The Catholic Historical Review

VOL. LXXXIII JANUARY, 1997 No. 1

PENITENTIAL SERMONS IN RENAISSANCE ITALY: GIROLAMO SERIPANDO AND THE PATER NOSTER

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The revival of interest in classical antiquity during the Renaissance had an important effect on the style and content of preaching. Thematic in structure, the medieval scholastic sermon, with its focus on abstract doctrine, had as its principal aim docere.1 During the Renaissance, preachers began to utilize and adapt the classical rhetorical form, thereby broadening the scope and content of the sermon. Not only was the sermon meant to teach doctrine to the listeners, but also move them to action through persuasion.2 Among those responsible for this shift in emphasis was Erasmus, whose work on sacred oratory, the Ecclesiastes, was published in 1535. In this work Erasmus defines preaching as an act of teaching, but a different type of teaching from that found in the medieval sermon. "For Erasmus, truly Christian teaching is never dialectical or argumentative, never frigidly abstract, for it must always be persuasive of a godly life."3 Consequently, Erasmus located the sermon in the genre of deliberative oratory, giving it a greater

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'John W. O'Malley, S. J., "Content and Rhetorical Forms in Sixteenth-Century Treatises on Preaching," in Renaissance Eloquence: Studies in the Theory and Practice of Renaissance Rhetoric, ed. James J. Murphy (Berkeley, California, 1983), p. 240; reprinted in O'Malley, Religious Culture in the Sixteenth Century (Brookfield, Vermont, 1993), ??, 240. See also idem, Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome (Durham, North Carolina, 1979), p. 43.

O'Malley, "Content and Rhetorical Forms," p. 244.

moralistic quality since it was most often addressed to a group of ordinary people.4

Given the moral tone of the sermon, by the middle of the sixteenth century the Gospel came to be linked in "preaching theory with a turning from vice and an embracing of virtue, under threat of punishment and the hope of reward."5 Preachers began to paint a picture of a religion based on sin and atonement where salvation was possible to those willing to alter their way of life.6 The way to salvation was taught by preachers in familiar, simple language so that the ordinary person could understand. Theological doctrines were taught through the use of images from family life and human relations. "The central theme of late medieval Catholic theology was that God gave man the ability to cooperate with grace, to do what was in him. The preachers did not demand the impossible, but insisted that man's creation in God's image allowed him to participate in the business of his own salvation."7 As a result, preachers were more concerned with moral reformation and penitence than condemnation.

This emphasis gave rise to a series of treatises on preaching that contributed to a new understanding of the sermon. In 1543 Alfonso Zorilla published De sacris concionibus recte formandis, the first treatise on preaching printed in Italy that broke with the medieval style, which saw the sermon as an informal, familiar discourse between the preacher and the congregation.8 In 1576 Diego de Estella published his Modus concionandi, which turned the teaching of the sermon to a moral purpose. The preacher, in de Estella's mind, focuses on the moral sense of scripture, aiming to move the audience away from sin and to a life of virtue and good works.9 Luis de Granada, following Erasmus' ideas on preaching, viewed the sermon as persuading individuals to live a life of justice and piety.10

4JoImW. O'Malley, S. J.,"Erasmus and the History of Sacred Rhetoric:The Ecclesiastes of 1535," Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook, 5 (1985), 14.

'John W O'Malley, S. J., "Form, Content, and Influence of Works about Preaching before Trent: The Franciscan Contribution," in I Frati Minori tra '400 e '500.Atti del XII Convegno Intemazionale, Assist, 18-20 ottobre 1985 (Assisi, 1986), p. 49; reprinted in O'Malley, Religious Culture in the Sixteenth Century, IV, 49.

'Larissa Taylor, Soldiers of Christ: Preaching in Late Medieval and Reformation France (New York, 1992), p. 84.

7Ibid., p. 101.

"O'Malley, "Content and Rhetorical Forms in Sixteenth-Century Treatises on Preaching," p. 246.

9IbId., pp. 248-249.

"Ibid.

This moralistic quality and persuasive character was clearly evident in the penitential sermons preached by Girolamo Seripando (1493-1563) upon his elevation as archbishop of Salerno in 1554. While Seripando was not unique in the preaching of such sermons, they differed in character and in tone from many of the penitential sermons preached throughout Italy during the Renaissance. Preachers such as Bartolomeo Scala and Francesco Berlinghieri exhorted the faithful to practice penitential mortifications as a means of purification and reconciliation with God.11 Seripando, however, was more concerned with moral reformation and inner renewal. As a result, he embodies a more Erasmian attitude toward preaching, avoiding elaborate theological discussions or rhetorical discourses. Seripando desires to move his listeners to cultivate their religious and spiritual life by presenting them with simple explanations of the elements of the faith.

In this way, Seripando was anticipating the Tridentine legislation requiring bishops to preach to their people. During its fifth session, the Council of Trent decreed that the preaching of the gospel was the chief task of the bishop. This was later reiterated in Session XXTV with the promulgation of the decree concerning reform, which states in canon 4:

> It is the desire of the council that the office of preaching, which particularly belongs to bishops, should be exercised as often as possible for the salvation of the people. Hence … it decrees as follows: Bishops are to announce the Sacred Scriptures and the law of God in their own church either personally, or if they are legitimately prevented, through others whom they appoint to the office of preaching.12

As a faithful interpreter of this decree, during his tenure as archbishop of Salerno (1554-1563), Seripando delivered sermons on solemn feast days, at the conferral of the sacrament of confirmation, and on the occasion of important political or religious events. However, far more significant -were the weekly Sunday sermons preached during the liturgical year. These sermons revolved around particular themes or Scriptural passages and formed a homiletic cycle. The first cycle, preached between 1554 and 1555, emphasized the letters of St. Paul;

"Ronald F. E. Weissman, "Sacred Eloquence: Humanist Preaching and Lay Piety in Renaissance Florence," in Christianity and the Renaissance: Image and Religious Imagination in the Quattrocento, edd. Timothy Verdón and John Henderson (Syracuse, New York, 1990),p.26l.

"Council of Trent, Decretum de reformatione, session 24, canon 4. Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils, ed. Norman P Tanner, S.J. (2 vols.; Washington, D.C., 1990), II, "763.

between 1555 and 1556 Seripando's sermons commented on Psalm 48; an exposition of the Apostles' Creed served as the basis of the sermons preached between 1556 and 1557; and a commentary on the Lord's Prayer, along with an explanation of sacramental doctrine, formed the content of his sermons in 1559. While Seripando developed many penitential themes in this cycle, these sermons were not castigations of the faithful for their sins, but rather a call to inner renewal. Consequently, Seripando does not exhort the listener to penitential practices, but rather to a spirit of repentance and reconciliation with God and neighbor. What seems to lie behind much of Seripando's reflections is the programmatic statement of Jesus' own preaching as recorded in the Gospel of Mark, "Repent and believe." This article will examine the way in which Seripando used the petitions of the Lord's Prayer to foster a penitential spirit which would move the listener to lead a better Christian life.

The Nature of Seripando's Sermons

The preaching manuals of the day instruct the preachers to develop the sermon in light of the needs of the congregation.13 It is clear from Seripando's sermons that he followed such directives. The sermons he delivered in Salerno reveal his awareness of the privation and deficiencies present in the religious, spiritual, and social life of his flock. The sermons aim at addressing the specific problems of the laity by providing them with sound Christian teaching, counsel, and practical suggestions that would allow for a personal regeneration and renewal, leading toward the living out of the Christian life.14 Preaching in Italian, Seripando employed vivid imagery from the lives of the people of Salerno. More importantly, he characterized these sermons as "intimate reflections" Cfamigliari ragionamenti") of the shepherd with his flock15 and "conversations" {"intertenimenti") with the faithful standing around their bishop to have the faith explained to them.16

"Taylor, op. cit.,p. 141.

,4Rocchina M. Abbondanza, Girolamo Seripando tra Evangelismo e Riforma Cattolica (Naples, 1982), p. 72.

"Girolamo Seripando, Prediche di Girolamo Seripando Arcivescovo di Salerno, ed. Francesco Linguiti (Salerno, 1858),p. 41. Subsequent references to these sermons will appear as PS.

16Girolamo Seripando, "Prediche Salernitane," in the appendix of Abbondanza, op. cit., sermon 16. Subsequent references to these sermons will appear as PRS.

In contrast with the addresses he gave as Superior General of the Augustinians, Seripando's sermons as bishop were geared far more to fundamental catechesis, explaining the liturgy, the sacraments, the basic truths of the faith, and prayer. Increasingly, Seripando preached catechetical sermons as he became conscious of the religious needs of the congregation and of his duty to provide them with the means to purify and animate their faith. "The explanations avoided all rhetorical affectation and were based on a profound knowledge of Scripture and the writings of the Fathers, but throughout they breathed the spirit of the preacher's personal piety and thus satisfied the religious needs of his hearers."17 This is especially true of the sermons on the Lord's Prayer. Throughout these sermons Seripando is careful to provide practical directives. Moving away from the approach employed in the medieval scholastic sermon, Seripando believed that the explanation of the Scriptures was something more than a speculative treatment and an accumulation of literary parallels. Rather, the sermon was to open up an understanding of God's word persuading the individual to apply the message of the gospel to the religious and moral life.18 Thus, the principal aim of Seripando's sermons was to assist souls in the living out of the spiritual life in the midst of their daily activities and concerns.

This emphasis resulted from the conditions Seripando encountered in Salerno upon his arrival. During the forty years prior to Seripando's appointment, the care of the diocese of Salerno had been abandoned by its bishops to vicars. As a result of this prolonged period of nonresidence the diocese of Salerno was in great need of both physical and religious renewal. It is not clear whether or not Protestant teachings were present in Salerno during Seripando's episcopate. There is evidence from a document of the Roman Inquisition to suggest the penetration of heretical teachings in Salerno several years prior to Seripando's appointment. In 1568 the Dominican preacher Ambrogio Salvio da Bagnoli testified that he had been summoned to Salerno in 1546 by Isabella Villamarino, wife of the ruling prince of Salerno at the time, Ferrante Sanseverino, because of her concern with the spread of new ideas. According to the inquisitorial document, such heretical ideas as the denial of the Real Presence in the Eucharist and the questioning of the efficacy of the intercession of the saints were being discussed among all ranks in society, from nobles to artisans, men and

17Hubert Jedin, Papal Legate at the Council of Trent: Cardinal Seripando, trans. Frederic C. Eckhoff (St. Louis, 1947), p. 536.

'"Abbondanza, op. cit. ,p. 82.

women of the lower classes, and even cathedral canons.19 Consequently, those harboring such ideas were brought before Villamarino, the vicar of the bishop of Salerno, and da Bagnoli, and in the end they abjured such teachings.20 Whether or not these teachings had penetrated Salerno as widely as the document suggests, it would seem that the inquisitorial process had satisfactorily eliminated these heresies by the time of Seripando's elevation. While the synodal constitutions issued by Seripando in 1554 took account of the possibility of heretical teaching making its way into Salerno, one year later he himself attests to the fact that he was unaware of the presence of such teaching in the city.21 In fact, from the point of view of other regions in Italy at this time, the religious situation in Salerno was better than most.22

While the Catholic faith remained secure in Salerno, it was a faith in need of regeneration. The spiritual and religious life of the people had greatly deteriorated.23 Seripando knew that his task was to reform the religious life of the faithful and clergy. This 'was the aim of his sermons—to persuade the people of Salerno to turn away from sin and commit themselves to the living out of their Christian faith.

Not only was Salerno afflicted with a spiritual stagnation, but it was also administratively and economically plagued with a variety of problems. Upon his arrival in Salerno, Seripando found many of the churches, including the cathedral, in great need of repair.24 This was merely a reflection of the physical deterioration of the city itself. Among the reasons for these conditions was the constant threat of a Turkish invasion. As a result, the government was in need of revenue to prepare to defend the city.25 These grave financial burdens that the city faced im-

"Salvatore Caponetto, La Riforma Protestante nell'Italia del Cinquecento (Turin, 1992), p. 392. See also Michèle Miele,"La penetrazione protestante a Salerno verso la meta del Cinquecento secondo un documento dell'Inquisizione," in Miscellanea Gilles Gerard Meersseman (Padua, 1970), p. 834.

20Caponetto, op. cit., p. 392. See also Miele, op. cit., p. 830.

21Antonio Balducci, Girolamo Seripando: Arcivescovo di Salerno, 1554-1563 (Cava deiTirreni, 1963), pp. 53-54.

22Miele, op. cit., p. 831. In addition to Caponetto's work, for a recent study of the presence of heresy in Italy during the sixteenth century see Massimo Firpo, Riforma protestante ed eresie nell'Italia del Cinquecento (Rome, 1993).

23E. Pontieri, "Figure e aspetti delle riforme cattolica-tridentina in Campania: Girolamo Seripando e Paolo Burali d'Arrezzo a Napoli," Divagazioni storicbe e storiografiche, 2a serie (Naples, 1971), p. 293-

"Alessandro Fava,"La restaurazione cattolica nella Diócesi di Salerno—L'arcivescovo Seripando," Rassegna Storica Salernitana,! (1938), p. 106.

2'Balducci, op. cit., pp. 39-40.

pacted the relationship between the citizens.26 All of these concerns and problems affected Seripando's message and approach in the sermons that he preached.

Penitential Sermons and the Pater Noster

The economic and social conditions present in Salerno often influenced the content of Seripando's sermons. Of major concern was the gap between the rich and the poor and the responsibility the former had toward the latter. This was a common theme among preachers throughout early modern Europe. "The poor were the special concern of preachers who often spoke out so vehemently on behalf of the downtrodden that they incurred the wrath of the well-to-do and government officials. Although the lack of charity was a stock theme in medieval and early modern preaching, the abundance of such references in the sermons suggests that this problem may have begun to reach critical proportions during this period."27 Despite this similarity, Seripando emphasized the need for charity as a means of fostering a penitential spirit among the members of his congregation.

As an Augustinian, Seripando placed a great deal of importance on the notion of charity. Caritas was a concept at the heart of Augustine's spiritual teaching and was preserved in the spirituality of the Augustinians.28 Augustine developed a theology of charity as the essence of Christian perfection, the soul of the Church, and a gift of God. Charity, as the fundamental principle in his spirituality, allows an understanding of the relations of the soul with God and allows an organization of doctrine and the means of sanctification, which gives direction to the life of the spirit.29 Thus, charity is the source and soul of the spiritual life since it generates within the soul a desire for and movement toward God.

For Seripando, charity is the basis for a renewal of the Christian life. In his third sermon on the Lord's Prayer, Seripando indicates that in this prayer the believer seeks from God not only faith and hope, but also charity, which leads to perfection. This perfection is attained by incorporating within one's life the two precepts of charity. The first precept

26Abbondanza, op. cit., p. 37.

^Taylor, op. cit. ,p. 150.

28AdOlaT Zumkeller, "The Spirituality of the Augustinians," in Christian Spirituality: High Middle Ages and Reformation, ed. Jill Raitt (New York, 1987), pp. 71-72.

29AgOStUiO Trapé, "Il principio fondamentale délia spiritualità Agostiniana e la vita monástica," Sanctus Augustinus Vitae Spiritualis Magister (Rome, 1959), pp. 2-3.

of charity is to love God like a father, which means to love Him with all one's heart, mind, and soul. The second precept of charity is to love one's neighbor like a brother or sister.30 Seripando states:"St. Paul says in one of his letters that charity is the perfection of the law, and, in another letter having demonstrated this, states that all the law is fulfilled in the precept: Love your neighbor as yourself"31 (Rom. 13:8-10).

Seripando picks up this theme in a later sermon which revolves around the petition "panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie." Here he directs the congregation's attention to the practical implications of Christ's precept to love one another. He exhorts the faithful not to forget the seven corporal works of mercy, which must be carried out in the Church until the end of time, reminding them that in assisting one's neighbor one was actually assisting Jesus. Paraphrasing the famous judgment scene in the Gospel of Matthew (Mt. 25:31-46), Seripando states: "Christ Himself says that when one who is hungry is fed, He is fed; when one who is thirsty is given to drink, He is given to drink; when a pilgrim is received, He is received; when one who is naked is clothed, He is clothed; when one who is ill is visited, He is visited; when one who is imprisoned is consoled, He is consoled. . . . Christ views these works as if they were done to Him."32 Seripando's point is clear. By incorporating charity within one's life, one can be transformed into a spiritual being. This occurs, according to Seripando, because one

M"Nelle due prime parole della nostra oratione io vorrei i due primi precetti della charità, non peraltro, quant'io posso comprendere, sempre mostrare ch'alT oratione oltre la fede et la speranza si ricerca principalmente la charità. La prima parola è PATER la quale ricerca alla memoria il primo precetto della charità che è amar Dio come padre, il che non vuol dire altro ch'amarlo con tutto il cuore, con tutta l'anima, con tutta la mente. L'altra parola NOSTER la quai ce mette avante gl'occhy l'altro precetto della charità ch'è l'amor del prossimo il quai impariamo amare come noi stessi confessando in questa parola d'haverlo in luogo di fratello perché non preghiamo per noi stessi non pregando ancora per il prossimo nostro." PRS, p. 104.

""Ma quest'oratione del Signore la quale habbiamo presa ad esporre ci mostra apotamente che all'oratione si ricerca ancora la charità, della quale S. Paolo in una lettera quando dice che la perfettione della legge è la charità et in un'altra mostrando questo dette dice: tutta la legge in quest'un precetto s'adempisce: Amando Io prossimo tuo come testesso."PRS,p. 104.

32"Ma non ci dimentichiamo le sette sporte che avanzarono che sono le sette opere di misericordia con le quali sin'al fine del mondo dovemo nella chiesa pascer l'un l'altro, anzi pascer Christo com'egli stesso dice che quando si pasee un famélico, è pasciuto lui, quando si dà da bere a un sitibondo, si dà da bere a lui, quando si riceve un pellegrino, è ricevuto lui, quando si veste un ignudo, è vestito lui, quando si visita un infermo, è visítate lui, quando si consola un carcerato, è consulate lui . . . Christo piglia quell'opera come fatta nella persona sua." PRS, pp. 240-241.

moved by charity is open to God's will and presence, allowing for a transformation of the self.33 Therefore, Seripando exhorts the people of Salerno to surrender their wills to the will of God if they wish to be renewed and transformed into spiritual beings."34

While acts of charity could assist one in the movement toward perfection, Seripando also recognized that the desire to perform such acts would only result from a life which had begun to experience inner renewal. This was a main concern for Seripando and was the object of his sermons. In the cycle of sermons on the Apostles' Creed preached between 1556 and 1557, Seripando explains to the faithful that it was his desire to implant Christ upon their hearts so that the Word of God would bear fruit in their lives and actions.35

The need for inner renewal and its link with good works toward others is also highlighted in Seripando's treatment of the petition "sanctificetur nomen tuum." In the sixth sermon on the Lord's Prayer, Seripando reminds the faithful to preserve themselves in justice and to walk along the paths of justice, namely, avoiding evil and doing good. Seripando states:"These are the ways that lead us to that blessed city . . . where . . . nothing stained can enter, nor anything which can dominate, nor lies, because in that city reigns true purity. . . ."* Seripando indicates that those who lead good lives will be sanctified and brought into the company of the angels to glorify, praise, and bless God's holy name.37

One's desire to perform works of charity would result from a knowledge of Sacred Scripture. Once again it is evident that Seripando's ideas

"These ideas are expressed in the ninth and tenth sermons on the Lord's Prayer.

M"Fa ancora questo l'huomo spirituale: che sempre attende a corregere la propria volontà com'un legno torto, alla volontà di dio, come a una regola drittissima, facendo come coloro che vogliono drizzare una bacchetta torta che la ligano con un'altra dritta et soda et ferma. La volontà humana è di sua natura torta, la volontà di dio è sempre ferma, sempre soda, sempre dritta. Attendiamo dunque se volemo esser huomini spiritual! et non animali a legare le nostre volontà con la volontà divina." PRS, p. 187.

""Di . . . ben porte Cristo ne'vostri cuori, e imprimerlo ne'vostri petti tanto efficacemente, che a consolazion mia, e salute vostra apparisse nella vita, e nell'opere vostre qualche frutto della parola piantatavi predicando." PS, p. 42.

*"Queste sono Ie vie che ce conducono a quella beata città . . . ove . . . non entra cosa alcuna inquinata, non cosa che possa far dominatione, non bugia, perché in quella città régna la verità pura . . ." PRS, p. 149.

i7'". . . alla quale la gratia del S. Dio che ce ha lavati santificati et giustificati sia quella che ci guida accioche possiamo sempre in compagnia degl'Angioli magnificare, esaltare, glorificare, illustrait, laudare, benedire et santificare questo santo nome." PRS, p. 149.

emerge out of the Augustinian spiritual tradition, which is evangelical in nature. For Augustine, the Bible was not only the basis for religious instruction, but also the fount of spiritual formation. He considered the Bible the expression of God's will and intelligence. The truths found in the Word of God lead one toward a spiritual joy.[38] It is a pure joy which results from the purification of evil since one abandons oneself to true piety and union with God. Through the reading of Scripture one is made humble and is thrust toward the praise of God. For Seripando, the sermon was to open up an understanding of God's word and indicate an application to the religious and moral life. The principal aim of Seripando's sermons was to assist souls in the living out of the spiritual life. This call to inner renewal and penance is most clearly seen in Seripando's treatment of the petition "panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie." Seripando focuses on the significance of the word "panem." Among its many meanings, the word "panem" refers to the Word of God. For the humanists of the day, the study and understanding of Scripture would lead to an inner renewal and regeneration, thereby revivifying one's religious life. The humanist program of a return ad fontes provides elements not found in earlier reflections on the theme of Scripture as food for the soul.[39] Seripando embodies this view when he states that God gave to humanity the bread which gives life to the soul, namely, His Word.[40] He writes:"The Gospel is, thus, the bread of life, of intellect, bread in which man truly lives . . . bread which is needed every day. For this reason it is necessary either to hear or to read the Word of God daily."[41] Seripando continues that the Scriptures are the bread of one's soul and thus are needed daily to sustain one's spiritual life in the same way in which bread is needed to sustain one's physical

^Angelo Penna,"Lo Studio della Bibbia nella Spiritualità di S. Agostino," in Sanctus Augustinus, p. 152.

"James D. Tracy, "Ad Fontes: The Humanist Understanding of Scripture as Nourishment for the Soul," in Christian Spirituality, p. 254.

""Questo pane è la parola e U comandamento di dio, il quale alhora si mangia quando s'ubidisce a quel che dice et commanda dio. Et cosi s'intende quel che è scritto. NeI verbo di dio vive l'huomo." PRS, p. 206.

41"Il vangelo è quindi pane di vita, d'intelletto, pane nel quale veramente vive l'huomo . . . pane di cui c'è bisogno ogni giorno. Perciö ci bisogna ogni giorno o ascoltare la parola di Dio o leggerla."PRS,pp. 210-211.

42"La tua santa parola, la quai è il pane dell'anima mía, chiamato da noi quotidiano, et dai greci con una parola ?-p??s??? che non solo significa che questo pane è a noi ogni giorno necessario, ma ancora ch'è a proposito della sostanza della vita et dell'esser nostro spirituale."PRS,p. 212.

life.42 Given this outlook, Seripando suggests to his listeners that at the end of each day they ask themselves whether or not they have heard or read the Word of God.43

Seripando exhorts the faithful to be knowledgeable of the truths revealed in Scripture that would allow them to cultivate their spiritual life.44 This in turn would lead to the inner renewal of their religious life. Seripando makes this clear when he states: "Everyday we seek this bread saying, 'da nobis,' as it pleased you Lord to give it to our holy Fathers, who by this bread lived, by this bread were made strong, by this bread were consoled, by this bread were renewed."45 Seripando believed that his listeners would experience the same effects and would realize the same spiritual benefits through the daily reading or hearing of the Scriptures.

The consequence of reading the Scriptures would be a recognition of one's failures and shortcomings which would spur one to a metanoia. Given this, Seripando offers another meaning for the word "panem," namely, the "bread of tears" since, when the pain of one's sinfulness is strong and touches the heart, it gives rise to tears.46 Seripando indicates that this bread is eaten when one is truly sorry for one's sins. He states: "It cannot be denied that [this bread] will not be hard and bitter, but it is softened and sweetened with the memory that other penitents who ate this bread obtained the remission of their serious sins and enormous wickedness."47 Seripando indicates that true repentance takes place when one realizes the pain of having offended God, of having been ungrateful to God, of having broken the commandments of God.48

*>". . . e sarebbe bene, ch Ogni sera ciascuno facesse conto con se stesso et dicesse . . . ho io udito hoggi o letto niente della parola di Dio?"PRS,p. 211.

"Hubert Jedin, Girolamo Seripando: sein Leben und Denken im Geisteskampf des 1 O.Jahrhunderts (Würzburg, 1937), doc. 6,p. 469.

45"Et cosí ogni giorno li chiediamo dicendo: da nobis, corne te è piaciuto Signor darlo a nostri santi Padri, che con questo pane vissero, con questo pan'erano robusti, con questo pane si consolavano, con questo pane si ristoravano." PRS, p. 214.

*"Questo pane è ancor chiamato pane di lagrime perché siccome il pane quando è duro bagnarlo, cosi quando il dolore è forte et tocca il cuore parturisce lagrime." PRS, p. 230.

47"Non puo negarsi che non sia duro et amaro, ma si mollifica et addolcisce con la memoria che gl'altri penitenti che mangiarono questo pane ottennero la remissione dei loro gravi peccati et enormi scelleratezze."PRS,p. 230.

*"La vera penitenza è quella che si fa per rispetto di dio, cioè per dolor d'haver offeso dio, d'esser stato ingrato a dio, d'haver trapassato i comandamenti di dio." PRS, p. 230.

In order for the process of repentance to take place one must acknowledge one's sinfulness. Seripando exhorts the faithful each day to acknowledge that in some way they have sinned. He states: "My dear children, say: today I have committed some sin; today I want to be sorry. I want to repent, I want to implore mercy and grace. 'Da nobis,' this word makes us aware that true repentance is a gift from God, who grants it to those He wishes. . . . But we, aware of our infirmity, ask for forgiveness from God saying, 'da nobis hodie.' And why today? Because you do not know if there will be time to receive forgiveness tomorrow."[49] For Seripando, then, the word 'panem' in the Lord's Prayer is a reminder of God's promise to the sinner that he who repents, he who eats his bread of sorrow, will not only be forgiven, but also be blessed by God with the fullness of His grace.[50] Here Seripando is not merely calling upon the faithful to acknowledge their sinfulness, but he is also pointing to the need to receive the sacrament of penance. Seripando was concerned that the faithful postponed going to confession, thereby jeopardizing their eternal salvation. In the cycle of sermons on the Apostles' Creed, Seripando explicitly raises the issue: "When do you want to confess yourselves? The women will say, Christmas Eve. And how do you know that you will be able to that day? Wouldn't tomorrow be better? Wouldn't today be better? The men will respond, it is enough to confess during Holy Week. And how can you be sure that you will arrive at Holy Week, since you cannot be certain of even one hour of life? Who will be able to be assured that at the moment of death the matters of the soul can be attended to? Do not put your faith in such time."[51]

Seripando's emphasis on the sacrament of penance did not stem merely from a concern to fulfill a canonical requirement. Rather, it is clear that the act of confession assisted the individual in the cultivation of a penitential spirit that would lead to the conversion of the sinner.

*"Figli carissimi dite: io ho fetto oggi qualche peccato, voglio ancor oggi dolermene, pentirmene, voglio impétrame misericordia et gratia. Da nobis, questa parola ci fe conoscere che la vera penitenza è dono di dio, il quai concede a chi li piace. … Ma noi conoscendo la nostra maligna infirmîtà, cerchiamolo da Dio dicendo: da nobis hodie. Et perché oggi? Perché non sapete se sarete in tempo di riceverlo domani." PRS, p. 231.

""Guárdate che bella promessa tra l'altre è questa: convertiteve (dice dio al popólo peccatore), fete penitentia, mangiate il pane del dolor, perché io non solo vi perdonerô l'offese, ma v'empirö di frumento, vino et oglio in abondanza." PRS, p. 232.

""Quando voleté confessarvi? Diranno le donne. La vigilia di Natale. E che sapete voi di potere in quel giorno? Non sarebbe meglio domani? Non sarebbe meglio oggi? Diranno gli uomini. Basta che ci confessiamo la settimana santa. E come siete voi sicuri di venire alla settimana santa, non potendovi prometiere un'ora certa di vita? … E chi vi fa sicuri che abbiate a moriré di tal morte, che possiate allora dispone cosa alcuna a salute dell'anima vostra? Non vi fidate a quel tempo." PS, p. 166.

The sense of sorrow that one felt for his sins not only moved him toward confession, but also initiated this process of conversion within his heart. According to Seripando, the heart of a sinner is like a stone which needs to be softened and broken by a true spirit of contrition.52 This spirit of contrition results not from a fear of God's punishment, but rather out of a love of God, that has been offended by sin. One's need for confession stems from the recognition of his sinfulness that surfaces from a spirit of contrition. For Seripando, the contrite of heart are healed and restored by God.53 Thus, Seripando's emphasis on confession stems from a positive view of the effect of this sacrament on the individual, namely, the renewal and regeneration of one's life.

Expounding on the petition "et dimitte nobis debita nostra," Seripando raises several penitential themes. He likens the sinner to a thief, because each time one sins one robs from the divine majesty all those things which belong to Him. What does Seripando mean? When one sins, Seripando explains, one robs from God the fear which one ought to have of His power, one deprives God of the love which is rightly His and of the service which one is called to render to Him.54 In other words, Seripando reminds the faithful that with each sin the individual stops imitating the true Father in whom all goodness shines and rather imitates the devil, whom Seripando characterizes as an "assassin, who wishes to rob divinity."55

Seripando also uses this petition to remind his listeners of their responsibility to assist others to avoid sin. He indicates that when someone sees that another is in danger of falling into sin, one must use every and any means possible (warnings, threats) to prevent the individual from falling, as if he himself were in danger of committing the same sin. Seripando continues: "And he who sees that his brother has already fallen into some sin, must with the help of the Holy Spirit, by whom he

""Questo dolore bisogna che sia grande, perciö è chiamato contrizione, perché essendo il cuore de'peccatori duro, e simile ad una pietra: bisogna percuoterlo con botte di dolore tante grave, che non solo si spezzi, ma terni come polvere dalle fbrti battiture, e percosse del dolore." PS, p. 309.

""I contriti di cuore (dice in un'altro Salmo) sono risanati,e ristorati da Dio."PS,p. 310.

M"Noi peccatori siamo com'i ladri, perché quando pecchiamo togliamo et rubbiamo a quella divina maestà tutte quelle cose che di raggione sono sue proprie. Ohimé, ohimé, ogni volta che io pecco rubo a quella divina potenza il timoré del quale le sono debitore, ö ladro peggio che di strada, ogni volta che tu pecchi, non robbi tu a quella perfetta bontà l'amor del quale tu li sei obbligato?" PRS, p. 243.

""Guai a me che in ogni mio peccato lascio d'imitar il mió Padre vero, nel quale ogni bene riluce, et dovento imitator del demonio, primo assassine, che volse rubbar la divinità."PRS,p. 243.

was prevented from falling into the same sin, attend to the restoration of his brother, compelling him to repentance, not with arrogance, like those who believe they alone are righteous, but with a gentle and sweet spirit, realizing that on another occasion he, overcome by temptation, could fall and need the assistance of his brothers as well."[56]

An interesting question is raised by Seripando in his examination of this petition. If we are baptized, if we are children of God, if we have received the Holy Spirit, why, Seripando asks, do we say in this prayer "forgive us our trespasses?"[57] Seripando, using the early Church Father St. Cyprian, answers that this petition is a constant reminder that we are sinners, because each day in reciting this prayer we are forced to pray for forgiveness of our sins. Consequently, when we pray for the remission of sins, our conscience feels remorse, and we become aware that each day we do sin and that each day we are in need of asking pardon for our sins.[58] In the words "dimitte nobis debita nostra" we experience a daily cleansing for the remission of our daily sins. Seripando reminds the congregation of God's abundant mercy: "O children, when you have said 'forgive us' be consoled, comfort yourselves with a good and sturdy hope, that our Father in Heaven through His infinite mercy and through the faith of Jesus Christ, with which you pray, has heard your prayer and has forgiven your sins and has pardoned all your debts."[59]

56"Ma bisogna ancor che quando qualch'uno vede il suo fratello in pericolo di cascar in qualche peccato, deve tener tutti i modi possibili o d'ammonitione o di minacci o di qualsivoglia altra via per contenerlo et sostenerlo acchicché non vi caschi, sumando il caso del suo fratello come proprio et chi vede il suo fratello esser già alla sperduta cáscate in qualche peccato, deve con l'aiuto del Spirito Santo, dal quale è state egli mantenuto di non cascar in simile peccato, attendere al ristoro del suo fratello, riducendolo a penitenza, non con arroganza, come fanno coloro che stimano soli esser giusti, ma con spirito mansueto et dolce, pensando che ancor egli supérate dalle tentationi, potrebbe cascar et haver bisogno dell'aiuto degl'altri suoi fratelli." PRS, p. 252.

57"Or se siamo battezzati, se siamo figli di Dio, s'habbiamo ricevuto lo spirito santo, perché in quest'oratione diciamo dimitte nobis debita nostra?" PRS, p. 255.

""Risponde prima San Cipriano et dice che questa petitione è vecchia et ci fu insegnata con gran previdenza della salute nostra, accioché ci recordiamo d'essere peccatori, poiché ogni giorno siamo costretti a pregar per i nostri peccati et accioché quando preghiamo per la remissione de'peccati la coscienza senta i suoi remorsi et se qualch'uno come invócate piacesse a se stesso et di una tal reputatione s'innalzasse sugl'altri, dall'oratione cotidiana conoscesse di peccar ogni giorno, perché ogni giorno è costretto a chieder perdono de'suoi peccati." PRS, p. 255.

""O fanciulli, o vecchi, o giovani, quando havete dette dimitte nobis consolatevi, confortatevi con una buona et robusta speranza, ch'el nostro Padre del cielo per la sua infinita misericordia et per la fede di Jhesu Christo, con la quale voi orate, v'ha essaudito et perdonato i vostri peccati et rimessi tutti i vostri debiti." PRS, p. 293-

In the second half of this petition ("sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris") Seripando tells his listeners that we place upon ourselves the means, the rule, the measure with which we wish God to forgive us, because we pray that He forgive our sins the way we forgive those who wrong us. This reflects Seripando's desire and hope that charity would be the foundation of a renewal of the Christian life.60 Seripando warns: "If we are stubborn in forgiving others, God will be stubborn in forgiving us. If we delay in forgiving others, He too will delay. If we forgive imperfectly, He also will forgive us imperfectly. If we forgive unconditionally, we will be mercifully forgiven."61 Thus, Seripando urges the faithful to love one another as they themselves would want to be loved.

Given the social conditions that existed in Salerno at this time, Seripando hoped to raise his congregation's awareness that they were members of the same spiritual family. When the rule of Ferrante Sanseverino came to an end shortly before Seripando's arrival in Salerno, the peaceful relations that existed among the various classes in the city began to break down, as class animosities reappeared.62 Seripando, concerned with this situation, presents a striking denunciation of a class mentality that is contrary to a prayer that sees all as brothers and sisters born of one common Father. Seripando states: "I am amazed how the Princes and great Magnates do not remember each day in this prayer, that their vassals are their brothers; and that the nobles do not remember that the commoners are their brothers; and that the wealthy do not think in saying this prayer, that the poor are their brothers; and that the healthy do not realize that the infirm are their brothers; and that the learned do not see that the ignorant are their brothers, because all say to the same Father Pater iVbster.'"63 Seripando's point here is to make the congregation aware of the ramifications of this prayer which not

¦"Abbondanza, op. cit., p. 72.

61"Donque se noi saremo duri a perdonare gli altri, sarà dio duro a perdonare a noi. Se noi saremo tardi, ancor'egli sarà tardo. Se noi perdoneremo imperfettamente, ancor'egli imperfettamente perdónela. Se noi perdoneremo per nostra charità senza simulatione, sarà ancor misericordiosamente perdónate." PRS, p. 277.

"Donato Dente, Salerno nel Seicento: NelV'interno di una cité, Vol. 2, part V.Inediti per la storia civile e religiosa (Salerno, 1993), p. 294.

6s"Ond'io resto pieno di meraviglia, com'i Principi et grandi Signori non si recordano ogni giorno in quest'oratione, ch'i loro vassalli li sonó fratelli, et che i nobili non si recordano che l'ignobili li sonó fratelli, et ch'i ricchi non pensano nel dire di quest'oratione, ch'i poveri sonó loro fratelli, et che i sani non s'accorgono che gl'infermi li sonó fratelli, et che li dotti non vedono che gl'ignoranti li sonó fratelli perché tutti ad un medesimo padre dicono: PATER NOSTER." PRS, p. 93.

only directs one to love God, but also to love one's neighbor, thereby building up the Christian community. By challenging each group to alter their way of life, Seripando hoped to foster a renewal, not only of the individual, but also of the Christian community and society.

The intention of Seripando to foster a renewal of one's life toward a more Christian way of living, thereby leading to the reform of the Church and society through the preaching of sermons, is most evident in the unique characteristic of the sermons on the Lord's Prayer—his express wish to have young people, in particular, children, present when he preached. In the first sermon on the Lord's Prayer Seripando states: "I desire at these lessons young boys and young girls whose souls are less corrupted than yours already grown old in and accustomed to a less than Christian way of life. For that reason, the schoolteacher M. Gabriele will ensure that his students come to these lessons in order that they will understand those words which each day they are obliged to recite."64 While it may at first appear unusual that the archbishop enjoins the schoolteacher to bring his pupils to the cathedral, given the educational climate of Renaissance Italy, one is not surprised. By the year 1300 the Church had relinquished much of its educational role in Italy, resulting in a primary and secondary educational system that was secular in orientation.65 As a result, catechism schools, or Schools of Christian Doctrine, were organized that met on Sundays and religious holidays. The purpose of these schools was to impart religious instruction and rudimentary reading and writing to ignorant and middle/lower-class children.66 A popular slogan of the day clearly synthesizes that the overall aim of these schools was to teach "the holy fear of God, to read, to write and to count using an abacus."67 Given the secular nature of Renaissance education in Italy, it is likely that the schoolteacher to whom Seripando refers either taught at one of the catechism schools in the city or the local parish school.68 Seripando's request that

""Disidero a questa lettione i fanciulli et le fenciulle che hanno Ganimo manco vitiate d'voi altri assuefetti già et invecchiati in un cette modo di vivere poco christiano. Perciö il Maestro della scuola M. Gabriele farà ch'i suoi scholari venghino à questa lettione, accioché intendono quelle parole ch'ogni giorno son'obbligati a dire." PRS, p. 92.

65Paul F. Grendler, Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300-1600 (Baltimore, 1989), p. 41.

«/&*</., p. 359.

67Donato Dente, op. cit.,\ol V.lstituzioni culturali (Salerno, 1990), p. 57.

"Donato Dente, "Vita cultúrale ed istituzioni scolastiche a Salerno nel Cinquecento: Note e Documenti," in Salerno e U Principato Citra nelTetà moderna (secoli XVI-XDQ, ed. Francesco Sofia (Naples, 1987), p. 826.

the schoolteacher bring his students to hear the sermons reflects Seripando's tireless efforts to ensure that the children of Salerno receive not only an academic education but also religious instruction.

However, Seripando's wish to have children present among the congregation and the constant attention and reference made to them in the course of his sermons do not simply indicate the pedagogical and formative nature of these sermons. More importantly, the presence of children contributes to and illustrates the overall aim of Seripando's pastoral reform program—the regeneration of the Christian life.[69] Here too there is a link between Seripando's request and the aim of the Schools of Christian Doctrine. The reason why Catholic reformers established such schools was not only to provide rudimentary religious instruction, but also to help individuals live better lives and thereby attain salvation in the life to come. Thus, the desire to reform morals and save souls motivated the educational program of these schools.[70] This common goal of the catechism schools and Seripando's preaching is apparent in his second sermon on the Lord's Prayer: "Let me say a few words to these children, who because of my orders have come to hear the Word of God, because I must render an account to God no less of them than of you, and to tell you the truth, my hope in seeing in Salerno some form of renewal and some true light of Christian life is more in them than in you others who are older, because they are less contaminated and mixed up in the affairs of this world than you are."[71]

Concerned with the spiritual well-being of the youth of Salerno, Seripando points out how so many are tempted by worldliness—they become enamored with the beauty of the body, they desire fame in the ostentation of worldly possessions, they despise the old and the impotent. To such young people the commandments of Christ are like poison, while the food presented to them by the devil is sweet. Seripando places the blame for the circumstances of the youth on their parents. In his seventeenth sermon on the Lord's Prayer, which focuses on the petition "dimitte nobis debita nostra," Seripando indicates that children do not know the doctrines of the faith because parents have "immersed

69DeMe, Inediti per la storia civile e religiosa, p. 296.

^Grendler, op. cit., p. 332.

""Lasciatemi, vi priego, dilettissimi in Christo Jesu, dire alcune poche parole à questi fenciulli, i quali per ordine mio son venuti ad udir la parola di Dio, perché non manco di loro che di voi io ho a rendere ragione à Dio, et a dirvi il vero, la speranza mia di vedere a Salerno qualche renovatione, et qualche lume vero di vita Christiana, è più in loro che in voi altri di maggior età, perché sono manco contaminati et imbrattati nelle cose di questo mondo che non siete voi." PRS, p. 94.

their children into a pagan life and in the appetites of the flesh."72 In a later sermon he picks up this theme, indicating that they teach their children the doctrines of this world, teaching them to love the goods of secular society, rather than to love Jesus Christ.73 These remarks seem to suggest Seripando's perception of a lack of solidarity and hedonistic values widespread in Salerno.

Addressing the children, Seripando asks why they are tempted to live a life of worldliness. For Seripando, the answer is simple: "We see many times the bad and pernicious customs of the father, the mother, the brothers, of the entire household. We see little piety, little faith, few examples of Christian life. This is a great temptation because the devil speaks in your ears and says, do you want to be better than your elders? Do as they do."74 Consequently, Seripando admonishes the youth for living as friends, rather than enemies of the devil, acting not as Christians, but as infidels.75 For Seripando, the poor example of adults had already corrupted the children of Salerno.

To correct this situation Seripando reminds both parents and godparents of their responsibility to teach their children the rudiments of the faith. He urges the parents to teach their children the Lord's Prayer.76 He pleads with the godparents that they constantly remind the child of the baptismal promises made in the child's name, stating: "My child, in your name I renounced the demon, and the works and the splendor of the demon, which are the three things that send us into exile, banishing us from the Kingdom of Christ."77 Concerned with the

72"Et quel che'è peggio, oggi c'è tanto poca della dottrina et vita cristiana et tanto i Padri ingolfano i lor figliuoli nella vita pagana et negl'appetiti della carne, che pochi sonó che posseggono queste due dottrine." PRS, p. 261.

75"Non l'inamorano se non dei beni di questo mondo. Non l'amano in Christo, per questo non l'insegnano la dottrina Christiana, non l'insegnano quai sia il vero amor di Jhesu Christo." PRS, p. 292.

74"Che vedremo molte volte i mali et perniciosi costumi del Padre, della madre, dei fratelli, di tutta la casa, poca pietà, poco lume di fede, pochi esempij di vita Christiana. È per certo questa una gran tentatione, perché il demonio li parla all'orecchia et li dice: vuoi tu essere megliore dei tuoi maggiori? Fa come loro." PRS, p. 292.

""Non posso tacerlo, vivono come amici, e non come nemici del demonio: operano, non come Cristiani, ma come infedeli e membri del demonio." PS, p. 137.

76"Et a voi padri che havete figliuoli, non basta che queste due cose le sappiate voi, ma bisogna che fedelmente l'insegnate à i vostri figliuoli." PRS, p. 91.

""Vorrei che questi compari, che nel battesimo rispondono pei fanciulli; spesso, quando essi son venuti in età, ricordassero loro, come sonó obbligati di fare, quello che hanno promesso per loro, dicendo: Figliuol mió, io ho in nome tuo rinunziato al demonio e alie opere e alie pompe del demonio, le quali sonó tre cose che ci mandano in esilio, sbandendoci dal regno di Cristo." PS, p. 136.

bad example of parents which leads children astray, Seripando calls on the youth to follow the example of their heavenly Father rather than that of their earthly parents, so that the actions of their lives would lead to their salvation.

Conclusion

Unlike the typical penitential sermons preached during the Renaissance, Seripando did not call his congregation to particular penitential practices but rather to the process of penance. According to late medieval doctrine, "penance begins with sorrow and leads to the recognition of sin and through this awareness to a genuine and deeply felt contrition. Contrition, in turn, leads the sinner to confession and absolution."78 If one examines Seripando's sermons on the Pater Noster carefully, one notes several common and complementary themes which parallel this process of penance: the notion that humans are sinful beings (seen in the petition "sanctificetur nomen tuum"); contemplation of Christ's passion leading to a recognition of one's sinful condition (seen in the petitions "sanctificetur nomen tuum" and "panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie"); recognizing one's sinful nature, one is led to contrition (seen in the petition "panem nostrum"); one's sinful condition is remedied through charity, which aids his quest for salvation, and at the same time, benefits the community as a whole (seen in the petitions "pater noster" and "panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie"). As in the days of the early Church, these sermons were meant to affect the faith and prayer life of the congregation by pointing out their sinfulness, while giving evidence of the greatness of God's mercy.79 Seripando's purpose in emphasizing humanity's sinfulness was not to admonish but to build up the Christian way of life in his listeners. By teaching them to live according to their faith, Seripando hoped to arouse a penitential spirit within the hearts of his listeners which would move them to the living out of a better Christian life.

7,Weissman, op. cit., pp. 257-258.

7^Et chi ha fede bisogna che feccia oratione conciosia che la fede tra l'altre cose mostra all'huomo la sua miseria quanto sia grande et quanto sia maggiore la misericordia di Dio." PRS, p. 91.

CATHOLIC-MARXIST COMPETITION IN THE WORKING-CLASS PARISHES OF COLOGNE DURING THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC

BY

Raymond C. Sun*

Catholic-Marxist competition for the political and spiritual loyalties of Catholic workers constitutes one of the central themes of German labor and religious history before 1933- Since 1884, when Franz Hitze charged the Catholic labor movement to "organize our Christian workers before it is too late . . . before the enemy is within out walls"[1] church leaders struggled to isolate their working-class followers from socialist and, after 1918, communist influences. To retain workers' loyalties to the Church and the larger confessional community, Catholic labor leaders established clerically led workers' clubs (katholische Arbeitervereine), which aimed to immerse members into a wholly Catholic cultural milieu through a mixture of religious, social, and material services. Including the nominally interconfessional Christian Trade Unions, the Catholic labor movement represented the single largest alternative to the Marxist movements, and was even able to mount a challenge for primacy in key industrial districts in the Ruhr and the Rhineland.[2]

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'Original emphasis. Hitze's statement is from the speech he made to the 1884 German Catholic Congress (Katholikentag) in Amberg. It was originally printed as "Bedeutung und Aufgabe katholischer Arbeiter-Vereine," Arbeiterwohl, 4 (1884), 125-143. It is reprinted in Texte zur katholischen Soziallehre II, Vol. 1 (Kevelaer, 1976), pp. 375-385. The quotation is on page 379.

2MaJOr works which treat the relative position of workers within the German Catholic community include David Blackbourn, Class, Religion and Politics in Wilhelmine Germany: The Centre Party in Württemberg before 1914 (New Haven, 1980); Eric Dorn Brose, Christian Labor and the Politics ofFrustration in Imperial Germany (Washington, D.C., 1985); William L. Patch, Jr., Christian Trade Unions in the Weimar Republic, 1918-1933 (New Haven, 1958); Ronald Ross, Beleaguered Tower:The Dilemma ofPolitical Catholicism in Wilhelmine Germany (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1976); and Michael

Even before World War I, however, the limits of Catholic hegemony were apparent. The walls of religious identity and clerical authority failed to prevent an estimated 800,000 Catholic workers from joining the Social Democratic Party (SPD) or the allied Free Unions by 1914, enabling the SPD to capture the Catholic strongholds of Cologne, Düsseldorf, and Munich by the last prewar elections of 1912.[1] Under the Weimar Republic, this trend accelerated and took a still more radical course with the advent of the German Communist Party (KPD). By the mid-1920's,the deterioration of personal and institutional religious loyalty among workers was so pronounced that Catholic labor leaders warned openly of an impending crisis in workers' commitment to the larger confessional community in its religious, political, and cultural dimensions.

This article explores Catholic workers' growing ambivalence toward the confessional community in the 1920's, their rising tolerance or active support for Social Democracy and Communism, and the fears and frustrations that troubled the clergy forced to confront this situation. Specifically, the study will focus on conditions in working-class parishes in and around Cologne as described by local pastors in ecclesiastical visitation reports. Previous work on Catholic workers' troubled role in the confessional community under the republic has concentrated on institutional studies of the Center Party and the various elements of the

Schneider, Die Christlichen Gewerkschaften (Bonn, 1982). Also important are studies on the Catholic Volksverein, the organization for popular education and mobilization which co-operated closely with the Catholic labor movement, by Emil Ritter, Die katholisch-soziale Bewegung Deutschlands im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert und der Volksverein (Cologne, 1954), and more recently, Horstwalter Heitzer, Der Völksverein für das katholische Deutschland im Kaiserreich 1890-1918 (Mainz, 1979). See too the regional studies of the Catholic labor movement by Jürgen Aretz, Katholische Arbeiterbewegung und Nationalsozialismus. Der Verband katholischer Arbeiter- und Knappenvereine Westdeutschlands 1923—1945 (Mainz, 1978); Hans Dieter Denk, Die christliche Arbeiterbewegung in Bayern bis zum Erstem Weltkrieg (Mainz, 1980); Dorit-Maria Krenn, Die christliche Arbeiterbewegung in Bayern vom Ersten Weltkrieg bis 1933 (Mainz, 1991); and Douglas J. Cremer, "Cross and Hammer: The Catholic Workingmen's and Workingwomen's Associations in Germany, 1891-1933" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, San Diego, 1993). For a case study of the social-cultural milieu centered around the Catholic Workers' Clubs, see Raymond C. Sun, "'Before the Enemy is Within Our Walls': A Social, Cultural, and Political History of Catholic Workers in Cologne, 1885-1912" (Ph.D. dissertation, The John Hopkins University, 1991).

[1] For the figure of 800,000 Catholic workers supporting Social Democracy, see the remarks by the Archbishop of Cologne, Felix Cardinal von Hartmann, to the leaders of the Catholic Workers' Clubs of the Archdiocese of Cologne on December 18, 1913, as reported in the Westdeutsche Arbeiter-Zeitung January 3, 1914.

Catholic labor movement.4 Little effort has been made to reconstruct the relationship between workers and the Church at the level of the local parish. This was, however, the most crucial setting of all in the battle for labor's loyalty, for it was here where workers formed the social relationships based upon work, neighborhood, class, and confession that their sense of social and political identity was decisively shaped.

Cologne was a singularly appropriate site for an initial case study: the metropolis of the Rhineland was the seat for both one of Germany's most important archdioceses and a powerful regional branch of the Center Party. Given Cologne's religious and political importance for German Catholicism, the evidence of strong socialist and communist penetration among the local Catholic working-class population is especially striking. The Cologne visitation reports contain a wealth of material that allow a detailed reconstruction of the quality of religious life in working-class parishes, the tactics employed by the clergy in their desperate struggle to maintain, or rather to regain, a degree of influence among workers, and the Church's long-term prospects to overcome broad popular indifference joined with fierce competition from the Marxist parties.

Fundamental to understanding the clergy's difficulties in the battle for Catholic labor is the realization that developments in the 1920's were essentially an intensification of a pattern of deteriorating trust between workers and the religious and political institutions of German Catholicism dating from the turn of the century. The Center's intransigently pro-agrarian economic policies, embodied in the party's support for high protective tariffs and its refusal to back financial reform measures that would introduce direct taxation on landed property, raised workers' cost of living through higher prices and increased consumer taxes on basic foodstuffs. The material and psychological damage inflicted by such high-handed treatment caused hundreds of thousands of Catholic workers to reject the rhetoric of confessional unity and opt for

4In addition to the works cited in note 3, see most recently Heinz Hurten, Deutsche Katholiken, 1918-1945 (Paderborn, 1992). Basic works on the Center in this period include the following studies by Rudolf Morsey: "Die Deutsche Zentrumspartei," in Das Ende der Parteien, edd. Erich Matthias and Rudolf Morsey (Düsseldorf, I960); Die Deutsche Zentrumspartei 1917-1923 (Düsseldorf, 1966), and Der Untergang des politischen Katholizismus. Die Zentrumspartei zwischen christlichem Selbstverständnis und "Nationaler Erhebung" 1932/33 (Stuttgart, 1977). Still important is the dissertation by Helga Grebing, "Zentrum und katholische Arbeiterschaft 1918-1933. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Zentrums in der Weimarer Republik" (Ph.D. dissertation, Free University of Berlin, 1953).

the class-based appeals of Social Democracy in the decade prior to 1914.5 Clerical-labor relations were further damaged by the hostility shown to the Christian Trade Unions by conservative bishops, who feared that the unions' principles of interconfessionalism and independent, lay-led action on economic issues threatened clerical authority over workers. The ensuing "trade union controversy" (Gewerkschaftsstreit), in which the unions only narrowly avoided papal condemnation in 1912 after a decade of acerbic struggle, stunted the development of the Christian unions and significantly compromised the Church's credibility regarding labor interests.6

The frustrations engendered by these setbacks among Catholic workers were further heightened by the experience of World War I, in which initially high hopes for social reconciliation were followed by severe material hardships and a deepened sense of class differentiation. Like workers of all persuasions, Catholic labor resented having to bear a perceived disproportionate share of wartime shortages and exorbitant increases in the price of basic foodstuffs, and interpreted the Center's failure to act decisively against this trend as evidence of the party's continued domination by agrarian interests. By the summer of 1918 Catholic workers in the western industrial heartland of the Ruhr and Rhineland had had enough: in June, an unprecedented rally of 1,200 Center labor representatives in the Ruhr city of Bochum warned that if conditions remained unchanged, "the Catholic workers of [western Germany] are not to be held by the Center in the long run."7

Catholic labor's demands for far-reaching political and social reform came most powerfully to expression, however, in the debate surrounding the failed attempt to replace the Prussian three-class suffrage system with the direct, equal, and secret vote employed in the national Reichstag elections. The centerpiece of the Bochum gathering of Catholic labor representatives was the forceful denunciation of the

'See Kenneth Barkin, The Controversy over German Industrialization 1890-1902 (Chicago, 1970), for a discussion of the Center's domination by agrarian and lower middle-class interests as manifested by the debate over the 1902 tariffs. Blackbourn, Brose, and Ross, in their cited works all treat the problems faced by Catholic labor in asserting its interests against such conservative hegemony. Mary Nolan, Social Democracy and Society.Working-Class Radicalism in Düsseldorf 1890- 1920 (New York, 1982), and Sun, "Before the Enemy is Within Our Walls," offer case studies of Catholic labor's prewar transition to Social Democracy.

