eight we must count heavy losses. This year fourteen members resigned; last year only eight. Sixty-five have failed to pay the an-

nual dues without giving any explanation; the number of lapsed members was the same last year. On the other hand, in contrast to the large number of deceased members named in our last report (sixteen), we are aware of only seven deaths this year.

We mourn the following:

The Reverend Newman Charles Eberhardt, CM., of Saint John's Seminary, Camarillo, California, a member since 1953 and second vice-president in 1982

The Reverend Peter Fleming, SJ., formerly of Sogang University, Seoul, Korea, and recently of Creighton University, a member since 1987

Professor Emeritus Edward T. Gargan of the University of Wisconsin—Madison, a member since 1950, first vice-president in 1969, and president in 1970

Dr. George J. Gill of Fordham University, a member since 1962 and chairman of the Committee on Program in 1990

Professor Joyce Rogers of the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, a member since 1994

Professor Kenneth Meyer Setton of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey, a life member since 1980 and winner of the John Gilmary Shea Prize in 1979

Sister M. Philip Trauth, S.N.D., of Saint Thomas More College, Crestview Hills, Kentucky, a member since 1955

May their souls and the souls of all the departed members of the American Catholic Historical Association through the mercy of God rest in peace. Let us also pray for the repose of the soul of Reverend Monsignor Hugh Joseph Nolan of Philadelphia, who had been a member of the Association from 1942 to 1990.

Our total losses, eighty-six, exceed the gains by eight. Hence, we are left with 1,146 members. Of these, the number of life members remains seventy-four (sixty individuals and fourteen imperishable institutions). There are now seventy-six student members, seven fewer than last year, and thirty-two retired members, thirteen more than last year.

The reason for the repeated frequency of lapses is not clear. The increase of the dues by five dollars, which applied only to those who should have paid before the April, July, and October issues of the journal appeared (while the majority are billed after they receive the October issue and the outcome of the billing of those who were sent statements last month will be reported next year), does not seem to have been an important factor. When Professor Beauregard sent his questionnaire to eighty-four members who had fallen away during the preceding year, twenty-one replied but only two of the seventeen who still declined to renew their membership pleaded their inability to pay the annual dues in excuse. The other reasons given were so varied that they did not suggest any obvious remedial action that might be taken.

In 1995 the Association was officially represented at one academic function. Dr. Charles E. Nolan, archivist of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, was its dele-

gate at the installation of the Reverend Bernard Patrick Knoth, SJ., as the fifteenth president of Loyola University in that city.

The spring meeting, very efficiently and agreeably organized by the Reverend Steven Avella and his committee and held at Marquette University on April 7 and 8, was well attended by 154 registered persons and was highly praised in spite of much rain and even a little snow. There will be no danger of cold weather at our next spring meeting, which will take place in Houston at the University of St. Thomas on March 22 and 23. The Reverend Richard J. Schiefen, C.S.B., and his committee are striving to arrange a most attractive program. Certainly our one previous experience of spring in the South—at the University of Mississippi in 1991—was so memorably enjoyable that it should draw at least an equal number to Texas this year. Institutions in other parts of the country are encouraged to offer their hospitality for future years.

Turning now to our finances, I am obliged to note that although the increase in the fees for all three categories of annual membership (ordinary, student, and retired), which became effective with those who were billed after the January issue was distributed, has eased our plight for this year, we still had to supplement our income from that principal source with more than two-thirds of the dividends paid on the stocks that our brokerage firm, Alex. Brown & Sons, holds for us in street name. In 1995, moreover, we were still buying the subscriptions to the Catholic Historical Review from the Catholic University of America Press at the old rate of twenty-four dollars per member (thirty dollars less the discount of twenty per cent). Beginning with the forthcoming January issue, however, we will be charged twenty-eight dollars per member (thirty-five dollars less the same discount). If we recall that we receive only twenty-five dollars a year from the more than one hundred student and retired members and must depend on the income from investments to make up the difference of three dollars for each one and to pay for the seventy-four life members (a total of nearly $2,400), while only approximately 950 members pay the full thirty-five dollars—leaving merely seven dollars over the subscription fee—we see that we will have only about $6,650 (plus perhaps one thousand more from other sources) with which to defray all the other expenses, which are more or less constant (regardless of membership) and which in the year just ended amounted to more than $18,500; nearly $12,000 of that sum is needed to pay one-half of the office secretary's salary and benefits (the other half being furnished by the Review). It is evident that another increase in membership fees cannot long be postponed, but it appeared to the Executive Council last year to be risky to raise the dues by ten dollars (thirty-three and one-third per cent) at one blow, as the American Society of Church History did.

The net value of our portfolio held in street name by Alex. Brown & Sons as of November 30, 1995, was $312,716.11, including $4,965.11 in the Cash Reserve Fund, $304,61300 in stocks, $2,966.10 in mutual funds, and $172.00 in cash. This constitutes an increase over the net value of our portfolio posted at

the end of November, 1994, when it was $224,761 .40. In addition, we have several holdings apart from our portfolio with Alex. Brown & Sons, the current value of which is as follows:

Columbia First Bank: certificates of deposit	
(December 7, 1995)	4,735.20
(December 7, 1995)	2,307.02
T. Rowe Price GNMA Fund: 3,086.895 shares at	
$9.65 per share (November 30)	29,788.54
Vanguard GNMA Portfolio: 3,107.015 shares at	
$10.35 per share (September 30)	32,157.60
Vanguard GNMA Portfolio: 466.51 l shares at	
$10.24 per share (November 30)	4,777.07
Vanguard High Yield Bond Portfolio: 847.767 shares at	
$7.78 per share (November 30)	6,595.63
Vanguard Preferred Stock Fund: 1,079.596 shares at	
$9.41 per share (September 26)	10,158.99
Washington Mutual Investors Fund:	
5,275.893 shares (less 132 shares held by Alex.	
Brown) at $21.25 per share (September 25)	109,307.22
To these should be added the portfolio held by Alex.	
Brown & Sons	312.716.ll
Hence, the Association's total invested assets were	
valued at	507,543.88

This figure represents an increase of $120,050.26 over 1994. This gain, of course, reflects mainly the appreciation of some of our stocks and shares in the mutual funds, which is due to the market's fluctuations. It should be noted that not all corporations whose stock has increased in value have increased their dividends; in fact, five of the dividend payments listed in the financial statement for 1995 are the same as those listed in the statement for 1994, and two are lower.

As editor of the Catholic Historical Review I need not draw your attention to the thinness of the volume for 1995 (LXXXI), the thinnest published since 1983. It is 174 pages shorter than the preceding volume and marks a sharp decline from the 934 pages published in 1990. Only sixty-four pages could be added to the 608 (plus preliminary matter and a twenty-four-page index) allowed by our budget. Consequently, approximately eighty-five pages of book reviews already set in type could not be included in this volume and had to held over to the forthcoming January issue, while many recently submitted reviews have not yet been forwarded to the composition company. For these deplorable delays I implore the patience of the reviewers. In 1994, however, we overspent the account for the expansion of the journal and therefore had to repay the loan from the general treasury before we could begin to use the new contributions for Volume LXXXI. This year we received $6,514.95 in such contributions, which may be compared with the $3,027.90 received in 1994. We now have less than seven hundred dollars left to be applied to the next volume. Once

again I thank all the contributors* and offer them my regrets that because of the grave shortage of staff in the office we have not been able to send an acknowledgment to each one who donated twenty-five dollars or more, although we are ready, of course, to furnish such a receipt if anyone needs it to justify a deduction claimed on an income tax return.

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In this volume we have published twelve articles, one of which is Professor Elisabeth Gleason's presidential address of last year, one piece of miscellany, the annual reports of the officers and committees of the Association, one review article on three books, 144 book reviews, and nineteen brief notices. Thus we have reviewed at least briefly a total of 166 books, not to mention the many others listed, sometimes with their tables of contents or descriptive notes, in the section entitled "Other Books Received." Still we aim at a minimum of 200 properly called reviews in each volume.

The number of manuscripts submitted, which, of course, fluctuates from year to year, was lower this time (forty-one) than in 1994 (fifty-seven). The distribution by fields and the tentative or final disposition of these articles are shown in the following table:

	Accepted	Conditionally accepted	Rejected	Withdrawn	Pending	Total
Ancient			3			3
Medieval	2	5	4			11
Early modern European	1	1	3			16
Late modern European		2	2			4
American, Canadian	2	4	6	1	2	15
Latin American			1			1
African	1					1
Total	6	12	19	1	3	41

Again we lament a relative dearth of articles in modern European, especially late modern, history, and we exhort specialists in that field to come to our aid.

fessor James M. Powell, Professor George J. Prpic, Mr. Paul F. Raftery, Reverend Francis Reed, Mr. Charles J. Reid, Jr., Professor Virginia Reinburg, Dr. Alan J. Reinerman, Reverend James W. Reites, S.J., Mrs. Margherita Repetto-Alaia, Reverend Vincent D. Ring, Professor John F. Roche, Reverend Charles E. Ronan, S.J., Professor John D. Root, Reverend Joseph S. Rossi, S.J., Professor Francis J. Ryan, Dr. James D. Ryan, Dr. David L. Salvaterra, Reverend Monsignor Robert J. Samo, Reverend Richard J. Schiefen, C.S.B., Dr. Daniel L. Schlafly, Professor John A. Schutz, Dr. John F. Schwaller, Reverend John C. Scott, O.S.B., Reverend Monsignor Francis R. Seymour, Dr. William D. Sharpe, Dr. Albert Shumate, Reverend Joachim Smet, O.Carm., Mr. George T Spera, Right Reverend Matthew Stark, O.S.B., Mr. George C. Stewartjr., Reverend Monsignor Edward A. Synan, Reverend Charles J. T Talar, Mr. Daniel E Tanzone, Professor Leslie Woodcock Tender, Professor Samuel J. Thomas, Reverend Dr. Thomas W. Tifft, Dr. John B. Tomaro, Mr. Thomas P. Turley, Reverend Edward R. Udovic, CM., Professor Nicholas Varga, Professor Franklin A. Walker, Capt. Andrew J. Walsh, Sister Mary Zita Wenker, Reverend Monsignor Edward V Wetterer, Reverend Arthur Wheeler, CSC, Dr. Joseph M. White, Professor Joseph L. Wieczynski, Mrs. Leah R. Wolf, Dr. Ann Marie York, Reverend Martin A. Zielinski

So far we have rejected more articles than we have accepted either finally or conditionally. I gladly use this opportunity to thank both the advisory editors for judiciously evaluating articles submitted for publication as well as for recommending experts as reviewers of certain books and supplying material for "Notes and Comments" and the external referees, most of whom prefer to remain anonymous but who deserve grateful recognition for generously helping us to maintain a high level of scholarship in the journal. I also express special gratitude to all those who have provided us with articles and book reviews and to Mr. Lawrence H. Feldman, who has again compiled the long, detailed index to the volume.

According to the official statement of ownership prepared by the business manager, Gordon A. Conner, which will be published in the January issue, the paid circulation of the Review as of September 26, 1995, stood at 1,968, which was forty-two more than in the previous year in spite of the decline in the Association's membership. In addition, 170 copies were sent out free of charge, mostly in exchange for other journals. The total distribution was 2,138 copies for each issue during the preceding twelve months on the average.

For our next annual meeting we will go back to New York, where Professor Jo Ann McNamara and her committee are designing the program. In the meantime let us seek out opportunities and seize those that may present themselves to advance the study of the history of Christianity such as the celebration of the millennium of the Archabbey of Pannonhalma in Hungary, the quincentenary of the baptism of the first native converts to Christianity in the New World (about which we shall publish an article in October), the sesquicentennial of the erection of the first metropolitan see and the creation of the first ecclesiastical province in the West, Oregon City, and of the elevation of Francis Norbert Blanchet to be the first archbishop, and other anniversaries of local interest. Collectively and individually may we make our discipline ever more respected in 1996.

Robert Trisco
Secretary and Treasurer

Financial Statement

Fund Statement (as of December 15,1 995)		
Cash:		
Balance as of December 15, 1994	733.90	
Increase (Decrease): see Exhibit A	(7,212.71)	
Transfer from investment income	12.500.00	
Balance as of December 15, 1995		6,021.19
Investments: see Exhibit B	.....	263.506.71
Total Fund Resources	.....	269,527.90

Statement of Revenue and Expenses (Exhibit ?)
(for the period December 15, 1994, through December 15, 1995)

Revenue:			
Membership fees (annual)		36,230.00	
Membership fees (life)		500.00	
Annual meeting, 1994/95		2,889-00	
Rental of mailing list		200.00	
Endowment Fund		345.98	
Dividends (cash)		575.40	40,740.38
Expenses:			
Office Expenses:			
Secretary	11,808.20		
Telephone	55.59		
Supplies, printing	1,774.57		
Postage	2.242.43	15,880.79	
Catholic Historical Review			
Subscriptions		27,036.00	
Annual meeting, 1994/95		3,785. 77	
Annual meeting, 1995/96		353. 10	
John Gilmary Shea Prize		500.00	
Bank charges		167.23	
Advertisement in Perspectives		385. 00	
Miscellaneous		345.20	47.953.09
Operational surplus—Net gain (loss)			(7,212.71)
Investments (Exhibit B)			
General Fund			
Balance as of December 15,1994			210,488.23
Income from investments (dividends and interest):			
Abbott Laboratories		656.00	
Alex. Brown Cash Reserve Fund		(47.22)	(paid SF I)
American Capital Bond Fund, Inc		1,540.00	
American Electric Power Company		480.00	
Detroit Edison Co		201.88	
First American Financial Corp		48.60	
General Electric Company		2,624.00	
ITT Corporation		297.00	
Johnson &Johnson		1,024.00	
Montana Power Company		480.00	
Rayonier.Inc		46.50	
SCE Corporation		1,200.00	
T. Rowe Price GNMA Fund, Inc		2,01339	
Vanguard GNMA Portfolio		2,195.54	
Vanguard High Yield Bond Portfolio		57540	
Vanguard Preferred Stock Fund		671.40	
Washington Mutual Investors Fund		3.258.44	17,264.93
Capital gains:			
Vanguard GNMA Portfolio		20.21	
Washington Mutual Investors Fund		2.042.08	2.062.29
Total			19,327.22

Less dividends received as revenue (Exhibit A)		(575.40)
Total income from investments		18,751.82
Less transfer to cash		(12,500.00)
Balance as of December 15,1995		216,740.05
Special Fund I—Howard R. Marraro Prize		
Balance as of December 15,1994:		
Alex. Brown Cash Reserve Fund	5,88372	
Central & Southwest	7.966.47	13,850.19
Investment income:		
Alex. Brown Cash Reserve Fund	315.95	
Central & Southwest	688.00	1,003.95
Prize and luncheon		(524.50)
Balance as of December 15, 1995		14,329.64
Special Fund II—Anne M. WolfFund		
Balance as of December 15, 1994:		
Columbia First Bank CDs		7,160.11
Investment income		342.22
Balance as of December 15, 1995		7,502.33
Special Fund III—Expansion of the CHR		
Balance as of December 15, 1994	(2,307.16)	
Contributions	6, 514.95	
Expense	(3.528.00)	
Balance as of December 15, 1995		67979
Special Fund IV—Endowment		
Balance as of December 15, 1994		
Vanguard GNMA Portfolio		4,542.50
Investment income		345.98
Transferred to Exhibit A		(345.98)
Balance as of December 15, 1995		4,542.50
Special Fund V-J. T.Ellis Memorial Fund		
Contributions		21,490.00
Investment income		1 16.62
Expenses		(1,866.43)
Bank's external service charges		(27.79)
Balance as of December 15, 1995		19.712.40
Total investments		263,506.71

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BOOK REVIEWS

Early Modern European

Caravaggio and His Two Cardinals. By Creighton E. Gilbert. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 322.)

Many of the thirteen chapters of this book might well have been published as separate articles. However, as Professor Gilbert states in his preface, running throughout them is the common thread of "the three paintings done by Caravaggio for the two Mattei brothers. . . ." The brothers were the Márchese Ciríaco (1545-1614) and Cardinal Girolamo Mattei (1546-1603); the paintings are the Supper at Emmaus (in the National Gallery, London), the Taking of Christ (recently rediscovered in a Jesuit establishment in Dublin and now in the National Gallery of Ireland), and the picture formerly identified as Saint John the Baptist or Youth with a Ram (in the Capitoline Museum in Rome), which now has been established as representing the Pastor Friso or Paris the Phrygian Shepherd.

The second cardinal of the title (although the first of Caravaggio's princely patrons) was Francesco Maria Del Monte (1549-1626).

If Professor Gilbert has achieved nothing else in this book, he seems to have settled once and for all the question of the subject of the Capitoline painting: it is Paris, but not in his customary role as judge. Instead of appearing about to give the golden apple to Venus in preference to her two rivals, he is presented alone as the shepherd anticipating the reward for his choice—Helen. Thus the presence of the ram (rather than the innocent lamb which would be appropriate to Saint John) is justified: it is symbolic of the lust which will be satisfied by his choice.

Among Gilbert's other achievements is the effective rehabilitation of Gaspare Celio as a valid source of information about Caravaggio and his era. Gilbert has also reconstructed the biographies of Ranieri Del Monte and his sons, the scientist Guidobaldo and the cardinal. Unfortunately, the book was presumably already in the process of publication when Zygmunt Wazbinski's full and very well documented two-volume biography of the cardinal appeared, under the auspices of the Accademia Toscana di Scienza e Lettere "La Colombaria" (Florence: Olschki, 1994).

Most importantly Gilbert has put together Cardinal Mattel's biography. He presents him as a major force in Caravaggio's career, supposing him to have been instrumental in inspiring both Mattei family patronage and the content of the painter's works.

Caravaggio was first described in residence in the Mattei household in 1601, and the cardinal died in I603. So their relation must not have been very prolonged. It may have been very profound, and at a crucial phase of the artist's career, when he was establishing himself as a leading painter in Rome. Caravaggio was neither stupid nor ignorant; nor was he learned. So certainly he must have had erudite advisors throughout his maturity. Presumably, Cardinal Mattei performed this service for him during their documented contact.

In Caravaggio's religious paintings and the few secular subjects antedating his flight from Rome in I6O6, Gilbert discovers much more meaning than meets the eye, presumably owing at least partially to these advisors. He emphasizes the artist's effort to synthesize doctrinal and symbolic meaning with natural appearances and "how experienced facts interact with allegorical meaning" (p. 240). But considering the near-total lack of any contemporary exegesis of hidden meaning in specific reference to Caravaggio's paintings (other than the clue provided by Celio with the title Pastor Friso), we may be hesitant to accept some of these discoveries, however richly elaborated with literary reference, as too speculative and hypothetical. For example, it may be appealing to recognize King Hirticus in the Martyrdom of Saint Matthew, but the main basis for the identification is Gilbert's ingenuity. Equally appealing but even more speculative is his corollary: that the king is contrite, the first in a whole series of "killers of saints" in Caravaggio's oeuvre who are having "second thoughts" (pp. 168-169).

Finally, still another thread running throughout the text is a consideration of Caravaggio's sexuality. On the basis of sources ranging from Ovid and Martial to the Fort Worth Star-Telegram and from observations made from sixteenth-century swimmers in the Arno to NFL locker rooms, and with what Gilbert acknowledges is at least one "very long digression" (about Cellini, p. 233), he concludes that Caravaggio might have been misogynistic (p. 222), which certainly is not evident in his imagery, but that neither he nor even such of his paintings as the Pastor Friso and the Uffizi Bacchus were homosexual.

Alfred Moir

University of California, Santa Barbara (Emeritus)

Das Papsttum, die Christenheit und die Staaten Europas 1592-1605: Forschungen zu den Hauptinstruktionen Clemens' VIII. Edited by Georg Lutz. [Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom, Band 66.] (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag. 1994. Pp. xxviii, 248.)

A review of this volume serves also to acquaint American early modernists with a significant development in the publication of the nunciature reports or correspondence between the papacy and its nuncios or representatives at the various European courts. They are a major source for early modern Europe.

After the opening of the Vatican Archives by Leo XIII in 1883, various European historical institutes in Rome, such as the German Historical Institute (originally the Royal Prussian Historical Institute), undertook to edit and publish the correspondence regarding their own states. Usually this was done primarily with a view to the history of the particular state or court to which the nuncio was posted rather than to the history of the papacy. Rivalries between historical institutes sometimes intervened, and for a long time there was limited coordination of efforts. Some chronological periods were emphasized to the neglect of others. Altogether, by my count, sixty-one volumes of nunciature reports have been published since 1892 for German-speaking lands covering the years from 1533 to 1646, with heavy emphasis on the sixteenth century and the years 1533 to 1572 complete.

Then, at the initial suggestion in 1971 of Pierre Blet, professor of church history at the Gregorian University and himself the editor of several volumes of French nunciature reports, a new approach was undertaken. Blet recommended that instead of continuing to attempt to edit and publish the complete nunciature correspondence, a task requiring vast human and financial resources, the institutes co-operate to publish only the principal instructions given papal nuncios, legates, and other officials at the start of their missions. These would reveal clearly at least the main outlines of papal policy. At the further suggestion then of Klaus Jaitner of the German Historical Institute, the decision was reached to publish all the instructions for a pontificate rather than the instructions for the nuncios to a particular state over a long period of time. This happily sets the focus clearly on overall papal policy. Jaitner then edited for the German Historical Institute in Rome the first volumes in the projected series entitled "Instructiones Pontificum Romanorum," the magisterial Die Hauptinstruktionen Clemens' VIII. für die Nuntien und Legaten an den europäischen Fürstenhöfen 1592-1605 (2 vols., Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1984). Jaitner identified ninety-nine diplomatic missions for the papacy of Clement VIII, of which he was able to locate and publish the instructions for seventy-eight. These he annotated richly and provided with an introduction of 273 pages, so that the volumes constitute a mine of leads to further sources. Similar volumes for the pontificates of Paul V (1605-1621) and Gregory XV (1621-1623) are now well advanced toward publication.

Now to the volume under review. It contains eight papers, some substantially elaborated, which were initially presented at a colloquium sponsored by the

German Historical Institute in Rome on March 18-19, 1985, to evaluate and exploit Jaitner's volumes. The papers are all of a high quality, as one would expect from the distinguished scholars involved, and despite the long interlude until publication, they have by no means lost their relevance. Nor do the authors always fully agree.

One point made by several contributors is that to obtain a full picture of Clement's activity it is still necessary to consult, besides these instructions, statements of general policy as they are, Rome's regular correspondence with the nuncios, where one finds the necessary practical compromises and adaptations. Josef Metzler, for example, affirms that the instructions alone do not adequately inform us about the pope's efforts for church reform, restoration of Christian unity, and evangelization across the seas and must be complemented by other sources. For Wolfgang Reinhard the instructions show greater concern for jurisdictional and political issues and so confirm Jedin's conclusion that under Clement papal efforts at church reform were running out of energy. Klaus Ganzer characterizes Clement VIU's part as minimal in the long and complex process of the reception and implementation of the decrees of Trent.

For Eckehart Stöve, Clement VIII, despite his conception of heretics as the enemy, was ready to accept concessions to them "pro quiete publica," as can be seen particularly in his toleration of the Edict of Nantes. This was not true for the Turks, Stöve notes, and Peter Bartl points up the centrality of the Turkish threat for Clement, with which twenty-five instructions were nearly exclusively concerned. Stefan Andretta writes that up until now study of the relationship between the papacy and Venice during this period has been based largely on Venetian sources; publication of the instructions helps redress the imbalance. They also show, he continues, that the two states had different conceptions of what constituted neutrality vis-à-vis France and Spain. Bernard Barbiche analyzes four instructions for nuncios in Paris after the reconciliation of Henry IV, contrasts them with the published nunciature reports for 1601-1604, and concludes to the conciliatory policy of Clement.

In by far the longest contribution, which comprises just under half the book and includes five documentary appendices, Agostino Borromeo investigates in masterful fashion the Spanish policy of Clement VIII, drawing upon both the instructions and the regular correspondence with the nuncios as well as other sources. From the start of his pontificate, according to Borromeo, Clement realized the difficulties of this relationship, where there was usually agreement on goals but hardly on means. The pope failed to secure the support that he desired for war against the Turks and to resolve satisfactorily jurisdictional dispute with the Spanish crown, but he succeeded in pushing forward the implementation of the Tridentine decrees and especially in following a conciliatory policy with Henry TV and France without damaging his relationship with Spain, indeed a notable achievement. Borromeo remarks that one finds little, in either the instructions or the regular correspondence, about the Peace of Vervins between

France and Spain (1598), in which the papacy played a significant role. These negotiations were carried on through other channels, especially the general of the Franciscans, who served as a mediator between the two parties. So the need for a wide consultation of sources is obvious, a fact, however, which does not at all diminish the importance of the publication of the Hauptinstruktionen. One wishes that one contributor had taken as a topic Clement's conception of the papal office itself as found in the instructions.

Robert Bireley, SJ.

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Catholicism in Ulster, 1603-1983- By Oliver P. Rafferty. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 306. $3995.)

"Ulster," as is well known, is an ambiguous term. The historic province of Ulster was shired into nine counties, but since 1920 the name is often used of the six partitioned from the rest of Ireland. In this book the word is used in the narrower sense in describing events since partition, but in the broader sense for events before it.

The author is a Jesuit priest with his roots very much in the "Ulster" of the twentieth century. His work is a courageous, and to a great extent successful, attempt at panoramic history. He begins with the surrender of the chiefs of Gaelic Ulster in 1603. This, and even more the Plantation which followed it, is taken as the crucial point in the distinctiveness of the Ulster Catholic experience, though, as he himself says,"a note of caution should be sounded when using the term 'Ulster Catholicism.'" In some ways it is not easy to pin down what separated Ulster Catholics from their social equals elsewhere in Ireland, whether they came from the poor areas of Donegal or the Sperrin Mountains in County Deny, or from certain parts of County Down, where even at the worst of times some Catholics managed a comparatively comfortable existence. In fact, "Ulster" is neither homogeneous nor altogether distinctive. It would seem arguable that the "Ulster Catholics" are a substantially separate community only since the foundation of the state of Northern Ireland in 1920, and that what marks them off from other Irish Catholics is political as well as religious and cultural.

Certainly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries "Ulster" was part of the political unit of Ireland, and in the nineteenth, part of the even larger unit of the United Kingdom. These facts impose a certain measure of untidiness on the book, but overall it is a very useful compendium of information on what has a genuine claim to being a distinctive culture. The author is widely read and uses his knowledge well. I do feel it is unfair to Blessed Conor O'Devany to describe him as "a close associate of [Hugh] O'Neill." He was arraigned and executed in 1612 on a charge of treason, but at that date and certainly in his case a trial for treason was a show trial, with the state not too nice in its handling of evidence. He himself claimed that he was in no way involved in war or politics, and what

evidence there is supports him. He was bishop of Down and Connor, more or less coterminous with O'Neill Clandeboye, a group less than enthusiastic in support of "the Great O'Neill" during the Nine Years' War. From time to time there is something which either the author or the copy-editor should have noticed—for example, the seventeenth-century bishop David Rothe would scarcely recognize himself as "Michael," and a very well-known bishop of the nineteenth century, James Warren Doyle ("J.K.L.") appears as "John."

Patrick J. Corish

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L'Augustinisme à l'ancienne Faculté de théologie de Louvain. Edited by Mathijs Lamberigts. [Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium, CXL] (Leuven: Leuven University Press. Uitgeverij Peeters. 1994. Pp. vi, 455. B.F. 2400,-.)

This book reproduces most of the papers presented in November, 1990, at a conference organized by the Center for the Study of Jansenism at the Catholic University in Leuven. The occasion was the 350th anniversary of the publication of Cornelius Jansenius' famed Augustinus. The goal was to study more precisely the theological components of Jansenism by focusing on the place of St. Augustine in the teaching of the old faculty of theology of Louvain.

Two papers study how the works of Augustine were used by J. Latomus J. Vercruysse analyzes his dispute with Luther, and M. Gielis his opposition to Erasmus, M. Schrama takes the themes of the ability to do good works in the writings of R. Tapper, and shows that the professor was more influenced by Thomas Aquinas and Cajetan than by the Bishop of Hippo. M. Lamberigts offers an analysis of J. Hessels' Catechismus, concluding that Hessels, a friend of Baius, presented an anthology of the works of the Doctor gratice with very little personal creativity.

Six presentations are devoted to Baius. A. Vanneste gives a very thorough analysis of the Deprima hominis justifia which shows that the condemnation of excerpts of the book by Pius V does not imply for a Catholic theologian the obligation to admit the possibility of a state of pure nature. For his part, M. Biersack deals with the young Bellarmine's position in the Causa Baii. He sees in the Jesuit an Augustinian antipelagian who wanted to defend Augustine from the "compromission" of Baius and have the Church pass a judgment on it. An article by L. Ceyssens on Bellarmine and Louvain complements this presentation with a more general reflection on Bellarmine's relationship with that university. In what is perhaps the most important historical contribution, E. J. M. van Eijl presents the late sixteenth-century controversy between the Faculty of Theology and the Jesuits of Louvain on grace and free will. He shows, among other things, that the main issue was theological methodology, positive theology against scholastics. He also documents how Rome was involved in the affair.

Many future developments originate there. A second contribution by L. Ceyssens intends to show that J. Jansonius was not the link between Baius and Jansenius. For one thing Jansenius did not show great respect for the works of his predecessor and master. The contribution by M. B. Pranger picks up the theme of pure nature and studies how in his Augustinus, Jansenius rejects it.

The other papers, all of quality, touch topics that are less related to the theme. H. Hillenaar studies the place of the University of Louvain in Fénelon's conflict with Bossuet. J. Roegiers studies the type of Augustinism taught in Louvain during the eighteenth century. It was rather unimaginative, he concludes, lacking originality and impulse. T. Clemens proves a Lovanist influence over the Dutch Mission, though mostly neutralized by the religious orders active in the mission. In "The Pursuit of a Phantom or a Disguised Heresy?", E. Mijnlieff analyzes Jansenism in the Jesuits' Mémoire de Trévoux. Finally, L. Kenis surveys "The Faculty of theology in the nineteenth century on Augustine and Augustinism."

In all, this volume presents a coherent collection that advances our knowledge of the place of St. Augustine at this famous Faculty of Theology. A copious bibliography and a precise index add to the value of this scholarly contribution.

Jacques M. Gres-Gayer

The Catholic University of America

Politics and Opinion in Crisis, 1678-81. By Mark Knights. [Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 424. $69.95)

In this powerfully argued, meticulously documented study, Mark Knights challenges the widespread interpretation of English history in the period 1678-1681 according to which an intense struggle over the exclusion of the Catholic heir to the throne, James, Duke of York, resulted in the founding of the first political parties, the Whigs and the Tories, the former under the leadership of the Earl of Shaftesbury. Jonathan Scott criticized this reading in 1991, arguing that Whig and Tory identified polarities of belief, not parties, and two years later, Tim Harris, while accepting the emergence of parties in the aftermath of the Popish Plot, stressed the primacy of religious over constitutional factors.

