The Catholic Historical Review

VOL. LXXXIV JANUARY, 1998 No. 1

CHRISTIANS, MUSLIMS, AND THE "LIBERATION" OF THE HOLY LAND

BY

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> But after the creation of the world, with the exception of the mystery of the cross of salvation, what greater miracle has been enacted than what has occurred in our own day, namely, the journey of our Jerusalemites?1

With this intimation of the uncommon nature of his subject, Robert the Monk, the Benedictine prior of Senuc, begins his account of the achievements of the great expeditionary force which is now called the First Crusade. The army, which was of unprecedented size, is reckoned to have numbered between 50,000 and 60,000 armed combatants.2 In 1096 the main body left points in western Europe and remustered at Constantinople in the spring of 1097. At this point, those who had survived the march had covered a distance of approximately 2400 kilometers.3 From Constantinople, they advanced in a path of bloody destruction through Anatolia, northern Syria, and Palestine, and in June, 1099, drew up before the walls of Jerusalem occupied now by the

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'Robert the Monk, Historia Iherosolimitana, Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens occidentaux, éd. Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (5 vols.; Paris, 1844-1895 [hereafter RHC, Occ.]), Ill, 723:"Sed post creationem mundi quid mirabilius factum est praeter salutiferae crucis mysterium, quam quod modernis temporibus actum est in hoc itinere nostrorum IherosoLimitanorum?"

John France, Victory in the East. A Military History of the First Crusade (Cambridge, 1994), p. 2.

3Tbld., p. 3

Egyptian Fatimids. The soldiers of Christ, the milites Christi, as the crusaders were called, had reached their destination, but of the original combatants, only 13,000 had survived to savor the success.4 Their siege of the holy city was hard-fought, but on July 15 they scaled the rampart and the Egyptian defense collapsed.

The crusaders' capture of Christ's holy city of Jerusalem was a victory of unprecedented magnitude, and it quickly became the subject of historical narratives written between 1099 and 1108 both by those who had campaigned, such as Fulcher of Chartres,5 Raymond of Aguilers,6 Peter Tudebode,7 and an anonymous Norman from south Italy,8 and by those such as Robert the Monk,9 Baudri of Dol,10 and Guibert of Nogent" who had not. While these historians evince a lively diversity in style and sophistication of historical understanding,12 they share the crucially important views that the crusaders' capture of Jerusalem vindicated Christianity over paganism, and that the city's capture had been a reUgious liberation achieved through acts of meritorious brutality.

In his account, Robert the Monk boasts that for Godfrey of Bouillon and a certain Guicherius, the capture of Jerusalem afforded an unprecedented and welcome opportunity for killing. "They clove countless human bodies from head to toe," Robert says, and "pierced them through both their sides."13 At the same time, however, he is careful to indicate that the indiscriminate killing of Jerusalem's inhabitants was not the prerogative simply of these two heroes. "Not one of our men," Robert says approvingly, "was lethargic, not one was squeamish."14

'Ibid. France has based his estimate upon the evidence of Raymond of Aguilers (see below, n. 6).

'Fulcher of Chartres, Historia Hierosolymitana, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913).

'Raymond of Aguilers, Le 'Liber' de Raymond d'Aguilers, ed. John H. Hill and Laurita L. Hill ("Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades,"Vol. 9 [Paris, 19691).

7Peter Tudebode, Historia de Hierosolymitano itinere, éd. John H. Hill and Laurita L. Hill ("Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades," Vol. 12 [Paris, 1977]).

"Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum, éd. and trans. Rosalind Hill ("Oxford Medieval Texts" [Oxford, 1962]).

'Robert the Monk, Historia Iherosolimitana, RHC, Occ, III, 721-882.

'"Baudri of Dol, Historia ferosolimitana, RHC, Occ, TV, 5-111.

"Guibert of Nogent, Historia quae dicitur Gesta Dei per Francos, RHC, Occ, TV, 117-263.

"See Jonathan Riley-Smith, The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading (Philadelphia, 19S6),passim, but especially pp. 135-152.

"Robert the Monk, Historia Iherosolimitana, RHC, Occ, III, 868: "a summo capite usque ad renes secabant humana corpora, et dextra laevaque per utraque latera."

"Ibid. :"Nullus ibi nostrorum iners fuit, meticulosus nullus."

Warming to his subject, Robert deploys the language of the abbatoir. The confused and panicked victims offered little effective resistance. Some, escaping the butchery and slaughter, retreated into the temple of Solomon only to be surrounded and massacred. The streets and squares of the holy city flowed with blood and body parts. In fact, Robert enthuses, "arms and severed hands floated about on the gore and were joined up with other bodies; the result was that no one could discover which arms should be joined with which body."15 Fulcher of Chartres evinces a similarly close interest in the details of the carnage. The Muslims trapped on the roof of the Temple of Solomon provided easy targets for the Christian archers, and he calmly estimates that 10,000 were struck down and beheaded.16 He describes the rivers of blood that stained the Christian ankles, and he compares the terrified victims to "rotten apples falling from their shaken branches" and to "acorns tumbling from swaying oaks."17

In the accounts of both Robert and Fulcher, there is, undoubtedly, an element of exaggeration both of the crusaders' ingenious methods of slaughter and of the numbers who perished. It is known, in fact, that there were Jewish and Muslim survivors. Some of these, the Muslims particularly, fled as refugees mainly to Syria and Egypt,18 and many of the Jews were ransomed to the Jewish community at Ascalon.15 Less fortunate survivors were manacled for slavery.20

There is no reason to suppose that Robert and Fulcher possessed an unnatural taste for horror. They undoubtedly were alive to the fact that details of carnage made for engaging and piquant historical narrative, and this may be a partial explanation for their robust interest in it. But the evidence also points in another direction to suggest that the brutality against the non-Christian inhabitants of Fatimid Jerusalem came to

"Ibid.: "brachia sive truncatae manus super cruorem fluitabant et extraneo corpori jungebantur, ita ut nemo valeret discernere cujus erat corporis brachium, quod truncato corpori erat adjunctum."

"¦Fulcher of Chartres, Historia Hierosolymitana, p. 301.

"Ibid. ,p. 303: "veluti cum pútrida motis / Poma cadunt ramis, agitata illice glandes." See Ovid, Metamorphoses 7:585-586.

lsHadia Dajani-Shakeel, "Displacement of the Palestinians during the Crusades," The Muslim World,68 (1978), 157-175.

"S. D. Goitein," Contemporary Letters on the Capture of Jerusalem by the Crusaders," fournal offewish Studies, 3 (1952), 162-177; ¿dem,"Geniza Sources for the Crusader Period: A Survey," in Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom offerusalem, ed. B. Z. Kedar, H. E. Mayer, R. C. SmaU (Jerusalem, 1982), pp. 306-322.

20See, for instance, Robert the Monk, Historia Iherosolimitana, RHC, Occ, III, 868.

be thought of as both necessary and laudatory on grounds which were purely religious.

According to Robert the Monk, for instance, after killing and enslaving the inhabitants, the crusaders sacked the holy city, and, he says, "Thus enriched, they proceeded with joyful step to the Holy Sepulchre of the Lord,"[21] where they gave thanks and made offerings. Fulcher of Chartres records the same sequence of massacre, looting, and worship,[22] and Raymond of Aguilers, who was present at the capture, recounts approvingly that "with the city filled with bodies and blood"[23] the pilgrims performed their devotions at the Lord's Sepulchre, clapping, exulting, and singing a new song to the Lord.[24] And, the Anonymous, whose account is the earliest, and in many respects the most gripping, writes:"our men rushed round the whole city, seizing gold and silver, horses, and mules, and houses full of all sorts of goods, and they all came rejoicing and weeping from excess of gladness to worship at the Sepulchre of our Saviour Jesus . . ."[25] He goes on to add that the next morning, these crusaders went on to the roof of the Temple of Solomon where they attacked and decapitated Saracen men and women.[26]

That the faith of the crusaders was apparently measured directly and favorably against the yardstick of their unrestrained brutality is evident. Less evident, however, is why this amalgam of violence and piety was considered so laudable. What was the end that so justified the excesses of brutality and religious emotion which Robert, Fulcher, and the other historians of the expedition are at such pains to describe?

The question invites no ready answer. But there is sufficient reason to suggest that behind such thinking were two convictions, first, that the Muslim presence in Jerusalem constituted a religious defilement and a grave affront to God, and second, that the essential purpose of the holy war had been not only to liberate but also to cleanse the city through the force of arms and the extermination of the infidel Muslim polluters.

"Ibid., pp. 868-869. "Tantis itaque ditati divitiis, ad Sanctum Domini Sepulcrum laeto incessu perrexerunt."

"Fulcher of Chartres, Historia Hierosolymitana, pp. 301-305.

"Raymond of Aguilers, Liber, p. 151:"Repleta itaque cadaveribus et sanguine civitate."

[24]Ibid.

[15]Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum, p. 92:"cucurrerunt per universam urbem, capientes aurum et argentum, equos et mulos, domosque plenas omnibus bonis. Venerum autem omnes nostri gaudentes et prae nimio gaudio plorantes ad nostri Salvatoris Iesu sepulchrum adorandum . . . [trans. Rosalind Hill]."

*Ibid.

Baudri of DoI, in the first book of his history, describes Jerusalem's previous state of ignominious servitude under its Muslim masters and states bluntly that "the sacred temple of God was polluted beyond measure."[27] Fulcher of Chartres observed of the capture of Jerusalem that "the place . . . had been cleansed from the contagion of its pagan inhabitants, after having been denied so long by their superstition."[28] Robert the Monk, writing of the consecration on the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula of Arnulf of Chocques as Latin Patriarch, declares that on that day Jerusalem was "liberated and free,"[29] and this rebirth, as it were, he puts down to the crusaders' achievement of the goal of their long, dreadful ordeal. "The GaLUc people penetrated into the Orient" by means of war, "and with God's help," he says, "they cleansed Jerusalem of the gentile filth with which it had been soiled for forty years."[30] Baudri, Fulcher, and Robert stop short of explaining how the cleansing was accomplished, but Raymond of Aguilers strongly implies that Jerusalem was cleansed through the very blood of its Muslim polluters: "In the temple of Solomon and the porticos, [the Christians] rode in blood to the knees and bridles of their horses. And," Raymond adds, "it was in accordance with justice that this place should receive the blood of those whose blasphemies against God it had endured for so long."[31]

This complex perception of the crusade as a war fought on reUgious grounds for both the liberation and also the religious purgation of Jerusalem, which pervades and indeed informs the early histories, is problematic. It is an exclusive interpretation; that is to say, it discourages the ascription to the crusaders of any motivation which is not strictly reUgious. Similarly, it does not, in my view, permit of any assessment of the

"Baudri of Dol, Historia ferosolimitana, RHC, Occ., TV, 1 l: "PolLutum est nimirum sanctum Dei templum."

^Fulcher of Chanres, Historia Hierosolymitana, p. 305: "locus . . . a paganorum contagione inhabitantium quandoque mundatus, tamdiu superstitione eorum contaminatus."

"Robert the Monk, Historia Iherosolimitana, RHC, Occ, III, 870: "libera fuit et absoluta."

xIbid.: "gens Gallicana fines Orientis penetravit; et immunditiis gentilium, quibus per annos circiter quadraginta Iherusalem fuerat inquinata, divina opitulante gratia, emundavit."

"Raymond of Aguilers, Liber, pp. 150-1 51 : "quod in templo et porticu Salomonis equitabatur in sanguine ad genua, et usque ad frenos equorum. Iusto nimirum iudicio, ut locus idem eorum sanguinem exciperet, quorum blasphemias in Deum tarn longo tempore pertulerat." Purification through the deaths and blood of an enemy is an evocative motif in religiously inspired violence: see, for instance, Natalie Zemon Davis, "The Rites of Violence: Religious Riot in Sixteenth-Century France," Past and Present, No. 59 (May 1973), 51-91; for an Islamic context, see Suzanne Pinckney Stetkevych, The Mute Immortals Speak: Pre-Islamic Poetry and the Poetics of Ritual (Ithaca, New York, I99y>, passim.

crusade's expansionist achievement which is not oriented to considerations of faith. And given this bias, uncommon in its single-mindedness, which is transmitted in our principal narratives, the question must be asked, Was this a perception held by Pope Urban II? Did the pope, in his great sermon at Clermont in November, 1095, preach the crusade as the war both of Uberation and of purgation with its attendant violence, which so colors the historical narratives?

The main evidence for the content of the Clermont sermon are the reports found in the histories of the expedition. These, however, present numerous critical difficulties and cannot be taken as indisputable evidence of what the pope preached.[32] Certainly, they do not agree on the attention which the pope devoted to the themes of liberation, pollution, and cleansing. Fulcher of Chartres, whose account was composed about ten years after the preaching occasion but is nevertheless the earliest,[33] suggests that Urban was greatly concerned with Turkish expansion and the devastating impact that this was having upon the eastern church. He gives no indication that Urban had anything specific to say about poUution, servitude, cleansing, or liberation. In the later, more ample accounts composed by Robert the Monk,[34] Guibert of Nogent,[35] and Baudri of Dol,[36] Urban is recorded as having mentioned these themes, but only discretely. According to Robert the Monk, Urban allegedly referred to the Turkish poUution of altars and other holy places and to the Uberation of Jerusalem; in Guibert of Nogent's version, he aUuded at various points to defilement and to cleansing, but said nothing of Uberation, and if we are to believe Baudri of Dol, whose account is the longest and most theologicaUy sophisticated, he made much of Christian servitude, unclean Turks, suppression of the Church, pagan tyranny, defilement of churches and of Jerusalem, but did not refer specificaUy to Uberation or cleansing.