6For an introduction to the Gewerkschaftsstreit see Brose, op. cit., especially Chapter 10, and Ross, op. cit.

Original emphasis. "Bericht über die erste Tagung der Arbeiter-Zentrumswähler Westdeutschlands in Bochum am 23. Juni 1918," Texte zur katholischen Soziallehre II, l, 758.

Prussian Center's ambivalent stance toward suffrage reform, in contradiction to decades of espousing equal suffrage in principle. Although primary responsibility for the defeat of the reform bill lay with the Conservatives and National Liberals, a majority of the Center's parliamentary Fraktion sided with the opposition in the decisive vote. The recalcitrant Center delegates were quite probably influenced by the lobbying of key members of the church hierarchy, most notably the Archbishop of Cologne, Felix Cardinal von Hartmann, who feared that the equal suffrage would mean a Social Democratic majority and a new Kulturkampf* Predictably, the consequences of such action were considerable. Organized Catholic workers, who had made passage of the reform bill a test of the Center's commitment to the labor movement, were embittered by the continued disregard shown for workers' claims to political and social equality, and through protest meetings and the labor press they publicly criticized the Center and the clergy for their reactionary behavior. Conservative Catholics, in turn, were frightened and angered by the vehemence of workers' engagement on the suffrage issue. Cardinal Hartmann took the drastic measure of firing the diocesan chairman of the Catholic Workers' Clubs, Dr. Otto Müller, as punishment for the "politicization" of the membership on this topic—a move which only heightened labor's animosity. An extract from their discussion on the occasion of Müller's dismissal is revealing for the mutual, if conflicting, anxieties expressed concerning workers' future relationship to the Center Party and the Church:

Müller. The workers no longer really trust the Center. It did not take a clear position on the suffrage issue. A party that supports equal suffrage for 40 years and then calls for something else runs the risk of being accused of hypocrisy.

Hartmann: It is not hypocrisy. It has to do with keeping the people religious.

Müller: Certainly. But will that be possible after the rejection of equal suffrage? . . . Everything that we did -with regard to the suffrage issue was with the goal of holding onto the workers.

Hartmann: They are lost in any case.

Müller. No, by campaigning for the equal suffrage we hope to keep them. Eminence, I have the feeling that it is now being de-

"In the decisive vote in the Prussian Landtag on July 11, 1918, only eighteen Center deputies voted in favor of the suffrage reform bill, while twenty-five opposed it. Hurten, op. cit., pp. 33-34, summarizes Catholic agrarian and clerical opposition to suffrage reform.

termined, whether the clergy and the people stay together or not. . . .

Hartmann: [. . .]The people are no longer under control. ["Wir haben das Volk nicht mehr in der Hand"]9

Hartmann's gloomy assessment is remarkable for the frankness, or resignation, with which the prelate viewed the alienation of the Church's working-class constituency. Although Hartmann failed to accept the responsibility which conservative clerics like himself and their political allies bore for the eruption of working-class anger, his fears of a loosening of clerical authority and of a major defection of Catholic workers to Social Democracy were legitimate, even prescient, and soon to be magnified by the sudden collapse of the German war effort. In the immediate wake of military defeat and revolution, the Catholic bishops judged workers' attitudes so dangerous as to require a pastoral letter reaffirming the Church's prohibition against Social Democracy.10 But in spite of this warning, Catholic workers evidently continued to support their Social Democratic peers. In 1922 the bishops were forced to reiterate the ban against membership in the Free Unions, even ordering clergy to withhold the sacraments from dissenting parishioners as a final resort." Two years later, Catholic labor leaders had to issue a moderated interpretation of the edict in the face of workers' vehement protests against the Church's perceived indifference to desperate economic conditions.12

Thus, a long-term process of working-class frustration with the political and religious structures of German Catholicism ensured that the clergy was losing ground in the battle for Catholic labor from the very

'Otto Müller, "Erinnerungen an die Katholische Arbeiter-Bewegung," Texte zur katholischen Soziallehre //,Vol. 2 (Kevelaer, 1976), pp. 957-958, 960.

10"Ein Hirtenbrief über die Sozialdemokratie," issued in Münster, January 8, 1919.

"Ludwig Nieder, "Behandlung der Sozialdemokraten unter den Pfarrkindern," Theologie und Glaube, 11 (1919), 56-64, gave a detailed discussion on how to use the authority of the confessional to pressure the "simple man" into renouncing Social Democracy as incompatible with his Catholic faith. Almost a decade later, a more sensitive priest still felt the need to urge his peers to renounce this weapon as extremely counterproductive to the task of building trust among workers. Chrysostomus Schulte, "Unsere pastorale Einstellung zum Sozialismus," Theologie und Glaube, 20 (1928), 652.

'The original episcopal decree warning Catholic workers against the Free Unions as being allied with the SPD, entitled "Winke betreffend Aufgaben der Seelsorger gegenüber glaubensfeindlichen Vereinigungen," was issued at the 1922 Fulda Bishops' Conference. It appears, along with a lengthy explanation and justification, in "Die Bewertung des bischöflichen 'Gewerkschaftserlaß'," Mitteilungen an die Arbeiterpräsides, 2,No. 1 0anuarytojuly, 1924), 1-11.

outset of the republic. Organizationally, the diminution of clerical authority over workers became dramatically evident in the decline suffered by the Catholic Workers' Clubs. The Arbeitervereine represent a particularly significant index of clerical authority, for they had been established in the late nineteenth century with the explicit function of restoring tight clerical control over Catholic workers. Yet both numerically and in the composition of their membership, the workers' clubs became a steadily more marginal influence on the larger Catholic working-class community. In 1930 the West German Federation, the largest of the regional organizations, counted 192,000 members—almost 28,000 fewer than in 1913, or a drop of 12.7 percent. The largest losses occurred in the Archdiocese of Cologne, where the membership fell by a third from prewar levels.13 In 1926, the federation's chairman, Otto Müller, admitted that the workers' clubs enrolled only 25 percent of the region's Catholic labor force.14 But not only did the Arbeitervereine draw far fewer members, but those who did join were likely to be among the least active elements of the working-class community. Already in 1913, 31 percent of the regional membership was 45 years old or above, beyond the age where sustained activism could be expected. By I93O, however, this proportion had swollen to over 48 percent, while the crucial base of younger workers under age 30 fell almost by half, from 26 to 14 percent.15 Relatedly, no less than 15.5 percent of the membership was classified as "invalids."16

With the Catholic Workers' Clubs becoming a shrinking preserve for the elderly and the infirm, and the Christrian Trade Unions still greatly outnumbered by the Free Unions, Catholic labor leaders had clear grounds for concern. Seeking clarity over their situation, in 1926 the latter conducted an unprecedented "Survey of the Present Spiritual Con-

""Bericht über die Entwicklung und Tätigkeit des Verbandes katholischer Arbeiter- und Knappenvereine Westdeutschlands von 1925 bis 1931" (Mönchen-Gladbach, 1931), p. 20. The losses in the Archdiocese of Cologne, although the greatest numerically (from 89,103 to 60,509 for a net of 28,594, or 32.1 percent) were proportionally surpassed by the dioceses of Fulda (47.5 percent), Limburg (37.2 percent), and Mainz (86 percent!).

"Otto Müller,"Die religiöse Lage der Arbeiter und unsere Aufgaben," Mitteilungen an die Arbeiterpräsides, 4, No. 4 (November-December, 1926), 51.

"The precise figures for the changes in the age structure of the West German Federation between 1913 and 1930 are as follows: the age group 30 or younger declined from 26.2 to 14.3 percent; members age 30 to 45 fell from 43 to 37.4 percent; and the cohort of those age 45 or above rose from 30.8 to 48.3 percent. The latter figure was 8.9 percent above the national average. Older workers were overproportionally represented in the Archdiocese of Cologne, with 52.2 percent. "Bericht über die Entwicklung," pp. 59, 65.

"|Ibid., p. 75.

dition of Catholic workers in Germany."17 The results were hardly reassuring. Reports from diocesan and district-level Arbeiterverein leaders, individual club chairmen, and lay labor secretaries all indicated that apart from a small core of the faithful, ties between Catholic workers and the rest of the confessional community, including the institutional Church, were strained to the breaking point. Labor's relationship to owners was characterized as "estranged," "distrustful," and "hostile." Workers condemned employers for having become obsessed by profits, exhibiting "an unchristian indifference, if not hostility regarding the most basic needs of the worker and his family" as they ruthlessly exploited the economic crises of the early 1920's to wrest concessions from labor on the issues of wages, hours, collective bargaining, and social legislation.18 The result, as reported by Otto Müller, was that "Catholic workers are in danger of becoming just as spiritually estranged from the bourgeoisie as Social Democracy." Müller added that in his opinion the bourgeoisie bore the greater part of the guilt for allowing class hostility to tear at confessional unity,"especially the propertied and educated elements."19

Catholic workers' frustration over their failure to attain the social, economic, and political equity promised under the republic, and their growing sense of having been abandoned by the rest of the Catholic community, had two major consequences. The first of these was a further loss of trust in the Church, which was seen as having identified itself with the propertied classes by failing to speak out on social issues. Apart from the small number of priests active in the Catholic labor movement, who generally retained workers' respect, the clergy was widely seen as out of touch with and unconcerned about conditions in the working-class milieu: "Even otherwise orderly Catholics regard the priest today with different eyes than before. They often seen in him only the intellectual or the well-paid civil servant."20 The effect on the clergy's already battered prestige was great. As one source from the Rhineland stated, "[t]he [workers'] trust in the clergy is undergoing a dangerous test of fire. One would have to be blind in both eyes to overlook how the authority of the clergy disappears."21

"The survey, with a discussion of its methodology and results, appears in Josef Joos, "Ergebnisse der Umfrage über die gegenwärtige seelische Lage der katholischen Arbeiter in Deutschland," Mitteilungen an die Arbeiterpräsides, 4, No. 3 Quly-October, 1926), 33-43.

"Ibid., pp. 36-37.

"Müller,"Die religiöse Lage der Arbeiter," p. 51.

"Ibid.,p. 39.

"Ibid.,p. 39.

Closely connected to their disillusionment with the Church was a progressive deepening of Catholic workers' sympathies toward Social Democracy. Workers of both camps developed a strong sense of common identity during the war through sharing in the hardships and camaraderie of the trenches, as well as the economic and political sufferings of the home front. Such experiential solidarity was strengthened after the war by the common defense of the republic and the heightened consciousness of class conflict mentioned above. Ironically, church leaders found their message of segregation from Social Democracy to be undercut by the fact that the Center and the SPD were forced to co-operate as the two parties most consistently committed to democracy over the course of the republic. Relations were especially strong in Prussia, where the Center loyally supported the SPD government from 1919 to 1932. Under these circumstances, ecclesiastical appeals for workers to maintain a strict separation from socialism appeared both self-contradictory and politically suspect, despite attempt by conservative church leaders to distinguish between political co-operation and ideological agreement.22 Thus, although church leaders believed that some confessional and ideological barriers remained, they were unsure of their lasting effectiveness. Conceded the report," [a] mong Catholic labor circles, there would no longer be any enthusiasm for a sharp struggle against the socialists."23

At the same time, a process of radicalization was underway that led growing numbers of Catholic workers to the extreme alternative represented by the KPD. Preference for the KPD appears to have been closely correlated to factors of age, social dislocation, and acute economic distress. Günter Plum, in his case study of political behavior in the Catholic region around Aachen in the late republic, has suggested that those workers were especially drawn to Communism who were in a "social no man's land," uprooted from the values, relationships, and practices of their rural or small-town Catholic milieu but not yet integrated into a new but similarly established urban working-class culture dominated by either the Center or the SPD. For these socially transitory, typically young, male workers, the militant revolutionary ideology of the KPD offered a worldview comprehensive enough to replace their

22For example, a 1919 article written to advise clerics on how to treat this issue when dealing with workers recommended that the clergy compare the political co-operation between the Center and SPD to two hostile neighbors who temporarily put their differences behind them to join in putting out a fire in their common dwelling place while asserting the necessity of resuming their principled disagreement once the emergency has been resolved. Nieder, "Behandlung der Sozialdemokraten unter den Pfarrkindern," pp. 62-63.

23JOOs10p. cit., p. 40.

Catholic belief system and much more compelling in its call for direct action than either social Catholicism or the reformist, parliamentary platform of the SPD, which in contrast seemed stodgy and ineffectual.24 The KPD always regarded the more moderate SPD as its first enemy, accusing the latter of having betrayed the working class through its cooperation with bourgeois parties in building democracy in Germany. Such charges were particularly effective during the depression, when Social Democracy's inability to protect workers from economic catastrophe became glaringly evident. In Cologne, as shown in Table 1, the KPD decisively surpassed the SPD in the 1932 Reichstag elections. Even in the elections of 1930, however, the KPD had defeated its rival in some of Cologne's most important working-class districts. The source of the KPD's newly found strength was obvious: "The share of KPD votes since the Reichstag election of 1930 rose parallel to the rate of unemployment, so that the Cologne KPD in this phase can correctly be characterized as "the party of the unemployed."25

Conditions in Cologne mirrored developments at the national and regional levels. This was partly masked by the fact that the Center maintained control of Cologne's Reichstag seat over the duration of the republic. However, closer examination of the electoral results presented in Table 1 reveals that the Center's apparent hegemony was possible only because of the division among the parties of the left. The combined strength of the SPD and the KPD actually surpassed the Center in the elections of 1920, 1928, 1932, and 1933 by margins rising as high as 15 percent in November, 1932. Furthermore, the Center's success rested heavily upon the newly enfranchised female electorate, which provided 60 percent of its support throughout this period. The Marxist parties drew a similarly disproportionate share of male voters.26

24Günter Plum, Gesellschaftsstruktur und politisches Bewußtsein in einer katholischen Region 1928-1933 (Stuttgart, 1972), pp. 31-34, and Jóos, op. cit., pp. 39-41. The 1926 survey also expressed concern over the activities of radical "Catholic Socialist" groups that advocated co-operation with Social Democracy in the name of common ethical and spiritual principles. Although these groups, the Bund katholischer Sozialisten and the Christlich-soziale Reichspartei, ultimately failed to mount a significant challenge to the Center, the Church feared them as much as or more than the KPD for their potential to lead workers away from the established confessional community and thus serve as a conduit to the Marxist parties. Ibid., p. 41. For a detailed study of these two groups see Thomas Knapp, "The Red and the Black: Catholic Socialists in the Weimar Republic," Catholic Historical Review, LXI Ouly, 1975), 386-408.

"Martin Rüther, Arbeiterschaft in Köln 1928-1945 (Cologne, 1990),p. 76.

26In Cologne, men and women voted at separate polls, allowing an analysis of electoral results by gender. Through the 1928 election, women's support for the Center in national elections surpassed men's by the following margins (in percentage points): 1919 (Na-

Table 1

Reichstag election results in Cologne between 1919 and 1933 (percentage of total votes received)

(Party)	1919	1920	1924 (May)	1924 (Dec)	1928	1930	1932 (July)	1932 (Nov)	1933
Middle-class Republican Parties									
Center	40.8	35.9	32.7	35.2	29.1	24.9	28.2	27.3	25.6
DDP	11.0	4.9	3.4	4.8	4.2	4.0	3.0	4.0	0.4
Marxist Parties									
SPD	38.6	26.3	12.6	20.0	24.8	19.4	18.4	17.4	14.9
USPD	1.4	11.8	1.1	0.5	0.1	—	—	—	—
KPD	—	—	17.1	11.6	14.4	17.0	22.0	24.5	18.1
Total Marxist Vote	40.0	38.1	30.8	32.1	39.3	36.4	40.4	41.9	33.0
Right-wing Parties									
DVP	5.4	14.5	10.5	11.9	12.0	6.7	1.4	2.8	1.6
DNVP	2.8	2.8	6.6	7.2	5.5	1.7	3.1	5.5	5.7
Wirtschafts-partei	—	—	5.4	4.7	4.7	5.5	1.2	0.6	—
NSDAP (Nazis)	—	—	—	—	1.6	17.6	24.5	20.4	33.1

Sources: Lorenz Huber, "Die politischen Wahlen in Köln in den Jahren 1919 bis 1926," Kölner Verwaltung und Statistik. Zeitschrift des Statistischen Amtes der Stadt Köln, 6 (1928), 93; idem, "Die Reichstags- und die Landtagswahl in Köln am 20. Mai 1928," ibid., p. 164; and Widerstand und Verfolgung in Köln 1933-1945 (Cologne, 1981), pp. 21, 24.

tional Assembly): 45.6; 1920: 60.8; May, 1924: 67.2; November, 1924: 60.9; 1928: 75.4 (the latter being a high point proportionally, although Catholic women in working-class districts gave the Marxist parties higher rates of support than before). In contrast, in 1928 women gave the SPD only 75.5 percent of the male vote, and the KPD even less at 61.8 percent. Huber, "Die politischen Wahlen. . . . 1919 bis 1926," p. 90, and idem'X&e. Reichstags- und die Landtagswahl . . . 1928," p. 170. Also see Monika Domke, "Die Kommunalpolitik von SPD und KPD von 1928 bis 1930," in Reinhold Billstein (ed.), Das andere Köln. Demokratische Traditionen seit der Französischen Revolution (Cologne, 1979), pp. 225-226. It is probable that the Center's continued decline between 1930 and 1933 was in part due the loss of some of its female (working-class) constituency, although the women's vote would have continued to be much higher than among the men.

The strong turn of Catholic workers to the left is also reflected in the competition among labor movements: over the decade from 1919 to 1929 the Free Unions controlled 70 to 75 percent of all unionized workers in Cologne, leading the Christian Trade Unions by nearly 40,000 members (65,500 versus 28,500) in 1929.27 Nor were the Catholic Workers' Clubs of much significance by this point. In 1929 the Cologne Arbeitervereine enrolled barely 10,000 members, of whom more than half were over 45 years old.28

To what extent were these trends in Catholic workers' attitudes and behavior reflected in the religious and political culture of their local community? The visitation reports filed by the pastors of Cologne's major working-class parishes29 testify that Catholic labor's growing alienation from the confessional community was fully manifested at the local level, often with devastating results for the quality of religious life.

The social conditions prevalent in most working-class parishes were in themselves a formidable barrier to effective pastoral work. The dense populations of these relatively small units, often numbering well over 10,000 parishioners,30 overwhelmed the resources of the clergy. Com-

2TIle best the Cologne Christian Trade Unions fared during this period was in 1928, when they claimed just over 31 percent of the organized labor force (29,712 versus 65,618 for the Free Unions). At the other extreme, in 1922 the Christian Trade Unions enrolled only 22.7 percent of organized workers. Figures for the period 1919-1929 are in Rüther, op. cit., p. 77.

28ThC Catholic Workers' Clubs in Cologne enrolled 10,076 members in 1929, a figure which fell to 9,469 the next year under the pressure of the depression. "Bericht über die Entwicklung," p. 22. In 1930, 54 percent of club members in the district Cologne/Left-Rhine, and 57 percent in Cologne/Right-Rhine were over 45 years old, compared to the regional average of 48.3 percent. Ibid., pp. 59, 65.

2TIle visitation reports are held in the Generalvikariat Archiv (GVA), which is stored in the Historisches Archiv des Erzbistums Köln. For the Weimar period they consist of standardized questionnaires issued in 1921, 1925 or 1926, and 1930 or 1931. I have collected information for the following parishes, which represent the primary working-class districts in Cologne: (a) Cologne South-Side (Left Rhine): St. Severin, St. Paul, St. Maternus, St. Pantaleon, St. Mauritius, Herz Jesu, St. Maria Lyskirchen; Qo) Cologne-Ehrenfeld (Left Rhine): St. Anna, St. Joseph; (c) Cologne-Kalk (Right Rhine): Humboldt Colony, St. Joseph; (d) Cologne-Mülheim (Right Rhine): St. Antonius, Herz Jesu, Liebfrauen, St. Mauritius; (e) Brown-coal mining communities (south of Cologne, Left Rhine): Berrenrath, Gleuel, Hermülheim, Knapsack.

"The largest single parish in Cologne, Herz Jesu on the South Side, claimed more than 20,000 members. Other notable parishes included Cologne/St. Severin (17,000), Cologne-Mülheim/Herz Jesu (grew from 10,000 to 17,000 between 1925 and 1930), Cologne-Ehrenfeld/St. Anna (16,000), Cologne/St. Pantaleon (14-15,000), Cologne/St. Mauritius (12-13,000), Cologne/Humboldt Colony (13,000), and Cologne-Mülheim/Uebfrauen (10,000).

prehensive personalized pastoral care became impossible.31 Energetic clergy devoted themselves to mamtaining a small core of the faithful through age, gender, and occupationalty based organizations. In Cologne-Humboldt Colony, for example, a parish with 13,000 Catholics and an estimated 85 percent working-class population, the pastor asserted that "the religious life in this working-class community stands and falls" with the workers' club (440 members) and the mothers' association (1,130 members).32 Other clergy, especially older pastors, too often remained locked into a rigid, hopeless routine as parish life crumbled around them. Striking cases of burnt-out, sometimes physically infirm clergy who lacked the physical or emotional strength to tend effectively to their parishes include Father Mathias Lentzen of Cologne/St. Pantaleon, who held a twenty-six-year tenure from 1907 to 1933 and who resigned at age 79 only after going virtually blind; Father Joseph Kratz, pastor at Cologne-Ehrenfeld/St. Anna for twenty-nine years (1911-1940), and Pfarrer Heinrich Förster, pastor of Cologne-Mümeim/Liebfrauen from 1905 to 1935, who resigned deaf and under fire for having run the parish into the ground under his fragile, yet tyrannical leadership.33 In either case, whether the pastor devoted himself to the remnant of the faithful or became a source of irritation and embarrassment to his parishioners, the Church became isolated from the surrounding community. The problem was all too well known among the Catholic clergy; indeed, a piercing critique that appeared in a pastoral journal in 1927 emphasized this condition as the fundamental obstacle to effec-

"Numerous pastors, when asked about "special problems" they feced, simply answered "big city conditions." Traditional house visits became impossible; those clergy that did try often found no answer:"The rooms in the large apartment houses are closed, the women are at work, the children on the street." Pfarrer Stühlen, "Beantwortung der bei Gelegenheit der bischöflichen Kirchen-Visitationen zu erledigen Fragen" (a formula henceforth cited as "Visitation" plus date),April 25, 1921. GVA Cologne/St. Mauritius 6.

"Pfarrer Moll to Erzbischöfliches Generalvikariat (EGV), September 27, 1928, in GVA Cologne/Humboldt Colony 5.

33GVA Cologne/St. Pantaleon 9, GVA Cologne-Ehrenfeld/St. Anna 2, and GVA Cologne-Mülheim/Liebfrauen 3. Förster's case is of particular interest in this regard. Letters to the archbishop begging him to replace Förster paint an eerie picture of a parish in utter decay, the church, including the altars, filthy and covered with cobwebs, the priest barely able to walk or speak coherently, yet still insisting upon preaching the Sunday sermon and dispensing communion with the compassion of a drill sergeant:"Mouth open! —You have to open your mouth! Come here! You think I would come to you?! You must come here!" The anonymous chronicler of this scene continued:"Your Eminence can rely upon it, that those who are screamed at in this way do not return soon. As a consequence voices have grown loud among parishioners which peak in the drastic words: Does he still believe in what he holds in his hand?"

tive urban ministry. Far from seeing the local priest as their "father," a trustworthy friend and authority figure, the clerical author wrote, workers regarded him as a stranger to their culture, to be treated with watchful suspicion.34

Compounding these difficulties was widespread poverty. Even in times of economic stability workers lived on the margin, suffering from chronic shortages of decent housing, clothing, and nourishing food. These problems were magnified enormously during the depression of 1929-1933, in which the Cologne working class suffered severe and sustained material and psychological hardships. By July, 1932, unemployment had reached 30.8 percent for the workforce as a whole.35 However, the situation was even worse in certain key industries, above all the metalworking and machine-building sectors that comprised the heart of Cologne's industrial economy36 In the machine and tool-building industries alone the number of workers employed dropped from over 20,000 in 1929 to just over 9,500 in 1932, a decline of 51.7 percent.37 Conditions in individual firms at times approached the catastrophic: at the Humboldt Maschinebauanstalt in Cologne-Kalk, one of the city's most important concerns which employed over 3,000 men in 1929, over 60 percent of the workforce had been fired by mid-1932. Even worse was the case of the Westdeutsche Wagonfabrik in Cologne-Deutz, which eventually laid off 90 percent of the 2,000 workers employed before the depression.38

Even those who remained employed faced the constant danger of shortened hours and wage cuts, ruthlessly imposed by employers under the threat of instant dismissal. Consequently, workers' income was often drastically reduced, with cuts ranging from 20 to as high as 50 percent.39 Thus the entire working class, whether employed or not, suffered significantly from the prolonged economic crisis. And as Martin Rüther astutely notes in his recent study of the Cologne working class, the psychological effects of living for years with the fear of imminent

"Joseph Höfer, "Vom Seelenstand des noch katholischen Arbeiters," Theologie und Glaube,19Q92T),69.

"Rüther, op. cit.,p. 19.

560vCr 35 percent of all workers employed in trade and industry were concentrated in the metal industry, compared to 15 percent for the next largest sector in clothing and textiles. Ibid., p. 20, n. 23.

"Ibid., p. 20.

"Ibid.

>9Ibid., pp. 24-34.

and unavoidable disaster were as damaging for the emotional, psychological, and spiritual health of workers and their families as the material hardships they experienced and observed on a daily basis.[40] The mood of desperation is best conveyed in a few stark examples: thousands of working-class women from across the city traveled to the Left-Rhine industrial district of Ehrenfeld to collect free meat on Sundays, rising before dawn or lining up the night before to ensure getting a portion for their family's only meal with meat in the week.[41] Families lived five to a room with one bed and heated with coal picked from ash heaps; children went without schoolbooks, winter coats, or even decent underwear; some, in Cologne's South Side, went to school barefoot.[42] Across the Rhine in Cologne-Mülheim, the Communists organized a children's hunger march.[43]

The material and social impoverishment of the depression further corroded the already strained relationship between the Cologne working class and the Church. Massive unemployment drove many workers to the KPD, which as shown above was outdrawing the SPD in major working-class quarters by 1930. In contrast to the more moderate and relatively tolerant Social Democrats, the KPD remained unrelentingly hostile to the Catholic Church, the clergy, and religion. And indeed, a review of the Cologne ecclesiastical visitation reports from the early 1930's reveals a rise in militant opposition to the Church in working-class districts in connection with the increase in KPD support.

One of the most valuable insights offered by the visitation reports concerns the great extent to which both the Social Democratic and Communist movements had succeeded in penetrating the Catholic working-class quarters of Cologne over the 1920's. Almost every report studied contained some reference to a powerful SPD or KPD presence. For instance, the newspapers of the respective parties, the Rheinische Zeitung and the Sozialistische Republik, typically enjoyed a far wider circulation than the Catholic press, even in parishes where the men par-

40 Ibid., pp. 9-13, 31-42.

41 "From an interview with a metal worker published in the Cologne communist newspaper Sozialistische Republik, November 4, 1931, quoted ibid., pp. 35-36.

42 Ibid., and interviews with "K.K." and Wilhelm Fischer in ". . . vergessen kann man die Zeit nicht, das ist nicht möglieb. . . ." Kölner erinnern sich an die Jahre 1929-1945 (Cologne, 1985), pp. 24, 43.

43 ""Bericht des Pfarrers Johannes Röntgen über die in der Pfarre St. Antonius in Köln-Mülheim vom 28. Sept. bis 14. Oktober 1932 abgehaltene Volksmission," in GVA Köln-Mülheim/St. Antonius 4.

ticipated strongly in religious activities.44 Direct references to powerful SPD or KPD groups were usually cryptic, probably indicative either of the respondent's belief that this was a well-known fact not worth elaborating upon ("Socialists and Communists in large numbers, as everywhere in the big city"),45 or of embarrassment in having to admit failure on this crucial issue. A few pastors were more explicit in venting their frustrations. From St. Mauritius (Mülheim): "Half of the workers are Socialists and read their press."46 Gleuel, a mining community with a population over 90 percent Catholic, was described as "the [district] headquarters for the SPD and KPD. Everything is presented in the sharpest political manner. . . . Hardly anywhere else is there so much rabble-rousing as in Gleuel . . . everything is permitted . . . the people are very dishonest."47 In some especially "red" districts, respondents underscored their difficult position by giving election results showing the SPD's and KPD's domination over the Center.48

Occasionally, the reports speak of the KPD exhibiting overt hostility to the Church. The most striking example of this comes from St. Antonius in Cologne-Mülheim, a parish covering one of Cologne's most depressed industrial districts. The pastor's description from late 1932 ran: "8600 souls; barracks district; Sozis and Kozis of both sexes . . . three streets settled with unemployed by the city. Work is scarce, poverty and

"Examples are the Liebfrauen and Herz Jesu parishes in Cologne-Mülheim. Pfarrer Förster, "Visitation," May 31, 1925, and November 1, 1930. GVA Cologne-Mülheim/Liebfrauen 3; and Pfarrer Goebbels, "Visitation," June 5, 1925, and November 5, 1930. GVA Cologne-Mülheim/Herz-Jesu 2.

"Pfarrer Joseph Trockel, "Visitation," June 8, 1926. GVA Cologne/St. Maria Lyskirchen 12. (Trockel repeated this answer verbatim in the 1931 visitation report).

"Pfarrer Könn, "Visitation," September 20, 1921. GVA Cologne-Mülheim/St. Mauritius 2. The parish contained approximately 6,000 members, of whom 80 percent were working-class.

47Pfarrer Griiter, "Visitation," May 9, 1929. GVA Gleuel 5.

"For example, in the May, 1924, Reichstag elections in Gleuel the KPD and SPD gained over twice as many votes as the Center (KPD—795 votes; SPD—276 votes—Marxist total: 1,071 votes; Center—501 votes). Pferrer Griiter, "Visitation," June 1, 1921. GVA Gleuel 5. In 1930 the Mülheim parish St. Antonius returned three times as many Marxist votes as for the Center (KPD-1,707 votes; SPD—1,652 votes—Marxist total: 3,359 votes; Center—1,161 votes). Pfarrer Röntgen, "Visitation," October 10, 1930. GVA Cologne-Mülheim/St. Antonius 3| Ln July, 1931, the miners of Knapsack gave a similar margin of support to the parties of the left (KPD-654 votes; SPD—606 votes—Marxist total: 1,260 votes; Center—475 votes). Knapsack's population was 75 percent Catholic. Pferrer P Derkum, "Bericht über die Haus- und Kapellen-Mission in Knapsack vom 25.1.1931 bis 8.31931." GVA Knapsack 4.

squalor, children are raised hostile to religion . . . seventy red flags in two streets."49 The parish was one of the leading Communist strongholds in Cologne, and the local Catholics surely felt themselves under siege: "Every evening there are Communist meetings. Songs. Vulgar attacks on the pastor, church doors dirtied [with graffiti?]."50 A few days later, the beleaguered priest again described the tumultuous atmosphere: "Every evening music, songs and gatherings on the street—not so much like Venice as Moscow!"51

However, such direct attacks on the Church were exceptional. Most Cologne workers preferred to show their discontent by withdrawing from organized religion. Typical was the situation described by the pastor of St. Severin, located in the heart of the working-class district in Cologne's South Side, who characterized his parishioners as "not hostile to religion, although they have become indifferent through need of all sorts, but still basically Catholic."52 In many parishes with strong SPD and KPD support, especially those in Cologne's South Side, St. Antonius in Mülheim, and some of the brown-coal mining communities, from 60 to 75 percent of the men neglected their Easter obligation.53 Another large group of parishes shows a lower rate of refusal, between 40 to 50 percent. However, because these figures are for the total parish population, they may mask a higher proportion of men who avoided the Church.54 However, it must be noted that reports of political radicalization do not always correlate with a drastic decline in religious participation. Thus, in Humboldt Colony and Gleuel, both bastions of the

"Bericht des Pfarrers Johannes Röntgen über die in der Pfarre St. Antonius in Köln-Mülheim vom 28. Sept. bis 14. Oktober 1932 abgehaltene Volksmission." GVA Cologne-Mülheim/St. Antonius 4.

"Pfarrer Röntgen,"Visitation," October 10, 1930. GVA Cologne-Mülheim/St. Antonius 4. For an example of the Marxist parties' vast electoral support in this parish, see note 48.

"Pfarrer Röntgen, "Volksmission," GVA Cologne-Mülheim/St. Antonius 4.

""Bericht des Pfarrers Th. Schweitzer über die in der Pfarre S. Mauritius in Köln-Altstadt vom 27. Oktober bis 3. November 1929 abgehaltene Volksmissions-Erneurerung," in GVA Köln/St. Mauritus 14.

"Key parishes and rates of neglect include: Cologne/St. Mauritius (1929 and 1931: 70 to 75 percent of the parish—Easter communion); Cologne/Herz Jesu (1921: 60 percent of the men—Sunday and Easter communions); Cologne/St. Maria Lyskirchen (1926 and 1931: 60 percent of the parish—Sunday and Easter communion); Cologne/St. Pantaleon (1931: 66 percent of the parish—Easter communion); and Cologne-Mülheim/St. Antonius (1930: 70 percent of the men—Easter communion). Sources: GVA Cologne/St. Mauritius 6, 14; GVA Cologne/Herz Jesu 3; GVA Cologne/St. Maria Lyskirchen 12; GVA Cologne/St. Pantaleon 9; and GVA Cologne-Mülheim/St. Antonius 3.

MGVA Cologne/St. Pantaleon 9; GVA Cologne/Humboldt Colony 5; GVA Cologne-Ehrenfeld/St. Joseph 4; GVA Cologne-Ehrenfeld/St. Anna 2; and GVA Gleuel 5.

left-wing parties, 50 to 70 percent of the adult male Catholic population fulfilled their Sunday and Easter duties.55

Despite such instances, however, the overall trend was undeniable: the great majority of Cologne's Catholic workers stood on the far periphery of the confessional community, without substantive ties to either the religion, the institutions, or the culture of the Church. Clerical critics charged, probably correctly, that even those who maintained a nominal confessional identity did so not out of genuine conviction—many lacked even a rudimentary knowledge of the basic tenets of Christianity or Catholicism—but rather out of an unthinking acceptance of family custom. Their faith was thus highly superficial, vulnerable to disappointment and destruction.56 The official response to these conditions signaled church leaders' admission that the working class was already largely lost to Catholicism. Church leaders now treated working-class districts as mission territories whose inhabitants had to be regained for the faith through a process of revival, if not conversion. This was not to be achieved through the Catholic Workers' Clubs, whose appeal was clearly limited and which are scarcely mentioned in the visitation reports. Instead, to regain its working-class members the Church reverted to the traditional institution of the Volksmission, or popular revival mission, thus implicitly abandoning "social Catholicism" in favor of an older, simpler, and more familiar form of popular piety. In that the revival missions were promoted heavily throughout the depression era, it is likely that their clerical sponsors hoped to exploit the climate of anxiety to regain the Church's popular legitimacy in its traditional role as the comforter and protector of the weak, offering workers and their families hope and consolation through a return to traditional religious beliefs and practices.

From several detailed accounts in the parish records it is possible to recreate a composite picture of the methods and results of the revival missions.57 The latter were, if nothing else, meticulously organized. Preparations typically included four weeks of intensive publicity, which

"Pfarrer MoU, "Visitation," June 3, 1925, and August 18, 1930. GVA Cologne/Humboldt Colony 5; and Pferrer Griiter, "Visitation," May 9, 1929. GVA Gleuel 5.

^Höfer^"Vom Seelenstand des noch katholischen Arbeiters," pp. 77-78.

"This account is based upon the following sources: Pferrer Meinertz to EGy "Bericht über die Hausmission in St. Severin 1927," November 15, 1927, in GVA Cologne/St. Severin 11; Pfarrer Stühlen to EGy May 12, 1928 (report on the Volksmission held in St. Mauritius parish March 24 to April 10, 1927), and "Bericht des Pfarrers Th. Schweitzer über die in der Pferre S. Mauritius in Köln-Altsstadt vom 27. Oktober bis 3. November 1929 abgehaltene Volksmissions-Erneuerung" (original emphasis), both in GVA Cologne/St. Mauritius

included visits to every household in the parish by lay workers, and which might be augmented by a charity drive to attract sympathy for the coming crusade. The parish register was also updated and made the basis for a systematic division of the parish: thus, St. Severin's 17,000 parishioners were broken down into seven districts and forty-nine precincts. Such techniques made it possible to draw up precise personnel lists on a family-by-family basis which would prove invaluable for later supervision.

Once underway, the missions followed a similarly methodical approach. The four to eight-week tenure of these events allowed the visiting mission team (usually half a dozen strong) enough time to develop a feel for local conditions while also building parishioners' trust and interest. In a few cases, as in St. Severin, the team rotated through neighborhoods on a weekly basis. More commonly, the missionaries targeted cohorts on the basis of age and gender, working up from the least to the most resistant groups. In these cases, the activities began with several days devoted to children, who besides being the easiest group to impress, were also supposed to work as unknowing propagandists for the mission at home. The mission then proceeded with the women and teenage girls, followed by the men and youths. For each group the missionaries followed the same hectic schedule, consisting of three or four sermons a day, weekly communion, and special evening celebrations (church holidays, Marian devotions, etc.). In addition, the mission teams placed a high priority on home visitations. Aided by the revised parish registers, each priest made personal contact with up to 100 to 120 households per week. In some cases, the teams used these visits to distribute numbered coupons, which the recipients then handed in when they attended one of the mission events. This was a major advance in clerical control, allowing the organizers to monitor individual participation and to make follow-up visits to put pressure on those who initially stayed away.

What was the overall impact of such intensive labors? At best, the results could be judged as modest. True, outright opposition was rare, oc-

14; Pfarrer Meinerk, "Bericht über die Voksmission in Köln-Kalk vom 12.-26. Sept. 1920. Gehalten von den Vätern der Gesellschaft Jesu," in GVA Cologne-Kalk/St. Joseph 10; "Bericht des Pfarrers Johannes Röntgen über die in der Pferre St. Antonius in Köln-Mülheim von 28. Sept. bis 14. Oktober 1932 abgehaltene Volksmission," in GVA Cologne-Mülheim/St. Antonius 4; and "Bericht des Pfarrers E Derkum, über die in der Pferre St. Joseph in Knapsack vom 25. Januar bis 8. März 1931 abgehaltene Volksmission" (two drafts, dated July 3 and Jury 14, 1931),in GVA Knapsack 4.

curring only in the most hard-core Communist districts, and the clergy's immediate reactions were often highly positive, dwelling on the highly visible participation of parishioners who had neglected their church duties for years, even decades. Yet as follow-up projects discovered, many of those who appeared during the mission apparently did so either out of curiosity or the excitement of the occasion, and soon fell back out of the Church's grasp. Nor were the missions very successful in reaching their main target group, male workers, whose participation rates rarely exceeded 50 percent in spite of the considerable pressures outlined above. Communist supporters, in particular, proved highly resistant to all attempts to bring them back to the Catholic fold. The other fruits of the missions were quite small relative to the total size of the parishes: typically, a few dozen confessionally mixed marriages put in good standing and an even smaller number of individual reconciliations with the Church, conversions, or cancellations of official withdrawals from the Church. In sum, despite isolated cases of short-term success, the revival missions were ineffective in halting Catholic labor's ongoing estrangement from the confessional religious and political community.

Church leaders' decision to revert to traditional forms of popular piety to recapture the working class, as illustrated by the Cologne revival missions, and their disappointing outcome, are indicative of the larger, paradigmatic gulf that separated the institutional Church from most Catholic workers under the republic. German church leaders envisioned a cultural, spiritual solution to the division and disorientation that characterized Weimar politics and society. Consequently, apart from defending the Church's prerogatives over traditional issues such as education, public morality, and the family, the bishops remained largely distant toward the new democratic order. Far from encouraging Catholics to participate in finding political, material solutions to the pressing social and economic problems of the time, many clergy and theologians criticized such striving for social reform as shallow, inadequate, and harmful insofar as it distracted the faithful from addressing the deeper, spiritual roots of Germany's troubled condition. German church leaders in this period thus favored a return to a narrowly defined religious renewal, seeing in a return to the traditional values and forms of Catholic piety the key to a long-term healing of German society. Primary features of this development included an emphasis on the doctrine of the Church as the mystical body of Christ, with its imagery of the organic, spiritual unity of believers, and its actualization through liturgical renewal at the parish level. Consequently, religious revival was

inwardly focused, aimed at reconstituting a personal sense of meaningful belonging in the larger church community, socially and symbolically represented through the religious life of the local parish. Such a seamless, conflict-free community, or Volksgemeinschaft, would in turn be a model and a source of spiritual power for overcoming the conflicts plaguing German society as a whole. Finally, and very importantly, this program for the spiritual renewal of German Catholicism represented a major reassertion of the traditional powers of the clergy. The liturgical movement, for example, exalted the status of the parish priest by virtue of his function in officiating over the central rituals of personal and collective spirituality. The focus on the local parish as the most important center of religious life further reinforced each priest's authority over his congregation. The return to "altar and parish" as the building blocks of the religious community thus entailed a restoration of the traditional hierarchical structures, roles, and power relations of the Catholic community. In such an order the laity was relegated to an instrumental function, a necessary but clearly subordinate auxiliary of the clergy in the spirit of the Catholic Action program initiated by Pope Pius XI. Lay associations with occupationally specific interests and the potential for autonomous action such as the Catholic Workers' Clubs, once regarded as the chief means of preserving a Catholic influence on secular society, were now criticized for encouraging a selfish, interest-group mentality that tore at the essential unity of believers represented by the parish.[58]

The conservative renewal movement did achieve a degree of success. Some elements within the Catholic community, notably portions of the youth movement, responded enthusiastically to the emphases on spiritual community, liturgy, and personal piety.[59] The ideal of a mystical Catholic Volksgemeinschaft as the source of national rejuvenation also attracted much support from conservative Catholics and idealistic members of the clergy, including several high Catholic labor leaders such as August Pieper, the head of the mass social educational association, the Volksverein für das katholische Deutschland.[60] But workers, for the most part, remained indifferent to the conservative agenda for

"This discussion is based upon Hurten, op. cit., pp. 41-48, especially p. 45, and pp. 131-143. See also his summary of the same issues in idem, Kurze Geschichte des deutschen Katholizismus 1800-1960 (Mainz, 1986), pp. 190-191, 199.

"Hurten, Deutsche Katholiken, pp. 124-129, and idem, Kurze Geschichte, pp. 191-194.

60Tlle basic discussion of this theme is Ritter, op. cit., pp. 415-428. Ritter blamed Pieper's preoccupation with abstract theory at the expense of sacrificing the Volksverein's previous extensive engagement with current social-political issues as a major reason for the organization's drastic loss of membership, which fell from approximately

religious and cultural renewal. Sermons on the mystical body of Christ or the rhetoric of Volksgemeinschaft, if unaccompanied by tangible social and economic reform, were unlikely to impress working-class Catholics living under systemic economic and social duress. The cult of liturgy and the idealization of the local parish represented an attempt to redirect modern pastoral care according to a romanticized image of the pre-industrial religious community, in which personal ties of neighborhood, occupation, and religion intertwined to connect parishioners with one another and the benevolent rule of the clergy. Conditions in modern urban industrial cities as outlined above, however, almost always rendered these expectations meaningless. Furthermore, workers whose experience at the hands of Catholic employers belied any sense of spiritual fraternity, whose Catholic political representatives had consistently ignored their basic needs, and whose spiritual leaders were, with few exceptions, distant, unfamiliar figures harboring suspect political and social views, had few reasons to be concerned with a religious revival which promised a return to traditional relations of power and subordination. Under these circumstances, the meager harvests of the revival missions and the widening sense of alienation and apathy apparent from the Cologne visitation reports merely reflect the broad, perhaps unbridgeable chasm which had opened between the worldviews and perceptions of church leaders and their erstwhile working-class followers by the end of the Weimar era.

Catholic workers' sense of their confessional and class identities, and their relationships to the Church and the Marxist parties over the course of the Weimar Republic, defy easy generalization. As this study has shown, even in the heartland of German Catholicism workers decisively moved away from the institutions and practices of the dominant confessional community, and opened themselves toward the alternative cultures of Social Democracy and, especially after 1930, Communism. Remarkably, however, such political and ideological radicalization failed to break the cohesion of the Cologne working-class community. Rather, widespread alienation from the religious and political institutions of Catholicism was sublimated into a culture based to a surprising extent on mutual toleration. Testimony from oral histories indicates that Catholic and Marxist beliefs coexisted peacefully among workmates, neighbors, and family members.61 Except for the most militant activists,

655,000 in 1920 to 417,000 by 1928. Hurten closely follows Ritter's arguments in Deutsche Katholiken, pp. 118-123, and Kurze Geschichte, pp. 194-197, 206-208.

61A provocative article on this theme is Alexander von Plato,"'Ich bin mit allen gut ausgekommen,' oder War die Ruhrarbeiterschaft vor 1933 in politische Lager zerspalten?" in

such ideological differences appear to have been subordinated to workers' immediate interest in maintaining the solidarity of neighborhood, family, and—ironically for doctrinaire Marxists—class. Tellingly, the strength of this basic social solidarity, which complemented workers' specific commitments to the ideologies and institutions of Catholicism and Marxism, was such that the National Socialists were unable to make significant inroads into the Cologne working-class community until the dissolution of the republic in 193362

Such a flexible, syncretic culture could produce startling results: while in some "red" parishes workers avoided the Church, in others workers reconciled their political and religious beliefs and conscientiously received Easter communion. Certainly, a minimal core of Catholic identity remained firm regardless of political affiliation—across all of the parishes studied, for example, including the most fervent strongholds of the KPD, the number of unbaptized infants was negligible throughout this period. However, such residual connections to traditional Catholic identity pale into insignificance in relation to the evidence presented here on workers' deepening political, religious, and cultural alienation. Thus, in the working-class parishes of Cologne, and elsewhere in Weimar Germany, the Church was quickly ceasing to matter as an institution by the end of the republic, its efforts to reclaim relevance doomed by the breadth of the social cleavages dividing the Catholic community as well as the nation at large. This process was certainly hastened by the severe economic crisis of the depression and the

Lutz Niethammer (ed.), "Die Jahre weiß man nicht, wo man die heute hinsetzen soll." Faschismus-Erfahrungen im Ruhrgebiet (Berlin-Bonn, 1977), pp. 30-65. Also see the interviews from Cologne by Käthe Schlecther-Bonnesen (on practicing Catholics giving support to the Social Democrats), Wilhelm Fischer (on growing up with a mixed Catholic-Social Democratic background), and Bernhard Klöckner (whose family sent him to a Catholic school while receiving the Communist newspaper, and whose uncles were evenly divided between the KPD and the Center) in ". . . vergessen kann man die Zeit nicht, das ist nicht möglich . . . ", pp. 32-35, 42-44, 44-45.

62The NSDAP appears to have drawn almost all of its support in Cologne from a middle-class and lower-middle class constituency, with most of its gains coming from defectors from the other middle-class parties, new voters, and previous non-voters. "The results of recent historical electoral research which show significant gains for the NSDAP among the working-class before 1933 are only very conditionally applicable to Cologne, since they draw primarily upon groups of non-Catholic and non-socialist labor which were hardly represented here." Rüther, op. cit., p. 77. Also see Hugo Stehkampfer (ed.), Widerstand und Verfolgung in Köln 1933-1945, 2d ed. (Cologne, 1981), pp. 19-26. Notably, in the Reichstag elections of Jury and November, 1932, the electoral district Cologne-Aachen gave the lowest returns to the Nazis in the entire country. For a summary of Reichstag election results, see Table 1 in the text.

accompanying social and psychological dislocations. It is probable, however, that the depression's primary impact was to accelerate a trend toward working-class distancing from the Church that was already well under way, one that would have proceeded even without the extraordinary pressures caused by the economic and political collapse which ultimately led to the death of German democracy.

Two final images, both generated by socially concerned clergy, epitomize the Church's deteriorating relationship to its working-class members at the end of the Weimar period. The first comes from an essay, written in 1927, entitled "On the Spiritual Condition of the Still-Catholic Worker." The author querulously concludes his analysis, much of which was distinguished by an unusually frank appraisal of the bleak conditions prevelant in urban parishes, by comparing the German church to Moses having to lead an uncomprehending, rebellious people through the desert.63 The second, written a year later, begins with the ominous declaration: "Millions and millions of men and women swear allegiance to socialism and communism. . . . The red flood becomes ever more frightening and threatening."64 The mixture of pride and anxiety, self-righteous frustration combined with fear of being swept away by vast and unmasterable forces that emerges from these two examples, testifies eloquently to the clergy's acute awareness of its rapidly diminishing influence within the Catholic working community.

"Höfer, op. cit., p. 78.
"Schulte, op. cit., p. 641.

A PARISH FOR THE BLACK CATHOUCS OF BOSTON

BY

William C. Leonard*

Introduction

It took almost thirty years to establish an all-black parish in Boston from the time of the first organized effort in 1917. Saint Richard's finally opened in 1946, staffed by Josephite priests, as the designated parish of the archdiocese serving the black Catholic community. The internal and public debate over the establishment of an all-black parish reveals an ambivalence, and sometimes contradictory attitude, among some whites and blacks toward racial integration, although often for different reasons. Throughout its history, black support for the parish was never unanimous, nor was the archdiocese's support unwavering, as the evidence will show. This attitude is nothing new, of course, and the debate continues today over the value of separatism versus integration, not only in matters of religion, but in secular ones as well, particularly education. The controversy also reveals much about the true feelings of local church officials toward the project. William Cardinal O'Connell flatly refused to consider the idea. His successor, Richard Cardinal Cushing, disagreed, even though he voiced concerns about the appearance of segregation. The parish opened on Cushing's insistence that blacks were in no way required to attend the church. Those favoring the establishment of St. Richard's saw the parish as a refuge from white-dominated parishes where they did not feel welcome. The parish closed in 1964, when it was sold to the city's redevelopment authority. For all intents and purposes, however, the parish community ended in April, 1962, when the church was made a mission of another church, St. Joseph's, and the Josephites left. Actually, St. Richard's fate was sealed by the late 1950s when the racial composition of Roxbury (where St. Richard's was located) began to change from mostly white to predominantly black. This population shift, in effect, ended the debate over the parish's value to the community because de facto African-American

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parishes were being established throughout the area as whites left. One specifically designated as such was no longer desirable or necessary, and the financial cost to maintain the church in a decaying and depopulating area was not feasible.

From interviews with former parishioners, it is clear that St. Richard's is an intricate part of their history as black Catholics. Today they share in a rich and varied history, shrouded in the fight for equality and acceptance in a largely unsympathetic white-run church. Their struggle, while often frustrating, seldom diminished their pride in being African-American and Catholic.1

The Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament: The Beginnings of a Community

The story of St. Richard's parish begins with the ministry of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament to Boston's black Catholic community in the early twentieth century. The order was founded by the heiress to the Drexel family fortune, Katharine Drexel of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in 1889. Upon the death of their father, Francis, Katharine and her two sisters inherited millions of dollars in the form of a trust. After much soul-searching, Katharine decided to enter the religious life in 1889. She joined the Sisters of Mercy convent in Pittsburgh. With the desire to work exclusively among blacks and Indians, Katharine established her own order with the help of her family trust and well-placed connections in Philadelphia, particularly the bishop.2

The Sisters were devoted to work among the Indians and "Colored" in the United States, organizing schools and other charitable endeavors for blacks. The order received canonical recognition in 1907. In August, 1914, the Sisters arrived in Boston, where they set up a "social service center" that administered to the sick, instructed the "ignorant," and pro-

'See the Boston Globe, July 12, 1992;August 27, 1989;August 3, 1989; February 9, 1992; May 27, 1990; February 29, 1988; and February 26, 1989. See also Albert J. Raboteau, "Preaching the Word & Doing It: Black Catholics in America," Commonweal, November 17, 1989, p. 631; See also idem, "Black Catholics and Afro-American Religious History: Autobiographical Reflections," U.S. Catholic Historian, 5 (1986), 119-127. Interviews with Theresa Boles, October 20, 1993; Paul Jones, October 26, 1993;Joseph and Evy King, October 10, 1993; and telephone interview with Sterling F. Savoy, October 21, 1993

2Drexel's life has been examined in a number of biographies. For full accounts see Katherine Burton, The Golden Door.The Life ofKatharine Drexel (New York, 1957), and Sister Consuela Marie Duffy, S.B.S., Katharine Drexel:A Biography (Philadelphia, 1965).

vided "food and clothing for the poor, besides conducting a sodality and sewing circle for colored women."3 Their mission consisted of little more than a place where black Catholics could come and were made to feel welcome. At the same time, gathering them together helped create a community. Shortly after their arrival, blacks began articulating their desire for a church.