Knights critiques all of these interpretations, rightly contending that exclusion was only one of many key issues and until November, 1680, not even the dominant one. The crisis, Knights avers, was over succession, not merely exclusion. Numerous men proposed other solutions to the crisis, including the annulment of Charles IFs marriage to Catherine, followed by his remarriage to a Protestant capable of bearing an heir; the imposition of limitations on the monarchy (which James and Prince William opposed); the establishment of an Elizabethan-style association of Protestants to protect religion and property; the appointment of a regent to govern for James; the legitimation of the Duke of

Monmouth; the enactment of more anti-Catholic legislation; and the conversion of James to Protestantism. As early as 1678 Charles was prepared to accept limitations on James's power, but the fall of the Earl of Danby led to crippling disorganization at court. The king's efforts to find a solution to the succession crisis were hampered by the bitter struggle between court and country. That struggle—not the Whig-Tory conflict, which best depicts the outcome of the crisis—largely shaped the politics of at least the early years of the period.

On the vexed question of party, Knights prefers to speak of political groupings that coalesced into polarities with differing views on the succession, religious dissent, and arbitrary government. Only when the court and the loyalists who supported it became a coherent political force in late 1680 and early 1681—at which point they depicted themselves as defenders of right religion, liberty, and property—is Knights prepared to refer to political parties, and only then with the caveat that neither group was prepared to accept this status as permanent inasmuch as each saw itself as the eventual embodiment of the national will. Religion played a crucial role in this development, as Harris contends, but so too, avers Knights, did constitutional issues. "If party politics first emerged between 1679 and 1681 it was because the constitutional conflict added a new layer of polarity over, and to a large extent overlapping with, the religious one and because anti-popery both drew men into political controversy and to some extent justified their expressions of discontent" (p. 367). Knights thus offers a thesis that claims the middle ground between J. R. Jones and Jonathan Scott on the emergence of parties, and acknowledges the importance of religious matters without ignoring constitutional considerations. All of these issues are properly discussed with an eye to foreign policy factors involving France and the Netherlands. The result is an outstanding addition to late Stuart historical studies.

Richard L. Greaves

Florida State University

Heaven and Hell in Enlightenment England. By Philip C. Almond. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 218. $49-95.)

In his introduction, Philip Almond differentiates this study from D. P. Walker's classic work, The Decline of Hell, by claiming that its focus will be both broader and more detailed. Walker, he maintains, has laid out the "main highways," while he proposes to complete the map by including "the pathways and byways that branched out from them." In less metaphorical terms, he aims to include conceptions of life after death drawn not only from canonical works, but from the "arcane, the obscure, and the forgotten"; to chronicle not only "the commonplace and the average, but the eccentric and the original"; and to provide a guide to the hopes and fears of the middling and lower classes as well as to those of the elite (p. 2).

In most respects, unfortunately, Almond's study does not live up to these claims. While he does indeed enlarge Walker's rather whiggish focus by devoting equal time to the orthodox proponents of eternal torment, the volume, whose text amounts to only one hundred and sixty pages, is simply too short to do justice to its subject. To return to Almond's geographical metaphor, this whirlwind tour whisks the armchair traveler along at such a rate that one is forced to conclude breathlessly, "well, if it's Tuesday, this must be the doctrine of the transmigration of souls."

On a more serious note, the brevity of the text and its grandiose claims generate a variety of significant difficulties. First, although the study seems to be directed at a public that is relatively unfamiliar with the intellectual history of early-modern religion, the explanations of relevant doctrines provided by Almond are on occasion so brief as to be misleading. (See, for example, the discussion of original sin and its impact on human free will, p. 8.) Moreover, constraints of space also force Almond for the most part to abandon analysis in favor of description. For instance, Chapter 4, which deals with "the last day," catalogues an immense number of proposed secondary causes of the earth's final conflagration, but says nothing about the intellectual significance of this effort on the part of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century people to make scientific sense of the Christian mysteries.

When Almond does attempt to place his subject in a larger intellectual and cultural context, he continues to rely extensively on Walker. Like Walker, he construes arguments about the nature and existence of hell torments as part of a larger concern with theodicy, itself symptomatic of a civilizing process that entailed an increased sensitivity to the sufferings of other human beings and a concomitant change in conceptions of the purpose of secular punishment from retributive to deterrent, and finally to reformative. Unfortunately, Almond does not develop his argument significantly beyond Walker's original suggestive remarks.

Near the end of his book, Almond argues—no surprises here—that the doctrine of the eternal nature of hell torments served the cause of social stability, and he notes that even those who disputed the doctrine were concerned that their arguments not be communicated too freely to the lower orders. While it is indeed difficult to dispute the claim that the doctrine of eternal rewards and punishments did function in part as an instrument of social domination, Almond's discussion seems reductive. Surely it cannot be that in early-modern England preachers refrained from threatening the upper classes with a hell whose eternal punishments would be appropriate to their own terrors. Were there no sermons such as those that Piero Camporesi has collected for Catholic Europe that painted a hell whose absence of all comforts and enforced cohabitation with the stinking poor was designed to provoke repentance in the aristocratic bon vivant?

Generally speaking, however, Almond ignores sermons and other kinds of cultural productions in favor of written treatises. Therefore, despite his stated

intention to provide a richer and more detailed guide to the feelings of early modern English people about the afterlife, he merely reproduces the rarified thought world already admirably presented by Walker.

Susan Rosa

University of Chicago

Revolt in Prerevolutionary France: The Prince de Conti's Conspiracy against Louis XV, 1755-1757. By John D. Woodbridge. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press. 1995. Pp. xx, 242. $39-95.)

A conspiracy by the Prince de Conti offers fertile ground for historical imagination, involving a charismatic personality, tantalizing links to centers of great power, and profound social forces. Since, by definition, conspiracy cloaks itself in secrecy, the historian needs more than the usual caution. In this felicitous study the author strives for a just balance between literary drama and scientific rigor.

The Prince de Conti was Louis XV's cousin and for several years one of his most trusted confidants, especially in foreign affairs. In the 1750's the two men had a falling out, the prince resenting Madame de Pompadour's influence over the king which threatened to overshadow his own. He also approved the Parlement of Paris asserting the rights of the princes and peers as well as its own constitutional prerogatives against the despotism of the king's ministers. Failing to bring the king to his own mind, Conti retired from the court.

What he did next is shrouded in murk, penetrated chiefly by a couple of spies working for Pompadour and the police. The spies claimed Conti was trying to organize a plot to ascend the throne in the place of Louis XV with the blessing of Jansenists and other opponents of absolute royal power, as well as armed support from Huguenot insurgents and English soldiers on the western coast of the country. The alleged plot also may have involved Joseph Damiens' failed attempt to assassinate the king.

From this material Woodbridge teases an intriguing argument for Conti's conspiracy. It is only as strong, however, as its weakest link: the credibility of the spies' reports. In the tense atmosphere of the Seven Years' War, the government found them plausible enough to keep the spies at their task. On the other hand, the prince's "conspiracy" might have been merely an eccentric fishing expedition for opportunities to assuage his rancor and satisfy his ambition rather than a serious threat to Louis XV's authority.

The author convincingly places the prince's machinations in the large picture of divine-right monarchy's decline in eighteenth-century France, in particular, the erosion of its sacramental foundation. He duly acknowledges the contribution of the philosophes' general undermining of belief in the mystery of religion. He emphasizes, however, the significance of the mid-century con-

flict that raged in Paris over the Roman Catholic Church's denial of the Eucharist and Extreme Unction to Jansenists. Urged on by Conti's advisor, Adrien Le Paige, and other Jansenist jurists, the religious issue meshed with the Parlement of Paris' constitutional challenge to Louis XV, and toleration of dissent within the Church advanced a step.

As the sacraments ceased symbolizing the unity of France in faith, law, and king, there was less reason to exclude loyal Huguenots from citizenship. A coalition of enlightened royal ministers, Jansenists, and Huguenots brought about the royal edict of toleration of 1787. With the Revolution came a new definition of citizenship free from sacramental association.

The book's impeccable scholarly apparatus includes an up-to-date bibliography and careful endnotes.

Charles H. O'Brien

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Cardinal Giuseppe Garampi (1725-1792): An Enlightened Ultramontane. By Dries Vanysacker. [Institut Historique Belge de Rome, Bibliothèque, XXXIII.] (Brussels and Rome: Institut Historique Belge de Rome. Distributed by Brepols Publishers, Turnhout, Belgium. 1995. Pp. 336.)

The true flavor of curial policy is often best gleaned through the biography of influential prelates. This work by Dries Vanysacker is a good example of this approach. While there has been no shortage of works and articles on the Rimini-born Garampi, the author claims that "we are still lacking an adequate full-length portrait of this figure." Therefore he set out on a five-year research project, which took him from archives in Copenhagen through Utrecht, Mechelen, Verona, Pesaro, Rimini to those in Rome, particularly the Archivio Segreto Vaticano. Of primary interest to him were Garampi's exchanges of letters preserved in the Biblioteca Gambalunga in Rimini and the Biblioteca Oliveriana in Pesaro. In designing his study, the author intentionally omitted the "official papers" of Garampi and concentrated on the treasure trove of the personal correspondence he unearthed, perusing altogether some 15,000 letters in the process, in the hope of getting at the prelate's authentic personality.

The book is the result of Vanysacker's labors. As the subtitle proclaims, his purpose was to portray Garampi simultaneously as a proponent of the Italian Catholic Enlightenment of the Muratorian sort and as the director of an ultramontane "internationale." Indeed, we learn that Garampi had been responsible for reorganizing and cataloguing the Vatican Archives for use of scholars; he was a bibliophile with a very large library, which included works hostile to the Catholic Church in general and papal supremacy in particular, among them those by French philosophes and English deists; he was interested in Etruscology and exchanged ideas with a few Protestant savants. But the author treats much of that side of his subject only cursorily near the beginning and the end

of the book, which is very regrettable. The bulk of the work is dedicated to Garampi's diplomatic missions north of the Alps, in the Austrian Netherlands and the ecclesiastical Electorates on the Rhine in 1761-1763 and 1764, and his tenure as nuncio in Warsaw (1772-1776) and Vienna (1776-1785). There Vanysacker traces in some detail Garampi's evolution until he became the very heart and soul of the ultramontane opposition to any challenge to papal supremacy from whatever direction it came, be it Gallicanism, the Jansenism of the Utrecht churchj. N. Hontheim's De Statu Ecclesiae, or the Austrian state church principle that emerged subtly under Maria Theresa and more crassly under Joseph II. In following the author's account of this transformation, the reader finds it difficult to detect the enlightened cleric. Admittedly Garampi's major weapons were those books and pamphlets which defended papal primacy, such as Jean Pey's De l'autorité des deux Puissances, the circulation of which he subsidized, rather than physical force or spiritual sanctions. To that degree he can still be situated within the Muratorian cosmos, albeit along the periphery. But his diplomatic intrigues hardly measure up to those standards. We are left to wonder whether the label "enlightened" is appropriate.

Garampi's last years confirm the view that the papacy was so preoccupied with the threat from the Catholic monarchs, be it in the form of Gallicanism or Josephism, that it grossly underestimated the impact of the French Revolution.

Hanns Gross

Loyola University Chicago

Klosterauftyebungen und Klosterpolitik in Bayern unter Kurfürst Karl Theodor, 1778-1784. By Cornelia Jahn. [Schriftenreihe zur Bayerischen Landesgeschichte. Herausgegeben von der Kommission für bayerische Landesgeschichte bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Band 104.] (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1994. Pp. xxxii, 213. Paperbound.)

For a century following the Peace of Westphalia, the ecclesiastical principalities and ecclesiastical revenues of Catholic Germany enjoyed a period of relative security. However, during the second half of the eighteenth century there was an increasingly insistent call for secularization as the influence of the Enlightenment spread across the Empire, a call which culminated in the Reichsdeputationshauptschluß of 1803. Along the way, there were a number of suppressions of religious houses which seem to point toward this culmination, such as the suppression of the venerable Überwasserkloster in Münster in order to finance the new university there, and the much more thoroughgoing activities of the Austrian government which go by the perhaps misleading name of Josephinism.

In the years between his accession on the last day of 1777 and the erection of the Bavarian nunciature in 1784, Elector Karl Theodor of Bavaria carried out

the suppression of several important religious houses. These were the house of Franciscan sisters in Munich known as the Ridlerkloster, the house of Augustinian canons at Indersdorf, and the Premonstratensian house at Osterhofen, as well as an unsuccessful attempt at the Premonstratensian house of Steingaden and the transfer of the Salesian sisters from Munich to Landshut. These efforts would appear to be part of the same phenomenon witnessed in Münster and Austria.

Cornelia Jahn presents us with a solid introduction to the circumstances surrounding these suppressions. There was considerable background established during the reign of Karl Theodor's predecessor, Maximilian Joseph, as well as great continuity in personnel. Moreover, this is the high point of the activities of the Bavarian Illuminati, a local expression of enlightened influence. Karl Theodor brought with him from the supposedly more enlightened Rhineland attitudes and advisors which also seemed to fit well into an emerging pattern of enlightened policy. One of his first moves after settling in Munich was to issue an ordinance prohibiting begging and restricting the activities of the mendicant orders. He immediately set in place efforts to restrict the authority of the diocesan bishops, all of whom were prince-bishops with sees outside his territories, and to make ecclesiastical jurisdictions correspond to political frontiers. All this would seem to clearly point toward the eventual secularizations carried out in 1802-03.

Not so, says Dr. Jahn. After tracing in some detail the cases of the Ridlerkloster and Kloster Indershof, and at lesser length the other cases, along with the individuals, the institutions, and the events associated with these suppressions, she comes to quite a different conclusion. In each case, the overriding consideration for Karl Theodor was the need for money to carry out other projects, all of which were ecclesiastical in nature. In addition, all these suppressions were accomplished with the full support of Pope Pius VI, who sought to use Bavaria as a counterweight to the Josephinism of Austria and the Febronianism of the prince-bishops. It was the moderates who had the ear of the Elector, the radicals who lost favor. In 1784 the Bavarian nunciature was created at Munich, making Bavaria virtually independent ecclesiastically, and in 1785 the suppression of the Illuminati began.

This work began as Dr. Jahn's dissertation for the University of Munich. It has the typical characteristics of such a work, including excessive apparatus criticus and sometimes almost impenetrable prose. However, it is a well argued thesis which should be of interest to advanced students of the age.

William C. Schrader

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Late Modern European

Zwischen Klasse und Konfession: Katholisches Bürgertum im Rheinland 1794-1914. By Thomas Mergel. [Bürgertum: Beiträge zur europäischen Gesellschaftsgeschichte, Band 9] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1994. Pp. xiv, 460. DM 112,-.)

This book is the ninth volume in a series on the "social history of modern Bürgertum"; its focus is thus on social history rather than on political Catholicism. The subtitle's dates, 1794-1914, are misleading, because the author ends both his narrative and his theme with the Kulturkampf of the 1870's. His subject is the Catholic upper middle class, which formed the elite in the Rhenish cities of Cologne, Bonn, and Aachen, where the nobility played no significant role. Mergel distinguishes among the three categories of Wirtschaftsbürger, leaders in commerce and industry; Bildungsbürger, the educated professionals; and Beamtenbürger, the higher civil servants, but he makes frequent reference to the Kleinbürger also, the shopkeepers, craftsmen, teachers, and lower officials. He traces an extraordinary continuity over more than a century in the great urban families such as the Trimborns and Bachems who served as officials under the Electoral Archbishops, passed easily into the service of the French administration, moved with equal facility into Prussian service, accepted the united Second Reich, and continued to hold prominent positions in the twentieth century.

As for the conflict "between class and confession," the author makes it clear that class or status in society was always the more important consideration. These families were comfortable with their Catholicism but subscribed to a liberal, enlightened Hermesian version of it, frequently intermarrying with Protestants and regarding the new ultramontanism as embarrassingly extremist. Such attitudes prevailed, according to Mergel, well past the "Cologne troubles" of the 1840's and the Syllabus of Errors of 1864, only to be temporarily confronted and questioned in 1870 by the dogma of papal infallibility. Even during the early years of the Kulturkampf many Catholic Rhinelanders in the upper voting circles continued to vote for liberal parties rather than for the Center and approved of much of the government's legislation, especially the educational reforms. Leaders of the Catholic political resistance came largely from the lower middle classes, although many activists had family ties with the Bürger.

On the other hand, Mergel shows that discussion about the dogma and the harsh punitive measures at the height of the Kulturkampf, including the loss of civil service jobs for Catholics, did contribute to the creation of a Catholic milieu or subculture in the Rhenish cities that had not existed before the 1860's and that in some degree all of the elitist families acknowledged membership in it.

The one exception to this was the small but socially significant group of Old Catholics who rejected the dogma and were expelled from the Catholic community. The chapter on the Old Catholics is the last in the book and is clearly a vital part of the author's thesis. He departs from the conventional Catholic view of the Old Catholics as a sect composed primarily of overconscientious academics and theologians and those with marital frustrations of various kinds (although his statistics confirm the preponderance of men, single women, and couples in mixed marriages). He also denies that they were a sect or a "secession" from the Church; rather, he sees them as they undoubtedly saw themselves, as truly the "old" Catholics of the Rhineland Bürgertum, who had stayed exactly as they had been earlier while the new ultramontanism took over and changed the Church. According to Mergel, it was intense social pressure rather than deep religious conviction that kept most of the prominent families within mainstream Catholicism.

In addition to its provocative thesis, the book provides a wealth of information about the economies, educational systems (Mergel confirms the much-discussed "deficit" in Catholic education), municipal government, and social life in the three cities.

Ellen L. Evans

Georgia State University

La formación del pensamiento político del Carlismo (1810-1875). By Alexandra Wilhelmsen. [Fundación Hernando de Larramendi.] (Madrid: Editorial ACTAS—Colección Luis Hernando Larramendi. 1995. Pp. 11,630. Pts. 4,000,- paperback.)

Rarely is the reviewer of a scholarly work able to claim that he has been privileged to read a book which will stand as the classic study in the field for some time. Such is the assessment of this historian regarding Alexandra Wilhelmsen's La formación del pensamiento político del Carlismo (1810-1875).

For decades Hispanicists and historians of the Catholic Church alike have been in need of an intellectual, objective, and thorough analysis of Carlism, especially one that focuses on Carlist thought. Professor Wilhelmsen, an American who lived in Spain for years and who knows Carlism exceedingly well, has filled this dearth with her well documented tome.

Because they engaged in three wars aimed at placing a traditionalist prince on the throne of Spain between 1833 and 1876, the Carlists are well known militarily. However, Carlist political history and political thought have been relegated to a secondary place, if considered at all. Professor Wilhelmsen, who teaches both Spanish history and language at the University of Dallas, has started to correct this scholarly imbalance with her study of Carlist political thought.

The ideological analysis in La formación del pensamiento político del Carlismo (1810-1875) is set against a historical background artistically kneaded through the narrative with superb skill and insight. Wilhelmsen carefully organized her book into an introduction devoted to the theoretical underpinnings and institutional organization of the Old Regime, and five major parts, subdivided into thirty-six chapters. They are dedicated to the transition in Spain from the old order to the new liberal and capitalist system through six wars, loss of Empire, changes in government, economic and social upheavals, and a reduction of the institutional Church.

Professor Wilhelmsen explains that Carlism (which lasted well into the twentieth century) was a multifaceted movement with juridical, political, and religious aspects. The Carlist motto, "God, fatherland, regional autonomy, king," embodied a wide range of theoretical precepts, legal principles, political and economic institutions, and traditions of various kinds. Wilhelmsen makes a compelling case that the Carlists did not merely defend the old order, but consistently countered the abstract ideas of the French Enlightenment and the models of the French Revolution espoused by the Spanish liberals with proposals for renovating Spain's own political institutions.

Throughout the six-hundred-page text it becomes clear that the Carlists were the greatest defenders of the Church and of Spain's traditional sacral society during the troubled nineteenth century, and also composed a large portion of Spain's Catholic intellectuals during that time. Most are virtually unknown in our day. Not many Spaniards, and even fewer Americans, have read anything by Rafael Vêlez, Miguel Sanz y Lafuente, Magín Ferrer, Pedro de la Hoz, Vicente Pou, Cándido Nocedal, Antonio Aparisi y Guijarro, José Caixal, Gabino Tejado, Vicente Manterola, Francisco Navarro Villoslada, and a whole host of other figures who appear on the pages of Professor Wilhelmsen's book. This reviewer wonders if these men have not received their due because they were associated with a political movement that was outlawed for decades and one which challenged Spain's establishment until quite recently.

La formación del pensamiento político del Carlismo (1810-1875)—winner of the distinguished international Luis Hernando de Larramendi Award—is a study which will cause a stir in Spain and should be read in the United States by those who can do so.

Patrick Foley

fournal of Texas Catholic History and Culture
College of Saint Thomas More

Klerus und abweichendes Verhalten. Zur Sozialgeschichte katholischer Priester im 19. Jahrhundert: Die Erzdiözese Freiburg. By Irmtraud Götz von Olenhusen [Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, Band 106.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1994. Pp. 503. DM 78,-.)

Scholars of modern German Catholicism have long viewed the clergy as the chief architects of the tightly integrated confessional milieu that arose in the latter nineteenth century. The functionaries of a rigidly hierarchical, authoritarian church who yet retained a populist identification with the common people to a much greater extent than their Protestant counterparts, the clergy enraged or enthralled contemporaries with their power to control the religious and political behavior of the Catholic laity. All the more striking, then, is the dearth of studies that directly address the basic questions raised by such assumptions: who became a Catholic priest, and why? How and why did the German clergy become the pliant instrument of the ultramontane church? What was their function in the rise of the confessional milieu? (p. 17)

Irmtraud Götz von Olenhusen attempts to fill this void through an ambitiously conceived and innovatively executed social history of the Catholic clergy in nineteenth-century Baden. Drawing upon the personnel records of the Archdiocese of Freiburg, Olenhusen bases her study upon a content analysis of the files of 627 priests who were disciplined either by the church authorities or the Badenese state. Taking an equally sized control group, Olenhusen analyzes the records for a total of 35.8 percent of all priests ordained in the archdiocese between 1853 and 1899. She further employs statistical data from 4680 files which span the period from the 1820's to 1914. Such a rich source base allows Olenhusen successfully to combine quantitative and qualitative analysis. The focus throughout remains on the clergy as active subjects, emphasizing their"human thinking, feeling and action" (p. 17).

Olenhusen's use of deviant behavior as the basis for a social history of the clergy has merit in at least three important respects. First, the documentation produced by the official investigations provides valuable information, otherwise unavailable, concerning the clergy's social background, training, attitudes, and behavior. Secondly, Olenhusen correctly argues that "what a society or institution defines as deviant says much about itself" (p. 15). Thus, examining the nature and the frequency of the charges raised against "deviant" clergy enables the historian to understand better the norms, assumptions, goals, and anxieties central to the ultramontane hierarchy's conception of the Church and the clergy's role in it. Finally, the unique nature of the sources allows Olenhusen to construct a richly textured narrative, one in which the effects of the broad trends revealed by the empirical data are illustrated and anchored at a local level through numerous, often fascinating case studies of individual priests.

Chief among Olenhusen's findings is that the rise of the ultramontane clergy in the late nineteenth century was by no means the natural outcome of a generational change, as has been previously believed, but was instead the conscious creation of the conservative hierarchy (p. 393). The latter, in the context

of the failed revolution of 1848-49 and the increasing conflicts with the liberal Badenese state in the 1850s and 1860's, instrumentally used its disciplinary powers against supporters of the liberal, enlightened beliefs that had been prevalent among the lower clergy in the first half of the century. The majority of investigations nominally concerned moral issues, especially allegations of sexual misconduct—a particularly telling charge in the framework of stringent ultramontane morality. Many were triggered by anonymous denunciations from parishioners, evidence of a growing social control from below integral to the evolving confessional milieu. However, the political motivations behind these charges emerge clearly through Olenhusen's analysis. Her case studies reveal numerous instances in which ideologically suspect priests were subjected to professional demotion and personal humiliation on the basis of flimsy, hearsay evidence and without the right to due process. The instrumental quality of these persecutions is highlighted by the fact that after the 1870's the hierarchy's interest in sexual offences rapidly waned. The reasoning was clear: by the 1880's the purges, combined with a self-enclosed recruiting and training system, had ensured the triumph of ultramontane hegemony over a new generation of clergy. The Church's self-interest now lay in suppressing issues which could damage the reputation of its cadres.

Olenhusen's study marks a major advance in our understanding of the processes behind the formation of the ultramontane clergy in nineteenth-century Germany. She successfully demonstrates how the church leadership manipulated the religious and moral values of ultramontane Catholicism to eliminate liberal elements, and traces how the formation of a clergy drawn overwhelmingly from the rural and small-town sectors which comprised the confessional milieu was the consequence of this determined self-segregation from modern society and culture. By emphasizing the highly conservative goals of the "reconfessionalization" process behind the rise of the confessional milieu, Olenhusen argues cogently against a too-ready acceptance of assertions of the latter's modernizing and emancipatory potential, as argued by scholars such as Thomas Nipperdey and Urs Altermatt. Her case is strengthened by the particularities of the Badenese example, in which a strongly liberal clergy lSVaS transformed within a few decades through the hegemonic power of the ultramontane hierarchy.

There are shortcomings. Lacking was a developed theoretical discussion of the confessional milieu as a social system of institutions, values, and relationships, surely essential to any attempt to explain the clergy's part in its construction and maintenance. Similarly, reflecting the sources employed, the work carries a strongly institutionalist, top-down perspective that colors even the local case studies. There is little sense oí how the ultramontane clergy reshaped popular Catholicism at the grassroots level. Perhaps more attention to the interface between the clergy and popular religious culture, and how the clergy acted to assert control over the expressions of piety and sociability that comprised the fabric of everyday experience of ordinary Catholics in the confessional milieu, would have lent Olenhusen's assertions of the clergy's essential

role substance and conviction. But these points do not detract from the book's real value as a social history of the formation of an ultramontane clergy in one region of Germany. It should serve as an inspiration and an essential reference point for further comparative studies.

Raymond C. Sun

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The Lion and the Cross: Early Christianity in Victorian Novels. By Royal W Rhodes. [Studies in Victorian Life and Literature.] (Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 400. $49.50.)

Neither in the middle eighteenth century nor in the middle twentieth century would eminent churchmen think of spending their time writing novels. Yet in the Victorian age novels were published by an Archbishop of Westminster (Wiseman), the leading Catholic theologian (Newman), the Anglican Dean of Westminster (Farrar), one of the few best preachers (Boyd Carpenter), and Kingsley, who was soon to be chosen one of the chief professors of history. Beneath, or around, these eminent names was a host of minor novelists, usually second rate or worse, with one exception, Charlotte Yonge, who in two or possibly three novels bore comparison with the Brontes or George Eliot. This tribe of writers wrote historical novels about religion, not usually for entertainment only, but with a moral intention, to edify, or instruct, or warn. In the new world of near-national literacy the novel was accepted, and not despised, as a rightful instrument of popular education.

Apart from Charlotte Yonge only two of them could write, in the sense of being taken seriously by literature. These were the stout antagonists Newman and Kingsley. Even the novels from the pens of these two are now readable only by persons who want to know about the Victorian age. Callista is much more interesting because of Newman than because of Callista. Its defect is that it is not only quiet but pallid. Hypatia is very interesting because of Kingsley's extraordinary mentality and for a time it carries even a modern reader along by its biffs and bumps and zing; yet a modern reader tires of gusto after a time. Its defect is that it is not only unquiet, but overcolored and strident.

Into this pool of writing Royal W. Rhodes plunged with courage and plunges the reader in such a way as to make him see in all this the Victorian attitudes to the early Christian Church. (The Lion in the title comes from a romantic picture of the arena where a group of Christians wait in prayer for death.) The results of the book are of value. Very few of these historical novels aim only to create a historical sensibility about the past. One or two of them seem only to want to display learning. (Wiseman's Fabiola is open to that charge though plainly he also wanted to teach about rites and ceremonies in a popular way.) Almost all have a point to make about the present—for toleration, or against celibacy of the clergy, or for democracy as Christian, or against an excess of dogma, or in

favor of creeds, or to seek out true explanations for the roots of conversion, or to praise the life of the countryside against the tainted ways of the city, or to prove that faith in God does not depend on believing in miracles. One of the commonest is the assertion of the divine rights of the Church against the State. The catacombs appear but not largely. The Fathers appear but they are select—Cyprian especially, Augustine next, the Alexandrians not at all. One or two show the new state of knowledge, as after the publication of Lightfoot's Apostolic Fathers. Our author has not exhausted this field of writing which is unfathomable. But he is an original guide into its importance.

Owen Chadwick

Cambridge University

William Crolly: Archbishop of Armagh, 1835-49. By Ambrose Macaulay. (Blackrock, Co. Dublin, Ireland: Four Courts Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 481. $45.00.)

A controversy among Irish prelates in 1995 over the propriety of even discussing change in the requirement of clerical celibacy led several commentators to remark that not since the 1840's had members of the hierarchy so assailed one another's views in the public media. In that period William Crolly and his colleague Daniel Murray, Archbishop of Dublin, were trying to lead the hierarchy to take advantage of the government's disposition to make concessions to Irish Catholicism. They were opposed, often publicly and intemperately, by Archbishop John MacHale of Tuam, who suspected almost any government concession to be a poisoned cup. With the assistance of Paul Cullen, Rector of the Irish College in Rome, MacHale's party eventually won the favor of the Holy See and control of the hierarchy, which was then led for a generation by Cullen as Archbishop first of Armagh and then of Dublin (and soon as the new adversary of the impossible Archbishop of Tuam). Macaulay has produced a much-needed and well-researched biography of Crolly. He makes a very sensible case for the archbishop's rationality, sensitivity, and devotion to Catholic interests throughout this unseemly controversy, though the force of this case is occasionally diminished by unnecessarily detailed recounting of the archival record.

Actually, Crolly's failure as leader of the hierarchy was not the first but the second political tragedy of his career. Prior to his primacy he had spent twenty-three years in Belfast, first as parish priest and then as Bishop of Down and Connor. In those roles he worked tirelessly to advance Catholic interests by building relationships with the Presbyterians who dominated the city, only to see the very liberals whose good will he had cultivated so assiduously marginalized within Irish Presbyterianism in the subscription crisis of 1829. In dealing with this phase of Crolly's career, Macaulay does something which is quite rare in Irish church history: he writes some passages which are genuinely ecumeni-

cal. The effort is not flawless—for example, John Edgar (p. 102) was a Seceder, not a Remonstrant—but it is to be applauded nevertheless. It raises the question, however, whether any of us who write Irish church history can really empathize with figures on the "other side" of the Irish sectarian divide. Ironically, the Presbyterian figures which Catholics found most appealing were the Arians. The orthodox Presbyterians, who would have agreed with Crolly and even MacHale on more points of Christian doctrine, seemed far more alien to contemporary Catholics because of political differences, and Macaulay does not manage much more empathy than they did.

It seems to me that the key to achieving such empathy is to take more seriously the social context of pre-Famine Irish religion—in particular the existence of a huge agrarian underclass, many of whom were far less observant of their canonical obligations than were Irish Catholics a century later. Macaulay grapples with the principal source on which this generalization is based, the 1834 religious census, but he does so more as a pastor than as an historian: he is more concerned with whether folk had a valid excuse for failing to attend Mass than with the causes or meaning of that failure. The matter is important for Catholic-Presbyterian relations, because this is just the moment in Irish history when some Presbyterians, for a couple of decades, took seriously the effort to try to convert the Catholics. And those who did—John Edgar, for example—often believed that many of the objects of their mission were essentially unchurched. In order really to understand the Catholic-Presbyterian nexus in the Famine era it is essential to face squarely the fact that that belief, while exaggerated, was not preposterous.

David W. Miller

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God and Greater Britain. Religion and National Life in Britain and Ireland, 1843-1945. By John Wolffe. (New York: Routledge. 1994. Pp. xii, 324. $69.95.)