Prima facie, the uneven attention which Fulcher, Robert, Baudri, and Guibert devote to the themes in question makes the accuracy of their evidence suspect. Yet, the possibility must be canvassed that this unevenness may reflect something of the pope's own fragmented appeal to these themes, and may indicate that although Urban perhaps evoked

«Penny J. Cole, The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095-1270 ("Medieval Academy Books," No. 98 [Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1991]), pp. 1-33.

"Fulcher of Chartres, Historia Hierosolymitana, pp. 132-138.

"Robert the Monk, Historia Iherosolimitana, RHC, Occ., III, 727-730.

"Guibert of Nogent, Historia quae dicitur Gesta Dei per Francos, RHC, Occ, TV, 137-140.

"Baudri oiDol,Historiaferosolimitana,imC,Occ.,TV, 12-16.

the themes of Uberation, poUution, cleansing, and the servitude of Jerusalem, his thinking on them was inchoate.

To be set against the uncertainties of the Clermont sermon, however, is the evidence of Urban's letters to the faithful in Flanders37 and to his partisans in Bologna38 written in December, 1095, and September, 1096, respectively. The letters are notably brief. He informs the Flemish that he has advanced the expedition "for the liberation of the Oriental churches" (ad liberationem Orientalium ecclesiarum),'9 "devastated and ravaged by the barbarians,"40 and especially for Jerusalem enslaved in a condition of "intolerable servitude" (intolerabilt servitutt).41 To the Bolognese he wrote urging their participation in the crusade "for their own salvation and for the Uberation of the Church."42 In neither letter is there any reference to poUution or cleansing. And to this must be added the evidence of the decree of indulgence for crusaders formulated at the Clermont Council, which stated simply that the purpose of the expedition to Jerusalem was "to Uberate the Church of God" (ad liberandam ecclesiam Dei).4'

A similar terseness concerning the nature and purpose of the crusade is found in the letters of other participants in, and proponents of, the crusade. In July, 1098, Anselm of Ribemont wrote from Antioch to Archbishop Manasses of Rheims, recounting the crusaders' siege and capture of the city, and asking him to "rejoice in the Uberation of the mother church of Antioch."44 At the same time, a letter was sent from Antioch to Urban over the names of Bohemond, Raymond of Saint-Gilles, Godfrey of Bouillon, Eustache of Boulogne, Robert of Normandy, and Robert of Flanders,45 with an urgent request for him to lead them in

,7Epistulae et chartae ad historiam primi belli sacri spectantes quae supersunt aevo aequales ac genuinae: Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den fahren 1088-1100. Eine Quellensammlung zur Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Innsbruck, 1901 [hereafter Die Kreuzzugsbriefe\),V.p??,??. 136-137.

5,/&2tf.,Ep.LU,pp. 137-138.

wIbid.,Îp.II,p. 136.

*7Wrf.:"credimus barbaricam rabiem ecclesias Dei in Orientis partibus . . . dévastasse." "Ibid.

aIbid.,Îp.Ul,p. 137:"pro sola animae suae salute et ecclesiae liberatione."

"Robert Somerville, The Councils of Urban II. l. Decreta Claromontensia ("Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum," supplementum l [Amsterdam, 1972]), p. 74.

"Die Kreuzzugsbriefe, Ep. XV p. 160: "de übertäte Antiochensis matris ecclesiae gaudeatis."

"Ibid., Ep. XVl, pp. 161-165. For a critical discussion of this letter, see Paul Riant, "Inventaire critique des lettres historiques des croisades," Archives de l'Orient latin (2 vols.; Paris, 1881, 1884), l, 181-183.

"making the Lord's Sepulchre free and the Christian name exalted over every other name."[46] In November or December, 1099, Archbishop Manasses wrote to Bishop Lambert of Arras, proclaiming the achievement of the liberation of Jerusalem "from a state of most cruel servitude to the pagans,"[47] and in AprU, 1100, Urban's successor, Pope Paschal II, wrote to the victorious crusaders in Asia, congratulating them for having restored the Oriental Church "to the glory of its ancient Uberty."[48]

The idea of Uberating the Church from oppression was famUiar and evidently could be adduced by both ecclesiastics and at least some of the laity with Uttle or no explanatory comment. This is not to suggest, however, that the idea lacked precise and historicaUy meaningful resonances and implications. During the period of his sojourn in France from August, 1095, to August, 1096, Urban's correspondence reveals a singular preoccupation with matters pertaining to the threatened "Uberty and immunity" (libertas et immunttas) of the French church and reUgious houses. The letters do not, of course, provide a complete picture of the implications of "liberty," but are sufficient to indicate first, that the fount of such liberty was the Roman Church, second, that what was frequently at issue was the preservation of the Church's goods, and third, that there were degrees of liberty. Writing to the monks of SauxUlanges,[49] for instance, Urban declared that their church was owed special reverence which would enhance its Uberty, saving it from excommunication, interdict, or any other form of oppression. The pope's reasoning was sound. He had, he says, consecrated their church personaUy; it was entitled, therefore, to the protection afforded by the special reverence owed to St. Peter and to papal authority. St. Peter, in fact, also had his own uberty as did the ApostoUc See. In another letter, he emphasizes that this Uberty was defended and enjoyed by the lay faithful when they gave obedience and loyalty to their diocesans. Writing to the clergy and the people of Rheims,[50] Urban says that in supporting Archbishop Manasses, they are "standing up for the liberty of the apostolic see,"[51] and will, for their faith, enjoy the "Uberty and grace of the blessed Peter" (beati Petri libertas et gratia).[72]

46DIe Kreuzzugsbriefe, Ep. XVI, pp. 164-165: "et Sepulcrum Domini liberum atque Christianum nomen super omne nomen exaltatum facias."

47Ibid., Ep. XX, p. 175: "Hierusalem … a Servitute paganorum crudelissima delibérala est."

aIbid., Ep. XXII, p. 178:"ad antiquae libertatis gloriam."

49PL1VoL 151, cols. 432-433.

50IbId., cols. 445-446.

"Ibid. col. 446: "Vos siquidem in apostolicae sedis libertatem consurrexistis."

"Ibid.

The papal language of Uberty is tantaUzing. The pope successfuUy conveys the impression that the Church was everywhere under dire threat, but in general he is notably reticent about the nature and identity of its ubiquitous oppressors. In two letters, to Beringer, abbot of St-Laurent of Liège,53 and to the canons of St. Martin of Tours,54 however, the veU of generaUties is jettisoned. Beringer has been displaced by a simoniac, and in his letter Urban excommunicates the offending simoniac, declaring him "a profane invader of the Church" (Ecclesiae profanum pervasorem).77 In equaüy compelling language to the canons of Tours, he states that simony is a defilement, and he declares to them his desire "to cleanse [your] sacred place of this execrable pest."56

These letters are revealing. They indicate that in the period 1095 to 1096, French ecclesiastics and some of the laity were aUve to the dangers threatening church Uberty, and no less importantly, they were versed in the language in which these dangers were depicted. EquaUy notable is the fact that poUution and cleansing could at times figure in thinking on Uberty. But when and how did this language and thinking on the Uberty of the domestic church come to be applied to the crusaders' capture of Jerualem and their massacre of its inhabitants in July, 1099?

AU the evidence indicates that Urban II advanced the Uberation of the Church in what he believed to be the historicaUy Christian East. That he did so in terms that were for the most part generaUy familiar from the rhetoric surrounding the preservation of the "Uberty and immunity" of the Western Church seems probable. But there is no evidence that he advanced from this position to impose upon the audience at Clermont a matured, fully formulated ideology of violence of the sort that could have anticipated the Jerusalem massacre with its striking mix of slaughter and worship, or that would provide the theological basis for the view that the killing had been spirituaUy meritorious. The signs indicate, rather, that the shaping of this perception, especiaUy as it relates to poUution and cleansing,57 was largely the work

"Ibid., cols. 395-397.

54Ibld., cols. 457-459.

"Ibid., col. 397.

*Ibid., col. 457:"nos locum sanctum emundare ab hac peste exsecrabili cupientes."

"For further discussion of this theme, see Penny J. Cole, "'? God, the heathen have come into your inheritance' (Ps. 78: 1): The Theme of Religious Pollution in Crusade Documents, 1095-1188," in Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria, ed. Maya ShatzmiUer (Leiden, 1993), pp. 84-111.

of the crusade historians who, in the decade immediately foUowing the momentous events, thought hard about the record of Christian brutaUty and propounded a rationale which was compatible with the idea of the crusade as God's own holy war.

JOSEPH MAUSBACH (1860-1931) AND HIS ROLE IN THE PUBLIC LIFE OF THE EMPIRE AND THE WEIMAR REPUBUC

BY

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Translated by Ralph Keen

Among the archives of the University of Münster is an unusual condolence document. Numerous letters of sympathy were sent upon the death on January 31, 1931, of Joseph Mausbach, a moral theologian and cathedral provost who for almost forty years had taught at Münster.[1] The Cardinal Secretary of State, Eugenio PaceUi, who had been papal nuncio in Germany (1917-1929) and would later become Pope Pius XII, assessed the loss suffered not only by the faculty or the Bishopric of Miinster/"but aU of Catholic Germany."[2] The dean of the EvangeUcal Theological Faculty wrote to the dean of the neighboring CathoUc Theological Faculty: "With the senior member of your faculty has departed one of the most notable personaUties of German CathoUcism, one of the best-known CathoUc theologians of Germany, a defender of the Christian faith among the German people, a leader in the defense against the present-day powers hostUe to Christianity."[5]

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'Universitätsarchiv Münster, Katholisch-theologische Fakultät, Kondolenzakte zum Tode von Prof. Dr. Joseph Mausbach, 1931.

2Ibid.

5lbld. Biographical treatments include: "Joseph Mausbach," in Mautz, Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon, V, 1071-1077; Josef Rief, "Joseph Mausbach," in Theologische Realenzyklopädie, XXIII, 283-286. A contemporary appreciation, with a bibliography of ninety-four titles, is Georg Schreiber, foseph Mausbach (1861-193T): Sein Wirken für Kirche und Staat (Münster, 1931); Eduard Hegel, Geschichte der Katholisch-Theologischen Fakultät Münster 1773-1964 (2 vols.; Münster, 1966-1971). See also the critique of Mausbach's political writings during World War I in Horst Hermann, "Deutschland darf den Willen Gottes vollstrecken! Katholische Kriegsdoktrin von 1914-1918 an der Universität Münster," in 200 fahre zwischen Dom und Schloss, ed. Lothar Kurz (Münster, 1980), pp. 34-46.

Almost aU the documents point to the role that Mausbach played in German pubUc Ufe. Together with a coUeague from the CathoUc Theological Faculty at Münster, Franz Hitze, Mausbach was a delegate to the Weimar National Assembly in 1919 as weU as a leading member of its constitutional committee. He co-operated in the preparation of the articles of the Weimar Constitution dealing with the relation of church and state, which were incorporated into the Basic Law of the Federal RepubUc of Germany in 1949. This legislation was seen as a significant historical compromise after the coUapse of the state church in the wake of the revolution of 1918. It was a compromise achieved among social democrats, Uberals, and conservatives; between Protestants and CathoUcs; and between the mainline churches and the smaU reUgious communities: a distinct advance, accompanying the transition from German society under the Empire to the modern democracy of the twentieth century.

Mausbach became a professor in 1892 at age 32; his appointment, like that of the young CathoUc social reformer Franz Hitze to the newly created chair of "Christian social science" in 1893, came at a time when the Münster Academy was transforming itself into a university. The official in charge of higher education for the Prussian Ministry of Culture, Friedrich Althoff, strove to modernize Prussian higher education during his administration (1882-1907) and thereby also supported the work of younger Catholic academics, in order to facilitate the integration of CathoUcs into the new empire after the Kulturkampf.4 Thus Mausbach's academic career in the Empire advanced without evident problems or hindrances. But his life, so far as it reflects pubUc affairs, was beset with conflicts which cannot now be easily imagined: ecclesiastical-reUgious, spiritual, poUtical, national, and international. It was Mausbach's official calling to take a position with regard to aU these conflicts, for his teaching responsibUities in Münster were moral theology and apologetics.5

4Charles McClelland, State, Society and University in Germany, 1700-1914 (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 281-283; Fritz K. Ringer, Die Gelehrten. Der Niedergang der deutschen Mandarine 1890-1933 (Munich, 1987), p. 54.

5On cultural and political circumstances in the Empire see Margaret Lavinia Anderson, "Piety and Politics: Recent Works on German Catholicism," yowrne/ ofModern History, 63 (1991), 681-716; also her Windthorst: A Political Biography (Oxford, 1981). Anderson criticizes the tendency of "a new generation of German historians" to concentrate so heavily on structures, collectives, and processes that religious and ecclesiastical movements remain ignored. On historical background see also Wilfried Loth, Katholiken im Kaiserreich: Der politische Katholizismus in der Krise des wilhelminischen Deutschlands (Düsseldorf, 1984); Thomas Nipperdey, Religion in Umbruch: Deutschland

Born in I860 in the vUlage of Wipperfeld, the son of the mayor, Mausbach attended the Gymnasium in Wipperfürth and the Apostles' Gymnasium in Cologne, after which he took up theology at the Academy in Münster. "The theological faculty of the Academy at that time had suffered less under the Kulturkampf than Bonn had," Mausbach reported in his memoirs.6 The tendency toward Neo-Thomism was spirituaUy influential at this Academy; the then Pope Leo XIII had recommended it as an anchor and support in the face of contemporary philosophical and scientific turmoU: against historicism in the human sciences, against scientism in the natural sciences, and against the general confidence in scientific progress to which the academic elite in particular clung in the nineteenth century.7 Transcending this, Neo-Thomism united CathoUc theologians of various nationalities: German, Swiss, French, Belgian, Italian. In Münster, even during the Bismarck regime, people were loyal to Rome, or romtreu.