Even before 1914, however, some local black Catholics were presenting a case for their own church. As early as 1906, there was talk of forming a black parish to meet the needs of a growing and vocal population. Boston's overall black population had never been very large in relation to the total population, but by the turn of the century it was growing. Between 1880 and 1920 the black population increased from 5,873 to 16,350.4 How many of these were Catholic is uncertain, but the fact that some blacks felt it was time for a church of their own suggests there were enough Catholics among the black population to warrant a church. An article in the Pilot describes the local situation and argues for "a separate church" for Boston's black Catholic community: "It is quite true . . . that Negro Catholics have been made at home in any Catholic Church which they have chosen to attend, and that they have attended in fair numbers from time to time, especially the Cathedral, the Immaculate Conception and St. Joseph's West End. . . . But for all that they prefer a church to themselves." The article's author noted the enthusiastic welcome shown by whites and blacks to the black priest, Father J. H. Dorsey, when he said Mass in 1902 at the Cathedral of the Holy Cross.5 Boston's black newspaper, the Guardian, reported that Dorsey's visit to Boston was "received with much enthusiasm by the Catholic people of this city."6 Establishing a parish that blacks could call their own would also attract non-Catholic blacks to the church and create a community, it was hoped: "They feel that it will develop the sense of parish responsibility in Negro Catholics, and simplify the work of the priests in reaching those who are or should be of the Church; that a spiritual home, so to speak, will draw many by the strong bond of blood

'Robert Lordjohn E. Sexton, and Edward T. Harrington, History of the Archdiocese of Boston in the Various Stages of its Development, 1604 to 1943 (3 vols.; Boston, 1945), ??, 574-575; John T. Gillard, S.S.J., The Catholic Church and the American Negro (Baltimore, 1929), pp. 44-45, 122, 208.

'Elizabeth Hafkin PIeck, Black Migration and Poverty: Boston 1865-1900 (New York, 1979), p. 209.

The ftfoi.August 18, 1906.

"Quoted in Robert C. Hayden, African-Americans in Boston: More than 350 Years (Boston, 1991), p. 131.

who might otherwise be estranged."7 That the author of the article in the Pilot describes a non-racial, harmonious atmosphere for blacks in Boston's Catholic churches obscures the fact that some black Catholics felt the need for a black parish. If it was not outright discrimination they felt, then it must have been some form of uneasiness or "not fitting in" on the part of those blacks who attended predominantly white parishes. In 1912, when the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament indicated the possibility of their coming to Boston, they inquired about the need for a future parish for blacks.8 When the Sisters arrived they reported "they found the colored Catholics struggling under discouragements."9

How many black Catholics were there in Boston when the Sisters arrived? Population figures for this period are sketchy, but there does appear to have been a sizable community. The Josephite and historian John T. Gillard estimated the black Catholic population in Boston in 1920 at around 1,000 (out of a total black population of about 17,000 in a city of about 700,000), located mostly in Boston's South End. A special Mass was established for them at old St. Patrick's church (under the direction of the Sisters) in Roxbury, but most preferred to attend St. Philip's parish, where the pastor estimated there were about 350 black parishioners.10 This estimate, even if high, shows that many blacks preferred to attend St. Philip's over attending Mass with the Sisters. St. Philip's probably had the largest number of black parishioners at this time because when the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament arrived in Boston, they established their convent near St. Philip's at 21 Worcester Square in the South End.11 In 1913, Mother Mary Katharine Drexel wrote Cardinal O'Connell that a man, a local black Catholic, representing "one of the best elements of Colored Catholics," claimed that there were between 900 and 1,000 "practical [practicing]" Catholics in Boston. He also estimated that the Episcopalians had "perverted" 200 to 300 West Indians and that there were another 200 to 300 "careless or indifferent" Catholics in Boston. She noted that blacks wanted a church, a priest, and a school of their own where they could meet socially but that they did not want to be segregated or barred from attending their local parish, another indication of their dilemma over whether to separate themselves or not. She also proposed that "Colored professionals"

The Pilot, August 18, 1906.

"Drexel to O'Connell, June 10, 1912, Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament Papers (SBSP)1 Archives of the Archdiocese of Boston (AAB).

'Lord et al, op. cit., m, 574.

'°Gillard,op.ctt.,p. 121.

"Drexel to O'Connell, August 17, 1914,SBSP1AAB.

would be attracted to the church and that a parish might help stop religiously mixed marriages.12 Black Catholics appear to have been numerous enough in Cambridgeport that the Sisters contemplated opening a Sunday school to meet the needs of the 100 or so Catholics there.13

Talk of an all-black parish seems to have fallen on deaf ears at the Chancery, however; for in April, 1917, a number of blacks met and formulated a plan of action. They petitioned the cardinal:

> We the undersigned, members of the colored Catholic Congregation of Boston and greater Boston, have come together as a body to draw up this petition to ask your Eminence if you will please give us a church and a spiritual director and also the good sisters to take charge of our children.
>
> There are large numbers of children baptized every year. A good number of which strays away from the church because they have not yet been taught the Catholic doctrine, and are not fortified well enough to cast off the many enemies 'who are laying in wait for them.
>
> If it meets the approval of your Eminence to grant us a favorable reply of the petition we know that it will only be a matter of a few years when you will be proud of your new congregation.14

Forty men representing Boston, Cambridge, Somerville, Everett, Waltham, and Newton signed the petition. Foremost among them were John P. Wooten, the author of the letter to O'Connell, and Robert Ruffin of Boston, the former Afro-American Catholic Congress delegate. Twenty-eight of the forty men were from Boston and mostly lived in the West and South Ends, and lower Roxbury.15

Their request went without reply. In 1920 they were compelled to write the cardinal again. This time they framed their argument in terms O'Connell might find more persuasive:

> Like all other races we desire to have our own Church. . . . Many of our Catholic young men and women coming from the South are neglecting

"Drexel to O'Connell, February 12, 1913, SBSP1AAB.

"Sister Mary Leo to Drexel, September 15, 1914, SBSP1AAB.

"Wooten to O'Connell, April 30, 1917, St. Richard's Parish File (SRPF)1AAB.

"Boston City Directory, 1917. Their addresses are consistent with the residential patterns of blacks in Boston at this time. The overall black residential patterns can be best described, for its time, as shifting away from the traditional centers of the West End and north slope of Beacon Hill to the upper South End and Roxbury. After 1895, blacks began moving in large numbers to the South End. By 1900 almost thirty percent of Boston's blacks lived in an area bordered to the north by Northampton and I.enox streets and to the south by Warwick and Sussex streets. By 1914 the percentage increased to forty percent. (Based on estimates by John Daniels,/n Freedom's Birthplace:A Study of the Boston Negroes (Boston, 1914), pp. 144-146.

> their Faith because there is no special one in charge of Negro interests in Boston. Of course we are aware of the fact that we might attend any Catholic Church but still like all other races we like our own. For an instance: Irish Parishes are interested in the Irish question whilst we are deeply interested in the Negro question. There is no way for us to be useful and of assistance to our people unless we take a personal interest in our Church and we cannot take that amount of interest necessary into that of another.

They also suggested that "the majority of the colored Catholics [in Boston] bear a similar feeling in this matter" and noted that Pope Benedict XV "wishes that all races should have everything they need in regard to religious training and teaching."16 Fifty-three men signed this petition, many of the same as in 1917.

They seemed to have more faith in the Holy See's ability to help their cause than in Cardinal O'ConneU's, however. A year later they went over O'ConneU's head and appealed directly to the Apostolic Delegate, the Holy See's representative in the United States, Giovanni Bonzano.17 Bonzano told O'Connell to look into the matter. O'Connell replied that he was considering the idea but that the matter is a "particularly difficult one to take care of, inasmuch as the colored Catholic people are themselves divided on the question and are widely scattered."18 O'ConneU's characterization that they were "divided" contradicts the petitioner's beUef that the majority of black CathoUcs supported an aU-black parish. Also blacks, Protestant or CathoUc,were not "scattered" in Boston. On the contrary, blacks were concentrated within a few weU-defined neighborhoods for the most part. O'ConneU told Bonzano that "once before an attempt was made to bring them together but failed through lack of interest on their part." He was probably referring to the faUed Mass at old St. Patrick's and the large number of blacks who chose to attend St. Philip's instead. Whether a majority of black CathoUcs supported either petition is uncertain; it is doubtful, given what happened at St. Patrick's. It appears the community was at least divided on the issue. O'ConneU relayed Drexel's desire to see them brought together at the Sisters' chapel. In the end, however, he adopted a wait-and-see attitude.19

By the 1930's steady progress was being made at the Sister's mission, particularly in conversions, but blacks stUl did not have a parish of their

"Wooten to O'Connell.August 2, 1920, SRPF1AAB.
"Bonzano to O'Connell, May 28, 1921,SRPF1AAB.
"O'Connell to Bonzanojune 2, 1921, SBSP.AAB.
'"Ibid.

own.20 Whether they stopped advocating one is uncertain but unlikely. They may have felt that it was a lost cause, given O'ConneU's opposition, and with the tough times brought on by the Great Depression, not foremost upon their minds. The Sisters continued with their mission work. In June, 1933, they asked for and received permission to go into the Catholic schools and talk about their work.21 Their superior in Boston, Mother Mary Charles, reported that 300 chüdren were coming to reUgious instruction at the convent weekly and that twenty-five adults were in the evening convert group, instructed by Father Richard Cushing.22 The Sisters recognized that the black population was shifting away from the South and West Ends and that they needed to be nearer the community if they hoped to accompUsh more. They decided to relocate and eventuaUy settled on Vernon Street, a block and a half from St. Francis de Sales.23 Almost a year later, O'ConneU laid and blessed the cornerstone for the new convent.24 In a letter to the cardinal, Mary Charles expressed the desire that the mission "become an aU-alive soul stimulating center" that would attract many new people. She also described the local community: "our Colored people attend Mass at their parish church but rarely have they any other contact with CathoUc life; . . . very few of the Colored CathoUc children are in CathoUc schools." Also, not many adults belonged to CathoUc societies.25 That many black CathoUcs had Uttle contact with "CathoUc life" indicates that within the predominantly white parishes they attended, some were made to feel unwelcome, for whatever reason. That they were asking for a parish of then· own suggests that they felt they needed an aU-black parish in which they could feel comfortable. If anything, an aU-black parish would have meant traveling farther to church for many because there was no lack of churches in the area to which they could go.

Determining white CathoUc interest in or support for their feUow, but black, CathoUcs is difficult. One former regular visitor to the Sisters' mission remembers that whUe a white women's CathoUc group was involved with supporting the mission, they had Uttle, if any, contact with blacks.26 That assessment is true for the most part of Boston's history

"Gillard, Colored CathoUcs in the United States (Baltimore, 1941), p. 33.

"Drexel to O'ConneU, June 5, 1933, SBSP1AAB.

22Mother Mary Charles to O'ConneU, November 30, 1933, SBSP1AAB.

"Mary Charles to E A. Burk, December 14, 1933, SBSP1AAB.

"Mary Charles to O'Connell, November 4, 1934; December 5, 1934; December 9, 1934, SBSP1AAB.

"Mary Charles to O'ConneUJanuary 4, 1935, SBSP1AAB.

^Interview with Paul Jones, October 26, 1993.

and raises the issue of race relations between mostly Irish CathoUcs and blacks. Most Bostonians had Uttle contact with blacks. Historically, Boston has had a reputation among blacks as the "Athens of America," a Uberal city regarding racial matters. The reaUty of the situation shows that racial issues have been a problem throughout Boston's history. Irish CathoUc immigrants and blacks competed for jobs, souring their relationships ever since. One prominent Irish CathoUc, John Boyle O'ReiUy, did speak up on behalf of blacks and racial equaUty during the late nineteenth century, but he was the exception rather than the rule.27

Cushing's involvement with the Sisters began in the mid-1930's. Cushing was assigned to work with the blacks and had taken on their reUgious instruction, particularly of the adult group that met every Monday night. On May 19, 1935, Cushing baptized fifty blacks; a week later they received their First Holy Communion. Also, the previous February the Society of Colored CathoUc Action, a men's organization, was formed with the help of Cushing.28 Cushing's work among the group at the mission is remembered fondly by former St. Richard's parishioners. It is no wonder that he, and not O'ConneU, was the force behind St. Richard's founding.29

Cushing's apostolate was only part-time with the Sisters, however, and the need for a permanent priest was crucial according to their superior in Boston. Mary Charles suggested that the number of blacks was increasing and that much work needed to be done, particularly among the Cape Verdean blacks, who made up a large portion of the black CathoUc population in Boston. WhUe many black CathoUcs outside Boston were not receiving the sacraments on a regular basis, they usuaUy had their cnUdren baptized CathoUc, and were not, at least, joining the Protestants. Many blacks during this time were coming to Boston and Cambridge and they needed to be looked after by a full-time priest.30 The number of black CathoUcs increased throughout the 1930's: between 1938 and 1939 the archdiocese reported seventy-two conversions and eighty-one baptisms among blacks alone.31 By 1940, the black CathoUc population in Boston was estimated at 2,635 (approximately ten percent of the black population) or 849 famiUes, a large

"John Tracy ElHs (ed.), Documents of American Catholic History (Milwaukee, 1956), pp. 447-452.

»Mary Charles to O'Connell, May 8, 1935, SBSP1AAB.

sInterview with Joseph and Evy King; interview with Sterling Savoy.

»Mary Charles to Phelan June 31, 1937, SBSP1AAB.

"Gillard, Colored Catholics, p. 144.

increase since 1928 when they were estimated to number only 1,000. Of these people, only four percent of Boston's black CathoUc community were regularly attending services at the Sisters' mission, however.[32] Even if the estimate of four percent is on the conservative side, the majority preferred to stay within the traditional parish settings.

By the faU of 1938 the Josephites were reportedly coming to Boston to work among the community and with the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament. The Sisters were upset over their coming and wanted to know what the Josephites' status was regarding "parochial rights" over blacks.[33] The Josephites' official arrival was delayed until 1945 when Father Cushing, now Archbishop, invited them to Boston.[34] Previously, they had been in Boston working with the Sisters at their mission center in a limited manner.

St. Richard's Parish: "For the Convenience of Negro Catholics"

St. Joseph's Society of the Sacred Heart, the Josephites, is the only CathoUc reUgious order devoted exclusively to ministry in the Afro-American community. From 1946 until April, 1962, they staffed St. Richard's parish. The Josephites were founded by members of the MiU HUl Fathers from England who came to the United States in the nineteenth century. With the death of Cardinal O'Connell in 1944 and the elevation of Cushing to the see, Boston's black CathoUcs finaUy received what they had so long desired: a church to caU their own. St. Richard's was the "offspring of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament Mission" and was founded by many of the people, and their children, who went to the Sisters' chapel.[35] It is not surprising that without the Sisters' efforts in bringing together the black CathoUcs of Boston, St. Richard's might never have been founded. WhUe blacks were attending the Sisters' mission during the thirties and early forties, their desire to start a parish was staUed, if not stopped aU together, and only restarted because of two fortunate events. In a letter to the Josephite Father Richard R. Early in Boston, the Superior General of the Josephites, Edward V Casserly, appraised the opportunity in Boston:

,2Ibid.,pp. 16,19,140.

»Mercedes to Drexel, October 18, 1938, St. Richard's Parish Files (SRPF)l Josephite Archives (JA)l Baltimore.

"Archdiocesan News Bureau Records (ANB)l November 21, 1962.

"Interview with Savoy.

> Recent events all definitely point to our starting a parish in Boston. The appointment of His Excellency, following on his interest in it for many years, was the most important of these events. But there is another fortunate one that ties in with the past and present. Father Maurice O'Connor, pastor of St. James, Arlington, wrote Father Pastorelli last month offering $50,000.00 for a church for the colored in Boston.36

The second of these two events was the immediate catalyst behind the project.

Casserly's letter reveals much more than who was responsible for creating the parish. It suggests that blacks in Boston at this time were not even entertaining the idea of a church of their own and that they were being manipulated into doing so:

> In connection with the proposed venture, the Archbishop suggests that you contact some respectable colored Catholic laymen without telling them of our plan and hopes. They should be made to see the opportunity of starting a parish for the special care of the colored and be brought to the point where they will present a petition to His Excellency, asking for such an establishment. This move is necessary in order to forestall any charge of segregation. ... I shall suggest to the Archbishop that at the time the new project is announced, he also issue a statement, in line [with] statements issued by the Archbishops of New York and Philadelphia, stating the purpose of the new foundation and assuring the people that they are still welcome to attend, as they choose, any Catholic church besides that which is created especially for them.37

Casserly stressed the need for "diplomacy" concerning the matter. From the outset, he and Cushing recognized the risk of appearing to promote segregation. This is not to say that blacks did not support the idea of a parish, even if manipulated into doing so, because when the parish started it did not lack for parishioners.

Early in 1945 plans got under way for the parish, as did the debate over its usefulness and desirabiUty. Opposition came from people who saw an aU-black parish as segregation. In April, 1945, an article, "In the Course of Events" by the Reverend WilUam L. Clayton of the Union Baptist Church in Maiden, Massachusetts, appeared in the Chronicle that attacked the establishment of St. Richard's parish.38 At the same time, Cushing was praised by Oswald Thomas, a local black CathoUc, for his

"Casserly to Early, November 20, 1944, SRPFJA.
"Casserly to Early, November 20, 1944, SRPF1JA.
^Chronicle, April 3, 1945.

support of the black community, particularly Cushing's backing of a bill prohibiting discrimination in employment before the legislature and his appearance at a Massacre Day meeting at FaneuU HaU. Thomas also noted support among non-CathoUcs for Cushing.39 A few months later, the Chronicle editoriaUzed against the church: "However good the Archbishop's intentions and whatever the local and seeming gain, the setting up of a colored National CathoUc church is a big step in the wrong direction."40 The paper obviously felt that a church "for the convenience of Negro CathoUcs"41 would lead to wide-scale segregation and second-class citizenship for black CathoUcs. At the same time, an article in the Chronicle supported Thomas's assessment that the church had support outside of Catholic circles. It also demonstrated the divisiveness of the issue inside black and white Protestant denominations. The paper reported on a meeting that took place among black and white Protestant ministers concerning the new church. White ministers thought that the black ministers would oppose the church and the spread of CathoUcism into Roxbury. They failed to gather the support they needed. A number of black ministers spoke up:

> Now that it seems that the Catholics are willing to take into their arms the Negro people, I am not willing to join in with our white Protestant brothers to persecute the people who have been liberal towards us. . . . For years I have been affected by the Catholic Mission [the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament's mission] around the corner from my church. Yet I would rather see my people treated like human beings on earth, and by the heads of the churches on earth, than to see them ignored and denied even the surface elements of the brotherhood of Christianity. If some have to go to heaven by way of the Catholics, I say let them.

Another minister caUed into question the racial attitudes of the white ministers:

> I have been pastor of one of the largest Baptist churches in this section of Boston for over 20 years . . . and I hardly know the pastors of some of the white churches hereabouts. . . . The White Baptists have told the colored people in no uncertain terms that they do not want them as members of their churches. The Catholics are willing to take in the "unwelcome." Hence, I am not interested here today in assisting our white brethren in persecuting the Catholics!'12

Thomas to Cushing, April 2, 1945, SRPF1AAB.

"Chronicle, June 30, 1945.

"The ftfof. April 6, 1946.

"Quoted in "Focal Point for Boston's Colored CathoUcs," St. Augustine's Messenger, XXTV (April, 1946), 81,91.

WhUe some black Protestant ministers had Uttle problem with the venture some black CathoUcs did. Nina HUl of Boston wrote Casserly:

> I feel I would be a poor Catholic if I did not voice a protest not only to the Archbishop but to you as Superior of the Josephites. The Statement that the Colored wanted a church of their own is not justified as no canvass to Colored Catholic families was made for any opinion—and in Boston we are not segregated to warrant such a thing. To say no segregation was in mind in setting up this church seems a farce to many of the Colored protesting—because it is definitely restricted to Colored Catholics only. We do not want or need a separate church in Boston and you are defeating your purpose by starting anything like that. You are out to convert a race—hundreds flock to the faith—because they find in that faith what lacks in all others—a chance to be equal. My people are fighting in a war to destroy just what you want to put across in Boston. . . . You might work for the colored but you have much to learn about the Northern Colored, least of all the Boston Colored. I hope you as well as our Archbishop will think this over seriously before going further into it. We are not Nationals and have no Mother tongue—we are Americans.43

Casserly repUed to HUl, stressing that there is to be no "segregating" and the economic and social benefits of bringing blacks together. He also claimed that members of the community approached Father Early about starting a church, implying that the idea was theirs and not the archdiocese's.

Later in May, Mariam Faulcon, a CathoUc, expressed herself on the issue, making an important assessment and observation concerning the racial climate between black and white CathoUcs in Boston:

> If the Archbishop wished merely to provide them with a parish nearer their own vicinity and had no desire to segregate them, he would have estabUshed another CATHOLIC Church to make room for the growing congregation. But he established a Negro Catholic Church. Of course, Negroes would be politely welcomed if they attended any other CathoUc Church but if they wished to become active members, I would be willing to wager that it would be diplomatically suggested that they go to the Negro Church, where they would be "happier" with their own people. If Archbishop Cushing wants to destroy racial prejudice, let him teach his white congregation to accept the Negro as an equal, because the Negro IS an equal. Let him understand that the only reason that Negroes might have desired a place of their own was because they have discovered that even in the midst of so-called Christians, racial prejudice is permitted to flourish.44

«HiU to Casserly, May 17, 1945, SRPF1JA.
"Chronicle, May 31, 1945.

This last comment is particularly revealing because it again raises the question of how blacks viewed the church and its treatment of racial issues. O'ConneU's support for the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament shows he was at least interested in those blacks who were CathoUc but he did Uttle beyond this. On the other hand Cushing genuinely cared for them and tried to improve their condition in Boston, particularly on the archdiocesan level. Just before he announced the plans for St. Richard's, Cushing also announced that the "archdiocesan seminary would give equal consideration to every candidate, regardless of race."[45] WhUe it does not appear there ever was a specific poUcy against admitting blacks, no one ever said there was not. In 1959 the pastor of St. Richard's, John Coyne, reported that whites in St. Francis de Sales in Roxbury would not receive communion from a black West Indian priest who had been working there.[46]

Ignoring the negative sentiments, Cushing, with the help of Father Early, set out to find a suitable place for a parish. Cushing received the first installment of $10,000 in May, 1945, from Father O'Connor.[47] Father Early coUected $5,000 from the local community in August, 1945, no smaU sum, and certainly an indication that the church had some support. It was finaUy decided that they would purchase an old Unitarian church located on the corner of Buena Vista and Fenno streets in Roxbury. The archdiocese, with the help of Father O'Connor, spent a considerable amount of money on the church in 1945 and 1946: $30,000 was spent on acquiring the buUding; $85,000 on renovations; and almost $1,900 on a new organ. In 1947, $6,750 was spent on a new rectory. Ln total, the archdiocese spent almost $125,000 on St. Richard's between 1945 and 1954.[48] This effort demonstrates Cushing's desire to see St. Richard's a success.

The opening and blessing was set for March 30, 1946. While the church was dedicated to St. Richard of Chichester, it actuaUy was named by the congregation in honor of their local "patron saint," Cardinal Cushing.[49] The Josephite Louis B. PastoreUi, a former Superior General, made the trip from Washington, D.C., to help with the ceremonies. PastoreUi noted the expense and attention given the church:

"Stephen J. Ochs, Desegregating the Altar: The Josephites and the Struggle for Black Priests, 1871-1960 (Baton Rouge, Louisiana, 1990), p. 388.

^Coyne to Thomas P. McNamara, S.S.J., Superior General, September 2, 1959; Coyne to McNamara, September 29, 1959, SRPFJA.

47Cushing to Jeremiah F. Minihan, Chancellor, May 21, 1945, SRPF.AAB.

"List of expenditures, SRPF.

49Ex-St. Richard's Parishioners to Cushing, SRPF, AAB.

> One thing is certain, St. Richards [sic] will ever be a source of joy to you, as will also be the fact that it was Your ExceUency's good fortune to give to the colored people of Boston such a fine and outstanding church building. This last fact means very much towards making a success of St. Richards [sic]. There is no church for the Colored in Boston that can even begin to compare to it. Class appeals even to the Colored folks.50

This last statement, particularly, raises some questions of how PastoreUi and the Josephites viewed the people they were trying to serve. Their EngUsh founder, Herbert Vaughan, championed the cause of native clergy and encouraged the ordination of blacks. Their first American superior general, John R. Slattery, also advocated, with the support of the Americanist wing of the hierarchy in America, the ordination of American blacks. Opposition to the ordination of blacks among many CathoUcs in the United States led to difficulty, and the more enUghtened poUcies of Vaughan and Slattery soon feU out of favor. It was not until weU into the twentieth century that African Americans were freely admitted without reservation into American seminaries. Whatever progress was made in the United States on black ordination was often at the insistence of the Holy See and sympathetic members of the Roman Curia.51 PastoreUi, in particular, was opposed to ordaining blacks. His view of blacks can be described as paternalistic at best.

Early in 1945 Cushing issued a statement that described the rationale behind the church's purchase and his intention that the church not be seen as a segregated parish. He stressed that the church was dedicated to the service of the "colored people of the area and the Archdiocese, insofar as they wish to avaU themselves of it and in accordance with the oft expressed wish of many devout CathoUcs of our colored Cummunity [sic]." Cushing continued by saying the church "wül have the status of a national parish" along the same Unes as "the ItaUans, French, Syrians, and other groups." Two other times Cushing stressed the fact that blacks would not be forced to attend St. Richard's:

> But I wish to emphasize that they are under no compulsion to do so. Those who wish may continue as members of the local parishes or may at any future date be inscribed in any of the local parishes. This new church is not established in accordance with any concept of "segregation." There is not now, and there never has been any place in the religious life of the Archdiocese of Boston for segregation of any minority, and aU our churches have equal place for all who share our Faith.

'"PastoreUi to Cushing, February 25, 1946, SRPF, AAB.

"Ochs, op. cit., pp. 4-5; Gerald M. Costello, "How black Catholics have survived the church," U.S. Catholics Historian, 10 (April, 1991), 50.

Cushing authorized a statement to the Chronicle, which had been so vocally opposed to the parish. He reiterated his beUef that St. Richard's was not a segregated institution: while "Irish-American CathoUcs were founding their Hibernian Centers, Italo-American CathoUcs were founding their 'national' parishes, and German-American CathoUcs were buUding up their own activities . . . there was a strong desire on the part of many colored CathoUcs to have their own reUgious and social center."[52] WhUe this was true for the earUer period, the impetus seems to have come from above rather than below this time.

Opposition came from outside Boston as weU. A Philadelphia man, WiUiam Bruce, presumably a CathoUc, wrote Cushing: "thus such institutions while they partially reheve frustration, help to perpetuate racial cleavage, soUdify antagonisms, hinder the proper valuation of human beings, over emphasize racial differences and give encouragement [to] indulgence in race pride." He was afraid that the archdiocese, "long an example and leader in the interracial movement, [was] about to become a foUower of a racial one forced on Negroes by prejudice and racial discrimination."[53] The letter suggests that Cushing's secretary and Bruce had been in contact concerning the issue. He also noted that blacks separate themselves when discrimination exists and not when integration works as weU as Cushing claimed.

Regardless of such sentiments, St. Richard's made considerable progress over the years, particularly in the number of converts. The chart below shows the total number of baptisms, converts, marriages, Sunday school attendance (ReI. Ed.), and estimated parish membership (Mem.), when avaüable.for the period 1945 through I960:

Year	Baptisms	* Converts	* Marriages	Rel. Ed.	Mem.
1945	60	21	4	?/?	N/A
1946	49	27	19	410	N/A
1947	79	42	9	390	862
1948	74	32	22	N/A	N/A
1949	106	61	12	N/A	N/A
1950	79	25	14	150	N/A
1951	105	54	17	150	N/A
1952	99	34	14	158	N/A
1953	140	43	12	180	1024
1954	140	43	12	180	1008

"Cushing, SRPF.
"Bruce to Cushingjune 20, 1946, SRPF1AAB.

Year	Baptisms	* Converts	* Marriages	Rel. Ed.	Mem.
1955	99	43	13	145	1002
1956	102	19	N/A	238	2000
1957	92	38	27	286	N/A
1958	78	30	17	162	N/A
1959	78	13	12	125	N/A
I960	73	17	24	103	373
Totals	1453	542	228	N/A	N/A

The numbers show that St. Richard's was making headway in the number of conversions, which represented about thirty-seven percent of baptisms.54 Large-scale conversion to CathoUcism has been one feature of black migration northward since World War I. The situation at St. Richard's is consistent with other urban parishes for the time.55 As more and more blacks moved north and encountered CathoUcism, some often for the first time, it appears that many converted. Also, during the 1920's and 1930's, inter-racial councUs and efforts, led most notably by Dr. Thomas Wyatt Turner, "were begun to serve the needs of blacks, as weU as to make the clergy and reUgious 'color' conscious."56 Population size was difficult to determine because the parish had no fixed boundaries and many black CathoUcs also remained members of their local parishes, even if they attended St. Richard's on Sundays or were members of its organizations such as the Holy Name Society.57 Clearly, the numbers do not reflect the total number of black Catholics in the city because, as we have seen, not aU blacks chose to affiliate themselves with the parish. In short, it appears that many black CathoUcs consciously avoided St. Richard's and chose not to avaU themselves of its services, reUgious or social.

By the end of 1956, Cushing began to question whether St. Richard's was a good idea and if any real progress was being made among blacks. Father Samuel Mathews, the new pastor of St. Richard's, wrote to him after Cushing expressed some concerns. Mathews explained the situation, noting the large number of baptisms and converts. He also addressed some of the cardinal's other concerns:

"Figures were compiled from St. Richard's Parish Census FUeS1AAB.

"Jay P. Dolan (ed.), The American Catholic Parish.A History from 1850 to the Present (New York, 1987), pp. 76-77.

56Al McNeeley, Afro-American and Catholic: The Afro-American Roman Catholic Church (Detroit, 1975), p. 8.

'Interview with King; Mathews to Cushing, November 2, 1956, SRPF1AAB.

> Your Excellency noted also in your last letter to me that irom a recent observation at the Cathedral that [sic] a lot of Colored are moving into that area. I think that is true of all the parishes in this section of the city. Many of the Colored Catholics even here in Boston are de-sgregation [sic] conscious and for that reason prefer to attend church in the parishes in which they live. And yet, there are others and many of the better class still come to St. Richard's, even though in doing so, they may pass two or three other churches. There have been some who have dropped off, either because, as I have said, they are desegregation conscious, or because they found out they could not use St. Richard's for their own selfish interests, political or otherwise.5*

Cushing's reply to Mathews clearly caUs into question his commitment to St. Richard's, particularly in Ught of the recent Supreme Court decisions attacking segregated institutions. He even tried to distance himself from St. Richard's:

> I am thinking of organizing an apostolate of our own diocesan priests to work among them in the South End area of the diocese. I think the negroes [sic] are too scattered to be handled by your [emphasis mine] setup at St. Richard's. Furthermore in the light of the recent Supreme Court decision, I think we should do more and more to incorporate the colored people in the parish in which they live.59

At the same time, Cushing appears to have sUghtly increased his interest in race issues, nationaUy and locaUy. He promoted the work of Mrs. Roger L. Putman, who founded an organization to fund "Negro scholarships," especiaUy for those "students who are preparing to become [d]octors, [n]urses,and [tjeachers."60 At the Holy Week "Mandatum" service at the cathedral in 1956, Cushing washed the right feet of "twelve laymen including members of the white, black and yeUow race."61 Cushing's action had apparently been caUed "a stunt" by some locals, but Father Mathews said it showed Cushing's commitment to "aU colors."62 In short, it appears that Cushing was becoming increasingly aware of the perception that the archdiocese might not be treating its black members fairly.

»Mathews to Cushing, November 2, 1956, SRPF1AAB.
"Cushing to Mathews, November 3, 1956, SRPF1AAB.
60ANB1 December 31, 1954.
61ANB1 March 27, 1956.
62Mathews to Cushing, March 29, 1956, SRPF1AAB.

The Closing of St. Richard's Parish

Even though it was an active and successful parish in many respects, the legal basis for its existence was being seriously questioned by the early 1960's. In 1961, there seems to have been some concern over the canonical status of St. Richard's: was it a true "national" parish, as Cushing originaUy claimed in 1945, or more a "chapel of ease" under the direction of the local or territorial parish. If St. Richard's was "erected" without an "induit," then it would be a chapel of ease, it was determined, according to an opinion by a Jesuit at Boston CoUege, James Risk. Its priests would be parochial assistants of the territorial parish, in this case St. Joseph's on Circuit Street.[63] This is exactly what happened in November, 1961, when it was announced:"As of November 8th, last week, the Cardinal estabUshed Saint Richard's as a Mission of Saint Joseph's and appointed the Josephite Fathers serving there as Assistants in Saint Joseph's Parish, thus safeguarding marriages. This was to correct the canonical incongruity which had been existing."[64] It appears then that St. Richard's lacked such an induit, which according to canon law was necessary before a national parish could be properly constituted.[65] Why Cushing waited until 1961 to make this announcement is noteworthy, because by 1957 he had already made the decision that St. Richard's "[did] not have the status of a parish."[66] As noted, Cushing was beginning to rethink, as early as 1956, St. Richard's place in Boston CathoUcism, but he had limited direct control over the Josephites, who staffed and ran the parish. Also, the parish stiU had support among blacks, given the attendance figures, in 1956. With the decline in membership at St. Richard's during the early sixties and this newly discovered "canonical loophole," the Josephites would be placed under the authority of the pastor at St. Joseph's. Beginning in 1961, St. Richard's sacramental records became part of St. Joseph's parish. By the spring of 1962 the Josephites were withdrawn from Boston. Why the Josephites left is fairly easy to understand. Their efforts in Boston were yielding Utile in return and by downgrading the parish to a mission and placing them under St. Joseph's authority, the Josephites had little, if any, control over their work.

«Risk to George Schlichte, November 9, 196I1SRPF1AAB.

"Press Release by Monsignor Richard Sennott, November 14, 196I1SRPF1AAB.

65Charles Augustine, The Canonical and Civil Status of Catholic Parishes in the United States (St. Louis, 1926), p. 166.

^Cushing to McNamara, November 30, 1957, SRPFJA.

The plan eventuaUy decided upon regarding St. Richard's—placing it under the control of St. Joseph's—was reached in 1957. In a letter to Thomas McNamara, Superior General of the Josephites, Father Samuel Mathews, pastor of St. Richard's, stated that Cushing had already decided that parishioners should become "affiliated with the parish within whose boundaries they are Uving."[67] Making St. Richard's a mission of one of the local parishes, he felt, would help aUeviate some of the costs associated with maintaining parishes in areas with declining CathoUc population. Mathews saw two options open to the archdiocese: (1) turn St. Richard's over to nearby St. Joseph's for use by aU CathoUcs of the area, black and white; or (2) integrate the parishioners into their local parish but keep St. Richard's as a social center staffed by the Josephites. Mathews favored the second option because "integration is not going to be [100%] and that wiU mean our Colored CathoUcs wUl be left pretty much on their own and conditions in many ways would revert to what they were previous to the opening of St. Richard's." Mathews claimed that Uttle interest was shown blacks in the past but "now that they have become an economic attraction and even a necessity, which accounts at least in part for the sudden interest in them."[68] The first option would also mean that the Josephites would no longer have a role in the community. Cushing decided on the first option in November, 1957, citing the financial drain on the archdiocese from the parishes in Roxbury, although he said they would wait until the situation in Roxbury "gets more critical."[69]

Even though the Josephites left St. Richard's, the parish continued to operate as a mission of St. Joseph's. Before long, however, its usefulness as a black Catholic parish ceased. If archdiocesan officials wanted St. Richard's to serve as the center of Boston's black CathoUc population, it could have remained open, but this was not the case. In short, the departure of the Josephites and the changing racial makeup of Roxbury determined St. Richard's future. In the process of closing the parish, much iU-wUl was created among parishioners, the archdiocese, and the nearby St. Joseph's parish.

The parish, technicaUy a mission since 1962, finaUy closed in 1964.[70] It appears that after the Josephites left in 1962, what was left of the con-

67Mathews to McNamara, October 15, 1957, SRPFJA.
'"Ibid.
»Cushing to McNamara, November 30, 1957, SRPEJA.
™The Official Catholic Directory Usts it as a parish through 1966, however.

gregation did not like being under the control of diocesan clergy and resented St. Joseph's clergy, in particular. In July, 1964, when the Boston Redevelopment Authority (BRA) was considering taking the buUding, there was Uttle opposition from the archdiocese; its only concern was how much money had been spent on the parish and whether the archdiocese would be able to recoup the cost.[71] The parish had long been a financial burden on both the Josephites and the archdiocese, and the parish correspondences are replete with stories of financial problems and declining coUections at Mass, particularly in the late 1950's and early 1960's.[72]

A group of "Ex-St. Richard's Parishioners" wrote Cushing after they learned of the church's sale on "Friday July 17" (which means the church was sold in 1964). It also means that the archdiocese made the decision to seU the church within hours of receiving the BRA's offer on the sixteenth. It seems likely then that the archdiocese had previously contemplated its closure and sale with the BRA. This is not surprising, given that Monsignor Francis J. LaUy was both Cushing's good friend and confidant as weU as head of the BRA. The ex-parishioners' letter was written to St. Joseph's clergy and a copy sent to the Pilot, Cardinal Cushing, and the local press. It is titled "Northern Example of Civic Rights. St. Richard's Parish is betrayed by St. Joseph's Clergy." It states some of the problems the parishioners faced after the Josephites left and chronicles a number of incidents:

> without warning the labors of the Josephite Fathers terminated in the Northern States. The St. Joseph church Fathers immediately took charge of all St. Richard's [a]ssets though nothing came with their advent; . . . proceeds of all functions held by us were handed over to the St. Joseph clergy. Representation was of no avail. It was the prerogative of St. Joseph Clergy, we were told, to do whatever they thought desirable. ... A lot of discomfort has been put up with in view of St. Joseph's gain.

What reaUy seemed to bother these ex-parishioners is that they were Ued to about the disposition of the parish and their belongings in the church:

> when some months ago we thought it advisable to start packing our kitchen belongings . . . we were told by St. Joseph's Clergy that a lot of false

[71] "Sexton to John J. Gartland July 16, 1964, SRPF1AAB.

[72] "Coyne to McNamara July 28, 1958; Cushing to McNamara, June 9, 1958; Coyne to McNamara, September 2, 1959; Cushing to George F. O'Dea, S.S.J., Superior General, February 7, 1962; O'Dea to George A. Reynolds, S.S.J., February 26, 1962; SRPFJA.

> rumors were being spread. There was no cause for anxiety. On Friday 17th July at 8 p.m. we learned St. Richard's church had been previously sold. Everything—lock, stock and barrel. ... If the authority was theirs to sell the Church, at least the groups could have been told at the time and we certainly would have to-day what we have bought and paid for from our pockets to help make the Church what it is today. . . . Now our usefulness is no longer necessary, we want what is ours.

In the end however, it was not only the monetary loss they suffered:

> we are also no longer a Parish. God forbid any Ex-St. Richard's Parishioner should become very ill and die before anyone could become identified in another parish. It is our fervent prayer that no one of us will ever have cause to cross the threshold of St. Joseph's church or rectory again in life or in death. We were invited to join St. Joseph's groups, of course losing our identity. If without being affiliated, we have been so unjustly treated what treatment could we ever hope to receive once we fell into their hands? We leave you, St. Joseph's Clergy, at the foot of the Cross and may God have mercy on your souls.

The ex-parishioners also beUeved that Cushing was "not aware of the recent happenings." It seems likely that he was aware of what was going on, given his long-term interest and connection to the parish. That is not to say he knew aU the detaUs, but he certainly would have been aware of the church's sale.

Knowing how the church was finaUy disposed of and closed does not teU us why. As one former parishioner puts it: "how could they [the archdiocese] let them [the BRA] take it?"[73] Even though LaUy was head of the BRA, the decision to seU St. Richard's was based on its frightful condition—physicaUy and financiaUy—and not as an easy solution to a difficult problem. Its usefulness as a center for black CathoUcs had ceased. Cushing did, however, recognize the role urban redevelopment played in causing people to leave inner city neighborhoods.[74] Simply put, a designated black parish in Roxbury was no longer needed. In the area around St. Richard's, the number of white families had declined dramaticaUy whUe the number of blacks increased just as dramaticaUy. Herein Ues why St. Richard's closed: many of the CathoUc churches in and around Roxbury were becoming, if they were not already, predominantly or almost aU black. A look at the demographics should explain the situation, particularly after I960. First, whUe between 1900 and I960 Boston's black population rose from 11,591 to 63,165 (with the

[73] "Interview with Boles.

[74] Cushing to O'Dea, February 7, 1962, SRPFJA.

majority of the increase occurring after 1940), it was stiU less than ten percent of the total population. Between I960 and 1970 the black population increased approximately 40,000 to 104,596, 16.3 percent of the total population of Boston.75

The great majority of these people Uved in Roxbury and North Dorchester.76 By I960, almost eighty-five percent of aU blacks Uved within the "inner core" of "center city," which is made up largely of Roxbury. By 1967, the black population of "center city" increased to 70,000, a growth of twenty-one percent over I960. This is not to say that whites did not live in the area, however. In I960, blacks were not yet a majority of residents in the center city community, but by 1967 their population skyrocketed to seventy-one percent of the total population.77

In short, the changing demographics made an officiaUy designated black parish obsolete. Any black CathoUcs residing within the inner city were more than likely to attend a church that was becoming increasingly, if it was not already predominantly, black. Any black CathoUcs who attended St. Richard's out of a sense of racial unity or pride could now attend their local, geographicaUy-determined parish. As stated, population figures for St. Richard's are hard to come by, but in i960 the parish census Usted only 363 members, down from 2,000 in 1956, the last time census figures are available. Even if it was an undercount, people were staying away from St. Richard's. Another factor that contributed to the decline in attendance at St. Richard's was the lack of a parochial school. In order to send a child to parochial school, the parents had to be parishioners at the church. Since St. Richard's did not have a school, many parents were forced to leave the parish, contributing to a further decline in attendance.78

While the number of those who affiliated themselves with St. Richard's was on the decline, the black CathoUc population seems to have held steady or increased shghtly in Boston during the 1960's. By

7,Pleck,q/5.Cif.,p. 209.

76Hayden, op. cit., p. 22. See also Boston Urban Foundation, Center City: Business and Investment Opportunities in Central Boston (2 vols; Boston, 1969). These two volumes contain exceUent demographic information on Roxbury, which is part of their definition of the "center city." It was defined to encompass those contiguous areas where blacks represent ten percent or more of the population. This consisted primarily of Roxbury and North Dorchester, particularly in 1960. By 1967 the center had expanded to include parts of Jamaica Plain, the South End, and Mattapan.

^Center City. II, pp. A-l-A-3.

"Interview with Edward MuUowney, S.S.J., August 18, 1994; Coyne to McNamara, September 2, 1959, SRPFJA.

1975, the Archdiocese of Boston ranked forty-seventh in the CathoUc percentage (3.6 percent) of the black population out of eighty-one dioceses. At the same time, the Archdiocese of Boston ranked thirtieth out of 104 dioceses in the number (5,000) of black CathoUcs. However, only .02 percent of the CathoUc population of the archdiocese was black.[79] Since blacks were concentrated in Boston and the archdiocese encompasses much of the metropoUtan Boston suburban areas, where few blacks Uve compared to Boston, the percentage of black CathoUcs is much higher in the City of Boston than in the rest of the archdiocese. Nationally, the number of black CathoUcs has increased from just 2.3 percent in 1940 of the black population to 4 percent in 1975. Overall, whUe "the total increase of the Black population from 1940-1975 has been 75 percent; the ulerease of Black CathoUcs has been 208 percent." Clearly there was a movement toward the CathoUc Church by blacks nationaUy; locaUy it was somewhat of a different story. Between 1940 and 1975 the number of black CathoUcs increased 126 percent whUe the black population increased 280 percent.[80]

Before World War ?, it looked as if black CathoUcs were approximately ten percent of Boston's black population. If CathoUcs comprised ten percent of the black population, then population estimates would have been 587 in 1880,812 in 1890, 1,159 in 1900, 1,356 in 1910, and 1,635 by 1920.[81] Can the claim be made that black CathoUcs constituted almost ten percent of the black population of Boston for the rest of the twentieth century? The answer is probably yes, because black CathoUcs as a group tend to be highly urbanized and more likely to Uve in the East, than Protestant blacks. Two studies either conducted or using data coUected during the late 1960's and early 1970's support this conclusion.[82] If the ten percent estimate is correct, by 1965, black CathoUcs

"George Shuster, S.S.J., and Robert M. Kearns, S.S.J., Statistical Profile of Black Catholics (Washington, D.C., 1976), pp. 7-21. The record is also clear that conversions made up a significant majority of the increase. McNeeley cites interviews with converts which suggest that some of the "most attractive features" of the Church for blacks were: "The ceUbacy of the clergy, the discipline in the CathoUc schools, the absence of money scandals and the reticence and restraint of CathoUc ritual" (p. 9).

"Shuster and Kearns, op. cit., p. 6.

"Population figures are based on Pleck, op. cit., p. 209.

e2See WiUiamFeiglemann, Bernard S. Gorman, and Joseph A. VaracaUi, "The Social Characteristics of Black CathoUcs," Sociology and Social Research, 75 (April, 1991), 133-143; Jon R Alston, Letitia T. Alston, and Emory Warrick, "Black CathoUcs: Social and Cultural Characteristics'/ourwa/ ofBlack Studies, 2 (December, 1971), 245-255. These two studies also suggest that black CathoUcs, when compared to black Protestants, are more edu-

would have numbered over 6,000 in Boston—an unlikely calculation, however, given the archdiocese's estimate of only 5,000 in 1975. It looks as if the black CathoUc population in Boston declined, as a percentage of the black population, after World War II. Today, the number of black CathoUcs is considered closer to ten percent of the black population nationaUy. By the 1980's Boston experienced an mcrease m the number of CathoUcs of color due to the arrival of Haitians and other West Indian and Spanish-speaking CathoUcs.83

In short, the declining membership at St. Richard's can be explained by a number of factors. The people could easüy move between St. Richard's and their local church if they chose and many parishioners did so, which helped to undermine the parish's stabUity. White flight contributed to the decline by creating alternative black parishes. The lack of a parochial school also forced people away from the church and to parishes that had a school, at least for those who could afford to send then· children to CathoUc school. Also, on a more personal level, the death of many of the advocates for and founders of the parish probably contributed to the decline m membership. This decrease put a financial strain on the parish, the Josephites, and the archdiocese.

Conclusion

The struggle to buUd a black CathoUc parish and community in Boston was long and difficult. It took almost thirty years from the first petition from black CathoUcs for St. Richard's to become a reaUty. It existed only because of the early efforts of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament and the hard work of the Josephites. But most of aU, Cardinal Cushing brought the project to reaUty with the help of Father O'Connor's contribution. For many years it flourished. Its strength as a community and parish is a testament to its members and leaders' hard work. Undoubtedly there was something special about St. Richard's for many of its parishioners. It is obvious that it was difficult for some members of the community to bear its closure and to them it seemed that the decision to close St. Richard's was raciaUy motivated. The struggle for civU

cated, foreign-born, and wealthier. Whether the same can be said of the parishioners at St. Richard's needs to be further explored, but it does seem likely that the data would support such a conclusion.

"The Boston Globe, October 17, 1993.

rights and an end to segregation were concerns of Cushing and maintaming a "segregated" institution was costly.84 WhUe surely a symbol of pride to its members, St. Richard's was a victim of the changing times. In short, the idea of a church just for blacks was outmoded, given that predominantly or completely black local parishes existed and the cost, financial and poUtical, was too great to bear. With the closing of St. Richard's, many in the congregation obviously felt a deep and personal loss. They experienced the pain many people do whenever something special is taken away. Then* loss, however, Ulustrates their gain in other areas. By the 1980's the Black Ecumenical Commission of Massachusetts recognized St. Francis de Sales, St. John & St. Hugh's, St. Joseph's, St. Mary of the Angels, St. Patrick's, and St. PhiUp's churches as "Black Churches" in Boston.85

"See ANB, November 11, 196l;May 12, 1963;August 22, 1963; February 28, 1964;May 17, 1964JuIy 31, 1964; March 13, 1965; and March 16, 1965, for some of Cushing's racial concerns during the early 1960's;Dolan,op. cit. ,pp. 214-218.

"Robert C. Hsyden, Faith, Culture and Leaderships History of the Black Church in Boston (Boston, 1983), p. 54.

MISCELLANY

THE EXECUTION OF JOHN FISHERVIEWED THROUGH ITALIAN EYES. A LETTER OF CARDINAL ERCOLE GONZAGA

BY

Paul Y Murphy*

News of the beheading of Cardinal John Fisher on June 22,1535, broke dramatically on a Europe already struggling -with momentous religious change.1 A little more than a month later Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga wrote to his brother Federico II, Duke of Mantua, about the execution of the English prelate. This letter has not been previously published.2 The letter reveals the understanding of the execution by one who was a leader of the imperial faction in the College of Cardinals. It shows that details of the execution were not altogether clear and that there were already different accounts of the execution itself. Thus, the letter indicates the character of the information about the execution that was available to the papal court and how at least one cardinal at the court responded.

The writer of the letter, Ercole Gonzaga (1505-1563), was the second son of Francesco Gonzaga and Isabella d'Esté.3 He had been reared in the opulent Ren-

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The following abbreviations will be used in the notes:

CSPFD = Calendar of State Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII Vol. VIII (London, 1885)

ASM1AG = Archivio di State di Mantova,Archivio Gonzaga

On Fisher see François Van Ortroy, S.J.,"La Vie du bienheureux martyr Jean Fisher, Cardinal, Évêque de Rochester (+1535). Texte anglais et traduction latine du XVI' siècle," Analecta Bollandiana, X (1891), 121-365, and ?? (1893), 97-287, for the definitive edition of the earliest Life. Analyses of Fisher's thought may be found in Edward Surtz, S.J., The Works and Days of John Fisher (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1967); Brendan Bradshaw and Eamon Duffy (eds.), Humanism, Reform, and the Reformation (Cambridge, 1985), Richard Rex, The Theology of John Fisher (Cambridge, 1991).

2Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga to Federico, Duke of Mantua, Jury 31, 1535, ASM, AG, busta 885, fols. 156-157.

3On Gonzaga see the introduction of José Fernández Montesinos (ed.), Cartas inéditas de Juan de Valdés al cardenal Gonzaga (Madrid, 1931), pp. xix-liv, which provides bio-

aissance court of Mantua. His early education came from the humanist and philosophical circle of which his parents were patrons. Pietro Pomponazzi instructed him in philosophy at the University of Bologna. He learned Greek and Latin and even studied some Hebrew. Isabella d'Este,who harbored great hopes for the ecclesiastical career of her son, ensured that he received the cardinal's hat in 1527 at the age of twenty-two. Cardinal Gonzaga moved firmly into the imperial camp in the College of Cardinals after 1530 in keeping with his brother's foreign policy. For many years he resided in his diocese and carried out a reform of his clergy and the laity in the manner of his colleague, Gian Matteo Giberti of Verona. At the end of his life Gonzaga presided over the concluding sessions of the Council of Trent as papal legate from 1561 until his death in March of 1563. Between 1528 and 1537 he resided at the papal court, where he acted essentially as the chief Mantuan agent in Rome. He was present at the consistory on July 26, 1535, when the pope announced the death of Fisher to the assembled cardinals.

The transcription presented here is from one of two identical accounts sent by Cardinal Gonzaga soon after the news of Fisher's death reached Rome. It is of the letter that he sent to the Duke Federico of Mantua dated July 31, 1535, found in the Archivio di Stato di Mantova.4 The same account is contained in a letter sent to the Gonzaga ambassador in Venice, Giovanni Agnello, dated July 27.'

Cardinal Gonzaga's account of the imprisonment and execution of Fisher is based largely on a letter of the papal nuncio in France, Rodolfo Pió da Carpi.6 The nuncio wrote with news of the death as he had learned it from the Adrniral of France, the Sieur de Brion, Philippe Chabot,7 and the English ambassador to France, Thomas Howard, the Duke of Norfolk.8 A version of the nuncio's ac-

graphical material on Gonzaga; Paul V. Murphy,"Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga and Catholic Reform in Sixteenth-Century Italy" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1996); and Hubert Jedin,"Il figlio di Isabella d'Esté: il cardinale Ercole Gonzaga," in Chiesa della fede, chiesa della storia. Saggi scelti (Brescia, 1972), pp. 499-512.

4ASM, AG, busta 885, fols. 156-157. Pastor noted this letter in The History of the Popes, from the Close of the Middle Ages, Vol. XH, edited by Ralph Francis Kerr, 3d ed. (London and St. Louis, 1950), p. 460, n. 3. Alessandro Luzio made no mention of this letter in an article titled,"I carteggi dell'Archivio Gonzaga riflettenti l'Inghilterra" in AtH della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino (Turin, 1917), LIII, 167-182.

'Biblioteca Apostólica Vaticana, Barberiniana Latina 5788, fols. 198'-199'· Ludwig von Pastor noted the letter to Agnello when describing the Roman reaction to the news: op. ctt.,XtI,460,n.2.

'Konrad Eubel, Hierarchia Catholica MediiAevi sive Summorum Pontiflcum, S.R.E. Cardinalium, Ecclesiarum Antistitum Series, 2d ed.,Vol. Ill (Regensburg, 1923), pp. 25, 194. See also Enciclopedia Cattolica (Florence, 1952), LX, 1490-1491, s.v. "Pio da Carpi, Famiglia."

7Viln Ortroy, op. cit., XII, 196-197,282.

"Howard must have passed the news of the death of Fisher to the Admiral of France during their negotiations at Calais over a proposed marriage between Francis I's son Charles, the Duke of Angoulême, and Henry's daughter Princess Elizabeth.

count is found in his letter to the papal secretary, Ambrogio Recalcaos.' The most complete information on Fisher's imprisonment and the substance of his interrogations comes from an anonymous biography written a generation after his death.10 Further, nearly all of the descriptions of the imprisonment, trial, and execution contained in the earliest life of Fisher are based upon an eyewitness description by William Rastell, the nephew of Thomas More.11

Gonzaga's letter, while conveying much of the information available in these other accounts, differs from them in notable ways. Indeed, Gonzaga's letter contains a number of details which, while perhaps not strictly accurate, may authentically reflect the way in which Fisher's brother cardinals received the news. Moreover, Gonzaga described the interrogations and the execution in a terse and unadorned narrative style that heightened the drama.