This book asserts the place of religion in an allegedly secular age and cogently argues that historians who are unable to take the influence of religion seriously will misunderstand the development of modern society. Having established this guiding principle, Dr. Wolffe provides a well-written and broadly researched study of two parallel themes: the role of religion in the making of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; and its role in establishing the separate identities of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. In so doing he questions the basis of certain nationalist myths, including some held dear by American Irish, about when Irish Catholic nationalism overtook alternative forms of British nationalism.

The book is part textbook and part research monograph. As such it is easily accessible to the general reader whilst at the same time adding new insights.

As a survey of nineteenth-century British religion it is masterful, covering not only institutional religion but also those vaguer areas of folk religion that developed into a kind of diffusive Christianity. So diffusive, indeed, did religion become from the latter decades of the nineteenth century that it is sometimes hard to see why it should be called religion at all. Dr. Wolffe increasingly—and perhaps too frequently—is driven to that dubious concept, "quasi religion."

The development of British and Irish politics and nationalism are mapped on to this survey. The now well-explored relationship between the Church of England, Englishness, and the making of Britain is discussed alongside the paradox of what the Church of England meant in Wales or Scotland, and in what senses to be Protestant was more important than to be Church of England. The argument is then advanced to consider the unifying and "quasi-religious" role of monarchy in the forging of identity, and the meaning of England's British Empire, made by willing Scots, Irish, and Welsh as well as Englishmen. The twentieth century is dominated by considerations of war. World War I was fought with certainty in the name of Christianity, as churchmen rushed to bless the righteous cause. Nationhood, religion, and war were then caught up in war memorials and the elevation of the dead to martyr status. Though World War II might seem better to be regarded as a crusade of the righteous, yet a salutary realization that Naziism was born of the alliance of "quasi" religious zeal and political ideology led the churches to pull back from too close a linking of religion with narrow nationalism. The book accordingly closes in 1945, though American historians might feel there is still scope for a study of the strengths and dangers of religious nationalism and Manifest Destiny in their own history since 1945.

This is a stimulating and readable book which will both inform and provoke any who wish to consider in historical perspective those powerful religious currents which underlie so much that the modern age takes for granted as political and secular in nature.

Edward Royle

University of York, England

Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire: La Renaissance de l'Abbaye de Fleury 1850-1994. By Alphonse de Saint Vincent, O.S.B. [Bibliothèque Beauchesne: Religions, Société, Politique, 24.] (Paris: Beauchesne. 1994. Pp. 335. FF 150.)

Important questions about the nineteenth-century revival of monasticism in France have yet to be fully answered. Was it a surviving tradition reasserting itself? If so, was this surviving monasticism the same genre of social phenomenon as medieval monasticism? Or were, for example, the Jesuits under the Old Regime and then the University the real successors of Cluny and Cîteaux at their height? In France, probably more than elsewhere, continuity of buildings

and garb assured the appearance of institutional continuity. But the survival-revival question, complicated by our questions about social and political significance, perdures. Such questions must be dealt with, if we are to get beyond pure chronicle, however valuable and necessary a well shaped chronicle might be.

Alphonse de Saint Vincent, following in the tradition of Louis Soltner on Solesmes and Denis Huerre on Pierre-qui-Vire, has produced an erudite and readable account of the re-establishment of the monastic life in the ancient abbey of Fleury at St.-Benoît-sur-Loire. He has given us a well shaped chronicle of parish life and Benedictine presence at St.-Benoît-sur-Loire since the Revolution. More importantly, he has illuminated the relationship of St. Benoît-sur-Loire with the Benedictine revival in Europe, with the political fortunes of French Catholicism, and with French national life. His choice of primary source documents for the book's appendix is astute, helpful, and should be used by readers as they make their way through the text.

The Revolution and the Terror destroyed Fleury. Summing up these sad events, the author begins his chronicle in earnest in 1849, when Félix Dupanloup was named Bishop of Orléans. Then he narrates the roles of Dom Eldrad de Fazy, reorganizer of monasticism at the ancient abbey of Subiaco, Father Jean-Baptiste Muard, founder of Pierre-qui-Vire, Dom Prosper Guéranger, and Count de Montalembert, intellectually and practically preoccupied with monastic revival projects. Dupanloup found it most productive to deal with Father Muard, perhaps because the latter was not a consistent, dogmatic, institutional type. But Dupanloup and Muard's community of Pierre-qui-Vire could not work out the difficult arrangement of parish and monastery together; a genuine monastic revival would wait another eighty years and the twentieth century. Meanwhile, the community sent its monks to establish the mission of the Sacred Heart in far-off Indian Territory (U.S.A.), in actual fact, about forty-five miles from where I sit writing this review. (See, then, the related chronicle of Joseph F. Murphy, Tenacious Monks: The Oklahoma Benedictines, 1875-1975—Indian Missionaries, Catholic Founders, Educators, Agriculturalists [Shawnee, Oklahoma: Benedictine Color Press, 1975].)

There is extensive chronicling of minor events: institutional tensions as diocese and monastic community struggled to service the parish at St.-Benoît-sur-Loire, liturgical celebrations and canonical negotiations of strictly local importance. But staying close to his sources, Alphonse de Saint Vincent gives us honest history, not hagiography. We can allow him an occasional lapse into the supernatural: "At the moment when Father Ignatius was writing these lines [in hope of a future American mission], St. Benedict was raising up new sons for mission work and for singing the praises of the Lord in Indian Territory" (p. 130).

Readers of this book will be pleased to see how national events were experienced locally—anticlericalism and the expulsions of the congregations in 1881-1882, later expulsions and the "liquidation des biens" after the turn of the century, and the Law of Separation of Church and State. Wonderful vignettes illustrate the coming and going of twentieth-century religious life. Take the ex-

change between Bishop Jules-Marie Courcoux and Dom Fulbert Glories: the bishop chagrined that a secretary of Charles Maurras—thus an important member of the condemned Action française—should be allowed to receive Communion publicly at the parish church. And the writer Max Jacob has an important walk-on part, in that this flamboyant gay and earnest convert treasured his moments at the ancient abbey. (For another off-angle look at the convert Jacob, see the extraordinary Correspondence of Jean Cocteau and Jacques Maritain with essential notes by Michel Bressolette and Pierre Glaudes [Paris: Gallimard, 1993]).

After the drôle de guerre (here again, readers can view localized experience of a nationally traumatic event), the modern Benedictine community at St.-Benoît-sur-Loire was established, finally, October 11, 1944. Important examinations of the reputed relics of St. Benedict (and St. Scholastica) were conducted by church and medical authorities, verifying that the bones were those chronicled at the founding of the monastery in the seventh century. The results of the brief, sound reports of these examinations, previously available only locally, are reported by the author.

This is a necessary book. We cannot understand the significance of major events if we cannot see how they impinged on individual lives and concrete events of local significance. Fortunately for us, St.-Benoît-sur-Loire has an erudite chronicler and a genial interpreter in Alphonse de Saint Vincent.

Joseph F. Byrnes

Oklahoma State University

Der Katholische Gesellenverein in der Diözese Rottenburg von 1852 bis 1945: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Katholizismus in Württemberg. By Ansgar Krimmer. [Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Zeitgeschichte, Reihe B: Forschungen, Band 66.] (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh. 1994. Pp. xxx, 306.)

This is a well-researched regional study of the Catholic journeymen's associations, which were of considerable, if underappreciated, significance in the development of working-class culture and consciousness in the nineteenth century. The socialist August Bebel, for example, first came to an awareness of the plight of German workers while a member of various Catholic journeymen's associations in southern Germany. Krimmer's work is an important contribution to our understanding of this long-neglected aspect of both Catholic and working-class history in Germany. The work gives a thorough introduction to the history, organization, and work of the journeymen's associations. The Gesellenvereine were clerically led organizations devoted to preserving religious faith and providing economic assistance among the young artisans of Germany. The milieu of the Catholic journeymen's associations is also well fleshed out: the function of the various association houses as meeting place, temporary

shelter, and employment register; the creation of savings and insurance funds; and the sponsorship of libraries, lectures, theater presentations, dances, and athletics.

Krimmer does an excellent job delineating the serious organizational conflicts between journeymen's associations, Catholic Arbeitervereine (workingmen's associations), and Christian trade unions. Krimmer's perspective on the divisive Gewerkschaftsstreit (trade union controversy) of the early twentieth century reveals how the journeymen's associations were jealous of their role and skeptical of the democratic and interconfessional practices of the unions. About 1907, a compromise was reached wherein religious-cultural work was left to the journeymen's associations, and economic work delegated to the unions. At the same time, an accommodation with the workingmen's associations was established, transforming the journeymen's associations into organizations for young, unmarried workers of all kinds. The delay in resolving the crisis, as Krimmer rightly points out, severely damaged the entire Catholic labor movement.

Krimmer falters, however, on two counts. First, the consistently positive portrayal of the internal life of the associations glosses over any conflict between the clerical leadership and the artisanal/working-class members. Krimmer presents the question of whether the associations functioned as charitable welfare organizations, or as instruments for the emancipation of craftsmen, as a nonquestion, arguing that these two perspectives worked hand-in-hand with each other. If the history of the Catholic workers' associations is any indication, such peaceful relations within the associations were an illusion. Workers and journeymen wanted organizations that were more than paternalist bulwarks for the defense of traditional occupations and religion; yet this conception was what the clerical leaders of the associations desired, seeing in the Vereine an outlet for their own aspirations to a social diaconate.

Second, Krimmer presents the material in a thematic fashion, first focusing on organization and activities, then on relations with the Church in general, Catholic politics, and other Catholic associations. The result is a rather static picture that concentrates on the Wilhelmine Empire and misses the tremendous change in context during the Weimar Republic. Such an approach glosses over how the associations in the Weimar era became, despite political Catholicism's support for the Center Party and the new republic, a source of Catholic conservatism and opposition to the Catholic-liberal-socialist alliance upon which the republic was built. The omission is significant in that by papering over the conflicts within social Catholicism in the Weimar era, it presents the subsequent Nazi era as one without continuity for German Catholics.

The book accordingly concludes with a separate chapter on the Gesellenvereine in the Nazi era, focusing on the years between 1933 and 1945 as a time apart. Krimmer reiterates the well-known story of the assault on Catholic organizations by Nazism, the false hope brought by the Concordat of 1933, and the final forcing of the associations to abandon their non-religious functions. What

is missing is any thorough discussion of the role of the associations in the three or four years prior to Hitler's seizure of power, of their resistance, or lack thereof, to the lure of Nazi propaganda. Their position is simply and briefly characterized as one of rejection.

Despite these criticisms, Krimmer's work is a welcome addition to the short list of studies that focus on Catholic labor in the modern era. For too long, working-class and socialist have been treated as synonymous, and this book, along with a few others published in the same series, goes a long way toward correcting this misperception. The Catholic journeymen's associations, as Krimmer demonstrates, were an important part of the labor and religious history of Württemberg, and their connection to the larger German world, both Catholic and non-Catholic, reveals much about the continuing interrelationship of religion and society in modern Germany.

Douglas J. Cremer

Woodbury University

German Nationalism and Religious Conflict: Culture, Ideology, Politics, 1870-1914. By Helmut Walser Smith. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 271.)

The Reformation of the sixteenth century and the ensuing religious wars created not a Protestant Germany but a deeply divided German Reich. Even with national unification after 1870-1871 Germany's confessional division meant that a profound religious rift ran straight through the empire. In German Nationalism and Religious Conflict, Helmut Walser Smith explores the cultural, social, and political history of this rift to assess the influence of religious division on nation-building and nationalism and to answer the question of how the German Empire created a national culture despite these religious differences.

The result is a full and consistent exploration of the religious, regional, and cultural divide that separated Germany's Catholic and Protestant worlds. To this end, Smith draws on and makes use of social science concepts and an impressive array of published and archival material (including for the first time the records of the Protestant League) to argue that Protestants and Catholics comprised separate publics divided by religious affiliations, regional affinities, cultural values, and historical experiences. These ties, experiences, and memories, he convincingly demonstrates, entered deeply into the rhetoric and imagery of the two Christian communities, shaped and molded the way in which Germans imagined their nation and constructed their national identity, and influenced the empire's numerous religious conflicts and disagreements.

What divided Protestants and Catholics, Smith contends, was not the question of "who belonged to the nation but how the nation to which both groups belonged, was to be imagined—who was to determine its history, who was to

define its culture and politics, and who was to guard its memory" (p. 169). Within this religiously divided society, Smith argues, nationalism did not always ameliorate tensions between the two confessions. It instead provided a new vocabulary for articulating grievances and delineating differences. Far from being the coherent doctrine so often envisaged by historians, therefore, German nationalism divided as much as it unified society. What integration did in fact occur, as confrontations like the Kulturkampf demonstrated, was neither sudden nor systematic, but piecemeal and in the end incomplete.

As original and ambitious as this study is, however, it also shows that the concepts on which Smith relies—like those of "official" and "popular" nationalism developed by Hugh Seton-Watson and Benedict Anderson—are no substitute for analytical constructs like "objective" and "subjective" nationalism fashioned decades ago by Hans Rothfels. For that reason Smith's discussion of nationalism and religious conflict on Germany's ethnic borderlands remains the least satisfactory part of this otherwise impressive book. The existence of the Masurians, for example—Polish-speaking Protestants loyal to Berlin—is acknowledged but not really analyzed. Nor for that matter does Smith have anything at all to say about national identity and religion among Alsace-Lorraine's Catholic and Protestant inhabitants.

Still, Smith's penetrating insights and stimulating ideas make this study a provocative account of the way in which religious discord influenced the thought and expression of German nationalism between 1870 and 1914. It also represents a challenge to those familiar historiographical assumptions that emphasize Germany's uniqueness and divergence from some kind of developmental norm. While the Kaiserreiche stresses and strains were not typical of the old nations of the West, Smith concludes, Germany's tensions nonetheless demonstrate a universality in that they are all too similar to the problems confronting the new national states of today.

Ronald J. Ross

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

Cardinal Lavigerie: Churchman, Prophet and Missionary. By François Renault. Translated by John O'Donohue. (Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey: Athlone Press. 1994. Pp. vii, 470. $60.00.)

"He has the face of a banker," wrote the Archbishop of Canterbury. This one-liner appears in numerous studies on the "ubiquitous Cardinal Lavigerie." The definitive biography of Charles-Martial Allemand-Lavigerie (1825-1892) now sets in perspective his projects for Christianity and for France. François Renault is one of several White Fathers who have worked on thèses d'État in the Archives Lavigerie of the order's Generalate, now at Rome. He effectively integrates complex issues of Church-State struggle under the French Concordat, Vatican politics, relations among a dozen Christian and Muslim sects in the Ot-

toman Empire, and the high politics of European diplomacy on three continents. Renault considers all in the context of ecclesiology, with due attention to Lavigerie's early stance between Gallicans and Ultramontanes. He evolved by 1870 to strong support for Papal leadership—the essential for unity among Christians and the anchor for the French Church under attack.

Renault comes to grips with an extraordinary personality. Seminary peers and professors remarked Lavigerie's indolence, chafing restlessness of spirit, practical mind, and practical jokes. The cardinal vacationing at Biskra, where the desert climate eased his chronic rheumatism, loved organizing camel races. He was grand in pontifical regalia and solemnities, spare in his table and household. He sometimes spurned compliments and honors, confessing their temptation. He raged at associates and underlings, abjectly begging forgiveness later. Hard-charging impatience obscured his humanity. He used the word "tender" for feelings of open affection toward his Arab orphans, compassion for a tubercular seminarian, and desolation for the parents of missionaries murdered en route to the mission field. Despite doctorates in letters and theology, Lavigerie did not dwell on abstractions. For him, like his soulmate Leo XIII, practical situations called for flexibility on behalf of core principles. Bismarck was the only man Lavigerie praised in the same breath with Leo XIII: "They are great men because they possess will power" (p. 301).

Between Paris and the Vatican Lavigerie pursued his goals as an honest broker, called by some "the real Nuncio." One of his more revolutionary visions had the Republic posting a few of its six cardinals of the Crown to Rome, where other nations would have to put cardinals for counterweights. Thus de-Italianizing the Curia would have enhanced the Church's universality (as well as counterweighed the French Ambassador to the Holy See). Lavigerie turned down opportunities to be Archbishop of Lyon, Paris, and Rheims. He knew such an advance would look like a government payoff for services rendered. He was better positioned as Archbishop of Carthage and Algiers for his African and Mediterranean projects.

Those projects cost millions, which Renault tallies in detail. Lavigerie's preoccupation with fundraising (and insomnia) resulted from anguish over his commitments: to maintain orphanages for 1700 Algerian children he had saved from famine (no thanks to French Army authorities), to increase parishes and secular clergy for two archdioceses, to finance the training and travel of priests, brothers, and sisters in the missionary orders he founded in French North Africa—the gateway to a continent with 200,000,000 souls.

Renault's decades in archives between Oxford and Rome, and his professorship at the University of Abidjan, make him the authority on the overland slave trade which slowed the White Father's penetration of Central Africa. The same year slavery was abolished in European Christendom (1888 in Brazil),' the car-

| 1940 Ethiopia. I960 Saudi Arabia, although U.S. diplomats wouldn't talk about it years later.

dinal rallied an international program against traders supplying Arab markets. Lavigerie was devious, to read Renault's brisk narratives of Church and State politics. "The man who can outwit him has not yet been born," said an Algiers curate. "No doubt you are right," said the cardinal (p. 305.). But this prince of the Church met his match in Leopold II. The Belgian king's "International" African Association ran his personal domain, the Congo "Free" State. He appointed one of the worst slavers, Tippo Tip, to be a governor. Lavigerie's antislavery crusade relented because of worsened health. His November, 1890, call, at the Pope's instigation, for a Ralliement of Catholics to the French Republican constitution which many detested, brought a whirlwind on his whole conglomerate. When he died in November, 1892, the commingled fortune bequeathed to his various entities was smaller because Monarchists had cut him off.

Athlone's handsome production of John O'Donohue's scholarly translation has a few typos and variant spellings (Kabyls/Kabyles, Paul Cambon/Gambon). Photos, maps and dust jacket are fine. Twenty-six chapters are well organized, with explanatory footnotes. Nine pages of endnotes cite documents and quotations, followed by twenty pages of archival sources and topical bibliography. Two indexes treat persons and places/subjects. Renault's lucid analyses of Church-Republic-Monarchist issues in France, ecclesiology, and imperialism would be valuable in any syllabus concerning those fields.

J. Dean O'Donnell, Jr.
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Histoire du Mouvement Ouvrier Chrétien en Belgique. Edited by Emmanuel Gerard and Paul Wynants. 2 vols. [KADOC-Studies 16.] (Leuven: Leuven University Press. 1994. Pp. 399; 645. 2400 FB.)

This is a very impressive work. First published in Flemish in 1991, this edition represents a slightly revised and updated French translation. Its various chapters—six for Volume I and nine for Volume II—were prepared by separate authors. All contain copious illustrations, statistical and other tables, biographical vignettes, and extensive bibliographies. Volume I is essentially one of synthesis, dealing with the Belgian Christian Workers' Movement in general, while Volume II is concerned with the history of the constituent elements of that movement. Each volume, and indeed each chapter of both volumes, can be read independently of one another. Together they constitute a most up-to-date and reliable guide for an understanding of a movement which to this day constitutes a major socio-political force in the public life of the Belgian people.

This reality began to take place only after the end of World War II. For the previous one hundred years or so the precursors of the present-day Christian Workers' Movement led a tenuous existence, not only in terms of their evident minority status vis-à-vis a rapidly growing socialist movement, but also in view of the opposition of numerous Catholic leaders from the political, the business,

and ecclesiastical milieus. It was not until the very end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries that an increasingly autonomous and assertive workers' movement began to be able to win recognition by Catholics and non-Catholics alike. By that time, too, the basis had been laid for the establishment of a plethora of organizations, including mutual-aid societies, cooperatives, women's, youth, and family groups, and especially trade unions, all presenting themselves as various facets of a single movement, that of the Belgian Christian Workers. A uniquely Belgian reality had also to be taken into account arising from the existence of two separate ethnic entities, namely, the Flemish and the Walloon. It is clear from a study of these two volumes that for the Christian Workers' Movement, the Flemish component was by far the more important, so that for most of its history its development coincided with and was largely the result of initiatives that sought to obtain recognition and equality of treatment for that element of the population which had historically been ignored, if not indeed discriminated against by its wealthier and better educated French-speaking compatriots.

Another reason for the ascendancy of the Flemish-speaking Christian workers in the overall movement was the fact that the Walloon area was the heartland of the industrial revolution in Belgium because of its mineral wealth, especially that of coal. Not too surprisingly, therefore, it was there that the socialist movement had acquired a headstart that Christian workers were hard put to compete with. By the time that Christian initiatives began there too, the phenomenon of dechristianization had begun to make itself felt: there were fewer workers there to whom an appeal based on a Christian vision of life was meaningful. Yet, be it in the Flemish or French-speaking areas, the original inspiration for the developing movement was explicitly couched in an anti-socialist outlook, socialism being considered as inherently vitiated by its materialistic and atheistic attributes.

Not too surprising, also, was the influence wielded in the early years by members of the clergy, such as the Reverend Antoine Pottier in the south and Father Georges Rutten, a Dominican priest, in the north. Not that these priests didn't have their own problems with their ecclesiastical superiors, especially Pottier, who was ultimately asked personally by Pope Leo XIII to discontinue his involvement in the growing Christian democratic movement. Father Rutten was more fortunate to find a largely sympathetic supporter in the person of Cardinal Mercier of World War I fame. But even this support could not always be relied upon, thus leading Father Rutten to conclude on one occasion, "What we are taken to task for is not our involvement in politics but our involvement in democratic politics."

Of all the constituent elements of the Christian Workers' Movement, the trade union component rapidly became the most important. To a large extent this was certainly true because of its rapidly increasing membership rolls. Already on the eve of World War II, this membership was in excess of 300,000. Within ten years after the end of that war, the number had doubled, and by 1959 it had exceeded that of the socialist trade unions. Its premier status remains evident to

this day, what with more than a million and a quarter being claimed by the early 1990's.

Another reason for the pre-eminence of the trade unions was no doubt also that they were able to maintain their cohesion and unity of purpose far better than some of the other components of the Christian Workers' Movement, some of which, such as the youth organizations in particular, were torn by internal divergences of view as to purpose and tactics. Here, as elsewhere, the decade of the 1960's led to a radicalization of points of view, the Belgian situation being singularly complicated by the historic Flemish-Walloon rivalries and confrontations. A case in point was the physical separation of the University of Louvain into two separate entities and campuses, and this despite all the efforts to the contrary by the hierarchy of the Catholic Church.

But even for the trade unions, the advent of the welfare state with all of the attending benefits for which they had struggled for so long, was not without creating a host of new problems for which the solutions are not yet clearly visible. What with the increasing fragmentation of the working class that is caused by the relentless pace of technological change, the trade unions are forever challenged to adapt principles and policies to unforeseen situations. No wonder that at a recent congress of the Belgian Confederation of Christian Trade Unions the main theme was that of "A trade union for the future" and that side by side with a traditional concern for economic growth and full employment a resolution was adopted that recognized concern for the environment as a new trade union priority.

What seems most remarkable is the fact that despite an evident weakening of the traditional ideological undergirding of the Christian labor movement—thus the trade unions only very rarely now refer to the "social doctrine" of the Church—it remains solidly implanted in Belgian public life. Unlike the situations in such other European countries as France, deconfessionalization does not seem to be an option for the future. Hence, both volumes end on a note of guarded optimism. Indicative of the restraint shown when it comes to forecasts is the concluding sentence of Volume I: "It is evident that the challenges augur for an interesting future for social history."

As mentioned earlier, these volumes bid fair to becoming essential reading for anyone interested in Belgian social history, with Volume II addressing itself more to the specialist reader who is less likely to be put off by the profusion of acronyms for Flemish and French names. Both volumes bring great credit to contemporary Belgian scholarship.

Gerard C. Thormann

Manhattanville College

Auf der Suche nach der verlorenen Katholizität: Die Briefe Friedrich von Hügels an Giovanni Semeria. By Giuseppe Zorzi. 2 vols. [Tübinger Studien zur Theologie und Philosophie, Vol. 3] (Mainz: Matthias-Grünewald Verlag. 1991. Pp. 301; 302-618. Paperback.)

This two-volume work is a splendidly edited and copiously annotated edition of Baron Friedrich von Hügel's letters to the Barnabite priest and theologian Giovanni Semeria and seeks to understand and contextualize von Hügel's and Semeria's role in the Modernist crisis as well as their version of a "Liberal Catholicism."

Volume I represents an effort in intellectual biography, based upon the correspondence between von Hügel and his fellow Italian Modernist as well as from numerous other sources and scholarly literature. But it is more than an intellectual biography, in that Zorzi seeks to understand the heart of von Hügel's theological concerns, in particular his attempt to forge in an intellectually open manner a religious apologia that does justice to scholarship and saintliness, incarnation and transcendence. In part one of the book, this intellectual and religious drama is shown as taking place in a life of vastly different influences, those of John Henry Newman; Henri Huvelin, the spiritual adviser; and the historical critic and exegete Alfred Loisy. In the second part we see von Hügel in dialogue with Semeria and other figures of the Modernist crisis. Here the main focus is on those themes and tensions that have characterized theology throughout the past two hundred years: questions of scientific autonomy and criticism, scholarship and dogma, as well as the role of ethics and spirituality amidst these creative yet fruitful tensions. The human characters representing these foci in the book are the friends of von Hügel with whom he engaged in a particularly intense discussion: Alfred Loisy, Maurice Blondel, George Tyrrell, and Giovanni Semeria. It is the presentation of Semeria's life, as reflected in von Hügel's correspondence, which struck this reviewer as especially valuable for the English reader who may not have been exposed to the Italian Modernist. We are presented here with the personal drama of the author of Scienza e Fede: his intellectual and spiritual quest, his struggle of conscience with institutional infringements amidst an active campaign of ecclesiastical denunciation and prohibition to preach and publish, and, finally, his exile in Brussels and subsequent military service. All along it was von Hügel's letters and support which in no small measure sustained Semeria, who is now considered a viable candidate for beatification. The third and final part of the book seeks to define von Hügel's position within the movement of Liberal Catholicism. Zorzi pays more attention to Loome's programmatic suggestions of Modernism as a more complex phenomenon than the "Modernist crisis" that took place during the pontificate of Pius X. But he does not agree with all judgments of Loome and develops his own characterizations of von Hügel's Liberal Catholicism within the context of several available options, among which the "ideological" modernism of Minocchi, Houtin, Buonaiuti, and Muni represents an especially powerful contrast. Von Hügel, according to the author, can also not be characterized with Loome as a more international version of von Döllinger minus the German savant's re-

jection of papal infallibility. Rather, and here the result of Zorzi coincides much with the estimate of the work of Peter Neuner, von Hügel's Liberal Catholicism is not only aware of the complexity, dynamism, and social dimensions of the historical situation but also grounds human knowledge and action not in a purely intellectual universe but places special value on the growth process by which an individual integrates the scientific and human tensions in an active religious life. The ideals and driving forces of such a life are those manifested throughout the Church's history: love and sanctity. Should the reader object that such an analysis of Modernism leaves the realm of historical movement for a theological ideal, the lives and correspondence of Baron Friedrich von Hügel and his priestly friend Giovanni Semeria are powerful witnesses pleading this very case in the outgoing nineteenth and beginning twentieth century.

Volume II presents von Hügel's letters in their French original, placed within the appropriate biographical and historical context and annotated with a detailed historical apparatus, which at times becomes somewhat excessive, but is never irrelevant. Unfortunately, only the fifty-nine letters of von Hügel but none of Semeria have survived. They span a period from 1895 to 1921, the heart of the Modernist crisis. Much of the editing and commentary to the letters had been prepared and made available to Zorzi by the Barnabite academic Antonio Gentili. The edition as well as Zorzi's study are in the judgment of this reviewer a valuable scholarly contribution not only to Modernist research and church history but also to historical theology, modern intellectual history, and the continuing discussion on what Catholicism should be like in the modern world.

Hans Rollmann

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Abbot Aelred Carlyle, Caldey Island, and the Anglo-Catholic Revival in England. By Rene Kollar. O.S.B. [American University Studies, Series VII: Theology and Religion, Vol. 177.] (New York: Peter Lang. 1995. Pp. xv, 363. $56.95.)

What are we to make of a man who, while pioneering the restoration of Benedictine life for men in the Church of England, emphasized contemplation and poverty, yet built the most sumptuous abbey in England, with a two-story abbatial dwelling and chapel, maintained a yacht for the sole use of himself and his guests, and had at his disposal a chauffeur-driven Daimler to take him on his begging tours in support of this opulent lifestyle? Peter Anson, an erstwhile member of Carlyle's community, portrayed him in two books of personal recollections as a rogue who stumbled into a position of fame and influence. Anson's "Abbot Extraordinary" was something of a rogue. But in these carefully researched and well written pages Rene Kollar shows that he was more.

Born into a middle-class family in Sheffield in 1874, Carlyle briefly studied medicine, but soon became fascinated by the hothouse world of Anglo-Catholicism.

Possessed, in the words of so keen an observer as Ronald Knox, of "the hypnotic gaze of a mystic," Carlyle gathered around him a community of monks who settled in Yorkshire in 1902, in quarters supplied by the Anglo-Catholic enthusiast Charles Lindley Wood, Second Viscount Halifax. In 1906 the community moved to the Welsh island of Caldey, Carlyle himself having managed meanwhile to get himself ordained deacon and priest by the Episcopalian Bishop of Fond du Lac, Wisconsin, during a flamboyant American tour in 1904.

Ronald Knox, who as the brilliant son of an Anglican bishop had intellectual gifts and establishment connections never enjoyed by Carlyle, wrote later that "there was a faint air of make-believe about Caldey's Anglicanism . . . something of fairyland about it." Given the abbot's mediocre intellectual gifts and lack of theological training, combined with his flagrant disregard for sound business practices and his propensity to borrow and build without capital, it is remarkable that the enterprise which he erected on the slenderest of foundations, and maintained with a breath-taking combination of fantasy and bravado, lasted as long as it did. In 1913 Carlyle and twenty of his monks entered the Roman Catholic Church. Six who remained Anglicans formed the nucleus of the Benedictine community later established at Nashdom Abbey, with a subsequent foundation at Three Rivers, Michigan.

Whether Carlyle was driven out of the Church of England by the rigidity of the Anglican prelates to whom he appealed, or whether he himself provoked expulsion, is shrouded in the self-cultivated ambiguity which surrounded him throughout his career. Kollar's account concludes with Carlyle's exclaustration in 1921. An epilogue briefly recounts his fruitful ministry as a diocesan priest in British Columbia, retirement to his old community as an oblate, and burial in 1955 as their Abbot Founder in their new and current home in Prinknash.

Kollar has done an enormous amount of original research in unpublished sources, obscure journals and newspapers. He tells the bizarre and fascinating story with an understanding rare in those who have never experienced Anglicanism from within.

John Jay Hughes

Archdiocese of St. Louis

Acta Nuntiaturae Polonae, Tomus LVII: Achilles Ratti (1918-1921), volume 1 (25 IV-31 VII 1918). Edited by Stanislaus Wilk, S.D.B. (Rome: Institutum Historicum Polonicum. 1995. Pp. xxxviii, 454.)