Mausbach grew to feel quite at home in this spiritual world. He received his doctorate with a short dissertation on "The Will and Desire of the Senses in the Teaching of Thomas Aquinas."8 His pastoral training was completed in Eichstätt and followed by a few years as assistant pastor at St. Gereon's in Cologne and as a reUgious educator in Mönchengladbach, where he made contact with the "People's Union for Catholic Germany," a group whose goal was reUgious, moral, and poUtical education among Catholics at aU social levels, especiaUy the working class. Such work was considered a social service as weU as a defense against hostile spiritual currents: the numerous conflicting "worldviews," among them the doctrines of social democracy and Uber-

1870-1918 (Munich, 1988); Heinz Hurten, Deutsche Katholiken 1918-1945 (Paderborn, 1992); Winfried Becker, "Christliche Parteien und Strömungen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert: Ein Forschungsbericht 1986-1994," Historisches fahrbuch, 114 (1994), 451-478. Wilhelm Spael, Das katholische Deutschland im 20.fahrhundert. Seine Pionier- und Krisenzeiten 1980-1945(Würzburg, 1964), is valuable for biographical details. For Mausbach's role in the history of the modern state of Nordrhein-Westfalen see Wilhelm Ribhegge, "Nordrhein-Westfalen als historische Landschaft," in his Europa—Nation—Region: Perspektiven der Stadt- und Regionalgeschichte (Darmstadt, 1991), pp. 21-47; Jörg Engelbrecht, Landesgeschichte Nordrhein-Westfalen (Stuttgart, 1994), pp. 252-275, 345-356; Kurt Nowak, Geschichte des Christentums in Deutschland: Religion, Politik und Gesellschaft vom Ende der Aufklärung bis zur Mitte des 20.fahrhunderts (Munich, 1995), pp. 149-204.

'Joseph Mausbach, in Erich Stange (ed),Die Religionswissenschaft der Gegenwart in Selbstdarstellungen (Leipzig, 1927), p. 58.

7Ringer, op. cit., pp. 78- 119.

"D. Thomae Aquinatis De volúntate et appetitu sensitivo doctrina (Paderborn, 1888).

alism.The "People's Union's" work was concentrated mainly among the CathoUc workers in the llhine and Ruhr vicinity. Its central headquarters in Mönchengladbach also served as the office of the left wing of the Center Party.9 Among Protestants, a similar movement for social reform, with stronger academic support, emerged in the 1890's with the "EvangeUcal-Social Congress," whose meetings were attended by Adolf Harnack, Friedrich Naumann, and Max Weber; like its CathoUc counterpart, it was intended to be an answer to Marxism.10 During this time German Catholicism, after the Kulturkampf and its period of repression, began to develop new programs, and news about them was disseminated by newly founded newspapers, numerous popular and academic publications, and the popular "AssembUes of German CathoUcs." To these should be added the founding of new organizations, from the scholarly Görres-GeseUschaft to the interconfessional Christian trade unions. In this way more similar to Social Democracy than to German Protestantism, German Catholicism saw itself as a closed community within the frequently antagonistic society of the Empire. This self-understanding provided security but also easily led to a ghetto mentality and a reluctance to interact with the outside world. The closed character of the "CathoUc milieu" extended from the inner circle of the Church, through the unions and the Center Party, into politics. Regional ties to West Germany, Bavaria, and SUesia also had a part.11 Klaus Epstein, in his biography of Matthias Erzberger, has masterfuUy captured and described the social and poUtical problems facing German CathoUcism in the Imperial period.12

Mausbach received a call to Münster in 1892, and taught there for forty years to 1931- Like Franz Hitze, who as delegate of the Center in the Prussian Diet and later in the Imperial Diet became the leading social pohtician of western German Catholicism and of the "People's Union for CathoUc Germany" (Mausbach and Hitze knew each other

9Cf. Michael Schneider, £>fe christliche Gewerkschaften 1894-1933 (Bonn, 1982), pp. 40-49.

'"See Ringer, op. cit., pp. 124-134.

"On change and continuity in the social-ethical and political spheres, on historical sociology of political-cultural relations in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Germany, and their connection to regional loyalties see Karl Rohe, Wahlen und Wählertraditionen in Deutschland: Kulturelle Grundlagen deutscher Parteien und Parteiensysteme im 19. und 20. fahrhundert (Frankfurt, 1992); and in general, M. Rainer Lepsius, Demokratie in Deutschland: Soziologisch-historische Konstellationsanalysen: Ausgewählte Aufsätze ("Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft," Band 100 [Göttingen, 1993]).

"Klaus Epstein, Matthias Erzberger and the Dilemma of German Democracy (Princeton, 1959).

from their work together in Mönchengladbach), Mausbach engaged in activities outside the academy. In 1896 he spoke for the first time at a CathoUc Assembly in Dortmund.13 He considered his moral theology an "orientation discipline" on the burning questions of "modernity." His manner of thinking and presenting his ideas, though tending strongly toward the basics and often insufficiently concrete, was weU received, and he grew in popularity. In contrast to the dominant attitude of Catholicism during the Kulturkampf, and to the usual practice up to his own time, he did not simply renounce modernity, but rather entered a critical relationship with it. That suited perfectly the desires of his audiences, not least his students, to whom he offered supplementary lectures in Münster beyond the official duties of his teaching load. An "academics' congregation," for example, gathered regularly on Sunday afternoons in the Church of St. Mary Magdalene.

Mausbach's book Catholic Morality, which would later have the more revealing title Catholic Morality and Its Enemies, appeared in 1901; this is the book which would make him known beyond the boundaries of his confession. The book's context is, first and understandably, the conflict between Protestants and CathoUcs in the Empire, but also their coexistence. Despite increasing secularization, Germany was still a strongly reUgious country. The new nation of the Bismarck regime was a strange and abstract image; but the churches were near and influenced the life, even the private Ufe, of every social stratum. The coexistence of differing confessions in one nation virtuaUy required that theologians constantly raise the question and reflect on these confessional contrasts. Thus Catholic Morality and Its Enemies was thought to be an answer to various Protestant writings which either critically or polemicaUy addressed the world of Catholicism.14 Many of these Protestant pubUcations, like Harnack's "Protestantism and Catholicism in Germany" (1907) were expUcitly concerned with the coexistence of the two confessions within a single national society. What

15"Die Bedeutung des katholischen Ordenslebens für die heutige Zeit," in Verhandlungen der 43 | Generalversammlung der Katholiken Deutschlands zu Dortmund vom 13 | bis 17. August 1896 (Dortmund, 1896), pp. 263-271.

"See, for example, W Hermann, Römische und evangelische Sittlichkeit (Marburg, 1901); Paul von Hoensbroech, Das Papsttum in seiner sozialkulturellen Wirksamkeit, Vol. IL Die ultramontane Moral (1902). (Hoensbroech, an earl, had been a Jesuit before Converting to Protestantism.) Adolf Harnack, Protestantismus und Katholizismus in Deutschland (Berlin, 1907); Paul Tschackert, Modus vivendi: Grundlinien für das Zusammenleben der Konfessionen im Deutschen Reich (Munich, 1908); K. Sell, Katholizismus und Protestantismus in Geschichte, Religion, Politik und Kultur (Leipzig, 1908).

particularly irritated them about CathoUcism was the connection of faith and poUtics, such as was found in the Center Party. Friedrich Naumann's weU-known book Democracy and Empire (1900) brought critical distance to bear on poUtical CathoUcism. The relation of nation and confession appeared to be an unresolved problem.

Mausbach clearly described the CathoUc view of the problem in the introduction to Catholic Morality in 191 1:

> It is absolutely impossible for the Catholic, even if he wished to cut himself off, to defend himself against exposure to this Protestant influence. The Protestant, by contrast, is far from being under a similar necessity of becoming familiar with Catholic intellectual developments. Every Catholic schoolboy reads Lessing and Herder, Goethe and Schiller; every Catholic philologist and historian uses Protestant scholarly literature; a student rightly fears failure in an examination if he does not know Kant and Schopenhauer, while his Protestant counterpart has a clear and unencumbered conscience with respect to Thomas Aquinas. In addition, there is the inevitable consolation with oral maxims, beUes lettres and the daily press, the theater, the leading fashions in society: all these things in Germany are predominantly controlled by Protestants. . . . Even the slant and coverage of our daily press is of the sort that holds the modern and negative indecentiy exalted and celebrated, and treats the positive and traditional with contempt; in such circumstances, of course, what is CathoUc suffers more than what is Protestant.15

In defending his position Mausbach appealed to the tradition of CathoUc theology, which joined nature and supernature rather than separating them.16 One of the problems in discussions among German theologians on the relation of nation and confession was that they continued to raise the uncriticaUy accepted facts about the origins of the confessions, and the differences between the confessional lifestyles and worldviews, almost to the level of a social principle. In doing this they rendered the opposition of the confessions practicaUy absolute, instead of relativizing them against the background of social and poUtical coexistence within the nation.

"Die katholische Moral und ihre Gegner: Grundsätzliche und zeitgeschichtliche Betrachtungen (Cologne, 191 1), pp. 40-41.

""It is a high priority for Catholic morality that, with unshakable and sublime assurance in declaring the supernatural end of human existence, it can fuse an equally strong determination and clarity into the order of earthly relations. This priority emerges from the certainty of dogmatic and metaphysical foundations laid by the doctrine of the Church and the philosophia perennis of the Christian thinkers in league with Augustine and Thomas" (Die katholische Moral und ihre Gegner, p. ?).

Aligning himself with the "People's Union," Mausbach advocated co-operation between CathoUcs and Protestants in Christian trade unions, in opposition to the "integraUsts" of the "Berlin Tendency" of German CathoUcism, which rejected any confessional co-operation of workers, even at the level of the so-caUed "special trades associations" (Fachvereine). In this situation also there were questions about the coexistence of the confessions within the nation. Moreover, questions about the workers' right to strike were raised during this "conflict of tendencies"; Mausbach represented the "Cologne tendency" in support of that right, which was denied by the integraUstic "Berlin tendency." The fundamental principles of right and fairness which were at the heart of the issue could be protected, according to Mausbach, "by reason and the Christian moraUty of both confessions."

> The extreme and fanatical radicalism of the Social Democrats seeks in addition to strengthen their unanimous affirmation of these principles. If no one has accused the groups of peasants, manual workers, industrial laborers, physicians, jurists, civil servants, retailers, and the like, no matter how varied their work, of obscuring the fundamental Christian truths because they are interconfessional, far less can one make this accusation of the businesses which positively emphasize the Christian and prohibit any infringement of confessional conviction.17

In defending the right to strike, Mausbach asserted against critics: "Whoever equates lack of unity over pay with a conflict over legal principles, general experience with the rule of force and extortion, whoever caUs a strike an Attack upon the Sovereignty of the State,' fataUy sunders the basis upon which a new labor law can be buUt."18 Mausbach underscored the success of the Christian Workers Movement, which had around 350,000 members in 1911."Because of their compassionate understanding of the facts of modern economic Ufe, the development of Christian trade unions moves onward, since the careful observers of the time and the friends of national weU-being must see in these societies one of the principal bulwarks against sociaUst revolution."19 In striking, for example during the great construction strike of 1910 and strikes in the Ruhr district (where the Christian trade unions were especially strong), the Christian-NationaUsts and the "non-Christian" sociaUst trade unions worked together for the protection of their

"Die katholische Moral und ihre Gegner, pp. 386-387.
187b2rf.,p.401.
,9Ibid.,p.402.

common interests. The stance that Mausbach took before the war in the then current "Trade Union conflict" takes up a good part of the third edition of his book on "Catholic Morality,"20 and explains to some extent his later positive stance toward co-operation with representatives of other parties and confessions in the implementation of the Weimar Constitution and his fundamental affirmation of the Weimar Democracy.

Even before the war Mausbach supported efforts to introduce studies for women, and he insisted that women should be able to take up academic careers. He promoted studies for women reUgious, who in turn frequently went on to teaching careers, usuaUy in schools maintained by their orders. The secondary schools in the Empire were still segregated for boys and girls. Mausbach wrote articles for the journal Hochland, edited by Carl Muth, which provided an outlet for CathoUc academics to discuss questions of modern art, literature, and philosophy. Hochland was among the more discerning periodicals of the contemporary German Uterary scene. Mausbach's contributions on the CathoUc AssembUes proved that the level of inteUectuaI discussion in German CathoUcism could be elevated and made receptive to new questions.