First, Gonzaga emphasized Fisher's fidelity to the successors of Peter in a way that is more explicit than in the letter of the nuncio. Gonzaga includes a statement of loyalty to the pope by Fisher in his interview with Thomas Cromwell: "... there is no other head of the Church than Saint Peter and his successors." Such a statement is lacking from the letter by Pio da Carpi. This emphasis on the role of the Holy See is understandable in a version of the events that came from the papal court itself.

Gonzaga learned accurately that ttiere had been a delay before the execution during which Fisher spoke some words publicly. Two versions of Fisher's -words were available to Gonzaga. One held that Fisher offered an oration which concluded with an appeal to the crowd to be faithful to their king, who had been badly served by his ministers. Another account offered to the cardinals, and repeated by Gonzaga, held that Fisher did not mention the king but simply said that he intended to hold fast to the faith as did Peter, who in his weakness had denied Christ three times. Here again, the Petrine character of Gonzaga's observations emerges. The letter of the nuncio quotes Fisher as having spoken of the weakness of Peter. Gonzaga, however, also adds to those words that the apostle "died willingly for the truth."'2

9CSPFD, VIII, 388-390, #985. See also a portion of the letter in Jean Lestocquoy (ed.), Correspondance des nonces en France Carpi et Ferrerio 1535-1540 et Légations de Carpi et de Farnese ("Acta Nuntiaturae Gallicae," Vol. I [Rome and Paris, 1961]), pp. 46-47.

"Van Ortroy makes the argument that the author of the earliest Life was John Young, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University during the reign of Mary Tudor: op. cit., XH, 192-201.

"Van Ortroy includes this "Rastell fragment" ibid.,~XH, 248-270.

'The text of the nuncio's letter is as follows: "that he [Fisher] only said, that being of flesh, which naturally feared death, and knowing that Peter three times denied Christ through fear of death, and having always had the mind to die, if necessary, for the love of Christ and his Holy Church, now that he was come to it, he begged all present to pray to God to grant constancy and firmness to his fragile flesh to suffer cheerfully his approaching punishment." CSPFD,Vin, 389, #985.

Fisher was executed by beheading. The original sentence called for him to be drawn and quartered, and it is not known when the king changed die penalty." Gonzaga seems to have been aware of the execution as a beheading, but his account suggests that in Italy there was still doubt as to how the death occurred.

> Then he went to the beheading. Of what followed there is also some difference of opinion, because it was intended that he be quartered in four pieces and each one of them attached to the gates of the city of London; and because the King, having allowed the body to stay in public all day, was content to have the body buried in the evening.

This variance comes from the difference of opinion in Paris between the Admiral of France and the English ambassador. The nuncio had heard from the admiral that Fisher had been drawn and quartered, whereas the ambassador reported that he had been beheaded.14 Pio da Carpi's account does not contain the information that the body lay out until evening. Cardinal Gonzaga, therefore, has rendered more graphic a description that was not certain, including the detail that the sections of Fisher's body were attached to the gates of London, in the case that he had been drawn and quartered.

Gonzaga's conclusion to the account displays the understanding of the event in the rnind of a well-placed Roman cardinal.

> We give here as the reason for his death, beyond what is known, that he was always opposed to the madnesses of the King, that even in prison he had written badly of the King to Thomas More on a piece of board with a needle for lack of ink, and they say that his chaplain was made to say to his face that he had carried that board before he was condemned. It is thought that it cannot be long before Thomas is beheaded in the same way.

Gonzaga's opinion expresses the issue that was at the heart of the matter for the papal court, i.e., Henry's rejection of papal authority. Gonzaga added emphasis to this conclusion by attributing the execution of his brother cardinal to nothing less than the "madnesses" of Henry VIII, a damning and dismissive judgment on the king. Moreover, Gonzaga understood that Fisher and More were in communication, and possibly collusion, while they were imprisoned, as the nuncio had communicated in his letter. Gonzaga understood clearly, even through garbled information, that the resistance of these men to Henry's supremacy over the English church, was the reason for the execution of Fisher. The events of May and June, 1535, also gave rise to Gonzaga's expectation of the execution of More.

The information in the letter of Cardinal Gonzaga does not increase our knowledge of the events surrounding the execution of John Fisher. However, this account indicates the degree of shock that accompanied the reception in

"Van Ortroy, op. eft., XH, 183.
"(75PiD1VIII, 389, #985.

Rome of the news of the English cardinal's death. Gonzaga immediately passed the information on to others. He contacted both his brother, the duke, and the Mantuan envoy who resided in Venice, a diplomatic listening post rivaling Rome. This helped spread the information quickly, for the ambassador in Venice was certain to speed the news to others. Readers would be aware of the reasons for the execution. They would also be shocked, thanks in part to Gonzaga's simple but moving account. In addition, the letter's description of Fisher as a humble, honest, and resolute bishop faithful to the See of Rome plants the seed of a martyr's biography. Paul Ill's brief to the Christian princes, mentioned by Cardinal Gonzaga near the close of his letter, specifically likened John Fisher to Thomas à Becket." It is reasonable, therefore, to view this document as both one of the earliest vehicles for communicating news of the execution, and as an early example of the veneration of John Fisher by the Roman Church.

Text

In the text I have maintained the original spelling but have expanded abbreviations and modernized the punctuation.

1535: 31: Luglio Roma

IUustrissimo et excellentissimo signore mio Fratello et signore osservantissimo.'6 Nel consistoro di Lunidi Nostro Signore fece leggere alcune lettere che venivano dal Nuntio suo di Franza, nelle quali avisava la tomata deU'Arnmiraglio da Cale17 in corte del Re, et per relatione d'esso Ammiraglio s'era intesa la morte che haveva farta fare il Re d'lnghilterra al cardinale Rofense, la qual era passata in questo modo. Che'l Re mandó alla prigione dove stava il cardinale un suo chiamato Gramoel18 a fargli intendere come il vescovo di Roma l'haveva fatto cardinale et innumeratolo fra suoi, pero voleva sapere s'egli di cio haveva inteso alcuna cosa. Il Cardinale risposi di no, et che havendolo Nostro Signore Dio fatto si poco ambitioso mai non si era curato di simil honore. Gramoel replicó che'l Re voleva sapere dallui s'era mutato dell'opinion sua. Risposi il Cardinale di no, parendogli che fosse la veta, et che non vi fosse altro capo della chiesa che San Pietro et i suoi successori. Ben disse Gramoel poi che perseverati in questo, il Re vuole che moriate. A che il Cardinale mostró che fosse paratissimo et che morisse volentieri per la verita.

"i¡Wrf.,p.437,#1117.
"Federico II Gonzaga (1500-1540), Duke of Mantua.
"Philippe Chabot, Sieur de Brion.
'Thomas Cromwell (1485P-1540).

Cosi un giorno determinate del mese passato che non mi recordó fu condono fuori di prigione sopra una muía con una vesta lunga fin à piedi ñera, et un berettino in testa da orecchie allacciato sottol mentó nella piazza del castello di Londra, ove per non essere finito il catafalco sul quale havea da moriré, bisognö che aspettasse un pezzo. Et fra tanto dicono alcuni che fece una oratione al Popólo, concludendogli che dovesse essere fidèle at suo Re, perche era principe di bonissima natura, avenga che fosse stato corrotto da malí ministri suoi con pessimo consiglio.

Altri dicono che non fece alcuna mentione del Re, ma che solamente disse, che essendo di carne fragüe, non gli poteva si non increscere U moriré, recordandosi massimamente che San Pietro vinto dalla debolezza humana, tre volte havea negato il suo Signore pure che moriré volentieri per la verita, la quale constantissimamente havea tenuta sempre, et era per tenere fin che fosse in vita. Che pregava ciascuno suplicasse à Dio che gli desse tanto di Constanza che potesse supportare il supplicio che gli era apparechiato. Et dapoi si vene all'atto di tagliarli la testa. Di quello che ne seguisse c'è ancho qualche diversita, perche chi vuole che fosse quartate in quattro pezzi, et ciascuno dessi attaccati alie porte della citta di Londra, et chi vuole che'l Re havendo lasciato stare il corpo suo in publico tuttol giorno, si contentasse che la sera fosse sepolto.

Damo la cagione queste lettere della morte sua, oltra quello che si sa, ch'egli è stato sempre contrario alie pazzie del Re, che anchora havesse in prigione scritto male d'esso Re à Thomasso moro1' sopra un pezzo d'asse con un acó per carestía d'inchiostro, et dicono che questo gli fu fatto dire sul viso da un suo capellano che haveva portata quell'asse prima che fosse condannato. Si tiene che non debba passare molto che habbia da fare la testa à quello Thomasso nel medesimo modo.

Nostro Signore mostró molto displaceré di questo caso, et d'essere d'animo di fare ogni mala dimostratione contra il Re, et finalmente di venire alla privatione sua per essere quello regno pheudo della sede apostólica. Sua Santità fu laudata et animata da tuttol collegio, et hieri fece scrivere brevi alli Principi Christiani per moverli contra di lui, nel che sonó d'openione che ella non mancheta di fare anchora quanto potra piu oltra.

Di tutto quello che ne seguirá daro aviso à vostra excellentia alia quale non mi occorendo dire altro, resto baciando le mani, et raccomandandomi senza fine in Ia sua buona gratia. Di roma 1'ultimo di luglio del XXXV

Di vostra excellentia

Servitore et Fratello

Hercole Cardinale di Mantova

¦Thomas More (1477-1535).

THE POPES AND THEJEWS: FROM GELASIUS I TOJULIUS III (492-1555)

Review Article

by

Charles Burns

The Apostolic See and the Jews. Documents: 492-1404. Edited by Shlomo Simonsohn. [Studies and Texts, 94.] (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. 1988. Pp. xv, 549)

The Apostolic See and the Jews. Documents: 1394-1464. [Studies and Texts, 95.] (1989.Pp. 551-1132.)

The Apostolic See and the Jews. Documents: 1464-1521. [Studies and Texts, 99.] (1990.Pp. 1133-1624.)

The Apostolic See and the Jews. Documents: 1522-1538. [Studies and Texts, 104.] (1990. Pp. 1625-2116.)

The Apostolic See and the Jews. Documents: 1539-1545. [Studies and Texts, 105.] (1990. Pp. 2117-2511.)

The Apostolic See and the Jews. Documents: 1546-1555. [Studies and Texts, 106.] (1990. Pp. 2513-2948.)

The Apostolic See and the Jews. History. [Studies and Texts, 109.] (1991. Pp. x, 469, with 3 foldout maps. $7900.)

The Apostolic See and the Jews. Addenda, Corrigenda, Bibliography and Indexes. [Studies and Texts, 110.] (1991. Pp. vi, 176. $7900.)

A fundamental step toward a rapprochement with the Jewish People was taken thirty years ago by Pope Paul VI and the Fathers of the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council, when they assented to the promulgation of the Conciliar Decree Nostra Aetate (October 28, 1965). The statement is concise and lucid. First the general principle governing our attitude to others of non-Christian religions:

> The Church, therefore, urges her sons to enter with prudence and charity into discussion and collaboration with members of other religions. Let Christians, while witnessing to their own faith and way of life, acknowledge, preserve, and encourage the

spiritual and moral truths found among non-Christians, also their social life and culture.

Then there follows the declaration referring explicitly to members of the Jewish faith:

As this Sacred Synod searches into the mystery of the Church, it remembers the bond that spiritually ties the people of the New Covenant to Abraham's stock.

Thus the Church of Christ acknowledges that, according to (jod's saving design, the beginnings of her faith and her election are found already among the Patriarchs, Moses, and the Prophets. She professes that all who believe in Christ—Abraham's sons according to faith—are included in the same Patriarch's call, and likewise that the salvation of the Church is mysteriously foreshadowed by the chosen people's exodus from the land of bondage. The Church, therefore, cannot forget that she received the revelation of the Old Testament through the people with whom God in His inexpressible mercy concluded the Ancient Covenant. Nor can she forget that she draws sustenance from the root ofthat well cultivated olive tree onto which has been grafted the wild shoot of the Gentiles. Indeed the Church believes that by His cross Christ our peace reconciled Jews and Gentiles, making both one in Himself.

Farther on we read in Nostra Aetate:

Furthermore, in her rejection of every persecution against any man, the Church, mindful of the patrimony she shares with the Jews and moved not by political reasons but by the Gospel's spiritual love, decries hatred, persecutions, displays of anti-Semitism, directed against Jews at any time and by whomsoever

Besides, as the Church has always held and holds now, Christ underwent His passion and death freely, because of the sins of men and out of infinite love, in order that all may reach salvation. It is, therefore, the burden of the Church's preaching to proclaim the cross of Christ as the sign of God's all-embracing love and as the source of every grace.

In conclusion, the Conciliar Decree contains this final exhortation:

Therefore, the Church reproves, as foreign to the mind of Christ, any discrimination against people or harassment of them on the basis of their race, color, condition in life, or religion. Accordingly, following the footsteps of the holy aposdes Peter and Paul, the Sacred Council earnestly begs the Christian faithful to conduct themselves worthily among the Gentiles,' and if possible, as far as depends on them, to be at peace with all men and in that way to be true sons of the Father who is in heaven.

Subsequently, a persistent preoccupation of the Holy See has been the promotion of inter-religious dialogue, seen by the Vatican as the real key toward finding a just and lasting solution to many of the seemingly insoluble social-political conflicts challenging world diplomacy today. How frequently religious

divergencies form the historical and psychological background to contested issues that flare up and escalate to senseless bloodshed. Often these questions are debated by politicians of no personal religious affiliation or practice, but representing democratically hundreds of thousands of electors in whom religious prejudice and hatred are deeply rooted, who themselves draw comfort and justification precisely from such intransigence. They identify it with the faith for which generation upon generation of their forefathers have suffered and died, rather than concede one inch toward the opponents in a spirit of reconciliation.

In spite of the inherent difficulties and obstacles, the Vatican remains convinced that dialogue must be given a fair chance, that fresh seeds of harmony and mutual understanding can be sown and will bear fruit, if allowed time; no opportunity is missed for fostering closer understanding, especially with our Jewish brethren. One need only recall the publication of "Notes on the Correct Way to Present Jews and Judaism in Preaching and Catechesis in the Roman Catholic Church" on June 25, 1985;the visit Pope John Paul II made to the Jewish Community of Rome, on April 13, 1986, the first time a Roman Pontiff ever set foot inside a synagogue, an event commemorated exactly a decade later by a return visit to the Pope by the Chief Rabbi Elio Toaff; the special orchestral concert performed in the Vatican to commemorate the Shoa and the Pope's impassioned condemnation of the atrocities perpetrated against the Jewish people during World War II, for the fiftieth anniversary of the liberation of the extermination camp of Oswiecim in his native Poland. On all his worldwide pastoral journeys, His Holiness insists that a meeting with the local Jewish leaders and coinmunities of the various host nations be included in his agenda. These are facts that illustrate what Vatican policy is today with regards to our elder brothers, descendants of Abraham, "our father in faith."

The approach has not been unilateral. Many occasions can be chronicled when particular marks of respect have been shown to the Holy See, such as the official delegations representing the government of Israel at the funerals of Pius XII, in 1958, and John XIII, in 1963; for the opening and closing of Vatican Council II (1962-1965); for the inauguration of the pontificate of John Paul ?, in 1978. The meeting of Paul VI with the President of Israel during the Pope's pilgrimage to the Holy Land, in 1966, will not easily be forgotten, nor the courtesy visits to the Vatican of Jewish political leaders such as Abba Eban, Golda Meir, Mosheh Kol, Mosheh Dayan, Yitzhak Shamir, Yitzhak Rabin, and Shimon Peres.

By dint of persevering dialogue, especially in the last twenty years, this change of approach has culminated in the establishment of full diplomatic relations between the Holy See and the State of Israel, on June 15, 1994, after decades of unjustified confusion and insinuation that the Vatican was refusing to recognize the existence of the Jewish state. The existence of a state is factual and is one thing, whereas diplomatic relations are a mutual free agreement between two states to co-operate, because it is in their common interest, and that

is quite a different tiling. (The Vatican entered into formal diplomatic relations witíi the United States of America, after long drawn-out negotiations, only as recently as 1984, but that does not mean that prior to then the Popes pretended the United States did not exist.) In coincidence with this historic step, the Apostolic Vatican Library hosted the itinerant exhibition of texts and artefacts discovered in caves in the vicinity of the Dead Sea, after nineteen hundred years of concealment.

Furthermore, a Concordat with Israel has already been signed and ratified by the Knesset on certain issues of mutual concern, although other problems have not all yet been resolved. It is the proof that, given a chance, dialogue can obtain concrete results.

These events of the last three decades are in sharp contrast with the history of the previous twenty centuries, but it is precisely that past, recent and remote, which forms the background for Shlomo Simonsohn's The Apostolic See and the Jews. Seldom has an editorial enterprise of such magnitude as his been undertaken at so appropriate and opportune a moment in time. Monumental is the only adequate word with which to describe it. Future generations of scholars will remain indebted to the editor and his team of collaborators for the sheer wealth of documentation that has been put at their disposal, much of it hitherto unknown. It is guaranteed a place in history as the essential point-de-départ of erudite research in the years that lie ahead, a veritable quarry of information regarding the survival of European Jewry in Christendom right down to the dissolution of the latter in the sixteenth century.

Simonsohn's work is comprised of eight volumes, published by the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies in its prestigious series of "Studies and Texts": they appeared in rapid succession over a period of only four years, which in itself was a remarkable editorial feat. The first six volumes are devoted to the Documents, over three and a quarter thousand in number, the contents of which are often given in extenso, otherwise in summary form, when their texts tend to be purely formal in nature and repetitive. The chronological span is of more than a thousand years and ranges from the pontificate of Pope Gelasius I (492-496) until that of Pope Julius III (1550-1555), embracing all the centuries from the early Middle Ages down to the times of the high Renaissance. The remaining volumes contain a monograph, or History of papal policy with regards to the Jews, as revealed by the archival sources, so narrated exclusively from that point of view; three useful foldout maps of Europe and the Mediterranean, the Papal States in Italy, and the papal territories of Avignon, Comtat Venaissin, and surroundings, in France, are included to make sure of correct identification. This is accompanied by a slim volume containing additions and corrections to the corpus of documents, an extensive bibliography (in itself a valuable tool), and indexes of persons, places, and subject matter, the essential keys for consultation. The six volumes of documents have continuous pagination from 1 to 2948, while each text or précis carries its individual consecutive number; the

remaining two volumes have each their separate pagination and in the indexes the regular numerals denote document serial numbers, and italicized ones refer to the pages of the History.

The pattern followed throughout the first section of The Apostolic See and the Jews corresponds with classical practice in publications of this kind, and is not intended as a strictly diplomatic edition of the sources. Each item is numbered in series and its place and date expressed in the modern form; an English synopsis of the contents precedes the (practically always) Latin text of the document, given sometimes in full, or only an excerpt from the whole, or simply a précis; the apparatus then indicates the archival source, when available, and provides additional vital details about publication, if applicable, and eventual editorial and bibliographical notes, without attempting to offer an exhaustive list of references. This helps guarantee an efficient and productive use of the vast array of primary material contained in the corpus.

In the preface to the Documents (I, vii), our attention is immediately drawn to the fact that very limited research has been done in the past on the relations of the Papacy to the Jews, its attitude and policies in ttieir regard. This induced the editor and his team to conduct a systematic survey of the major holdings of the Vatican Archives and elsewhere so as to gather together all the papal bulls and briefs bearing on this topic. To these were added some originals which have survived in other places. The result of the survey is the publication of some 3,250 documents containing references to Jews, the majority of which have not appeared in print before, or in those instances when they have, are dispersed elsewhere in works not always readily accessible. Having explained the raison d'être of the project, a brief description is added of its limits and limitations, so that the reader is forewarned and should not expect to find things beyond these prefixed parameters.

From the "List of Archives and Manuscript Collections" (I, xii-xv), it is abundantiy clear that the Vatican Secret Archive constitutes the principal fount and no collection that promised to be productive has been neglected, even though the immensity of the papal muniments precluded a complete examination.

What appears as a disproportionate feature of the collection—there are only sixty-six items for the first seven centuries (and almost half of which emanated from Pope Gregory the Great), whereas the numbers increase remarkably after the election of Pope Innocent III (1198-1216)—is a faithful reflection of adverse factors on the conservation of the records in the Vatican and not due in any way to editorial oversight of the sources available. This restricts to only brief glimpses any insight into the history of the Apostolic See and ttie Jews prior to the era of the Crusades, and mere conjecture can serve no good purpose; whereas for the later period the written records survived at an increasing rate, with some 1,100 documents up to a.d. 1500, and over 2,000 for the remaining fifty years.

Even so, as Simonsohn points out in the preface to the History (VII, x), papal documentation concerning Jews and Judaism accounts for only a fraction, less than one percent, of the mass of records held in the Vatican Archives and may be taken as indicative of the relatively small importance attached to the topic by the Apostolic See, notwithstanding the indisputable fact that papal policy had far-reaching repercussions on the history of the Jews in medieval Europe.

The six-volume corpus of Documents offers a wide radius of subject matter ranging from the extension of papal protection to the Jews, with the oft reissued bull Sicut Iudaeis, the cornerstone laid by the papacy for their protection at the beginning of the second millennium, according to which they are not to be forced to accept baptism, nor are they to be willfully wounded, killed, or deprived of their property, or disturbed in the celebration of their religious rites, or their cemeteries violated in any way (doc. 49); to less momentous and more trivial affairs, with a certain understandable preponderance of documents related to commerce, finance, money lending, real estate, taxation, usury, and interest rates. The majority of papal letters were issued in response to petitioners and reflect their changing circumstances and whims, rather than an ambivalent and at times apparently contradictory papal policy. Often, however, it is trivial things which attract our attention and lead us to a deeper investigation of the events that had an impact on the daily lives of people.

The History is a reflection of this corpus of records, which as a consequence has dictated its scope and quality and may even be responsible for a certain distortion, due precisely to the disproportionate quantities of records that have survived from those earlier and later pontificates. It was never the intention to write a new history of Jewry in Europe in the context of a Christian hegemony. This monograph is simply a presentation of the Apostolic See vis-à-vis the Jews, and close adherence to the documents has imposed lines of demarcation, though much new information has been uncovered and additional fresh light shed on known topics. The Apostolic See dealt with most aspects of the Jewish presence throughout the entire sweep of the Middle Ages: this is narrated in the History according to subject matter and within each subject the material is presented in chronological order, according to the Popes involved, with an appropriate commentary for purposes of integration. Eight substantial chapters are the result and a short summary of conclusions. A history of the Jews vis-à-vis the Apostolic See has yet to be written.

It is obvious, therefore, that the ground covered in the History is both extensive and varied. PreLiminary matters are dealt with so as to place the Christian Church and the Jewish People in proper perspective and the reasons for eventual toleration briefly explained, in spite of the fact that sentiments remained far from being amicable and were expressed, even in papal pronouncements, with quite unrestrained invective in which the perfidia of the Jews is frequently invoked as justifying an attitude of unbridled hostility (VII, 1-38). The dual attitudes adopted by the Popes of protection and persecution, the contradictory

policies enforced, the establishment of the Inquisition at the request of the Spanish monarchs (and therefore dependent on them and not on Rome), and the expulsion of the Jews, in 1492, from their realms, form the main themes of the second chapter (VII, 39-93).

From there the History turns to the question of the legal status of Jews in medieval Europe, often degraded and servile, obliged to exhibit a distinctive badge and wear identifying attire, in humiliating conditions which further deteriorated after the twelfth century; the varied forms of social discrimination against them; the attitude of lay and ecclesiastical jurisdiction toward them and their ownership of property, especially when interests conflicted or overlapped; what degree of religious freedom the Jews enjoyed for the observance of their rites and precepts (after all, in a decree of 393, die Codex Theodosianus stated: "It is obvious that the Jewish sect is not forbidden by law"); the legislation concerning synagogues, their eventual destruction, or rehabilitation as Christian churches; the segregation of the Jewish community, at times voluntary, at times compulsory, in defined quarters of the towns (that in time came to be designated as the ghetto), for religious, social, as well as reasons of safety; their exclusion from holding public office; and the chapter concludes with the vexed question of intermarriage and sexual intercourse involving Christians (VTI, 94-156).

This is followed by chapters four and five, on what professional arts and practices Jews were allowed to exercise, such as medicine and surgery, though more frequently they engaged in monetary activities connected with trade and commerce, with finance as bankers and moneylenders, which was their most widespread occupation in the later Middle Ages, with the attached practice of usury (officially prohibited by the Church); or whether the Jews technically were obliged to pay tithes to the Church and taxes to the State on their real estate (VII, 157-277); and the fascinating aspects of the efforts of Judaizers to win over Christians and the mission of Christians to convert the Jews, involving inducements and coercion, the rights of converts, the baptism of children, the establishment in Rome of the casa dei catecumeni by Ignatius Loyola, modelled on London's much earlier domus conversorum (VII, 228-286).

This leads on to the sixth chapter dealing with the vast polemical literature which resulted from both oral and written controversies, dating from the century of the New Testament itself; predominantly these are the Adversus Judaeos treatises, Christian in inspiration and all from the earlier period. It is only toward the end of the Middle Ages that identifiable Jewish anti-Christian writings reappear; often one can arrive at the Jewish line of argumentation only by studying the Christian response. For a thousand years the controversy was linked almost exclusively to biblical exegesis and hermeneutics. Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Trypho marks the birth of Christian theology. St. Augustine devoted much attention as a theologian to the relationship between the Jewish Synagogue and the Gentile Church; the latter he regarded as the Verus Israel.

The papal share in this theological literature is relatively small, as Simonsohn himself notes, though the sermons and writings of Popes Leo I (440-461) and Gregory I (590-604), undoubtedly influenced tlie Christian mentality, even if only through reiterating the line traced by the early Fathers without deviating from it. A marked change occurred in the thirteenth century with the attack on the Talmud, thereby introducing a completely new element in the controversy between Judaism and Christianity. The Dominicans played a prominent role in these polemics, characterized by tracts such as Raymond Martini's Pugio Fidei adversus Mauros et Judaeos, which served as an arsenal of ammunition for succeeding generations of Christian disputants and polemicists. The issue dragged on for centuries, but culminated in the condemnation of the Talmud, its commentaries and cognate rabbinical literature, by a commission of cardinals, in 1553, and the burning of these texts at the Campo dei Fiori to the applause of the bystanders. Secular rulers and clergy everywhere were ordered to confiscate the books from the Jews resident within their domains, who were obliged to surrender them on pain of loss of property, and consign them to the flames. These draconian measures caused die Jews much grief, but there were many Christian humanists too who deplored the destruction of this talmudic literary patrimony. In the era of the Counter-Reformation, however, there was no place for disputation; dialogue was dead (VII, 287-342).

As was to be expected, there is an entire chapter dealing with the Inquisition, tracing its evolution from inception under Pope Lucius III (1 181-1 185), to combat heresy, magic, and sorcery, and any dissent from official policy; so in theory it had no mandate regarding Jews. Only with the institution of papal inquisitors, notably Dominicans (who bragged that they were the watchdogs of Christianity), from 1232 on did the interest of the Inquisition extend to Jewish communities and their internal activities. Possessing the Talmud and other rabbinical writings was one of the offenses that had to be sought out and punished. The inquisitors also aimed at nullifying Jewish influence on converts to Christianity to prevent them reverting to Judaism, and they enjoyed papal authorization for this task. The Inquisition was active mainly in southern Europe, in France, Italy, Spain, and Portugal; the increasing pressure that is exercised on professing Jews became so intolerable that they appealed to the Apostolic See for protection, and consequently bulls were issued by various Popes forbidding, for instance, the use of torture on Jews and generally calling for greater equity and leniency when treating with them. The mass conversion of Jews in Spain and Portugal, during the century from 1391 until the climax of 1492, had no parallel in the Middle Ages and brought untold problems in its wake, because little was done by the existing ecclesiastical and secular institutions to absorb the New Christians into society, and so they found themselves in a sort of social limbo. The Apostolic See was aware of the strife created in Spain by the converso problem and by converts reverting to the religion of their fathers. Once more, an appeal to the Pope (Eugenius IV), which enumerated concisely tlie problems that converts faced of integrating into Christian society, succeeded in bringing about a

repeal of discriminatory statutes (doc. 721). The Spanish Inquisition calls for special treatment, especially the role played by the inquisitor general, Thomas Torquemada, under whose direction the institution became infamous for creating terror by the unprecedented cruelty practiced upon countiess defenseless victims. It was surpassed in this only by the Portuguese Inquisition in the following century. In the face of all of this, papal policy at the end of the fifteenth century and well into the next, appears at best to have been vacillating and never directly effective (VII, 343-401).

The final chapter, entitled "The Popes' Jews," examines die policy of the Popes toward the Jews from a new angle, namely, the conditions of those Jews who resided in territories under direct papal temporal rule (the Papal State. Avignon, and the Comtat Venaissin), and so legitimate subjects of the Roman Pontiffs by a civil, as opposed to a religious title. Unlike in the rest of Europe, where die Popes had to contend with the diverging, or even opposing, views of secular princes within their respective realms, in their own dominions they were unhampered in applying their policies, even if pragmatic considerations, such as their finances and other interests of the local population, for whose welfare they were responsible, conditioned their political decisions. The oldest Jewish community with a continuous existence remains that of Rome, whose antecedents predate the Roman empire; for approximately 1,500 years it survived under papal rule and over the course of the centuries a unique relationship was formed between the Popes and these special subjects, toward whom they could be more flexible. Before the end of the first millennium information regarding this community is scarce and fragmentary, but gathers in quantity with the gradual passage toward the later period of the corpus of Documents. Taking them in turn, Simonsohn examines the situations in Rome, in the Papal State (Ancona and the Marches, Bologna and Cesena), extending over all of central Italy, and in France (Avignon and the Comtat Venaissin and surroundings), looking at the charters of rights granting legal status, privileges, taxes (especially the decima and the vigésima), trades and professions, such as banking, moneylending, and the inevitable conflicts that flared up between Christians and Jews, especially in France (VII, 402-461).

The History terminates with a relatively short "Conclusion" (VII, 462-469); considering the complexity, diversity, and multiplicity of topics that occupy the preceding chapters, one can appreciate the challenge involved in attempting to draw together the many threads and weave them into an intelligible pattern. Simonsohn is the first to put the reader on guard as to the value of the information that has resulted from this vast archival survey; in spite of the multiplication of papal injunctions and pronouncements, how much remained a dead letter? Each case requires to be examined and judged on its own merits. Coping with the Jewish presence in the midst of Christendom was a very minor issue in comparison with the struggle between Sacerdotium and Regnum that dominated society throughout the Middle Ages and has filled so many pages of our

history books. Sometimes the Jewish element was used effectively by popes and kings to play one off against the other. Financial considerations, rather than rabbinical law, influenced secular rulers to legislate in favor of the Jews when they found themselves diametrically opposed to canon law. Numerous instances of procrastination over implementing papal policy, albeit for greater toleration, or for increased repression, are cited from all corners of Europe. The Sicut Judaeis bulls did not do away with persecution, nor did die papal condemnation of the ritual murder libel put an end to that calumny; but royal enactments and proclamations on these and similar topics fared no better. As the Middle Ages drew toward a close, the Jews were expelled successively from England, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Germany; most of the expulsions were motivated by political and economic considerations, though the religious element was also decisive, at least ostensibly. The Popes appear to have maintained silence over the expulsions and this is found to be astonishing and inexplicable; for over a thousand years the papacy had implemented the compromise formula of Augustine advocating tolerance of Jews, as the only nonconformist religious minority in a Christian milieu that itself allowed for no dissent, religious or otherwise. It is not surprising that this state of affairs came to an end, but what is, is that it ever lasted so long. If the Apostolic See had continued to exercise its traditionally mediatorial influence (though at times some Popes showed a hardening of attitude and tightening of policy), the Jewish communities probably would have survived in most western European nations, but the political weakness of the Apostolic See before the secular rulers allowed the latter to prevail. The fact of having to bow so often to political pressure meant that papal intervention, both in the restrictive policies and in the measures advocated for the protection of the Jews, was at best inadequate, even though the Apostolic See remained one of the most influential factors in shaping policy, and no secular power could ignore it with impunity. For this reason it remains an element of considerable relevance for the understanding of the continued Jewish presence and role within the historical context of European civilization.

The Apostolic See and the Jews has already been widely reviewed in the principal periodicals: Aevum, Archivum Historiae Pontificiae. The Jewish Quarterly Review, The Journal of Ecclesiastical History, The Journal of Ecumenical Studies, Historische Zeitschrift, Irénikon, Provence Historique, Revue des Etudes Juives, Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, Revue Historique de Droit Français et Etranger, Speculum. The writers have been generous in their praise of the enterprise and the general editor and his collaborators have been congratulated on their achievement. Obviously, errors and mistakes have been noted; it could hardly be otherwise in a work of such magnitude. Some preferences have been expressed, some criticisms have been made, over details of editorial policy; undoubtedly the inclusion of more diplomatic data would have enhanced the source material considerably and anticipated some of the desiderata of the scholars who will consult the corpus. The reviews by Paul Rabikauskas, SJ. (Archivum Historiae Pontificiae, 28 [1990], 393-396, and espe-

cially 30 [1992], 410-415) are particularly valuable for an important caveat.he draws attention to a fairly serious oversight regarding the dating of documents, namely, an apparent failure by Simonsohn to distinguish between the different styles followed by the Roman Curia for the beginning of the calendar year, that of the Nativity—stylus Nativitatis (December 25); of the Circumcision—the modern stylus Circumcisionis (January 1); and of the Incarnation—the stylus Incarnationis or calculus Florentinus (March 25), depending on the type of papal missive (bull, brief, etc.) in question. Although apparently few documents are dated within the crucial time zone of December 25-31, the problem really presents itself with the more numerous cases of the sixteenth century, where the date in its original form is not provided by the edited text, but only the modern equivalent in the English summary. Any doubts could have been dispelled immediately, if the editor had included essential diplomatic elements, such as the Latin incipit of the text and the date in its original form, in his regests. As it stands, the researcher must be made aware that the problem exists and that only cautious checking when using these sources will help him avoid these insidious chronological traps; not unlike the pitfalls of transposition of Old Style/ New Style for documents issued in countries that did not adopt the Gregorian Reform of 1582 immediately, such as England, where the reform was introduced in 1752, or Russia, which conformed only as recently as 1923!

Without doubt this monumental work will act as a stimulus for deeper investigation of many of the topics embraced in this survey: that primarily is why it was undertaken at all, and corrections and additions to this corpus will serve to enhance its value, not detract in any degree from its inestimable worth. One might hope that equally qualified and critically balanced scholars will attempt to assemble along similar lines the sources for that eventual history of The Jews and the Apostolic See, thereby complementing and completing what already has been so finely achieved.

Archivio Segreto Vaticano

BOOK REVIEWS

Medieval

The Decline and Fall of Medieval Sicily: Politics, Religion, and Economy in the Reign of Frederick III, 1296-1337. By Clifford R. Backman. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xxi, 352. $59.95.)

After a long period of scholarly neglect, Sicily in the late medieval ages has in recent years begun again to attract attention, notably in Henri Bresc's Un monde méditerranéen: économie et société en Sicile, 1300-1450 (1986), and Stephan Epstein's An Island for Itself: Economic Development and Social Change in Late Medieval Sicily (1992). Clifford Backman's monograph on the reign of Frederick III is a valuable and thought-provoking addition to this growing corpus of research. Frederick led Sicily to victory in its exhausting struggle for independence from the Angevin kings of Naples. He was a charismatic ruler of some ability, and in the decade following the treaty of CaltabeUotta (1302) the Sicilians experienced enough constructive political change and economic vitality to foster hopes of long-term stability and prosperity. But by the time Frederick died the rural and urban economy was in disarray, centraUzed government was not far from collapse, and social life was undermined by violence, corruption, and intense particularism. Backman argues that no single cause accounts for Frederick's overall failure as a ruler. The king's various foreign policy involvements, from 1312 onwards, proved to be both misguided and ruinously expensive. But this was less important than the sharp divergence between the economic interests of the coastal cities and those of the rural hinterland, and resistance to the court's attempts to create a coherent political community in the island. So structurally embedded were these features that Backman comes close to a determinist view of Sicily's fate: "The odds against Vespers-era Sicily succeeding and prospering had been against it all along."

In his treatment of religious life in Sicily Professor Backman focuses principally on the decade or so of reconstruction following 1302. These were remarkable years. Not only were churches rebuilt and purloined endowments returned, but under the influence of Arnau de Vilanova Frederick became convinced of his duty to raise religious and moral standards in his realm. His Ordinationes generales of 1309/10 were shot through with Vilanova's ideaUstic views, and the royal reforms attracted the admiration of Ramon Lull, who spent

a year at Frederick's court in 1313-14. For a brief period it even proved possible to invest Frederick with a quasi-messianic role as the leader of a crusade to the east, or the sponsor of a mission to Tunisia. Royal evangelism and rampant anticlericalism, the legacy of years of continual interdict during the War of the Vespers, made Sicily a natural refuge for the Spiritual Franciscans. This caused another breach with the papacy when John XXII turned against the Spirituals in 1317. The island was again placed under interdict, and the economic troubles and baronial brigandage of the 1320's and 1330's made the Church as impoverished, harassed, and unpopular as it had ever been.

This book's title is melodramatic and misleading, but its other faults are few. Clifford Backman guides his readers with authority through notoriously complex themes, and his lively prose style disguises an impressive depth of scholarship. He has written an admirable first book, and while his arguments are unlikely to be accepted in full, his study will be required reading in its field.

Norman Housley

University of Leicester

A Short Discourse on the Tyrannical Government: Over Things Divine and Human, but Especially over the Empire and Those Subject to the Empire, Usurped by Some Who Are Called Highest Pontiffs. By William of Ockham. Edited by Arthur Stephen McGrade; translated by John KilcuUen. [Cambridge Texts in the History of PoUtical Thought.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xxxiv, 215. $4995 cloth; $1595 paperback.)

A Letter to the Friars Minor and Other Writings. By William of Ockham. Edited by Arthur Stephen McGrade and John Kilcullen; translated by John Kilcullen. [Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xl, 390. $64.95 cloth; $24.95 paperback.)

These volumes present a translation of Ockham's Breviolquium or Short Discourse—the first complete translation of any of Ockham's political treatises—together with substantial translated excerpts from Ockham's other political works. The two volumes are very welcome. Ockham's political writings are among the most important of the medieval era but, until now, they have been inaccessible except to scholars who can read them in the original Latin.

The editor and translator have done their work exceUently. The introductions of McGrade are clear and concise, the translations of Kilcullen fluent and accurate, and the footnotes provide material that will be helpful to a student without being too intrusive. I have only one quibble about the translation—the persistent rendering of the word dominium as "lordship." This sometimes obscures Ockham's meaning and even leads to phrases that are hardly Enghsh at all. Thus

Kilcullen has Ockham write that "someone is said to have lordship over a horse when he can manage it as he pleases" (p. 103); but in English we never say that a rider has "lordship" over his horse. The word needed here is "mastery." In other contexts "jurisdiction" or "ownership" would be appropriate.

In the Short Discourse the editors made an excellent choice of a work to translate in full. This treatise presents in a clear, straightforward, and accessible fashion Ockham's case against the contemporary popes. He attached not only specific abuses of the papal power, but a whole theory of papal absolution that he regarded as corrupt and heretical. (It is important to note, however, that Ockham never attacked the papacy as such.) The theory of papal authority that Ockham rejected held that the pope, as vicar of Christ on earth, was supreme lord of the world in all temporal and spiritual affairs. All rights of government and rights of property were derived from him. It followed that no licit government and no valid claims to property existed outside the CathoUc Church. Against this Ockham argued that the right to institute rulers and the right to acquire property were granted by God to all peoples "without intermediary" (p. 91). Ockham made a significant contribution to the emerging doctrine of natural rights in this work, referring several times to the inviolabUity of "the rights and liberties granted by God and Nature."

Although Ockham has often been treated as a merely destructive critic of the papacy, the positions he defended in the Short Discourse might be regarded nowadays as mainstream CathoUc doctrine. Nor were they unique to Ockham even in his own day; the editors mention the Franciscan's reUance on commonly accepted "theological and legal principles." The Short Discourse illustrates especially a point I have made in earlier writings and in more detail in a formcoming book on The Idea of Natural Rights—Ockham's extensive use of canonistic sources in his attack on papal absolutism. (The editors give a Ust of canonistic references at pages 211-213.) This has sometimes been seen as a paradoxical procedure. Ockham was indeed often impatient with the canonists of his own day who supported the more extreme papal claims; but the earUer texts assembled in Gratian's Decretum provided a lode of material from which other theories of the papacy could be derived. I wish the editors had been able to include chapter 61 of the Opus nonaginta dierum where Ockham based his understanding of a right specifically on the ordinary glosses to the Decretum and Decretals.

But it would be wrong to complain when we have been given so much. If we regard the translation of the Short Discourse as a scholarly duty, the editors' second volume might be seen as an admirable work of supererogation. Here we are given Ockham's Letter to the Friars Minor, a terse statement of his charges against John XXII, and also a short excerpt from the Eight Questions; but the bulk of this volume is made up of long passages from Ockham's most difficult and convoluted works, the Dialogue and the Work of Ninety Days. The pages from the Dialogue are especially valuable because Kilcullen has not reUed on

the notoriously corrupt printed editions but has based his translation on manuscript sources.

Altogether, these volumes constitute a fine achievement. All students of medieval history and the history of political thought should be grateful for them.

Brian TiERNEY

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The Register of John Kirkby, Bishop of Carlisle, 1332-1352, and the Register of John Ross, Bishop of Carlisle, 1325-1332. Edited by R. L. Storey. 2 vols. [Canterbury and York Society, Vols. LXXLX, LXXXI.] (Rochester, New York: The Boydell Press. 1993, 1995. Pp. xvi, 176; $59.00; $53.00.)

The edition of any medieval bishop's register is a welcome contribution. The documents recorded therein not only tell—to the extent that the registrar was a diligent scribe—what the bishop did pastorally and administratively, but they also reveal numerous facets of medieval church and society in and beyond a particular diocese. These two volumes are all the more welcome to students of EngUsh church history because Carlisle has fewer extant medieval registers than most EngUsh dioceses and only one of these—John Halton's (1292-1324)—has been edited previously. Professor Storey's task was a formidable one: the first volume provides detailed summaries of 841 entries in the Kirkby register and the Ross fragment. Most of these are formulaic and represent the usual run of episcopal business: memoranda, correspondence, institutions to benefices, and ordinations. But the editor's EngUsh summaries contain aU the essential information along with copious notes and internal cross-reference making them aU the more valuable as historical information. Invariably, some of these entries are more interesting or historically significant than others. The editor thus devotes most of the second volume to the fuU transcription sixty-one entries in their original Latin or French. He includes important administrative records such as financial surveys of episcopal properties, correspondence with royal and ecclesiastical lords, and the business of the courts. There are also records here that evoke a less official world in fourteenth-century CarUsle: accounts of the intermittent Anglo-Scottish wars, piety and devotion, and, on one occasion, a lost-and-found notice for a prayer book a cleric dropped riding between Moorland and Penrith. Valuable indexes of persons, places, and subjects fiU out this second volume.

This is an important contribution to the source materials for later medieval EngUsh church history not merely for the contents which the editor makes accessible, but because the project was in no sense an easy task. The composite manuscript in which this register is located was so eccentrically constructed and paginated as to make an orderly chronological summary a daunting effort. In his introduction, Professor Storey summarizes the paleographical and diplo-

matic chaUenge of this register with impressive detail. While essential for understanding the register proper, this introduction is meant for scholars who have consulted these manuscript materials firsthand and is not as accessible to a less experienced reader. In fact, if anything is lacking at aU in this impressive work, it is the broader historical context for the very detail that makes it so rich. Where it was usual for the older Canterbury and York Society volumes to provide an historical introduction for their subjects and pay less attention to the manuscript registers themselves, Professor Storey excels in the opposite direction. StUl, there is no lack of references whereby the earnest reader can gather such information, and, against the larger contribution of this work, this is a small matter.

WniiAM J. Dohar, C.S.C.

University of Notre Dame

The Black Death and Pastoral Leadership: The Diocese of Hereford in the Fourteenth Century. By WilUam J. Dohar. [Middle Ages Series.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 198. $32.95.)

The diocese of Hereford is a sufficiently compact area to entice a close examination of the impact of the Black Death upon the Church, not least because its episcopal records and the findings of a visitation carried out in 1397 have long been in print. In this book Dr. Dohar makes good use of these records as weU as others to chart the progress of the plague visitation of 1348 through the area and to monitor its effects upon the parish clergy and the response of the bishops. His sketches of Bishops TrUlek and Lewis Charlton and his assemblage and discussion of institution and ordination figures (which chiefly confirm weU-known trends) are useful, but his considerable knowledge is often betrayed by a lack of penetrating or enterprising research. Although Dr. Dohar repeatedly stresses the importance of the social and economic context in which the clergy found themselves, he offers no characterization of the area's social structure or of its economic basis. Parish churches are numbered but not valued; still less are their endowments explored to reveal how poor or rich they were and what proportion of revenue came from the glebe or from tithes and offerings, facts which might determine how they were affected by the changes which ensued from the Plague. We learn that many Uvings were appropriated, but we are told nothing about the nature of the vicarage which was ordained, nor are the dates of appropriation systematically disclosed. As for the parishioners, we are given no clue as to how they earned their Uving or how many of them there were. There are no indications of the pressure or dearth of inhabitants in any single parish except in two instances of two churches being united for a lack of, or because of the poverty of, parishioners, but these examples offer no figures. We learn a UtUe from a twenty-year-long lawsuit between a Hereford vicar and the dean and chapter about the burial rights of the latter in the city—120 died in 1348-9, twenty being buried in one day—but no attempt is made to estimate

the proportion of survivors. PoU tax records are cited only for the clerical population, not for the laity; no secular records—except for some very limited use of patent and close roUs—are exploited to Ulumine the context in which the clergy worked and the nature of the chaUenge which faced them. Even when using ecclesiastical evidence, Dr. Dohar is not whoUy reassuring: he often assumes that the entry of items (such as Cum ex eo Ucences) in the bishop's register was systematic and consistent, and he confuses mortuary and burial rights. Relying on what is in the bishop's register, he rather too eagerly dismisses the significance of early LoUardy in the area which, as he himself acknowledges, nurtured the young Oldcasde. Sadly, his want of rigor and of precision undermines confidence in his conclusions which are remarkably bland and optimistic.

Peter Heath

University ofHull

Sapientie Immarcessibilis. A Diplomatic and Comparative Study of the Bull ofFoundation ofthe University ofLouvain (December 9, 1425). By Erik Van Mingroot. Documentation by Marc NeUssen. Translation from the Dutch by Angela Fritsen. [MediaevaUa Lovaniensia, Series I/Studia XXV] (Leuven: Leuven University Press. 1994. Pp. vüi, 329; 112 black and white iUustrations. 2,200 Belgian Francs paperbound.)

The University of Louvain (Leuven) was founded by Pope Martin V (1417-1431) with his buU Sapientie Immarcessibilis (Sacrosanct Wisdom) on December 9, 1425, at the request of the city of Louvain, Johannes IV of Burgundy, Duke of Brabant, and the coUegial chapter of St. Peter in Louvain. The University was granted the same privUeges as those enjoyed by the Universities of Cologne, Vienna, and Leipzig. The official opening took place on September 7, 1426, with the first rector, GuiUelmus Neve, in attendance. The Faculty of Theology was not authorized until 1432. The medieval foundation existed until October 25, 1797, when with the presence of the French Army it was closed. It was reopened only in 1834-1835 thanks to the efforts of the Belgian episcopate supported by Gregory XVI (1831-1846) with his papal brief Majori Certe Solatio, dated June 10, 1834. The apostoUc conservators were: the archbishop of Trier, the abbot of the Canons of Prémontré of Tongerlo, and the dean of the Cathedral Chapter of St. Peter at Louvain.

The original buU of foundation was destroyed during the night of August 25/26, 1914, by fire, when the German army besieged Louvain. Fortunately, eleven copies of the buU of foundation survived from the fifteenth century. The first was made in Louvain on August 28, 1426, and was certified by the ducal secretary, Edmund Van Dynter. The 1431 copy of Roman registration kept in the Hauptstaatsarchiv of Hannover, Germany, was destroyed on the night of October 8-9, 1943, by allied forces bombing.

Eight copies of the Sapientie Immarcessibilis were made in the sixteenth century, four in the seventeenth, and several later on. A photographic reproduction of the founding buU is given as Ulustration number III. The author, Erik Van Mingroot did a thorough diplomatic study of the original text of the foundation buU. He should be commended for listing the eighty-five papal buUs related to the foundation of universities between the creation of the University of Toulouse (France) in 1233 and that of Alcalá de Henares (Spain) in 1499. The buU of Sapientie Immarcessibilis reveals simUarities with the text of the foundation buUs of the University of Copenhagen (1418), that of Geneva (1418), and particularly that of Rostock (1419). The latter founded with the buU Sapientiae Cujus Immarcessibilis can be regarded as some kind of model for Louvain.

The author offers a painstaking description of the diplomatic structure of the foundation buU of Louvain. In a genuine Rabelaisian style he Usts his purpose to examine the "typological, external, linguistic, structural, editorial, diachronic, styUstic, institutional, historical and documentary nature" of the buU (p. 284). Typological: has the appearance of an "actual buU"; external: "tachygraphic features" identicaUy abbreviated words; linguistic: styUstic features (cursus Romanus, velox, tardux, and planus); structural: perfect construction of the apostoUc bull according to protocol; editorial: the formulas are traditionaUy used expressions appUed by the apostoUc chancery, ending with "prohibition"; diachronic: the text of the Louvain buU corresponding to the time in the evolution of the Roman chancery style with such expression as "generale Studium Utterarum"; stylistic: Roman style such as university compared to foundation of wisdom (scientiarumfons); institutional: the Louvain buU displays chancery type of script, seal attachment, name of the scribe; historical: references could be found in the buU about contemporary events; documentary: many transcriptions were made by expert copyists; the authenticity of the buU was never doubted.

The pubUcation includes 112 black and white Ulustrations. Reproductions of the four miniatures from the circa 1450 Liber Privilegiorum of the University of Louvain (presently in the National Archives in Brussels) are an important contribution to the iconography of the medieval university. Reproduced as Ulustration no. 17, upper part of the page, the symbol of the Faculty of Arts is shown: a master standing, two smaU pupUs seated before him; on the lower part the symbol of the Faculty of Medicine appears: a doctor holding a vase (urinal) in right hand. The upper part of ulustration no. 18 depicts a cleric holding a large crucifix in his left hand and a book in the right used as symbol of the Faculty of Canon Law. The Faculty of CivU Law on the lower part of the page is represented by a dignified person, a king or ruler holding a sword in his right hand a globe in the left. For comparison's sake, the present reviewer would like to refer to a splendid representation of Emperor Charlemagne, displaying the same iconographical characteristics as the Louvain symbol of CivU Law. The miniature served as introduction to the records of Berchtoldus Rembolt as receptor of the EngUsh-German nation at the University of Paris, 1506-1507. (Reproduction in A. L. Gabriel, Garlandia [Frankfurt am Main, 1969], p. 191.)

The reviewer would have welcomed a reference to the bibUography of the history of the University of Louvain skiUfuUy pubUshed by Professor Jacques Paquet, representative of Belgium in the International Commission for History of Universities. It was edited in the Bibliographie Internationale de l'Histoire des Universités (Genève, 1973), pp. 101-164. Last but not least, the author, Erik Van Mingroot, should be complimented for the detaUed and masterly analysis of the December 9, 1425, original foundation buU of the University of Louvain.

AsTRiK L. Gabriel

University of Notre Dame

Roma Capitale (1447-1527). Edited by Sergio Gensini. [PubbUcazioni degU Archivi di Stato, Saggi 29; Centro di Studi suUa Civiltà del Tardo Medioevo San Miniato, CoUana di Studi e Ricerche, 5.] (Rome: Ministero per i beni culturaU, Ufficio Centrale per i beni Archivistici. 1994. Pp. xiv, 629. Paperback.)

The twenty-two papers in this volume explore Renaissance Rome from a number of different angles, but the general theme around which they aU revolve is the city, its culture and institutions under the papal prince. Written for a conference dedicated to the theme of "Roma Capitale" held at San Miniato in October, 1992, without exception the papers are characterized by superb scholarship and Uvely writing. Here I can only hope to give some idea of the breadth of learning and high quality of scholarship that mark these works.

Humanism in Renaissance Rome is weU represented in this volume by a number of contributions. Charles Stinger, for example, explores how humanists created an image of Rome consónate with the exalted spiritual and cultural claims of the resurgent popes. Humanists did this by celebrating the numerous sacred shrines and miracle-working sites that comprised the sacred geography of the city. The sacred marvels of Rome reinforced the image of Christ as savior and Rome as the perpetual seat of his priesthood. This rich legacy of Christian Rome led humanists to claim that Rome had a central role in the unfolding of Christianity Stinger also offers insights into how curial humanists reconcUed the splendor of classical Rome with Christian Rome.

A number of papers published in this work delve into the demographical and social changes that accompanied Rome's emergence as a dominant poUtical and ecclesiastical center. Pierre Hurtubise analyzes the efforts of the transplanted Florentine merchant famUy of the Salviati to work its way into the eUte ranks of the Roman nobiUty and church hierarchy. Members of the Salviati clan systematically acquired landed estates and aped the food and artistic tastes of the Roman eUte, in order to leave their merchant class origins behind. However, the key to the rise of the Salviati in Rome was the privUeged place they enjoyed because of their close ties to the Medici popes. Lucrezia de Medici, who married the paterfamUias of the clan, was the sister of Leo X.

Christiane Schuchard's research documents the shrinking employment opportunities available to Germans in Rome. WhUe Germans continued to hold a few positions within the Penitentiary and Rota, few if any were found working in the Camera or Chancery. Germans were increasingly replaced by Italians in the Curia, so that Italians comprised 58% of the curial workforce by 1527, whereas Germans only totaUed 6% of the curial employees.

Peter Partner explains the process by which the Roman Curia became "Italianized." Under Sixtus IV and Innocent VIII, offices within the Datary went up for sale—and not cheaply. Because of the high price of a curial office, the financial support of an entire Italian family was drawn upon to subvent the cost. Once a family member was inside the Curia, he worked tirelessly to procure other lucrative curial offices for his kinsmen. Members of bureaucratic dynasties within the Curia tended to look upon their positions as private property and resisted any efforts at reform.