At the age of sixty, Monsignor Achille Ratti labored in contented obscurity as prefect of the Vatican Library, seemingly having reached the pinnacle of a quietly distinguished career of churchly scholarship; four years later he was pope, and as the formidable Pius XI he would occupy the throne of St. Peter for the better part of the perilous two decades between the world wars. The trans-

forming interlude in his life was an eventful three-year stint as nuncio to Poland, restored to statehood after more than a century of subjection to foreign rule, and this assignment so defined him that the Italian press called him ilpapapolacco long before the world ever heard of Karol Wojtyia. This latest installment in a useful series devoted to publication of the papers of the Polish nunciature offers a fascinating glimpse into the origins of one of the more historically significant modern papacies.

Of course, the Polish mission involved bigger stakes than a notch on Achille Ratti's résumé, no matter how impressive. At the time of his posting in the spring of 1918 to a puppet Poland cobbled up by the momentarily ascendant Central Powers, the great war had just entered its convulsive final stage that toppled ancient dynasties and unleashed Bolshevism. The ultimate defeat and collapse of all three of the great empires of Central and Eastern Europe—Russia, Germany, and Austria-Hungary—produced chaos and upheaval, gave rise to a jumble of successor states including a genuinely independent Polish republic, and compelled a thorough reorganization of the Church in those regions. The Vatican made Ratti its point man in the daunting task of rehabilitating Catholicism in Poland and its environs after many decades of oppression, an assignment complicated by politics, national rivalries, and—not least—the unfolding revolution in Russia, a danger made bluntly manifest to the erstwhile librarian in 1920 when he bravely refused to join other diplomats in evacuating Warsaw as the Poles barely repulsed a Red Army attack on their capital. For all that, Ratti made enemies in Poland and departed virtually as persona non grata; luckily for him, Pope Benedict XV judged his work more highly, rewarding him with the cardinalate that stood him in good stead once the next conclave assembled less than a year later.

This volume covers the initial three months of the Ratti sojourn, and the approximately 130 documents here reprinted—drawn almost without exception from the Warsaw nunciature collections in the Vatican Archives—largely have to do with such matters as the progress of the war, the conditions of ecclesiastical life in the Polish lands and the crumbling Russian Imperium, the circumstances of Ratti's appointment, and his dealings with the German occupation regime that held sway in Poland until the armistice. Many of the entries reproduce the traffic between Ratti and the Papal Secretary of State, Pietro Cardinal Gasparri. Another frequent correspondent is Eugenio Pacelli, the nuncio in Munich, who helped to secure German permission for the Ratti mission and eventually succeeded him as Pius XII. Approximately half of the documents are in Italian, with most of the remainder in Latin and French and scattered items in German and Polish.

As in the preceding issues of the Acta, the main text is enhanced by a wealth of annotation and supplements. The editor, Stanislaw Wilk, a noted specialist in modern Polish church history, has provided an informative introduction, bibliographies, notes on sources, and an itinerary of Ratti's comings and goings during his Polish service. All supporting materials are in Latin, which may qualify as

a minor shortcoming: one can easily imagine that much of the potential audience for this book might have appreciated brief summaries in Polish. That quibble aside, the plain fact remains that this admirable compilation takes its place as an indispensable resource for students of the life and work of Pius XI as well as the single most valuable publication on the Ratti nunciature in Poland. No scholar in either field can afford to overlook it.

Neal Pease

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Monseigneur Saliège: Archevêque de Toulouse, 1929-1956. By Jean-Louis Clément. [Bibliothèque Beauchesne: Religions - Société - Politique, Volume 23.] (Paris: Beauchesne. 1994. Pp. 415. FF 210 paperback.)

This work is much more than a biographical study of Cardinal Saliège. It is, in fact, a comprehensive analysis of the intellectual, spiritual, and political context in which the justly renowned Archbishop of Toulouse lived and labored, especially in the dark years preceding and during World War II.

Jean-Louis Clément, its author, utilizes the comprehensive methodology characteristic of the best contemporary French scholarship in the field of church history. The influence of his mentor, Jean-Marie Mayeur, is pervasively evident in this study, which he directed in its initial form as a doctoral dissertation at the Sorbonne. However, in its revised form, this work is gracefully written and cogently argued, with none of the shortcomings often associated with reworked dissertations.

The single most impressive aspect of this book is the quality of the research conducted by the author. National, ministerial, and departmental archives as well as pertinent church sources of every type have been carefully combed and complemented by a sweeping study of published sources and a whole array of personal interviews. The resulting work, which effectively draws on the findings of French religious sociologists and intellectual historians, emphasizes mainly the crucial decade 1936-1946. It is during this period—from the Popular Front through the Fall of France, Vichy, the Resistance, and the Liberation—that Archbishop Saliège emerged as arguably the most outspoken French bishop and certainly the most vocal champion of the Jewish victims of Nazi and Vichy persecution.

What Clément compellingly demonstrates is the continuity of conviction on which Archbishop Saliège based his often politically controversial, but always soundly orthodox teaching. Whether it concerned the excesses of liberal capitalism, the dangers of Communism, or the injustice of anti-Semitism, his teaching—usually expressed in pastoral letters—was solidly derived from his thoroughly Incarnational orientation in theology and spirituality. In this regard, the profound influence of Teilhard de Chardin, SJ., on Archbishop Saliège is particularly well examined by the author.

In sum, this book is written for specialists in the study of twentieth-century France by a young scholar of truly outstanding professional ability. It supersedes the earlier biography of Cardinal Saliège by Jean Guitton and sets a lofty standard for future biographers of church leaders.

Francis J. Murphy

Boston College

Clemens August Graf von Galen: Neue Forschungen zum Leben und Wirken des Bischofs von Münster. Edited by Joachim Kuropka. (Münster: Regensburg. 1992. Pp. 439. DM 48.)

Clemens August Graf von Galen, Bishop of Münster (and, after the war, Cardinal), earned the reputation of being a résister to National Socialism. At home and abroad, von Galen was depicted as a representative of the "other" Germany; the Germany which refused to be co-ordinated to Nazism's ideology. He received worldwide fame in August, 1941, when he delivered a series of sermons in which he took aim at Nazi policies, especially that of the euthanasia program. Von Galen, the strong Catholic prelate, opposed Nazism's attempts to interfere with the practice of Catholicism in Germany. Von Galen, the ultra-nationalist, at the same time praised the German invasion of the Soviet Union.

This works suggests the complexities of a conservative German Catholic nationalist who chose his positions concerning National Socialism selectively. Several German monographs studying the bishop already exist. The present volume is a valuable collection of recent studies, edited by Joachim Kuropka. Brought up in an aristocratic and strict household, the young "Clau's" intellectual and spiritual development is explored in the first three essays. Barbara Imbusch cites von Galen's ultra-nationalism during World War I when he called for the replacement of the Lithuanian population by settling German Catholic nobility in their place (p. 39). Other essays, such as Klemen-August Recker's, show von Galen to have been not only ultra-nationalistic, but also anti-democratic and anti-socialist.

Joachim Maier and Susanne Leschinski focus on the bishop's ideas of justice and natural rights. In the latter essay, the author emphasizes von Galen's overarching anti-Communism and his strong criticism of the British occupation forces in postwar Germany. Maier, like Leschinski, points out how throughout von Galen's religious career (which began in 1919 and ended with his death in 1946) he remained a nationalist who adamantly rejected any notion of German guilt.

The essays by Willenborg, Koopmeiners, Damberg, and Arens examine von Galen on religious instruction. Willenborg and Koopmeiners highlight the bishop's constant struggle to ensure religious education for the young children in his diocese. Damberg argues that von Galen, at the Synod of 1936 in Münster,

laid the preliminary groundwork for Vatican Council II by stressing the need for Catholics to participate in an urban, pluralistic society while still maintaining their faith through close networks of unions, associations, and educational groups within the Catholic community. Arens looks at what the three famous summer sermons came to mean and concludes that von Galen came to represent a "religious Führer" (p. 401) of Germany. Yet Teuber and Seelhorst provide evidence how the German episcopacy, including von Galen, backed away from speaking out for Jews.

Perhaps the most pivotal essay in the book is by the editor when he directly addresses the issue of how historians today are struggling to redefine what constitutes resistance. According to him, von Galen was a résister because he was so viewed by the Hitler government. The cement which holds this together is the theme that von Galen's postwar image remains largely intact.

Beth Griech-Polelle

Rutgers University

El catolicismo mundial y la guerra de España. By Javier Tusell and Genoveva García Quiepo de Llano. (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos. 1993. Pp. xiii, 384.)

The Spanish Civil war was a defining moment for Catholics throughout the world. In this fine study, the authors measure the impact of that struggle upon Catholics in Spain, France, Italy, Britain, and the United States. The work is based on an exhaustive reading of the sources, primarily the press and the polemical writings of the engaged. Three major events of the war influenced Catholic views: the anticlerical fury of 1936 which resulted in the deaths of thousands of clergy and laity; the complexity of issues surrounding the Basque Catholics' support of the Republic; and the Spanish bishops' pastoral letter of 1937 justifying their support for Franco's Nationalists.

In Spain itself, the authors argue that although the religious question was not a primary cause of the war, by the time the anticlerical fury had run its course, the majority of Spaniards who supported Franco did so for religious reasons. This may be hard to prove, but it is certainly true of Catholics abroad. Furthermore, Catholics abroad also reacted on the basis of the religious situation in their own countries, so that the war became, as historian K.W. Watkins has pointed out, a mirror that reflected the problems within each country. Tusell and Quiepo de Llano claim that the Spanish war came to play a major role in the evolution of Catholicism. The conflict between the Nationalist-supporting majority and the vocal anti-Nationalist minority in each country stifled the development of progressive movements within the Church. It also created a great deal of long-lasting bitterness and hostility between the two groups.

The authors give splendid summaries and comparisons of the religious situation in all of the countries. France gets the greatest attention: it was the foreign

nation most directly concerned, and in Maritain, Bernanos, Mauriac, and Mounier it had the most powerful intellectuals who opposed the Nationalists. The dispute there was the same as elsewhere and centered on what one considered the primary cause of the war: the religious question or the social question. Those Catholics abroad who viewed the social question as the most important urged neutrality and in some cases support for the Republic, while those who argued the religious question supported the Nationalists and came to see the war as a crusade against a communist-satanic conspiracy.

The authors correctly point out that other countries' reactions cannot be understood without reference to the French reaction; only in Britain and the United States was this not completely the case. There the reaction was a response to Catholic-Protestant tensions. The authors devote substantial space to the British and American reactions, and while they do not present any new facts or interpretations, their assessment and descriptions are sound and complete. Their description of the Italian reaction is the most complete in print.

The authors conclude that the impact of the war on the Catholic conscience was bitter and negative in spite of the victory of that side for which most Spanish Catholics fought. Abroad, the war set Catholics back in their attempts to integrate themselves into democratic institutions, and it further embittered Catholic-Protestant relations.

There are many excellent observations and insights in this study that unfortunately cannot be mentioned in a brief review.

José M. Sanchez

Saint Louis University

God and Humanity in Auschwitz. Jewish-Christian Relations and Sanctioned Murder. By Donald J. Dietrich. (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers. 1995. Pp. xii, 355. $34.95.)

This scholarly study by Donald J. Dietrich, chairman of the Department of Theology in Boston College, shows the impact of the Holocaust on developments in theology since the end of World War II. The author points to the thesis of Rosemary Ruether (pp. 24-26, 106, 174) that Christianity must get rid of its anti-Semitic theology, flowing from St. John's Gospel, and its consequences so evident in the Holocaust. To this end, it is necessary to get rid of "supersessionism" in Christian theology so that Christians can engage in constructive dialogue with Jews. Such a position, of course, is quite understandable in this era after the Second Vatican Council.

Living today in the global village has made people aware that there are different brands of Christianity. While the core of Christian dogma is the same all over the world, its practices differ from nation to nation because of inculturation. In Christianity's own adjustment to Western society, there arose the prob-

lern that today confronts theologians who are striving to move believers away from the theological and historical anti-Semitism of a past marked by the Holocaust to a level of beliefs and practices shaped more directly by an improved understanding of the Jewishness of Jesus and by a conscientious reflection in society of the dignity of the human person.

Though the author does not mention him, St. Vincent of Lérins, writing in the fifth century, focused on the meaning of the development of doctrine when he said (see Cap. 23: PL, 50, 667-668) that "it must truly be development of the faith, not alteration of the faith." Actually, Dietrich is very careful to avoid any "alteration of the faith" by supporting his own position through a constructive analysis of the contributions coming after the Holocaust from influential Christian theologians like Bernard Lonergan, Johannes Metz, Karl Rahner, and others, in addition to Jewish scholars.

Since many contemporary experts in different disciplines have written extensively on issues that relate to his study, Dietrich points the way in this time after Auschwitz to a theology that will improve relations among Jews and Christians and that will never tolerate anything like another Holocaust. He believes that such a goal can be achieved if theologians, in addition to stripping Christology of its anti-Semitism, also eliminate from it the impact of the Enlightenment. In the latter's emphasis on modernity, so evident in its support of racial anti-Semitism, it combined with the religious anti-Semitism of Christianity to shape a civilization in Europe that was inclined to tolerate rather than condemn what the Nazis did in stereotyping, isolating, and destroying the Jews during World War II.

Dietrich's study might discourage readers unfamiliar with the issues which he confronts in trying to develop a theology that must transform culture and be sensitive to the social dimension of sin. Yet, if one perseveres in following the author's analysis, this synthesis will prove rewarding for anyone concerned about building up relations between Jews and Christians. Here one finds a study comprehensive enough in theology and history to enable a person to participate fruitfully in dialogue on religion and morality in an era when Christianity continues to adjust itself to the contemporary world.

Vincent A. Lapomarda

College of the Holy Cross

American

The Roman Catholics. By Patrick W. Carey. [Denominations in America, Number 6.] (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press. 1993- Pp- xii, 375. $55.00.)

A volume in the publisher's "Denominations in America" series edited by Henry Warner Bowden, this work is organized according to a prescribed design: Part One includes the historical narrative and analysis of the principal persons, trends, and topics that dominate eight chapters from 1492 to 1990; Part Two is a Biographical Dictionary of Roman Catholic Leaders. Because of his previous works on trusteeism, John England, and several topics in American Catholic life and thought, Patrick W Carey reveals a thorough familiarity with the complex intersection of religion and American culture. Hence, each of the chapters is thematically developed with a fine balance between general trends and factual evidence.

Drawing upon his publications on the contours of specific periods, such as Republican and Romantic Catholicism, Carey frames the narrative on themes related to religious identities. In a sense each mural depicts the dynamic relationship between such institutions as parishes, schools, religious orders, episcopal leadership and trusteeism, parish missions, ethnic separatism, spirituality, and ecclesiology. With a proper regard for detail in the foreground, the perspective is shaped by religion and social contexts with a broad-brushed theological horizon.

Undergraduate and beginning graduate students would benefit from this excellent comprehensive history (147 pages). The biographical sketches range from about fifty to two hundred and fifty words. These sketches include such mainstream figures as Cardinal George Mundelein and John Courtney Murray, SJ., but there are many women and persons of color representing social, intellectual, theological, and spiritual contributions to American religious and cultural life. For example, there are biographical renderings of Daniel Rudd, Thomas Wyatt Turner, Louise Imogen Guiney, and Catherine de Hueck Doherty. Because this is such a valuable reference work with bibliographical information on each person, this book belongs on the shelves of college libraries as well as those belonging to professors of religious history.

Christopher J. Kauffman

The Catholic University ofAmerica

The Pueblo Revolt of 1680: Conquest and Resistance in Seventeenth-Century New Mexico. By Andrew L. Knaut. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1995. Pp. xx, 248. $29.95 clothbound.)

Concise, lively, and well-crafted, this retelling has much more to say about development of the seventeenth-century Spanish colony than about its stunning climax of 1680. But by what other title would the book grab greater attention?

Knaut aspires to reinterpret. Skillfully utilizing available printed primary and most standard secondary sources, he attempts "to glean the Pueblo role in shaping the history of seventeenth-century New Mexico and in carrying out successfully the revolt of 1680" (pp. xiv-xv). The Pueblo Indians were not, he reassures us, passive pawns manipulated for three generations by culturally superior Europeans until, abused beyond endurance, they exploded in 1680. Instead, in diverse ways, they resisted colonization from the beginning, adeptly exploiting dissension within the Hispanic community and subtly influencing its culturally isolated members. These are valid points, but I think Knaut goes too far.

The author cannot imagine Pueblo Indians accepting "the bitter pill of conversion" (p. 77) or "the Spanish and Franciscan yoke" (p. 86) for any but practical reasons of food supply or military protection. He approves the natives' defense and continued clandestine practice of their own rich sacred tradition, yet fails to consider where it came from. Who were the kachinas? Earlier, Pueblo peoples had accepted spiritual concepts that worked their way up from Mesoamerica. To exalt their descendants' resistance to Spanish imposition of a further wave of religious ideas denies the Pueblos credit for accepting anything on spiritual grounds.

Although their population declined by at least fifty percent during the period 1598 to 1680, the Pueblo Indians still vastly outnumbered the multi-racial Hispanic community. Knaut rightly suggests that the Indian majority had significant influence on the European minority, but he exaggerates the latter's cultural isolation and economic stagnation. Sworn declarations before the Inquisition do offer fascinating evidence of Hispanic recourse to native cures, curses, and customs, but they are neither "countless" (p. 150) nor necessarily normative.

Hispanic-Pueblo miscegenation certainly took place, but to what degree? Knaut's claim of its "widespread incidence … in the colony throughout the seventeenth century" (p. 134) has not been substantiated. Many of the oft-maligned mestizos, linked by detractors in the same breath with mulattoes, came from other parts of New Spain. "As a mestizo," Knaut writes, "Aguilar represented what had become, by the time of his birth in the third decade of the seventeenth century, a large portion of the Hispanic population in the province. Isolated among an overwhelming native population, Hispanics in New Mexico inevitably intermixed with Pueblo Indians" (p. 139). Born in Michoacán, Nicolás de Aguilar had emigrated via Parral to New Mexico where he married a Spanish woman, not a Pueblo.

After Spanish recolonization in the l690's, Knaut concludes, "miscegenation continued to erase the genetic lines separating the land's native inhabitants from the newest set of colonists" (p. 186). What seems more remarkable to me is how the Pueblos, including mixed-blood babies raised by them, and Híspanles kept and still keep their reassuringly separate cultural identities.

Having raised these important questions, I hope Andrew Knaut will return to consider them further with the same verve he has demonstrated in this spirited first book.

John L. Kessell

University of New Mexico

Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization: The Impact of the Mission System on California Indians. By Robert H. Jackson and Edward Castillo. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1995. Pp. vii, 213. $32.50.)

The impact of the Franciscan missions on the Indians of California long has been a subject of intense debate. Even during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when the missions were in their ascendancy, visitors expressed widely different views. The debate continues today as the founder of the California missions, Father Junípero Serra, O.F.M., moves toward canonization as the first saint of the Golden State.

Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization is a major contribution to this ongoing controversy. Historian Robert H. Jackson and anthropologist Edward Castillo (Cahuilla/Luiseño) summarize and advance the critical view of the missions, challenging various contentions held by mission defenders. The authors criticize especially the "parochialism that has characterized a century of writing on the missions, both professional and popular" (p. 6). Their intention is to place the history of the California missions within the larger context of Spanish colonization of the Americas. Thus, in their analysis, the fundamental purpose of the missions was "to acculturate the Alta California Indians and prepare them for their role in a new colonial order" (p. 6).

Jackson and Castillo challenge specifically the contention that the Indians of California were attracted to the missions by the promise of a steady food supply. Through extensive statistical analysis, the authors find little correlation between levels of grain production in the missions and the numbers of new recruits. "Food supply," they conclude, "was therefore not a major determinant in the ability of the Franciscans to relocate Indians to the missions" (p. 47). This conclusion supports the earlier view of physiologist S. F. Cook that the Franciscans resorted to forced recruitment, a view refuted by the historian-archivist Father Francis Guest, O.F.M.

The authors also challenge the findings of the geographer David Hornbeck that the missionaries, in later years, shifted away from the acculturation of the

Indians to large-scale commercial agriculture. Jackson and Castillo argue that both acculturation and the production of agricultural surpluses were present throughout the mission period. Indeed this was part of the original plan for the extension of Spanish control to Alta California: The missionaries were obligated to provide surplus agricultural products to the supporting military garrisons to help defray the costs of colonization.

The chapter on "Resistance and Social Control in the Alta California Missions" is a hard-hitting blow to mission apologists. In wrenching detail, the authors trace the evolution of resistance by the California Indians to missionization. Early resistance was led by traditional village chiefs and shamans; later resistance leaders came from the ranks of mission neophytes. Active resistance included the poisoning and murdering of priests; passive resistance included flight, work slow-downs, and maintaining a "wall of silence" to protect traditional beliefs. Floggings, stocks, shackles, and other forms of public humiliation were used by the Spanish missionaries to break the resistance and prepare the Indians for their place in the new colonial order.

The account of the California missions offered here stands in stark contrast to what is found in the works of such historians as Harry Kelsey and Doyce Nunis, historians damned by Castillo and Jackson as representing "an older, eurocentric and triumphal view of the experience of California Indians in the missions" (p. 85). It remains for the reader to find the truth.

James J. Rawls

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The Myth of American Individualism: The Protestant Origins of American Political Thought. By Barry Alan Shain. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xix, 394. $39.50.)

With this tightly organized, carefully argued study, Barry Alan Shain makes a major contribution to the contemporary debate over the political ideology of the American Revolutionary era. In recent decades, the hitherto accepted perspective that the revolutionary generation was committed to liberal individualism has come under assault from revisionists who insist that the concept of republicanism better explains the political theory of late eighteenth-century Americans. Shain, a political scientist teaching at Colgate, offers an alternative interpretation. Basing his work on an extensive reading of primary materials, particularly New England election sermons, as well as virtually all the important secondary sources, he argues that reformed Protestant thought and a strong communitarian thrust defined the Revolutionary generation's values and ideas.

While finding his thesis congruent with the presence of both republicanism and early modern rationalism, Shain systematically demolishes the argument for

individualism by exploring in depth two concepts central to the Revolution. The first of these, the public or common good, was privileged by republicanism, rationalism, and reformed Protestantism over any appeal to the private needs of individuals. In fact, the autonomous self was viewed as sinful and hence to be distrusted. Autonomy belonged not to individuals, but to communities and families; and communal concerns and values drove the politics of the Revolutionary era. Staunchly majoritarian, localism then and afterwards could be abusive of minorities and intolerant of what was regarded as deviant behavior. Those like the Loyalists who balked at the community consensus had few alternatives to leaving.

The second portion of the book examines the various meanings of liberty. Shain locates eight, only one of which was related to individualism. The most basic was spiritual liberty, the capacity to respond voluntarily to "a life of righteousness" (p. 193) within a situation heavily influenced by original sin. What a person might consider liberty today—the freedom to do whatever one wishes—the Revolutionary generation regarded as license. True liberty meant possessing sufficient control over oneself to choose the virtuous course of action, "the freedom to act in rationally or religiously responsible ways" (p. 201). Personal liberty was not individual autonomy but what Shain calls "familial independence" f. 179), the ownership of sufficient property to avoid social, political, or economic subservience to others.

Even ownership of private property, however, was not an absolute value, but was meant to serve society and the public good. The revolutionary generation regarded only two rights as inalienable: freedom of conscience and political liberty, the ability of a community to self-government. The final chapter illustrates the communal character of liberty by its opposite, slavery. Much more than chattel slavery, the term indicated a condition of dependence that prevented the political and personal liberty that was only possible within the supportive reciprocal relationships of a community.

In sum, Shain argues that America's roots are to be found in a reformed Protestant, communal past. His thoughtful conclusion makes it clear, however, that he is not advocating a return to those values. Indeed, he suggests that may not be possible or even desirable.

Thomas E. Buckley, SJ.

Loyola Marymount University

Marvels of Charity: History of American Sisters and Nuns. By George C. Stewart, Jr. (Huntington, Indiana: Our Sunday Visitor Publishing Division, Our Sunday Visitor, Inc. 1994. Pp. 607.)

Stewart's "Acknowledgments" begin with the statement: "No average Catholic, the intended readership, could be less knowledgeable about the history of

American sisters and nuns than I was at the outset of this book. However, abysmal ignorance was a distinct advantage in one respect—I unhesitatingly sought help from any and all sources throughout the research process." That ignorance, leading Stewart to knowledgeable, professional help, was certainly bolstered by a love and respect for American sisters and nuns. It also led him to valuable sources, the success of which is attested to by the final product. The number of pages in this book should not frighten readers away. The publisher chose type and format for a pleasant reading experience. It has been well edited so that there are very few typographical errors or strange sentence constructions. Valuable appendices are found on pages 474 to 571; these are followed by a glossary that could prove helpful to the uninitiated and "Select Bibliography." I would not hesitate to recommend this book to students or anyone interested in the topic.

In addition to being a history, this book could well serve as a ready reference on the topic of women religious in the United States. In "Appendix A: Order Title Abbreviations," for example, one can find all the abbreviations listed alphabetically with the official title of each congregation that uses it. After the congregation's title is found the number given the community in the Official Catholic Directory, thus simplifying the search for further information. Most of the photographs in the book are of sisters and nuns in traditional habits, historical records in their own right.

Because of the vast number of communities of women religious it would be "impossible," as Stewart was advised in his early planning stages, to write about every community in detail. He has, therefore, divided the 200-year history into periods, presented a summary of the general historical conditions of that period, and then shown how particular communities were established or adapted to bring the Gospel message to people during the period. "Appendix G" briefly recognizes the life and work of "Non-Catholic Women Religious." Stewart's "Epilogue" is an excellent summary of the efforts of American women religious to renew themselves in order to fulfill their mission in modern times. It has the strength that comes from understanding the background and the milieu in which the struggle has taken place without being personally involved.

I thank George Stewart for taking on a work most of us would have agreed was impossible. The "average Catholic" can thank him for providing a concise and readable history of women religious.

Barbara Misner, S.C.S.C.

Sisters of Mercy of the Holy Cross
Merrill, Wisconsin

Cross, Crozier, and Crucible: A Volume Celebrating the Bicentennial of a Catholic Diocese in Louisiana. Edited by General Editor Glenn R. Conrad. (Lafayette, Louisiana: The Archdiocese of New Orleans in cooperation with the Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana. 1993. Pp. xxxii,683. $35.00.)

As the title suggests, this work was put together to celebrate the 200th anniversary of the establishment of a Catholic diocese in Louisiana. The general editor, Glenn Conrad, was assisted by five associate editors, namely, Earl F. Niehaus, Alfred E. LemmonJ. Edgar Bruns, Emilie Dietrich Griffin, and Charles Nolan. Each of the editors helped in organizing and bringing the project to completion in addition to writing some of the individual essays.

The book is divided into six sections. In all, thirty-nine contributors either researched or wrote the forty-six essays (including section introductions) in the volume. Part I looks at the ethnic breakdown of Louisiana historically. Part II examines the role of bishops and the growth of missions within the state. Part III analyzes efforts at evangelization and education, while Part IV concentrates on looking at specific individuals and movements and their contributions to Louisiana Catholicism. Finally, Part V explores the richness of Catholicism in Louisiana's fine arts, while Part VI provides an extensive bibliographical essay. The book concludes with an epilogue written by Archbishop Oscar Lipscomb, in which he provides his personal prognosis for Louisiana Catholicism based on the book's title, Cross, Crozier, and Crucible. Undoubtedly, the book attempts to look at practically every aspect of the Louisiana Catholic Church within the last 200 years.

In evaluating Cross, Crozier, and Crucible, the most outstanding characteristic of this work is its size. At 683 pages with a chronology, a brief photo essay, an appendix on bishops and archbishops of Louisiana, and an index, the book is massive. Its coverage of relevant topics is good. Some of the essays are well done, especially Earl Niehaus on blacks and Catholics, Elisabeth Joan Doyle on the Catholic Press in Louisiana, Patricia Lynch on Mother Katharine Drexel's rural schools, and Boniface Adams on the Holy Family Sisters. Charles Nolan's bibliographical essay is more than a starting point for anyone interested in the Louisiana Catholic Church. Moreover, the book's approach offers an interesting perspective on the Catholic Church. Here, the editors not only decided to take a general overview of what was developing in the Church's history, but they also emphasized the importance of the individual as a person and/or movement as well. The chapters on James Thomas Nix by Rosary Hartel and Al and Patti Mansfield's essay on the Catholic Charismatic Renewal in Louisiana reflect this quite effectively.

Nevertheless, just as the book has its strengths, there are some weaknesses too. It is not surprising that there is a basic "uneven" quality in the essays. There tends to be more of an emphasis on the earlier periods of Catholicism's development in Louisiana even though authors generally talked of the paucity of sources available. Ironically, despite its comprehensiveness, the book offers lit-

tie statistical information on Louisiana Catholicism. The editors really could have helped those interested in Louisiana Catholicism had they provided such information. And lastly, the book does not address the important issue of placing Louisiana Catholicism in the context of Southern Catholicism or Catholicism in general. Still, despite these shortcomings, Cross, Crozier, and Crucible is a factual goldmine for anyone interested in how the Catholic Church developed in Louisiana over the last 200 years.

Michael V. Namorato

University of Mississippi

At Peace with All Their Neighbors: Catholics and Catholicism in the National Capital, 1787-1860. By William W. Warner. (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 307. $29.95.)

It is not unusual for an author to exceed his mandate, but in this case what began as a history of a single parish by the author of the Pulitzer Prize-winning Beautiful Swimmers was transformed in the doing into a sweeping retrospective of regional Catholic history during the nation's first half-century. Attention to Holy Trinity, the oldest parish in the District of Columbia, pretty much ends at Chapter Two; the rest is devoted to an exploration of the role of the leading Catholic families of Maryland, not only in the establishment of the Federal city, but also in the development of an outward-looking attitude among Catholics toward their fellow citizens which featured an openness, lively concern, and self-confidence that belied their minority status.

The significance of this so-called Maryland Tradition has long been discussed by American historians. Widely read works by Spalding and Dolan, for example, point to a distinctly American Catholic attitude toward church-state relations and ecumenism that developed during the years of colonial persecution and the era of toleration associated with the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights. Warner has taken a close look at the lives and careers of individuals who made up the Maryland tradition and in the process validates this historical assumption.

He deftly guides the reader through the genealogical maze of interrelated families from their appearance in Lord Baltimore's colony to their role in the feisty political and commercial arena of pre-Civil War Washington. Some of these names survive in popular memory merely as geographical curiosities—Queen's Chapel, Fenwick Island, Brentwood. Warner shows them, along with the more familiar Neale, Sentîmes, Mudd, and Mathews families, to have been exemplars of charity and public service. In the case of James Hoban (who married into the Maryland aristocracy), the resulting full-length portrait reveals the decisive role played by the Irish architect, builder, businessman, and politician in the development of the capital.

As might be expected, the extended Carroll clan is treated in detail. Especially useful is the chapter devoted to Daniel Carroll of Duddington, the area's major landholder and, along with his Catholic relative Notley Young, one of the proprietors with whom George Washington struck a deal for the acquisition of city land. Warner convincingly demonstrates that civic-mindedness, not commercial gain, was the dominating motive in these transactions. He goes on to show how this civic-mindedness, along with well-known Catholic support for education and charities, helped blunt nativist attempts to organize anti-Catholic sentiment in Washington in the 1850's.