Mausbach spoke at the CathoUc Assemblies in Dortmund in 1896, Krefeld in 1898, Bonn in 1900, and Cologne in 1903. At the Cologne meeting his theme was "Christian and modern art"; in 1905 at the Strasbourg assembly his topic was "The Co-operation of State and Church for Social Welfare." In Düsseldorf in 1908 he spoke on the theme of "Modernism in Contrast to CathoUc Thought and Faith," a topic that had been made urgent by the 1907 encyclical Pascendi of Pope Pius X. He addressed the question of "Education and Studies for Women" at the Augsburg CathoUc Assembly in 1910, and at the conference at Aachen in 1912 he spoke on the "Struggle against the modern loss of morals," advocating a strong morality in sexual matters. Among the moral lapses that Mausbach criticized was dueling, particularly among students. Mausbach's moderate conservatism saw not merely opportunities in modern society, but also dangers and threats to traditional lifestyles, without associating himself with cultural criticism or the cultural pessimism that was quickly becoming fashionable among German inteUectuals.21 The discussion of Modernism which was then agitating the

20Ibid., pp. 383-404. On the "trade union conflict" within Catholic ranks, and the relation between Christian-National and Social Democratic trade unions, see Schneider, op. cit., pp. 166-235.

21See Fritz Stern, The Politics of Cultural Despair: A Study in the Rise of the Germanic Ideology (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1961); Ringer, op. cit.

European inteUectuaI world actually concerned French CathoUcism more than German Catholicism.22 It was aroused by the encyclical Pascendi dominici gregis, issued in 1907 by Pope Pius X, which condemned certain Catholic theologians' historical-critical statements, the result of applying critical methods to biblical interpretation and relativizing dogmas. Moreover, aU CathoUc theologians were obUgated in 1910 to take the "Anti-Modernist Oath." Only the German academic theologians, Mausbach among them, were freed from swearing this oath, since it might have endangered the existence of CathoUc-theological faculties in state universities. Mausbach defended the encycUcal Pascendi: "No one can seriously deny that the spirit of our age is unfavorable to the faith; its sharp critical air seeps through myriad cracks and pores even into the CathoUc consciousness and chiUs the joy of belief." It was the pastoral duty of the Pope "to send the signal, in this tempestuous time, that can sharply distinguish the true way from the false."23 Mausbach gave the encycUcal a pastoral interpretation, but he also sought to understand the position of the Modernist theologians and to find a middle way between them and the anti-Modernist position. "In the end it hurt him," according to Josef Rief, who in a biographical essay assessed Mausbach's stance in the Modernist conflict. "In Rome he was considered a Modernist theologian. His candidacies for bishoprics [in Cologne and elsewhere] faUed. The fact that he swore the Anti-Modernist oath despite his criticism of Roman measures . . . brought him only partial recognition. In his memoirs he gave only marginal attention to this struggle, even though it affected him singularly."24

Other currents of thought before 1914 engaged public consciousness in Europe more forcefully than this purely CathoUc Modernist conflict. Among these was the growing tide of nationalism, which seized newspapers, governments, university podiums, and eventuaUy also church pulpits.25 The spiritual leaders of nationalism in Germany were traditionally the educated and the academics. The image of a mUitarUy powerful nation-state, such as Treitschke advocated with Prussian un-

22See the chapter "Modernismus" in Rogert Aubert, Geschichte der Kirche, Vol. 5, pt. 1: Vom Kirchenstaat zur Weltkirche: 1848 bis zum Zweiten Vatikanum (Zurich, 1975), pp. 171-175.

""Der Modernismus als Gegensatz zum christlichen Denken und Glauben: Rede auf der Generalversammlung der Katholiken Deutschlands zu Düsseldorf am 17. August 1908," in Joseph Mausbach, Aus katholischer Ideenwelt: Gesammelte Aufsätze und Vortage (Münster, 1921), p. 228.

"Josef Rief, in Theologische Realenzyklopädie, XXIII, 285.

2,Gordon A. Craig, Germany 1866-1945 (Oxford, 1978); Craig, Europe since 1815 (New York, 1974), pp. 339-360.

dertones since the formation of the Empire, was popular. EventuaUy nationalism assumed confessional tendencies as a secularized theology of sorts. Two years before the beginning of World War I, in the January issue oí Hochland, under the title "NationaUsm and Christian Universalism," Mausbach set himself critically and strongly against these nationalistic tendencies. He distanced himself in no uncertain terms: "With great authority we, as Christians, must declare the rise of an overarching and divisive nationaUsm, and of an even more inhumane natural racial theory, a danger for humanity. It certainly raises the question of how a legitimate national spirit can be harmonized with the Christian ideals of human dignity and a unified human realm, and identifies this as a genuine life-and-death issue for our time."[26] These words, expressed in 1912, proved in historical hindsight to be an almost prophetic message.

In clearly-worded terms Mausbach distanced himself from the anti-Semitic sentiments that were gaining ground in the Empire. The faith of Israel was "the seed-kernel of Christianity" by God's wiU. Even more important was the stance that Christ and his disciples assumed toward their own people in the New Testament: "Although their work for the redemption of the world and a world reUgion entaUed a strong opposition to Jewish particularism in the Ught of the obstinacy of the people, their personal loyalty and their divinely-willed consideration for the chosen people is aU the more noteworthy."[27] Mausbach's distancing himself from nationalistic and anti-Semitic tendencies was inteUectuaUy clear and unambiguous, formulated with scholarly reserve. But such affirmations were not at aU natural in the circles of German professors before 1914. What was evident here was that a connection to the philosophia perennis aUowed a view of things in the Ught of Christian reaUsm, and did not let itself become joined to every current of the spirit of the time.

Two years after Mausbach's impressive 1912 document against nationaUsm, European nationalism increased with World War I. Mausbach's Münster coUeague Johann Plenge coined the term "1914 ideas," an emphatic contrast to "1789 ideas." The social scientist Werner Sombart compared the British and the Germans in a book entitled Traders and Heroes. NationaUsm also made itself known in various lectures given by professors in favor of the German miUtary goal of annexation. Only a minority said anything against it, and then hesitantly, and only a

[26] "Nationalismus und christlicher Universalismus," Hochland, 9 (January-February, 1912), 402.

[27] TWd, ?. 407.

few professors took a pacifistic stance.28 In the European countries that were involved in the war, the national churches, the CathoUcs, Protestant, and Orthodox, let themselves be swept away by the war sentiment. German Catholics fought against French CathoUcs on the battlefield, and German Protestants fought against French Protestants. The outbreak and course of the war came to be the greatest catastrophe of European Christianity. The international sociaUst labor movement was similarly seized by the destructive force of the war, but the problems of these groups cannot reaUy be compared. For the churches it was not just a matter of politics, but also of moraUty.29

The Center Party of German CathoUcs had agreed to the war credits, as had the SPD in August, 1914, behind the Social Democrats, who were the second strongest party. The Social Democrats had some reserves, whUe the Center, which had been antimilitaristic during Windthorst's time, did not. Very naively people were convinced that, after Russian mobiUzation had interfered with the war that had been started on the German side, the war against Russia in the east and France in the west and the assault on neutral Belgium was a "just" war. Mausbach also agreed with that judgment. He took that stance in several lectures, as weU as in the pamphlet On Just War and Its Effects, which was published in a series of war-related speeches at the University of Münster.30

The counterpart to the German Burgfrieden was the Union sacrée in France. In 1905, the differences between French Liberals and Catholics were practicaUy unbridgeable; at the time church and state were separate in France, and now found themselves united against German attack. Churches in France were again filled with people during the war. The Germans shooting at the Cathedral at Rheims served as a trigger. The French Catholics saw, for the first time since the French Revolution, the opportunity for a nationwide reconciliation. The German Catholics, who had an almost exemplary character since the time

"¡See "Der Weltkrieg: Harmonie und Disharmonie," in Ringer, op. cit., pp. 169-185; Klaus Böhme (ed.), Aufrufe und Reden deutscher Professoren im Ersten Weltkrieg (Stuttgart, 1975); Klaus Schwabe, Wissenschaft und Kriegsmoral: Die deutschen Hochschullehrer und die politischen Grundfragen des Ersten Weltkriegs (Göttingen, 1969).

29See the chapter "La vie religieuse" in Pierre Renouvin, La crise européenne et la première guerre mondiale (1904-1918) (Paris, 1969), pp. 689-714; Aubert, op. cit., pp. 176-183;Paul Johnson.4 History of Christianity (Harmondsworth, 1978),pp.476ff.

"Vom gerechten Kriege und seinen Wirkungen ("Kriegsvorträge der Universität Münster i. W," Heft 1 [Münster, 1914]); other lectures by Mausbach at the beginning of the war concerned "War and Peace in the Exterior and Interior Life,""Memory and Consolation at a Time of War," and "War and Peace in the Moral Life."

of the Kulturkampf, were now subject to the judgment of the French CathoUcs. With the support of numerous French bishops, the pamphlet "The German War and Catholicism," which was written by clergy and scientists, was published in 1915 by Alfred BaudriUart, the rector of the Institut CathoUque. It was sharply critical of German Catholicism because of its war stance.[31]

La guerre allemande was published in April. On June 14 and 15 four weU-known CathoUc scholars, among them Mausbach and Michael von Faulhaber, the Bishop of Speyer, met at Koblenz and agreed to publish a German rebuttal. It was pubUshed in November, 1915, with twenty articles signed by German Catholic researchers. Furthermore, in August, 1915, a committee of forty-two German CathoUc scholars was set up "for the defense of CathoUc interests in the World War," which also asked for help from Matthias Erzberger, the weU-known poUtician of the Center Party. This German rebuttal was subtitled "German Culture, Catholicism, and the World War." Mausbach wrote the introductory article about "the literary declaration of war of the French Catholics." He complained that Germany, because it was fighting against France, was branded "a profound enemy of morality and religion.""Do you not think that the 24 mUlion German CathoUcs have to feel deeply offended that it happened to be their Catholic brothers in France who caused all the unrest among persons, and who everywhere incited Catholic thoughts and feelings to hating and despising Germany?"[52]

AU sides tried hard to make Pope Benedict XV give an unbiased judgment in favor of one of the parties who were engaged in the war. But the Pope did not let himself be puUed into the debate. This attitude was not caused by a neutral distance, but rather by a fundamental denial of war. The historical image of the papacy in World War I is much better than that of French and German Catholicism. Clemenceau caUed the Pope "le pape boche," and Ludendorff caUed him "the French pope." The notes of Benedict XV of August 1, 1917, titled "Dès le début" became an

[31] Alfred Baudrillart (ed.), La guerre allemande et le catholicisme (Paris, 1915), with a foreword by the Archbishop of Paris, Cardinal Amette; see Jean-Marie Mayeur, La vie religieuse en France pendant la Première Guerre Mondiale (Toulouse, 1979); François Lebrun (ed.), Histoire des catholiques en France (Paris, 1980), pp. 407-452; Philippe Bernard, La fin d'un monde 1914-1929 ("Nouvelle histoire de la France contemporaine" [Paris, 1975]), pp. 5-107; Jean-Marie Mayeur and Kurt Meier (eds.), Geschichte des Christentums, Vol. 12; Erster und Zweiter Weltkrieg: Demokratien und totalitäre Systeme (1914-1958) (Freiburg, Basel, and Vienna, 1992), pp. 383-395.

[32] M"Die literarische Kriegserklärung der französischen Katholiken," in Georg Pfeilschifter (ed.), Deutsche Kultur, Katholizismus und Weltkrieg (Freiburg, 1915), p. 2.

impressive appeal to peace in Europe and was linked to concrete negotiation proposals. The pope said what neither the German nor the French theologians had ever said: "Today nobody can imagine how much the number and severity of the suffering of the people would increase, if more months or even years were added to this tyranny. Should the civilized world be nothing but a field of dead bodies? ShaU the glorious and prosperous Europe, dragged away by general insanity, head for disaster and commit suicide?"33 Was the Pope the only Catholic in Europe who had such thoughts?34

The notes of Pope Benedict XV were pubUshed at the end of the third year of war. MeanwhUe everywhere a noticeable sobriety had settled in. The euphoria of the first months of war had vanished. The whole population was suffering. In addition, there was a crisis in supply because the war was at the same time conducted as an "economic war." Strikes and boycotts occurred and not only in Germany. In May, 1917, the speaker of the SPD and the German Reichstag, Philipp Scheidemann, demanded "an agreement without compensation and contributions." The head of the Center, Erzberger, who at the beginning of the war had supported the idea of annexation, had meanwhile come to prefer the idea of a peace agreement, because he realized that after the beginning of the Russian Revolution in February, 1917, the Americans' joining the AUies, and the faUure of German U-Boat warfare, there was no reasonable alternative to a diplomatic solution, to negotiations and agreement with opponents.35

In a sensational speech to the Reichstag on July 6, 1917, Erzberger exposed the expectations and calculations of the Admiralty concerning U-Boat warfare, and then managed to bring about a poUtical alUance between the parties of the CathoUc Center, the Social Democrats, and the Liberal left. On July 19, 1917, this alliance, by a vast majority, passed a peace resolution which caUed for an end to the war and an agreement to peace. The fact that the Liberals and the Social Democrats were a part of the traditional ideological opposition to CathoUcism had not hindered the CathoUc Center from setting up a pragmatic poUtical al-

"Benedict XV, "Dès le début," in Emil MarmyAfewsob und Gemeinschaft in christlicher Schau: Dokumente (Freiburg, Switzerland, 1945), p. 705.

'4On Benedict XVl see J. N. Kelly, The Oxford Dictionary of Popes (Oxford and New York, 1988), pp. 314-316.

55On Erzberger, see Epstein, op. cit.; Theodor Eschenburg, Matthias Erzberger: Der grosse Mann des Parlamentarismus und der Finanzreform (Munich, 1973); Matthias Erzberger, Erlebnisse in Weltkrieg (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1920).