Egmont Lee investigates the inhabitants of the district of Ponte and finds that the pecuUar nature of the city as home to the papacy and as a great pilgrimage site distinctly shaped the neighborhoods of the area. The majority of the inhabitants of this quarter were non-Romans. WhUe Lee finds numerous Florentine banking famines Uving here, most of the inhabitants worked in the hospitaUty trade. Lee uses marriage records to analyze social patterns among the various classes, occupations, and nationaUties of the area.

Christine Shaw analyzes how Italian poUtical exiles faired in Renaissance Rome. WhUe the city prided itseU on its tolerance toward poUtical outcasts, only certain groups of exUes sought refuge there. Middle-class merchants and bankers exiled from Florence, Genoa, and Siena flocked to the city, because Roman society offered them the possibUity of engaging once again in their business pursuits. However, Rome had Uttle to offer economically to the aristocratic exiles of Naples and MUan; hence, they settled elsewhere on the peninsula.

Papal government was neither efficient nor weU loved by the Romans, as Paola Farenga demonstrates in her essay. Within the city, a large class of nobles and citizens found themselves marginaUzed poUticaUy and they seethed with anger. OccasionaUy this anger broke out into open rebelUon, as it did with Stefano Porcari. Members of the Curia continuaUy misread the violence and insubordination which plagued Rome in the fifteenth century. PrivUeged in power and place, the curial eUte could not comprehend the Romans' desire for setf-government. They attributed the hostility of the people to a base desire to riot and plunder the palaces of the prelates, cardinals, and pope.

WhUe they may have chafed under papal rule, Romans profited economicaUy from the presence of the papal prince. This theme is explored by Arnold Esch, who examines the effect on imports into Rome during an extended absence of Pius II. During the thirty-six months the pontiff was out of Rome, imports shrank 30-40%, rents dropped dramaticaUy, as did the price of food and wine. To compute the positive effect of the Curia on the Roman economy, Esch ana-

lyzes the volume of imports into Rome during a JubUee year. The influx of pUgrims for the holy year caused a noticeable spike upwards in imports of food and wine. Moreover, the cost of housing, food, and drink also edged higher. Esch concludes that local Roman businessmen owed much of their economic success to the papal presence in the city.

Mario Caravale investigates how the ApostoUc Camera increased its abUity to coUect revenues from the Papal States in the Renaissance. Martin V improved the efficiency of the papal fiscal system when he estabhshed five provincial treasuries to oversee papal finances throughout the papal lands. However, papal bureaucrats never attempted to impose a uniform fiscal system on papal holdings. Some areas like Rome and Bologna, were subject to direct fiscal control by the local apostoUc treasuries. In other areas like Perugia, local civic officials continued to exercise fiscal control, yet paid substantial taxes into papal coffers. The papal fiscal system became increasingly efficient from 1450 to 1525, with a corresponding increase in revenues from the Papal States.

WhUe not exhausting the topics covered in this volume, this brief survey reveals the richness of this coUection. Roma Capitale makes a substantial contribution to the study of Renaissance Rome by bringing together a number of different scholarly perspectives crafted by the major scholars in the field. Many of the articles overlap, which helps the reader to reconstruct the complex nature of Roman society and culture under the papal prince. This is a work whose very strength is its breadth of coverage—it wiU prove indispensable both as a reference work and in stimulating further research in the field.

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Byzantine Scholars in Renaissance Italy: Cardinal Bessarion and Other Emigrés. Selected Essays. By John Monfasani. [CoUected Studies Series.] (Brookfield, Vermont: Variorum, Ashgate PubUshing Co. 1995. Pp. xü, 351.)

This is the second of two coUections of his articles that John Monfasani has recently pubUshed in Variorum's "CoUected Studies Series." The first volume, Language and Learning in Renaissance Italy, contains his articles on fifteenth-century humanism. The present volume contains fourteen articles in EngUsh and ItaUan on Byzantine émigré scholars in Quattrocento Italy, aU previously pubUshed, including nine articles on Cardinal Bessarion and his circle. In addition to Bessarion, the volume contains studies dealing with Niccolö Perotti, Theodore Gaza, Pletho, Alexius Celadenus, Andronicus Contoblacas, Andronicus CaUistus, Nicholas Secundums, and numerous other figures. The articles are rather spottUy updated in a four-page appendix, but the author adds a useful index of manuscripts and an index nominum. AU of the articles display Professor Monfasani's deep learning and briUant skills in textual and historical criticism; with their publication, he inherits Deno John Geanakoplos' place as the

leading American authority on the emigration of Byzantine intellectuals to Renaissance Italy.

Much of this volume consists of detailed textual studies of the works of Bessarion and his 'academy,' including hitherto unpublished texts of Bessarion, Gaza, Callistus, and others, collations of new manuscripts of previously published texts, manuscript descriptions, paleographical data, and rich new material on the textual tradition of Bessarion's writings. There is also important new biographical information on Bessarion, Niccolö Perotti, and Andronicus Callistus. Beyond tliis, we are given an intimate view of Bessarion's struggles to enter the new linguistic environment of Latin humanism. From the Council of Ferrara-Florence onwards, Bessarion's three great causes -were the union of the Greek and Latin churches, the preservation of the Greek cultural heritage, and the launching of a crusade against the Turks to recover Constantinople. In order to compass these ends, Bessarion needed the ability to write persuasively in Latin and to defend, against numerous detractors, his image as a pious, orthodox, and loyal prince of the Roman Church. Though competent enough in the Italian and Küchenlatein of the papal court, Bessarion never really developed first-rate skills as a writer of Latin prose. Monfasani shows the important role played by Niccolö Perotti in translating or transforming many of Bessarion's controversial and scholarly writings into good humanistic Latin; Perotti's lost biography of Bessarion, as Monfasani demonstrates, was probably the most important source for the encomiastic biographical tradition of the great Greek cardinal that took shape after the latter's death.

Monfasani's volume also contains three articles of broader scope: a detailed survey of the role of Byzantine émigrés in Italian university teaching; an overview of the Byzantine rhetorical tradition in the Renaissance; and an assessment of the charge of 'paganism' sometimes made against certain Greek Platonists of the Quattrocento. The last article is mostly concerned with Pletho's reputation as a pagan, about which there is a strong difference of opinion in the learned literature. Among those who believe Pletho can be properly described as a pagan are Milton V Anastos and Pletho's two biographers, the paleographer François Masai and the modern Greek historian C. M. Woodhouse; among those who doubt Pletho's paganism are Edgar Wind, N. G. Wilson, Monfasani's teacher Paul Oskar Kristeller, and the present writer. While Monfasani righdy shows that Pletho's supposed paganism had no documentable influence either in the Greek East or in Italy and dismisses the legend of a secret 'pagan brotherhood,' I remain skeptical that Pletho was "an unequivocal neo-pagan" who did not believe in Christianity at all, as Monfasani maintains. Monfasani does not in my view take seriously enough the fact that all the evidence for Pletho's paganism comes from the hands of his implacable enemy, the fanatical anti-Unionist George Scholarios and from that paranoid conspiracy-theorist, George Trebizond. To base one's views of Pletho on the text of his Laws as redacted by Scholarios is a little like basing one's views of a political candidate on his speeches as redacted by his opponent's campaign-manager. It is more likely that both Scholarios and Trebizond were aiming to destroy Pletho so as to

discredit his most famous pupil, their common enemy, Cardinal Bessarion. Monfasani's interpretation takes note of, but does not explain, the considerable body of evidence showing Pletho to have been an (admittedly eccentric) supporter of Greek Orthodoxy against die Latin Church. Yet the evidence for Pletho's paganism, taken at face value, is certainly strong, and Monfasani's reading of it may well be the correct one; the attractive hypothesis that Pletho practiced an "eschatological paganism" solves a number of problems. But Monfasani still needs to make better sense of Pletho's numerous defenses of "the faith that we hold."

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Conversos, Inquisition, and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain. By Norman Roth. (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 429. $50.00.)

There are many books on the conversion of Iberian Jews to Christianity, the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition, and the Expulsion of 1492. Most scholars, whether Jewish or Christian, have emphasized the forced nature of the conversions, and, as a result of this, the existence of a large number of only nominal Christians, many of them secretly attached to Judaism and therefore persecuted by the Inquisition down to the eighteenth century. While, in his Marranos (1966), Benzion Netanyahu argued that over some decades most conversos became sincere Christians, he accepted the forced nature of the original conversions. In contrast, Professor Roth argues that almost all the conversions were free and that, from the beginning, the great majority of the conversos were sincere Christians.

Roth cites many Spanish and Hebrew sources. In a short review it is impossible to discuss in detail how he uses them. There are three main problems with the book: its claims to originality, its selective use of evidence, and, most important, its adamant insistence on positions adopted a priori.

Roth claims (pp. xii f.) that his book is the first detailed examination of the role of the conversos in Spanish society and the first to connect die fifteenth-century Inquisition with its predecessor, founded two hundred years earlier. Given previous scholarship, it is hard to take these claims seriously. To establish them, Roth is obliged to attack his predecessors (see below). Two examples of the selective use of evidence may suffice. Roth accepts (pp. 68 f.) part of a statement of ca. 1490 on the "good Christians" converted eighty years earlier, while rejecting the reference in the same source to contemporary conversions, impelled by fear. On page 162 (n. 17), citing a text which refers to persons converted by force, he inserts the word "few" in his source.

Roth starts from the unproven assumption that the conversions were free. Discussing the reasons for the conversions of many Jews in 1391 and later, Roth

states (p. 8) that in Spain "none or almost none of the conversions had anything to do with duress or persecution." On page 32 we are told that in 1391, "given the forceful reaction of the Kings there was clearly no reason for 'fear.'" These points are repeated many times (cf. pp. 34, 115, 217, etc.; a weakness of the book is an excessive tendency to repetition). They are hardly supported by the evidence, only a fraction of which is cited here. (To save space, I refer to my book, The Spanish Kingdoms, II, 139-141.) If, in 1391, Jews "freely chose [Roth's emphasis] to become Christians" (p. 44), one may ask why they did not do so earUer? The answer is obvious; before 1391 they were not in deadly fear of massacre by Christian mobs. The "inescapable question which so far not one single scholar has attempted to address: if Jews were being 'coerced' into converting in Spain, why did they not simply leave the country" (pp. 43 f.), is one which could only have occurred to someone Uving in the twentieth century. In the 1390's "simply leaving the country" meant abandoning one's roots and one's local community. Writing at the time, the Spanish Rabbi Simon b. Zemah Duran recognized the real problems that confronted former Jews who wished to leave Spain (Netanyahu, pp. 32-34).

Roth's basic misconception of the nature of the original "conversions" as being "free" inevitably leads him to beUeve that virtually aU conversos and their descendants were sincere Christians and that therefore the Inquisition's charges against them must invariably have been "hypocritical" (p. 90). Roth does not address the basic point that the Inquisition's records were not intended as pubUc propaganda but solely for use within the organization. Falsified records would, therefore, have been counterproductive. When citing charges against individual conversos, Roth continuaUy claims (e.g., p. 268) that they were taken from "manuals"; these manuals are never properly analyzed. While no one would claim that the Inquisition always proceeded correctly, it is too easy simply to dismiss the mass of evidence it discovered for secret Judaism in Spain. This evidence could be looked at in different ways. In discussing trial records which document Jewish observance in Toledo a century after 1492, Renée Levine Melammed correcdy observes (Judaism, 41 [1992], 159): "the same converso who might have been rejected by the rabbi for any of numerous halakhic reasons, could easily have been viewed by the inquisitors as a beUeving judaizer."

Roth sees the Inquisition as "exclusively responsible" for the expulsion of Jews from Andalusia in 1483 (p. 283, something not clearly stated in the document cited). Although he cannot deny that the CathoUc Monarchs demanded the Inquisition in the first place, they are said not to have done so "on their own" (p. 236). The general Expulsion of 1492 was apparentiy forced on the Monarchs (pp. 285, 315). This picture of Ferdinand and Isabel as "rois fainéants," manipulated by Torquemada, is not the least problem in Roth's study.

An unpleasant feature of the book is its attack on earUer writers. The late Yitzhak (Fritz) Baer is a main target. WhUe Baer was no more infaUible than other historians, he was responsible for the pubUcation of what remains the major coUection of sources on the Jews in medieval Spain. Roth's continual

denigration of Baer does him Uttle credit. Roth accuses Baer of "deUberately" overlooking or distorting important documents (pp. 319, 396, n. 150). Roth himself appears, however, to have deUberately distorted a statement by Baer. He states (p. 238) that Baer "invented [a] fiction" about the 1480's. WhUe Baer, in his History (p. 299), by a sUp, does change a grave threat of civU war in Córdoba into "open warfare," if one consults the original document (Die Juden, II, 468-472), one finds that it refers to 1464, a time when armed conflict between "old" Christians and conversos was anything but "fictional." Other instances of distortion could be cited. On page 12 (n. 20) and page 259 (n. 161) Roth is incorrect in accusing Baer of misinterpreting the texts he cites. On these and other occasions the "confusion" to which Roth refers is not in Baer's mind but in his own.

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Reordering Marriage and Society in Reformation Germany. By Joel F. Harrington. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xv, 315. $49.95.)

Joel Harrington's book on the sixteenth-century reUgious reformations' impact on the institution and practice of marriage in the German-speaking world rests on two assumptions: the alteration of human behavior is an inherently difficult undertaking, in which only long-term successes, if any, are to be expected; and social changes recommended by reform agendas are to be measured only by practices, where they intersect with the inertia of custom. These principles lead him to rule out the possibiUty of a revolutionary change, but not change altogether, in assertions about marriage m sixteenth-century Germany.

Harrington develops a two-pronged comparative research strategy, diachronic and universal for discourse, synchronic and local for practice. On the first line, he marshals a wide spectrum of academic treatises, pamphlets, and printed ordinances to compare the ideas of twelfth-century reformers on marriage with those of later reformers, both CathoUc and Protestant. He finds that later reforms were a mature stage of a much longer transformation of marriage from an exchange of objects—bride-price for bride—into a holy, indissoluble union of subjects, wUe and husband.

On the second line, Harrington assembles sources on the regulation of marriage in the three German states—a major territorial state (the Rhine Palatinate), a city-state (Speyer), and a prince-bishopric (Speyer)—which lay in the same region and were respectively of the Reformed, Lutheran, and CathoUc confessions. The sources, though more fragmentary than those for Württem-

berg, Nuremberg, or Würzburg, are nonetheless dense enough to support his argument for a basic uniformity in the regulation of marriage across confessional boundaries.

Bringing the two lines together, Harrington finds that the programs of the reformers, especiaUy the Protestant ones, far outran the means of contemporary states and state-churches to put them into practice. "Sixteenth-century marriage reform," he summarizes, "was typified by commonly high reUgious standards, with commonly inadequate means of implementation" (p. 277).

This inteUigently conceived and weU executed book cuts a middle way between Steven Ozment's "Protestant Whig approach" (p. 11) and the disinclination of modernists, such as Lawrence Stone, to recognize any significant change in early modern attitudes toward marriage. Harrington's battle against their equaUy anachronistic expectations succeeds because of his double envelopment of marriage along a diachronic, universal axis of discourse and a synchronic, local one of praxis. His approach fits very weU with both the approach to Protestant doctrine as the "harvest of medieval theology" (Heiko A. Oberman) and the approach to premodern Germany in terms of local and territorial history (Otto Brunner, Karl Siegfried Bader). It also aUows him to revise very significantly Adhémar Esmein's durable but surely false thesis about the Protestant reformation's secularization of marriage. These are major achievements, and this is a very good book.

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The Books of Assumption of the Thirds of Benefices: Scottish Ecclesiastical Rentals at the Reformation. Edited by James Kirk. [Records of Social and Economic History, New Series 21.] (PubUshed for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, New York. 1995. Pp. lxxxviii, 896.)

The title needs a word of explanation. The Reformation Parliament of August, 1560, enacted a change of religion in Scotland but took no practical steps to bring this about. Pre-Reformation holders of benefices simply remained in possession. Then, in February, 1562, an act of councU ordered one-third of aU church revenues to be coUected annuaUy for the benefit of the Crown and the Reformed Church, with sitting incumbents retaining the remainder. John Knox, in a memorable expression, described the arrangement as giving two-thirds to the devU and dividing one-third between God and the devU. AU the same, it was a fairly statesmanlike compromise between the various conflicting interests.

AU holders of church property were ordered to submit a detaUed account of their revenues. Only the West Highlands and Isles were exempt (the logistical difficulties in that remote and difficult terrain being considered too great).

Given the haste and complexity of the operation, the returns came in with surprising speed and completeness (though 'rentals' is perhaps not the best word, at least in our day, to describe these declarations of income in cash and kind).

There are, of course, obscurities and discrepancies and omissions of every kind, but the result is a most important document for the historian. The value of each crop and the livestock is listed in detail for each district with a record of what was leased out for cash, while the church historian finds information on almost every financial aspect of church life.

One expects a scholarly introduction to an important primary source to be enlightening and helpful, but Dr. Kirk's introduction goes far beyond this. Such matters as the background to the tax, the logistics of the assessment and its errors and deficiencies might well be taken for granted, but we are also given a detailed analysis of the information provided by the text on the life of the Church.

Bishops, for instance, are dealt with in a section on Episcopal Wealth. The long section on Monastic Patrimony is particularly informative, detailing such matters as the 'portions' received by the monks (deducted before tax was assessed), the monastic officers and servants, the amounts given out in charity. One might disagree with the editor's use of the word 'titular' to denote non-regular abbots, for their jurisdiction was real, and 'titular' in medieval canon law meant "having a legal title or right." The 'league-table' of each monastery's revenues differs little from that in Cowan and Easson's Medieval Religious Houses: Scotland, except that Arbroath and not St. Andrews comes first. All findings are based on the rentals: in fact, a total of 675 footnotes give well over 1000 references to the edited text.

Other important matters dealt with are appropriations, whereby corporate bodies enjoyed the revenues that should properly have supported local parishes; lay encroachment on church property and non-payment of tithes; the support already given to the Reformed Church before the system of thirds came into operation; hospitals, schools, and care of the poor. The editing of the text seems impeccable, and the index is very full (194 pages), giving the variants of each proper name. We now have a valuable new research tool which will take its place beside the Accounts of the Collectors of Thirds of Benefices, edited by the late Gordon Donaldson (to whom the present work is dedicated). The Scottish Reformation was unique in several important ways, not least in that its introduction was comparatively gentle, but it became one of the most radical and successful in Europe.

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St. Teresa of Ávila: Author of a Heroic Life. By Carole Slade. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1995. Pp. xxU, 204. $35.00.)

Since the late 1970's, a number of important studies have sought to demonstrate that, far from being spontaneous, artless, and uncultivated, St. Teresa of AvUa was a setf-conscious and talented, if not always careful, writer. Carole Slade's weU written and clearly organized book St. Teresa of Avila: Author of a Heroic Life is the most recent contribution to this reworking of the saint's image. According to Slade^Teresa's writings "comprise an elaborate project of seU-representation and setf-interpretation" (p. 1).

Slade argues that Teresa's Life originated with a command to write a judicial confession in anticipation of a possible inquisitorial process. Teresa, however, subverted this genre, which presumed the respondent's guUt, by shifting the generic resonance of the words she employed and by adapting aspects of Christian autobiography in the tradition of St. Augustine's Confessions. Close reading of key sections of the Life, together with the Interior Castle and the Foundations, substantiates this thesis. For example, the first ten chapters of the Life, which present Teresa's pre-conversion life, are informed not only by the genre of judicial confession, but also by that of first-person hagiography. WhUe the prodigal son is the most important figure for Augustine's seU-interpretation, Mary Magdalen and other New Testament women are paradigmatic for Teresa. In the Life, chaps. 11-22, and in the Interior Castle, Teresa's presentation of her mystical experience is cast in the Augustinian vocabulary of the faculties of the soul and takes the form of "analogies," such as the four ways of watering a garden, the crystal and diamond castle, the palmetto and tree of life, the silkworm and butterfly.

Teresa's post-conversion "new Ufe," Slade points out, finds apostoUc expression in her activity as monastic reformer and foundress. This facet of Teresa's setf-representation is introduced in the Life, chaps. 32-36, which recount the foundation of the first reformed monastery of St. Joseph's in AvUa, and is fully developed Ui the Foundations. GenericaUy, the latter is akin to contemporary New World conquest chronicles in Teresa's presentation of hersetf in heroic terms, as weU as to the "aUegory of female authority" of Christine de Pizan's The Book of the City of Ladies in the interpolated biographies of Teresa's nuns.

In an epUogue, Slade assesses psychoanalytic interpretations of Teresa's mystical experience, pointing out that this approach fails to account for Teresa's activism. Two appendices foUow: EngUsh translations of Domingo Báñez's censure of the manuscript of the Life and of Pedro Ibáñez's Judgment on Teresa. The book is rounded off with a bibUography and an index.

New ground is broken in Slade's thorough and inteUigent comparison of Teresa and Augustine, as weU as in her discussion of the Life as a judicial confession, of Teresa's "analogies," and of the dual genre oí the Foundations. Classification of the Life as autohagiography is not completely original and should

make reference to previous scholarship on this point. Susan Haskins' Mary Magdalen: Myth and Metaphor (1993) may have appeared too late for Slade to have consulted, but it is obUgatory for any discussion of this complex figure.

One of Slade's many fascinating insights is that, when Teresa speaks of her parents in the Life, she seems to distance herself from them. After the death of her mother, Slade notes, Teresa adopts the Virgin Mary as her mother. Moreover, Teresa's "later ecstatic vision of Joseph and Mary as benevolent parents outfitting her with jewels (Life 33.14) . . . might be interpreted in psychological terms as an attempt to replace her own parents with others who could suitably reward her" (p. 74). This suggestion would have been strengthened by consideration of the ubiquitous paternal role that St. Joseph, whom Teresa consistently referred to as her father, had in her life and reform. Moreover, the divine locution that Teresa received commanding her to found St. Joseph's monastery in AvUa indicates that the Teresian Carmel was to be an extension of the Holy FamUy(Ii/e,32.11).

This book may not be the last word in the scholarly conversation regarding Teresa's writings, but it wUl surely influence its future direction. Slade's provocative analysis wiU undoubtedly stimulate much further discussion and research.

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Pierre de Bérulle et les Carmélites de France: La querelle du gouvernement 1583-1629. By Stéphane-Marie Morgain, O.C.D. (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf. 1995. Pp. 590. 240 F.)

I suspect that this book teUs more than anyone, except a few French CarmeUtes, wishes to know about the difficulties surrounding the introduction of Discalced CarmeUte nuns into France in the early seventeenth century and the long, involved, and often bitter historiographical debate connected with that event.

The book is an evidently unedited S.T.D. thesis presented to the University of Fribourg and has many of the faults of that genre, except that it is generaUy weU ¦written. It also has the virtue of being based on a very wide range of sources, many of which have never before been utilized, some of which are pubUshed at the end of the book.

Despite the origins of this study, there are rewards awaiting those who persevere through the myriad of minute detaUs, careful refutations of obscure authors who wrote 120 years ago, and assorted snippets of weU-known French poUtical and reUgious history.

For those interested in Carmelite history the reward to be gained from reading this book is a sensible conclusion to a long debate about the early days of the reformed order in France. The debate has centered around the extent to which French Carmelite nuns have honored the legacy of St. Teresa of Avila as expressed in her constitution of the reformed Carmelites.

For the larger audience of historians interested in the Catholic Reformation the reward is fourfold. The first reward is a series of multi-dimensional portraits, the smaller of which are presented without much editorial comment, which reveal both the halos and the warts of many French and Spanish participants in the Catholic Reformation during the period 1583-1629. These portraits occupy a significant portion of the book. Especially important among the portraits are those of Pierre de Bérulle, the titular head of the group that brought the Discalced Carmelite nuns to France, the first two superiors of tlie Paris convent, Mères Anne de Jésus and Anne de Saint Barthélémy, and Père Denys de la Mère de Dieu, the fiercest Carmelite opponent of Bérulle's methods of governing the French Carmelite nuns independently of the order.

Woven around the portraits is a finely nuanced account of the intricacies of Franco-Spanish-Papal relations, especially for the period 1590-1610. A third part of the reward is a set of concrete examples of the ways in which the decrees of the Council of Trent concerning the reform of convents and monasteries by bishops challenged previously accepted modes of religious governance and the methods used to resolve the resulting conflicts—usually either trial and error or compromise.

Finally, and perhaps unintentionally, Morgain's account makes it painfully clear how rigidly early modern clerics regulated the lives of women religious and tried to control their thoughts. The clerics did not question their own motives or actions, or realize how unsuccessful their efforts of thought control often were. One wonders if the clerics realized how strongly their thoughts and actions were influenced by other women, many of whom were not religious. Particularly striking is the influence of the christology of die Carmelite nun Anne de Saint-Barthélémy on the spirituality of Pierre de Bertille.

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Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600-1640. By Anthony Milton. [Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 599. $79.95.)

Some thirty volumes have appeared as part of diis series to 1995. About one-fourth concern topics on Tudor England. This chronological imbalance may reflect the influence of John Morrill, one of three series' editors and a Stuart

speciaUst, who has been instrumental in identifying outstanding dissertations and overseeing them into print. Anthony MUton, since 1995 lecturer in history in the University of Sheffield, completed his dissertation under MorriU's supervision m 1989 and reformulated it for this book. MUton is a gifted young historian with other -works to his credit and a work in progress about the British delegation at the Synod of Dort (1619), which wUl be pubUshed under the auspices of the Church of England Record Society, founded in 1991·

MUton's is on aU accounts a triumphal achievement. He has written a convincing study characterized by clarity of thought, Uterary grace, exhaustive archival research, and a close reading of contemporary printed sources. He describes and assesses how divines strove to identify the nature of the EngUsh Church in relation to alternative churches existing abroad. He examines the divisions within the Church of England, whose doctrinal and ideological identity was StUl far from certain even by 1640. Different groups within the church debated just how the English Church should be understood as being both "CathoUc and Reformed." In their quest for answers, they considered what the church's precise relationship was with the Reformed Churches on the continent, and to what degree the church had truly separated hersetf from the Roman CathoUc Church. MUton's method is to analyze the ways in which the Roman CathoUc and the Reformed Churches were understood by EngUsh Protestant divines m the period.

Apart from his concise characterization of Protestantism in England ca. 1600 at the outset, and his so-caUed "select" bibUography (at thirty-one pages not the briefest I have seen), MUton has divided his study into two parts. In Part I, which includes seven of the nine chapters and about two-thirds of the book, he offers a tightly controUed, meticulously documented, and only occasionaUy verbose narrative and analysis of the often conflicting reactions of EngUsh Protestants to the tradition, doctrine, and current status of the Roman CathoUc Church in England and to some extent abroad. He develops this large section in the context of the Protestants' strenuous efforts to estabUsh their own identity apart from CathoUcism. One is led to the conclusion that to a substantial degree they tried to achieve this by sullying virtuaUy every aspect of Roman CathoUcism. There is a telling sentence tucked away on page 37 of this book which, to me, explains how Protestants basicaUy conceived of themselves: "Conflict with Rome was seen as being of the essence of Protestantism." In accordance with this subtheme, Milton considers in Part I the foUowing topics: antipopery in England; the Pope as Antichrist; Rome as a "true church secundum quid"; Rome's "errors" (mainly for Protestants idolatry and heresy); the idea that Protestantism had existed "before Luther" and could trace its origins to Christ; and the arguments advanced, mainly by Laudians in the 1630's, that "limited communion" or even reunion with Rome was still possible under certain conditions.

In Part II, MUton discusses the "Reformed Churches" in the context of contemporary EngUsh views on the "sisterhood" of aU the Protestant communions of Europe, the unifying and divisive elements within EngUsh Calvinism, and the

rise of anti-Calvinism (Arminianism). WhUe the EngUsh Church had remained basicaUy unchanged for decades, MUton maintains, the Laudian reforms forced Protestants of aU stripes to confront the issue of precisely what kind of church should prevaU in England, and how they might sort out theU differences in defense of a unified Protestant "cause" that in the end never developed.

By 1640, this protracted debate within the English Church and with Roman CathoUcs at home and abroad left EngUsh Protestants more deeply divided than at any time since the EUzabethan Settlement (1559). Many scholars have argued that Charles I faced a united reUgious opposition on the eve of the CivU War. But MUton has shown that the rise of the Laudians left EngUshmen fatally divided over reUgion and therefore incapable of uniting the forces ranged against the royal government on the basis of religion alone. In view of a widespread conviction that reUgion was a basic cause of the war (some would argue that it was the basic cause), MUton's conclusion is Uttle short of startling.

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Le clergé du Grand Siècle en ses assemblées (1615-1717). By Pierre Blet, SJ. [Histoire reUgieuse de la France, 7.] (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf. 1995. Pp. 529. 240 F.)

The assembly of the French Clergy was a coUegial institution that originated (1561) with the objective of negotiating with the Crown the First Estate's 'free contribution' to the finances of the kingdom. Deputies were elected for that purpose every ten years from each ecclesiastical province, two bishops and two members of the second order; a minor assembly, half the size, also convened in the middle of the period for accounting purposes. General extraordinary meetings could also be summoned by the king, as in the case of the famous assembly of 1682. Through its Agency that prepared the meetings and saw to the implementation of their decisions, the French clergy had a permanent organization that prefigured in many ways our modern conferences of bishops. Since his doctoral dissertation under the direction of Victor L. Tapié, Father Blet has devoted the greater part of his research to a chronological study of these assembUes, pubUshed respectively in 1959, 1972, and 1989. In this new book he presents what he sees as the substance of the previous investigations. The work is divided in four parts. The first, "The Order of the Clergy," considers financial matters, principaUy this 'free gift' that was the center of harsh negotiations with the Crown, as it aUowed the clerics to put some pressure on issues of importance. As the matter of Protestantism was certainly a major concern in these bargaining sessions, the author is correct to include them in this part. The second part, "At the time of Cardinal Ministers," teUs of the significant actions taken by the body under the strict control of RicheUeu and Mazarin. The third part is devoted to the preambles and results of the most famous of these assembUes,

that of 1682, which proclaimed the four GaUican Articles. The fourth is centered on the Jansenist conflict that culminated with the buU Unigenitus (1713); it also includes an important chapter on the censure of Fénelon Ui 1699-

Being rather famiUar with the meticulous research contained in the previous four books pubUshed by Blet, I must confess anticipatory reservations to such an abridged edition, which lacks the scholarly apparatus that made the original volumes so precious and useful. These reservations receded as I read a very interesting and stimulating book that iUustrates and confirms the importance in French history of this singular institution. In this compact format, it appears indubitably that "episcopal GalUcanism," that is, the conception that French bishops had of their authority and responsibUity, was strong and coherent, in their dealing both with the papacy and with civil authorities, Crown and ParUament. Unable to obtain an official reception of the CouncU of Trent, the bishops managed to secure its implementation at the local level, the assembUes providing them with a way to co-ordinate their efforts; they also helped to define common poUcies, e.g., regarding exempt reUgious orders. The issues of Jansenism and of Quietism soon offered the assembUes an occasion to exercise an authority that made the institution tantamount to a national councU, thus generating tensions between pope and bishops—tensions often mediated by the nuncios and the French ambassadors to the Holy See. Despite their Tridentine attachment to the papacy and their desire to act Ui communion with Rome, it seems clear that the French episcopate functioned under a different type of ecclesiology, based on an ideaUzed African model, that associated dynamicaUy the ministry of the pope and of bishops. The question of reception is constantly present, perhaps even more than Blet suggests.

As a general overview of the relationship between Rome and France, the book, therefore, succeeds totally, offering a sense of continuity that was difficult to perceive in the former more detaUed studies. It does not replace them as the references and secondary issues are often important to take into account. It is regrettable, of course, that the research ends with Louis XTV's death. One wonders what was the evolution of this institution during the eighteenth century. Let us hope that some disciple of the great Jesuit scholar wUl continue his indispensable work.

Jacques M. Gres-Gayer

The Catholic University of America

Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland. Die Kölner Nuntiatur, Volume VU/3: Nuntius Pier Luigi Carafa (1631 Januar-1632 Dezember). Edited by Joseph Wijnhoven. (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh. 1995. Pp. xxxviii, 510.)

In 1584, foUowing the short-Uved War of Cologne which had prevented the Archbishop of Cologne from secularizing his territory when he turned Protes-

tant, Pope Gregory XIII established a permanent nunciature in Cologne to strengthen the Church in northwest Germany. For the most part, the Cologne nuncios were not as involved in high politics as were their counterparts at the courts of Paris, Madrid, Vienna, or even Brussels, but they were to play a significant role at least through the conclusion of the Thirty Years' War.

In the late 1960's the Görres-Gesellschaft undertook the publication of the Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland: Die Kölner Nuntiatur, and so it resumed and reorganized a series that it had initiated at the end of the nineteenth century. One volume is devoted to each nuncio, and it is usually published in several parts. Pier Luigi Carafa served from 1624 to 1634 as the seventh nuncio in Cologne, and this is the third of the four parts making up this volume, of which part four was also published in 1995. The documents are numbered consecutively throughout all four volumes. Since the Prince-Bishopric of Liège fell under the Cologne nuncio's competence—and indeed Carafa resided in Liège during most of his tenure—,the Belgians have also published documentation of this nunciature. For this period one can consult G. Hansotte and R. Forgeur (eds.), Inventaire analytique de documents relatifs à l'histoire du diocèse de Liège sous le régime des nonces de Cologne (1606-1634) (Brussels/Rome, 1958). In addition, Carafa published his final report at Liège in 1634; see his Legatio Apostólica Petri Aloysii Carafae . . . , ed. Josephus A. Ginzel (Würzburg, 1840).

Joseph Wijnhoven has edited and annotated all four parts of this volume in a masterful fashion. He prints the full text of all the correspondence between Carafa and Rome, with each letter prefaced by a short summary in German. Five further documents are printed in appendices, and Wijnhoven draws extensively on other Carafa correspondence in his notes. Indeed, the notes are a valuable bibliographical mine for the many persons and events appearing in the correspondence. For this reason alone the volume is worth its price.

Carafa of the well-known Neapolitan family was born in 1581 and studied in Rome with the Jesuits, to whom he always remained well-disposed, keeping with him in Germany the Jesuit Silvestre) Pietrasanta as his confessor. Most of his early career was spent in administrative positions in the Papal States, and only at the time of his posting to Cologne did he receive sacerdotal and episcopal ordination, when he also was given the Bishopric of Tricarico as a financial base for his mission. One of his principal tasks was to protect papal rights to appointment to benefices in northwest Germany, and he was involved in the negotiations regarding the restitution of church property following the Edict of Restitution in 1629. Other topics for which there is material of particular interest in this part are the siege of Maastricht and the negotiations about a peace settlement in the Netherlands as well as the negotiations between the Rhenish ecclesiastical princes and Paris following Gustavus Adolphus's invasion of the area.

Robert Bireley, SJ.

Loyola University Chicago

Das Simultaneum: Ein staatskirchenrechtliches, politisches und theologisches Problem des alten Reiches. By Christoph Schäfer. [Europäische Hochschulschriften. Reihe II: Rechtswissenschaft, Band 1787.] (New York: Peter Lang. 1995. Pp. xvi, 168. $42.95.)

This sUght volume contains only 141 pages of text, -with twenty-six pages of bibUography and an extensive seven-page table of contents. It is the dissertation submitted by Dr. Schäfer to the law faculty of the University of Freiburg-im-Breisgau during the winter semester, 1994-95. It exhibits both the virtues and the failings of its type.

The subject of this dissertation, das Simultaneum, concerns the extension of reUgious Uberties to a minority after the Peace of Westphalia had frozen the confessional divisions of Germany in the mid-seventeenth century. Could a German ruler alter the situation inherited from WestphaUa? If so, by what right? To what extent could this be done? Did the jus reformandi guaranteed the princes in the Peace of Augsburg (1555) cover this situation? What status did international treaties, such as the reUgious clause in the Treaty of Ryswick, have? Can the prince extend to a reUgious minority only the freedom of conscience and worship in the home, as guaranteed by the WestphaUan settlement? Or can the prince extend to a minority the corporate right to the exercitium religionis privatum, i.e., the right to own a church buUding and to hold congregational services? What about the exercitium religionis publicum, i.e., to engage in such pubUc acts as ringing beUs to caU the faithful to services, holding processions outside the church buUding, etc.? In fact, none of these questions was definitively answered during the period between the Peace of WestphaUa and the end of the Holy Roman Empire, indicating once again the inabiUty of the German state to resolve significant problems under the constitutional arrangements prevailing during this period.

One reason for this faUure is the division of Germany into CathoUc and Protestant principaUties, each having the same rights in Imperial law. CathoUc and Protestant canonists and jurists disagreed between themselves on almost every aspect of this issue. Schäfer concludes that, whUe Protestant theology gave greater emphasis to the right of the individual conscience, and thus would seem to favor greater toleration, in practice it was the CathoUc authorities who most favored the introduction of the simultaneum. The reason for this is not hard to find. During the period between 1648 and 1803 there was only one instance of a Protestant prince acquiring a CathoUc land—when the Margrave of Baden-Durlach succeeded to the possessions of the extinct CathoUc line of Baden-Baden Ui 1771. By contrast, there were several dozen cases of a CathoUc prince succeeding to the rule of Protestant territories.

In his introduction, Dr. Schäfer acknowledges a certain superficiaUty of treatment. He does not exaggerate. One looks in vain for any depth of treatment of any of the problems raised. There is no detaUed description to aUow the reader to grasp how this problem worked itsetf out in a specific case, nor even more

than a passing reference to the various authorities arguing for or against a particular interpretation. This shortcoming leaves the reader frustrated.

William C. Schrader

Tennessee Technological University

Late Modern European

// giansenismo in Italia, Vol. II/l: Roma: La bolla "Auctorem fidei" (1794) nella storia dell'ultramontanismo. Saggio introduttivo e documenti. Edited by Pietro SteUa. (Rome: LAS [Librería Ateneo Salesiano], 1995. Pp. cxlU, 745. Lire 80.000.)

The bicentenary celebration in 1986 of the Synod of Pistoia under the presidency of Scipione de'Ricci, Bishop of Pistoia and Prato, saw numerous pubUcations on this controversial Synod. The acta of the Synod were repubUshed by the indefatigable Pietro SteUa (AtH e decreti del concilio diocesano di Pistoia [2 vols.; Florence, 1986]). Now SteUa foUows this with a massive volume on the genesis of the papal condemnation of eighty-five propositions from the Pistoia Synod by the buU Auctorem Fidei. There is an explanatory introduction (141 pages) foUowed by 714 pages of documents, including the correspondence between Ricci and the Pope on the issue of the loyalty of the former to the latter.

The dominant theme of the introduction is that behind the condemnation of Pistoia two rather dtfferent ecclesiologies were Ui conflict: the papal, which defined the Church as vertical, and the Pistoian, in which authority was horizontal, or so diffuse as to see in the pope the ministerial head of the Church. SteUa makes no assertion about the rightness of either interpretation, but it is clear that he attributes no specific unorthodoxy to the decrees of Pistoia except those conditioned by dominant views at a specific historical period, i.e., subordination of the Church to the secular power.

When the examination of Pistoia's decrees began, Pius VII considered Summoning an examining commission drawn from aU parts of Italy, but at last and perhaps prudently in view of widespread Jansenist and regaUst tendencies in the several Italian courts he determined that a satisfactory examination could be carried out by Roman clergy. Thus between February, 1789, and September, 1790, the commission held seventy-six sittings, using as a basis for their deUberations the pubUshed decrees of the Synod plus a number of anti-Pistoia writings. The examiners were not long in ferreting out the Jansenist elements in the decrees, scarcely surprising since many Jansenist works were specifically praised by the Synod, among them the Réflexions morales of Quesnel.

Prominent among the examiners was M. Di Pietro, totaUy incapable of understanding any ecclesiology that was not hierarchical and monarchical with its

summit in the pope. Like views were held by Cardinals F. Zelada, V Borromeo, and G. Gerdil. Opposition to this squad of ultramontanes came from G. M. Albertini.O.P, a confirmed devotee of St. Augustine, who stoutiy defended the orthodoxy of Pistoia on matters of grace and free will but on other grounds found the Synod unacceptable. Furthermore, Albertini suggested that Di Pietro and those who reasoned similarly were nothing but Molinists.

A somewhat reduced commission continued the examination from 1792 until 1794, ultimately producing in the latter year the bull Auctorem Fidei (August 28), condemning eighty-five propositions from Pistoia. Countries other than Spain were slow to accept the bull, but eventually the Neo-Ultramontanism that developed under Pius LX swept resistance before it so that until the mid-twentieth century hardly a murmur was heard against even the wisdom of the Synod's condemnation. In defense of the Roman position painstaking and scrupulous care was lavished on the examination of Pistoia's decrees. The Synod's decrees contained some glaring inconsistencies. Its recommendation tiiat Italian could on occasion be used as a liturgical language, while not possibly shocking to current practice, could not at all be harmonized with the fact that Italian in the eighteenth century was far from being uniform. That Pistoia explicitly praised the Four Articles of the Gallican Clergy was to say the least undiplomatic. Urging the faithful to read works repeatedly condemned by Rome as Jansenist or Philo-Jansenist certainly challenged papal authority in an excessively provocative way.

Samuel J. Miller

Boston College (Emeritus)

Reform, Revolution and Reaction: Archbishop John Thomas Troy and the Catholic Church in Ireland 1787-1817. By Vincent J. McNaIIy. (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America. 1995. Pp. xi, 256. $36.50.)

Some members of the nineteenth-century Irish episcopal bench are, in view of the sources relating to them, unlikely ever to attract a biographer. Regrettably even the great John MacHale is in this category. Others very worthy of attention, like Daniel Murray, have hitherto failed to find a biographer. Paul Cullen, treated by Desmond Bowen, found the wrong one and was unreasonably attacked. One, therefore, records some pleasure that Vincent McNally's doctoral research on John Thomas Troy has, at length, come to published form. Troy has certainly found a writer with that basic requirement of the biographer—a sympathy for his subject. Also in McNally's favor is the good use made of an extensive body of primary sources.

It is, in fact, the advantage which McNaUy has taken of the late eighteenth-century increase in the volume of Irish Catholic archives which makes his book a very worthwhile read. Again and again, the work's dependence on manuscript sources produces the most interesting disclosures of the mind and cir-

cumstances of the Irish Church Ui Troy's era. Regrettably, however, whUe the Usting of manuscript sources is impressive, that of modern printed sources is much less so. WhUe there is a fine knowledge of the life of Troy and consequent sympathy for the man, there is far less knowledge of and sympathy for his times.

Troy's reign in Dublin coincided with the climax of the period of Britain's firmest adherence to Christian orthodoxy and monarchical principle since 1688. It began with the accommodation of Toryism, as Jacobitism went into terminal decline around the time of the Seven Years' War. The new outlook was confirmed by the experiences of the American rebelUon and the French Revolution. In the 1790's Pitt exUed the Foxites to the wUderness, waged what became a crusade against Jacobinism and democracy, and brushed off radicaUsm at home like a fly.

McNaUy's lack of awareness of the dominant inteUectuaI and poUtical reaUties of the day leads him to a criticism of Troy for his expression of and coming to terms with them. The inteUectuaI foundation of the era's order, its poUtical theology, is quaintly abused in passing as "pie-in-the-sky theology." When forced to confront it by Troy's poUtical pastoral of 1793, McNaUy dismisses this expression of it as the product of a mean-spirited personal disposition. Unacceptable too to McNaUy is Troy's desire to integrate CathoUcism into the British confessional state by supporting a subordinate estabUshment for CathoUcism. McNaUy wants a Liberal CathoUc of the 1830's.

Indeed, for McNaUy, Irish CathoUcism has to await its salvation by being joined, in the 1820's, to the people's cause—depicted as an Irish nationaUsm anticipated by the radicaUsm of Troy's day. In truth, it was probably reUgious affiliation which was more fundamental to nineteenth-century Irish poUtical life than national identity. If Troy must be seen in relation to a later period than his own, he should be given the credit for helping to prepare the way for this triumph of reUgious poUtics.

C. D.A. Leighton, O.Praem.

Bilkent University, Ankara

Catherine McAuley and the Tradition of Mercy. By Mary C. SulUvan, R.S.M. (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press. 1995. Pp. x, 420. $32.95.)

As an Irish CathoUc church historian I am not pleased with books such as this for several reasons, and thus reviewing one gives me the opportunity of expressing my frustration and concerns which I know are not unique or limited to mysetf. One purpose for pubUshing this volume is expressed in the introduction (p. 5), where the reader is told we need "reliable texts of source documents" for future generations. But why do we need a book of "reUable texts of source documents" in the late twentieth century when there are aU sorts of Ui-

expensive means of producing exact reproductions of the original documents, for example, microfiche, perhaps with editorial criticism, which can then easUy be made avaUable to Ubraries, archives, private scholars, and the general reader and at minimum cost. Of course, this presupposes that the various archives, in this case of the Sisters of Mercy, are willing to place such material in the pubUc domain and thus not to limit access only to serious scholars, or only to members of then- own community. This procedure would also eUminate any suspicion that primary sources have been "edited" or altered in any way which is much easier to accompUsh and impossible to detect in printed versions, and something that, from this historian's experience, is hardly unknown hi the field of Irish CathoUc church history.

Another admitted purpose of this book is to promote the cause of Catherine McAuley's ultimate canonization. Thus in the introduction (p. 4), the author and editor, a Sister of Mercy, asks the question: "Why is she [Catherine McAuley], whose heroic virtue is recognized, not yet pubUcly declared a Samt by the Church?" The author answers that one reason is that the Sisters of Mercy "have not over the years found sufficient [financial?] means to make her more widely known." Yet Ui the bibUography we find that "over the [last fifty] years" alone, writers, mostly Sisters of Mercy, have pubUshed no fewer than five biographies of Catherine McAuley!

To this day there is stiU no general survey history of the CathoUc Church in modern Ireland. Irish historiography itsetf was late m developing, largely due to the nationaUstic jingoism that demanded the preservation of the "historic" fantasy of the "green dream" version of that nation's past. This, in part, explains why scholarly CathoUc church historiography has also been ignored, since the great expansion in personnel and institutions as weU as the powerful pubUc image of the modern Irish CathoUc Church would not have been possible without its willing marriage to nineteenth-century Irish nationaUsm which began under McAuley's contemporary and her order's primary promoter, Archbishop Daniel Murray of Dublin. Thus under this new reaUty, to be Irish was to be Roman CathoUc and vice versa. This was essentiaUy the formula and basis of Irish nationaUsm which was invented and championed by Daniel O'ConneU. UntU very recently, essentiaUy since Ireland joined the much wider and more pluraUstic world of the European Union in 1975, objective examination of this reaUty was simply not considered poUticaUy correct, especiaUy in Ireland.

Before O'ConneU and the rise of Irish nationaUsm, communities, such as the Sisters of Mercy, would not have been conceivable, largely out of the simple lack of interest among most Irish CathoUc women to join them. Though "green dream" Irish nationaUsts still love to dweU on the "suffering" of the Church under the penal laws, such laws had always primarily been directed against Irish CathoUc land ownership and not the CathoUc Church, and thus they were rarely implemented directly against the Church after the early part of the eighteenth century, and the essentiaUy dead letter of church-related penal laws was finaUy aboUshed in 1782.

The feet is that, until the rise of Irish nationaUsm, the Irish CathoUc laity had Uttle interest in formal church practice. For example, under Archbishop John Thomas Troy (1787-1823), Murray's (1823-1852) immediate predecessor, Dublin CathoUcs, many of whom, like Troy's father, were wealtíiy, middle-class businessmen and who were perfectly free to worship and quite financiaUy capable of contributing to the Church, showed Uttle interest in formal church participation. Thus under Troy's tenure, and though he was as strong and competent a leader as Murray or Cardinal CuUen (1852-1878),Dublin churches remained poorly maintained and very sparsely attended, though Troy repeatedly tried to alter this feet. However, with the advent of O'ConneU's CathoUc Association Ui 1823 these psychological and physical reaUties began to change dramaticaUy, so much so that by Murray's death in 1852 aU of the poorly attended and largely dUapidated back-street chapels of Troy's day had been replaced by their massive new namesakes and at prominent Dublin locations and, most important of aU, they were not only aU paid for but they were aU fuU!

Since the copyright for this volume is in the author's name and not that of the University of Notre Dame Press, one suspects that its pubUcation was heavüy or totaUy subsidized by the Sisters of Mercy. Certainly there is nothing wrong with the desire of the Sisters of Mercy to see their founder canonized, which is the primary and obvious purpose of this volume. However, Irish CathoUc church history scholars as weU as the interested reader would have been far better served by making this primary source material avaUable in a more accurate and probably less expensive mode than the printed page. And academic presses such as the University of Notre Dame would much better promote the cause of scholarship by encouraging and funding the pubUcation of a first: a survey history of the CathoUc Church in Ireland.

Vincent J. McNally

Sacred Heart School of Theology
Hales Corners, Wisconsin

Nineteenth-Century English Religious Traditions: Retrospect and Prospect. Edited by D. G. Paz. [Contributions to the Study of ReUgion, Number 44.] (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 232. $55.00.)

Denis Paz, himself a distinguished historian of reUgion during the Victorian era, has assembled a highly stimulating series of predominantly bibUographical and historiographical essays on virtuaUy aU shades of the century's reUgious spectrum. The contributors are aU experts in the fields they survey.

Four authors devote themselves to those Victorian Protestant Nonconformists who, between the 1840's and the 1890's, were at least as likely as were adherents of the established Church of England to attend reUgious services on Sunday. Richard J. Helmstadter assesses the Baptists and CongregationaUsts who had been awakened from their eighteenth-century doldrums by the early rune-

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teentíi-century Evangelical Revival. Robert K. Webb appraises the Quakers and die Unitarians, the two numerically tiny denominations that furnished so many important figures in Victorian business, banking, social reform, and local government, even if the Unitarians "are not perceived as having the same distinctive identity as the Quakers"(p. 112). David Hempton discusses numerically the most significant product of the Evangelical Revival, Victorian Methodism, itself divided among Wesleyans, Primitive Methodists, and other groups. The subjects of Peter Lineham are the elusive and often ephemeral "sects"—millenarian, charismatic, spiritualist—that flourished intermittently on the fringes of organized Nonconformity and Anglicanism.

Edward Royle masterfully surveys "Freethought: The Religion of Irreligion," whose organized adherents "loomed much larger on the Christian horizon . . . than their numbers alone would appear to have warranted" (p. 195), and Jeffrey Cox surveys the historical literature on those intrepid Victorian Protestant missionaries who set off for Africa and Asia. Cox makes astute comments both on the increasingly significant role of women in the mission movement and on the manner in which it may most appropriately be understood in relation to British imperialism.

In some ways the least satisfactory essay is "Anglicanism" by John Wolffe. Wolffe, too, is keenly knowledgeable, but thirty-one pages simply do not suffice to do justice to the social, economic, and political significance of the (internally divided) established Church of England. Its official status may have been under fire, but it did continue to educate, baptize, marry, and bury far more English people than did all the Nonconformist and sectarian chapels combined. The most sparkling of the essays is "Roman Catholicism" by Sheridan GUley. He surveys all facets—papal, convert, liturgical, and Irish—of the Victorian revival and makes shrewdly aphoristic comments about the major players. Thus the Vicar Apostolic John Milner "wanted clerical power over the laity, episcopal power over the clergy, and papal power over the bishops" (p. 38). Thus the convert architect Augustus Welby Pugin wrought "one of the profoundest revolutions in English religion" (p. 43), one that affected Anglicans as much as Roman Catholics. Thus the philosopher William George Ward "was an intellectual extremist" whose "solution to the problem of religious doubt was an infallible papal encyclical on die breakfast table with his Times every morning" (p. 51).

A brief review can hardly do justice to eight well-crafted essays that historians and graduate students with a modicum of background knowledge will find rewarding, essays that also demonstrate that nineteenth-century religion remains a fruitful field of research.

Walter L. Arnstein

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Kirchenreform und Sektenstiftung. Deutschkatholiken, Reformkatholiken und Ultramontane am Oberrhein (1844-1866). By Andreas Hölzern. [VeröffentUchungen der Kommission für Zeitgeschichte, Reihe B: Forschungen, Band 65.] (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh. 1994. Pp. xlviU, 460.)

The Deutschkatholiken have received Ui German history as weU as in German historiography an attention which is quite out of proportion with their importance as a reUgious movement. HaUed by liberals and Protestants as an enUghtened form of CathoUcism, in particular as an alternative to bigoted ultramontanism, it got an enormous support in pamphlets and newspapers of the time. This may explain why there exists in modern German historiography an overemphasis on the shortlived movement, which arose in 1844 as a protest movement against the exposure of the Holy Tunic in the cathedral of Trier. Among others Annette Kuhn (1971) and F. W. Graf (1978) have tried to link the DeutschkathoUzismus with their own theoretical problems, which have Uttle to do with its historical reaUty. CathoUc historiography, as can be presumed, has dealt with the movement in the manner of a summary executioner.

Andreas Holzem has avoided the pitfaUs of his predecessors by taking a fresh look at pubUshed and above aU unpubUshed sources. His study concentrates on the movement such as it appears in southwest Germany: Hessen-Darmstadt, Württemberg, Baden, Nassau, and Kurhessen. His findings show that DeutschkathoUzismus is less a protest movement of Catholics who want to reform the Church, than of those men and women who have already gone a long distance from the Church. They have assumed the ideas of their Protestant or secularized surroundings on mixed marriages, the Bible, church authority, and popular piety. In the CathoUc language of the time it was therefore easy to label them as crypto-Protestants or bad Catholics. It is interesting to learn that only a smaU proportion belonged to the upper middle class; its sympathizers were recruited mostly from the lower classes. Holzem characterizes theU original reUgious impetus as a type of popular reUgious enUghtenment. As such it failed and contributed mainly as a negative myth to the growth and stabUization of ultramontanism. The losers were the Church reformers who in the southwest had considerable support Ui the movement against ceUbacy and other reform desiderata. The wise anti-Romanist Wessenberg foresaw right from the beginning the inevitable degeneration of DeutschkathoUzismus to a sect and refused even to see its propagator, Ronge.