Obviously in such a broad survey some nuances are lost. For example, I wonder what Warner's take is on the Neale-Grassi agreement, the Jesuits' unsuccessful effort to wrest control of St. Patrick's church and other popular missions. In the end an exasperated Father William Matthews, the doughty patriarch of St. Patrick's, recommended that the archbishop grant the Jesuits a parish "east of the Tiber," to still their disruptive but persistent effort to gain a foothold among the Federal city's parishes (in the end they were given St. Aloysius on swampy North Capitol Street). Despite the author's effort to provide a proper context, I also believe he paints too sanguine a picture of race relations in Catholic society. As Albert Foley and others suggest, strict segregation in all but St. Patrick's church and the exclusion of African Americans from Catholic institutions led many black Catholics to embrace the idea of a racially separate parish. Moreover, to dismiss the sale of Jesuit slaves down river as a "heartless decision" made in Rome surely glosses over a most sordid page in American Catholic history.

In his closing paragraphs the author uses an apt metaphor, calling these early Washingtonians "the first face of American Catholicism," a face that showed tolerance and benignity, one at peace with its neighbors. His study provides convincing evidence for this assertion.

Morris J. MacGregor

Arlington, Virginia

A Parish for the Federal City: St. Patrick's in Washington, 1794-1994. By Morris J. MacGregor. (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press. 1994. Pp. xiv,463. $29.95.)

Despite its institutional centrality within the American Catholic communal experience, the parish has received relatively little attention from historians. All the more surprising, then, that the year before last saw the publication of not one but two distinguished parish-based histories of the Catholic experience in the District of Columbia, At Peace With All Their Neighbors by William Warner, and A Parish for the Federal City.

St. Patrick's, the first parish established in Washington after the creation of the federal enclave, was from the beginning and for more than a century after-

wards the heart of the Catholic community in the area. Its central location, between the Capitol and the White House, gave it an enduring importance through the leadership of several remarkable pastors and the institutions that they sponsored. Founded by an Irish immigrant priest for the largely Irish artisans and tradesmen engaged in the construction of Washington, St. Patrick's became a heterogeneous nineteenth-century community comprising transplanted gentry, government clerks and workers, laborers and slaves. Parishioners included such prominent public figures as the architects James Hoban and Benjamin Latrobe, Chief Justice Roger Taney, and two mayors of the city. Led by its pastor of more than five decades, William Matthews, the parish was vitally involved in the social antebellum life of the city. In a population that was but one-fifth Catholic, St. Patrick's by mid-century was itself responsible for the education of almost half of Washington's students, through the orphanages, free schools, and academies that Matthews started. Its charitable and reform organizations were major city-wide operations. Converts were numerous, including many free blacks who were attracted to the integrated services and Sunday school at St. Patrick's. Matthews and several of the most prominent laymen of the parish were among those who petitioned Congress as early as the 1820's to abolish the slave trade in Washington and adopt a policy of gradual emancipation. When Matthews died in 1854, his funeral was an ecumenical event for the entire city.

By then nativism was about to strike Washington, and the Irish immigration that would eventually dominate the parish was well under way. In the postwar period the parish community became increasingly insulated as its myriad societies and activities provided not bridges to the larger society but refuges from it with the Carroll Institute, a fraternity and sports club, becoming the social center of Catholic Washington. At the turn of the century, however, outmigration of middle-class Catholics from the area had long begun to empty St. Patrick's pews. Two dynamic pastors, Denis Stafford and William Russell, revitalized the parish through their magnificent liturgies and devotions that lured Catholics from all over the city to the grand stone pile that had been dedicated in 1884 in the anticipation of its becoming the cathedral of a future Washington diocese. Ironically by the time Washington finally became an independent diocese in 1947, St. Matthew's was chosen over St. Patrick's, because the former was now located in the heart of commercial and political Washington. St. Patrick's had finally become what an early pastor had predicted, a "Church of Strangers" now dependent on transients and downtown workers. By the 1980's its schools had closed; its organizations were defunct or virtually so, and its regular congregants numbered in the low hundreds. As its third century began, St. Patrick's was seeking another revitalization.

This is fine institutional history, especially rich in its delineation of the evolution of the parish within its unique urban context. If, as the author admits, the lack of appropriate sources forced him to restrict his focus largely to the ad-

ministrators of the parish, his achievement nonetheless is a very worthy record of this important part of the Catholic parochial experience.

R. Emmeit Curran, SJ.

Georgetown University

The Cherokees and Christianity, 1794-1870: Essays on Acculturation and Cultural Persistence. By William G. McLoughlin. Edited by Walter H. Conserjr. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 347. $45.00.)

The late William G. McLoughlin, long-time professor at Brown University, is well known for his important studies on American revivalism and other religious topics. He wrote, as well, a number of masterly volumes about the Cherokee Nation and its relations with white society, particularly the Protestant missionaries who came to the nation in the nineteenth century. This posthumous volume is a collection of recent essays, drawn largely from the research done for the substantial Cherokee books. The essays were written for different purposes, and there is a good deal of overlapping and repetition; six of the eleven have been published before. The book, nevertheless, has an underlying theme: the process of acculturation between white Christianity and the native Cherokees in "the various stages of the Cherokees' cultural confrontation with Christian imperialism" (p. 4). The author hoped that his essays would have broader applicability, too, as "part of the long and complex concern of historians with the interaction between Christianity and culture" (p. 3).

Part I of the book, "The Missionaries," deals directly with the Cherokee-missionary encounter. McLoughlin divides the missionary societies that entered the Cherokee Nation into two groups. The Congregationalists of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions represented one group; the Baptists represented the other. McLoughlin nicely contrasts the positions of the two—the first, conservative and cautious about admitting the Indians to full participation in the church; the second, more liberal and open to traditional Indian ways. The author clearly sides with the Baptists, who were able to attract the full bloods and who appointed native ministers to carry on the work of evangelization. He shows a certain disdain for the former group, who attracted chiefly the mixed bloods and political elite, but who failed to convert the common citizenry.

Part II, "Accommodating the Old Religion to the New," has interesting and provocative chapters on the Christians' debate about Indian origins and the Cherokees' reaction to the issue, on incorporation of Christian myths into Cherokee religion, and on a developing Cherokee syncretism. Considerable attention is paid to the divisive issue of antislavery agitation within the Cherokee Nation. Two long chapters concern the Keetoowah Society, 1854 to 1871, a secret organization of full bloods, in which the Baptist missionary Evan Jones was

deeply involved. The discussion here has more to do with political issues than religious ones, but McLoughlin wants to demonstrate that it was impossible to separate religion and politics and that national survival was more important than either.

In any case, the volume presents in capsule form, with the author's usual literary grace, some of his major contributions. For a reader unacquainted with McLoughlin's larger works, the book is an ideal place to begin. And it will once again remind scholars of the important place that McLoughlin established for himself in his two decades of concentrated study of the Cherokees.

Francis Paul Prucha, SJ.

Marquette University

The Uneasy Center: Reformed Christianity in Antebellum America. By Paul K. Conkin. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1995). Pp. xx, 326. $39.95 cloth; $16.95 paper.)

In this era of margins and rivulets, it is startling to find a survey text on American religious history (or on anything else, for that matter) that so unswervingly pursues a Protestant "center" or "mainstream." Paul Conkin serves up such a volume. Without being cranky, obstinate, or unseeing, Conkin valiantly attempts to define a Reformed center in American religion in the colonial and antebellum periods—one that, however factionalized or attenuated, has survived into the late twentieth century. With all the new ways of "siting" America's pluralistic pieties and practices, Conkin returns to seasoned narratives about Protestant hegemony and offers a fresh, balanced rendering of some familiar, important tales.

After a broad-brush sketch of pre-Reformation Christianity, Conkin sets upon his synoptic account of Reformed Protestantism—a slippery label under which he includes Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Separate Baptists, as well as (somewhat surprisingly) Anglicans and Methodists, but not, for example, Lutherans, Campbellites, or Holiness groups. Conkin's interpretive aims, rooted in intellectual history, revolve around four themes: theology, doctrine, polity, and worship. In giving attention to the first three of these—for example, the New England theology from Edwards to Bushneil—Conkin holds to well-traversed terrain, but in turning to the fourth, worship, he adds a more innovative component to his survey as he scrutinizes the ritualistic texture of revivals or summarizes the High Church/evangelical tensions within the Protestant Episcopal Church. By way of afterword, Conkin is sensitive to the damming or diversion of this "mainstream" through outside competition and internal fragmentation.

Conkin has crafted an appealing general account of Reformed and evangelical Protestantism in early America—one that represents the careful distillation of three decades of teaching and writing in the field. His summaries are often

sterling (for example, his treatment of Methodist foundations or his synopsis of Samuel Hopkins). When complemented by other works, his volume could be profitably used as a textbook in an undergraduate course in the history of Christianity or in American religious history. But it would carry certain drawbacks. For one, the more general surveys, such as those by Edwin Gaustad or Winthrop Hudson, offer much about this Protestant "center" without introducing a classificatory muddle and without sharply subordinating pluralism. For another, Conkin rarely, if ever, lets the actors themselves speak; instead he offers his own calm, measured narrative voice, almost never giving his text the richness of expression that would come from the direct quotation of his protagonists. Also, most surveys well know the value of illustrations, and Conkin's treatment, whether of field preaching or the new geology, would be more pedagogically useful with its own share of pictures. Finally, Conkin's text would be more effective if it included more than an occasional nod to popular or folk dimensions of these multilayered Protestant traditions, an endeavor he rather curtly dismisses at the outset in admitting that he has "not moved very far into popular distortions or vulgarizations of normative beliefs and practices." As it stands, there are only tantalizing traces of these popular, syncretic concerns (for example, in his observations on "Methodist style" or on Bushneil as "a Christian spiritualist"). In the end, though, Conkin should be applauded for his efforts at synthesis, for his labors to locate an uneasy center in a now riotously decentered historiography.

Leigh Eric Schmidt

Princeton University

The Catholic Philanthropic Tradition in America. By Mary J. Oates. (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 231. $27.95.)

All historians of American Catholicism have reason to be grateful for this wide-ranging and beautifully written survey. As Sister Mary Oates correctly points out, Catholic philanthropy has received only "meager attention from historians" (p. xii). Her study is thus the most complete to date, and it sets a persuasive agenda for future work on the topic.

Professor Oates traces the evolution of Catholic charity from the first wave of institution-building in the ante-bellum decades through the consolidation of charitable enterprises at the diocesan level and the concomitant professionalization of charity work in the early decades of the twentieth century. Subsequent twentieth-century developments are discussed more briefly, though the book is clearly meant to address what the author regards as a present-day crisis in Catholic philanthropy.

Though Catholic charities in the nineteenth century were much more modest in their reach and resources than Catholic charities in the twentieth, Oates

sees those earlier efforts as possessed of distinctive strengths. They were local, even parochial, in their orientation and ethos, and primarily directed to the immediate alleviation of suffering rather than reform. Nineteenth-century charitable institutions did come increasingly under the charge of women's religious orders. But an emphasis on personalism in Catholic charity left ample room for lay voluntarism, to which women were especially drawn. Social welfare experts, by the century's end, did not much value either personalism or localism; Catholic charities, indeed, were widely seen by this growing corps of professionals as inefficient and amateurish. But it was precisely their lack of professionalism, Oates argues, that caused those charities to be so broadly supported. That laypeople could contribute services or in-kind gifts enabled even working-class Catholics to be regularly charitable. The poor, moreover, were in these circumstances truly visible; charity could readily be understood as love-in-action.

Reform on the charitable front did eventually come to every American diocese, often at the instigation of a "consolidating" bishop. The management of local charities was increasingly centralized and often clericalized as well; fundraising too was now apt to be orchestrated by the chancery. With administrative centralization, professional social workers increasingly took the place of lay volunteers. And charity gradually became a more ecumenical—and ultimately more secular—undertaking: Catholic charities were more and more conducted according to professional norms and increasingly supported by public monies. Those charities were as a result indisputably more efficient. But they were also more distant from the mass of Catholics, who ultimately began to direct their charitable dollars at least partly elsewhere.

So brief a summary runs the risk of oversimplifying what is a rich and nuanced argument, albeit one that sometimes needs fuller documentation. Oates does not unduly romanticize the decentralized past, nor is she unaware of the organizational benefits attendant on consolidation. Still, this is to some extent a work of advocacy as well as history, and the advocate occasionally gets the better of the historian. This is particularly true with regard to post-Vatican Council II developments. Would a return to more localized and personal forms of charity really lead, as the author proposes, to a renaissance in Catholic giving? Is the problem not by now a good deal more complex? Catholics who give to non-Catholic charities—and there are many such—presumably do so for religious reasons, although they are behaving in ways that their great-grandparents would not generally have done. As for a resurgence in lay voluntarism, it is unclear to this working mother just where the volunteers will come from.

Leslie Woodcock Tentler

University of Michigan-Dearborn

Priceless Spirit: A History of the Sisters of the Holy Cross, 1841-1893- By Sister M. Georgia Costin, C.S.C. (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press. 1994. Pp. xi,268. $24.95.)

Prominent among pioneer settlers in the American Midwest were religious sisters from Europe. With few material resources, these young women faced severe cultural and physical challenges in order to serve the spiritual, social, and educational needs of expanding frontier communities. Drawing upon archival records and contemporary accounts, Sister Georgia Costin explores the experiences of an important Indiana sisterhood, the Sisters of the Holy Cross, during its first half-century in America. Her chronicle has much to tell us about nineteenth-century religious life and organization and about the efforts of sisters to gain and retain autonomy over their collective lives and works.

Interaction between sisters and church officials was uneasy throughout the period, since female initiative was, for the most part, neither expected nor welcomed. Within the Holy Cross community, however, brothers and priests appreciated the talents and generosity of the sisters and collaborated with them in various ways. In this regard, the book has an important secondary theme, one that receives nearly as much attention as its primary subject. According to Costin, previously published histories and community legends present an inaccurate, unduly negative picture of Father Edward Sorin, charismatic leader of the Holy Cross community throughout much of the period. Her decision to use the book to demonstrate that, in fact, his virtues far surpassed his character flaws is unfortunate. Not only is the exercise unconvincing and diversionary, but, equally serious, it makes the book as much a story of Sorin as of the sisters.

The scope of the study is limited in two important respects. First, despite its title, it focuses disproportionately on the pre-1866 period. Second, because it relies for data almost entirely on community records and church histories, it is more an institutional history than an analytical social history. Even within the constraints imposed by her sources, Costin gives far more attention to the internal organization of the sisterhood than to its corporate works. Readers seeking to learn more about how nineteenth-century sisters financed and conducted schools, hospitals, and social agencies, recruited and educated members, and reacted to recurring, often bitter, mainstream criticism will be disappointed. With one outstanding exception, a lively account of the experiences of sisters who volunteered as military nurses during the Civil War (chapters 19 and 20), the response of sisters to national crises, political and social, receives only casual mention.

Despite its limitations, this interesting, well-written account represents a welcome contribution to the growing corpus of literature on the lives and works of Catholic women in nineteenth-century America.

MaryJ. Oates

Regis College, Weston, Massachusetts

The Reshaping of a Tradition: American Benedictine Women, 1852-1881. By Ephrem (Rita) Hollermann, O.S.B. (Winona, Minnesota: St. Mary's Press. 1994. Pp. xxxvii, 399- $24.95 paperback.)

The exhortation of Vatican Council II's Decree on the Religious life to return to the charism of the founder has been at the forefront of much of the historical writing on religious communities in recent years. For Benedictine Sisters in the United States, the challenge to the historian is particularly daunting. The baggage carried by Benedictine women who came to the United States in the nineteenth century included a sixth-century Rule, a tradition of enclosed community life that was transposed into apostolic ministry, a confused canonical status, and an ongoing conflict over the jurisdiction of bishops and their own superiors. Sister Ephrem Hollermann states correctly in her introduction to this work "that study of the nineteenth-century founding inspiration of Benedictine women in North America, and its revivified approach to Benedictine life, has been virtually bypassed" (p. xxi). This book is an important corrective to that omission and in the process provides the reader with a far fuller understanding of the rich charism of American Benedictine women.

Using the model of recovery of religious life of Raymond Fitz and Lawrence Cada as the framework for her work, Hollermann concentrates on the foundation and expansion periods of Benedictine life in America (1852-1881). The results of her study of this period constitute an appropriate tool for analysis of the stabilization, breakdown, and transition periods that followed in the last century.

Perhaps the most valuable contribution of the author is the manner in which she mines the primary sources of the period. Correspondence, personal data files, memoirs, chapter minutes, and community chronicles are all marshaled to provide a more developed understanding of the personalities and events of the period. Two historical works in the last decade, Incarnata Girgen's Behind the Beginnings (1981) and Judith Sutera's True Daughters (1987), were groundbreaking studies that investigated the relationship between the first Benedictine sisters from Eichstätt, Germany, and Boniface Wimmer, and the protracted struggle of the American Benedictine sisters to assert their monastic identity and establish their own Benedictine congregations. Hollermann's study advances the scope and detail of these two works considerably. By turns, she is able to give descriptive portraits of the individual women founders (e.g., Benedicta Riepp, Willibalda Scherbauer, Evangelista Kremmeter, Nepomucene Ludwig), underline the principal flash points of controversy, and provide both a chronology and interpretive commentary on the major events of the early history of the sisters. In reading through the graphic accounts of spiritual struggle and material survival, one dismisses all notions that American Benedictine women led a monochrome or one-dimensional life.

Originally written as a doctoral dissertation at Marquette University, this work has a relevance and readability that make it user-friendly for those in formation programs, without detracting from its high level of historical research. Of particular commendation are the extensive appendices. One can only hope that

this work will be a stimulus for other historians of religious life as they continue in their efforts to retrieve the charism and community inspiration of their past.

Joel Rippinger, O.S.B.

Marmion Abbey
Aurora, Illinois

Bishop East of the Rockies: The Life and Letters of John Baptist Miege, SJ. By Herman J. Müller, SJ. (Chicago: Loyola University Press. 1994. Pp. xvii, 198. $1395 paperback.)

John Baptist Miege, SJ. (1815-1884), was a Savoyard priest who became one of the pioneer bishops of the American West. Leaving Europe in 1848 during an era of anticlericalism and revolution, Miege dedicated himself to missionary work on the Great Plains, soon being appointed Vicar Apostolic of all Indian Territory east of the Rocky Mountains—from the Canadian border on the north to Texas on the south. There he ministered to scattered Indian tribes, and, as white civilization entered the area, witnessed "Bleeding Kansas," the Colorado Gold Rush, and the Civil War. His varied career included attendance at the First Vatican Council, a fund-raising tour of South America (needed to pay off the debt incurred in the construction of his resplendent Leavenworth cathedral), and service as the first rector-president of Detroit College.

Herman J. Müller, S.J., has written an engaging biography of this prelate whose life was a panorama of so much of nineteenth-century Catholicism. Muller's book, befitting its "life and letters" subtitle, includes copious quotations from the letters of Miege and other priests who worked with him. Perhaps the best aspect of the book is its presentation of slices of everyday life on the three continents of Europe, North America, and South America. The book has especially colorful descriptions of the dangers and fatigues of travel in the mid-nineteenth century—on everything from horses, mules, and stagecoaches to railroads, steamboats, and steamships.

Miege was very observant, and was curious about all of the places to which he traveled. The reader of Muller's book can gain insights on European Church-State relations, Native American customs, American ethnic politics, the inner workings of the Vatican Council, the condition of the Church in Latin America, and many other matters. Miege's strictures on American materialism—made more poignant by his love for the people of his adopted country—pierced the outward appearance of Gilded Age prosperity, as they do of today's.

In Muller's book, Miege is revealed as an "unwilling bishop" who felt himself unworthy of the responsibility, and had to be escorted weeping from his room to attend his consecration. In fact, Miege's continual attempts to resign from his bishopric constitute a rather comic theme throughout most of Muller's book. Yet in the end, he always asked that "God's will be done," and doggedly bore

whatever burdens were placed upon him. Muller has faithfully chronicled the life of this persevering, quite successful, and also rather representative nineteenth-century "soldier of Christ."

Davtd S.Bovée

Kansas Newman College, Wichita

A Contest of Faiths: Missionary Women and Pluralism in the American Southwest. By Susan M. Yohn. (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 266. $42.50 cloth; $16.95 paper.)

In this interesting and informative book the author discusses the history of Presbyterian Church activities in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado, with emphasis on the role of women missionaries in the area under the direction of the Ladies Board of Home Missions, which later became the Women's Executive Committee of Home Missions, from the 1870's to the 1920's.

The author has based her study on the extensive documentation she found in the original manuscript sources of the Presbyterian Church Archives (U.S.A.) in Philadelphia; the correspondence, papers, and reports of the Board of Home Missions; minutes of the annual meetings and office conferences of the Board; biographical files; correspondence and papers from women missionaries in the field to the Board; documents in the Menaul Historical Library in Albuquerque, and in the New Mexico State Records Center and Archives in Santa Fe, New Mexico; and the letters and reports of the women missionaries published in various Presbyterian periodicals, especially the Home Missions Monthly.

The following statistics show the composition of the population of the region when it was conquered from Mexico in 1846. The European population totalled about 60,000, nearly all Spanish-speaking Hispanics, many of them the descendants of the Spanish settlers when the region was a Spanish colony from 1598 to the 1820's, a larger number from Mexico after the middle of the nineteenth century. By 1885 the population (exclusive of the native Indian tribes) increased to 140,000: 100,000 Spanish-speaking residents, and 40,000 Americans from the United States both in upper New Mexico and southern Colorado. After the 1880's the influx of people from the United States increased rapidly. In 1912, when New Mexico became a state, the population had reached about 180,000, about 50% represented by each of the two main population groups. It should be noted that about 80% of the rural population in the region were Spanish-speaking Hispanics.

The primary motive of the first Presbyterian women was to convert the Hispanic population from the Catholic Church to their Protestant religion through the establishment of mission schools. The teaching of the English language thus

became a priority from the very beginning. Throughout the book the author necessarily gives considerable attention to the age-old religious conflict in the views of Protestants toward Catholics and vice versa. This deep-seated conflict in religious views was always present. In fact, few Hispanic-speaking residents, especially in the rural areas where most of them lived, were ever converted to Protestantism. In elaborating on this subject as an obstacle to cultural accommodation, the author adds some miscellaneous references to the Penitentes, a Catholic lay brotherhood in upper New Mexico, which are a bit miscast in relation to the basic issue under discussion.

There were approximately 230 Presbyterian women assigned to mission schools in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado between 1870 and 1924. The schools were in sixty-three localities, mostly in rural areas where the Hispanic population was largely illiterate. The peak period was between 1885 and 1906, when an average of twenty-five schools were in operation yearly. In 1899, forty-eight mission teachers were teaching in twenty-five schools with a total enrollment of 1,446 students. The number of schools increased to fifty by 1900, with a substantial increase in enrollment and teachers. From the beginning, funds never seemed to be adequate for teachers' salaries, school facilities, and teaching materials.

When New Mexico became a territory in 1851, and a Territorial public school system was developed, a rapid expansion of public elementary schools took place. Between 1870 and 1890 they expanded from five to 678. Between 1891 and 1900 these figures doubled. Teachers transferred from Presbyterian mission schools to the public schools in small villages (plaza schools) and played an influential role in the improvement of these schools. The former mission teachers and the mission schools from which they came served as models for the developing public schools. The Catholic schools established by the Sisters of Loretto pioneered in this same role. The Sisters of Loretto had been called in from the United States by Bishop Lamy in 1852, and were followed rapidly by other Catholic religious orders of men and women brought in to establish schools; thus they were on the scene some twenty-five years earlier than the Presbyterian women missionaries. Many of the schools, both Presbyterian and Catholic, were boarding schools.

A relatively large number of Presbyterian women teachers and school administrators were appointed to high positions in the public school system. When New Mexico achieved statehood in 1912, as the public school system grew the number of mission schools declined. After 1912 only fourteen Presbyterian mission schools remained open. In 1912 1,472 students were enrolled in twenty-five public high schools, and 237 in private high schools. Since few of the schools in the rural areas had classes at the high school level, few Hispanics benefited from a high school education. Of the 85,677 students enrolled in schools in 1918, 3,760 attended secondary schools. These figures increased after 1920, and included more opportunities for Hispanics to obtain a high

school education. Only nine of the Presbyterian schools remained open after 1920, two of which (boarding schools in Santa Fe and Albuquerque) provided instruction beginning at the seventh grade.

In the main title of this book, A Contest of Faiths, the author is referring to the religious conflict of Catholics and Protestants in the region, but in the rest of the book she states that by her use of the word "Faiths" she uses it as meaning "ideologies "In this context the author explains how the failure of the initial goal of the Presbyterian women missionaries to convert the Hispanics led them to direct greater attention to family and community social services which were needed by the Hispanics on every side, such as medical assistance, etc. These experiences brought a greater appreciation by both the women missionaries and the Hispanics of the reality of their basic differences in culture and the need to accept them as parts of a common destiny if peaceful human relations and co-operation were to endure. In the subtitle of the book the word Pluralism is used to elaborate on the fact that New Mexico is now a region of people with various recognized religious beliefs living in co-operation, a situation that came about partly as a result of the appearance of the Presbyterian women missionaries and their mission schools on the scene, and their eventual acceptance by the local Catholic Hispanics as neighbors living side by side.

In the closing chapter of the book, entitled "From Mission to Social Service," the author points out that the Presbyterian women missionaries as they broadened their specialized contributions to public service set higher professional standards for women in public life in the region.

J. Manuel Espinosa

Washington, D.C,

Miracles on the Border: Retablos of Mexican Migrants to the United States. By Jorge Durand and Douglas S. Massey. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 1995. Pp. xviii, 216. $50.00 clothbound; $24.95 paperback.)

In September, 1988, the two authors visited the sanctuary of Our Lady of San Juan de los Lagos and saw the innumerable oil paintings on tin that were left as votive offerings for favors received after persons had prayed for her intercession. Some of these retablos visually depicted and verbally described favors granted to Mexican migrants to the United States, and within an hour the two had located a dozen such. Being trained sociologists who specialized in Mexican immigration, they were able to make of their find the genesis of the present book and, indeed, of a new field of knowledge.

The typical ex voto (or retablo) of the sort showed the trouble some person or group fell into, narrated in a legend of some fifty or seventy-five hand-painted words the fear and dismay and the consequent appeal to the heavenly patron, depicted the patron watching over the earthly event, and stated the donor's

gratitude for the favor—the "miracle"—received. Devout rural people commissioned untrained artists of limited talent to sketch and inscribe these testimonials to be left at the patrons' shrine as a lasting record of their trials and their heaven-assisted triumph of survival. Hence they are not only of interest as art; they are also primary documents in sociology.

Retablos, each with its unique human story and divine rescue, offer the artist much more variety than do láminas, pictures of saints which repeat the same iconography over and over. The various patrons' standard iconographies recur, of course, but the narrative images and verbalizing texts are ever different. Hence, they have been a fountainhead of originality in Mexican painting, much appreciated by Rivera, Kahlo, Siquieros, and others for their bold colors and their theatrical handling of sequence and space.

The authors analyze and categorize their subject matter in various ways, usually presenting clear, helpful tables with numbers and percentages. They report an interview with an elderly painter of ex votos. The book is both quite handsome and quite user-friendly with its good translations of all Spanish texts, its extensive bibliography, and its index. The forty color illustrations are excellent, and the interpretations of aesthetic and sociological dimensions are uniformly helpful and intelligent.

The few minor faults: repetitiousness; passive-voice sentences (to convey the illusion of scientific objectivity, I suppose); mistakenly situating the Jesuit historian Francisco Javier Clavigero (d. 1787) in the sixteenth century; overlooking Yvonne Lange's magisterial 1978 El Palacio article on the Santo Niño de Atocha; and overlooking Lane Coulter and Maurice Dixon's 1990 New Mexican Tinwork—a book in which those two authors created from nearly nothing a totally new field in regional art history.

No less than Coulter and Dixon, Durand and Massey have created a new realm of scholarly study. Anyone interested in Latin American vernacular religious art and/or in the sociology of Mexican immigration into el norte should enjoy the way this book opens a couple of new doors to new worlds of discourse.

Thomas J. Steele, SJ.

Regis University, Denver

The Soul of the American University: From Protestant Establishment to Established Nonbelief. By George M. Marsden. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 462. $35.00.)

A vigorous public debate about the direction of change in American Catholic higher education has gone on for a generation. A variety of anxieties cluster around this topic, among them the large question of religion's place in American culture. Here, as in so many other areas, Catholics in the United States are

dealing with problems posed by freedom and pluralism in and out of the Church, at a time when the reinforcing constraints of old-world loyalties and new-world discrimination have waned.

One way to begin thinking about such questions is to examine how others have addressed them in the past. It is commonplace to note that many Protestant Christians in the United States, especially those connected to the Anglo-American Protestant denominations, long ago faced similar problems. George Marsden of the University of Notre Dame knows a great deal about how Christians in the United States have struggled with the perils of pluralism. His academic reputation rests on his superb reinterpretation of American Protestant fundamentalism, and now, in his long-awaited work on Christianity and American higher education, he presents a sweeping examination of that large question of religion's role in our national life.

The book examines in great detail the displacement of Protestant Christianity from its near controlling role in our high culture and in higher education, and its replacement by, well what exactly? In the subtitle, Marsden says "established nonbelief," but that has a polemical tone hardly matching Marsden's steady, balanced, at times somewhat coldly analytical style. While militant academic secularizers and Christian fundamentalists appear from time to time, this story is not Andrew White's warfare of science and theology, but a more complicated process of change led by people whose personal convictions were usually ambiguous, their views at times contradictory, at least seen from the outside. But there is a drama, and the subject, American higher education in its best institutions, changes dramatically, with enormous consequences for American society.

In a brief review there are three things that must be said about this book. First, it is historical work of extremely high quality. Marsden blends exhaustive research, synthetic skill, and modest but challenging interpretation. He is a first-rate research historian and an impressive intellectual.

Second, The Soul of the American University is important. Not everyone will agree, because many scholars think that the marginalizing of religion in high-level academic life is not very important. Nor does everyone think it a matter of public concern that many Protestant churches lost their critical edge as religious thinking retired to seminaries and church basements. Protestant theology, once the inspiration of powerful national symbols, some of them explosively prophetic, became caught between sectarian enthusiasm and sentimental irrelevance, save where it retained ties to broad-based institutions or popular movements. Indeed, from the point of view of scholars who take religion seriously, one can think of few things more important in modern American history than the cultural marginalizing of Protestant Christianity.

Third, and this is most important, Marsden's is a story told in the active voice. Secularization, or whatever one chooses to name the process, did not just happen to Christian churches, colleges, or scholars. Change was not just accommodation to external pressures, though there were many of those. No, Marsden

demonstrates again and again that, while a few resisted, most Christian intellectuals and academic administrators actively participated in shaping the modern university, and the larger culture of science, scientific method, and neutral public space. They thought this a good work. Marsden does not fully and directly evaluate their claim, though he clearly dislikes the liberal theology and privatized piety participation seemed to require. And, at the very least, the benefits of modernity were purchased at considerable cost. Real people, not unlike us who read Marsden's book, made their choices, and thus shared responsibility for the result. As Marsden suggests at the end of this indispensable book, the point is not to judge the choices they made, but to recognize and take responsibility for our own.

This is superb history, richly detailed, comprehensive, stimulating. For anyone who thinks that religion is an important part of American history, this is an indispensable book deserving the most careful attention.

David J. O'Brien

College of the Holy Cross

German-Bohemians: The Quiet Immigrants. By La Vern J. Rippley and Robert J. Paulson. (Northfield, Minnesota: St. Olaf College Press. 1995. Pp. 279)

This book, which consists of an introduction, nine chapters, a conclusion, and an index of names, is about a group of immigrants whose unifying force was their Catholic religion.