Uance with the circle of their past domestic poUtical opponents in the essential questions of German pohcy.36

But the peace policy fafled. After the peace resolution, pubUc opinion in Germany spUt. Supporters of the resolution gathered in the movement of the Peoples' Union for Peace and Freedom, which was also supported by a majority of CathoUcs, the Christian trade unions in particular; the German Patriotic Party was comprised of opponents of the peace resolution, and supporters of a "peace party" assembled as an alliance across party Unes. The division of pubUc opinion could be seen in the press, in every city, and also in the universities. Mausbach was on the side of the peace resolution. His coUeague at the University of Münster, the linguistics scholar Otto Hoffmann, founded the local chapter of the Patriotic Party.37 Also, hopes of a reconciliation between CathoUcs and Protestants, which Mausbach had described as late as 1916 in a contribution to a book on internal peace among Germans, began to fade.38 The "German War" as a war to overcome the division of the nation into religious and social classes: this was the dominant theme in this coUection of essays by prominent pubUc persons. The premonitions of these real tests of pubUc Ufe which the Weimar Republic later suffered, especiaUy in times of crisis, were already obvious by 1917 and the passing of the peace resolution by the Reichstag. Not only CathoUc pohticians but also CathoUc inteUectuals became disiUusioned. The public contributions that Mausbach wrote showed this clearly In the October issue of Hochland magazine, published by Carl Muth, he caUed for a change in the war policy. He supported the principle of a concUiatory peace, which meant that Germany had to renounce territorial demands and reparations. He also supported papal proposals about the restoration of neutral Belgium.

Mausbach finaUy went one step further in his argument and referred to the suffering that German warfare had caused in France.'Let us compare, only to remind ourselves, Germany's verdant, unharmed farmlands with the fissured, desolate, blood-soaked fields of northern France, and let us consider what the outcome of war means to the soul of the

"Wilhelm Ribhegge, Frieden für Europa: Die Politik der deutschen Reichstagsmehrheit 1917/18 (Essen, 1988), pp. 171-199.

J7See Wilhelm Ribhegge, Geschichte der Universität Münster: Europa in Westfalen (Münster, 1985), pp. 144-183.

"Die Wahrung und Förderung des konfessionellen Friedens," in Friedrich Thimme (ed.), Vom inneren Frieden des deutschen Volkes (Leipzig, 1916), pp. 142-167.

French people!"39 Mausbach mentioned at this time the "enormous suffering from war" and particularly "the demonic power of the dishonesty of leading statesmen and controUers of the press."40 By that he meant the enemies, but added as an explanation: "A spirit of moral self-sufficiency and self-assurance is reaUy not an issue for Germany in the fourth year of the war, since it is not an issue for any person or people. The revival of dangerous German hereditary defects in the middle of the war immediately fills even the best friends of our people with serious concerns for the moral future of our nation."41 Two years before, the French text "La guerre aUemande et le cathoUcisme," which Mausbach rejected, had presented very similar assertions.

At the end of the war, as before it, German Catholicism insisted upon its independence as a reUgious community within the nation. Nothing fundamental to this stance changed with the transition to Weimar democracy. But, like Social Democracy, CathoUcism did not see itself bound to the Empire, even though its basic attitude was, as always, monarchical. From the deUberations over a rearrangement of European and international relations after the war emerged Mausbach's 1918 piece "Natural Law and People's Law." German Catholicism was spiritually far better prepared for the postwar period than German Protestantism, whose worldview appeared to have been shattered.42 For Protestantism it fell above aU to Friedrich Naumann and Ernst Troeltsch, who, as Mausbach did for the CathoUcs, offered direction to ease the transition for the church from empire to democracy, its release from national bonds, and its openness to international co-operation.43

After the coUapse of the Empire, the convocation of the RepubUc on November 9, 1918, and the formation of a CouncU of the People's Commissioners on the following day—which was actuaUy a sociaUst one-party government—must have appeared at first as if the sociaUst parties had won a majority. The majority social democracy of Friedrich Ebert and Scheidemann and the independent Social Democrats had both also won the relative majority in Prussia, the largest state of the Empire and,

""Das Friedensprogramm des HI. Vaters," Hochland, 15 (October, 1917), 92.

*°Ibid., p. 98.

"Ibid.

"See also the text from the last year of the war, in M. Meinertz and H. Sacher, Deutschland und der Katholizismus: Gedanken zur Neugestaltung des deutschen Geistes- und Gesellschaftslebens (2 vols.; Freiburg, 1918); Mausbach's essay is "Das sociale Prinzip und der Katholizismus," Vol. 2, pp. 1-24.

43See Klaus Scholder.ZWe Kirchen und das Dritte Reich,Vol. 1: Vorgeschichte und Zeit der Illusionen 1918-1934 (Frankfurt/M. and Berlin, 1986), pp. 3-25.

then, with the necessary votes, took control of the national constitutional assembly. Mausbach had often been asked, in Trier and Münster, whether he would aUow himself to be a candidate of the Center Party in the coming election. He had always declined. But this time he agreed to become a delegate to the National Assembly. Thus he was elected to the Weimar National Assembly on the Center ticket for electoral district 17 (Münster, Minden, and Schaumburg-Lippe). Shortly afterward even the cathedral provost in Münster set his name on the list of the elected Center representatives, alongside that of a secretary of a trade union, an agricultural economist, a master baker, a train conductor, and a postmaster. The Center was a people's party. Since Mausbach always considered himself a pastor and was entrusted, in his official work, with dealing with persons from all strata of society, the democratic protocols required by poUtical and parliamentary life were not hard for him. For the election he prepared a brochure on "Christianity and Socialism," which was distributed especiaUy heavüy among the Catholic working class in the Rhine and Ruhr regions.44

The much-expected Social Democratic majority in the National Assembly did not materialize. Thus was created the Weimar CoaUtion, in which the SPD participated as the strongest party, the Catholic Center as the second strongest, and the left-Uberal DDP as the third-strongest. The Weimar CoaUtion was basicaUy a revival of the federation that had been formed with the passing of the Peace Resolution in July, 1917. The coUaboration of the Center with the Social Democrats might be surprising, especiaUy since, shortly before and during the campaign, it had vehemently distanced itself from the socialist "worldview." But the Center, in character a bourgeois-conservative party with a strong labor-union wing, proved to be relatively pragmatic in these things.

In his 1927 memoirs Mausbach looked back at his activities of this time as a delegate of the National Assembly:

> As a newcomer I participated in Parliament almost only by observing and experiencing, as I felt I needed, the loud and open struggles and developments in Weimar. Work in the constitutional committee was an exception, since, in contrast to the contentious and heated atmosphere elsewhere, it was carried out in a calm and almost scholarly manner, and it gave me, personaUy, valuable legal instruction, since the best minds of all the parties worked together. The consultations were at once strenuous and occasion-

44Sozialismus und Christentum (Münster, 1919); among the political writings see also Das Wahlrecht der Frau (Münster, 1919) and Die Kulturpolitik des Zentrums (Mönchengladbach, 1920).

> ally dramatic struggles, mainly in questions of cultural politics, and especiaUy regarding the articles of the Constitution that concerned schools. The dealings of the party representatives eventuaUy had to be carried out in the smallest groups, because of the pressure of other poUtical questions and events. I still have pleasant, but also painful, memories of the summer of 1919 in Weimar: most of the participants of the confidential conferences, men like Adolf Gröber, Peter Spahn, Friedrich Naumann, and Franz Hitze have since left the worldly theater.45

As speaker for the Center Party, Mausbach appeared before the fuU meeting of the National Assembly in the National Theater in Weimar on March 11, 1919- At issue were those anti-ecclesiastical ordinances which the interim cultural minister in Prussia, Adolf Hoffmann (USPD), a mUitantly anticlerical figure, had issued in 1918, and which were later canceUed by the Social Democratic cultural minister Konrad Haenisch. AU of these measures had unleashed considerable unrest among the Protestant and Catholic populations. In Prussia, especiaUy in the Rhineland and Westphalia, the conflict turned immediately into an electoral campaign over the National Assembly, partly creating an anti-Berlin vote and favoring separation of powers. The SPD, which had become a coalition partner with the Center, distanced itself quickly from these aggressive actions, but it was not able to prevent drawing the mistrust of ecclesiastical circles. Mausbach, in this debate of the National Assembly, argued over the relation of church and state not on legal grounds but from the perspective of freedom in religious practice, which, as he put it, also extended to elders. In addition, there had to be "freedom for reUgious societies, not merely freedom for individuals." "This freedom is the only common foundation on which we can base the current diversity of confessions and worldviews, and religious activity, in the explicit democracy of the new nation. We grant the freedom that we claim for ourselves to every adherent of differing religious views."46 Mausbach mentioned, as positive examples, the relations between church and state in the democracies of Belgium, Holland, and the United States; the new Germany could guide itself by these examples. In Germany before then such a free development had been hindered. He recaUed the Kulturkampf. Did anyone want to revive the Bismarckian Kulturkampf with the methods of Adolf Hoffmann?

"Mausbach, in Stange (ed.), Die Religionswissenschaft der Gegenwart in Selbstdarstellungen, p. 25.

"Eduard Heilfron (ed.), Die deutsche Nationalversammlung im fahre 1919, Vol. 3 (Berlin, 1920), p. 1667.

Mausbach responded to attacks against the churches' stance during the war that were made in the debate and which put the traditional relations between church and state, as weU as reUgious education in the state schools, in question. Did anyone want the education of the children of a conquered people "to yield to clearly state-sociaUst dreams and demands?" That would be the equivalent of "driving Germany to complete ruin."47 A monarchicaUy-disposed people could change into enthusiastic repubUcans, if children were sent to "church-free" and "reUgion-free" schools, about as easüy as a Social Democrat could be compeUed to become a monarch's subject citizen. There were times when faith was propagated by force of arms: but these times were fortunately long over. But there were also times when faithfulness and unreason fought for their ideas with the guülotine, Mausbach said with reference to the French Revolution, and concluded: "Thus we are one with you: No governmental force should rule in matters of reUgious conviction in the new Germany: complete freedom of faith and conscience should rule."48

In the Erfurt program of the SPD in 1891 was the proposition: "Religion is a private matter." This implied that reUgion concerned above aU else the realm of the feelings. This concept was in conflict with the CathoUc conception of the Church, however. Mausbach seized on this point and appealed to the Social Democrats. In the debate on the fundamental laws and rights of the German people he insisted that they needed, on the basis of their sociaUstic understanding, to consider also the ecclesiastical community and organization with which so many millions of the German people grew up. The Christian reUgion was never a simple reUgion of feeling; "it was instead always a visible church."49 He drew a connecting Une between nations, democracy, and church, and thus delineated the foundations and outline of a national Christian democracy. This was certainly a new begirining, which distinguished itself markedly from earlier ecclesiastical positions on the relation of church and state. Behind the concept stood a positive affirmation of democracy as a reUgious conviction. The Volk of the nation and the Volk of the church, Mausbach argued, should not be in opposition, but rather should be drawn together.

The various consultations on the legislation regarding the relation of church and state took place in April in the constitutional committee in Weimar. Mausbach represented the Center in the constitutional com-

47Ibid., p. 1668.
4aIbid.,p.l669.
*iWrf.,p.l670.

mittee alongside its party leader, the 63-year-old Adolf Gröber, as weU as the long-standing Center delegate Peter Spahn, then 73, and the 76-year-old juristic scholar from Munich, Konrad Beyerle. Presiding over the committee was the Stuttgart lawyer Conrad Haussmann, who with Friedrich Naumann represented the DDP in the committee. The Social Democrats were represented at the consultations by the Cologne jurist Jean Meerfeld, the Frankfurt jurist and author Max Quarck, and the Berlin journaUst Simon Katzenstein. The leading speaker of the right-Uberal German People's Party (DVP) in the committee was the distinguished ecclesiastical and civU lawyer from Berlin, Wilhelm Kahl. The conservative German National People's Party was represented by the former president of the Provincial Court of Appeal in Karlsruhe, Adalbert Düringer, and the Dortmund pastor and church journalist Gottfried Traub. Participating for the government were the internal affairs minister Hugo Preuss, who drew up the first draft of the Constitution, and, as commissioner, the weU-known Protestant church historian Adolf von Harnack.50

Even though the "bourgeois" parties dominated in this committee, much depended on the stance of the Social Democrats, since they represented the strongest segment in the National Assembly. Differences of opinion concerning the relations of church and state occurred mostly between the Social Democrats, who wanted a strict separation whereby the churches would be recognized as purely private societies, and the representatives of the Center, the DNVP, and the DVP, who generally held a similar view and wanted a legal guarantee for peoples' churches in the Constitution. Friedrich Naumann (DDP), the weU-known Protestant publicist, also sought a solution that was favorable to the churches, and struggled, successfuUy, to mediate the opposing positions.

The situation within the committee became more serious as soon as the consultations began on April 1, since Jean Meerfeld declared that his party, the SPD, wanted a peaceful regulation on these questions. "My party knows from experience," he said, "that no one can successfuUy struggle against the spirit." They wanted no official separation, but a peaceful union.

> My party is prepared for a wide-ranging agreement, but we are lacking such an agreement in law and with the Christian People's Party (the Center). I ask these parties to consider that a satisfactory solution needs to be found,

'"Ellen Lovell Evans, The German Center Party 1870-1933 (Carbondale and Edwardsville, 1981), pp. 221-240.