The careful investigation of Holzem shows how enUghtening concepts of social history can be for the clarification of the interrelations between poUtical, reUgious, and social history. At times the sociological vocabulary rises to triumphant heights, not always for the benefit of the reader. A general remark: Modernization becomes an aU-embracing positive catchword, but loses its expUcatory force the more it is used in a pseudomessianic way. One would wish that the social history of Old CathoUcism Ui the southwest, up to now nearly

completely neglected, would find a treatment as adequate as Andreas Holzem's study of a movement with which it is sometimes confused.

Victor Conzemius

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Katholische Vereine in Baden und Württemberg, 1848-1914:Ein Beitrag zur Organisationsgeschichte des südwestdeutschen Katholizismus im Rahmen der Entstehung der modernen Industriegesellschaft. By Winfrid Halder. [Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Zeitgeschichte, Reihe B: Forschungen, Band 64.] (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh. 1995. Pp. xxix, 409.)

Although the title suggests a rather narrowly defined monograph, this book makes a substantial contribution to the field. Winfrid Haider defines the function and meaning of the Verein (association or club), the Verband (association, federation, or union) and the Gewerkschaft (trade union) for modern German CathoUcism. He delineates the various forms of association, traces their development, and examines the relationship between clergy and laity in them. As a product of the Commission for Contemporary History, it is soUdly grounded Ui archival research. This work is the first comprehensive and systematic treatment of German Catholic voluntary associations to appear in a long time.

Haider describes the Vereine as the infrastructure of nineteenth-century German CathoUcism, relying heavUy on the interpretations of Heinz Hurten, Klaus Schatz, and others. Beginning in the 1840's, a network of clubs, organizations, newspapers, and journals arose under the nominal leadership of the CathoUc Association of Germany. The most successful Vereine—and there were hundreds of them—were devoted primarily to charity and to the missions. The Catholic poUtical clubs of 1848 faüed to take hold among the faithful, however, and vanished almost as quickly as they appeared. The voluntary associations did not curb secularization as the ultramontanists hoped, nor did they "emancipate" the laity as progressive reformers hoped. These were by no means tightly organized. They were simply a CathoUc presence in society helping shape social conscience during industrialization, without reaUzing any potential for mass poUtical movement.

According to Haider, the Kulturkampf did not forge any union of aU classes into a mass movement. Some CathoUc organizations actuaUy declined, perhaps because of the economic depression. The one mass poUtical Verein to arise in the 1870's, the Mainz Association, faded like the clubs of 1848. It was the Catholic press and the Center Party that benefited from the church-state conflict of the 1870's,not the Vereine.

Imperial Germany witnessed the culmination of "associational CathoUcism," particularly during the period 1878-1908. A new generation of leadership had

arisen, and a new type of association had come of age: the Verband. Having weathered the Kulturkampf and Germany's industrial "take off," Catholic organizers now constructed vocational associations to fight against socialism and secularism. Emphasizing the shared social responsibilities of worker and owner, they hoped to strengthen the moral fabric of industrialized society. By the twentieth century, Catholic federations and trade unions had eclipsed tlie charitable organizations, and a conflict ignited within the Church. The trade unions had chosen to emphasize Christian rather than Catholic identity among members. "Integralists" within the associations called for greater openness to the modern world. The Catholic Conference responded by calling for clerical control of the trade unions, while the bishops sought to discipline the associations. On the eve of World War I, the conflict remained unresolved, the Christian Trade Unions had peaked, and associational Catholicism had reached its zenith.

Haider provides a summary of traditional historiography and an analysis of the vast array of clubs and organizations. There are no particularly new arguments or interpretations, and the author does not adequately address issues raised by social historians, such as Urs Altermatt or Michael Klöcker. While the regional focus of the study is southwest Germany, Haider devotes most space to national developments. Associations and their histories in Baden and Württemberg are treated fully. The regional history of political Catholicism is woven into the fabric of the larger narrative as well. Yet, this is primarily a study of German Catholicism in which Baden and Württemberg necessarily fall into the background.

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Elgar, Newman and "The Dream of Gerontius": In the Tradition of English Catholicism. By Percy M. Young. (Brookfield, Vermont: Scolar Press, Ashgate Publishing Co. 1995. Pp. xiii, 162. $54.95.)

History was made on November 30, 1995, when Queen Elizabeth II became the first British monarch in modern times to attend in the realm a Roman Catholic religious service, Vespers, in this case, to mark the centenary of the founding of Westminster Cathedral. Her presence, in the words of Cardinal Basil Hume, was "an affirmation of the place that we Catholics have in the nation."

It was not always so, of course, given the centuries of anti-Catholic discrimination. That discrimination, and its impact upon church music, the author, a well-known critic, composer, musicologist, and honorary fellow at the University of Birmingham, sketches in the first part of this meticulously wrought slender volume.

Lovers of John Henry Newman (1801-1890) and Edward WilUam Elgar (1857-1934) wUl find the second part of this book especiaUy engaging, as Dr. Young traces the genesis of Newman's beautiful poem from a youthful desire to "make a poem on Faith. … To end with a feint imagination of the soul just freed from the bonds of the mortal body" to its enfleshment, wondrousty in a single night Ui January, 1865, as The Dream ofGerontius. Newman dedicated it, fittingly, to the memory of the Birmingham Oratorian Joseph Gordon (1812-1853), who, though mortally ill, had labored to assist Newman in the "great anxiety" of his trial for criminal Ubel.

The CathoUc composer Elgar set Newman's "solemn and mystic" poem to music for the Birmingham Festival in October, 1900. Its successful performance at the Düsseldorf Festival in Germany in 1902 earned Richard Stauss's verdict that "with that work England for the first time became one of the modern musical states." Although the oratorio became recognized as a classic, some of its renditions over the years at the Worcester Festivals, where its text was grossly subjected to mutilations and alterations deemed necessary by Protestant "susceptibiUties," testify to the perdurance of that anti-CathoHc discrimination, even in the arts.

Dr. Young weU proposes a critical edition of Newman's writings on music. A single caveat I would hazard: that he marshal his details and keep them in line lest they tend to obscure his theme(s), as they do in this small volume.

E. Leo McMannus

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Correspondance de Giovanni Battista de Rossi et de Louis Duchesne (1873-1894). Edited by Patrick Saint-Roch. [CoUection de L'École Française de Rome, 205.] (Rome: L'Ecole Française de Rome. 1995. Pp. 729)

"At that time [1847], as the result of the excavations of De Rossi Ui the catacombs, it was piously styUsh to secure as a reUc the body of a martyr." This observation of the biographer of BasU Anthony Moreau, whUe chronologicaUy inaccurate, testifies to the justifiably celebrated reputation De Rossi earned as the "Father of Christian Archaeology," his chief feme stemming from his work in the Roman catacombs. In 1847, however, De Rossi was only twenty-five-years old and had not yet begun the research that would bring him such feme and estabUsh such pious, if for some tastes rather grisly, styles; indeed, at that date he had just finished his legal studies.

Twenty-six years later, however, when young Louis Duchesne wrote him for the first time—requesting a recommendation for admittance to the Chigi Library—De Rossi's professional achievement was already manifest. The flood of his scholarly pubUcations was at high tide, and his uncovering—Uterally—of la

Roma sotterranea had revolutionized the methodologies traditionaUy employed Ui the study of the primitive Church. He had, moreover, estabUshed contacts with some of the greatest European scholars of his time: Cardinals Mai and Pitra had been his teachers, Bartolomeo Borghese his coUeague, and he counted among his intimates and coUaborators the likes of Mommsen and Kraus, DeUsIe and Le Blant, Northcote and Brownlow.

For the last twenty-one years of De Rossi's life, Louis Duchesne joined this august company, but not, to be sure, on an equal footing. When this correspondençe began, Duchesne, at the age of thirty, had just emerged from his studies at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes in Paris and had assumed a junior position at the newly opened École Française de Rome. His thesis—a critical edition of the Liber Pontificalis of the sixth century—had been weU received in learned circles, whUe some of its conclusions appeared alarmingly daring in hierarchical ones. As his distinguished career unfolded, climaxing with election as an Immortal of the Academy, Duchesne was to skid into trouble more than once with ecclesiastical authority, though, unlike his most famous pupU, Alfred Loisy, he managed to maintain his clerical status.

What provided occasion for these 594 letters—Duchesne's manuscripts preserved at the Vatican, De Rossi's at the BibUothèque Nationale—and indeed what bound them together for a generation was theU common dedication to historical science. Though they coUaborated in only one pubUcation—the Martyrologium Hieronymianum (1894)—thek common interests in the aU the facets of the life, Uturgy, structure, and spirituaUty of the earliest Christian communities informed their friendship and led to their regular literary exchanges. Leaving aside their relentless work-habits and their love of things Roman, they were in feet very different in personaUty and temperament: De Rossi, the extremely pious and cautious ItaUan layman; and Duchesne, the often caustic, sometimes acerbic Breton priest whom Loisy accused, unfairly, of infideUty.

This book is not for the faint-hearted. Only those dedicated to the history of antiquities, or perhaps those also interested in the working of the minds of two eminent historians, WiU read it with any pleasure. Patrick Saint-Roch has written a useful, if aU too brief, introduction, but, aside from the inadequate index of names that French editors are routinely guUty of, explanatory notes and identifications are practicaUy non-existent.

Father Moreau ultimately got his Roman reUc, when, in 1853, the remains of the martyr St. Eutychius were received with suitable pomp by his community in Le Mans. This worthy, aUegedly a lad of four years, should not be confused with the sixth-century Patriarch of Constantinople nor the ninth-century Patriarch of Alexandria of the same name, nor, especiaUy, with the third century pope St. Eutychianus, who was celebrated by both Duchesne and De Rossi. It remains an unanswerable question whether these two pioneer scholars, once their researches were Ui fuU gear, would have testified to the legitimacy of Father

Moreau's prize. But then personal piety is not, and should not be, bound by academic criteria.

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Culture and Political Crisis in Vienna: Christian Socialism in Power, 1897-1918. By John W Boyer. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 702. $37.50.)

Like its predecessor, this second and final volume of John Boyer's history of the Christian Social Party in Habsburg Austria can be described as detaUed, exhaustive, and definitive. In terms of its scholarship alone, Culture and Political Crisis in Vienna verges on the monumental, and when viewed in tandem with the earUer Political Radicalism in Late Imperial Vienna, it provides the conclusion for what coUectively is now the standard work on the subject. That having been said, however, it must also be pointed out that this volume is more interpretively ambitious than the first and, therefore, contains more points for potential disagreement and debate.

Boyer argues that the period from 1897 to 1918 is one of dramatic social, poUtical, and cultural transition in which the Christian Socials played a significant and sometimes determinant part. Central to this process is the Christian Social Party's own transformation from an urban to a provincial poUtical movement and its ultimate adoption of a more clerical and conservative character such that after 1918 it would no longer be recognizable as the party of Karl Lueger. This change was linked to Albert Gessmann and his vision of a Christian Social Reichspartei that would go beyond controlling Vienna and Lower Austria to encompass aU of the German Crownlands. Such a party could more effectively defend the supranational character of the state, combat the revolutionary threat represented by social democracy, and push for parUamentary-based ministerial government. AU these goals were partiaUy reaUzed, but at the ultimate cost of compromising Christian SociaUsm's urban and moderate Uberal origins in favor of a provincial and CathoUc conservative character. After the party's loss of its Viennese parliamentary constituency to the Social Democrats in 1911 its provincial character became more pronounced and its control of Vienna less important until it was completely eroded by the war and lost to the sociaUsts Ui 1919.

WhUe Boyer's main argument is convincing, his handling of related issues is more uneven. Central among these is that of state reform. Aside from the inconclusive results of universal manhood suffrage and Franz Ferdinand's problematic plans for change by fiat, Boyer lays heavy responsibiUty for the faUure to solve the Monarchy's political and nationaUty problems on the state administration, i.e., the ministers and bureaucrats. Given the opportunity to become more

effective through reforms recommended by a pariiamentary commission in 191I-I913 it balked, and seemed ever too willing to resist party government and too anxious to play ethnically based interest poUtics. Perhaps, but in this analysis the possibUity of the state acting on its own initiative to solve its problems, as in the Ausgleiche for Moravia, Bukovina, and Galicia, is given Uttle credibiUty. Franz Joseph also has practicaUy no role in this scenario. Despite Boyer's introductory statements to the contrary, he comes close to making a Sonderweg argument about the coUapse of the Empire in which a somewhat compUcit Christian Socialism nevertheless tends to be on the side of the normative angels against a benighted state.

More successful is Boyer's contention that the relationship between the Christian Socials and the Social Democrats became that of" opposing world views of conservative CathoUc versus revolutionary anticlerical. This resulted in a Kulturkampf that brought into being the CathoUc inteUectual leadership under Ignaz Seipel that would dominate the Christian Social Party in the First RepubUc. Indeed, the conclusion to the book emphasizes the pre-1918 origins of subsequent conflicts, yet that connected with die Christian Social heritage of anti-Semitism is given Uttle emphasis. For the time up to 1914, Boyer handles the issue of anti-Semitism weU, arguing its containment within the bounds of the Rechtsstaat and the party's essential insincerity on the issue. He declines, however, to say what the party's revival of anti-Semitism during the war and its incorporation into Seipel's program indicates about Christian Social responsibiUty for sustaining attitudes favorable to its Nazi rivals.

That Boyer has made commissions and omissions capable of criticism is actuaUy testimony to the importance of his book. It is because this book has much to say that much will be said about it. No one in the field of modern Austrian history can avoid dealing with what John Boyer has accomplished.

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Le Pape Pie XI et l'opinion (1922-1939). By Marc Agostino. [CoUection de l'École Française de Rome, 150.] (Rome: L'École Française de Rome. 1991. Pp. vi, 820. Paperback.)

The reign of Pope Pius XI, claims Marc Agostino, was one of the most significant of modern times because its development "contained many of the key elements of the evolution of the CathoUc Church and of the CathoUc movement in the twentieth century" (p. 8). From the begmning of his reign in 1922, Pius XT deliberately challenged the secularization of the age in which he Uved by promoting a Christian reconquest of the world to create the "Peace of Christ in the reign of Christ," through which Christian values would permeate modern society. This central reUgious message formed the substance of his first encycUcal, Ubi Arcano Dei, of December, 1922, and informed every action of this pope.

The central question raised by Agostino has to do as much with the medium as with the message. To what extent, he asks, did pubUc opinion recognize, receive, and understand the Pope's message? Agostino examines the impact of the papal message on the pubUc through a study of the press and popular opinion Ui France and in Italy, two countries which provided striking social and political contrasts Ui the interwar years. Agostino notes that Pope Benedict XV (1914-1922), the predecessor of Pius XI, meant weU but had no significant influence on his times. Pius XI, in contrast, Agostino claims, demonstrated a ffeir for pubUc relations with the result that, by the time of his death in 1939, the universal values for which he stood were widely understood and shared by many in European society and formed the basis for the post-1945 revival of CathoUc reUgious, social, and poUtical influence.

Agostino first assesses the variety of means avaUable to Pius XI for the transmission of his message. Some means were traditional such as the dissemination of papal encycUcals and official church pubUcations; the appointment of selected individuals as bishops, members of the papal Curia and Secretaries of State; and the celebration of canonizations, great church festivals, and other pubUc occasions. Other means were modern and were used by Pius XI with great skUl and effectiveness. These means included pubUc exhibitions, the press and the radio, especiaUy Vatican Radio, which was founded in 1931 to became one of the media for the papal message.

To assess reaction to the papal message, Agostino conducted a thorough study of the press of France and Italy between 1922 and 1939- He is interested Ui both the CathoUc press—those organs of the press which promote the interests of the CathoUc Church yet are independent of the Vatican or the local hierarchy—and the lay press, including newspapers and journals of record as weU as the partisan press. WhUe the message of Pius XI was not entirely clear to the public at the beginning of his pontificate, it was understood in France and Italy by the time of his death in 1939 because of the way that the pope deUberately kept his message in the pubUc eye and manipulated pubUc opinion to his advantage.

Agostino divides the papacy of Pius XI into roughly five phases. During the initial phase, from his election in 1922 until 1925, the pope first enunciated his vision in Ubi Arcano Dei, then used the events of the Holy Year of 1925 to bring it to the world's attention. It was clear, however, that the message was not being understood at the time in either France or Italy. Issues of nationaUsm and anticlericaUsm clouded any assessment of the position of the Pope in France and, in Italy, the need for a settlement of the Roman Question dominated Italian opinion.

In the second phase, from 1926 to 1929, Pius XI decided that he had to capture the attention of the people of both France and Italy for his central reUgious message by dealing directly with the fundamental issues in those two countries. Hence, in 1926, he pubUcly condemned the reactionary nationaUsm of Charles Maurras' Action française, thereby signaling that henceforth the Holy

See and the CathoUc Church would recognize and deal only with the government of the French Third RepubUc. Also in 1926, Pius XI authorized the opening of secret negotiations which led to the Lateran Agreements of 1929 with Italy. This Conciliazione ended the rift between Church and State which had existed since ItaUan unification sixty years before. These spectacular gestures in France and Italy were accompanied by papal warnings that petty nationalisms must not poison the field for overseas missions and by papal activity in buUding up the CathoUc Action movement as an apostolate of the laity to serve as a vehicle for the re-Christianization of society.

With the conclusion of the Lateran Agreements, Pius XI had laid his base weU, and pubUc opinion appeared to have a clearer grasp of the papal mission. Agostino identifies the period 1929-1930 as a turning point in the papacy, marked by the appointment of Eugenio PacelU as Secretary of State and by the pubUcation of the important encycUcal, Casti Conubii. The latter offered important papal teaching on marriage, the famUy, and Christian education, at a time when the pope beUeved the French and the Italians would be more receptive to his message.

The pope faced his first real test during the third phase, between 1931 and 1933, when he withstood the chaUenge by Mussolini's Fascist regime to restrict the activities of Italian CathoUc Action. Agostino claims that the pope's resistance to Mussolini was more important in form than in substance, since it estabUshed Pius XI as a major international figure of principle. His resistance to reUgious persecution in Spain at the same time enhanced this reputation as did the pubUcation of his major social encycUcal, Quadragesimo Anno. The success of this period was celebrated by breaking tradition and declaring 1933 a Holy Year, which again drew international attention to the papacy.

During the fourth phase of the pontificate, from 1933 to 1936, it appeared to many as U the papacy had lost its sense of direction and momentum. No new papal pronouncements were issued during this period, which was marked by the onset of the worldwide depression and by the rise of Hitler to power in Germany. The Holy See appeared, in fact, to be seriously compromised by its ambiguous stand over Nazi Germany with whom it concluded a concordat in July, 1933, in spite of previous pubUc opposition to the Nazis by German bishops. In 1935, Italy invaded Abyssinia against the wishes of the international community and the equivocal response of the pope, coupled with the enthusiastic support of ItaUan bishops and clergy for the national war effort, only lent further confusion to pubUc opinion.

It was only, in fact, in the final phase of his papacy, between 1937 and 1939, that Pius XI resolved his ambiguous position with regard to totaUtarianism and the denial of Christian principles and, through a series of unequivocal gestures, estabUshed firmly the principles for which he stood and for which he expected Christians to stand. In March, 1937, foUowing a personal bout with serious Ulness, Pius XI released three important encycUcals within days of one another. Two of these encycUcals denounced the totaUtarians of left and right—Divini

Redemptoris against atheistic Communism and Mit brennender Sorge against Naziism—whUe the third, No es muy, denounced Mexican persecution of the Church. Christian principles, Ui the eyes of the pope, could not be used as a guide for UvUig in a society which was ideologicaUy polarized.

This final phase also marked the culmination of the relationships with France and Italy which had been estabUshed in the late 1920's. The 1926 denunciation of Action française indicated clearly that the CathoUc Church sought rapprochement with the French RepubUc and, since 1926, the relationship between France and the Holy See had improved with every passing year, in spite of the 1936 election of a left-wing Popular Front government Ui France. Papal support for the democracies was symbolized by the visit of Cardinal PacelU to France as Papal Legate in 1937 to attend ceremonies honoring St. Thérèse of Lisieux and to preach in Notre Dame in Paris.

The estabUshment of close ties between Italy and Germany after 1936 threatened the Italian relationship with the Holy See. In order to deter the ItaUan people and others from close dealings with the Nazis, Pius XI pubUcly denounced Hitler and his acts Ui 1938. The pope despaked of the Anschluss, demonstrably left Rome on the eve of Hitler's visit to that city, and attacked the racism of the Nazis. Once again, Pius XI addressed pubUc opinion clearly and unambiguously, warning ItaUans away from the German aUiance and, more importantly, standing against racism on the basis of its infringement of Christian teaching on human rights.

Agostino's conclusion is that the papal message had its culmination in 1938 when the values of human rights and peace which it espoused were forcefuUy conveyed to pubUc opinion. Pius XI demonstrated in his last years that he stood firmly with France and with the democracies against aU that Hitler represented, whUe the teachings and the position of the papacy in Italy faced theU most severe chaUenge when Mussolini aUowed Italy to be dragged into war in Hitler's wake.

This is an important book in terms of its methodology, which seeks to assess the cultural impact of the papal mission, and Ui its integration of the poUtical and reUgious goals of Pius XI. According to Agostino, the many concordats concluded by Pius XI, some with states of dubious moraUty and principle, were always means to a higher end. Agostino's integrative interpretation is convincing in this regard, as is his argument that the pope had a good sense of timing and of pubUc relations. If there is, at times, a whtff of "great man" history about this book, it is important to remember that Agostino's purpose is not to explain the behavior and the intellectual formation of Pius XI, so much as it is to assess the reaction of pubUc opinion to his teachings.

Perhaps the greatest difficulty with the book lies in its claim to study "Pius XI and Opinion" when it only deals with opinion in France and Italy. Since opinion in Italy was controUed for much of the time, the book is at its most effective Ui dealing with the progressive rapprochement between France and the Holy See

between 1926 and 1939- Ln fact, Agostino's treatment of the changing relationship between France and the Holy See draws scholarly attention to a previously neglected theme in the papal history of this period.

The examination of French and ItaUan opinion alone was a prodigious task and yet Agostino leaves unanswered many questions about similar states of opinion in the United States, Great Britain, or even Nazi Germany during this pontificate. Given, however, the historical methodology offered by this book, Agostino has provided both a means and a dUection for subsequent scholarship.

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Ireland and the Vatican: The Politics and Diplomacy of Church-State Relations, 1922-1960. By Dermot Keogh. (Cork: Cork University Press. 1995. Pp. xxvi, 410. £37.50, $62.00 hardcover; £17.50 paperback.)

Ireland may stiU be known to some as "the island of saints and scholars," but few would know of the extraordinary importance that Irish diplomats placed upon Ireland's "special relationship" with the Holy See in regard to international affairs. The tendency of Ireland's accredited representatives to the Holy See to view Irish foreign poUcy as an adjunct to that of the Vatican, highlights the profound influence of the CathoUc Church upon the Irish people. This tendency and its eventual demise are examined in Dermot Keogh's meticulously researched and iUuminating study of diplomatic relations between the Holy See and newly independent Ireland.

It is only in recent decades that Ireland has shed some of its traditional piety as a concession to modern consumer culture and Europeanization. However, for aU the change that has occurred, including the recent successful referendum on divorce, Ireland remains to this day the most devout CathoUc nation in Europe. The Irish people continue to find great solace in their feith, and it can be argued that this condition exists due to the strenuous efforts of successive Irish governments to cultivate and encourage the role of the CathoUc Church in Irish society in the period under study.

Keogh's focus is designed to iUurninate the nature of 'high poUtics' between Ireland and the Vatican, and as a result, there is Uttle to be found concerning the role of the clergy Ui local poUtics—where priests and nuns carry considerable weight on advisory boards and councüs and in local organizations. Yet, as such matters are not the proper focus of Keogh's study, this is hardly unexpected. The concern for a moral and civil body poUtic since the founding of Ireland as an independent nation in 1922 seems to have been uppermost in the minds of both statesmen and churchmen alike. It was not enough for Irish men and women to be soUd citizens; they were to be servants of God as weU.

Clearly, the pageantry and solemnity of the 1932 Eucharistie Congress held in Dublin combined to serve as a vast profession of faith in which poUtics and spirituaUty combined to reinforce devotion to botli church and state. Prominent Irish leaders, such as Éamon de Valera sought to protect the nation from the crass materialism and moral decadence of the outside world by asserting the right of die state to ensure the spiritual development of the population, by recognizing the special position of the CathoUc Church in Irish society.

Amidst die destruction of World War II, the safety and sanctity of Rome as a center of faith preoccupied the Irish clergy and laity, and Keogh provides a fascinating account of the efforts of Thomas Kiernan.the Irish chargé d'affaires to the Holy See, in ensuring that Rome be designated an 'open city' and in providing refuge for allied prisoners. In the postwar era, Joseph Walshe, die Irish Ambassador to the Holy See, despaired at the progress of communism in Italy and feared the total coUapse of Christian civiUzation along with the possible martyrdom of Pius ?? in Rome. Walshe's alarmist reports led to some £60,000 being raised by pubUc subscription in Ireland to fund the efforts of Luigi Gedda and the Christian Democrats in defeating the Popular Democratic Front in Italy's April, 1948, elections.

Relations between Ireland and the Vatican were not always perfecdy harmonious. Upon the death of Ireland's popular and weU respected Papal Nuncio Paschal Robinson, the Vatican rather hastily appointed Ettore FeUci as his successor. This decision angered Irish poUticians, who repeatedly expressed a preference for a candidate with an intimate knowledge of Irish affairs. The Irish government was thus placed in the unusual and ironic position of potentially rejecting a papal nominee. In the end, the wishes of the Holy See prevaUed and Dublin gave FeUci a warm welcome. But, this irritating incident underlined the reahty that although Ireland professed its total loyalty to the Church, it could not and would not receive preferential treatment from the Vatican as a result.

The author includes an epUogue detailing the demise of the "special relationship" between Ireland and the Vatican since the 1970's, as weU as several useful appendices, and an excellent bibUography. Dr. Keogh's archival skills are amply documented in both the quaUty of his selections included in the text, and in his richly detaUed footnotes. In addition, Keogh's intimate famiUarity with twentieth-century European poUtics and diplomatic history adds considerable credibility to this insightful account.

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Britische Presse und Nationalsozialistischer Kirchenkampf. Eine Untersuchung der "Times" und des "Manchester Guardian" von 1930 bis 1939. By Markus Huttner. [Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Zeitgeschichte, Reihe B: Forschungen, Band 67] (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh. 1995. Pp. 814. DM 108.00.)

For the past thirty years publications on German Catholic contemporary history have been appearing with impressive regularity in the magnificently produced "Blue Series" of documents and monographs. The Commission for Contemporary History, under the sponsorship of the doyen Konrad Repgen of Bonn, has succeeded in printing a large number of works either by his pupils or their pupils, including many dissertations of extraordinary thoroughness and length, of which Huttner's is the latest. All of them are splendidly edited; the scholarship is exemplary and exact; the footnotes, bibliographies, and indices first rate. The problems begin with the author's and the sponsor's perspectives and the shortcomings these impose.

German church history is alas! still written along denominational lines. Interdenominational cross-fertilization is regrettably absent. Each group appeals primarily to its own milieu. Who else would be willing to pay the enormous price of these volumes, which in any case are presumably heavily subsidized for publication? This bias is rather obvious in the present work, which arose out of an examination of how the two leading British newspapers reported on the events of the German Church Struggle. Huttner's careful analysis of the Nazi repression of the Catholic Church, and how this was revealed in the British newspapers, gives us only half the story, despite the feet that he knows, and we know, that British readers were far more concerned about the persecution endured by the Protestant communities, especially the Confessing Church. While such limitations may be acceptable for a Ph.D. dissertation, the one-sidedness of this large volume comes over as unbalanced, even though exhaustively researched and presented in an excellently scholarly fashion.

After several lengthy opening chapters showing how quickly the newly appointed Minister of Propaganda, Goebbels, asserted control over the German press and silenced any reports on oppositional movements, Huttner then turns to the actual course of events, which he follows chronologically from 1933 to 1939, when British reporting perforce had to stop. He shows how the correspondents of the Times and the Manchester Guardian succeeded in evading Nazi censorship, and indeed demonstrates that they were exceedingly well-informed, principally because of their shrewd choice of insider contacts. Not much escaped their notice. But we in fact learn little new about the actual course of the Church Struggle, which has all been extensively documented in postwar years.

The most interesting features of this huge tome are Huttner's comments on the differences in perception and interpretation adopted by the two main correspondents, Norman Ebbutt of the Times until his expulsion from Germany in 1937, and F. A. Voigt of the M. G., who early on retreated first to Paris and then to

London, but maintained his close interest in German church affairs. Ebbutt interpreted the Church Struggle mainly in poUtical terms, and stressed the internal conflicts between sections of the churches and the Nazi bureaucracy, whose conflicting plans Ui any case made for a chaotic and wayward poUcy. Ebbutt beUeved rightly that Hitler was not much interested in the detaUs of this campaign, but none of the Nazi hierarchy were pleased by the critical tone of his reporting, especiaUy of such scandalous events as the arrest and trial of Pastor Martin Niemöller, which aroused enormous antipathies in Britain. By contrast, Voigt saw the Church Struggle, particularly the CathoUc Church's defense of its traditional position in society, far more in ideological terms, as a vital chapter in the attack on European civüization by the wUd forces of popuUst totaUtarianism. His aim was to draw the world's attention to the Nazis' dictatorial brutaUty and, as fer as he could, to strengthen the faithful inside the Third Reich by championing the cause of their resistance. This was very much the line adopted by CathoUc exUes, such as Heinrich Bruening or Father Muckermann, whose idealization of German CathoUcism saw only browbeaten but loyal CathoUcs confronted with the revolutionary zealotry and paganism of the Nazis. As a result, neither the exUes, nor the correspondents, gave enough weight to the actual situation when the majority of CathoUcs willingly enough supported Hitler's regime, approved of his aggressive foreign poUcies, never protested against the Nazis' most dreadful persecution of the Jews, and were able to conflate theU reUgious and poUtical loyalties without too much difficulty. Such opposition as existed was primarily designed to protect the churches' own autonomy, was limited in scope, and never sought to chaUenge the existence of the regime.

The impact of these correspondents' extensive and detaUed reports was, however, not always what was desUed. The British eUte tended, or wanted, to beUeve that German Protestants shared simUar poUtical values to theU own. The Nazi attacks, therefore, were regarded as a totaUtarian chaUenge to freedom, reUgious and poUtical, and the Protestant church, especiaUy the Confessing church, was seen as the upholder of Uberal and parUamentary democracy. But no one would accuse the CathoUcs of being in favor of such ideas. The Nazi persecution of the CathoUcs was therefore attributed to an older conflict between the advocates of a rabid ethnic nationaUsm and the supporters of the universaUst aspirations of Christianity. The feet is, however, that in both cases these were erroneous misperceptions. Huttner's exhaustive study shows how the British correspondents in effect deliberately reinforced these false evaluations and indeed continuaUy exaggerated the degree of poUtical opposition. Then· despatches, therefore, gave support to those in Britain who wanted to beUeve that not aU Germans were Nazis, that there was another "better Germany" underneath, and that sooner or later respect for human rights and freedom would prevaU.

It would seem that Huttner himsetf agrees with this assessment. He therefore praises the British journaUsts' support for the persecuted Christians, downplaying the evidence of coUaboration. For example, he makes only passing ref-

erences to the notorious Crystal Night pogrom of 1938 against the Jews and ignores the churches' total feUure to assist their feUow victims on this occasion. No mention is made of the complete absence of episcopal protest. Huttner's study is thus conditioned by die continuing desire of the German Catholic scholars to portray the Church Struggle as a heroic defense of CathoUc interests. By showing how British journaUsts of the 1930's upheld this view, Huttner glosses over the moral failings of German CathoUcism, and thus presents too partial a picture. In summary, this voluminous tone must be seen as yet another example of the German Catholics' exercise in self-justification.

John S. Conway

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De l'oppression à la liberté: L'Église en Hongrie, 1945-1992. Chronique des événements ordinaires et extraordinaires, témoins et témoignages. By Paul G. Bozsóky and László Lukács. [PoUtiques & Chrétiens.] (Paris: Beauchesne. 1993. Pp. vi, 381. 198 F.)

In this volume one finds a short overview of the history of the Church Ui Hungary after 1945. Several essays and testimonies pubUshed here help us to understand the vicissitudes of the CathoUcs in Hungary before and during the Communist regime, and in the time of the poUtical changes about the year 1989.

The first part—a chronicle of the time—is written by the two authors. The first, Paul G. Bozsóky, a Franciscan Father who Uves in Paris, has entitled his essay: "The long night of the Hungarian Christians" and deals with the period between 1945 and 1986. The second, László Lukács, a Piarist Father who Uves in Budapest, has written about the period after 1986; his title is: "From oppression to freedom," simUar to the title of the whole book. A better title for the book could have been: "From freedom to freedom."

In the second part of the volume one finds some testimonies. Two historic personaUties, Vilmos Apor, bishop of Györ.who was killed by a Soviet soldier Ui 1945, and Cardinal Josef Mindszenty, the "two columns of God's presence," are presented by Bozsóky. A third author of the book, a CathoUc journaUst, István Elmer, has pubUshed here interviews with five personaUties persecuted in these tunes: Vendel Endrédy, abbot of the Cistercians; István Tabódy, a CathoUc priest who organized clandestine priestly ordinations; Pius Halász, a Cistercian monk; György Bulányi, a Piarist father, the founder of his movement, and Agnes Timar, a Cistercian nun and founder who started with the monastic Ufe in the time of persecution and whose community survived the clandestinity.

In the appendix there are two chronologies edited by Bozsóky. Five geographical maps show mostly the borders of dioceses.

It is rare to have soUd information about the evolution of Hungary in principal languages. This is a reason why this volume is to be appreciated. The authors as weU as the pubUsher are aware that some time needs to elapse for the historian to make a scholarly examination; so in this report they wanted to give only a basic evaluation of the facts enumerated from the point of view of contemporaries. The interviews enable us to have an insight into these years and to understand the conditions of Christians under Communist rule.

The rawness of this report and the lack of detaüed analysis as weU as imprecise formulations do not reduce the merits of the volume. It is important to reaUze that in the period between 1945 and 1964 three-fourths of the Bishops' Conference were persecuted: two of them killed, two of them deported, fourteen imprisoned. Three hundred and sixty diocesan priests (10% of the total) were imprisoned or deported, as weU as 940 reUgious priests (66%), 200 reUgious brothers (16%), and 2,200 sisters and nuns (22%).

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American

The American Quest for the Primitive Church. Edited by Richard T. Hughes. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1988. Pp. ix, 257. $14.95 paperback.)

The Primitive Church in the Modern World. Edited by Richard T. Hughes. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1995. Pp. xvUi, 229. $14.95 paperback.)

Trying to transform the present through recapturing the strong, pure time of origins—EUade's myth of the eternal return—represents a seductive theme in American reUgion. These coUections demonstrate how powerful the puU of primitive purity is from many perspectives. Edited by Richard Hughes, whose career has centered on analyzing primitivist and restorationist dimensions in American reUgion, the volumes resulted from conferences at AbUene Christian University (1985) and Pepperdine University (1991). The American Quest for the Primitive Church contains aU the papers and responses from the first; The Primitive Church in the Modern World features most presentations from the second conference.

The second volume, more theoretical than the first, is more inteUectuaUy tantaUzing. For example, Scott Appleby and George Marsden both ask whether contemporary fundamentaUsms are properly perceived as efforts to restore an idealized past; both conclude that the label is problematic. Franklin LitteUJohn Howard Yoder, and James WilUam McClendon look at the Reformation era, par-

ticularly its "left-wing" or "radical" side, to probe whether appropriation of an ideal past necessarily denies the value of history. Underlying them is the dUemma of attaching the labels "restorationist" or "primitivist" to any reUgious movement that sees either a time of origins or an idealized past time as models for the present—in terms of beUef, practice, or structure.

Other essays in The Primitive Church in the Modem World are case studies of particular traditions popularly classified as restorationist. David E. HarreU looks at the cluster of movements emerging from the Stone-CampbeU matrix (Disciples of Christ, Churches of Christ), Susie Stanley at the Church of God (Anderson), Grant Wacker at Pentecostals, Thomas G. Alexander at later nineteenth-century Mormons, and Theron Schlabach at American Mennonites and Amish. AU insist that despite claims to the contrary, every use of the past is filtered through the present. So they aU Ulustrate how what Stanley caUs "bumping into modernity" has subtly modified the possibiUties of restoring any aspect of the past or of origins. TheU value is precisely their reminding us that not only historians, but also leaders of reUgious communities are people of theU own times and that even the questions they pose of that mythic primal time emerge from a contemporary context.

The older volume, foUowing a more traditional historical approach, echoes the structure of the scholarly conference that gave it birth. Contributors are more insistent that there are restorationist or primitivist features to movements that range from Puritanism (T Dwight Bozeman) to EpiscopaUan evangeUcaUsm (David Holmes). If anything, this coUection reveals how sUppery any use of labels can be. For some, any appropriation of the past legitimates classifying a movement as primitivist or restorationist. When labels become so multifaceted, as Henry Warner Bowden points out, they lose any meaning. One hears echoes of Louis CarroU's playful comment that a word can mean anything one wants it to mean.

So we look at Roger WilUams's fascination with the New Testament church (Leonard AUen), uses of an ideaUzed past time among EnUghtenment thinkers (Winton Solberg), numerous approaches to how origins are authoritative for bibUcal interpretation (Thomas Olbricht, Mark NoU), impulses toward uncritiCaUy seeing the past as edenic among early fundamentaUsts (Joel Carpenter) and somewhat dUferently among early Pentecostals (Grant Wacker), a range of understanding of the role of New Testament Christianity among different sorts of American Baptists (Robert Handy), some sense that American Methodists reflected biblical norms (Albert Outler), the Mormon conviction that the Latterday Saints are not a but the restoration of the New Testament church (Jan Shipps), and the compelling, but not always consistent uses of presumed apostoUc ways among the Churches of Christ (BUl J. Humble). Mixed with comments by the likes of Sidney Mead, Samuel HiU, Brooks Holifield, and David E. HarreU, these essays make rich reading.

Both volumes represent the finest of scholarship, raising more questions than they answer. How are strong times related to origins? How do they motivate

and compel later generations? Is any ideaUzation an effort at restoration? Can those who seek to regain the primitive ever leave behind theU own baggage? For insisting that students of American reUgion wrestle with these questions and for reminding us that they have powerfully motivated many movements and traditions in American common life, Richard Hughes deserves our thanks.

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The Struggle for the Georgia Coast: An Eighteenth-Century Spanish Retrospective on Guale and Mocama. Translated and edited by John E. Worth. Introduction by David Hurst Thomas. [Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, Number 75, issued May 18, 1995. Fourth monograph in a series entitled "The Archaeology of Mission Santa Catalina de Guale."] (Distributed by the University of Georgia Press, Athens. Pp. 222. $2395 paperback.)

By order of don Manuel de Montiano, governor of Florida, at the command of King PhiUp V, the governmental notary Francisco de Castilla assembled out of the governmental and Franciscan archives of the city of St. Augustine in 1739 a group of documents designed to substantiate Spain's prior claim to the territory between the colonies of South Carolina and Florida, the area in which General James Oglethorpe had estabUshed the British colony of Georgia six years before. When the War of Jenkins' Ear broke out some months later, this packet was filed away, forgotten until the 1920's, when its contents were copied for both the John B. Stetson and the Jeannette Thurber Connor coUections. John E. Worth, an anthropologist who came upon the Montiano packet in the Archivo General de Indias, has now translated these documents into EngUsh, with the support of the American Museum of Natural History, and pubUshed them in this amply annotated, comprehensively indexed, and attractive pubUcation. Ranging Ui date from 1628 to 1739, the documents include representative examples of governmental and reUgious reports, both routine and extraordinary.

The volume begins with a piece of soUd scholarship. Worth's "Overview: The Retreat of Guale and Mocama, 1655-1685," is a forty-six-page essay supported by numerous tables, a fine set of maps, and two appendices, one summarizing the locational data for fifteen Guale and Mocama mission sites in existence between 1655 and 1685 and the other compiling the eighteen known Guale and Mocama mission Usts produced between 1655 and 1701. A significant advance in the study of Southeastern Indians of the historic period, the essay includes a thesis about the Uttle-known Chichimecos and their connection to slaving and the firearms revolution. Unaccountably for an historical introduction to the struggle for the Georgia coast, the essay ends in 1685, nearly half a century before the British arrived to give the coast that name, although the period of its history so bUthely ignored is Uttle better known now than it was Ui 1925, when

Herbert F. Bolton and Mary Ross pubUshed their introduction to Arredondo's Historical Proof of Spain's Title to Georgia, a secondary work written in 1742.

Hard on the heels of his substantial Ph.D. dissertation on the Timucuan missions of Florida (1992), this volume on the Guale missions of Georgia estabUshes Worth as a scholar equaUy at home in anthropology, archaeology, and history. Most ethnohistorians and historical archaeologists working on the Spanish and Indian Southeast have to depend on die few historians in the field to find and interpret those Spanish documents which might be of use to them. Along with the translations pubUshed by the historian John H. Hann in Florida Archaeology, 2 (1986), and Missions to the Calusa (1991), Worth's translations open vistas to scholars untrained in early modern Spanish and palaeography; yet to those who have visited the riches beyond, they are not enough. A systematic document pubUcation program like Connor's long-abandoned Colonial Records of Spanish Florida (1925, 1930), juxtaposing Spanish transcripts and EngUsh translations, would be truly invaluable.

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The Way of the Cross Leads Home. The Domestication of American Methodism. By A. Gregory Schneider. (Bloomington and IndianapoUs: Indiana University Press. 1993- Pp. xxx, 257. $2995.)

Traditional histories of American Methodism abound. The movement began in eighteenth-century England with John Wesley. A handful of foUowers had moved to the colonies before the Revolution, and an American church was organized on Christmas Day in 1784. It grew phenomenally in the next two generations. The tireless efforts of Bishop Francis Asbury and countless circuit riders brought thousands of converts. By 1850 Methodists comprised the largest denomination in the land, but by then the movement was already changing.

A. Gregory Schneider writes a very non-traditional history. He neither disputes nor repeats the familiar story but interprets it in a fresh context. His methods are those of reUgious studies rather than church history. His thesis is that "the forms of social reUgion in American Methodism laid the foundations in white people's experience for the adoption of an evangeUcal version of the Victorian domestic ideology" (p. xxii).

This is no narrative history, but Schneider does teU a story of change over time. In the late eighteenth century white Southerners Uved within a "culture of honor." EUte white males took great pride in property, social rank, and skiUs associated with their class. Election days, horse races, cock fights, baUs, and other pubUc occasions were rituals in which they competed for pubUc accla-

mation. This much of the study is derivative, drawing upon the works of the anthropologist Rhys Isaacs and the historian Bertram Wyatt-Brown pubUshed Ui 1982.

American Methodism flourished in the South and among Southerners who moved into the Ohio VaUey. Schneider interprets Methodist rituals and relationships as an alternative to the culture of honor in these regions. It is no accident that Methodism appealed to those outside of the eUte. Class meetings, camp meetings, love feasts, and femUy prayer were rituals in which pride was declared to be a sin, and an alternative set of values and behaviors was lifted up. This part of the study is highly original, rich and textured and convincing.

"The way of the cross" which Methodists foUowed led away from the dominant culture of honor, a culture which prized the pubUc acts of powerful males, toward domesticity. Hence Methodism employed the language of famUy relationships and at the same time contributed to changes in ideas about the home. Further, Methodism appealed to women and contributed to new ideas about gender. More importantly, the spread of Methodism was an important part of a cultural sea change in the mid-nineteenth century.

This is a study limited to white Methodists in the Ohio VaUey before the CivU War. Schneider understands that the experience of African-Americans or New Englanders or other evangeUcals would each require another study. StUl, this is an ambitious study which uncovers not only what these people did and said but what it meant to their families and their sense of identity. Schneider has significantly enriched our understanding of American reUgion.

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Ministry and Meaning: A Religious History of Catholic Health Care in the United States. By Christopher J. Kauffman. (New York: Crossroad. 1995. Pp. xiv, 354. $29.95.)

To sketch the historical development of CathoUc hospitals and to explore and analyze the religious dimension of the CathoUc nursing experience is Christopher Kauffman's stated purpose in this timely, comprehensive history of CathoUc health care.

Kauffman, author of other institutional histories, lays out the basic structure, theoretical contexts, and framing questions in the introduction. He notes that whUe CathoUc schools and parishes have a pubüc presence, only CathoUc hospitals have a pubUc place, because the services offered were always to a wide range of people, the staff was not primarily CathoUc, and there were more relations with government, insurance companies, etc. Kauffman weaves the Gospel imperative of ministry to the sick and suffering with the complexities of

CathoUc health care institutions in a pluraUstic society. Ultimately, he concludes that in this process CathoUc caregivers have "mediated CathoUcism with distinction and creativity."

Part One, "Formation of CathoUc Identities," covers the European traditions of CathoUc health care, the Maryland experience, epidemics, CathoUc benevolence, CivU War nursing, and the frontier experience. Though this ground has been covered before, Kauffman provides a good synthesis of earUer research, but also specificaUy provides a perspective which emphasizes the reUgious understanding of illness and the motivations of the nursing ministry.

Part Two, though chronologically covering 1890 to 1948, focuses on the converging of medical, reUgious, and ethnic subcultures, the influence of national structures and hospital standardization, and the ideology of CathoUc hospitals, nurses, and doctors, especiaUy as it was manifested in a growing period of modernization and professionaUsm. Of particular interest is the chapter showing attitudes toward illness and the popular devotions that surrounded those attitudes. Kauffman points out that this devotionaUsm helped to create and support a community of reUgious meaning for both the caregiver and the care receiver.

Part Three highlights transitions in church, society, and health care from 1948 to 1965; reUgious renewal and emerging lay ministry; and a final chapter on current crises and the renewed emphasis on mission. Illustrations, notes, and an index complete the book.

Kauffman's experience in writing the history of the Alexian Brothers, the only male reUgious order devoted to health care, is brought to bear on this history. WhUe the work emphasizes the work of women reUgious in health care, Kauffman is aware of other contributors to this mission. Of special note is his attention to the place of the African American, both as givers and receivers of CathoUc health care.

Much of Parts Two and Three of the book is devoted to the influence of CathoUc Hospital (now Health) Association (CHA) in bringing together reUgious communities, encouraging education and leadership training, focusing on mission, and currently lobbying and raising poUtical awareness for CathoUc health care values. Kauffman details the styles and struggles of various leaders within the CHA who took a broad or narrow approach to medical, social, and cultural forces, thus shaping the direction and place of CHA as weU as CathoUc health care itself.

While the majority of CathoUc hospitals do belong to CHA, one might wish for some attention to the experiences of CathoUc health care providers outside CHA; however, CHA did sponsor this book. In addition, the broad term "CathoUc health care" in the subtitle would imply some greater attention to long-term care institutions as weU as newer programs such as hoUstic health, parish nurse programs, outreach services, etc. Too, Kauffman's effort to set the history against reUgious, cultural, gender, medical, and social theories often pro-

vides an enUghtening kaleidoscopic perspective, but also causes the introduction to be a bit fragmented.

But these are small items. OveraU, the carefully researched work chronicles the dynamic nature of CathoUc health care from a ministry which provided a place for CathoUc immigrants to receive sacramental as weU as physical care to the mission today of providing quaUty health care, remaining a beacon for the poor, and offering a forum where issues of the "seamless garment" can be fully researched and proclaimed.

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St. Vincent de Paul of Baltimore: The Story of a People and Their Home. By Thomas W Spalding and Kathryn M. Kuranda. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society. 1995. Pp. x, 299. $24.95.)

Founded in 1840, the parish of St. Vincent de Paul has continually served the people of Baltimore for more than 150 years. In a remarkable manner its history, especiaUy its architectural history, mirrors the larger history of CathoUcism in the United States. In the early nineteenth century CathoUcism in Baltimore stiU evidenced a very patrician quaUty reminiscent of the era of Archbishop John CarroU. St. Vincent parish was a good example of this. Some of the city's more prominent citizens were members of the board of trustees. At the first auction of pews the mayor of Baltimore purchased the most expensive pew in the church for $610; numerous others of the mercantile eUte class also paid similar sizable sums for choice seats in the church. The music of Mozart and Haydn enhanced the celebration of Sunday Mass, and parishioners came to church on Sunday afternoons to Usten to oratorios performed by the church choir. The architectural design of the church was very much in tune with contemporary American taste. Neoclassical, it was a combination of Georgian and Greek Revival styles. This same architectural style was found in many of the city's churches, most notably the CathoUc cathedral.

The next key period in the parish's history was the 1870's and '80's. This was the age of devotional CathoUcism, and numerous parish societies were estabUshed in these years. Major renovations altered the neoclassical design of the church interior. "Robust ornamentation," as the authors put it, replaced the restrained Federal-period style. Such ornamentation mirrored the Baroque, European style of architecture that was becoming more common as CathoUcism took on a more European, immigrant quaUty. The contrast between the Baroque interior and the restrained classical exterior was dramatic.

As the city expanded in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the central business district expanded into the parish neighborhood; the number

of parishioners declined, and the very future of the parish was in doubt. Ui 1914 the parish inaugurated a 2:30 a.m. Mass for printers who worked the night shift at Baltimore's two major newspapers. The printers' Mass soon became a Baltimore institution and enabled the parish to survive. Ui 1940 the church underwent a major renovation. The pastor, John Martin, was the force behind this renovation that sought to restore some simpUcity to the church interior. He also used the occasion to revitaUze the spirit of the parish by integrating architecture, art, and Uturgy. The focus on devotionaUsm stiU manifested itself, but it was carried out Ui a more modern, simple style.

The UveUest section of the book examines the history of the parish since the 1960's. WhUe other urban parishes were closing their doors, St. Vincent's gained new life. It became a showcase for the new liturgy and attracted people from the larger metropoUtan area. St. Vincent's was also the spiritual home for many Black CathoUcs who Uved in the pubUc housing projects that were buUt in the neighborhood Ui the 1950's. In anticipation of its 150th anniversary the parish once again underwent an architectural overhaul. This time the people of the parish were involved in estabUshing the goals of the renovation. Meetings were held over the course of five years to define these goals. Completed in 1990, this latest renovation reflected the theology of church and parish that emanated from the Second Vatican CouncU.

Divided into two parts, this study, richly documented with photographs and drawings, includes a history of the parish, written by the historian Thomas W Spalding, and a study of its architectural history by the architectural historian Kathryn M. Kuranda. Spalding is a gifted writer, and his narrative is engaging and thorough; Kuranda's architectural history is especiaUy fascinating since it remarkably reflects the changing history of American CathoUcism. This is an exceUent study of a venerable parish that continues to thrive after 150 years.

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Villanova University, 1842-1992: American—Catholic—Augustinian. By David R. Contosta. (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press. 1995. Pp. xvi, 331. $35.00.)

In 1992, our author, in concert with the Reverend Dennis J. GaUagher, O.S.A., gave us the photo-historic essay Ever Ancient, Ever New: Villanova University: 1842-1992. Although weU developed and concise, VUlanova needed a more complete history, and we have it in the volume reviewed here. As a Roman CathoUc institution of learning, under the auspices of the Augustinian Friars, VUlanova played a significant role in the growth and development of many segments of the Archdiocese of PhUadelphia, particularly in the western suburbs of PhUadelphia. Augustinian monks of vision, who labored at St. Augustine's Church on Fourth Street in portside PhUadelphia, started the fledgling school

with immense faith, knowledge, little fiscal stability, and a willingness to shoulder sacrifice in the name of evangelization and education. Contosta's volume attempts an institutional history that avoids the pitfaUs of a duU and uninteresting, narrowly focused monograph. It is rather a telling story of sacrifice, disappointment, tragedy, heroic devotion, and perseverance Ui the fece of almost unsurmountable chaUenges—from a secondary school to the conferring of its first Uberal arts degree in 1855, through a nation's undulating and unpredictable economic crises, two world wars, a chaUenging ecclesiastical monitoring, along with sponsoring monastic conflict, with neighborly opposition and mandated civil restrictions, eventuating in a highly respected CathoUc university, and auna mater to more than 35,000 distinguished graduates.

Contosta's précis of VUanova's nineteenth-century history notes closings, one in 1845, of which some Augustinians were aUegedly suspect in fiscal matters; another closure in 1857, when friars went off to do missionary and parish work. VUanova reopened for good in 1865, foUowing the national upheaval of civU war. By 1893, VUanova had its first history, a monogram entitled Historic Sketch, by Father Middleton, O.S.A. At the same time, there seemed to be conflict among the Augustinians, highUghted by "Fedigan's FoUy" a fairly advanced plan for expansion, including separating secondary students from coUegians, by opening St. Nicholas of Tolentine Academy on campus. The intractable internal poUtics of the Augustinians, with few exceptions, plagued university administration, poUcy-making, and direction almost to date. AU too frequently coUege and university presidents would not survive an Augustinian Provincial election, and successors would have to begin over, and some undid previous poUcies. Nonetheless, as Contosta frequently suggests, aside from monastic poUtics, the Augustinian influence and direction was a very positive contribution to the university. Moreover, the work of the monks Ui parishes and their corresponding generosity to the university treasury helped VUanova survive many financial chaUenges, whUe growing apace Ui nearly every fecet of higher education with other academic institutions throughout the country. In this, to its credit, VUanova University both gave and received.

VUanova did not develop alone Ui the Philadelphia area. Contosta refers for comparison to La SaUe CoUege and St. Joseph's CoUege, later both universities, as VUanova's competitors. The University of Pennsylvania and Temple University were seen as resource models, whUe Swarthmore, Haverford, and Bryn Mawr coUeges were so heavily endowed that theU modus operandi was not viable for VUanova. Rosemont CoUege, hard by VUanova, became a friendly and co-operative institution for VUanova. Although CathoUc in orientation, they shared growth under two different phUosophies.