Ethnically the Böhmisch, who formed a distinct unity in Central Europe during their 900-year existence in Bohemia, descended from German-speaking Bavarians, Silesians, and Austrians. When their Austrian homeland was divided in 1918, the new state of Czechoslovakia was created, but the Böhmisch never identified with it.

Very few Böhmisch left Bohemia until the revolutionary fervor of 1848 led to land reforms which eventually freed the peasants from the shackles of medieval serfdom. Then in 1867 the Ausgleich (Austro-Hungary Compromise Union) officially conceded emigration from the Empire. The German-Bohemians departed from their homeland to New Ulm, Minnesota, over a period of five decades, up to 1914. A few came after World War II. These "chain migrants" came with families to improve their economic life, as compared to the "pioneer migrants" who usually came alone to seek adventure. "Chain migrants" were married, poorer, less educated, and less inclined toward assimilating with American society.

The authors supply a roster that profiles Bohemian family names, place names, arrival dates, citizenship, residence, and occupation. Not until the late nineteenth century were place names entered on naturalization papers. This was confusing for the Böhmisch because their nationality was technically Aus-

trian, but many chose instead to mention the crown colony of Bohemia, and occasionally they mentioned their nationality as "German," probably because that was the language they spoke.

The specific area in Bohemia where the New Ulm immigrants originated was the County of Bischofteinitz. Upon their arrival in Minnesota, these poorer Bohemian Catholics did not relate well to the more elite, anticlerical, free-thinking members of the Turnverein (Forty-Eighters) who in 1856 founded New Ulm. The authors describe the characteristics, customs, culture, and economic and political life of the Bohemians, who witnessed annually a sequence of celebrations that were tied to the church calendar. Great emphasis was placed on their musical tradition, especially church music. Today the New Ulm German-Bohemian Heritage singers collect, render, and preserve the songs of old. When in 1924 the Minnesota Catholic societies held a convention in New Ulm, the Böhmische Dorfsmusikanten (Bohemian Village Musicians) played for the celebration.

For the most part, the German-Bohemians were farmers, but soon after their arrival in America, many of them became masons, carpenters, cobblers, or brewers. One cottage industry of the Bischofteinitz region that was transferred intact to New Ulm was Spitzenklöppelei (lace making).

This clearly written book is the only full-length publication to this reviewer's knowledge about the German-Bohemians in the United States. It reflects a great amount of research from primary as well as from secondary sources in both the English and the German languages, including 119 pictures and some useful maps.

The title should have indicated that the main focus on the book was on the German-Bohemians in New Ulm. Nevertheless, the authors are to be congratulated for their fine contribution to the religious, social, and immigration history of the United States. No library should be without it.

Josephine H. Schulte

St. Mary's University
San Antonio, Texas

A History of the Poles in America to 1908, Fart II: The Poles in Illinois. By Wactaw Kruszka. Edited with an Introduction by James S. Pula; translated by Krystyna Janowski. (Washington, D.C.:The Catholic University of America Press. 1994. Pp. x, 288. $54.95.)

This is the second volume of the translation of Father Kruszka on the history of Poles in the United States. It is one of a small number of works which have moved from the status of a secondary to a primary source. In their reconfiguration of the original thirteen volumes, the editors have taken the reasonable course of concentrating the extensive and somewhat scattered material on Illinois into a single book.

As a priest, Kruszka chose to focus on the ethnic parishes, which were in fact centra] to the development of American Polonia. This work is largely a study of the huge parish of St. Stanislaus Kostka in Chicago, the mother church of Chicago Polonia and for a quarter-century under the strong-willed care of Father Vincent Barzynski (Wincenty Barzynski), CR. Kruszka's language describing the Resurrectionist's acquisition of pastoral authority in 1874 "like an eagle stalking its chosen prey" (p. 53) exemplifies both his rhetoric and attitude toward a priest whom he at once admired and at times contested on issues central to Polonia. The Wisconsin cleric describes at length instances of the rivalry of order versus secular priests in the rapidly growing Chicago archdiocese, a situation he interprets as one in which Resurrectionist ambition hindered service to the laity. Kruszka portrays their policies as leading even to schism, in the independence movement at St. Hedwig's led by Father Anton Kozlowski. He likewise castigates them for "nourishing the Germans" (p. 190) by impelling discontented Poles to join the German St. Boniface Church, harsh condemnation indeed since Germany was seen as a major oppressor of Poles in the homeland. Yet he also acknowledges their accomplishments and occasionally writes admiringly of their efforts. The remainder of the work provides capsule histories of Chicago and other Illinois Polish congregations, with numerous pen portraits of pastors and extensive quotations from letters, including some to the author himself. The originals in some instances are no longer extant, and so the reprinting makes available in English rare sources on this important period.

As in the first volume, the book benefits immensely from the helpful endnotes provided by the editor, James S. Pula, and his associates. These supply relevant secondary citations, biographical information on figures mentioned but not fully described, and additional factual information. Particularly important as supplements offering scholarly interpretations of the historical context are the cited monographs by Joseph Parot and Victor Greene (p. 277, fh. 1). The ongoing publication of this important series is a welcome addition to materials in English on Poles in America.

William J. Galush

Loyola University Chicago

The Foundation of the Order of Servants of Mary in the United States of America (1870-1883). By Austin Morini, O.S.M. English Translation and Notes by Conrad M. Borntrager, O.S.M. Italian Text edited by Odir Jacques Dias. [Scrinium Historiale, XTX.] (Rome: Edizioni Marianum. 1993. Pp. 260. $16.00 paperback.)

One of the most encouraging trends in religious life after Vatican Council II has been the commitment of resources and trained personnel to the writing of scholarly histories of religious communities. Although these studies are of uneven quality, the best of them offer a wealth of detail about the practicalities of

establishing Catholic religious life and its associated apostolic works in the United States. An especially important function of these works is to provide case studies for the adaptation of European models of religious life to the exigencies of the United States. Following the waves of immigrants that flooded American shores in the nineteenth century, the priests, brothers, and sisters who came from Europe to minister to their spiritual and temporal needs had not only to adapt personally to their new surroundings, but also the structures and disciplines of their common life had to be altered as well. This often happened with much misunderstanding on both sides of the Atlantic, and not a few departures from the religious life.

Although the Order of the Servants of Mary (Servîtes) has not yet come to the point of a full-blown, scholarly account of its development and expansion in the United States, it is clear in the volume under review that it possesses the resources necessary to do so. Father Conrad Borntrager's excellent translation of the account of the founding father of the Servîtes in the United States, Austin (Agostino) Morini, will certainly serve as the backbone of any future account of Servite life in America.

The Servîtes were founded in 1226 and headquartered in Florence. They entered the English-speaking world first in England, and later joined the rush of Italian immigrants to the United States. Austin Morini, the head of the first Servite contingent in the United States, was born in 1826 in Florence. He entered the Servite Order and was ordained in 1850. A highly literate man, he taught literature and moral theology and carried on a lively correspondence with some of the important literary figures in Italy. In 1864 he was dispatched to England, and in 1870 the community sent him to the United States. He remained in America until 1888, founding Servite parishes in Menasha, Wisconsin, and Chicago. In 1888 he was recalled to work in Italy and in 1907, at the insistence of Prior General Pellegrino Stagni, he penned 126 pages of a memoir of his years in the United States. This document was brought to the United States by Father Leo Ryska, formerly a Servite, who entertained notions of writing a history of the order in America. When that became impossible, the document was photocopied and, thanks to Borntrager, carefully annotated and presented in its present form under the series "Scrinium Historiale," sponsored by the Order.

Morini's account is largely the internal story of the order's organizational development in the United States, punctuated by Morini's desire to vindicate himself in the inevitable conflicts he had with his confrères. Occasionally, Morini ventures a comment or two about conditions in the United States. For example, when being urged to buy land in Chicago and being apprised of the necessity of taking out a loan, Morini relates the observation of one of his confrères about starting enterprises in America: "Moser [the confrère] says . . . that it is necessary in this country to contract large debts and that if we want to start something good in Chicago we must contract debts" (p. 85). Morini also details the various young men who come and go in the community, including one Henry

Joseph McDonnell, who was apparently mentally disturbed, but was a fantastic speaker and an excellent fund-raiser.

The first parish was opened on Doty Island in the Fox River Valley city of Menasha. Although Morini's text does not mention it, one can surmise that the pastoral needs of the largely German and Irish Menasha community were only imperfectly met by the Italian Servîtes—even through a Tyrolese confrere was brought in to assist. Although there was no evidence that they were rejected for being Italians, it is clear that the friars wanted to be working with Italians, whose numbers were beginning to grow throughout the Middle West. In 1874, at the urging of the Prior General, Morini began his mission among the growing Italian population scattered throughout Chicago. The administrator of the diocese, Bishop Thomas Foley, welcomed Morini, grateful to have some help in dealing with the erratically observant Italians. Foley's attitude toward his Italian co-religionists was revealed in a comment passed to Morini after the Servite had preached a successful mission to them: "Now that they are all in the grace of God, drown them all in the river before they lose it" (p. 77). With Foley's encouragement, land was purchased for what would later become the Basilica of Our Lady of Sorrows, a church famous in Chicago Catholic life for the huge crowds it drew in the thirties and forties to its fabled Novena to the Sorrowful Mother.

In addition to its sound translation, this work has been painstakingly annotated by Father Borntrager. There is no name, location, person, or essential piece of information that is left unexamined. The notes themselves often make more fascinating reading than Morini's own text. Moreover, Borntrager carefully points out the errors and lapses of memory in Morini's account, written over thirty years after many of the events took place. The complete Italian text follows the English work.

One can only hope that when the history of the Servîtes in America is written, it will be as thoroughly researched and as carefully done as this work.

Steven M.Aveixa

Marquette University

A Migrant Missionary Story: The Autobiography of Giacomo Gatnbera. Edited with Introduction by Mary Elizabeth Brown. (Staten Island, New York: Center For Migration Studies. 1994. Pp. 295. Paperback.)

This is a welcome addition to the literature of American religious history and to Italian American history because its progenitor came from the mid-level Italian ethnic clergy. While there are many histories of official diocesan, parish, and religious societies, there are few informed, extant accounts written from the mid-layer perspective. This volume benefits from a solid and meaningful intro-

auction by Dr. Brown that effectively places the work in its appropriate historical context and supplies a useful historiography for comparative analysis. Brown also calls attention to Father Giacomo Gambera's positive attributes, warts and all.

Born of a northern Italian family of means in the middle of the nineteenth century, Gambeta fulfilled his youthful desire to become a priest during an age of growing secularism and rabid anticlericalism. Several years into his priesthood in Italy, he was persuaded by Bishop Giovanni Scalabrini, the "Apostle of Italian immigrants," to serve Italian immigrants in the New World. From 1889 to 1934, Gambera ministered to Italian immigrants in parishes ranging from New Orleans to New York. As a participant/observer, Gambera leaves us with a sense of the impact of important events the immigrants encountered. For example, Gambera recounts the Hennessy murder and the subsequent deplorable lynching of eleven Italians. Another example revolves around his successful appeal to Mother Cabrini to aid Italian newcomers.

Gambera's frankness acknowledges with shame negative characteristics he witnessed such as the existence of a criminal element in New Orleans. He deplored the a-religious life-style of prominent Italian Americans, who proffered themselves as community spokesmen, yet displayed irreverence. Gambera was critical of lower-class Italian Americans who wasted money on big feast celebrations, while giving niggardly to the support of churches, schools, and orphanages. Such practices exposed them to derision, especially when feast sponsors turned out to be laymen who used the occasions to enrich themselves financially, while providing little help to the Church.

Many of Gambera's observations confirm the impression of an American Catholic Church generally unresponsive to the needs of Italian immigrants, even alienating them by equating church loyalty with financial support. This state of affairs rendered the efforts of Bishop Scalabrini—whose mission understood and respected Italian culture—even more valuable. Gambera does not overlook the frailties among some Scalabrini priests such as a couple of irreformable alcoholics. Gambera reveals his own shortcomings as, for example, his lament that succeeding pastors failed to recognize the extraordinary efforts of predecessor pastors.

Gambera's observations regarding Italian immigrant religious practices are insightful. He commiserated over the superficial understanding most had of their faith, due in part to a poor background and in part to poor leadership in parishes ministering to them. He was positive about the role played by the St. Raphael Society in assisting the newly-arrived and saw it as a positive thing that the immigrants preserved their high regard for matrimony and the family. Over time, however, assimilation in the prevailing society weakened family life and encouraged the young to forget about family and the Church.

Interesting also are Gambera's views regarding the American encounter. He viewed politics as a corrupt venture and was equally critical of public schools

as "factories of infidels." He saw as useful but not essential, acquisition of American citizenship on the part of Italian missionaries.

Notwithstanding a minor demurrer over the brevity of some chapters consisting of no more than a paragraph, this volume sheds valuable light on the interrelationship between the American Catholic Church and the Italian immigrant population. It does so by dealing with the nitty-gritty interaction of the daily life of immigrants and enabling readers to comprehend better the social, religious, and cultural world of Italian immigrants of the turn-of-the-century. Anyone interested in these topics cannot help but profit from a reading of this volume.

Salvatore J. La Gumina

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Archbishop Corrigan and the Italian Immigrants. By Stephen Michael DiGiovanni. (Huntington, Indiana: Our Sunday Visitor Publishing Division. 1994. Pp. ix, 272. Paperback.)

In this study of Italian newcomers to New York during the episcopate of Archbishop Michael A. Corrigan (1885-1902), Stephen DiGiovanni contributes to a balanced understanding of the encounter between Italians and the American Church. Mining the archives of Propaganda Fide, the Apostolic Delegate, male and female religious congregations, and the Archdiocese of New York, DiGiovanni reveals the international dynamics of pastoral care for Italians. The result is not a social history of Italians, a diocesan history, nor a biography, but the story of "the formulation of a general project in favor of the Catholic Italian immigrants by the Church authorities in Rome, to the administrative and practical applications of that project in the Archdiocese of New York" (p. 13).

Three themes dominate DiGiovanni's narrative. First, DiGiovanni is persuasive in his argument that the Holy See intended to promote neither European nationalisms nor a coercive program of Americanization within the American Church. DiGiovanni interprets this ethnic neutrality to indicate that the Vatican was inspired solely by the "desire to preserve [the immigrants'] Catholic faith and to work for the salvation of souls" (p. 63). Nevertheless, if neutral with regard to ethnicity in America, the Vatican's pastoral program was developed within the context of an uncompromising struggle against the modern Italy. DiGiovanni maps out this ecclesiopolitical context but backs away from its full implications: "the fact that Leo XIII singled out the Italians for special assistance may have had ties to the entire Roman Question. The fact that the Italians were in the worst condition of all other immigrant groups, however, must be seen as the basic motivating force for the Church's efforts on their behalf" (p. 66).

Second, DiGiovanni claims that "only the padroni [Italian labor bosses] and the priest had any lasting effect on the lives of the Italians in America" (p. 58) and concludes that "no other institution" (p. 206) besides the Church cared about Italians' welfare. DiGiovanni gives no evidence to support this assertion. He has not investigated the role of labor bosses, labor organizers, newspaper editors, ethnic politicians, settlement house workers, Protestant missionaries, the Italian state, or the American state.

Third, DiGiovanni concludes that "the traditional parochial structures affected only a small portion of the Italian community, . . . [and that] means other than those traditionally employed by the church in America at that time were necessary to assist the Italian immigrants" (p. 171). Archbishop Corrigan also came to this conclusion as he confronted intractable problems in his effort to establish national parishes for Italians. Thus, DiGiovanni provides a counterpoint to the consensus that national parishes best met the social and religious needs of immigrants. Indeed, in the New York Italian case the local parish was not sponsored by Italian resources, was rarely self-sustaining, was not free of provincial rivalries and dialects that undermined the very idea of a "national" parish, and was not the most common means Italians sought to educate their children.

Unfortunately, DiGiovanni does not place his work within any scholarly contexts that would help the reader understand its relative significance. What does this study imply for our understanding of the Immigrant Church analyzed by Jay P. Dolan and Dolores Liptak, or the divergent portraits of Italians and American Catholicism painted by Rudolph Vecoli and Silvano Tomasi? Furthermore, references to Gerald Fogarty's work on the American hierarchy and the Vatican, Henry Browne's classic on the "Italian Problem," Robert A. Orsi's work on Our Lady of Mount Carmel, and general studies of Italian ethnicity are mentioned in neither text nor notes.

Notwithstanding these reservations, DiGiovanni's work provides an important contribution to the study of American-Vatican relations, the American Church, and Italian American history.

Peter R. D'Agostino

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The Moment of Grace: One Hundred Years of Salvatorian Life and Ministry in the United States. Edited by Daniel Pekarske, S.D.S. 2 vols. Part I: 1892-1947, by Jerome Schommer, S.D.S.; Part II: 1947-1992, by Steven M. Avella. (Milwaukee, Wisconsin: Society of the Divine Savior. 1994. Pp. xviii, 246; xxii, 412. Paperback.)

In each of the two volumes of this centennial history of the Society of the Divine Savior (Salvatorians) the reader is urged by the editor to consider them

with "purity of heart," "humility," "patience," and "diligence." One soon recognizes these virtues in the study itself. "Purity of heart" is seen as the authors tell their story without pretension or preconceived agenda. "Humility" is evidenced in the honesty with which they speak of the foibles as well as the gifts of the community—as a group and as individual members. "Patience" is shown in the methodologies used so as to allow the reader to benefit from the telling of the story from the "top down" and from the "ground up.""Diligence" is exhibited in the scholarly use of archival sources, including a significant number of photographs (the work might be called an "illustrated history"), as well as maps, charts, informational asides and notes within the text, and supplemental documents and demographic lists which fill out the image presented in the narrative.

In Volume I, Jerome Schommer aims to show how Salvatorians worked "to inform a new culture with a vision of faith," while "being transformed in the process." He reflects on three moments within the first fifty-five years, that is: the somewhat rocky involvements in the Pacific Northwest; the foundation of a core community in St. Nazianz, Wisconsin; and the establishment of an independent North American Province in 1927. Schommer makes clear the challenges facing the community in the United States while the international society was still striving to solidify its identity within the Church.

In Volume II, Steven M. Avella seeks to shed light on the remaining years as a time of expansion, financial collapse, and internal renewal. He presents a "top down" overview of the society's "Administrative Life," with a focus on calamitous financial decisions and their aftermath through the fifties, sixties, and seventies. Then, using a thematic style, he considers the "Common Life" and "Apostolates" of Salvatorians (in the United States as well as on mission in China and Africa) during the same time period. Having of necessity considered these issues in great detail and with equanimity, Avella's conclusion—presented with broad strokes—seems somewhat brief in view of the extent of the story told.

Overall, the authors are successful in presenting their vast and sometimes complex story. Nevertheless, the work does leave the reader somewhat "in between" at times. Not so much a two-volume history, it is a history in two distinct volumes, each capable of standing alone. The author of each volume establishes his own purpose for, and presents conclusions pertinent to, the time period under his consideration; each volume has its specific appendices and informative index. Since they are joined by a common title, however, and as each contains an identical editor's preface, one would look for a greater effort to integrate the one-hundred-year history in some way, at least in a general conclusion at the end of the second volume.

Moreover, it is unclear if the work is intended for the Salvatorian community itself, or for a wider audience. For example, although detailed information on the life and charism of Father Francis Jordan, the founder of the society, was considered beyond the aim of Volume I, it is difficult for the general reader to grasp the guiding mindset for some of the earliest movement of the society in the United States, and to follow the thread of the ends of the community

throughout. Also, the reader unfamiliar with the practice of taking a new name upon entering religious life might find the going a little difficult; Volume II presents both names in introducing significant characters—even this leads to some confusion. In view of changes associated with the era of the Second Vatican Council, this difficulty might have been unavoidable.

Joseph G. Hubbert, CM.

Niagara University

Opportunity Realized: The Greek Catholic Union's First One Hundred Years, 1892-1992. By Cheryl Weiler Beck, Michael I. Roman, Frederick M. Petro, and Basil Wahal. (Beaver, Pennsylvania: Greek Catholic Union of the U.S.A. 1994. Pp. xi, 286. $28.50.)

This volume is not just another jubilee album or institutional history. Professedly a "historical narrative, a history told through the achievements of its people and the principal events that molded the organization into what it is today" (p. 1), the text contains much newly-translated archival material (mostly from internal documents and the organization's newspaper Amerikansky Russkij ViestniK) and is symbolic of the "arrival" of a new generation of Rusin historical scholars. Every photograph and every illustration in this well-crafted volume provides a clue to the way of life of each generation.

As the primary fraternal organization of this important Catholic immigrant group, the Greek Catholic Union served the needs of its members in a pattern that is consistent with other Catholic and Slavic immigrant groups. The G.C.U. was instrumental in the evolution of a national self-awareness that took its strongest form in the context of American pluralism beyond the restraints of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and later the nascent Czechoslovakia. Its evening schools taught English and civics as well as religion and ethnic traditions. Its insurance program provided some economic relief in time of need for the exhausting and dangerous life of miners. Its support of orphanages and gymnastics and sports showed its members' concern for the health and well-being of its young people.

The group's fate was inextricably woven into the life of the Greek Catholic Church in America and provides the model for what used to be called "lay trusteeism." The amazing growth of the Greek Catholic church in the United States from 1884 to 1917 cannot be attributed simply to the large number of immigrants. Once a small community had settled, a committee of successful merchants or leaders in the community would take up a collection for the establishment of a church and then proceed to buy the land, build the church with their own labor, and pay to bring a priest from the homeland. This sort of lay initiative is typical of the foundation of almost every parish in this period. Most of those early parish committees were the foundations of local brotherhoods which had established mortuary funds and trust funds for widows and

children. In a period of great centralization and federation of religious organizations, it was not unusual that in 1892 a committee of several prominent lay leaders along with the clergy decided to unite the brotherhoods in their common interests under the name "Union of Greek Catholic Rusin Brotherhoods."

The book pushes into the background many of the issues that the non-institutional historian would like to see treated: the complexity of the interaction of the religion, politics, and culture of the Old World as it was brought as baggage to the New World; the exportation of democracy and nation-building to a newly-emerging Czechoslovakia; the role of religion, liturgy, and doctrine on the sensibility of the ordinary worker and member and parishioner. This work is a valuable resource, nonetheless, for immigration and ethnic historians.

Thomas F. Sable, SJ.

University of Scranton

The World's Parliament of Religions: The East/West Encounter, Chicago, 1893. By Richard Hughes Seager. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1995. Pp. xxxi, 208. $35.00.)

The World's Parliament of Religions is well known to historians. Held in Chicago during the 1893 World's Fair in a hall that was later to become the Art Institute, it brought together representatives from religious traditions throughout the world. Its goal was "to unite all religion against irreligion." As the author put it, "the Parliament was a liberal, western, and American quest for world religious unity that failed" (p. xxviii). It failed, according to the author, because "the God of the organizers of the Parliament turned out not to be quite the same as the Gods of the Asians" (p. xxix). This encounter between East and West is the perspective from which the author interprets the 1893 Parliament of Religions. By using concepts from the history of religion he is able to offer a new and insightful interpretation that enriches our understanding of this religious gathering.

The 1893 World's Fair was America's quadricentennial salute to Christopher Columbus. Centered along the lake shore of Chicago a new city, labeled the White City, emerged within the old. Designed by Daniel Burnham, it evoked a mythic past that represented the United States as the New Rome, "heir to the western tradition and as apogee of human civilization" (p. 13). Seager views this Columbian myth of America and the White City as typical of the cultural imperialism present at that moment in American history. As grand as it was, the Columbian myth was not very inclusive. Most of all it excluded many of those cultures that were exhibited along the Midway Plaisance. A major feature of the exposition, the Midway was a "living ethnographic display" of the world's peoples. Along with people from the West were people from the East; it was the culture and religion of these people from the East that challenged the validity of the Columbian myth and the superiority of the Judeo-Christian tradition.

After analyzing the Columbian myth present in the White City and the contrast presented by the exhibits of the Midway, the author then examines the papers presented at the Parliament of Religion. His perspective in this analysis is always the East/West encounter. As he puts it, the talks served "as a broad ideological landscape against which the East/West encounter can be read" (p. 46). First, he studies the papers presented by the Western delegates. Consciously endorsing a theme of inclusivism, the Protestant and Catholic speakers considered all the world's religions as good in their own way, but they "found their ultimate fulfillment in Christianity" (p. 54). It was this exclusively Christian focus that severely limited the inclusivism and quest for religious unity that the Parliament sought to promote. In another chapter the author analyzes the papers delivered by the Asian delegates; they too promoted the ideal of world religious unity while selectively endorsing American patriotic ideals and placing them at the service of their cause. But their theology only intensified the intellectual ambiguities that mingled with the grand visions and dreams that the Parliament encouraged.

The goal of world religious unity never resulted from the Parliament despite the hope of the delegates. The reality of theological differences and the conflict that this engendered shattered the dreams of the Parliament's organizers. Seager attributes this mainly to the cultural and religious imperialism of the Western delegates, whose vision of world unity was too Christian for the Asians. Surely this was a key reason for the failure of the Parliament to achieve its goal. But the theological division among the Christians themselves precluded any hope of achieving unity among the world's religions. This was true in 1893 and is still true today. According to Seager the Parliament was an important event for Asian religions since it brought these religions to the United States and provided a "large-scale public forum that served as a formal debut for the Asian mission to the West" (p. 169). In his opinion it also provided an important occasion for discussions about religious pluralism that would become so significant in the twentieth-century ecumenical movement.

Jay P. Dolan

University of Notre Dame

Catholicism and the San Francisco Labor Movement, 1896-1921. By Richard Gribble. (San Francisco: Mellen Research University Press. Published by the Edwin Mellen Press, Lewiston, New York. 1993- Pp. xii, 182. $59.95.)

Because Progressivism in American history has been meticulously scrutinized by scholars, historians have felt compelled to refer to this period as the "Age of Progressivisms." Richard Gribble's book, Catholicism and the San Francisco Labor Movement, exemplifies the pluralistic nature of this historiography by choosing the unique geographical setting of San Francisco in conjunction with the influence of Catholic social thought in Pope Leo XhTs encyclical,

Rerum Novarum. Gribble attempts to demonstrate that San Francisco's reforms intended to create a more equitable relationship between organized labor and capital were led by two Catholic clerics between 1896 and 1935, Father Peter Yorke and Archbishop Edward Hanna, whose major catalyst for action was Pope Leo's call for social justice in the guise of a living wage, better working conditions, and the right of workers to form associations. This is the primary focus of Gobble's case study concerning the American progressive movement in San Francisco. Unlike the Social Gospel movement on the East Coast that was dominated by Protestants, Gribble maintains, the Pacific Coast movement was not dominated by Protestant leadership and had at its forefront Catholic Church leaders who attempted to address the economic and social ills for impoverished workers by acting as the Catholic conscience of a society that was to reform itself for the benefit of all.

Father Yorke, concludes Gribble, interjected these principles oí Rerum Novarum by becoming the "Champion of Labor" in the Teamster Strike on the Waterfront in 1901 and then again for the Streetcar Strike in 1906-1907. In both of these strikes, Yorke publicly demanded better wages, improved working conditions, and the freedom to organize. As the mouthpiece for labor, he was successful in 1901 in beginning the meteoric rise of organized labor that was to last for five years, but in 1907 Yorke and labor unionism were dealt a "crushing blow." Also, according to Gribble, Yorke came to the defense of two leading labor politicians, Mayor Eugene Schmitz and Abraham Ruef, who were prosecuted for extortion and graft.

It is at this point in the narrative that Yorke recedes into the background, and Gribble continues this tradition of Rerum Novarum 'with Archbishop Hanna between 1915 and 1935. Archbishop Hanna, unlike Father Yorke, was not the firebrand advocate. He was more reserved and fair-minded in this new era when a balance was struck between the two sides and the dominance of organized labor in the city had come to an end. In 1916, he was essentially the Church's spokesman for labor and social justice during the Longshoremen's strike. Not the rabble-rousing advocate, Hanna encouraged peaceful coexistence and compromise on the waterfront. To ensure a living wage for workers, Archbishop Hanna served on the Impartial Wage Arbitration Board between 1921 and 1923. His sense of justice and fairness in one instance led him to deny an increase in wages and, in another, approve of a moderate increase in pay. In 1934 Hanna was appointed by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt to be a member of the Arbitration Board in order to bring together the two opposing sides in the Longshoremen's strike of that year. In the end, Gribble portrays Hanna as more a statesman, who implemented the spirit of Rerum Novarun when labor unionism was declining and when unionism was being replaced by arbitration.

Gribble's account of "a regional expression of an historic nationwide movement" clearly makes the connection between Catholic social thought and its application in the American setting of the urban West. This context, perhaps, is the

most important contribution of the work. Yet the work has its shortcomings. Gribble ascribes only pure motives to Father Yorke and refers to him as the Martin Luther King, Jr., of San Francisco's Labor movement. Gribble's depiction of Yorke overlooks two very important points. He should have continued his discussion of Yorke through the 1916 Longshoremen's strike. He would have discovered that Yorke put the events of Ireland—the I916 Easter Uprising and the subsequent executions—before the cause of labor. In this case at least, Yorke was an Irish nationalist before he was an apostle of Pope Leo's Gospel of labor. Gribble also should have consulted James Walsh's biography of Yorke, Ethnic Militancy, in which he would have found a complete discussion of Yorke's racial and ethnic intolerance in the context of the city's labor movement. As far as Gribble's portrait of Archbishop Hanna is concerned, it seems to lack the depth in content and analysis that was given to Yorke. In fact, because of its brevity, it appears that Gribble has unwittingly exaggerated the importance of Archbishop Hanna in San Francisco's social justice movement for labor.

In spite of these difficulties, this book is a fine attempt to place Catholic social thought in the American political and economic context. Yet, this work's portrait of Catholic Progressivism in the American West is far from complete, and will certainly provoke further research and scholarship in this area.

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Puerto Rican and Cuban Catholics in the U.S., 1900-1965- Edited by Jay P. Dolan and Jaime R. Vidal. [The Notre Dame History of Hispanic Catholics in the U.S., Volume Two.] (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press. 1994. Pp. viii, 259. $24.95.)

The book consists of two long essays, "Citizens Yet Strangers: The Puerto Rican Experience," by Jaime R. Vidal, and "Cuban Catholics in the United States", by Lisandro Pérez. The joint publication of these two essays offers the opportunity to compare the formation and history of these Catholic communities in this country. The initial contrast is striking: the twentieth-century Catholic Cuban community derives its strength from the post-1960 migration of professionals and business people, who came to Miami with their priests and nuns and the full assistance of the diocese. The postwar Puerto Rican migration of rural workers and their families resulted in the growth of communities in the Northeast, especially in New York, without the help of Puerto Rican priests and religious, and with the imposition of the local territorial parish, with its Irish-American model of liturgical, devotional, and educational practices.

Two elements are important in the development of these communities. The first, elaborated at length by Vidal but sparingly by Pérez, is the historical development of religious observances in the two islands. Here it is important to note that in contrast with the North American and northern European religious

models, the religious values of Cubans and Puerto Ricans have been cemented more by the exercise of solidarity, compassion, generosity, hospitality, respect, and humility than by the clockwork observance of holidays of obligation, fasts, and sexual abstinence. Some North American hierarchs have publicly derided the religiosity of Caribbean people because they do not go to Mass punctually on Sundays. Most Puerto Ricans find it hard to understand why North Americans call themselves Christians when their hearts are apparently so closed to human suffering and misery. In each case there has been a preconception on the adequate way of explicitating faith. In the North to express one's emotions is a weakness; in the South to withhold that expression is callousness.