> that the time of the domination of the church is over, and that they must make concessions. My party wants no Kulturkampf. It recognizes the continuing importance and power ofreUgion.lt knows that reUgion is an inner need for countless persons; it also acknowledges that these people have this need in common with their church communities, and that one must take this situation into account. The differences between state and church must lead to peace, not war.51

Naumann and Mausbach emphaticaUy welcomed Meerfeld's declaration."! beUeve," said Mausbach,"that the differences between the standpoint of the Social Democratic Party and our own views are not as irreconcUable as one might think at first glance. . . . My party can go a long way with the Social Democrats."52 In view of the unexpected conciliation in their relations with each other, the constitutional committee was able to unify the formulas in the constitution which would govern the relations of church and state. Friedrich Naumann played the decisive role in bringing about a compromise on the relation of church and state. Theodor Heuss, a close confidant of Naumann's, stated as much in his biography of Naumann.53 It was Naumann who overcame the mistrust of the Social Democrats by holding numerous private meetings with them as weU as later presenting articles of the Constitution to the Social Democrats Meerfeld and Quarck for changes. To be sure, some of the suggestions of the Center were rejected, but in their place the "recommendations for change "were accepted in the committee.

The Protestant church owed its material survival in 1919 to its former pastor Naumann, with whom it had long been in a strained relationship. Naumann, like Mausbach on the Catholic side, wanted to ease the transition of his church from a monarchical, authoritarian state to a democracy. More difficult and complex was the legislation concerning schools, which was connected to the problem of church and state and which led to contentious deliberations which began in the constitutional committee in April and dragged on to the final passing of the Constitution in July. Mausbach appeared at the second reading of the draft constitution before the full constitutional assembly on July 18, 1919, as a correspondent for the committee for the rule on church and

^Verhandlungen der verfassungsgebunden Deutschen Nationalversammlung, Vol. 336 (Anlagen zu den stenographischen Berichten), no. 391: Bericht des Verfassungsausschusses (Berlin, 1920), p. 188.

52IbUi., p. 191.

"Theodor Heuss, Friedrich Naumann: Der Mann, das Werk, die Zeit, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart, 1941).

"Heilfron, op. cit. ,Vol. 6, pp. 4001-4008 and 4046-4049.

state.54 Kahl, Quarck, and Naumann spoke after him. They aU praised the historical importance of the compromise that had been achieved in the ruling on the relation of church and state, which, on the one hand, gave freedom to the churches, while, on the other, it guaranteed freedom from churches' encroachments. On the estabUshment of what would be Article 137 of the Weimar Constitution the correspondent Mausbach expanded:

> There is no state church: the principle of separation declares strongly against a certain and narrow conjunction of state and church, such as long obtained with the evangelical territorial church. The statement was not disputed. In the second paragraph the fundamental law was accepted with the same unanimity, that complete freedom for all allows for the founding of religious societies.55

At the same time Mausbach endorsed the retention, in article 137, of the corporate character of churches and religious societies. "The foUowing Paragraph 5 deals with the public legal status of the churches and religious societies. On this point completely contrary agendas and opinions have joined." The result was "that every corporation in public law as such must have a particular value for the pubhc, for civil and social life, and that for this reason it can have special consideration in civU law: such as, for example, its own protection under the penal code and the right to income from taxes."56

The actual compromise that was achieved in the continuing constitutional deliberations over the relation of church and state consisted of drawing the traditional churches and the smaUer reUgious societies closer to each other. Mausbach explained this compromise:

> The majority of the committee strove aU along against the reduction of the Christian church to a purely private status. On the other hand, there was certainly no desire to achieve special legal status for the Christian church at the expense of the sects or the newly formed religious societies. The resolution of this problem was found in a way that could be described as fairly original, historical, and probably significant for these times. We did not want to relegate the Christian churches, with their millennium-long or centuries-long past, with their cultural initiatives and weU-earned rights, simply to the status of private societies. On the other hand, we made it possible and easier for the sects and the new religious foundations to achieve private as weU as public rights.57

55Ibid.,p.4004.
«Ibid., pp.4004-4005.
51Ibid.,p.4005.

With this compromise the older churches were not relegated to an "equality at the everyday level," but the churches as weU as the smaUer reUgious societies, as Mausbach formulated it, were brought to the same "ideal, culturaUy significant, and legal level."58 That, in sum, was the historic compromise of the Weimar Constitution on the relation of church and state, which the Federal RepubUc later adopted, word for word, in the constitutional text of the Fundamental Law.

The Weimar Constitution was passed on July 31, 1919, with 262 votes in favor and 75 against, with one abstention. The delegates of the SPD, the Center, and the German Democratic Party voted for the Constitution, whUe the German People's Party, the German National People's Party and the Independent Social Democratic Party voted against it. Like the Constitution of 1848 and the Fundamental Law of 1949, the Constitution had a Fundamental Law section. The Bismarckian Imperial Constitution of 1871 had lacked one. Friedrich Ebert, Friedrich Naumann, and the delegates of the Center were the major champions of including the Fundamental Laws m the Constitution.59

In the last months before the final vote, the constitutional deUberations were ecUpsed by the debate over acceptance or rejection of the peace treaty. Mausbach, with a majority of the Center and the Social Democrats, had agreed to the particular vote on the peace treaty, which the "bourgeois "parties, the DNVP and the DVP and even Friedrich Naumann's left-Uberal DDP, had rejected. Even in this debate on foreign affairs, confessional elements were brought to bear. In a common consultation of the two Center parties in the National Assembly, and in the Prussian Constitutional Assembly on May 9 and 11, 1919, it was suggested that aU the Catholics in the world be summoned, in order to win their support in resisting the intolerable conditions. No one thought that a realistic plan. Mausbach issued a draft of an appeal to Catholics the world over, which among other things sought to demonstrate that all the efforts of Pope Benedict XV during the war were in the service of peace.60 People recalled the international society of the CathoUc Church. As always, these decisions can be evaluated only in retrospect,

5»Ibid.

"Dieter Grimm, Die Bedeutung der Weimarer Verfassung in der deutschen Verfassungsgeschichte: Vortrag am 10. Oktober 1989 in der Reichspräsident-Friedrich-Ebert-Gedenkstätte (Heidelberg, 1990).

60AUgUSt Hermann Langers-Scherzberg and Wilfried Loth (eds.), Die Zentrumsfraktion in der verfassungsgebunden Preussischen Landesversammlung 1919-1921: Sitzungsprotokolle (Düsseldorf, 1994), ?. 36. The minutes of the sessions of the Center Party of the

but the decision of the Center for the peace treaty was connected to the fact that, like the Social Democrats, they placed more confidence in international society than in the predominantly Protestant "bourgeois camp" in Germany.

The passionate debates on the peace treaty led indirectly to the so-called Weimar School Compromise, which had far-reaching effects in the realm of cultural politics. The majority of the constitutional committee of the National Assembly had agreed in April, 1919, on an idea shared by delegates of the SPD, DDP, DVP, and DNVP, namely, that the people's school (Volkschule) was, Ln the future, to be erected on the principle of an interdenominational community school.61 Mausbach and Gröber had at first, though hesitantly, signaUzed the approval of the Center, for it seemed to guarantee that at least confessional reUgious education would be secure as an ordinary subject of the curriculum. This was indeed finally stipulated by article 149 of the Constitution, which regulated that religious education was to be conducted according to the doctrines of the religious community concerned. The introduction of the community school, as it was originaUy conceived, would have aboUshed the denominational character of the people's schools, which was traditional in Germany since the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, but which had been a subject of controversy since the middle of the nineteenth century under the influence first of liberaUsm and later of socialism.

With the resignation of the Scheidemann Cabinet after it had declined to vote for the peace treaty, the DDP had left the coaUtion government. By this step, the political platform of the original agreement for the regulation of the school question had become obsolete. The newly formed Bauer (SPD) Cabinet, which finaUy signed the Versailles Treaty, was composed only of members of the SPD and the Center. To bind the Center Party into the coaUtion, the Social Democrats had to pay a high price. They had to renounce an old tenet of the sociaUst program: the principle of the secularity of the school. The SPD, at the instigation of Imperial President Ebert, declared itself willing to concede to

1919-20 National Assembly—with the exception of those of the general meeting with the faction of the Prussian Constitutional Assembly on May 9 and 11, 1919—seem to be lost (Langers-Scherzberg and Loth, p. xii).

"Cf. Günter Günthal, Reichsschulgesetz und Zentrumspartei in der Weimarer Republik (Düsseldorf, 1968), pp. 36-67. On the politics of the Center Party in the Weimar National Assembly in general, see Rudolf Morsey, Die Deutsche Zentrumspartei 191 7- 1923 (Düsseldorf, 1966), pp. 163-269; and Evans, op. cit., pp. 221-240.

the coalition partner the preservation of the denominational school and to guarantee this by introducing the parents' right within the constitution. The school compromise provided the community school, but gave the parents the right to decide whether the people's schools were to be erected as community schools, denominational schools, or as non-denominational Weltanschauungsschulen. This regulation became constitutional law in Article 146. Article 147 guaranteed, in addition, the possibUity of erecting private secondary schools. These were often Catholic monasterial schools. FinaUy, Article 149 secured the continuation of denominational theological faculties in the universities.

In the end the most effective article was the seemingly unspectacular article 174, which regulated that the denominational status of the schools during the Empire should continue until the enactment of the future imperial school act.62 Article 174 ensured that the existing denominational schools of the Empire were adopted by the Weimar RepubUc; but at the same time, community schools in Baden and Hesse, which had been estabUshed decades before, remained unimpaired. During the second reading of the constitution, on July 18, 1919, the SPD found itself attacked by the delegates of the DDP, the DVP, the DNVP, and the USPD for agreeing to the school compromise of the Center Party.63 The SPD defended its procedure with the DDP's tactic of refusal, asserting political necessity on the grounds that securing the school peace would avoid another Kulturkampf.64 Furthermore, the SPD and the Center co-operated astonishingly well in solving pressing

42Cf. Manfred Botzenhart, Deutsche Verfassungsgeschicte 1896-1949 (Stuttgart, 1993), p. 141;Evans,op.«'f.,pp. 139-140.

"This was the argument on July 18, 1919, presented by the "bourgeois" delegates Seyfert (for the DDP; see Heilfron, op. cit. ,VI, 4105-41 l 1), Beuermann (for the DVP; Heilfron, VI, 4124-4126), and Traub (for the DNVP; Heilfron, VI, 41 11-4114). Kunert, speaking for the USPD, complained that the school compromise allowed "the denominational school in its purest form" and facilitated the "establishment of private schools, especially monasterial schools, in nearly umlimited extension" (Heilfron, VI, 4135-4140).

MFor documentation see Heinrich Potthoff and Hermann Weber (eds.), Die SPD-Fraktion in der Nationalversammlung 1919-1920 (Düsseldorf, 1986). The school question was addressed in the following meetings of the SPD parliamentary party: on July 4, 1919 (p. 124), July 11, 1919 (pp. 135-136), on July 14, 1919 (pp. 139-140), on July 28, 1919 (p. 147), and on July 30, 1919 (p. 149). The last meeting was one day before the final vote in the National Assembly, during the third reading of the constitution on July 31, 1919. The minutes of this meeting of the SPD parliamentary party on July 30, 1919, note: "Schulz reports again on the ongoing negotiations on the school question between the parties. Further progress has been made and even the Center will vote for it. Full agreement was not possible because the Democrats (DDP) wish to introduce a final stipulation into their own emendatory proposal, which would prohibit the establishment not only of denominational schools, but also of secular ones, in Baden and Hesse. We cannot agree to

political, economic, and social problems.65 The school question remained highly contentious until the third reading of the constitution in the National Assembly on July 31. In the end the definitive draft of the school article found a broad majority with the approval of the SPD, the Center, the DDP, and the DNVP.66 As the intended imperial school act never passed the legislature,67 the Weimar school compromise and the denominational orientation of most of the people's schools were to continue—with the exception of the Nazi period from 1933 to 1945 and the later GDR—in most of the German states practicaUy untU the Sixties, when North Rhine-WestphaUa and Rhineland-Palatinate estab-Ushed community schools as ordinary schools as they had been conceived in 1919 at the beginning of the constitutional deUberations on the school question.

Militant Catholic groups, however, were dissatisfied with the compromise the Center had achieved. Their distrust was also directed toward the other parties which had been partners in the compromise, if not indeed toward the Weimar democracy as a whole. Mausbach defended the school compromise of July, 1919, in a contribution to the Kölnische Volkszeitung on August 6, remarking "there was a sigh of relief."68 In the foUowing years he continued to vindicate the conciliatory attitude of the Center, especiaUy Gröber's strategy in negotiating with the other parties. "It was a happy moment," Mausbach wrote in the Berlin CathoUc newspaper Germania on April 25, 1924, which alone made the compromise possible. For the majorities had been highly disadvantageous for the CathoUc expectations. The Center politicians had been able to come to a positive end

> only on the basis of their position within the coalition . . . and by means of familiar conversations. But even that would have been in vain without the enormous pressure of the actual poUtical situation and the Center's tireless

such a clause. The parliamentary party gives its consent without opposition to the proposal that agreement with the Democrats must be sought immediately. If that fails, then the vote will be given together with the Center to the Democrats' stipulation, with the exception of the last sentence."

"Evans, op. cit. ,p. 233.