Contosta's piece is very engaging Ui VUanova's post-World War II story. The brutaUy frank, but documented narrative traces growth and expansion; continual changes of president, except for the Reverend John M. DriscoU's tenure, which was an exception; student unrest; administration and faculty response; rise in co-educational opportunity and population; development of profes-

sional schools and university status; undulating student population and corresponding financial chaUenges; a Student BUl of Rights never born; the Blue Book of Students' rights and responsibUities; faculty tenure and promotion poUcies; freedom of speech and press along with campus sit-ins and protests; and lack of alumni enthusiasm and support until post-1977.

This was a fast and interesting read, and it would be of great interest to anyone associated with VUlanova, or any institution of higher learning. Moreover, it should be an eye opener for some MaUi Line grousers who do not see the gem in their midst. Although one might quibble with some very lengthy quotations in the text, and what could be construed as overstating the Neo-Thomism impact on the university population, still this is an outstanding record of a top notch CathoUc university.

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Black Elk's Religion: The Sun Dance and Lakota Catholicism. By Clyde HoUer. (Syracuse: University of Syracuse Press. 1995. Pp. xxxUi. 246. $39.95 cloth; $16.95 paperback.)

This book's title promises more than the book deUvers. At best, HoUer surveys some historical Uterature on the Sun Dance, and then speculates how the Lakota holy-man, Black EUc, might have influenced its present practice. It is a shortcoming that the author, a comparative reUgionist, does not differentiate CathoUcism from other forms of Christianity, but it is a major flaw that he sought the assistance of many in the preparation of this text except for the two principal writers in the field, Raymond DeMaUie and me.

Poor editing and awkward diction support the judgment of a coUeague whose evaluation prompted another press not to pubUsh this text. Besides misspellings on pages xxvU, n. 5, 11, 40, 65, 155, and 190, does it make sense to say: "a subtext of commitment, backsUding, and recommitment . . . mirrors . . . sin, confession, and forgiveness?" Elsewhere, is "central tenant" meant to be "central tenet?" What is the meaning of "this sort ofthing makes certain people crazy? [itaUcs added]"? Or, when HoUer writes that "Steinmetz reported to me in a communication," one wonders how else Steinmetz could have reported to him but "in a communication" of some kind or other! FinaUy, history is reversed when we read that "Black EUc first interviewed Neihardt and other elders."

Since any encyclopedia shows that native people served as nuns and priests south of the border since the 1500's (even Father Craft, present at Wounded Knee in 1890, was of Mohawk descent), I have no idea why HoUer defines a "catechist" as: "UntU recently, the highest office a native American could hold in the CathoUc Church." When he critiques an author by saying, "It isn't clear ex-

actly what period 'recently' refers to," HoUer indicts himself since he uses precisely the same vague phrase within his own, grossly incorrect definition.

Hilda Neihardt is cited as an authoritative source when, in feet, her writing is Uttle more than an advertisement for her father's book. HoUer thus lends credence to her erroneous claim that the holy-man's daughter left the CathoUc faith after reading Black Elk Speaks. The indisputable truth is that Black Elk's daughter remained a faithful member of the Church until her death.

The speculative tenor of this book is evident in phrases such as "the fascinating possibUity exists" and "[his] account provides almost an embarrassment of riches for the interpreter." With no evidence to support him, HoUer states that "Black EUc . . . officiated at the Sun Dance for a number of years. . . ." Just as whimsical is his statement that the holy-man's "creative reconciliation" of two reUgious traditions is "the basis for much Lakota reUgiosity today."

HoUer admits that he has "trespassed in many areas [notably anthropology] Ui which" he has "no formal training," and this is evident throughout the text. For example, he wrongly asserts (1) that people camped without regard to rank (ethnographies state otherwise); (2) that Boasian "salvage ethnography" overlooked the present (a misreading of "historical particularism"); (3) that the Ghost Dance was directly attributable to the Sun Dance's ban (in addition to "faith," a constellation of reasons prompted embrace of the Ghost Dance; Black EUc said it was "to escape the poverty"); (4) that Fools Crow's 1983 Sun Dance ceremony provides adequate material for generalizations regarding its numerous contemporary forms; (5) that American Indian Movement member Mary Crow Dog is an authority on the activities of AIM'S "goon" opponents (strangely, not putting the pejorative "goon" Ui quotes); and (6) that Black Elk's involvement with the Ghost Dance in 1890 indicates he would have affirmed the occupation of Wounded Knee in 1973 (speculation gone amok).

This book is an example of a growing genre of misguided reflection which is based on the Black EUc of Uterature. It provides some sense of how the Sun Dance has been variously interpreted over the years, and much incorrect or unverifiable speculation about Black Elk, holy-man of the Oglala.

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Mexican Americans and the Catholic Church, 1900-1965. Edited by Jay R Dolan and GUberto M. Hinojosa. [The Notre Dame History of Hispanic CathoUcs in the U.S., Volume One.] (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press. 1994. Pp. vüi, 352. $2995.)

Mexican Americans and the Catholic Church, 1900-1965, is the initial volume of a trilogy of books from University of Notre Dame Press focusing on a

broad canvas of issues affecting Latino CathoUcs in the United States. Jay P. Dolan served as senior editor for aU three volumes.

Sometimes a few resdess writers, eager to estabUsh a reputation as inteUectual iconoclasts, become so enamored with a hypothesis that they willingly reject contradictory data that might weaken their theoretical framework. Mexican Americans and the Catholic Church, 1900-1965, faUs into that category. The editors, Jay P. Dolan of the University of Notre Dame and GUberto M. Hinojosa of Incarnate Word CoUege (now University), postulated a hypothesis that Uberation theology constituted the only niinistry that could properly address, with sympathy and understanding, the spiritual and temporal needs of Hispanics in the Southwest. The outcome is a compilation of selectively sifted evidence that undergirds the framework of three interconnected essays, each by a different author (Hinojosa, Jeffrey M. Burns, and David A. BadiUo). In the blurred canvas that evolved it became difficult to separate the composition by Hinojosa the writer from the arrangement by Don GUberto the editor.

Taking the essays in sequence, in "Mexican-American Faith Communities in Texas and the Southwest," GUberto Hinojosa hastily fashioned an overview of the Hispanic colonial experience. Determined to discard functional terms that Herbert E. Bolton, Carlos E. Castañeda, and other Borderlands historians wove into their monographs, Hinojosa crafted convoluted phrases that obscured the passages more than they clarified, such as "soldier-settler town garrisons" for presidios; "missionary-Indian towns" for missions; and "faith communities" for secularized mission pueblos and parishes.

Since the overriding theme of this volume was the twentieth century, Hinojosa devoted cursory attention to the historical antecedents. The modern Mexican Revolution furnished the backdrop for the influx of Spanish-speaking immigrants into Texas and the Southwest. The swift rush of new immigrants overwhelmed the capacity of the CathoUc Church to acculturate and assimilate them into mainstream society. Hinojosa and his coUeagues critically indicted the CathoUc hierarchy for lagging behind Protestant ministers in providing temporal and spiritual assistance to the Hispanic faithful. OccasionaUy they praised the apostoUc work of parish priests who offered comfort and assistance to the new arrivals, but generally they regarded the institutional Church with disdain.

Hinojosa's lengthy essay has its composite of flaws and merits. On the credit side of the ledger are several subthemes of South Texas communities in which the ministry of the CathoUc Church, at the height of poUtical turmoU in Mexico, advanced commendably and without fanfare. His historical reconstruction of "faith communities," on the other hand, hampered by autobiographical experiences, might have been improved if documentary materials from diocesan archives in BrownsviUe and Corpus Christi had been consulted. The concept of the "faith communities" has respectable entitlement, provided further research into a comparison of large-versus-smaU parishes is pursued objectively without preconceived notions about the virtue of poverty and the evU of affluence. The

term "Southwest" in the tide is misleading, because the demographic region is much wider than a glimpse of El Paso and Las Cruces. Sadly, the most disturbing problem with Hinojosa's treatise is that he mixed history, sociology, folklore, and theology, but failed to create an eye-catching portrait of Mexican-American CathoUcs.

Jeffrey Burns examined the plight of Mexican immigrants in southern California. No matter how the prelates of San Diego and Los Angeles responded with "a variety of charitable, educational, and parochial services" for needy Hispanic communities, the author depreciated the initiatives as inadequate. Burns's cardinal argument is that the hierarchy lacked awareness and appreciation of the Mexicanos' CathoUc traditions. To buttress this contention he highUghted the immigrants' strong devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe as a classic example of misunderstanding that often resulted in invisible waUs between parishioners and pastors. Other traditions, not aU of which fomented divisions, included Dia de los Santos Reyes (Epiphany), Las Posadas (during Advent), and Los Pastores (after Christmas). Not without hope the author noted that in the post-World War ? decades, the CathoUc Church, as a universal institution, explored "new avenues" to expand its ministry in the Spanish-speaking community.

David A. BadiUo confronted the chaUenge of studying emerging Mexican-American communities in the Midwest with singularity and conviction. Given the Mexicanos' leap-frog pattern of migration, stimulated by shifting economic opportunities, their presence in community spiritual Ufe became more isolated than in the Southwest, thus compounding the writer's task in extracting data from primary sources.

In describing the Mexicanos' journey through the Midwest, BadiUo, stretching his sources to the limit, sketched a picture in bold, black-and-white strokes devoid of poetry and drama. His generalizations zigzagged over the landscape through Kansas, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, and Minnesota. SporadicaUy throughout the narrative he injected the names of priests endowed with missionary zeal who nourished their flocks, but without historical or biographical perspective. BadiUo's essay, therefore, is an uneven, yet sympathetic, overview of Spanish-speaking CathoUcs and their quest for cultural identity and survival in an alien industrial environment.

Mexican Americans and the Catholic Church undoubtedly wUl be controversial, if not polemical. As a contribution to historical Uterature, however, the value of its contents is debatable. Clearly the writers concentrated more on ethnic differences and less on the universaUty of the Church and its doctrine that unites faithful communicants.

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Contending with Modernity: Catholic Higher Education in the Twentieth Century. By PhUip Gleason. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. xüi, 496. $35.00.)

In 1955 Monsignor John Tracy ElUs launched a Uvely debate about the quaUty of American higher education with his now famous essay, "American CathoUcs and the InteUectuaI Ufe." EUis's negative critique, which was reinforced by countless other scholars during the 1960's, has colored our view of pre-Vatican CouncU II CathoUc higher education ever since. In his latest book, Contending with Modernity, PhiUp Gleason, distinguished professor of history at the University of Notre Dame, offers a reappraisal of that earUer era and a chaUenge to commonly held assumptions about preconcUiar CathoUc higher education.

Gleason's study focuses on the organizational and inteUectuaI response made by CathoUc educators between 1900 and the 1960's to "the ideological challenge of modernity" (p. 12). That encounter, which was precipitated by the great transformation of American higher education that began in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, resulted in a new beginning for CathoUc coUeges and universities. During the first three decades of the twentieth century educators responded to the modernization crisis by accepting accreditation and credit hours, by reforming the curricula of theU schools, and by undertaking a serious commitment to modern graduate work. Organizational reform was accompanied by ideological reaUgnment as CathoUcs grappled with the inteUectuaI chaUenge of modernity. Convinced that the root cause of the crisis in modern culture was its rejection of God, supernatural revelation, and the Church, CathoUc inteUectuals "chaUenged modernity by proposing an integraUy CathoUc culture as a superior alternative" (p. l 14). The resulting "CathoUc Renaissance," animated by a revival of Scholastic phüosophy and theology, transformed the inteUectuaI world of American CathoUc higher education. It also created a new kind of CathoUc Americanism whose world view permeated every aspect of existence. By 1930 CathoUcs were entering into national life on an unprecedented scale. However, an anti-CathoUc backlash against growing CathoUc influence in American Ufe two decades later provoked a CathoUc accommodationist movement that abandoned the CathoUc Revival. Unrest among CathoUc inteUectuals in the 1950's, incited in part by ecclesiastical authoritarianism, further set the stage for a new era of self-criticism and revolutionary change.

Although a detaUed analysis of the present is beyond the scope of this study, the author offers some conclusions regarding contemporary Catholic higher education. CathoUc coUeges and universities find themselves at a critical juncture in their development, he observes, as they struggle to redefine their identities. Although they have effectively embraced the standards of modern higher education, these institutions stiU face an ideological chaUenge. Having long since abandoned Neo-Scholasticism as an integrating force, CathoUc coUeges and universities today stand in need of a theoretical rationale for theU existence "as a distinctive element in American higher education" (p. 322).

PhiUp Gleason has written a stimulating and important book that makes a valuable contribution to understanding American CathoUc inteUectuaI culture in the first half of the twentieth century. Because it offers a thoughtful challenge to many contemporary interpretations of that past, it deserves a wide readership. "The post-Vatican II reaction against Neoscholasticism," the author summarizes, "has tended to blind recent commentators to the positive role it played Ui the second quarter of the twentieth century" during the "CathoUc Renaissance" (p. 17). Scholars and students of CathoUc higher education wUl welcome this useful reappraisal and find Ui it rich subjects for future research as they re-examine the various personaUties, institutions, movements, journals, and organizations that played key roles in the history of preconciUar CathoUc higher education. Gleason has propeUed us toward a new comprehension of a largely ignored aspect of that story.

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What Parish Are You From!' A Chicago Irish Community and Race Relations. By EUeen M. McMahon. (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky. 1995. Pp. Xu, 226. $32.95.)

Throughout the years the CathoUc Irish have combatted the gibes and insults of a dominant and often-domineering Protestant-American culture, with the aid and concurrence of the CathoUc parish, Ui Chicago and elsewhere in the nation. CathoUc parishioners, from whatever parish, tackled die issue of their reUgious faith and then· struggle for social and poUtical justice, as a parish community. In this they were set apart from American society at large by what CathoUcs viewed to be the prevalent anti-CathoUcism and by theU local Irish ethnicity.

EUeen M. McMahon in What Parish Are You From? traces the historical fortunes of one such Southwest Side Chicago parish, St. Sabina's, from its "prairie" foundation by Archbishop George W. Mundelein (1916), to the period of racial, white-black tension and the accompanying disappearance of the Irish parishioners into the distant suburbs in the 1960's and 1970's. This book is based on skillful delving into archdiocesan and parish archives and articles in CathoUc journals; a fit coUection of scholarly books on the subject; and, above aU, the author's interviews with major participants. McMahon's oral history is splendid: thoughtful and sensitive, as she guides the reader through the often-raciaUy prickly material.

The embourgeoisement of the Irish CathoUcs came about in the economic boom after World War ?, enhanced by the G.I. BiU which gave white CathoUcs, among others, greater opportunities for skUled and professional jobs. By the mid-1950's the CathoUc Church in America was middle-class, not working-class as it had been earUer. McMahon leaves no doubt that it was the preponderance

of blacks that caused the eventual dissolution of St. Sabina's Irish parish Ui the 1960's and '70's, not the embourgeoisement alone which made ethnic CathoUcs move to the far suburbs. She dates it precisely to August, 1965, when the murder of seventeen-year-old Frank KeUy by two black youths caused hundreds of white famiUes to leave the parish. St. Sabina's became a predominandy Afro-American "community."

Apart from a smattering of racism Ui the priesthood, the Uberal CathoUc clergy tried to broaden the horizons of their parishioners Ui these trying times. But Irish devotionaUsm did not demand a more encompassing social conscience. Locked into a "parish mentaUty," St. Sabina's ethnics were unable to achieve permanent integration. Despite liberal biases of the day of the 1960's, and the prejudice against the bonds of ethnicity (where the "white ethnic" was presumed to be an ardent racist), and the influences of Vatican CouncU II, the Irish neighborhood parish of St. Sabina, UteraUy disbanded itself.

EUeen McMahon's book is profoundly disturbing and pessimistic and not uplifting at aU. The events portrayed by the author are historicaUy accurate. The decline of the parish in America is a precursor of the decline of CathoUc communaUsm, historicaUy at odds with American individuaUsm. The book leaves the reader flat. The final sentence is: "... the CathoUcs and the Irish have lost a vital aspect of theU ethnic heritage."

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Changing Witness: Catholic Bishops and Public Policy, 1917-1994. By Michael Warner. (Grand Rapids, Michigan: WilUam B. Eerdmans PubUshing Company. 1995. Pp. xviii,202. $20.00 paperback.)

There is a conspiracy. Without using this word, Warner so describes the change which took place after the Second Vatican CouncU in the content and style of the American Bishops' statements: the activity of a cabal of eUte leaders in the episcopal conference.

This is not a history of the National CathoUc Welfare Conference or its 1966 successor, the National Conference of CathoUc Bishops/United States CathoUc Conference. Rather it is, as he describes it, an "interpretive essay." This frees Warner, in 170 pages of text, to draw sweeping conclusions without delving into the detaU of the conference's past.

Warner focuses on the two recent episcopal statements on the economy and on war and peace. In the 1930's he finds episcopal social teachings very much in line with Roman Thomism and the organic-guUd system outlook of papal social encycUcals. He notes the shift at the Second Vatican CouncU from natural law to a bibUcal ethics as a foundation for social teaching. Phenomenology also

weakened Thomism's grasp on the councU and aUowed the Americans' social thinking to shift more toward poUtical and pragmatic theology, one which suddenly favored state intervention, social salvation, and lobbying by the bishops in very particular aspects of legislation. He notes that the councU, to the contrary, taught that this was the arena of the laity, not of the clergy.

Warner explains that this change was the deUberate agenda of a new group of leaders in the bishops' conference after its reorganization into the NCCBAJSCC in 1966. Joseph L. Bernardin, the General Secretary of the Conference chosen by Archbishop John Dearden of Detroit and Archbishop Paul J. HaUinan of Atlanta, is presented as the advocate of a much-needed relevancy for the conference. He Usts Marciniak, Bordelon, Colonese, Rausch, and Hehir as stauncher advocates of a deUberate retreat from a natural-law ethics than Bernardin's pragmatism envisioned. Subsequent episcopal statements on Racism, the Vietnam War, War and Peace, and the Economic Pastoral aU evidenced this new activism.

The one gUtch in this program was the need to address the issue of abortion, which Warner beUeves the conference finally avoided by wrapping it in a consistent ethic of Ufe ideology.

Warner concludes his book with an editorial/homily calling on the American bishops to imitate Pope John Paul's focus on truth and the virtues needed to attain that truth; these should be the substance of their statements, not particular poUcy advocacy which merely renders the conference just another lobbying group.

Warner weighs into a heady debate in this book. He does note some significant changes both in the style and content of American social teaching. His charges, however, wul only be demonstrated when a true history of the conference and its members is written. His stroke is too broad and insufficiendy supported to be anything more than a conversation starter or a stimulus to yet more extensive research.

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A More Perfect Legacy: A Portrait of Brother Ephrem O'Dwyer, C.S.C., 1888-1978. By Brother PhUip Armstrong, C.S.C. (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press. 1995. Pp. xxü, 402. $2995.)

When in 1943 Father Arthur J. Hope's Notre Dame: One Hundred Years was pubUshed, a Holy Cross brother teaching at the university wrote to Brother Ephrem O'Dwyer: "Few pages are devoted to our Brothers whose work made ND possible. That was to be expected. We shaU survive it as we survived the [Fa-

ther John A] Zahm regime" (p. 281). Brother Ephrem himself had in 1933, when treasurer of the university, expostulated with Father (later Cardinal) John O'Hara, acting president, for having Ui his annual report to the trustees omitted brothers as prospective beneficiaries of a fund for the training of members of the Holy Cross Order. Ephrem complained also of the way the brothers were slighted on campus and reminded O'Hara that Notre Dame had been founded by Father Edward Sorin and five brothers (actually seven) and that for many years the brothers' efforts had contributed more to the upbuUding of the university than had those of the priests. Such discontent led to the estabUshment in 1946 of a separate province for the teaching brothers (and coadjutor, or non-teaching, brothers who wished to join them). Brother Ephrem O'Dwyer, its first provincial, was considered by the brothers their second founder.

For ten years Brother Ephrem presided over the rapid expansion of a province that stretched from Massachusetts to CaUfornia, estabUshing in the process fifteen new institutions, mostly high schools, and laying the bases for the division of the province into three separate ones m 1956. He would serve as provincial for the Eastern Province until 1962 and then in several teaching and adrninistrative capacities until his retirement in 1971. As paterfamilias he died in 1978 at age ninety. His biographer, himself a former provincial, satisfied that the intervening years have been insufficient "to have honed his craggy character into an aUbrushed, preternatural myth" (p. 326), has attempted through an exhaustive search of several Holy Cross archives and the reminiscences of many confrères to present a balanced portrait of a tireless and efficient administrator, a man who did not suffer fools gladly but who was remembered by associates as "a blend of tough love and compassion," a reUgious of deep but conventional spirituaUty. He was authoritarian and imperious but convivial, not uncommon characteristics of major superiors of the American CathoUc Church before Vatican CouncU II.

The biography can be criticized for its feüure to contextuaUze, to place a particular leader within the larger development of CathoUc education and post-World War II reUgious life. Such enterprises as foreign missions, farms, pubUshing houses, and boys' homes that are frequendy mentioned in passing are never reaUy described. The biography is overly detaUed and repetitive, but this itself may give a better feel for the compUcated, unpredictable, and tedious life of an administrator than the neat, fast-flowing narrative of many biographies. The work also affords many insights into aspects of the transitional church that invite fuUer exploration.

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John Cardinal Krol and the Cultural RevoluHon. By E. Michael Jones. (South Bend, Indiana: FideUty Press. 1995. Pp. x, 550.)

The author of this book is not a historian. He holds a doctorate Ui EngUsh Uterature, taught briefly in a CathoUc coUege, and for some years has been owner and editor of two magazines, Fidelity and Culture Wars. The book is self-pubUshed and has no footnotes. For aU these reasons it might easily be dismissed by historians, but that would be a mistake.

Cardinal Krol gave Jones access to his papers, so far the only person to receive such permission, and that in itself makes the book valuable. (Presumably there are no footnotes because the papers are not catalogued.) In addition, the author has interviewed a number of people close to the scene.

At first glance the title might seem forced, yoking together two unrelated subjects with an aim toward a wider audience. But it is in fact quite accurate, since the book is not a comprehensive biography of an important postconciUar American churchman but a study of Krol's response to the continuing waves of social and reUgious change which began breaking not long after he went to PhUadelphia in 1961.

The coincidence of the Second Vatican CouncU and the rise of the "counter-culture" has often been noticed, and Jones interweaves the two, alternating Krol's role in Rome as a councU father and his handling of unprecedented problems in his archdiocese. The contrast is enlightening, among other things showing how ideas discussed in the abstract in Rome were working themselves out in the American situation.

Jones sees Krol as perhaps the typical American bishop of his generation (and, presumably, several generations before him)—loyal to the Church to the depths of his being, but in need of having the specifics of that loyalty speUed out. He was, as Jones puts it, more comfortable buUding schools than deciding what should be taught in them. As a Uberal reUgious brother put it, Krol was not deficient in intelligence so much as in imagination—he simply could not comprehend the magnitude of the cultural shifts which were taking place in both Church and society. Thus he often appeared inconsistent, unpredictable as to when he might take firm stands and when he might merely aUow things to happen.

Although Jones does not emphasize the point, one way of reading Krol's episcopacy is that his very "conservatism," in a narrow institutional sense, handicapped him and caused him to underestimate the problems he feced. Thus by default some Uberal positions (especiaUy in catechetics) triumphed during his administration. (A revealing example of this mentaUty is the bishops' abortive attempt to dismiss Father Charles Curran from the faculty of the CathoUc University of America in 1967. The entire board agreed that it should be done, but only the "Uberal," scholarly Archbishop Paul J. HaUnan of Atlanta thought they should specify their objections to Curran's theology.)

Krol was the elected vice-president of the newly reorganized National Conference of CathoUc Bishops, but he seemed unaware that this organization was significantly changing the way in which bishops acted, and found himself bewUdered at being repeatedly outflanked by a bureaucracy which was nominaUy under his authority. (The book ends with his election as president of the NCCB in 1971.)

As chairman of the bishops' committee for the Legion of Decency he found himself aU at sea amid disputes about "indecency" versus "artistic merit" and was maneuvered into pubUcly bestowing an award on a film (Darling) which seemed to celebrate adultery and apostasy.

To the inevitable chorus of lay complaints about catechetics in his archdiocese, he tended to react in terms of personaUties, dismissing the complainants for their shrillness and loyaUy defending clergy who were criticized, even as he continued to suspect that not aU was weU on the catechetical front.

Interesting things emerge from the Krol papers, such as the fact that Archbishop Patrick A. O'Boyle of Washington excluded Krol from the deUberations which led to Father Curran's reinstatement (Krol wanted to stand firm) and that Cardinal Lawrence J. Shehan of Baltimore, on the advice of his staff, repeatedly backed away from difficult issues on the national scene. Richard Nixon's SoUcitor General, Erwin N. Griswold, blundy told CathoUc representatives that he was opposed to parochial schools and would not sign a brief in support of pubUc aid, despite assurances by the president that he supported such aid.

The most interesting parts of the book are those dealing with the racial crisis Ui PhUadelphia in the later 1960's. Here Jones brings together a number of strands which might seem unrelated. In the abstract it was about racial justice, but it also involved reUgious authority (when and how it should be used in the postconciUar era), social class (working-class neighborhoods made to bear the brunt of patrician ideaUsm), ecumenism (whUe there were pubUc affirmations of brotherly love, there was considerable tension between the archdiocese and Uberal Protestants over social issues), and even birth control (the Uberal estabUshment was strongly pushing it as part of the war on poverty).

Jones argues that CathoUc sexual moraUty ought to have been a major asset in dealing with the race issue, by strengthening femUy life, now universaUy recognized as having eroded. Instead the Church, in PhUadelphia as elsewhere, seemed to have nothing distinctive to say about race, and the urban parish system ended by being ground up between two opposing wheels.

Jones treats almost everyone in the book sympathetically. However, in the spring of 1996 the National Catholic Reporter pubUshed letters from two former priests of the archdiocese, one of them prominently mentioned m the book. Both said that, before he died, Krol apologized for his disciplinary actions against them and especiaUy apologized for Jones's book, saying that he regretted having co-operated with the author. If those reports are accurate they con-

firm in an ironic way an implied thesis of the book—that this conservative hierarchical icon was a rather ambiguous figure.

Some of the book's judgments wUl probably in time be disproven. But Jones's provocative theses should be taken into account by everyone interested in the postconciUar American Church.

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Canadian

Canada Dry: Temperance Crusades before Confederation. By Jan Noel. (Buffalo: University of Toronto Press. 1995. Pp. xxiv, 310. $50.00 cloth; $1995 paperback.)

In Canada Dry: Temperance Crusades before Confederation, the author examines the social composition, motives, and success of the campaigns against alcohoUc drink in the British North American provinces between 1820 and 1870. Noel rejects older arguments that temperance was simply a form of social control imposed by Protestant middle classes on recalcitrant workers, immigrants, and CathoUcs. Rather, by insisting upon the primacy of reUgious motivations in launching and sustaining the various temperance movements, and in particular, radical, Utopian forms of both Protestant and CathoUc Christianity, Canada Dry posits that the temperance movement enUsted the energies not only of the urban middle classes, but also of large sections of the working classes, and in particular, artisans and smaU farmers. Of equal importance was the feet that the anti-alcohol crusade was, in social terms, an astounding success. Between 1820 and 1870, nearly hatf a miUion British North Americans took the total-abstinence pledge and, whUe the author reminds us that the movement feUed in its stated aim of totally eradicating the consumption of alcohol, it did succeed in "sobering up" colonial Canada. Especially Ui rural areas and small towns, consumption of drink declined dramaticaUy, and Ui society as a -whole, more moderate patterns of drinking were weU estabUshed by the 1850s.

By introducing the reader to a colorful galaxy of clergymen and lay leaders whose reUgious commitments made them prominent in the crusade against drink, Canada Dry makes its case effectively for the central role played by Christianity in defining and organizing the colonial temperance movements. In a wider sense, this book is an important signpost for Canadian scholarship because it is one of the few scholarly monographs which consciously breaks with the assumption that EngUsh Protestantism and French CathoUcism must be rigidly separated for the purposes of historical analysis, a long-estabUshed but

unstated canon of Canadian historical writing. Noel's willingness to use temperance as a common theme by which to study the responses of CathoUc and Protestant leaders to poUtical and social upheaval should be both commended and more often imitated.

Despite these considerable strengths, however, Canada Dry suffers from a number of structural difficulties. The central thesis of the book rests upon the assumption that what began as a movement on the margins of colonial society in the 1820'shad,bythe 1850's, become a "mainstream" social and cultural phenomenon. It is at this point that the author simply relapses into the view that temperance was a form of social control. However, based upon the evidence which Noel presents, temperance remained a highly divisive force, not only between classes, but within the Victorian middle class itself. For example, it is clear tíiat throughout the period under study, the temperance movement remained one of the central Unes of demarcation between Reformer and Tory. By concentrating so intently upon the rise and progress of temperance as a regional phenomenon, the author misses the opportunity to move beneath the anti-drink rhetoric. Indeed, it would appear from the evidence that temperance reformers, including Quebec's Roman CathoUc clergy, employed temperance to critique, not only the manners and morals of older eUtes, but to entrench a new vision of personal conduct and class relations. For example, in the case of the largely Protestant colonies of Upper Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, the author faUs back upon the conventional interpretation of middle-class leadership, and insists that the movement was especiaUy successful where the middle classes had struck deep roots. Yet much of the evidence presented demonstrates that the temperance cause originated and remained strongest among "radical" evangeUcal dissenting groups of artisans, smaU farmers, and tradesmen whose creed was a social and poUtical critique of gentry values. The idea of total abstinence, which emphasized community control of individual behavior, was thus the very antithesis of "Victorian" middle-class notions of laissez-faire individualism. As weU, the sections of Canada Dry devoted to CathoUc temperance movements fail to move beyond the standard account of the Reverend Charles Chiniquy's crusades in the 1840's, and shows Uttle grasp of the Irish, American, and European sources of CathoUc temperance ideas which influenced the Quebec clergy in the decades after the RebeUon of 1837.

FinaUy, Canada Dry faUs back upon the annoying habit of most Canadian doctoral theses in concluding the book with the achievement of Confederation of 1867. In so doing, the author fails to address what is perhaps the key question: how did a movement that was in the early nineteenth century predominantly male in its leadership become, by the 1880's, one led largely by women and the basis of a female critique of Victorian society? Indeed, the logical conclusion of Noel's study was with the debates on the Canada Temperance Act of 1878, and the organization of the Women's Christian Temperance Union late in that same decade. These, and not the poUtical event of Confederation itself,

would have provided a more secure vantage point from which to assess the membership and motives of the early Victorian crusades.

Michael Gauvreau

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Latin American

Our Lady of Guadalupe. The Origins and Sources of a Mexican National Symbol, 1531-1797. By Stafford Poole, CM. (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press. 1995. Pp. xvi,325. $40.00 clothbound; $1995 paperback.)

With the pubUcation of this impressive work, Poole joins the ranks of those historians, like Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta, who do not subscribe to the historicity of the 1531 apparitions of Guadalupe. He writes: "the overwhelming difficulty with the account of the apparitions of Our Lady of Guadalupe is, and always has been, the lack of documentary evidence or unequivocal references between 1531 and l648."The author admits, however, that there is some inconclusive evidence that an oral tradition existed perhaps as early as the l600's and that from 1556 on there are many references to a chapel at Tepeyac (Guadalupe) but not to any apparitions. The first written account describing the 1531 event did not appear until 1648, pubUshed by the Oratorian Miguel Sánchez, who gave his work a bizarre twist by hailing the apparitions, which, according to tradition, had been made to an Indian boy, Juan Diego, as a symbol of Mexican Creole status, thus making the Creoles a chosen people, and thereby negating the inferior status given them by the Spaniards. In 1649, the second account appeared, this one in Náhuatl, entitled Nican mopohua (meaning "here is recounted"), the work of the vicar of Guadalupe, Luis Laso de la Vega. Native Mexicans were his audience, although the Guadalupe devotion does not become prominent among them until the eighteenth century.

The book comprises twelve chapters, plus an informative introduction. Chapter I: a description of New Spain in 1531, the year of the apparitions. Chapter II: a summary of the traditional story of the appearances. Chapter III: the silence of Archbishop Zumarraga about the apparitions, as weU as that of MotoUnia, JuUan Garces, and the Franciscans of Cuauhtitlan. Chapter IV: the investigation into the matter of Archbishop Montufar and the testimonies to 1570 of annaUsts like Chimalpahin and José Bartoloche in addition to the sermon of Francisco de Bustamante. Chapter V: the testimonies of the EngUsh pirate, MUes PhiUps, Viceroy Enriquez de Almansa, and Bernardino de Sahagún, aU of whom mention the Marian shrine at Tepayac but say nothing about the apparitions. Chapter VI: the testimonies of the mendicant chroniclers, among others, from 1572 to 1648. Chapter VII: the detafled testimony of the aforementioned Miguel

Sánchez and Luis Laso de la Vega. Chapter VIII: the ineffective efforts of the Archdiocese of Mexico to estabUsh a uniform tradition for the apparitions and the inabiUty of other writers to present documentary evidence to the same end. Chapter LX: the inabiUty of apparitionists Francisco de Florencia and Sigüenza y Góngora to Unk Antonio Valeriano with the Nican mopohua. Chapter X: consideration of two factors that played a significant role in estabUshing the "apparition tradition," as it is known today: (1) a number of powerful eighteenth-century sermons favoring the apparition story; (2) the cessation of the 1737 epidemic in Mexico attributed to the intercession of Our Lady of Guadalupe. Chapter XI: apparitionist Lorenzo Boturini's research into the 1531 event and the confusion he introduced into the issue. Also a consideration of two challengers of the Guadalupe tradition, Juan Bautista Muñoz and Servando Teresa de Mier. Chapter XII carries the author's conclusion: "Guadalupe stiU remains the most powerful reUgious and national symbol Ui Mexico today. This symboUsm, however, does not rest on any objective historical basis."

Provocative as this study is, a cautionary note must be sounded, however, because of the recent discovery in Mexico of a sixteenth-century document in Náhuatl which carries the signature of Bernardino de Sahagún and the figure of Juan Diego and of Our Lady of Guadalupe. Whether this is part of a sixteenth-century codex relating the story of the apparitions or not remains to be seen. Until this has been estabUshed, a number of Poole's conclusions must be held tentatively.

Charles E. Ronan, S.J.

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They Built Utopia (The Jesuit Missions in Paraguay) 1610-1768. By Frederick J. Reiter. (Potomac, Maryland: Scripta Humanistica. 1995. Pp. x, 401. $75.00.)

The Jesuit missions to the Guarani peoples of Paraguay are usuaUy described as successful ventures, although few contemporary scholars would agree with the author that they constituted ". . . a true Utopia in the tropical wilderness of Paraguay" (p. i). Reiter justifies this book on the grounds that no American has yet written the history of these reductions and that European authors teU only part of the story. Like them, however, he himsetf teUs only fragments of the tale, and he mostly tiUs old ground. The bibUography, which is generally helpful, even omits The Lost Paradise: The Jesuit Republic in Paraguay, by PhiUp Caraman, a work similar to Reiter's in point of view, although superior in execution.

They Built Utopia has unusual emphases. Writing from a colonial Jesuit point of view, the author devotes about ninety pages to the missions' formation from 1610 to 1750, almost 150 to the Treaty of Limits and the Guarani War in the 1750's, and about ninety to the expulsion of the Jesuits. Thus most of the book deals with the last seventeen years of the missions. Another problem is with ev-

idence, and Reiter's standards are inconsistent. Portions of the account are fictionaUzed, whUe others are footnoted in scholarly fashion. The author cites pubUshed primary sources and older multi-volume histories, but Uttle modern scholarship informs his argument. He neglects fundamental anthropological and ethnohistorical work on the Guaranis, who constituted the work force that actuaUy buUt the missions. Reiter pictures Father Roque González, for example, teaching Guaranis to grow corn and yucca, plants which they cultivated before the Jesuits arrived. Pre-Jesuit Guarani history, economic patterns, society, and reUgion can help explain the Jesuits' success, but such topics never surface in this book. In feet, the index contains no entry for Guaranis, although there is one for their Abipon enemies.

Reiter says at one point that the Guaranis who joined Jesuit missions were "savage nomads" (p. ii) and then inconsistendy admits that they were "atfeady femiUar with the rudiments of agriculture" (p. 30). He also ignores the contributions of such Franciscan pioneers as Fray Luis Bolaflos, who ministered to Guaranis in Paraguay before the Jesuits. Here heroic Jesuits lead mute Guaranis against selfish enemies like the PauUstas of Brazil, Paraguayan Bishop Bernardino de Cárdenas, O.F.M., and the colonists of Paraguay.

Reiter displays Uttle understanding of the Spanish empire and no sympathy for the other residents of the Rio de la Plata. He makes embarrassing racial judgments. He thinks that Guaranis "… had a deep-rooted aversion against any kind of work," and that "TheU laziness was compounded by indolence" (p. 63). He says that Guaranis "… did lack foresight and the gift of plannUig" (p. 76). If these assertions be true, one wonders how Guaranis survived in the millennium before the Jesuits arrived.

Reiter's message here is even more partisan than that of such Jesuit historians of the early twentieth century as Antonio AstraUi, who was fer more scholarly in his approach and execution. Recently such Jesuit scholars as Rafael CarboneU de Masy and Bartomeu Melià have approached the missions in a far more sophisticated and balanced manner than Reiter's, paying careful attention to the contributions of native Americans.

Even in this age of speciaUzation, talented amateurs can stiU make valuable contributions. But Reiter appears as a naive advocate of narrowly conceived Jesuit interests. In his discussion of the diplomacy of the eighteenth century, for example, he repeats the arguments of the Jesuit participants without addressing the complexities of international relations or Spanish poUtics. Neglecting Guarani culture, he cannot explain the Guarani resistance of the 1750's. Historical fiction is a legitimate way to reach the general reader, but the staggering price of this volume means that it wUl not reach a wide audience.

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Far Eastern

Documentos del Japón, 1558-1562. Edited and annotated by Juan Ruiz-de-Medina, SJ. [Monumenta Histórica Societatis Jesu, Vol. 148; Monumenta Missionum Societatis Jesu, Vol. 61. Monumenta Histórica Japoniae III.] (Rome: Instituto Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús. 1995. Pp. 743)

The first volume in this series presented the documents about the initial steps that the Jesuits foUowed in their efforts toward the formation of the CathoUc Church in Japan. It covered the opening decade (1547-1557) as St. Francis Xavier and then others struggled to attain language competence for preaching and teaching as weU as the estabUshment of Christian communities and even a dispensary and a hospital for the sick. (Reviewed ante, LXXLX [April, 1993], 379-381.) This second volume, reflecting simUar outstanding scholarly expertise, portrays the expansion of the mission beyond those initial efforts.

The Jesuit presence continued to develop during the final decades of the Sengoku (Warring States) period (1477-1573), but not without difficulties. The Christian community in Yamaguchi was not immune from the March, 1556, rebelUon and the subsequent disastrous fire that swept through the entire city in one hour. The victorious daimyo expropriated the church property while the inhabitants, including many of the 2,000 Christians, fled to another fief. Nonetheless, by 1561 the victor of Yamaguchi aUowed the Christians to rebufld the church, but forbade missionaries from entering the area. MeanwhUe, in Funai in 1556 there were 1,500 CathoUcs; yet Buddhist opposition was absent, due to the prestige of the mission hospital and the daimyo, who was quite supportive of the mission. However, in Hitado, where a smaU Christian community existed, the authorities forced the Jesuits to flee and were responsible for the deaths of the first two lay martyrs of Japan in 1558.

Such disturbances did not stop the spread of the mission into other parts of Japan. For examplejapanese Christian merchants in Hakata sent a letter to the Jesuits asking them to come to buüd a church there. A simUar petition from Kagoshima led to the opening of an oratory. The table (p. 41) indicates that by 1562 there were ten priests and brothers serving more than 6,000 Christians with the greater concentration in Bungo and Yamaguchi in western Japan, but also 200 in Kyoto, the capital city, and even in Nara, the ancient capital. Many of the letters in this volume explain that the mission could not have achieved its success to that point without the Japanese lay men and women who so generously gave their educational, medical, and other services to the Church.

The editor has included four useful appendices. The first is a Ust of the ships and their captains who came to Japan during the two decades 1542-1562. The next item is an essay on the works of charity that the Jesuits practiced through the opening of a hospital for the sick and the lepers and the estabUshment of a lay Confraternity of Mercy. It was not until 1576, however, that, because of the

needs on the missions, Gregory XIII dispensed those Jesuits skiUed in medicine from the ecclesiastical regulations prohibiting priests from being involved in medical and surgical procedures. Until then in Japan the brothers and the catechists directly cared for the sick. The last two appendices contain a Ust of the first Dominicans in Macao and a glossary of Asian terms.

The reproduction of a fine colored map of that period is welcomed, but the inclusion of a sketch map of individual areas of Japan mentioned in the text, similar to the one in the first volume, would have been helpful. The volume under review brings the reader to the eve of the first stages of the unification of Japan under Oda Nobunaga and the need for the missionaries to adapt to new poUtical and social circumstances.

John W Witek, SJ.

Georgetown University

Missionnaires au quotidien à Tahiti. Les Picpusiens en Polynésie au XLX' siècle. By Pierre-Yves TouUelan. [Studies in Christian Mission, Volume 13·] (Leiden: E.J. BrUl. 1995. Pp. xU, 342. $91.50.)

This handsomely produced work is not the history of the Church in Tahiti under a different title; in fact it makes no attempt to describe the growth of the Church there. Rather it is a study of the 163 Picpusian missionaries who went to Oceania between 1834 and 1914. After a brief background about Oceania and a short history of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary (popularly know as Picpusians from the street on which their mother house was buUt), the author uses the personal correspondence and journals of the missionaries to describe their arrival and first impressions, the structures which governed their Ufe, the tasks which they undertook, and the effectiveness (or lack of it) of their work. The author has obviously studied the sources carefuUy and shares with the reader many quotations from them. He highUghts a number of aspects of missionary Ufe at this time which can easUy be forgotten in an ordinary study of church history. Some examples of this would be: many of the missionaries, especially in the early years, although devout and coming from very Christian vUlages, were not weU trained in theology and tended therefore to repUcate the church Ufe and structures they knew at home; the vicars apostoUc were for the most part appointed at an early age, and since their absolute control of the vicariate was compUcated by the appointment of a provincial superior, there were many and serious conflicts in which the individual missionaries often got caught; because of the distances between islands the missionaries Uved a lonely and seemingly abandoned Ufe although accusations of moral faUures were greatly exaggerated; the work in the islands was deeply affected by the changes in the French government at this time and the changing fortunes of the Congregation which often determined the number and ages of the missionaries arriving in Oceania; the missionaries had a great impact on the

social Ufe of the islanders through theU schools, medicines, and farming. The reader is enriched by the details, tables, maps, and graphs which the author has provided. But there are also disappointments. In terms of presentation the text refers to tables that are not there and teUs the reader to see, for example, a particular chapter about a certain topic; such a reference is not very helpful since the chapters are sometimes forty pages long. WhUe the author is faithful to his sources, he seems reluctant to synthesize his findings in a composite picture so that the reader leaves the work holding the many parts of a jigsaw puzzle but not the picture as a whole. Also the work seems to stop rather than finish; "Fear for their health" hardly seems like a fitting conclusion to a work that attempts to describe the daüy experience of missionaries over an eighty-year period. Finally, the biggest disappointment is the price which puts this material beyond the reach of individual missionaries and missiologists and even most Ubraries. It is unfortunate that such useful research cannot be made available at a more reasonable price.

Lawrence Nemer

Yarra Theological Union (Melbourne)

BRIEF NOTICES

Sx Augustine. Arianism and Other Heresies. Introduction, translation and notes by Roland Teske, SJ. [The Works of Samt Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century. Part I: Books, Volume 18.] (Hyde Park, New York: New City Press. 1995. Pp. 486. $39.00.)

It may come as a surprise to most people but many of the works of St. Augustine have stiU not been translated into EngUsh. The current project of the Augustinian Heritage Institute, "The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century," if carried through to completion, wUl fiU that gap. This volume, the twelfth Ui order of pubUcation, is the first volume to be translated by someone other than the industrious EngUsh Dominican, Edmund HUl. His translation of the sermones adpopulum is the first complete translation of that series, although there are some recently discovered sermons stiU to be done.

Any such project necessarily involves yet another translation of the Confessions or the City of God. But this volume, done by Roland Teske, SJ., of Marquette University, offers the first EngUsh translations of several late polemical works. The same scholar recently pubUshed the first English translations of early Augustinian commentaries on Genesis in the "Fathers of the Church" series.

This volume contains anti-Arian and anti-PriscilUanist works as weU as a general survey of aU heresies, a work for which even the author would claim Uttle originaUty. Finalty, there is a work written to refute a book found on sale near the waterfront in Carthage. The author of "The Enemy of the Law and the Prophets" is difficult to categorize but Teske says that "Neo-Marcionite" may be as good a label as any. WhUe these worics are Uttle known, aU such translations wUl help the great Father to become better known, though, it must be admitted, the elderly Augustine was not at his best in debate with the Arian bishop. Robert B. Eno, S.S. (The Catholic University ofAmerica)

Block, David. Mission Culture on the Upper Amazon: Native Tradition, Jesuit Enterprise, Secular Policy in Moxos, 1660-1880. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 240. $30.00.)

This study of the Moxos Indians Ui what today is northern and lowland Bo-Uvia unweaves the threads of the natural, aboriginal, and missionary constituents of life Ui this region over roughly two centuries. The missionary

enterprise there was under the direction of the Jesuits of the province of Peru: its records have recently been pubUshed in a series of the Monumenta Histórica of the Jesuit Historical Institute in Rome. As with theU neighbors, the Chiquitos Indians, the tribal organization and culture of the Moxos survived the upheavals foUowing the break-up of the Spanish colonial empire thanks to the extreme remoteness in the inhospitable forest, and also in part thanks to the Jesuit system of ploughing back into the missions aU profits from the industries they estabUshed.

Dr. Block's book is pioneering work in a neglected area of South American Indian studies. There is an ample and valuable bibUography occupying almost one quarter of the book that offers lines for further research. Philip Caraman, SJ. (Dulverton, Somerset, England)

Chorpenning, Joseph E, O.S.ES. (ed.). Mexican Devotional Retablos from the Peters Collection (PhUadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 181. $75.00 hardbound, $45.00 paperback.)

This is a valuable addition to the growing body of Uterature on Mexican retablo art. Although the subject coUection is relatively smaU, Mr. & Mrs. Joseph P Peters have entrusted St. Joseph's University, PhUadelphia, with what is surely the best of this proliferate art form that flourished in north central Mexico from the mid-nineteenth century until the early twentieth. Joseph and Ruth Peters give us a rare insight into what motivated them to coUect this "poor man's art" and how they proceeded to learn about it. Nancy HamUton provides a brief background on the origin of this artistic genre, identifying the limited area of manufacture and the materials and techniques employed by the painters. Essays by Christopher C. WUson and Father Chorpenning provide far more comprehensive information about the probable artistic prototypes used as models by Mexican provincial artists than was previously available. WUson identifies the dominant themes and personages preferred by members of reUgious orders in teaching the CathoUc faith to the indigenous people of the New World. No less important were the principal saints whose example served to inspire these propagators of the feith. Father Chorpenning detaUs the enduring role that the iconography of St. Joseph played in the evangelization of Colonial Mexico, which accounts for the depiction of this saint on numerous retablos. The forty-eight color reproductions of the retablos from the Peters CoUection Ulustrate the remarkably expressive quaUty achieved by relatively minor artists in provincial Mexico. Each reproduction is described in detaU by Father Chorpenning. Black and white Ulustrations accompany the essays, showing the prototypical works of European and colonial master painters tíiat provincial artists sought to imitate. Jose Aguayo (Museo de las Americas, Denver, Colorado)

Clark, Mary T, R.S.C.J. Augustine. (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press. 1994. Pp. xxiv, 136. $35.00 clothbound; $17.95 paperback.)

Of the making of books about Augustine there seems to be no end. And that includes general introductions as weU as monographs on narrow topics. Why another introduction? A series entitled "Outstanding Christian Thinkers" could hardly omit a volume on the greatest patristic influence in the history of western theology. Sister Mary Clark brings great knowledge, sympathy, and long experience to the task of putting aU of Augustine into a few pages.

Despite its brevity, this book manages to give some consideration to almost every aspect of Augustine starting with his biography. Given the author's special interest and expertise in the phUosophical roots of Augustine, it is not surprising that she concentrates on Augustine's phUosophical development, including a chapter toward the end on his relationship to Neo-Platonism.

AU the significant aspects of Augustine's theology are here: knowledge, happiness, moraUty, grace and freedom, the Trinity. Areas of his thought which are easily muddled such as the distinction between "use" and "enjoyment" and the relationship between the Church and the City of God are explained. Subjects which frequently attract less notice such as monasticism are also attended to. The final chapter studies Augustine's own changes of mind by means of the Retractations.

I have some reservations about the author's comments on the relationship of the African church to the Roman see. The number of bishops supporting JuUan of Eclanum is greatly inflated or is this a printing error (p. 123)? The hardcover edition of the book also seems to have an inflated price, especiaUy in view of its not very attractive format and binding. Beyond that, this is a good introduction (in paperback) for coUege students. The author has packed a great deal into a few pages. Robert B. Eno, S.S. (The Catholic University ofAmerica)

Crews, Clyde F. American and Catholic: A Popular History of Catholicism in the United States. (Cincinnati: St. Anthony Messenger Press. 1994. Pp. vüi, 167. $11.95 paperback.)

Crews's history of American Catholicism focuses upon the interaction of CathoUc and American values. CathoUcs endowed American life with values (e.g., tradition, sacramentaUty, community, institutional order, authority) that the American republican and Protestant culture had either neglected, forgotten, or denied. On the other hand, CathoUcs encountered American republican and Protestant values (liberty participation, toleration, due process, and pluralism) that CathoUcs had neglected and that were eventuaUy incorporated into American CathoUc Ufe.

Crews's narrative carries the reader from the missionary and colonial period to the present, reflecting throughout a sensitivity for the complexity of the his-

torical record, the multiple styles of CathoUc Ufe, the diversity of thought, the creedal unity, and the experiences of isolation and integration. Although the story line reflects the traditional outline of American CathoUc history, the story itself depicts the experiences of everyday CathoUc Ufe, or CathoUc art and architecture, of the influences of geography and climate, and of the popular images of CathoUcism in the American press and Uterature. It presents personal examples of faithfulness and the tragedies of intransigence, the pains of growth and poverty during the colonial and immigrant eras, the complacency of success and wealth in the mid-twentieth century, and the ambiguities of reform, revival, and decline in the most recent period. This history has the concrete feel of the particular as weU as the flow of a weU-written narrative.

The book has a number of touches that should make it readable for a wide audience (e.g., parish study programs, schools, undergraduate coUege classes, and the general reading pubUc). It is accompanied, almost on every page, with numerous photographs of persons, documents, church architecture, maps, original drawings, and Uturgical and historical events that make the narrative come aUve. In the margins, moreover, are contemporary reflections and questions that could be useful in discussion groups.

Crews has produced what we have grown to expect from him over the years—an easUy readible, interesting, informative, weU-balanced, documented, and credible historical account. Patrick W Carey (Marquette University)

Cutter, Donald C. California in 1792: A Spanish Naval Visit. [The American Exploration and Travel Series, Volume 71.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1990. Pp. xv, 176. $12.95 paperback.)

The author focuses on the operation of two Hispanic schooners, the Sutil and the Mexicana, whose crews were sent to inspect the Pacific Coast from Vancouver Island to Monterey. He describes conditions in the 1790's, provides biographical information concerning the visitors and the visited, and concludes with an annotated translation of the most complete extant journal of the voyage.

The treatise reveals much new information on the indigenous peoples of Alta CaUfornia, Spanish relations with the native Americans, and the activities of the Franciscan missionaries. Of special interest is a dictionary and catechism used at San Carlos Borromeo Mission in the Runsien and Eslen languages. Much of the valuable data used by Cutter in his I960 edition of Malaspina in California is repeated and expanded, including his portrayals of Fermín Francisco de Lasuén and José Francisco Senán, missionaries who were pivotal participants in the 1792 narrative.

The introductory chapters of this book, which comprise two-thirds of the total text, contain a brief but highly interesting, informative, and accurate his-

tory of early California. Once again, Donald C. Cutter emerges as the unchallenged "dean" of historians dealing with Spanish exploration of California.

One sUght misstatement on page 85 says that Fray Junípero Serra was "recently canonized." ActuaUy, he was "beatified" by Pope John Paul ? on September 25, 1988. HopefuUy, the text wUl soon correct itself retroactively when Serra's cause crosses the final threshold to canonization. Francis J. Weber (Archival Center of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles)

DoNALSON, Malcolm Drew (Trans.) A Translation of Jerome's Chronicon with Historical Commentary. (Lewiston, New York: MeUen University Press. 1996. Pp. xi, 176. $79.95.)

The ancient Uterary form of the Chronicle is not one that has attracted the attention of many scholars; yet, in its modest way, it has contributed to our knowledge of the history of Antiquity. Consisting of brief and unadorned entries, the Chronicle, as the translator puts it, does not aUow for attempts at Ciceronian eloquence.

This book, originating in the editor's dissertation, presents an EngUsh translation, not of the entire Chronicle, much of which is Jerome's Latin translation of Eusebius of Caesarea's Greek Chronicle, but only of the later section which represents Jerome's original contribution, viz., the Chronicle covering the years 327-379 a.D. Donalson notes that Jerome's interest seems equaUy divided between Empire and Church.

In addition to the EngUsh translation of the latter part of the Chronicle, this book contains a reprint of the critical edition of the Latin original by R. Helms and forty pages of notes and commentary on the text by Donalson. He also attempts to discover Jerome's principal sources, among which Eutropius stands out. This work represents a modest contribution to the study of the ancient Church and late Empire, useful when taken in conjunction with other chronicles and ampler histories. Robert B. Eno, S.S. (The Catholic University of America)

Fouiixoux, Etienne. La collection "Sources chrétiennes": Éditer les Pères de l'Eglise au XX'siècle. (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf. 1995. Pp. iv, 238. FF 120.)

One of the greatest patristic coUections of our time was launched at the most unpropitious of moments. In late November, 1942, the first volume of Sources chrétiennes appeared, not only during World War II and the German occupation of France but just as the German forces were extending theU grip to the previously unoccupied zone. The fiftieth anniversary of this scholarly enterprise and the publication of its four hundredth volume in 1994 occasioned a number of celebratory events. This history is part of that observance. It is an an-

niversary of significance not only for patristic studies but also for the history of the Church Ui France.