The second interesting element in this book is the North American hierarchy's attitudes to the migrant communities. In Florida the Hispanic migration has meant a significant expansion of the Church in a state where Catholic presence had been slight. The Cuban migration has been an essential part of the growth of the Catholic Church in Florida. Due to the Cold War context of the Cuban migration, the hierarchy welcomed the migrants. It fostered the development of Catholic institutions among the Cuban migrants and defined its policies and priorities in terms of the needs of this vital component of church membership.

Not so in the old Northeastern dioceses, where long-established Catholic communities began the trek to the suburbs in the same period when Puerto Rican migrants were moving in. Bishops and pastors found it difficult to change gears. Much of the decline of the Catholic Church in the Northeast has reflected the hierarchy's inability to make the twin adjustments: to the suburbanization of the traditional constituencies and the establishment of inner-city communities of poor, rural migrants, many of whom did not speak English. Unable to recruit sufficient vocations in the upper-middle-class suburbs or in the inner-city ghettoes, enmeshed in the red tape of War Against Poverty programs, unable to stem the dwindling of the parish schools, the Church in the Northeast has long seen in the migrants more a problem than an opportunity. It has been baffled by the loss of the Hispanic migrants to pentecostals and other fundamentalists, and it does not understand that it was not money or human resources that were lacking, but a radical commitment to change traditional parish structures. Only by empowering the migrants could it have saved the inner-city parishes, but to the end the pastors have persisted in treating as strangers those who faith insists are brothers and sisters.

The meticulous scholarship of these two authors points at these issues, without dwelling on them. A reader with sensibility can wince at all the wrong turns of the postwar decades and will profit from the knowledgeable array of information in this vital area of recent church history.

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Forging New Freedoms: Nativism, Education, and the Constitution, 1917-1927. By William G. Ross. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1994. Pp. x, 277. $40.00.)

William G. Ross has written an illuminating book on a fascinating historical topic. His focus is on the famous trilogy of U.S. Supreme Court decisions in the 1920's involving education and liberty: (1) Meyer v. Nebraska (1923); (2) Pierce v. Society of Sisters (1925), and (3) Farrington v. Tokushige (1927). With these landmark rulings, the Court thwarted a nativistic assault on private schools, especially the religious variety.

In the first installment of this legal trilogy, the Court overturned a Nebraska law—defied by Lutheran parochial school teacher Robert T. Meyer—prohibiting the teaching of modern foreign languages in the instruction of elementary school children. Pierce derailed an Oregon statute requiring all elementary school children to attend public schools. Finally, in Farrington, the Court invalidated over-reaching Hawaiian statutory restrictions on Asian language schools. "Together," Ross observes, "these decisions spelled the death of what had been a growing movement to destroy parochial and private elementary education."

Meyer, Pierce, and Farrington are important precedents in the history of American Constitutional law. Ross studies these cases for their jurisprudential value, but, his book is noteworthy for its broader analysis. A dutiful historian, Ross brings these cases to life by uncovering their social and political origins in the cultural conditions of post-World War I America. As he states in his introduction, his intended task is to explore how "a complicated melange of war hysteria, fear of anarchy and Bolshevism, postwar anomie, nativism, pietism, populism, and progressivism contributed to the enactment of the laws" challenged in these cases. His effort is successful, making his book a perceptive contribution to the history of American education.

What is impressive about Ross's work is his expert use of primary sources. His book relies on numerous archival collections across the nation, such as the papers and the correspondence of the National Catholic Welfare Conference at the Catholic University of America. This collection was indispensable to Ross's informed discussion of the Pierce case. He advises other historians of the treasures he found there: "Future students of the Pierce will ignore the Catholic University collections at their peril." The identical advice might be offered on the Reverend Thomas Shelley's seminal essay, "The Oregon School Case and the National Catholic Welfare Conference," Catholic Historical Review, LXXV Quly, 1989), 439-457.

It is encouraging to read Ross's fresh examination of the role Catholics have played in the development of American legal history. However, much remains to be written on that score. For example, Catholic involvement in the church-state cases since the end of World War II is ripe for extended discussion. This

is an important story and deserving of serious treatment by historians. A portrait of American Catholics would be incomplete without it.

Joseph Richard Preville

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Hollywood Censored: Morality Codes, Catholics, and the Movies. By Gregory D. Black [Cambridge Studies in the History of Mass Communications.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 336. $27.95.)

In this history of Hollywood censorship, primarily of the 1920's and 1930's, Gregory Black argues that the movie studios, the Production Code Administration (PCA), and the Catholic Church colluded in a system that prevented the "direct and honest" treatment of serious social, political, economic, and moral issues on the movie screen. Black laments that, as he sees it, the Code and its enforcement required all movies to be "morality plays." In his analysis, however, he runs the risk of devising his own morality play in which the champions of honesty and freedom are stymied again and again by the agents of prudishness and mediocrity.

Black first chronicles (Chapters 1 and 2) the earliest struggles over motion picture content, those leading up to the establishment of official industry censorship. In order to quiet public protest, as well as to avoid federal anti-trust action or censorship, motion picture producers agreed to the self-regulation represented by the Hays Office. Black goes on (Chapters 3, 4, and 5) to detail the trials Hays faced in policing three different sorts of movie content: sex, especially the films of Cecil B. DeMille and Mae West; themes and plots drawn from modern literature, especially Hemingway's A Farewell to Arms and Faulkner's Sanctuary; and gangster and prison films.

Black then describes (Chapter 6) how dissatisfaction with the results of Hays's supervision grew, especially among the Catholics influential in the composition and adoption of the original Motion Picture Production Code who in 1933-34 threatened the nationwide boycott implied in the organization of the Legion of Decency. This threat was defused by negotiations among the major players that resulted in the establishment of the PCA, headed by a Catholic layman, Joseph Breen. With the threat of a boycott always available as leverage, Black argues, Breen was able for more than twenty years to insist that movies depict "Sex with a Dash of Moral Compensation" (Chapter 7) and that they avoid serious engagement with political and social issues (Chapter 8). He concludes that the "golden era" of movie production might have been more genuinely golden had the studios not been victims of the "economic blackmail" made possible by the combination of the producers' desire to reach the largest possible audience and the demands of special interest groups, particularly the Catholic Church.

The author has drawn on an impressive array of relevant archives—not only those of the PCA, but also of the relevant dioceses, the NCCB, motion picture studios, and individuals including Will Hays, Daniel A. Lord, Wilfrid Parsons, and Martin Quigley. He offers detailed and engaging descriptions of the controversies over specific pictures, and carefully traces the alliances among various groups both within and outside the motion picture industry.

Black's analysis would have been richer if he had supplemented his excellent primary research with a more precise understanding of the cultural and intellectual context of the "morality codes" and the "Catholics" of his subtitle. Catholic involvement in motion picture censorship was motivated by an approach to art and morality grounded in a complex, self-conscious theology, not simply by a conservative desire to safeguard the status quo, still less by an unreflective "Victorianism." Black's analysis would have been more accurate and fairer to the world view of those involved had he achieved a fuller grasp of, for example, neo-scholasticism and natural law philosophy, the imperatives of Catholic Action, and the mechanics and rationale behind Catholic regulation of reading and publication. His assertion that Dos Passos, Dreiser, Faulkner, Hemingway, and Sinclair Lewis were on the Index of Forbidden Books is simply incorrect. For this assertion the author cites Jonathon Green, Encyclopœdia of Censorship (New York: Facts on File, 1990), but he has apparently mistaken a generic list of frequently banned books ("index of banned books," pp. 136-140) for a continuation of the entry on the Index Librorum Prohibitorum (pp. 133-136). Readers able to supply the wider context for themselves will find the story Black tells engrossing and the information he provides useful.

Una M. Cadegan

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"At the Altar of Their God": African American Catholics in Cleveland, 1922-1961. By Dorothy Ann Blatnica, V.S.C. Edited by Graham Hodges. [Studies in African American History and Culture.] (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc. 1995. Pp. xiv, 256. $54.00.)

Almost thirty-five years after the terminus of the time span covered in this book, Sister Dorothy Ann Blatnica, V.S.C, has opened a heretofore closed curtain on those days. Her research into this sensitive and complex experience as it was lived in Cleveland, as well as in many other dioceses, is wonderfully correlated. The book is tightly written and for those of us who sought to minister in the African American parishes of Cleveland during those years, a poignant recall of so many experiences.

The book is especially powerful when Sister Dorothy Ann uses primary archival resources, letters from pastors to bishops and the replies of those bishops, parish bulletins and announcements, and newspaper articles. There follows an extensive and well-directed use of oral history, interviews with many of

the people who grew up and lived as African American Catholics in Cleveland during these years, 1922 to 1961. One example: Father Melchior Lochtefeld, who ministered to the African American Catholic community at Our Lady of the Blessed Sacrament Parish and later at St. Edward Parish for more than twenty years, is remembered to this day with respect by African American parishes as a man who knew his people very well, visited them in their homes, and was constantly present to them. He and the staff of the parishes organized all sorts of activities for the children of the parish. One such activity, which he seems to have taught himself, was square dancing. The square dancing was considered so good that the children were invited to other schools to teach square dancing. They even managed to be televised. In retrospect, one of this group recalls today, "As I look back, I don't like it. . . . We shouldn't have been down at the TV station square dancing. We looked like little minstrels. . . . But, I'm sure Father gave us the best he knew."

The issue, of course, was cultural dissonance—as Sister Dorothy Ann clearly points out. She goes on to say, "No matter how well a priest may feel he is accepted by a congregation of African American Catholics, the people need priests of their own race. They need to know not just what is meant to be a Catholic, but what is meant to be an African American Catholic in cultural terms equivalent to those enjoyed by white Catholics." During the years included in this book, there were no African American diocesan priests in the Cleveland Diocese. Indeed, that fact is still true today.

Among countless valuable insights in this book, one is struck by two clearly demonstrated facts. First, the leadership of the diocese was sadly uncertain about whether to regard the African American apostolate as a missionary enterprise or whether that apostolate was one similar to the work going on in the diocese at that time with various immigrant groups of people recently arrived in Cleveland from middle and eastern Europe. In retrospect, it seems clear that the latter course was followed for a least a generation; and with that course, there emerged the "Negro parish" having no territorial lines. Such a parish was a segregated parish. The second fact which Sister Dorothy Ann brings out vividly is the overwhelming change that has taken place in our collective consciousness with regard to civil rights and especially the civil rights of African Americans. In this respect, one cannot find a diocese more blessed than was Cleveland by the presence among us of Archbishop James Lyke, who died far too soon, as Archbishop of Atlanta. He was auxiliary bishop of Cleveland from 1979 to 1990. He left us a tremendous legacy of patience, understanding, and true leadership.

Nelson J. Callahan

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Dorothy Day: Le Mouvement Catholique Ouvrier aux Etas-Unis. By Richard Wolff and Richard J. Devine. Translated and adapted by Georges Joseph-Henri. [Politique & chrétiens, 10.] (Paris: Beauchesne. 1994. Pp. 286. 180 FF paperback.)

The authors of this book propose to and successfully offer an introduction to Dorothy Day which incorporates a commentary on the significance of this twentieth-century American Catholic laywoman. The first portion provides a biographical portrait and the second a series of extracts from her works, arranged chronologically. The carefully chosen extracts represent the development of Day's thinking and the concerns that were of major importance to her over the years. The work as a whole is representative of the interest in Day that has grown steadily over the past decade.

Wolff and Devine trace Day's life from her birth on November 8, 1897, to her death on November 29, 1980, and chronicle the origins of her affinity for radical causes which identified with the poor. Her bohemian youth and conversion to Catholicism at the age of thirty are treated with sensitivity, as are the events leading to her founding the Catholic Worker newspaper and movement with Peter Maurin in 1933. Both Day's religious vision and leadership are portrayed in chapters which deal with the forty-three-year period during which she combined her journalistic skills as editor with advocacy for social change permeated by Christian values. The book rightfully portrays Dorothy as a woman of tremendous energy, of strong will, and of a faith that carried her and the movement, particularly through the vicissitudes of the World War II and Vietnam eras. The testing of Day's pacifist position, both within the movement and outside of it is realistically acknowledged as well as the tribute given her posthumously by the American bishops in their 1983 pastoral on peace.

The work will appeal greatly as an accessible introduction to Dorothy Day for those who have been unable to read materials on her that are available only in English. For persons already familiar with Day the Wolff-Devine text provides a good review of the life and contribution of this woman, who truly saw Christ within others and lived accordingly.

While Day's own works are utilized in the biographical section, particularly The Long Loneliness (excellent use is made of this work), Loaves and Fishes, and articles in The Catholic Worker, the authors depend heavily on William D. Miller's 1982 biography, particularly for the earlier chapters. Because of this the book under review suffers from some of the same misreading of sources and inaccuracies that appear in the 1982 biography. It appears to the reviewer that the frequent references to the Egan and Roberts articles (e.g., pp. 111 and 149) should be more clearly noted since they are not given as separate entries in the bibliography. Most readers will be unable to connect them with Patrick G. Coy's 1988 work which is listed there. In addition, a number of typographical errors need correction, including the acknowledgment page which misplaces Mar-

quette University in Minneapolis, Minnesota. Hopefully such corrections as well as an index will appear in a second edition of the Wolff-Devine work.

Brigid O'Shea Merriman, O.S.F.
Mount Angel Seminary

The Word Made Flesh: The Chicago Catholic Worker and the Emergence of Lay Activism in the Church. By Francis J. Sicius. (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America. 1990. Pp. xiv, 197.)

Chicago Catholicism's reputation for social and ecclesiastical progressivism in the period prior to Vatican Council II has generated any number of books, articles, and dissertations. This has been made possible by the abundance of documentary material left by many of the principals, the accessibility of the archdiocesan archives, and the volubility of many of the participants of those heady days.

Into this current of scholarship has stepped Francis Sicius' study of the Chicago Catholic Worker, especially the House of Hospitality on Blue Island Avenue and its three most prominent alumni, John Cogley, James O'Gara, and Edward Marciniak. For anyone remotely connected with any movement or organization of Chicago Catholicism's progressive cadre, this place was Camelot. In addition, Sicius demonstrates the wider influence of the Catholic Workers in Chicago by demonstrating the linkage between their action-oriented idealism and many of the movements for social and economic justice in the thirties, forties, fifties, and even the sixties in the city.

Dorothy Day's and Peter Maurin's distinctive program of social reconstruction, manifested in the pages of The Catholic Worker, found a fertile field in the depression-ravaged cities of America. Chicago's House of Hospitality developed after a speaking tour by Peter Maurin in 1936. The guiding light of the first effort was Arthur Falls, an African-American physician and a practicing Catholic, who saw in the Catholic Worker a means of bringing the Catholic Church behind the cause of racial justice in northern cities. But unlike Day's effort in New York, the independent-minded Falls shied away from the soup-kitchen/shelter aspects of the work and turned the Worker house into an education center on public issues and Catholic social teaching. This first effort was able to attract bright young men like John Cogley, James O'Gara, and Edward Marciniak, all of whom would eventually gather again (after stints in the seminary) to form the Blue Island Avenue Catholic Worker house in 1938. Housed in an old factory, this enterprise more closely resembled Day's model in New York, replete with soup kitchen and shelter. With Cogley's skill, the Chicago Workers were able to put out their own version of The Catholic Worker and disseminated thousands of copies to workers, sympathetic parish priests, and others. Many idealistic young people volunteered to serve at the House. Clerical leaders such as

Reynold Hillenbrand gave it support; he even brought Dorothy Day to the seminary to speak to the future lévites.

Through the power of the pen and their own indefatigable idealism, the Catholic Workers of Chicago gave critical public support to a host of liberal causes—improved racial relations, industrial unionism, and co-ordinated efforts to attack the anti-Semitism of Charles Coughlin and his followers—all issues where a deliberate Catholic presence was both a surprise and warmly welcomed.

The house on Blue Island Avenue did not enjoy a long life. Economic conditions improved, thereby mitigating the need for the shelter and soup kitchen (its most popular feature). Moreover, Dorothy Day's insistence on a pacifist stance during World War II divided the Workers internally. Cogley enlisted in the armed forces while Marciniak refused to co-operate or fight. The house closed its doors in 1941. Other efforts were made to resuscitate the Catholic Worker presence in Chicago. But in Sicius' estimation none of them had the appeal or effectiveness of the house on Blue Island Avenue. In his final chapter, Sicius eulogizes the movement of the thirties as "the model for the institutional church of the decades that followed."

There is much to commend in this slender volume. Sicius covers an important wellspring of the progressive mood of Chicago Catholicism. As earlier suggested, virtually every liberal worth his or her salt worked at or supported the house on Blue Island Avenue. Moreover, the good that it did for those caught in the vicious grip of the Depression in Chicago can never fully be calculated. The utter sincerity and integrity with which those who worked and lived at the House translated their faith into action shines through on these pages.

Yet, this book has serious flaws. The text appears to have been prepared by the author in a relatively undeveloped stage of desk-top publishing. Margins are off; titles are not centered; and lines repeat themselves. Even worse, virtually every page has a misspelling, a typographical or a punctuation error. This made reading the text difficult, to say the least.

Even more, the author is given to occasional overstatement about the significance of the Catholic Worker movement in the history of the Church and Chicago Catholicism. For example, it is too much to say that the American Church "threatened to disintegrate before the economic and political challenges of industrialism and nationalism" (p. xii) without the insights and activities of this movement. Moreover, Sicius at times gives the impression that Dorothy Day was the only one pressing for significant changes in society under Catholic auspices. Indeed, her critique of the prevailing social order had its own distinct quality. But there were others who were just as forcefully advocating the restructuring of the social order according to the vision of the papal encyclicals—many of them in Chicago—including CISCA, Bishop Shell's CYO, and the budding liturgical movement.

This propensity to portray the Catholic Worker as the axis on which the entire Chicago and indeed American Catholic experience turned is understandable, given the author's use of sources. He relies heavily on Cogley's biography (apparently there are no Cogley papers), published works in The Catholic Worker, Edward Marciniak's unprocessed papers, and oral interviews with several of the principals. Although he cites documentary sources at the Chicago Historical Society and Marquette University, two valuable sources for a study of this nature, there are only a handful of citations of this material. In sum, what one has is a study of the Catholic Worker that is told entirely from the perspective of the participants. What is lacking in this study (and in so many other accounts of these movements, including the reviewer's own) is a sustained effort to develop a scholarly distance from this story that enables a more objective view of the efficacy and so-called prophetic quality of these movements.

For example, one could legitimately ask how many of Chicago's over one million Catholics ever heard of the Catholic Worker, much less subscribed to its Catholic Utopian socialism. And for those who came to the House, how many were simply interested in warm soup and a flop rather than erudite discussions of the "social question"? One cannot even get a clear number of how many people actually worked at these houses, much less those who were affected by the ideas presented.

The same more stringent models of analysis might be imposed on the "influence" these movements had on actual conditions in Chicago at large and even among Catholics. Despite the best efforts of Catholic social progressives, racism flourished embarrassingly among Catholic parishes, hospitals, and schools. In the case of organized labor, once the major victories were won, interest in social liberalism waned among rank-and-file unionists. Indeed, many of them would be the backbone of the conservative resurgence of the eighties. In the end, one must ask what measurable and verifiable changes took place in Chicago at large and within the Chicago Catholic community because of the presence of the Catholic Worker Movement? Did its existence make any difference to any but a relatively small minority of the huge Catholic population of that great city?

I think one can respond to the latter question in the affirmative. Change did indeed take place in the Chicago Church, and some of it can be traced to the hard work done by committed Catholic lay people inspired by the vision articulated by the Catholic Workers and the spectrum of progressive Catholic movements headquartered in Chicago. But it was rarely accomplished apart from a partnership with co-operative clergy and hierarchy. One could argue, for example, that despite all the good work done combatting racism within the Catholic Church by devoted lay activists, real change in the racist practices of many priests and nuns was accomplished by the fiat of Cardinal Albert Meyer, who ordered that the schools admit African American children and then threatened or removed those who refused to follow his orders.

As inspiring as Sicius' story is, the people and activities described in this book were only a part of the larger mosaic of Catholic life in Chicago. Indeed, the real strength of Chicago Catholicism was the creative and purposeful collaboration between clergy and laity. Mayor Richard Daley called Chicago "the city that works." This was no less true in Chicago Catholicism, where the pressing urgency of the city's urban problems after World War II broke down walls of separation between cleric and lay to bring about action for the common good.

Steven M.Avelia

Marquette University

This Confident Church: Catholic Leadership and Life in Chicago, 1940-1965. By Steven M. Avella. (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press. 1992. Pp. xviii,410. $29.95.)

Father Avella, a priest and historian of the Archdiocese of Milwaukee, has written a partial history of the Archdiocese of Chicago during the episcopates of the two archbishops who had previously held that office successively in Milwaukee, namely, Cardinals Samuel Stritch and Albert Meyer. During this quarter-century Chicago was the largest archdiocese in the United States and a pacesetter for the rest of the American Catholic Church. Hence, this period, extending from the beginning of World War II to the end of Vatican Council II, is especially suitable for historical investigation, although other predominantly urban dioceses were experiencing the same kinds of social and demographic changes, such as the supplanting of whites by blacks in neighborhoods and parishes and suburbanization, while exhibiting the same kind of confidence noted in the title of the book. None of those dioceses, however, has until now been subjected to similar study in a separate monograph. Such research, of course, would not be possible in some comparable archdioceses, for example, New York, where the papers of Cardinal Francis Spellman are still closed to scholars although he died less than three years after Meyer. The author has also made use of other diocesan archives and manuscript collections; one may doubt, however, whether he has fully exploited the Chicago daily newspapers. It was timely, moreover, to undertake this project while some of the protagonists of the story and contemporary observers could still be interviewed.

Father Avella centers his presentation on individuals—principally the two archbishops but also their auxiliary bishop Bernard Sheil and priests of the archdiocese, notably Reynold H. Hillenbrand, Daniel M. Cantwell (who died on January 2 of this year), and John Egan. He emphasizes, therefore, matters in which they were involved—Stritch's interest in the Poles and other refugees and displaced persons after the war, international peace and the Communist threat, social reconstruction, institutional growth, the seminary system, and Catholic Charities; Shell's troubled direction of the Catholic Youth Organization; Hillenbrand's promotion of liturgical reform, specialized Catholic Action

(especially the Young Christian Workers and the Christian Family Movement), and labor unions; Cantwell's role in the Catholic Labor Alliance, controversies over public housing and urban planning and renewal, and the Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago; and Egan's expansion of the Cana Conference, his use of power politics and confrontational tactics in the ultimately unsuccessful campaign against the University of Chicago's plans for redevelopment of the Hyde Park-Kenwood communities, and his management of the Office of Urban Affairs. Community organizing for the Spanish-speaking, struggles over civil rights, and racial violence perpetrated by Catholics are also treated at length.

Focusing his attention on these social problems, Avella gives short shrift to many other facets of the Catholic presence in Chicago. Aside from a few prominent laymen such as Edward Marciniak, he largely ignores the laity, especially the organizations in which so many were active, such as the Holy Name Society, the Archdiocesan Council of Catholic Women, the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine (briefly mentioned), most of the ten Newman clubs or centers at non-Catholic universities, and the lay retreat movement. He does not acknowledge the importance of the religious congregations of men which operated two universities, five major and several minor seminaries, and novitiates; the universities educated not only undergraduates but also many lawyers, accountants, doctors, dentists, and other professional people for the metropolitan area. Most notably, he fails to credit women religious for their outstanding contribution to the development of "confidence" through their schools, hospitals, orphanages, infant asylums, settlement houses, homes for the aged, and protective institutions; in 1965 sisters conducted four colleges. Such institutions are mentioned, if at all, only in the negative light of practicing racial discrimination and resisting integration. Lastly, he does not convey some of the grandeur and enthusiasm of memorable moments; this reviewer remembers, for instance, the vast crowd that filled Soldier Field one evening in 1946 to celebrate the first canonization of an American citizen, Saint Frances Xavier Cabrini, who had died in Chicago twenty-nine years before; her cause had been promoted by the Archdiocese of Chicago and her native diocese, Lodi in Lombardy.

In comparing the two cardinals, Avella betrays more sympathy for Meyer during his seven years than for Stritch during his eighteen. Although he admits Stritch's concern for blacks and his efforts for their conversion as well as his vaunted "permissiveness," he regards as slowness and indecisiveness in overcoming segregation what others would consider justified caution and prudence. He devotes many pages to Meyer's participation in the Second Vatican Council, which was not closely related to "Catholic leadership and life in Chicago," but overlooks the strong influence exerted by Stritch as an officer of the Administrative Board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. While he accurately depicts Stritch's personality, he does not sufficiently penetrate Meyer's inscrutable and somewhat introverted character.

In short, the reader will learn a great deal about the topics that Father Avella has selected for exposition in a colloquial style but will understand that the au-

thor has not attempted to present a complete history of the Church in Chicago during those twenty-five eventful years.

Robert Trisco

The Catholic University ofAmerica

Battlefield Chaplains: Catholic Priests in World War II. By Donald F. Crosby, SJ. [Modern War Studies.] (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1994. Pp. xxvi, 301. $27.50.)

In the World War II film, Flying Leathernecks, John Wayne's character needs to write a condolence letter because the chaplain had been killed while with the infantry. While women and men of all faiths labored for the glory of God in the chaplaincy, their brave endeavors at times have been overlooked in military histories.

In the first of three planned studies of the priesthood in this global conflict, Donald Crosby, SJ., studies primarily the efforts and heroics of army chaplains. In a sense, he embarks on a difficult task. Such a book needs to provide some framework so that the nonmilitary reader can understand the context. Yet, the author must personalize his presentation without getting into every military movement. Moreover, as he notes, the current status of some archives can make the task more onerous.

To a significant extent, Crosby succeeds admirably. He chronicles the daily grind and constant dangers of chaplaincy. The work clearly presents the flaws, anxieties, and determined dedication of the Catholic chaplains. Like their fellow soldiers, priests were captured, attacked by "friendly fire," and killed as they went about their duties on the Normandy beaches, or Pacific islands, and even, as Crosby relates, murdered by an American soldier.

Crosby's balanced account is well researched in primary sources. These are real men who sometimes err. He cites examples of inappropriate talk on an invasion transport, occasional interfaith tension, and the shortages of chaplains. Priests at times mirrored contemporary American society's view of the enemy. Crosby recounts both atrocities and kindness of the common soldier on both sides.

Occasionally, clichés and flowery language exist in this work. The day of the attack on Iwo Jima, for example "dawned bright and clear, with the sea a glassy calm," and". . . Savo Island looked like a primeval monster thrusting its vile head out of some primordial sea" are cases in point.

Crosby generally provides a succinct but careful overview of the conflict. Yet a number of references to various turning points (Guadalcanal and Marianas, for example) can be confusing. Moreover, while the thrust of the book understandably examines army chaplains, a discussion of the Franklin and the only

Catholic chaplain Medal of Honor winner may have expanded to include mention of the Four Chaplains, or perhaps Midway—arguably a significant turning point in the Pacific conflict. He does note that he will limit his study to the "principal theaters of conflict" (excluding the Atlantic and Pacific). The shifting back and forth between theaters of operation potentially could confuse the reader. These observations, however, are more a matter of writer's choice than a criticism.

These suggestions, however, do nothing to minimize Crosby's achievement. He has successfully examined an important topic, placed it in context, and used varied archival resources. The author has provided valuable insights and information regarding the impact of these men and their lives on the armed services during wartime. Moreover, he has laid a strong foundation for his following works about chaplains on the home front, and the Jesuit role as chaplains in the conflict. Both this book and the trilogy will be a valuable contribution to military and church history.

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Calendar of Documents and Related Historical Materials in the Archival Center, Archdiocese of Los Angeles, for the Most Reverend J. Francis A. Mclntyre, Volume One: 1948-1960; . . .for His Eminence, James Francis Cardinal Mclntyre,, Volume Two: 1961-1970. Prepared by Sister Mary Rose Cunningham, C.S.C. With a Preface and Historical Introduction by Francis J. Weber. (Mission Hills, California: Saint Francis Historical Society, 15151 San Fernando Mission Blvd., Mission Hills, California 91345. 1994. Pp. ix, 294; vi, 265. $50 per volume.)

This two-volume calendar of correspondence to and from the Most Reverend J. Francis A. Mclntyre (1948-1953) and James Francis Cardinal Mclntyre (1953-1970) describes the collection held by the Archival Center of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles. While the Archival Center is a private ecclesial depository, accredited scholars may consult its resources made more accessible by this carefully prepared compendium.

During the past decade the collection, gathered from myriad sources, has been catalogued by Sister Miriam Ann Cunningham, C.S.C, and Sister Mary Rose Cunningham, C.S.C. Employing a system used by the Academy of American Franciscan History, the cataloguers coded each document and summarized the contents. Each entry has also been identified by date, origin, and correspondent, with added notations regarding language and length. The items are grouped by year, although entries within the year are not necessarily chronological. Entries are indexed by name, but not by subject. Mclntyre's homilies, addresses, and lectures are also listed.

The catalogue is particularly significant in view of the eventful decades of Cardinal Mclntyre's archiepiscopate. When he became the eighth head of the diocese in 1948, Archbishop Mclntyre applied his considerable administrative experience to reorganizing the commissions, secretariats, and social agencies of the rapidly expanding region. He expanded the office of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, initiated an outreach to the Latino community, and in 1956 organized the Lay Mission Helpers. Most importantly, in response to southern California's explosive postwar expansion he built approximately one school a month, tripling the number of parochial schools to 347.

When Mclntyre became the twelfth American member of the Sacred College of Cardinals, he assumed additional responsibilities as papal legate to the Marian Congress in Nigeria and as a member of the commission planning Vatican Council II. The new role is reflected in a few letters to fellow cardinals and with Curia officials. One letter sent by a Vatican official in 1969, noting the amount of news coverage the archdiocese had received, observes that efforts are needed to offset such attention. But there is neither a response nor collateral correspondence which sheds light on the cause of the publicity. Instead, the collection includes largely ceremonial letters expressing condolences, accepting gifts, and conferring appointments to lay religious organizations. There are numerous inquiries from genealogists, only slightly outnumbered by missives from ruffled parishioners. One writer queries the cardinal about his purported sighting of a UFO. A widower seeks assistance from a non-existent diocesan introduction service.

Despite such marginalia the nearly 6000 items written by and to the cardinal and his staff provide insights into the Church's position on the civil rights movement, union demands for a closed shop, the war in Viet Nam, and the unionization of California farm workers.

There are, as well, indications of the effects of the aggiornamento proposed by Vatican Council II. A pastoral letter announces the availability of English-language altar missals. A parishioner suggests the inclusion of the kiss of peace during the celebration of the Mass. Another complains about the changes in general and the elimination of certain saints from the liturgical calendar. Yet another protests the limited role of the laity despite the innovations. Responses to these letters are not included in the collection.

Where responses are available, a prudent restraint is reflected in the replies to public queries about church property holdings or benefits provided to archdiocesan lay employees. The collection reflects even greater restraint regarding issues growing from the roiling social ferment of the Viet Nam era and the Church's reactions to the directives of Vatican Council II. A letter from Bishop Fulton J. Sheen urging a bishops' letter on the priestly life and several letters offering assistance to priests making a transition from active ministry to other occupations suggest undercurrents of change. While no replies are included, the cardinal's addresses to the clergy and speeches at priests' retreats, which are in-

eluded, may provide more information on the challenges and the change confronting the Church during these years.