«Heilfron, op. cit.,VU, 435; Grünthal, op. cit., p. 67.

67The Cabinet of Wilhelm Marx (Center) of 1928-29, a "bourgeois" coalition of Center, DNVP, DVP, and Bavarian People's Party (BVP, a splinter party from the Center), failed after a year because it was unable to achieve the intended imperial school act (Wilhelm Ribhegge, Konservative Politik in Deutschland: von der Französischen Revolution bis zur Gegenwart [Darmstadt, 1989],p.201).

"Grünthal, op. cit.,p. 67.

> and loyal political activities on behalf of the denominational school—I personaUy had sixteen drafts in my file—with which we successively tried to confront the left.69

With this statement Mausbach indirectly indicates that without the pressure of the inner poUtics caused by the peace treaty, the school compromise of the Weimar constitution would not have been reaUzed.

There is, however, another argument of the partisans of the school compromise presented by both the SPD and the Center. Their argument that the school compromise was a poUtical necessity to ensure imperial unity cannot easUy be dismissed. Indeed, the separatist movement which began in the Rhineland at the end of 1918 was a reaction of the CathoUc population to the anticlerical school ordinances initiated by the peremptory Prussian Culture Minister of the radical left, Adolf Hoffmann (USPD), who acted "kulturkämpferisch"70 In the highly critical poUtical situation of the summer of 1919, the SPD wanted to distance itself from the USPD and even, if necessary, from the DDP in order to present itself as a loyal political partner of the German CathoUcs. Both the SPD and the Center could not be blind to the fact that both of the right-wing parties, the DVP and the DNVP, combined their nationaUst intentions with their favor for the community school. Speakers of both parties argued in the school debate of the National Assembly in July, 1919, against proposals to make education in German schools conform to the principle of conciUation among the nations.71 A few days before the final vote on the constitution, the German NationaUsts (Deutschnationale), who had resolved to vote against the constitution, started an offensive poUtical campaign. This campaign was initiated by a speech of the delegate Graefe in the National Assembly against the members of the new Cabinet and the new Center Minister of Finance, Matthias Erzberger, declaring them responsible for the defeat in the war and for the conclusion of the VersaiUes Peace Treaty, which they called a disgrace.72 In the 1919 situation, even cultural politics were indissolubly interwoven with German domestic and foreign poUtics. It has rightly been argued that "with the

"Mausbach, "Die Rettung der Bekenntnisschule in der RY" Germania, April 25, 1924, quoted in Grünthal, op. cit.,p. 57.

70Karl Dietrich Erdmann, Adenauer in der Rheinlandpolitik nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg (Stuttgart, 1966), p. 46; Kurt Nowak, Geschichte des Christentums in Deutschland: Religion, Politik und Gesellschaft vom Ende der Aufklärung bis zur Mitte des 20. fahrhunderts (Munich, 1995), pp. 204-205.

71Heilfron, op. cit., V\, 4122-4123 and 4145.

'Their term for the treaty was "Schmachfrieden," On this campaign see Ribhegge, Konservative Politik, pp. 179-181.

Weimar school compromise and the vote for the peace treaty, Social Democrat and Center poUticians proved their readiness and their abiUty to bear the responsibiUties of statecraft in hard times."[73]

In the foUowing years Mausbach was among the principal defenders of the Weimar Constitution and worked for an understanding of Weimar democracy. At the Berlin Imperial School Conference in 1920 he praised the ruling of the Constitution on the relation of reUgion, school, and university, and spoke in favor of integrating reUgious education with education in general. Against critics from within the Church,[74] Mausbach defended the Constitution m a text pubUshed in 1920 by the Volksverein: "Cultural Questions of the German Constitution: An Explanation of Important Constitutional Articles." In another text, "ReUgious Instruction and Church: From the DeUberations of the Constitutional Committee a: Weimar," he contradicted the CathoUc circles of the right, which had formed the so-caUed "CathoUc committee" of the German National People's Party. He disagreed with their criticism of the introduction of the elementary school as a "people's school," a kind of "unity school" that would take in aU levels of society.

At the Catholic Assembly in Munich in 1922 the CathoUc positions toward the Constitution coUided. The mayor of Cologne, Konrad Adenauer, who functioned as President of the Assembly, held the same view as Mausbach. In his speech on "Christian Government and State Loyalty" Adenauer encouraged German CathoUcs to agree to the Weimar Constitution.[75] The Archbishop of Munich, Michael von Faulhaber, presented, in his emphatic way, as he had in earUer speeches and pastoral letters, his reservations concerning the concept of a pluraUstic society which lay at the foundation of the church articles of the Constitution, and did not restrain his monarchical sympathies.[76] In his concluding speech Adenauer distanced himself unambiguously from Faulhaber's statements. Hans-Peter Schwartz, in his biography of Adenauer, describes how both the Munich archbishop and the Cologne mayor left the podium with "bright red faces."[77]

[73]Potthoff and Weber, op. cit. ,p. xxxvi.

[74]Heinrich Lutz, Demokratie im Zwielicht. Der Weg der deutschen Katholiken aus dem Kaiserreich in die Republik 1914-1925 (Munich, 1963).

[75]Die Reden gehalten in der öffentlichen und geschlossenen 62. Generalversammlung der Katholiken Deutschlands zu München, 27. bis 30. August 1922 (Würzburg, 1923), pp. 181-192.

[76]Faulhaber in his opening address of August 27, in which he coined the phrase "Gottesrecht bricht Staatsrecht" (Die Reden, pp. 1-5).

[77]Hans-Peter Schwarz, Adenauer: Der Aufstieg 1876-1952 (Stuttgart, 1986), p. 247.

In his own rather modest and professorial speech, Mausbach developed the political theory of Pope Leo XIII, which had allowed the option of any form of government and thus raised the question of whether monarchy or republic was to be preferred. He encouraged German Catholics to work with the new democracy.

> We Germans are naturaUy less poUtical than other nations; and the frightful disappointments that we have endured have stifled, for many, the last spark of desire to share in public life. If that was a mistake earlier, in a modern democratic government it is sinful and fatal. Democracy is unthinkable, democracy necessarily becomes a caricature, if capable and conscientious men and women withdraw from government life and concern themselves only with private cares.78

It was a warning to Catholics who stood aside and did not participate in democracy.

Mausbach himseU7 was a generaUy well-respected figure in public life, and he had become, in a certain sense, an authority. His three-volume Katholische Moraltheologie appeared in 1920 and 1922; it would later be considered a standard work.79 A coUection of essays entitled "From the Catholic World of Ideas,"which appeared in 1921, reprinted a series of earUer articles, lectures, and position-papers. At the Catholic Assembly in Stuttgart in 1925 he sought to give a relevant orientation to his audience with a lecture on "The Apostolate of the Spirit and the Recruiting Effort," taking up a new, rather activist theme of the time. SpiritUaUty and action were other themes which French CathoUcism was concerned with in the 1920s, but both German and French Catholicism addressed them, as before, almost exclusively within the boundaries of their own national cultures. The Action française, influential in France in the 1920's, a remnant of the right-leaning inteUectuaI currents of the "Conservative Revolution" in Germany, was a far-right movement. Somewhat hesitantly, a younger generation of Catholic humanists and intellectuals in France and Germany sought in common to rediscover the European spiritual and literary traditions which transcended nations. Among them were the Romanist Robert Curtius in Bonn and the philosophers Peter Wust and Josef Pieper, who later taught in Münster.80

's62. Generalversammlung der Katholiken Deutschlands, p. 196.

^Katholische Moraltheologie (3 vols.; Münster, 1920-1922; rpt., ed. Gustav Ermecke, 1961-1963).

"See Peter Wust's 1937 Ungewissheit und Wagnis (6th ed.; Munich, 1955). Like Mausbach, Wust had been influenced by Neo-Scholasticism, but later followed a path toward the Christian existentialism he rejects in Ungewissheit und Wagnis. See Josef Pieper, Noch wusste es niemand: Autobiographische Aufzeichnungen 1904-1945 (Munich, 1976).

The inteUectuaI impulses that emanated from this younger generation came to fruition after World War II and also exercised a considerable influence on the intellectual development of the postwar generation, as well as on the historical orientation of the newly formed Christian Democratic Parties found now throughout western Europe. This continuity is also evident in the biography of the Catholic journaUst Walter Dirks, who came from the same milieu of west-German Catholicism as Mausbach. During the Weimar period he was editor of the Westdeutsche Arbeiterzeitung in Dortmund and in 1946, together with Eugen Kogon, formed the "Frankfurter Hefte." He later directed the cultural desk of the Westdeutscher Rundfunk in Cologne. As a committed and critical Catholic layman Dirks played a noteworthy role in the postwar period and in the beginnings of the Federal RepubUc, both within west-German Catholicism and in German public life.

The Assembly of German Catholics in Münster in 1930 would be Mausbach's last major appearance before his death a few months later. Heinrich Brüning from Münster had been Chancellor for several months. The national elections were in advance. The sentiments of crisis which had seized the national public did not leave German CathoUcism unaffected. On the other hand, it brought together a large number of participants at this Catholic Assembly. New public-address equipment was introduced. Hindenburg Square was fiUed for the concluding Uturgy. People were proud of their organizing abiUty.This was the third Catholic Assembly that was held in Münster. The 1500th anniversary of Augustine's death was an opportunity to invite Mausbach to deliver a lecture on the subject of"Augustine's Message to His Time and Ours." In one of the opening addresses the young general secretary of the West German CathoUc Workers' Union, Bernhard Letterhaus—who would later die in the resistance against National Socialism—pointed to the crisis of the time, to persecution against the church in Russia, and to the economic crisis in Germany. "Three miUion of our German compatriots groan under the fate of unemployment. They and their families are in grave danger. The same fate threatens many more in the coming winter. Will the civU order be able to hold up? False prophets with a cross on their flag (but not the symbol of the Redeemer of the World) run through these cities and viUages. They are destroying the hearts of the suffering people."81 In his address, Brüning reminded the participants of the duty to take up political responsibUity even in that difficult time. Al-

"'69. Generalversammlung der Katholiken Deutschlands zu Münster in Westfalen vom 4.-8. September 1930 (Münster, [1931]).

though the elections were to be held shortly, Brüning's address was no campaign speech, but a confession of faith.

Mausbach, in his speech, drew a broad historical arc from the antiquity of Augustine to the present, but he honored Brüning particularly. Once again, in this speech Mausbach developed his theologicaUy-informed phUosophy of concUiation. Augustine was an example for the present in his "amazing manysidedness" and "openness to the world." Thus Mausbach, even in this last speech, sought to encourage in his hearers an open CathoUcism in the face of the social and poUtical crisis in Germany. "Just as there are uncathoUc elements in the CathoUc Church, so there are CathoUc elements outside the Church."

In this Münster lecture Mausbach explained the position that he and others took in 1919 while coUaborating on the Weimar Constitution.

> After the collapse of Germany and the Revolution there were not a few men who took an 'aU or nothing' attitude and refused to share in poUtical rescue-work. They wanted to let complete Bolshevism take over in order to build anew. . . . The vast majority of German Catholics thought and acted differently; and they could actuaUy summon themselves to the work habits and church poUtics of an Augustine when they did all they could to combine their ideaHsm and their fundamental loyalties with practical wisdom and loyalty to their work. You have also found, in honest historians of that time, that it was the German CathoUcs who were in the front Une in performing the reconstruction work for Fatherland and Church![82]

Mausbach's survey was almost a justification of his own life's work and his role Ui the creation of the Weimar democracy. Whether this last speech of the 70-year-old theologian gave the German Catholics an opportunity to take and keep a stand in the poUtical turmoil of the coming years is another question. Mausbach himself did not Uve to see the destruction in 1933 of the Weimar democracy he had helped create in 1918-1919.

The history of poUtical Catholicism, at the center of which the Center Party stood, ended in 1933. The historical landscape and the continuity of German CathoUcism should certainly not be researched solely with the methods of poUtical, social, or party history, as this study has shown; rather, different approaches must be brought to it. New studies

[82] Ibid.

in the historical sociology of German CathoUcism, for example, are more interested in structural historical settings and processes than in biographies.83 At the same time, however, biography remains an indispensable means for making the personal contexts of profane church history visible and understandable.

"Arbeitskreis für kirchliche Zeitgeschichte, "Katholiken zwischen Tradition und Moderne: Das Katholische Milieu als Forschungsaufgabe," Westfälische Forschungen, 43 (1993), 588-654.