The author reaches back to the 1930's in search of roots. He traces its inspiration to Father Victor Fontoynont, S.J., and to the year 1932. The initial response of Jesuit superiors to the proposed series was not encouraging. But his younger confreres Daniélou and de Lubac persisted and finaUy were able to begin the project, which, initiaUy, was to be a series of translations of the Greek Fathers for the educated pubUc.

FouiUoux traces the many trials of the early years, the lack of paper, even the suspicions of the German censors concerning the first volume, the Life of Moses of Gregory of Nyssa. Lack of funds proved to be an ongoing problem. After the war, new troubles succeeded the old. Thomists suspected the series of being a disguised attack on scholastic theology. The troubles of theologians like de Lubac Ui the late 1940's cast further shadows on the series. Since Daniélou was even then busy about many things, for many years much of the work devolved upon a younger Jesuit, Claude Mondésert, whose contribution long received little public acknowledgment.

Under Mondésert, the coUection was able to achieve a stable existence by the time of the appearance of its fiftieth volume in 1958. The book has Uttle to say about the history of the series since then. Now the spring has become a flood. Though the initial popularization idea has given way to a much more scholarly and speciaUzed tone, nevertheless, the series has more than fulfilled the early faith and efforts of its founders. Robert B. Eno, S.S. (The Catholic University of America)

Frank, Isnard Wilhelm. A Concise History of the Medieval Church. (New York: The Continuum PubUshing Company. 1995. Pp. ix, 153- $18.95.)

This is a translation by John Bowden of the second edition of Frank's Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters (Düsseldorf: Patmos Verlag, 1990). As the EngUsh title indicates even better than the German, the author's purpose was to be succinct. Because the work is so brief, there is much that is touched on only very Ughtly or left out altogether. What it may lack in breadth of treatment, however, it makes up for in sharpness of focus.

The textbook focuses upon the relationship between secular and spiritual power and between temporal leaders and popes. As is evident even in the book's chapter titles (e.g., "The King's Church of the Early and High Middle Ages,""The Papal Church of the High Middle Ages"), this is history told from the top down. Topics include the Christianization of the Germanic tribes, the feudalization of the Church, the status of the king within the Church of the early and high Middle Ages, the Gregorian reform, the theory of the two swords, late-medieval conciUarism, and so forth. In short, poUtical and institutional history dominate.

Piety, sacramental life, Christian practice, scholasticism, heresy, the reform orders, the friars, the crusades—these are aU handled Ui a single chapter of thirty-five pages. NaturaUy, this results in some superficiality of treatment. The origin and function of the friars, for example, are treated in a few paragraphs. The book is as thin on these aspects of the medieval church as it is fuU on its institutional and poUtical dimensions. Therefore, if the book is to be used in undergraduate courses, it should be supplemented by a text like Bernard HamUton, Religion in the Medieval West (New York: Edward Arnold, 1986). But readers in search of a one-volume introductory textbook wUl stiU do no better than Joseph H. Lynch, The Medieval Church: A Brief History (New York: Longman, 1992). Kevin Madigan (Catholic Theological Union, Chicago)

Gilchrist, Roberta. Contemplation and Action: The Other Monasticism. [The Archaeology of Medieval Britain.] (London and New York: Leicester University Press. 1995. Pp. xv, 250. $55.00;£45.00.)

The title of this book is misleading on two counts. This book is not reaUy about contemplative vocations. Rather, Dr. GUchrist is an archaeologist and her book is the fifth in a series designed to provide up-to-date surveys of archaeological evidence for specific aspects of Britain in the Middle Ages. This volume documents the archaeology of sites of what she caUs "the other monasticism," specifically hospitals, the MUitary Orders (Templars, HospitaUers, etc.), nunneries, hermitages, and anchorholds. Noting that the major male monastic establishments have been given the weight of most general as weU as archaeological interest, GUchrist's main purpose is to examine the material culture of these other (impUcitly lesser) reUgious vocations, whether, in fact, they should be so bUthely subsumed under the category of monasticism is questionable and is the second misleading point.

Each chapter begins with a summary both of the way of lUe of the members of the group under examination and of the historical development of the movement or order. These summaries are synthesized from recent scholarship (and supported by a good bibliography). They are each in turn foUowed with whatever archaeological data are available. Photographs, maps, ground plans, as weU as architectural drawings enhance the text. There is, however, Uttle integration of the archaeological data with the historical text. What we have in each chapter is an historical survey foUowed by an archaeological survey. There is some analysis of various archaeological findings, but it is scattered throughout the text.

Professional historians may find this book useful U they are interested in any of the sites that are specificaUy detaüed or if they are willing to search the text for iUuminating archaeological evidence of issues that mesh with their own concerns. Ann K. Warren (Case Western Reserve University)

Harmless, William, SJ. Augustine and the Catechumenate. (CoUegeviUe, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press. 1995. Pp. xU,406. $34.95)

A friend once discovered a volume of Augustine's sermons in translation. He assumed that, with a Uttle adaptation, he could make use of them but he was soon disabused of such a thought. Here the author begins with a different agenda and a more sophisticated approach. The Rite for the Christian Initiation of Adults teUs the pastor what to do but rarely advises him what to say, i.e., concerning curriculum and teaching styles, m the hope of gaining Ught from the patristic era about the latter as weU as the former, Harmless selects Augustine as a test case. After a brief survey of earUer patristic catechetical practice, he begins with Augustine's own catechumenate in MUan. Unlike a Cyril of Jerusalem or an Ambrose, Augustine left us no clear-cut series of pre- or post-baptismal instructions.

From the many gaps in our knowledge, the author seeks to put together a coherent picture of Augustine's practice. For the evangelization phase, he analyzes On Catechizing the Simple. For the catechumenate proper, he studies a series of sermons which some scholars beUeve were deUvered between December, 406, and the beginning of Lent, 407. He foUows with a consideration of Augustine's Lenten preaching for the competentes. The disciplina arcani is stiU a matter of dispute, but Augustine was one who explained more about baptism before the feet rather than after.

Throughout, Harmless makes useful and insightful comments on Augustine's methods and style. Some of what he says wUl akeady be famiUar to those who have read such classics as van der Meer's Augustine the Bishop. The most difficult section for the author must have been the final one, in which he attempts to delineate how Augustine's practice can be useful to today's catechists. Though I am no expert in such matters, it seems to me that he makes judicious and wise remarks on what is relevant and what is not. His research depends largely on EngUsh sources with some French added. German could have been helpful, notably the study of Josef Schmitz on the Uturgy in Ambrose's MUan. Robert B. Eno, S.S. (The Catholic University of America)

Jefford, Clayton N., with Kenneth J. Harder and Louis D. Amezaga, Jr. Reading the Apostolic Fathers. An Introduction. (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson PubUshers. 1996. Pp. xvi, 192.)

In a Patristics course, the first authors or works studied are usuaUy a group known coUectively as the ApostoUc Fathers. This brief volume is presented as a textbook-like survey of this group intended for coUeges or seminaries. Jefford includes the Letter to Diognetus and II Clement but not the fragments of Papias.

A common grid is used for each author or work. First, Answers, a rapid summary of the information on each text; then, Questions, each category of infor-

mation is filled out in detail. FinaUy, the Contents are outlined with a summary of the argument and a bibUography. A glossary and an index of ancient Uterature complete the book.

The categories of information caUed Questions compose the bulk of the book. These categories are: 1. Where did we get the text, i.e., what is the state of the manuscript tradition? 2. What form does the text take? 3. Who was the author? 4. When was the text written? 5. In what setting was the text written? 6. Why was the text written? 7. What are the primary traits of the text? 8. What special Ullages appear? and 9- How does the text relate to Scripture?

The length of a given section varies a great deal depending on the work. The Shepherd of Hermas, for example, is much longer than the other works and, in particular, has a large number of unusual images. In general, I find the work weU done and very useful but, from a practical point of view, I wonder how many courses are offered solely on the ApostoUc Fathers or how many general Patristics courses have the luxury of spending more than a brief period on them. Robert B. Eno, S.S. (The Catholic University of America)

Kaufman, Peter Iver. Church, Book, and Bishop: Conflict and Authority in Early Latin Christianity. [Explorations: Contemporary Perspectives on ReUgion.] (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press. 1996. Pp. x, 166. $61.50 clothbound; $16.00 paperback.)

The series in which this book is a volume, "Contemporary Perspectives on ReUgion," is intended to provide textbooks or supplementary reading for courses. My initial expectation on reading the title was that the book would attempt to analyze the question of doctrinal authority within the early Church, the interplay of scriptural authority with that of the Uving leaders of the Christian communities. There is some discussion of this in the first two chapters but it is not pursued. Rather the book soon becomes a history of Latin Christianity until the death of Gregory I, developed around the Uves of leading bishops, Cyprian, Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory. These and other bishops are consistently referred to as "executives" and their chaUenge "management strategies." Perhaps this is the principal interface with "contemporary perspectives."

The author states that his approach is not comprehensive but selective. Inevitably, however, in a book aimed at non-speciaUsts, much time must be taken up filling Ui the context and background of a variety of controversies. WhUe this Ulustrates what he caUs the Christian addiction to conflict, it serves to set the stage for the actions and reactions of the "executives." UsuaUy the reader is left to draw out the lessons of executive leadership from the narrative for himself. In view of its finality perhaps, the book is written in a coUoquial style but it otherwise does not appear to differ aU that much from other histories of the same period. Robert B. Eno, S.S. (The Catholic University of America)

Markus, R.A. Sacred and Secular. Studies on Augustine and Latin Christianity. [Variorum CoUected Studies Series: CS 465.] (Brookfield, Vermont: Ashgate PubUshing Company. 1994. Pp. x, 324. $89.95.)

Robert Markus, retired now for some years from the University of Nottingham, has pubUshed a second coUection of articles Ui the Variorum series of collected studies. The previous volume appeared in 1983. NaturaUy, then, this volume coUects studies pubUshed since that date with the exception of three earlier, more phUosophicaUy oriented essays which appeared in the late 1950's and early 1960's. One might be permitted to observe that perhaps Markus' own inteUectuaI evolution has followed a path not unlike that of Augustine himsetf.

The first group of articles provides the explanation for the overaU title of the volume. These studies deal broadly with the issues of Christianity and poUtical thought, starting with his contribution to the Cambridge History of Mediaeval Political Thought on the Latin Fathers. A second group of essays concerns Pelagius and the remnants of reUgious dissent in North Africa. FinaUy the last three articles, including the text of his 1984 St. Augustine lecture at VUlanova University, revolve around the theme of the multiple conversions of St. Augustine. In several of his works, as weU as those printed here, Markus has put great emphasis on the importance of Augustine's re-reading of Paul in the 390's and the resulting shift away from the platonically induced optimism of his early days as a convert. According to Markus and others, he now would have to reckon with the power of evU in the world. The word "disenchantment" from the title of his VUlanova lecture did not indicate that Augustine had become a pessimist but that he had been liberated from earUer Ulusions.

Inevitably, the gathering together of articles with simUar topics, written within a short span of years, brings a certain repetition of ideas and insights. Nevertheless, Professor Markus' thoughts are weU worth reading and pondering. Robert B. Eno, S.S. (The Catholic University of America)

Padberg, John W, S.J. Together as a Companionship: A History of the Thirty-First, Thirty-Second, and Thirty-Third General Congregations of the Society of Jesus. [Series IV: Studies on Jesuit Topics, Number 15.] (Saint Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources. 1994. Pp. viii, 145. $14.95 paperback.)

The general congregation is the ultimate governing body of the Society of Jesus. A proper history of the most recent three congregations (1965 and 1966; 1974-1975; 1983) would have been a notable and much anticipated achievement. This is not that "proper" history. John W. Padberg. SJ., wrote the valuable brief history of the first thirty general congregations of the Society of Jesus that prefaced the recent edition of the decrees, For Matters of Greater Moment: The First Thirty Jesuit General Congregations: A Brief History and a Translation of the Decrees. In that edition Padberg justified the exclusion of the decrees of the next three congregations on the grounds that they were aUeady avaUable in EngUsh translations. In that case the Uttle volume under review is hard to justify

because the contents have previously appeared elsewhere. The first two chapters, the histories of the first two congregations, appeared in the 1974 and 1983 editions of Studies in the Spirituality ofJesuits. These two chapters require much more editing and integration than they received; for example, after discussing postulata throughout Chapter I, Padberg explains them at the beginning of Chapter II. Chapter III is not a history of the thirty-third congregation but the "Historical Preface" to the decrees. Padberg justifies this by claiming that the events of the two years preceding the congregation "were so unusual and the congregation itself was so recent that at present it would be dtfficult to write even a brief history of that meeting." In view of Padberg's quick pubUcations of the histories of the previous two congregations, this seems a weak excuse. In sum, the Institute of Jesuit Sources could have better utilized its resources by commissionUig Padberg to write that "proper" history of the recent congregations. A. Lynn ?a?p? (The University ofAdelaide)

Perry, Richard D. More Maya Missions: Exploring Colonial Chiapas. (Santa Barbara, CaUfornia: Espadaña Press. 1994. Pp. 128. $ 12.95 paperback.)

This smaU volume is a descriptive guide to the colonial architecture of Chiapas, mostly churches buUt by the Dominican friars between 1551 and 1821. More Maya Missions is weU Ulustrated with forty-three inked, detaUed drawings of churches and other structures, some maps, a glossary, an index, and a smaU select bibUography. The printing quaUty leaves something to be desired, and the reader wUl have to be content with the book's utilitarian value. Nevertheless, More Maya Missions captures the beauty and power of the churches and buUdUigs of colonial Chiapas. It is useful as a quick reference or as an aid to the traveler who has but limited time in which to glean some appreciation of the extensive contributions of the Spanish colonial reUgious estabUshment to the architecture of Chiapas.

The present volume is Richard Perry's third contribution to the descriptive and Ulustrative corpus of Mexican colonial architecture. In style and spitit,More Maya Missions foUows the earUer Maya Missions by the same author and his wife, which dealt with the colonial churches ofYucatan. In Yucatan, however, the colonial architectural treasure was aUowed to deteriorate and was vandalized for several hundred years. In Chiapas, in spite of many turbulent times, including the present, the municipalities as weU as the colonial authorities took interest and some care in preserving the architectural heritage. The contrast is weU brought out by Perry as he describes, sometimes with fine educated guesses, the architectural and decorative evolution of some of the ermitas and remote vUage churches.

The author is at his best in his artistic commentary which is based on some coUections of early colonial sources, secondary material, and his own keen personal observation. But the present work is lacking in historical analysis. The background provided is sketchy, undocumented, and does its share Ui perpetu-

ating some worn half-truths such as the definition of the encomienda and the allusion to the Spanish Inquisition. No attempt is made at serious reUgious or economic reflection. Perry simply considers the churches of Chiapas "missions" intended for the evangeUzation of the Indians. The impUcation is that these structures were buUt unrelated to the encomiendas. Yet we may be sure that aU buUdings were m one way or another town and vUlage structures buUt as the direct result of encomienda efforts in time and resources, and not "missions" financed by the Crown or local colonial authorities. Again, as in Maya Missions, the subject matter of the present work is a book waiting to be written. Marta Espejo-Ponce Hunt (University of California, Los Angeles)

Rankin, David. Tertullian and the Church. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. xvüi, 229. $54.95.)

This is quite an old-fashioned book both in the way the question is conceived and in the way the study is carried out. In its conception, Rankin wishes to rehabiUtate TertuUian's reputation as a contributor to the doctrine of the Church, despite his Montanist schism which devalued him on this subject among ancient thinkers and despite the lack of attention modern interpreters have given to his unappreciated ecclesiology (cf. p. 5 and frontispiece). The fact that neither TertuUian nor his contemporaries have any systematic theology of the Church (pp. 59-60) does not prevent us from finding two chapters on TertulUan's break from "the church" (Chapters 2 and 3), or prevent the author from using the heading "TertuUian's Doctrine of the Church" to inaugurate Part ? of the book.

In fact, the setf-conscious adaptation of "a lexical approach to these questions" and its defense by the author do leave the reader wondering why topicaUy related materials are puUed from various places to "mine" TertuUian's imagery. Furthermore, I would have thought that a lexical approach might have led the author to the term disciplina, the key category of TertuUian for nondoctrinal and ecclesiastical matters. However, the term does not even appear in the index. Exploration of the social and (especiaUy) secular meanings of TertulUan's ecclesiastical terminology is virtuaUy absent, except for the occasional vague notion that a term like castra (cf. p. 69 to p. 111) is something of a crossover term. Dennis E. Groh (Illinois Wesleyan University, Bloomington)

Schoenberg, Wilfred P., SJ. Jesuit Mission Presses in the Pacific Northwest: A History and Bibliography of Imprints, 1876-1899, Plus Other Early Catholic Presses and a CriHcal Study of the Lapwai Press, 1839-1846. (Fairfield, Washington: Ye GaUeon Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 189. $24.95 cloth; $14.95 paperback.)

A revised and expanded edition of his 1957 study pubUshed by the defunct Champoeg Press, Schoenberg's work covers not only the Jesuit mission presses,

but also other early CathoUc presses in the Pacific Northwest, such as that of Irish-born Stephen J. McCormick in Portland. McCormick, described as "the most important figure in the early history of CathoUc pubUshing" (p. 86), also served as mayor of Portland.

Also included is a study of the Lapwai Press, now displayed by the Oregon Historical Society, which Edwin Oscar HaU brought to Idaho from HawaU in 1839, for a Presbyterian mission supported by the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions. Reverend Henry Harmon Spalding, notable for his pubUshed attacks against CathoUc missionaries foUowing the Whitman Massacre Ui 1847, used this press, the first Ui the Pacific Northwest, to evangeUze the Nez Perce.

The heart of the book remains the treatment of the Jesuit presses, which focused on printing materials to train missionaries for work among the Indians. Most of the directives Ui such works were in Latin. Particularly noteworthy among the pubUcations was the Kailispel Dictionary (1879), thirty years in preparation, which contains 1,148 pages in three volumes.

Father Schoenberg, who served for twenty-six years as archivist of the Oregon Province of Jesuits, has chronicled the region's history in A History of the Catholic Church in the Pacific Northwest, 1743-1983 (Washington, D.C: Pastoral Press, 1987), and has researched the history of the region's most influential CathoUc newspaper in Defender of the Faith: The History of the Catholic Sentinel, 1870-1990 (Portland, Oregon: Oregon CathoUc Press, 1993). For his extensively documented study of reUgious printing presses, he draws upon material from a wide range of archives of the region's dioceses, universities, and reUgious communities. Arthur Wheeler, C.S.C (University of Portland)

Tardiff, Mary, O.P. (Ed.). At Home in the World: The Letters of Thomas Merton & Rosemary Radford Ruether. (MaryknoU, New York: Orbis Books. 1995. Pp. xxi, 108. $12.95 paperback.)

PubUcations by and about Thomas Merton have become nearly an industry in themselves. Farrar, Strauss, Giroux has now completed a five-volume set of Merton's correspondence, and Harper San Francisco is just beginning a seven-volume series of his journals. At Home in the World, whUe a smaU volume, is fascinating and weU focused. It is also weU edited and contains an introduction by Rosemary Ruether and an afterword by Christine Bochen.

The letters within these pages cover a comparatively brief time span, from August, 1966, to February, 1968. They manage to chronicle effectively something of the turmoU in American CathoUcism during the immediate postconcUiar period from the perspective of two alert, sensitive, sometimes angry CathoUc inteUectuals. Ruether was in the early stages of her writing and teaching career when the correspondence began; Merton, just turned fifty, was an old veteran Ui the world of editors and pubUshers.

The exchanges are by turns pleasant and testy with both correspondents probing the meaning of being a Christian Ui the maelstrom of America in the sixties. In particular, Ruether challenges Merton on his life as monk and hermit. Far from taking offense, Merton at one point even asks Ruether to serve as a kind of Uterary confessor figure for himself. Merton died in December, 1968, at a conference in ThaUand, and the two never met in person. In these letters, though, they have left behind for posterity a sprightly record of a Uterary relationship revelatory of not only the participants but of their times. Clyde F. Crews (Bellarmine College)

Walsh, Micheune Kerney. An Exile of Ireland: Hugh O'Neill, Prince of Ulster. (Dublin: Four Courts Press. Order from ISBS, Portland, Oregon. 1996. Pp. 154. $14.95 paperback.)

Dr. Kerney Walsh pubUshed Destruction by Peace: Hugh O'Neill after Kinsale in 1986, a book which was a commentary on 210 documents from Simancas, dealing with Hugh O'NeUl's career after his defeat at Kinsale in January, 1602 (N.S.). This new work is presented as the reformulation of the same material as a narrative, with a rninimum of bibUographical apparatus and very few notes to the text. It reads weU and teUs the sad story of O'NeUl's surrender in 1603, his flight from Ulster to Flanders in 1607, his arrival Ui Rome the foUowing year, and his many attempts to go to Spain and to interest PhiUp III in an invasion of Ireland, with the assurance that the Irish people would be happy to have the Spanish monarch as their king. The correspondence and plans of the exUes and the EngUsh government's spying against diem are woven into a fascinating narrative, which ends when Cardinal Borja, the Spanish ambassador in Rome, describes his payment for O'NeUl's funeral in July I616. There is a profusion of O'NeiUs and O'DonneUs, including Hugh O'NeUl's chUdren by several wives; so a genealogical table would have been of immense help in distinguishing one from another. A map would have been another helpful addition, and some of the documents do not deserve quotation Ui full. There is confusion between 1612 and 16I8 on pages 102-104. Two criticisms of the book are that it takes O'NeiU too much at his own valuation, whereas it is very unlikely that an invasion of Ireland would have met the widespread support he expected, even during the unpopular reign of James I and against the background of the Ulster Plantation, and that it does not take account of the extensive research on early Stuart Ireland which is now appearing in print. It is good to know that, thanks to the efforts of the late Cardinal O'Fiaich (whose preface, pubUshed Ui both editions, is exceUent), Hugh O'NeUl's grave in S. Pietro in Montorio has been located and the vanished inscription replaced. Fergus O'Donoghue, SJ. (The Milltown Institute, Dublin)

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Association News

The president of the American CathoUc Historical Association, WiUiam J. CaUahan, in October, 1996, appointed Reza Saidi and JamshedY. Uppal,both of the Department of Economics and Business in the CathoUc University of America, to the Committee on Investments for indefinite terms. The chairman of the committee ex officio is the treasurer of the Association, Robert Trisco.

In December Professor CaUahan also appointed John E. Monfasani of the State University of New York at Albany as this Association's representative on the joint committee on the Marraro Prizes for a four-year term.

The Association wUl be represented by Virginia Reinburg of Boston CoUege, a member of its Executive CouncU, as its delegate at the instaUation of Richard M. Freeland as the sixth president of Northeastern University in Boston on January 17, 1997.

Meetings, Conferences, Symposia

At the faU conference of the New England Historical Association, which was held at Roger WUliams University, Bristol, Rhode Island, on October 19, 1996, one of the fourteen sessions was devoted to "Politics and ReUgion in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Germany"; papers were read by Michael B. Gross of Brown University on "The Revolution of 1848, the Jesuit Missionary Crusade, and the Background to the Kulturkampf"; by Martin R. Menke of Boston CoUege on "Women Voters of the German Center Party: A Missed Opportunity"; and by Greg Witkowski of the State University of New York at Buffalo on "Protestant Opposition to a 'Christian' Party: The Detmold Conferences." In other sessions some of the papers were "A corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit': ReUgion and the American Eugenics Movement, 1900-1944," by Christine Stolba of Emory University; "Catholicism and Democracy's 'Second Wave' in Latin America," by Ernest A. Greco of Roger WilUams University: and "A Salesman for the Virgin: Father Patrick Peyton and the Famüy Rosary Crusade," by Kathryn A. Johnson of the University of Pennsylvania.

The theme of the dies academicus of the Accademia di S. Carlo that was held in the Ambrosian Library at MUan on November 8-9, 1996, was "PeUegrino Tibaldi, pittore e architetto deU'età borromaica."

The ItaUan-German Historical Institute in Trent held a symposium on November 28-30, 1996, on the theme "Le visite pastoraU fra storia sociale e storia reUgiosa d'Europa: Un antico istituto in nuove prospettive." It may be assumed that many of the papers presented on those days in Italian, German, and French wiU eventually be pubUshed in the Institute's Annali.

An international conference on "Vatican II: Decrees, Experience, and Event" was held in Bologna on December 12-15, 1996. It was sponsored by the Fondazione Giovanni XXIII and the Istituto per le scienze reUgiose of Bologna.

The Conference on Latin American History wiU sponsor several sessions dealing with ecclesiastical or reUgious history during the annual meeting of the American Historical Association and its affiliated societies in New York. On January 3 under the chairmanship of John P SchwaUer of the University of Montana the foUowing scholars wiU present papers: Linda Curcio-Nagy of the University of Nevada, Reno, "Corporate Identity and Patronage: The Inquisition and the Festival of San Pedro de Abues in Seventeenth-Century Mexico City"; Barbara de Marco of the University of California, Berkeley, "La Conquistadora: Hagiographical Elements in Don Diego de Vargas's Narrative of Reconquest"; and Fernando Iwasaki of SevUle, Spain, "The Circle of Saints in Early Seventeenth-Century Lima." On the next day "CathoUc Social Action in Latin America" wiU be the theme of a session in which Douglas Sullivan-Gonzales of the University of Mississippi wiU speak on "Spiritual Conquest? An Analysis of the Mexican CathoUc Church, 1876-1911"; RandaU Scott Hanson of Colby-Sawyer CoUege on "Women in the CathoUc Social Action Movement in Mexico, 1920-1929"; and Bruce Calder of the University of Illinois, Chicago, on "DevelopmentaUst CathoUcism: Continuation of the Extinguished Revolution in Guatemala in the 1940's." In other sessions papers wiU be read by Kathryn Burns of the University of Florida, "Nuns, Kurakas, and Credit: Spiritual Relations in Colonial Cuzco"; by Juan Javier Pescador of the Colegio de México, "Basque-American ReUgious Identity: Migrants and Local ReUgion in the Ojartzun Valley, 1570-1770"; and by Charlene ViUaseflor Black, "Cults of Saints and Paradigms of Colonialism in the Spanish Empire."

The Department of History in the University of Notre Dame and the Cushwa Center for the Study of American CathoUcism wiU sponsor a conference in honor of PhUip Gleason of the same university on April 25-26, 1997. The theme wiU be "Understandings of American Ethnicity, InteUectual History, and American CathoUcism." Patrick W Carey of Marquette University wiU read a paper on "American CathoUc History: Critical Reflections." Other speakers wiU be Jay E Dolan of the host institution, David J. O'Brien of the CoUege of the Holy Cross, and LesUe Woodcock Tender of the University of Michigan, Dearborn; their topics have not yet been announced. The convenors of the conference are Scott Appleby, director of the Cushwa Center, Steven AveUa of Marquette University, and WiUiam Miscamble, C.S.C., of the University of Notre Dame. Further information may be obtained from the Department of History at 219 O'Shaughnessy

HaU, Notre Dame, Indiana 46556; telephone: 219-631-7266; fax: 219-631-4268; e-maU: History.l@nd.edu or ND.cushwa.l@nd.edu.

The previously announced (ante, LXXXII [April, 1996], 343) international conference entitied "The Jesuits: Culture, Learning, and the Arts, 1540-1773," which wiU take place at Boston CoUege from May 28 to June 1, 1997, wiU consist of fourteen ordinary sessions and four plenary sessions. In the latter the speakers wUl be Magnus Mörner ("The Role of the Jesuits in the Transfer of Secular Baroque Culture to the River Plate Region"); Andrew C. Ross ("Alessandro VaUgnano: The Jesuits and Culture in the East"); Thomas DeCosta Kaufmann ("East and West: The Role of Jesuits in Art in Central Europe, and in Central European Art in the Americas"); and Marc FumaroU ("FertiUty and Shortcomings of Renaissance Rhetoric: The Jesuit Case"). Reservations for the conference must be made by May 1; the registration fee is $45 before March 1 and $70 thereafter and $10 for students. Registration forms and information on room and board as weU as the complete program may be obtained from Partie Longbottom in care of the Department of Music, Lyons HaU, Room 407, Boston College, Chestnut HiU, Massachusetts 02167.

The twelfth annual Siena CoUege multidisciplinary conference on World War ? wiU be held on May 29-30, 1997. "A Dual Perspective" wiU embrace "The Sixtieth Anniversary—Preliminaries" and "The Fiftieth Anniversary—Aftermath." Inquiries should be addressed to the conference co-director, Thomas O. KeUyII, in care of the Department of History, Siena CoUege, 515 Loudon Road, LoudonvUle, New York 12211-1462; telephone: 518-783-2595; fax: 519-786-5052; e-mail: keUy@siena.edu. Professor KeUy has also issued a call for papers in preparation for the foUowing conference, which wUI be held on June 4-5, 1998. Proposals of papers should be submitted to him by December 1, 1997; the theme of the thirteenth conference wiU be the same as that of the twelfth.

The Departments of History and of American Studies in Siena CoUege will cosponsor a multidisciplinary conference entitled "Theodore Roosevelt and the Dawn of the American Century.'" Anyone who wishes to participate should communicate with Professor KeUy in the ways indicated above. Proposals of papers must be received by him by October 1, 1997.

The next International Thomas More Conference, entitled "Thomas More in His Time: Renaissance Humanism and Renaissance Law," wiU be held at St. Patrick's CoUege, Maynooth, on August 9-16, 1998. Proposals are soUcited not only of papers of a general humanist nature but especiaUy of studies of the two schools of interpretation of the Justinian corpus—the humanist and the historico-critical. For special sessions on Thomas More and Ireland, papers are sought on such topics as More and Jonathan Swift, the possible relationship between More and the Uberal lawyer-statesmen Edmund Burke and Daniel O'ConneU, the Fitzgeralds and the Tudors, and the colonial attempt to impose EngUsh law on the native Irish system (Brehon law). A one-page abstract of each

proposed paper should be sent by May 1, 1997, to Thomas Finan in care of the Department of Ancient Classics, St. Patrick's CoUege, Maynooth, County KUdare, Ireland; fax: 353.1.628.9373.

Commemorations

On August 15, 1996, Pope John Paul II sent a letter to the Bishop of Pavia, Giovanni Volta, to commemorate the sexcentenary of that city's famous Certosa (charterhouse). He sketched the history of the magnificent monument as follows: "On August 27 six centuries ago the Duke of MUan, Gian Galeazzo Visconti, laid the first stone of the imposing buUding, whose fame for the works of artistic beauty it contains has spread throughout the world. The duke—according to Bernardino Coria's Historia di Milano—wanted this work in order to fulfill the vow, in the form of a will, that his wife Caterina had made on January 8, 1390, for the birth of a son. The work, the direction of which was entrusted to the prior of the Charterhouse, Blessed Macone, was carried on by the Carthusian monks, but the death of Gian Galeazzo on September 3, 1402, slowed their progress until the year 1450, when, with the arrival of Duke Francesco Sforza and his son Ludovico U Moro, there was a period of tranquü activity at the Charterhouse. The changes in poUtical conditions brought moments of intense labor which alternated with periods of apathy. Between 1782, the year in which the Carthusian monks were suppressed, and 1810, Cistercians and CarmeUtes alternated at the Charterhouse, with various intervals. Subsequently the Charterhouse, destroyed by Napoleon Bonaparte's troops, saw in 1843 the return of the Carthusians, who remained there until 1881, only to return again from 1932 to 1946. After a brief presence of the Discalced CarmeUtes from 1949 to 1962, since 1968 the Charterhouse has been entrusted to Cistercian monks. . . ."

On September 4, 1996, Pope John Paul II addressed a letter to the bishops, priests, reUgious, and lay faithful of the Dominican RepubUc to commemorate the quincentenary of the first baptisms conferred in the New World. He recaUed, "They took place in the present Diocese of La Vega, on the island then known as Hispaniola. Some chUdren of these lands had already received the -waters of Baptism in Barcelona in 1493, and later, others in the monastery of Guadalupe (Extremadura) on July 28, 1496, but the -words of the sacramental formula were first pronounced on American soU on the feast of the Apostle St. Matthew [September 21, 1496], . . . thereby granting divine sonship to the Indio chief Guaticaba, who took the name Juan Mateo, and to the members of his household and family, . . . [and] thus giving rise to the first Christian community in the New World." The Holy Father also noted that the chief of the Guarionex had made a two-year catechumenate, during which he used to "accompany the missionaries on their visits to the interior of the island, acting as translator and interpreter, and shortly after his baptism he received the palm of martyrdom for the CathoUc faith, saying in his language as they killed him: 'Dios naboría daca, Dios naboría daca,' which means, ? am the servant of God' (see Hernando Colón, Historia del Almirante, chapter 25)" (For a fuU treatment of

this episode see the article "Juan Mateo Guaticabanu, September 21, 1496: Evangelization and Martyrdom in the Time of Columbus," by Anthony M. Stevens-Arroyo, ante, LXXXII [October, 1996], 614-636.)

On October 27, 1996, in St. Peter's BasiUca Pope John Paul II presided at a Divine Liturgy in the Byzantine Ruthenian Rite to commemorate the 350th anniversary of the Union of Uzhorod, which led to the re-establishment of fuU communion between the Byzantine Ruthenian Church and the ApostoUc See of Rome. It was on April 24, 1646, that sixty-three priests of the Eparchy of Munkacheve (or Mukachevo; Munkács, in Hungarian) gathered in the chapel of the Castie of Uzhorod (located m the Transcarpathian Ukraine, which was then in the Kingdom of Hungary), made a profession of faith, and were received into fuU communion with the CathoUc Church by the Bishop of Eger, George Jakusics. In his homily the Holy Father said,"The Ruthenian clergy at Uzhorod were moved by a number of reasons, some concerned with civU rights and freedom of conscience. But what those priests hoped for most of aU from union with Rome was confirmation in faith and doctrine at a time of confessional rivalry and conflict." He also recaUed the "successive trials and tribulations" to which the Ruthenians were subsequentiy subjected because of their fideUty to the

Sesquicentennial

This year four American dioceses are celebrating the 150th anniversary of their estabUshment. On April 23, 1847, Pope Pius LX erected episcopal sees at Albany, Buffalo, Cleveland, and Galveston (now Galveston-Houston).

Beatifications

On October 6, 1996, in St. Peter's Square Pope John Paul II beatified thirteen martyrs and three founders of reUgious institutes. The martyrs, Wincenty Lewoniuk and twelve other men, were Byzantine-rite CathoUcs Uving in Podlasie, the eastern region of present-day Poland, which was originally part of the PoUsh-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Rzeczpospolitd) and after the partitions was incorporated into the Russian Empire. It was the poUcy of successive Russian sovereigns to absorb aU the Eastern-rite CathoUcs into the Orthodox Church: in 1784 Catherine the Great suppressed the Greek CathoUc Church in Ukraine; in 1839 Tsar Nicholas I did the same in Belarus and Lithuania; and in 1874 Alexander II completed the work in the only remaining Byzantine-rite eparchy, that of Chelm. The bishop and those priests who refused to join the Orthodox Church had already been deported to Siberia or imprisoned; the laity were left to defend their Church, their liturgy, and their union with Rome without their pastors. On January 24, 1874, soldiers came to the village of PratuUn to transfer the local parish to the Orthodox Church. A number of the faithful gathered in front of the church and refused to disperse as they were ordered. When they per-

sisted, even kneeling down and waiting for death, the officer commanded the soldiers to fire upon them. The thirteen who were kUled were all laymen, most of them married and the fathers of families. They ranged in age from nineteen to fifty; the majority were in their twenties and thirties. They were reputed to be persons of strong, deep faith. The bodies were buried by the Russian soldiers without any respect. The tsar officially suppressed the Eparchy of Chelm in the foUowing year.

One of the three founders who were also declared blessed was Edmund Ignatius Rice (1762-1844). Born in Westcourt near Callan in County Kilkenny, Ireland, he worked at Waterford in his uncle's commercial enterprise, which he later inherited. After his wife died, leaving him with a sickly infant daughter, he dedicated himself to works of charity, putting his wealth at the service of the poor. Having obtained the authorization of Pius VI to create a society to provide free education for poor boys and with the blessing of his bishop he sold his business, arranged for his daughter's care, and opened his first school in an abandoned stable at Waterford in 1803 -with three disciples. In 1809 they took vows and formed a society foUowing the rule of the Presentation Sisters of Cork. Dissatisfied with this arrangement in which each reUgious house was autonomous and subject to the local bishop, Rice, at the urging of Daniel Murray, then auxiUary bishop of Dublin, successfully petitioned Pius VII to permit him and those who chose to foUow him to adopt the rule of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, founded by St. John Baptist de La SaUe. They thus became an institute of pontifical right, exempt from episcopal jurisdiction. Some other brothers, wishing to remain under their bishops, maintained the earUer institute of the Brothers of the Presentation. Rice, taking the name of Brother Ignatius, once again made his reUgious profession in 1821 and was then elected the first superior general of the Irish Christian Brothers. When he resigned in 1838, the congregation had twenty-two houses in England and Ireland. Later it spread throughout the EngUsh-speaking world and estabUshed houses in Rome and South America.

The other two new beatae were María Ana Mogas Fontcuberta (1827-1886), a Catalan who founded the Capuchin nuns of the Divine Shepherdess for the education of girls, and Marcelina Darowska, née Kotowicz (1827-1911), who was born into a landowning PoUsh family in Ukraine, married and had two chUdren, and after her husband's death joined Josephine Karska in founding the Congregation of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary for the overaU formation of women. She became superior in I860 and opened her first school at Jazlowiec in the Archdiocese of Lviv. She remained superior for fifty years, opening seven convents with formation institutes and schools for chüdren.

Relics

On May 20, 1996, the remains of the patronal saint were removed from St. Vibiana's Cathedral in Los Angeles. The casket was opened, and according to the testimonial letter of the Archbishop, Cardinal Roger Mahony, "AU was in good order." The remains are encased within the wax figure of the representational image of the saint. The remains were then transferred to the Mausoleum in Calvary Cemetery, Los Angeles, where they wiU remain "until the new Cathedral of Our Lady of the Angels is completed [presumably in the year 2000] and a suitable resting place is provided for St. Vibiana."

Archives

Adam Matthew PubUcations has announced the microfilm pubUcation of the archives of the Church Missionary Society, which was founded in 1799 as an independent voluntary society within the Church of England to send missionaries to Africa "and other parts of the heathen world." It became one of the largest and most influential missionary societies in the world. By the end of 1998 the foUowing three sections wUl have been issued: "East Asian Missions," "Missions to Women," and "Central Manuscript Records." Each section is accompanied by a guide containing an introduction to the history of the Society, a description of the organization of the archives, and a Ust of the contents of the reels. A special discount of twenty-five per cent is offered for aU standing orders, and of twenty per cent for aU complete section orders. Inquiries should be addressed to Liz Sargut, PubUshing Associate, Adam Matthew PubUcations, 8 Oxford Street, Marlborough, WUtshire SN8 IAP, England; telephone: 01672-51 1921; fax: 51 1633.

Publications

The historiography of the conversion of Clovis is the theme of the articles in the issue of the Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes for January-June, 1996 (Volume 154), commemorating the 1500th anniversary of his baptism. Noteworthy among them are the foUowing: Pascale Bourgain, "Clovis et Clotilde chez les historiens médiévaux, des temps mérovingiens au premier siècle capétien" (pp. 53-84); Martin Heinzelmann, "Clovis dans le discours hagiographique du Vle au LX" siècle" (pp. 87-111); Colette Beaune, "Clovis dans les miroirs dominicains du miUeu du XuT à la fin du XIVe siècle" (pp. 113-129); and Myriam Yardeni, "Le christianisme de Clovis aux XVP et XVIP siècles" (pp. 153-171).

The entire first half of Saeculum for 1996 (Volume 47) is devoted "Zur Geschichte der Frömmigkeit im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit." The introduction is by Christian Wieland, "Zwischen InnerUchkeit und PoUtik. Aspekte christlicher Frömmigkeitsgeschichte" (pp. 2-5). The remaining contents are as foUows: Stefan Fassbinder, "Frömmigkeit, Entwicklung und Problemfelder eines Begriffs" (pp. 6-34); Steffen Diefenbach, "Frömmigkeit und Kaiserakzeptanz im frühen Byzanz" (pp. 35-66); Peter Dinzelbacher, "Hauptlinien einer ReUgions-

geschichte Deutschlands im Hochmittelalter" (pp. 67-88); Bernhard Schneider, "KirchenpoUtik und Volksfrömmigkeit. Die wechselhafte Entwicklung der Bruderschaften in Deutschland vom Spätmittelalter bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts" (pp. 89-119); Christian Wieland, "Universitas als SodaUtas. Überlegungen zu einer ReUgionsgeschichte der mittelalterUchen und frühneuzeitlichen Universität" (pp. 120-135); Christoph DaxelmüUer, "Der Untergrund der Frömmigkeit. Zur Geschichte und Pathologie reUgiöser Bräuche" (pp. 136-157); and Gottfried Korff, "Kultdynamik durch Kultdifferenzierung? Beobachtungen zur Rochus- und Sebastiansverehrung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert" (pp. 158-175).

A seminar on the theme "I gesuiti e Gregorio Barbarigo" was held on May 20, 1995, at the seat of the Istituto per le ricerche di storia sociale e reUgiosa di Vicenza. Four papers presented on that occasion have been edited and furnished with a presentazione by LiUana BiUanovich and are now published in the issue of Ricerche di storia sociale e religiosa for January-June, 1996 (Volume XXV Number 49, new series). FoUowing the introduction (pp. 9-13) are "L'influenza del cursus gesuitico neUa strutturazione dei corsi superiori del Seminario padovano negli anni del Barbarigo. Note preliminari e di método," by Ugo Baldini (pp. 15-26); "Informazioni, ricerche e acquisizioni Ubrarie di Gregorio Barbarigo (1656-1658): daU'epistolario," by Pierantonio Gios (pp. 27-43); "I rapporti epistolari di Gregorio Barbarigo con la Compagnia di Gesù," by Pierluigi Giovannucci (pp. 45-61); and "Padre Lodovico GagUardi S.I. e l'introduzione dei gesuiti a Vicenza: le fast preliminari (1588-1603)," by Renato Zironda (pp. 63-78).

The founding of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul is commemorated in its sesquicentennial year by the editors of Vincentian Heritage in their first number for 1996 (Volume 17). The foUowing four articles are here pubUshed: Shaun McCarty, ST., "Frederick Ozanam: Lay EvangeUzer" (pp. 5-34); John E. Rybolt, CM., "The Virtuous Personality of Blessed Frederick Ozanam" (pp. 35-44); WiUiam Hartenbach, CM., "Vincentian Spirituality" (pp. 45-49); and WUUam W Sheldon, CM., "Canonization of Frederick Ozanam: History of the Cause" (pp. 51-62).

The sesquicentennial of the founding of the Society of the Holy ChUd Jesus by CorneUa Peacock ConneUy has provided the theme of the articles pubUshed in the issue of the Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia for spring-summer, 1996 (Volume 107, Number 1-2). The contents are as foUows: Francis E. Tourscher, O.S.A. (d. 1939), "Sketch of the life of Mother Cornelia Connelly, Foundress of the Sisters of the Holy CMd Jesus, 1808-1879 (abridged)" (pp. 1-23); Virginia Kalb Ratigan,"In Search of CorneUa ConneUy: Biographical Sources" (pp. 25-43); Roseanne McDougaU, SHJC,"CorneUa ConneUy: Woman of Mercy and Educator" (pp. 43-65); Dorothy McKenna Brown, "Backstairs at the CoUege [Rosemont]"(pp. 67-81); Rodger Van AUen, "Growing Up in Cornelia's School: St. Leonard's Academy, PhUadelphia" (pp.

83-99); and Margaret Mary McGuinness and Margaret Mary Reher,"From St. Edward's School to Providence Center: A Story of Commitment" (pp. 101-121).

Part Two of the series of articles entitled "Parishes and Peoples: ReUgious and Social Meanings" appears in the issue of U.S. Catholic Historian for summer, 1996 (Volume 14, Number 3). It comprises the foUowing: "Parish Identities of Free Creoles of Color in Pensacola and MobUe, 1698-1860," by Virginia Meacham Gould (pp. 1-10);"In Search of Southern Parish History: A View from St. Mary's of Natchez," by Charles E. Nolan (pp. 11-21); "Microhistory and Holy FamUy Parish: Some Methodological Considerations," by Richard M. Tristano (pp. 23-30); "The Network of Community Life," by Mary EUzabeth Brown (pp. 31-56); "St. EUzabeth's Parish of Oakland, California, and the ResiUency of Parish Life: From German to Latino, From Pre- to Post-Vatican II," by Jeffrey M. Burns (pp. 57-74); "St. CamiUus: A Study in Liturgy and Multicultural CathoUcism," by Margaret KeUeher, O.S.U. (pp. 75-88); "Holy Cross Church in IndianapoUs: Parish Life Transformed," by Joseph M. White (pp. 89-105).

On March 2, 1897, the Mountain Retreat Association was incorporated by the State of North Carolina. Over the years Montreat, located Ui the mountains of the western part of the state, was tranformed into the principal retreat and conference center of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. This centenary is commemorated in the issue of American Presbyterians for summer, 1996 (Volume 74, Number 2) with the foUowing articles preceded by a preface by James H. SmyUe: Diana Ruby Sanderson,"A Mountain Retreat: Montreat's History in Photographs" (pp. 73-92); WiUam Bean Kennedy, "Montreat: An Educational Center of the Presbyterian Church" (pp. 93-106); G. Thompson Brown, "Window to the World: Montreat and Missions" (pp. 107-118); Rebecca Young, "A Place in the Heart: Montreat Conference Center and the Women of the PCUS" (pp. 119-130); Joel L. Alvis,Jr.,"The Montreat Conference Center and Presbyterian Social PoUcy" (pp. 131-140); and Mary-Ruth Marshall, "HandUng Dynamite: Young People, Race, and Montreat" (pp. 141-154).

Personal Notices

Carlos M. N. Eire has been appointed professor of religious studies and history in Yale University.

Daniel F. Tanzone of Yonkers, New York, was awarded the medal Pro Ecclesia et Pontífice on October 13, 1996, during the eighty-fifth anniversary banquet of the Slovak CathoUc Sokol. Mr. Tanzone is editor of the Slovak Catholic Falcon, the -weekly official organ of the federation, a fraternal beneficial society which has headquarters in Passaic, New Jersey.

Obituary

Stephan George Kuttner was born in Bonn, Germany, on March 24, 1907, and died in Berkeley, California on August 12, 1996,seven months short of his nineti-

eth birthday. By poignant coincidence this date marked the opening of the latest in the series of international congresses of medieval canon law, events which for decades he had organized and of which he was the inteUectual soul. His career spanned two continents and seven decades, and linked the nineteenth century with the twenty-first: Kuttner was a student of Ulrich Stutz, and once spoke of attending in Berlin a lecture on Dogmengeschichte by Adolf von Harnack, but his students and those he influenced wiU be teaching on into the next miUennium. He earned a law degree from Berlin in 1930, where he was an assistant from 1929 to 1932, but although raised as a Lutheran he was of Jewish descent, and in 1933 he left Germany for a research post at the Vatican Library. In the late 1930's he also taught canon law at the Lateran University in Rome.

Three developments in the 1930's shaped Kuttner's Ufe in the most profound manner. His marriage to Eva IUch in 1933 created a bond which lasted until his death, and for many who encountered him later in New Haven and Berkeley Stephan without Eva could hardly be imagined. Secondly, his conversion to the Roman CathoUc faith in 1932 linked his passion for the study of law, and especially reUgious law, in an existential fashion with the CathoUc Church, to which he retained a lifelong devotion, and which he served as a legal expert. FinaUy, Ui 1937 the Vatican Library pubUshed his Repertorium der Kanonistik, 1140-1234. Anyone who examines this volume can only stand in awe of what was achieved therein by a man in his twenties, and the Repertorium set an agenda for the study of the history of canon law which, it is fair to say, the remainder of his professional Ufe attempted to implement.

By 1940 Fascist Italy made Kuttner's position at the Vatican untenable. With the help of the Church, he was able to move Eva and his young family westward to Portugal, and then across the Atlantic to Washington, D.C., where he assumed a position teaching canon law at the CathoUc University of America. For twenty-four years he remained there, training clerics who went on to occupy posts throughout the country. At the same time he worked to gain deeper appreciation for the historical method which underlay the Repertorium, that is, an intensive study of texts and their transmission, and m particular he promoted the study of the history of canon law, not as a legalistic pursuit for initiates, but as a relatively unexplored avenue into past cultures, and especially that of the Latin Middle Ages. In 1943 he co-founded the journal Traditio, dedicated especially to pubUshing research based on source-critical study of ancient and medieval texts, and in 1949 he addressed the Mediaeval Academy of America on "The Scientific Investigation of Mediaeval Canon Law: The Need and the Opportunity."[1] Then in 1955 at the CathoUc University Kuttner estabUshed the Institute of Medieval Canon Law to co-ordinate the editions of canonistic writings which his Repertorium had brought to the fore.

Washington and the CathoUc University were not to remain his home. In 1964 he moved to Yale University, as the first incumbent of the T. Lawrason

[1]Speculum, 24 (1949), 493-501.

Riggs Professorship of Roman CathoUc Studies in the Department of ReUgious Studies. His Institute moved too, and for six years was housed in Yale's Sterling Memorial Library. The years at Yale saw the appearance of the first volumes of the Monumenta iuris canonici, where the studies and critical editions of the Institute's pubUcation program and the acts of the international congresses of medieval canon law were to be pubUshed. Then in 1970 Kuttner and his Institute moved once more, to the Law School of the University of California in Berkeley, where he was appointed professor of law and director of the Law School's Robbins CoUection of works for reUgious and legal history. His Odyssey was now complete—from the law school in Berlin to the law school in Berkeley—and it was in Berkeley, California, where he and Eva Uved together longer than anywhere else.

Stephan Kuttner was one of a group of European scholars who arrived in the United States in the 1930's and 1940's as émigrés, and who profoundly influenced premodern and especially medieval studies in North America. He was not alone in this group in his interests. Paul Oskar KristeUer, for example, was equaUy devoted to manuscript and textual study, and the wide-ranging scholarship of Ernst Kantorowicz, to take a second example, encompassed issues of law and institutions. Yet it is not unfair to the other extraordinary scholars of that generation to say that Kuttner's success in opening what amounted to a new field of study in this country was unmatched. At the CathoUc University he taught clerics, many of whom became significant figures in the Church, that canon law was not merely a group of regulations to be observed, but a system of law with historical roots reaching back into and through the Middle Ages to Classical Antiquity. AtYale and then at Berkeley he introduced his students, and those already in the profession who came to him in increasing numbers for "postdoctoral training," to the world of medieval canon law and its potential for understanding the history of die medieval Church and the society in which that institution functioned. His command of legal history was unparalleled, and with good reason a tribute written for his seventieth birthday compared him to venerable early-modern scholars of canon law such as Antonio Agustín and Etienne Baluze.[2]

This great erudition, and Kuttner's intense beUef in the significance of legal history, were clothed in a benevolent persona which consistently extended gentle encouragement to those who knew Uttle but wanted to learn. His accessibiUty to students was extraordinary. His concern for those around him was finely tuned, and his dislike for contention was legendary. A visitor to the Institute in Berkeley in the 1970's once observed him anguishing longer than most would about how to deal with loud conversation in the common working area.

[1] LaW, Church and Society: Essays in Honor of Stephan Kuttner, eds. Kenneth Pennington and Robert SomervUle (Philadelphia, 1970), pp. xi-xü. This is one of four Festschriften which Kuttner received. No complete bibUography of his writing is available, but the four volumes of reprinted studies pubUshed by Variorum (1980-1990) include the most important articles.

Should he "say something"? Should he post an edict? Should he ask an assistant to handle the matter? FinaUy an unthreatening notice appeared, in Latin, but simple Latin, to the effect that everyone should be considerate of everyone else and that those wishing to talk ought to leave the room. When congratulated on a non-confrontational solution to the problem, at least for the moment, he smiled craftily and said, "That's my style."

At the end of his Ufe the Institute moved from Berkeley to Munich. He was sorry to see his creation leave, but pleased that it found a new home in association with the Leopold-Wenger-Institut für Rechtsgeschichte in Munich. He handled whatever disappointment was involved, as he did others throughout his Ufe, with more equanimity than many people could muster. In part that was "his style," but he knew too that his reputation and his influence on scholarship both in this country and in Europe were secure (since his death the Institute has been renamed the Stephan Kuttner Institute of Medieval Canon Law). The academic honors he received were numerous. He was awarded seventeen honorary doctorates from universities in Europe and America, and was a feUow of the Medieval Academy of America, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American PhUosophical Society, and, in addition to several European academies, of the Institut de France, and in Germany of the order Pour le Mérite. Kuttner also served as president of both the Medieval Academy in 1975 and of the American CathoUc Historical Association in 1958. He was chairman of the CathoUc Committee on InteUectual and Cultural Affairs in 1962 and a member of the Pontifical Committee for Historical Sciences from 1965 to 1990. In 1967 he was appointed by Pope Paul VI to the Pontifical Commission for the Revision of the Code of Canon Law.

Stephan Kuttner could be characterized, and not wrongly, by his consuming passion for scholarly work, but he was a complex man of many dimensions: an accompUshed pianist and sometime composer who returned to composition at the end of his Ufe, a poet and translator of poetry, a sunbathing devotee and swimmer, a gourmet who deUghted in good food and conviviaUty, the father of nine chUdren, and the grandfather and great-grandfather of nearly three dozen. Those who were privUeged to know him over many years must be thankful for his extraordinary blend of cultured humanity, almost preternatural learning, and devotion to Church and farnUy. As his son Professor Thomas Kuttner wrote in the memorial read at the Canon Law Congress this past August: "He was a good and gentle man who now, in his 90th year, has 'breathed his last, dying at a good ripe age, old and contented; and he has been gathered to his kin'" [Gen. 25:8].

Robert Somerville

Columbia University

PERIODICAL UTERATURE

general and miscellaneous

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