The collection also does not reveal the scope of Cardinal Mclntyre's confrontation with the well-established teaching order, the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, whose expulsion from diocesan schools resulted in a protest to the Vatican signed by 25,000 petitioners. Despite voluminous correspondence extending from 1952 to 1970, the calendar lists but one letter from the Order's Mother General.

The absence of relevant material on a number of such key issues suggests that a significant number of documents still await the meticulous cataloguing reflected in these two volumes.

Gloria Ricci Lothrop

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A Question of Character: A Life of John F. Kennedy. By Thomas C. Reeves. (New York: The Free Press. 1991. Pp. xvi, 510. $24.95.)

Thomas Reeves's biography of Kennedy should be read twice—first, as exposé, and second, as a legitimate scholastic exercise—but retain a high degree of skepticism.

The foundation upon which Reeves grounds his work, and title, is the identity of character with "a strong moral sense of right and wrong . . . derived from our Western heritage and deeply embedded in our culture" (p. 16). It is as well a reaction to the Camelot school of Kennedy studies exemplified by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., who, moreover, defined character as a"... combination of toughness of fiber and courage" (p. 5). Since Schlesinger chose to present Kennedy in this guise, and since we as an electorate have made character a basis of selecting our leaders at other times and places, and finally, since most people, according to Reeves, can still tell the difference between right and wrong, a study of the character of Kennedy and its effect upon his policies and actions is valid.

The difficulty, however, is that Reeves is willing to accept the worst accounts of Kennedy's personal conduct when assessing his character. The sources used are extensive, relevant to the purpose and scholarly for the most part; there are also popular accounts and truly suspect ones and there is far too much reliance on such sources as Judith Exner's My Story and Anthony Summers' Goddess: The Secret Lives of Marilyn Monroe. The Kennedy Library Oral History portions are cited although some were still closed at the time Reeves was writing. Rarely, however, does Reeves distinguish relative values for these sources.

Fundamentally, Kennedy is presented as a political animal, yet within that context, he is further portrayed as evolving, sometimes successfully, sometimes not. The overall evaluation is that of a flawed character.

The standard presentation—family background, war service, Congressional career, and presidency—are the natural parameters. In the early chapters the treatment necessarily is the more highly personal.

Reeves maintains that Joseph Kennedy established the moral atmosphere—really amoral—in which John matured and that the son deviated little from the dictum of "win at all costs." Nevertheless, Reeves gives credit where due. The sinking of PT 109 is a case in point. Kennedy's handling of the vessel was incompetent, and yet his subsequent actions were heroic.

He acknowledges, clearly with approval, that Kennedy's Senatorial votes were liberal (although Kennedy disavowed the term for himself), and quotes Kennedy to the effect that the national interest and his conscience directed his vote, only to conclude that "there was little indication of any abiding moral vision directing his conscience, much less his vote" (p. 141). Other examples exist.

Is this an unfriendly work? Broadly, yes. Kennedy is seldom given the benefit of the doubt and too often situations are conveyed not in the best light.

Still, the account of Kennedy's presidency is a valid one. The Berlin crisis of 1961, the Bay of Pigs misadventure, the confrontation with Roger Blough and U.S. Steel, the Cuban Missile Crisis, and the Civil Rights movement are all included. Yet consistently Kennedy is presented as façade. Thus Kennedy's CIA operation in Laos is described as a " . . . surreptitious war [which] was illegal, immoral, dangerous, and a far cry from the idealism so often expressed in the president's formal speeches. At least in part, this policy expressed the Kennedy willingness to use power illegally and showed Jack's macho aggressiveness, his eagerness for deception and risk, and his moral indifference" (p. 284). That is a fierce indictment. Whether it is deserved or not the reader may judge.

However, in two important particulars Reeves admits the possibility of growth. Kennedy's cautious approach to the civil rights issue evolved into a moral commitment. And yet even then Reeves undoes the whole fabric. According to Sorensen, Kennedy had informed a black leader that the issue could cost him re-election "but we're not turning back." The kicker was Reeves's conclusion that the statement, "even if true," sounded more heroic than it was. The Kennedys could not think of abandoning what they had publicly committed themselves to (p. 363). The "even if true" appears gratuitous.

He also acknolwedges that in the Cuban Missile Crisis Kennedy revealed a deeper concern about the nation and the world than many who knew him well might have expected. "There was more to Kennedy's character by this time than the pursuit of power and pleasure that had shaped his career. Jack's political and behavioral instincts were contained by a larger moral purpose, and that

revealed a growing maturity" (p. 392). But why was he less mature in the later than the earlier of these two?

In conclusion, read with caution. The question raised is important; let the reader decide whether Kennedy met the mark.

Thomas R. Greene

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Witness to Freedom: The Letters of Thomas Merton in Times of Crisis. Selected and edited by William H. Shannon. [The Thomas Merton Letters Series, V] (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux. 1994. Pp. xiv, 352. $25.00.)

With Witness to Freedom, the ten-year project of the publication of Thomas Meiton's correspondence draws to a close. This fifth volume of letters of the prolific Trappist completes a cycle that began with die publication of The Hidden Ground of Love in 1985 and continued through The Road to Joy (1989), The School of Charity (1990), and The Courage for Truth (1993). Like the first volume in 1985, this last one is excellently edited by Monsignor William H. Shannon, who also served as general editor of the series.

The most notable inclusion of writings in Witness to Freedom for most readers will be the "Cold War Letters" written by Merton during 1961-62 to a wide array of correspondents including Dorothy Day, Erich Fromm, Ethel Kennedy, and Clare Booth Luce. In all, there are 111 such dispatches that were put into mimeograph form and circulated for friendly eyes and hearts when some of the monk's monastic superiors objected to the publication of his controversial writings. As Merton put the situation at the time, "I am having a bit of censorship trouble" (p. 18).

Merton appended a preface of some four pages to the Cold War Letters that began to circulate in 1963· Within that short piece is to be found some of his most intensive commentary on war and peace in general and critique of post-World War II America in particular: "… this country has become frankly a warfare state built on affluence, a power structure in which the interests of big business, the obsessions of the military and the phobias of political extremists both dominate and dictate our national policy" (p. 20).

Also included in this volume are letters written during the "vocation crisis" of 1959-1960 when Merton sought a deeper solitude within which to live his monastic life. A variety of other topics are covered as well, most movingly letters of advice to persons writing for spiritual help.

Especially here, Merton reveals himself to be a person of balanced sensitivity. In this concluding section of "Religious Thought and Dialogue" are some of the keenest of Merton's telegraphic one-liners of spiritual insight. And here as well the reader finds the pastoral side of Merton, the man who said of himself in

1965, "I still want above all to try to be a bridge builder for everybody and to keep communication open between the extremists at both ends" (p. 325).

Clyde F. Crews

Bellarmine College, Lousiville

In the Midst of His People. The Authorized Biography of Bishop Maurice J. Dingman. By Shirley Crisler, SFCC, and Mira Mosle, BVM. (Iowa City: Rudi Publishing. 1995. Pp. xvii, 283- $14.95 paperback.)

To borrow George Will's comment about David McCullough's Truman, this book is a 300-page "valentine" to Maurice J. Dingman. Not that the sixth bishop of Des Moines does not deserve such. He was a most gracious, holy, inspirational gentleman, whose name is still revered in his home Diocese of Davenport, and the Diocese of Des Moines, where he served as bishop from 1968 until his debilitating stroke forced his resignation in 1986. Nor does the quasi-hagiographical style make it less than informative reading. Particularly will those who knew the man find this collection of memories and anecdotes about this effective shepherd interesting and moving. The work also provides a human portrait of a typical "pastoral bishop," a term used to describe some bishops appointed after the close of the Second Vatican Council who exercised a collégial, informal, collaborative style and who were aggressive in promoting what they understood to be the mandated reforms of the council. The sections on the papal visit to Iowa masterminded by Dingman, his struggle over the question of womens' ordination, and the effects of his crippling stroke, are particularly well done.

Where the book disappoints is in its lack of depth. Dingman—as he himself would be the first to admit—was no revolutionary, but was building on a tradition of American Catholicism, particularly in the Midwest, called Catholic agrarianism, from which creative developments in liturgy, catechetics, social theory, and ecclesiology came. Thus he was in the line of leaders such as Luigi Ligutti, Edwin O'Hara, Virgil Michel, Martin Hellriegel, and Aloysius Muench. Never is this tradition treated in the book. Nor are we given much reason for the sudden transformation in Dingman's life: from a rather strict, shy, ecclesiastical bureaucrat—afraid to have even his own sister in the front seat of the car with him!—to an informal, personable pastor with a tendency to flexibility regarding church law.

Careful readers will be distracted by some errors: ad limina is "to the thresholds," not "to the doors"; the Second Vatican Council opened in 1962, not I96I (p. 10); Luigi Ligutti was the representative of the Holy See to FAO, not director of that UN organization (p. 14); the proper title of Pius XI's encyclical against Naziism is Mit brennender Sorge (p. 78); and there is a printing lapse on page 169.

The authors have provided a service in collecting data about this churchman who, in the words of Monsignor Robert Lynch, was indeed one of those known as a "Vatican II bishop."

Timothy M. Dolan

Pontifical North American College

Latin American

Die Anfänge der Kirche auf den Karibischen Inseln: Die Geschichte der Bistümer Santo Domingo, Concepción de la Vega, San fuan de Puerto Rico und Santiago de Cuba von ihrer Entstehung (1511/22) bis zur Mitte des 17.fahrhunderts. By Johannes Meier. [Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft, Supplementa, Volume XXXVIII.] (Immensee, Switzerland: Verein zur Förderung der Missionswissenschaft. 1991. Pp. xxxiv, 313. sFr. 44,- paperback.)

It was the aim of the church historian Johannes Meier to recount and to analyze the history of the Catholic Church in the Caribbean Islands from the beginning of Spanish overseas expansion until the mid-seventeenth century. He has accomplished his goal quite well.

This book consists of a foreword, an introduction, five chapters, a conclusion, a place and person register, a picture appendix, and maps. The twenty-five-page bibliography, itself a helpful tool to anyone interested in Latin American church history, reveals Meier's acquaintance with literature in many languages.

Meier describes in Chapter One the origin of the Caribbean dioceses of Santo Domingo, Concepción de la Vega, San Juan de Puerto Rico, and Santiago de Cuba. In Chapter Two he discusses the bishops. Chapter Three deals with the secular clergy. Chapter Four deals with the religious orders, namely, the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Mercedarians, and others; and Chapter Five deals with the Christian laity, namely, European settlers, native Indians, and African slaves.

On October 12, 1492, when Christopher Columbus discovered the "Old World," he erected crosses at designated places and announced that Christianity would occupy a strong and privileged place in the "New World." The interdependence of Church and State rested on the royal patronage, and within the milieu of the patronage there developed a hierarchical church.

Thanks to the religious revival in Spain under the leadership of Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros, the Church in the beginning sent qualified personnel to America. The first decade was characterized by clergy from both the dioceses and the orders, but later the Council of Trent strengthened the position of the bishops, and when the bishops in the latter third of the sixteenth century be-

came more concerned with pastoral work, the secular clergy grew. The state increased its control through the Council of the Indies, and in the seventeenth century, church-state relations were consolidated. By that time Hispanoamerican Christendom had found its identity. Thus, in this corner of the earth, where hurricanes and pirate raids took their toll, the four dioceses with which this book is concerned left a memorable mark on the history of the Church.

Meier's richly detailed monograph is of substantial scholarly merit. It is extensively researched and packed with information. He relies on unpublished manuscripts in the Archives of the Indies in Seville and on published documents as well as on relevant secondary materials. This balanced study should be useful to students, teachers, and experts who are seeking information on the Church and its missionary efforts in Spain's overseas kingdoms. This book should be made available to as many scholars as possible by way of both English and Spanish translations. One negative aspect of the book from the point of view of some readers who do not command foreign languages might be Meier's liberal and repeated use of the custom of many European scholars to insert long Latin and Spanish quotations within the German text. Nevertheless, Meier's book is a valuable publication which merits attentive reading and rereading.

Josephine H. Schulte

St. Mary's University
San Antonio, Texas

Guatemala in the Spanish Colonial Period. By Oakah L. Jones, Jr. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1993. Pp. xxi, 344. $38.95.)

This well-organized and readable survey of colonial Guatemala in ten chapters provides the reader with a much-needed important study of the Kingdom of Guatemala from conquest to independence. Based on more than eight years of archival research, the reading of published documents and primary sources, and the works of authors ranging from H. H. Bancroft to Murdo J. Macleod, this authoritative narrative history provides a useful chronology and index, good illustrations, maps, tables, a glossary of Spanish terms, and an appendix of Spanish governors, captains general, and presidents.

After placing Guatemala's people in their natural setting and showing the interrelationship between habitat and occupants from pre-Columbian times to the present, the author discusses the pre-Columbian Indians and their achievements in a geographically diverse region of Mesoamerica. He then assesses the Spanish conquest, the beginnings of Spanish dominance, and the end of an era with Pedro de Alvarado's death and the destruction of Ciudad Vieja in 1541.

Subsequent chapters examine a variety of themes chronologically and topically. Subjects covered include government and the Church under the Hapsburgs and the Bourbons; landholding in its various forms, town planning, and

the economic life of the colony; population, society, and culture; and the effects of calamities and disasters and the constant need to protect the colony against foreign interlopers. The book concludes with an analysis of the problems faced by Guatemalans on the eve of independence.

In his balanced treatment of the negative and positive aspects of Spanish colonization in one area of America, Oakah L. Jones, Jr., convincingly corrects the view of various historians that continue to perpetuate the myth "that only the English came to America to settle and till the soil while Spaniards came solely to plunder" (p. 161). Rather, Spain brought to America her language, religion, government, law, customs, schools, colleges, universities, and all those things subsumed under the term culture. Spain established true settlement colonies, and new multiethnic societies arose in the American kingdoms. "Spanish colonial Guatemala was both an encounter and an accommodation of two worlds, Europe and America" (p. 267).

In conclusion, Jones has written another lively book that synthesizes a vast amount of information into a coherent general history useful both to the scholar and the general reader. While concentrating on what is today's republic, he places its history within the context of the larger region of Central America and colonial Mexico. This is an excellent book.

Ralph H. Vigil

University of Nebraska, Lincoln

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Conferences, Meetings, Symposia, and Lectures

"Irish Catholic Nuns, Cultural Resistance, and the Origins of the Welfare State" was the title of a lecture delivered on February 22 by Maureen Fitzgerald of the Harvard Divinity School in its spring program.

The annual Catholic Daughters of the Americas Lecture at the Catholic University of America will be delivered on April 14 by Timothy J. Meagher, archivist of the university. Dr. Meagher will speak on "The Historian as Archivist: Preservation and Interpretation of America's Catholic Past."

Siena College's eleventh annual multidisciplinary Conference on World War II, entitled "A Dual Perspective: The Sixtieth Anniversary—Preliminaries; the Fiftieth Anniversary—Aftermath," will be held on May 30-31, 1996. Inquiries should be addressed to the co-director of the conference, Thomas O. Kelly, II, in care of the Department of History, Siena College, 515 Loudon Road, Loudonville, New York 12211-1462; telephone: 518-783-2595; fax: 518-783-4293; e-mail: kelly@siena.edu.

"Medieval Book Production: Liturgical, Legal, and Literary Manuscripts" will be the theme of the sixth biennial conference of the Seminar in the History of the Book to 1500, which will be held in Oxford on July 12-14, 1996. Full information may be obtained from Linda Brownrigg at 13040 Alta Tierra Road, Los Altos Hills, California 94022.

The tenth symposium of the International Medieval Sermon Studies Association will take place at Linacre College, Oxford, on July 19-22, 1996. Requests for further information may be sent to the treasurer of the association, L. M. Eldredge, at 5 Longworth Road, Oxford OX2 6RA, England.

An international symposium entitled "From Athens to Jerusalem: Medicine in Hellenized Jewish Lore and in Early Christian Literature," will be held at the Hebrew University, Mount Scopus Campus, on September 9-11, 1996. Anyone who wishes to present a paper or to attend is asked to write to the chairman, Samuel S. Kottek, in care of the Faculty of Medicine, Ein Kerem, Jerusalem 91 120, Israel; telephone: 972-2-758120; fax: 972-2-784010.

Baylor University, Hong Kong Baptist University, and the Ricci Institute at the University of San Francisco will present an international symposium on "The History of Christianity in China" on October 2-4, 1996, in Hong Kong. Twenty-six eminent scholars from mainland China, the Republic of China (Taiwan),

Hong Kong, Europe, and North America will corne together in an atmosphere of mutual respect. The languages of presentation will be English and Chinese; facilities for simultaneous translation will be provided. Guests are invited to attend and to participate in the discussions from the floor. A registration form and information about the program may be obtained from the director of the symposium, D. E. Mungello, in care of the Department of History, Baylor University, Post Office Box 97306, Waco.Texas 76798-7306.

The twenty-third Saint Louis Conference on Manuscript Studies will be held at Saint Louis University on October 4-5, 1996. Scholars are invited to present papers in such areas of manuscript and textual research as codicology, palaeography, papyrology, cataloguing formats, illuminations, textual criticism, epigraphy, and computer applications. Abstracts of papers, not exceeding 200 words, should be submitted by August 1; the papers in final form are due on September 2. Those who wish to submit papers or to attend the conference should write to the Conference Committee in care of Manuscripta, Pius XII Memorial Library, Saint Louis University, 3650 Lindell Boulevard, Saint Louis, Misouri 63108.

An international conference entitled "The Jesuits: Culture, Learning, and the Arts, 1540-1773," will be held at Boston College from May 28 to June 1, 1997. A copy of the program, which will be ready in July, 1996, and other information may be obtained from the coordinator of the conference, Patricia Longbottom, in care of the Department of Music, Boston College, Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts 02167;telephone:617-552-8720;fax:617-552-3807;e-mail: Longbottom® bc.edu.

A conference on "The Friars and Jews in the Middle Ages and Renaissance" is being planned for October 26-28, 1997. Anyone wishing to participate should write to Philip Gavitt in care of the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Saint Louis University, 3663 Lindell Boulevard, Saint Louis, Missouri, 63103-3342.

Canonization

On December 3, 1995, Pope John Paul II canonized Eugène de Mazenod (1782-1861), Bishop of Marseilles (from 1837 to his death) and founder of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate. The congregation, approved by Pope Leo XII in 1826, had spread to North America and Asia by the time of the saint's demise.

Archival Collections

A massive collection of newspaper and periodical references assembled by Francis Osborne, a priest of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles, is now open to researchers at the Archival Center of the Archdiocese at Mission Hills. Gathered over a span of almost sixty years, the collection is especially rich in social issues, papal pronouncements, controversial topics, and catechetical materials. Monsignor Osborne, now pastor emeritus of Our Lady of Grace parish in Encino and still active in retirement, collected pamphlets, articles, and similar items. The collection measures 1,716 linear inches and is arranged in sixty-six file drawers.

Publications

In 1992 the Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School of Theology sponsored "A Conference Commemorating the 1300th Anniversary of the Penthekte Ecumenical Council 'in Trullo.' "The papers presented on that occasion have now been published in Numbers 1-2 of Volume 40 (1995) of The Greek Orthodox Theological Review under the heading "The Council 'in Trullo': Basis for Ecclesiastical Reform?" The contents are as follows: Lewis J. Patsavos, "Ecclesiastical Reform: At What Cost?"(pp. 1-10);Ioan Dura,"Some Specifications with Regard to the Date and Names of the Second Session of the Sixth Ecumenical Synod" (pp. 11-16); Heinz Ohme,"The Causes of the Conflict about the Quinisext: New Perspectives on a Disputed Council" (pp. 17-43); Isaías Simonopetrites, "The Pastoral Sensitivity of the Canons of the Council in Trullo (691-692)" (pp. 45-64); Gennadios Limouris, "Historical and Ecumenical Perspectives of the Penthekte Ecumenical Council: An Orthodox Perspective" (pp. 65-77); Frederick R. McManus, "The Council in Trullo: A Roman Catholic Perspective" (pp. 79-96); Emilianos Timiadis,"Focusing Emphasis on True Metanoia Rather Than on Penitential Canons" (pp. 97-114); John Chryssavgis,"The Council of Trullo and Authority in Spiritual Direction" (pp. 113-123); Alkiviadis C. Calivas,"The Penthekte Synod and Liturgical Reform" (pp. 125-l47);Ioan Dura,"The Canons of the Sixth Ecumenical Synod Concerning Fasting and Their Application to the Present Needs of the Orthodox Faithful" (pp. 149-164); Stanley Samuel Harakas, "Ethical Teachings in the Canons of the Penthekte Council" (pp. 165-181); John H. Erickson, "The Council in Trullo: Issues Relating to the Marriage of the Clergy" (pp. 183-199); Patrick Viscuso, "Concerning the Second Marriage of Priests" (pp. 201-21 1); Peter L'Huillier,"Mandatory Celibacy as a Requirement for Episcopacy" (pp. 213-219); and two others.

"Essays commemorating the nine-hundredth anniversary of the Proclamation of the First Crusade" fill the issue of The International History Review for November, 1995 (Volume XVII, Number 4), under the heading "Prayer, War, and Crusade."They are as follows: James M. Powell, "Rereading the Crusades: An Introduction" (pp. 663-669); James A. Brundage, "The Hierarchy of Violence in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Canonists" (pp. 670-692); Bernard Hamilton, "Ideals of Holiness: Crusaders, Contemplatives, and Mendicants" (pp. 693-712); Penny J. Cole, "Purgatory and Crusade in St Gregory's Trental" (pp. 713-725); Thomas F. Madden,"Outside and Inside the Fourth Crusade" (pp. 726-743), and William Chester Jordan, "Perpetual Alleluia and Sacred Violence: An Afterword" (pp. 744-752).

The Servite editors of Studi Storici dell'Ordine dei Servi di Maria have devoted a double fascicle (1-2) of their Volume LXTV (1994) to the theme "Presenze femminili nell'Ordine dei Servi fra Otto e Novecento." The following articles are published in it: Odir Jacques Dias,"Importanze e valore degli studi storici per una Congregazione religiosa" (pp. 19-22); "Le religiose dei Servi di santa Maria: dati chronologici orientativi tra il 1864 ed il 1965," edited by Pacifico Maria Branches!, O.S.M., and Maria Rosaura Fabbri, O.S.M. (pp. 23-31);

Branchesi,"Presentazione dell'opera Le Serve di Maria Riparatrice (quattro volumi editi tra il 1978 ed il 1992)" (pp. 33-45); "L'immagine dell'Addolorata di Rovigo: cronología di una devozione (1893-1989)," edited by Maria Maura Muraro, O.S.M. (pp. 47-54); Fabbri, "Maria Elisa Andreoli (1861-1935): un profilo biográfico" (pp. 55-63); "? titolario di un Archivio generale femrninile: il caso di Pisa," edited by Maria Teresa Casalini, O.S.M., and Davide Maria Montagna, O.S.M. (pp. 65-68); Casalini and Montagna, "Alie origini della Congregazione servitana di Pisa: inizio del secondo governo di suor Maria Sassetti (1915-1929)" (pp. 69-71); Graziano Maria Casarotto, O.S.M., and Montagna, "L'aggregazione ai Servi delle suore di Chioggia (12 febbraio 1918): epiloghi dell'anno seguente" (pp. 73-78); Tito Maria Sartori, O.S.M.,"Edizione di Pensieri di Maria Eleonora Giorgi (1882- 1945)" (pp. 79-83); and other short pieces.

The American Baptist Women's Home Mission Society Movement is the theme of the issue oí the American Baptist Quarterly for December, 1995 (Volume XTV, Number 4). Following an introduction entitled "From Ocean to Ocean" by Mary L. Mild, seven brief articles are published here.

The U.S. Catholic Historian has focused its issue for fall, 1995 (Volume 13, Number 4), on "Schools, Colleges, and Universities," presenting the following articles: Timothy Walch,"Big City Schools" (pp. 1-18); Kathleen Mahoney,"Fin-de-Siècle Catholics: Insiders and Outsiders at Harvard" (pp. 19-48); Patricia Byrne, C. SJ., "A Tradition of Educating Women: The Religious of the Sacred Heart in Higher Education" (pp. 49-79); Lawrence J. McAndrews, "Unanswered Prayers: Church, State, and School in the Nixon Era" (pp. 81-95); Mary Ann Janosik, "Black Patent Leather Shoes Really Do Reflect Us: Community, Catholic Education, and Traditional Values in Two Generations of Hollywood Film" (pp. 97-1 16); and Susan L. Poulson,"From Single-Sex to Coeducation: The Advent of Coeducation at Georgetown [University], 1965-1975" (pp. 117-137).

The Journal of Ecumenical Studies in its issue for fall, 1995 (Volume XXXII, Number 4), continues its publication of "Perspectives on Ecumenical Christian Presence in U.S. Universities and Colleges, 1960-1995," with Part II: "Student Christian Ministries and Issues," which consists of Chapters V, VI, VII, and VIII, each of which contains articles by various authors. There are also appendixes for chronology and bibliography.

The fourth number (1996) of the Revue des Ordinations Episcopales (see ante, LXXX [October, 1994], 822, and LXXXI [April, 1995], 305-306) covers the 140 bishops ordained in the year 1994.

Prizes, Grants, and Fellowships

At the business meeting of the American Society of Church History held in Atlanta on January 6, 1996, the Philip Schaff Prize, a biennial award consisting of one thousand dollars, was presented to John W O'Malley, SJ., for his book The First Jesuits (published by Harvard University Press in 1993).

The John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation last year awarded 152 fellowships to citizens or permanent residents of the United States and Canada. Among them are Susanna Elm of the University of California at Berkeley for a study of fourth-century images of Christ's imperial body; George M. Marsden of the University of Notre Dame for a biography of Jonathan Edwards; John Martin of Trinity University for research on heresy, identity, and individualism in the Italian Reformation; and E. Ann Matter of the University of Pennsylvania for a project called "Strategies of Reading the Glossa ordinaria?

The Institute for the Study of American Evangelicals at Wheaton College has received a three-year grant from the Pew Charitable Trusts to fund a study of the "Missionary Impulse in North American History." An important component of this project is the solicitation of research proposals regarding specific topics or aspects of this theme. The aim of the project is to use the missionary impulse as a lens for examining North American culture. Applications for grants will be accepted from both junior and senior scholars who propose research into personalities, movements, organizations and institutions, controversies, and instructive episodes that will shed light on the role that the missionary endeavor has played in North American history from the seventeenth to the twentieth century. Grants of $2,500 each will be awarded to support several article-length studies. The deadline for applications is May 15, 1996. Applicants should send four copies of a letter of application, a curriculum vitae, a proposal between 750 and 1,000 words in length, and two letters of reference to Larry Eskridge in care of the Institute for the Study of American Evangelicals, Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois 60187; telephone: 708-752-5437; e-mail: isae@david.wheaton.edu.

A historian is being sought to write the life of Andrew G. Grutka (1908-1993), who was the first bishop of Gary (1957-1984). Born of Slovak immigrants in Joliet, Illinois, he studied at the North American College and was ordained in 1933. He supported organized labor, promoted Catholic education, advocated interracial justice, and served as a member of the Pontifical Marian Academy. A knowledge of the Slovak language and culture would seem to be essential for the biographer's task. Bishop Grutka's papers will be made available. Anyone interested in undertaking this work should write to Monsignor F. J. Melevage at 3214 Milestone Creek Court, Keystone Commons, Valparaiso, Indiana 46383.

Center for Mission Research and Study

The Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America (also known as Maryknoll Fathers and Brothers) has established the Center for Mission Research and Study at Maryknoll, New York. The name indicates the center's dual commitment to missiological research and education. One of its goals is to facilitate research and writing on the history of Christian mission, and one of its research efforts is the sponsoring of Oral history projects and workshops for the purpose

of preserving the history of Maryknoll and other missionary societies. The executive director is William D. McCarthy, M.M. ,who holds a doctorate in ecclesiastical history from the Pontifical Gregorian University and taught for many years in Peru. The director of research is Jean-Paul Wiest, an expert in the history of missions in China. Additional information may be obtained from the Center at Post Office Box 305, Maryknoll, New York 10545-0305; telephone: 914-941-7590; fax: 914-941-5753; e-mail: mklcmrs@igc.apc.org.

Personal Notice

Thomas E. Buckley, SJ., has been appointed professor of American religious history in the Jesuit School of Theology at Berkeley, beginning in September, 1996.

Obituary

William D. Miller, biographer of Dorothy Day, died at Lloyd, Florida, on December 11, 1995, at the age of seventy-nine. A native of Jacksonville, Miller graduated from the University of Florida and received his M.A. degree in history from Duke University. After taking his Ph.D. degree from the University of North Carolina, where he studied with Howard K. Beale and J. Carlisle Sitterson, Miller began a long and distinguished teaching career at Memphis State University. He had two tenures at Marquette University between which he was at Florida State University, where he helped to found and then directed the American Studies Program. William Miller was a member of the American Catholic Historical Association between 1958 and 1983, and was second vice-president of the Association in 1979.

Author of six books and scores of articles and essays, Miller's early career focused on the Progressive Era in the South. Memphis During the Progressive Era, 1900-1917 (Memphis and Madison: The Memphis State University Press and the American History Research Center, 1957), and Mr. Crump of Memphis (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1964) were recognized for their scholarship and established Miller as a writer of grace and eloquence.

His mature writings reflect Miller's growing interest in social and intellectual history and his commitment to Catholic social thought. A convert to Catholicism, Miller befriended Dorothy Day, co-founder of the Catholic Worker Movement, and this led to his writing of A Harsh and Dreadful Love: Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker Movement (New York: Liveright, 1973), which was translated into Italian and published in Italy in 1975. This was followed by Dorothy Day: A Biography (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1982), now recognized as the definitive biography of Dorothy Day, and All Is Grace: The Spirituality of Dorothy Day (New York: Doubleday, 1987).

After retirement Miller continued to write and publish, producing what many of his students see as the book most representative of his teaching, his

philosophy of history, and his interest and fascination with Henry Adams: Pretty Bubbles in the Air: America in 1919 (Urbana and Chicago: The University of Illinois Press, 1992). At the time of his death Miller was working on a personal memoir to be tided, Growing up in Jacksonville.

William Miller was a teacher of extraordinary dimensions, an inspiration and guide to many who knew him beyond the classroom, and a human being of unlimited goodness and unqualified generosity. A Southerner by birth and a Catholic by choice, William Miller was an intellectual in the finest sense of the word. Thoughtful, reflective, and devoted to the life of the mind, he viewed history as an artform seeking an understanding of the human condition as a basis for authentic community.

He was dismayed by the tendency in contemporary works of history to accept "process" and work within its confines, and talked always of the need for the historian to get outside of time. It was in this view that the ideas of Henry Adams, Dorothy Day, and Peter Maurin most obviously affected his view and practice of history.

Beyond that he was able to combine in his own life the qualities of teacher and historian, the philosophy of the Catholic Worker movement, and the teachings of the Catholic Church. He was passionately committed to the dignity of other human beings. He attracted a large and eclectic following by the force of his personality, and some members of that following became his graduate students and today seek to follow his example in university teaching.

He is survived by his wife Rhea Bond Miller, seven of their eight children, and fourteen grandchildren.

Richard C. Crepeau
University of Central Florida

Dennis Downey
Millersville University

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

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