CATHOLIC SLAVES AND SLAVEHOLDERS IN KENTUCKY

C. Walker Gollar*

Late March of 1787, a band of warriors on Eighteen Mile Island just above the Falls of the Ohio fired upon a flatboat of Maryland Catholics. An ounce ball ripped through both thighs of Thomas Hill, while another bullet took the life of Hill's property, a black man. His name was not recorded. Other white and black voyagers stayed low while their horses were shot down one at a time. The current then took the craft out of range. Eventually the surviving travelers made it to central Kentucky, where some bought farms on Pottinger's Creek in Nelson County. But after Hill had recovered from his wounds, he purchased sixty-three acres adjoining the property of another Catholic, Henry Cambrón, on Cartwright's Creek near Springfield in what would become Washington County in 1792. At Hill's home a score of Catholic families periodically gathered for prayer. Early tax receipts indicate that Hill was the largest slaveholder among these pioneers, about a quarter of whom also owned slaves. Like the Hill family, numerous white lay Catholics during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries left behind the exhausted tobacco fields of Maryland in pursuit of unspoiled Kentucky land. They had hoped that clergy would follow, but before such spiritual guidance could be secured, physical labor already was assured through the appropriation of black slaves. Whether or not these bond women and men adhered to the faith of their masters and thus truly might be called Catholic slaves can only be determined by piecing together what remains of their story. The reconstruction that follows demonstrates that lay Catholics not only accepted slave labor as a part of Southern culture, but also essentially endorsed the institution of human bondage.1

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1In his discussion of the early Catholicism in Kentucky, Benedict Webb listed the names of many of the earliest Catholic pioneers living near the waterways of Washington and Nelson Counties, as well as the neighboring counties noted in the chart below. Twenty-three persons listed in the 1792 tax list of Washington County also appear in the Saint

The overall picture of slavery in the truly pioneering period largely remains obscured by the fact that neither the earliest census records, nor most of the first church registers have survived. Incomplete Nelson County tithable lists reveal that twenty-four percent of the Catholics from Maryland owned slaves in 1786, but only thirteen percent held slaves the following year.2 Not until 1810 are more representative and consistent numbers found. By that time, according to the first surviving census records, half of the Catholic pioneers to central Kentucky

1810 CATHOLIC SLAVEHOLDERS

Rose Register, and/or in Webb's enumeration of the people associated with Cartwright's Creek. Five (or 21.7%) of these people owned slaves. Other Catholics appear on this tax list (e.g., Leonard Hamilton with eight slaves) who were not associated with the Cartwright's Creek community. Undoubtedly, more Cartwright's Creek Catholics also appear on this 1792 tax list as well as on the earliest (and now lost) Saint Rose registers, but not on the surviving registers. Hill's five slaves numbered only two above the average possessed by Catholic masters in this area at that time. These figures reflect almost exactly those found among the general population of Washington County. Another quarter of this early Catholic community would purchase slaves in due time. All statistics cited in this article were compiled by the author from the sources noted. Benedict Webb, The Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky (Louisville, 1884). Early Catholic pioneers and their slaves also were terrorized by some white vagabonds, as was illustrated with the case of Joseph O'Daniel. Victor F. O'Daniel, The Father of the Church in Tennessee, or the Life, Times, and Character of the Right Reverend Richard Pius Miles, O.P., the First Bishop of Nashville (Washington D.C, 1926), p. 39.

2SLx Catholics appeared on the 1785 Nelson County tithable lists, though none owned slaves at that time. Seven of twenty-nine and six of forty-seven Maryland Catholics owned slaves according to the 1786 and 1787 Nelson County tithables, respectively. Undoubtedly more Catholics who are hard to identify at this early stage appeared on these lists.

owned slaves even though only a third of the general population in this area were slaveholders at this time.3 When tracking individual Catholics beyond one decade, a much higher percentage emerges. For example, among the Catholic pioneers living in 1810 on Cartwright's Creek, the largest of the early Catholic communities, nearly seventy percent would own slaves at some point in their lives. Central Kentucky Catholics and non-Catholics, alike, held between four and five slaves on the average. Kentucky soil, more suitable for hemp and tobacco than for cotton, determined that the large plantations of the Deep South were not found in the Commonwealth (even though many Kentuckians, regardless of religious affiliation, liked to refer to their property as "plantations"). Across Washington County, at least eighty percent of the slaveholders owned fewer than nine slaves. Never higher than four percent owned twenty or more slaves. The percentage of Cartwright's Creek Catholics owning this amount corresponds roughly with the proportion of these Catholics in the overall population. Between 1810 and I860 the ratio of slaves in Washington and Nelson Counties rose from twenty to twenty-five percent. These figures were slightly higher within the Catholic community. In short, more Catholics than non-Catholics owned slaves. Consequently, slaves ordinarily comprised a larger portion of the residents living on farms owned by Catholics than they did of the population in general/

The 1810 census upon which these figures, as well as the following chart, were based listed the total number of slaves in a given household. The earliest Catholic pioneers were identified by Webb, who also noted a handful of pioneer Catholics in Franklin County (pp. cit., pp. 95-96), Mason, Estill, and Bath Counties (p. 98), Hardin and Lincoln Counties (p. 112), Spencer and Bullitt Counties (p. 140), Grayson County (p. 144), Meade County (p. 147), Union County (p. 149),and Nashville, Tennessee (p. 149).

Statistics involving the Cartwright's Creek settlement, as cited above and elsewhere, were based primarily on names which appeared in the register of the second church to serve this community, Saint Rose, built by the Dominicans in 1806. The surviving register (a photocopy of which was found in the Washington County Courthouse) records baptisms, confirmations, marriages, and burials which occurred between 1830 and 1875, but is by no means complete. No records remain from the first church, Saint Ann's. In addition to the persons who appeared in the Saint Rose register, more members of the Cartwright's Creek community were found in Webb, as well as in various other sources, including Washington and Nelson County wills. Census records from 1810 to 1840 simply enumerated the number of slaves in a given household, whereas census records from 1850 and I860 included both free and slave schedules, with more detail as to age and sex presented for slaves.

SLAVEHOLDERS

The relatively close quarters on Kentucky farms sometimes bred endearment between owner and slave. House servants who not only tended their owner's private property, but often actually lived in the home and ran errands unattended by (though with the written permission of) their masters, were more likely to bond with their owners than would common field hands whose 'work was less rewarding and whose living conditions usually less comfortable. One black child who was raised on Cox's Creek north of Bardstown actually contracted the Celtic brogue of his Irish master.5 And a white boy from a southern bend of Cartwright's Creek, who later became the first Bishop of Peoria (Illinois), John Lancaster Spalding, fondly remembered in old age his black nurse, Lucinda:

> What though thy face was dark . . . thy soul was fair . . .
> What though a slave, since thy pure heart did wear
> No servile yoke . . . but of immortal life was certain heir.6

Ann Jarboe Drady had become so attached to her slave, Jacob, that she successfully employed legal means to thwart her husband's plan to sell him.7 And in consequence of a provision in the will of Nancy Lancaster, all of her slaves were freed after caring for nine years for Lancaster's

'Webb, op. cit. ,pp. 64-65.

'Archives of the Diocese of Peoria,"Lucinda"by John Lancaster Spalding (in a loose collection of unpublished poems, presumably written around the beginning of the twentieth century). The family of John Lancaster Spalding was more commonly associated with the Rolling Fork settlement, which was closer to the southern bend of Cartwright's Creek than it was to Springfield.

7WaShUIgIOn County Circuit Court record book, February, 1801 .

crippled black child, Charles.8 Occasionally such faithful service was so rewarded. For example, the townspeople of Springfield purchased Louis Sansbury's freedom after his heroic efforts during the cholera epidemic in 1833. In 1861 Sansbury was buried at the Dominican Church of Saint Rose. Once in a great while before the Emancipation Proclamation other free blacks also appeared in Catholic registers.9 For example, of the 1,642 persons buried at Saint Rose between 1830 and 1865, six were free blacks. Two of the marriages registered at Saint Rose between 1830 and 1848 celebrated the union of a free black and a slave. Never under any other category do free blacks appear on the Saint Rose register.

One day before a Dominican from Saint Rose arrived to celebrate afternoon Mass at Francis S.Anderson's farm near Thompkinsville, Anderson decided to spend the morning in the fields, but instructed a slave to come and get him as soon as the priest had arrived. In due time a slave-boy ran out and exclaimed, "The candles are lit and they're going at it!" Benedict Webb while recounting a visit with Levi Smith more specifically pointed to slave involvement in household prayer:

> At an early hour of the evening Mr. Smith invited me into the room adjoining the one in which we were sitting, where the members of the family were assembled for night prayers. The greater number of these were my entertainer's colored slaves. Having prostrated ourselves on our knees, I was surprised to hear the prayers given out, not by the master of the house, but by one of his female slaves. The voice of the woman, who appeared to be about forty years old, was so pathetic and well balanced, so true in its enunciation of the words of the petitions, and so evidently a reflex of the emotions of the heart that had at that time no place in it for anything beyond the act in which she was engaged, that I caught myself wondering where she could have acquired gifts and graces which, under like circumstances, I have not unfrequently seen disregarded by better educated people of the white race. Without hurry and with proper modulation and emphasis, she uttered the petitions set down in the formularies, and, with equal truth to their sentiment, she was answered by the rest. When we arose from our knees that night, I felt that I would like to ask that christian woman's blessing.

5WaShUIgIOn County, Kentucky, Wills, F 1 10, Last Will and Testament of Jeremiah Lancaster, Sr. (d. 1834), written August 8, 1833; Washington County, Kentucky, Wills, G 114-115, Last Will and Testament of Nancy Lancaster (d.c. 1839), written May 27, 1839; and an "Anderson, Indiana [news]paper" cited by Nathaniel E. Green, The Silent Believers (Lousiville, 1972), p. 63.

'Sansbury repeated his heroic efforts during the 1854 cholera epidemic. Orval W Baylor, Early Times in Washington County, Kentucky (Cynthiana, 1942), pp. 100-102. Some

Not the presence of slaves, but the precedence of a female bond woman had impressed Webb. Other slaves also were acclaimed as model Christians, including Uncle Harry of missionary priest Stephen Theodore Badin and Uncle Abraham of Charley Boone.10 A Nelson County slave, Harry Smith, claimed that his mother, Eliza, had "lived and died a true CathoUc, a devoted christian."11

Between 1830 and 1849 more slaves were baptized than their number warranted. In other words, during this time thirty-one percent of all baptisms performed at Saint Rose, by way of example, were administered to slaves, even though according to the relevant censuses, slaves constituted only twenty-five percent of the population living at that time on Catholic property. Slaves and free people served as sponsors for slave baptisms, though slaves did not sponsor white people.12 One dying woman was refused baptism by her Baptist master since full immersion seemed too risky for such an ill person. Then the slave dreamt that a singularly dressed man offered to make her a Christian without immersion. A few days later a Catholic priest, Edward Fenwick, called upon the house and not only baptized the slave but in due time also

records imply that Sansbury prior to his liberation may have been as mobile as William Hayden, one of Kentucky's more famous, though rather atypical, slaves. Washington County Court Order Book F (1843-1852), October 22, 1850; Order Book G (1852-1860), December 15, 1853, and February 20, 1854; Will Book K, p. 556; Hayden, Narrative of William Hayden, Containing a Faithful Account of His Travels for a Number of Years, Whilst a Slave in the South (Cincinnati, 1846). For other emancipations, see, Washington County Court Orders, 1843, Emancipations; Washington County Will Book G, p. 362; and Michael L. Cook and Bettie Ann Cook (eds.), Pioneer History of Washington County, Kentucky, as Compiled from Newspaper Articles by Orval W. Baylor and Others (Owensboro, Kentucky, 1980), pp. 157-158; Washington County, Kentucky, Bicentennial History, 1 792<- 1992 (Paducah, Kentucky, 1991), p. 236.

"'Story on Anderson courtesy of his great-granddaughter. Linda Anderson, Librarian, Kentucky Historical Society, Frankfort, Kentucky; Webb, op. cit., pp. 78-79, footnote; on Uncle Harry, Martin J. Spalding, Sketches of the Life, Times, and Character of the Rt. Rev. Benedict Joseph Flaget, First Bishop of Louisville (Louisville, 1852), pp. Il6-117; and on Uncle Abraham, Saint Rose Death Register, October 16, 1847, p. 156. Webb recorded that the black and white children on Pottinger's Creek enthusiastically anticipated visits from Father Robert Byrne (op. cit. ,p. 36, footnote).

"Harry Smith, Fifty Years of Slavery in the United States of America (originally published by the Grand Rapids, Michigan, West Michigan Printing Co., 1891; reprinted by the Clarke Historical Library), p. 9.

12In neither the Saint Rose nor the Saint Joseph register appears any record of a slave sponsoring a white person. Nathaniel E. Green "from talking to older living Catholics" learned that "black slaves could not be sponsors of other black slaves." Such recollections did not reflect the actual practice. Green himself cited in full a typical baptismal record which showed a slave sponsoring a slave. Green, op. cit. ,p. 36.

SPONSORS FOR ST. ROSE SLAVE BAPTISMS

baptized the master, who duly was affected by the accurate forecast of the dream.13 On such rare occasions, other adult slaves likewise were welcomed into the Church.

Throughout the 1830's and 1840's the number of slaves confirmed and married at Saint Rose was only slightly less than their relative proportion of the Catholic population, as well as their comparative participation in baptisms would have suggested. Thus whereas slaves constituted twenty-five percent of the population of people living on Catholic farms near Cartwright's Creek and were involved in thirty-one percent of Saint Rose baptisms during this time, only twenty-two percent of the confirmations and seventeen percent of the marriages involved slaves in this period. But the number of slave burials was slightly higher than their proportion of the population and about the same as the baptismal record would have implied: thirty percent of those interred at Saint Rose during this time were slaves. These overall figures confirm only in part the historian Randall Miller's observation that the relatively easy act of baptizing slaves generally was not matched by an equally high rate of slave participation in other sacramental activity. In-

"Webb, op. cit., pp. 90-91 .

stead, figures from the Saint Rose register show that slaves rather steadily went to church.14

Fathers Badin and Nerinckx both had insisted that slaves not only be given access to the sacraments, especiaUy that of Christian marriage, but also that they be taught the rudiments of faith.15 Presumably most churches, certainly including Saint Joseph's Cathedral and Saint Pius in Scott County, conducted catechism classes especiaUy designed for slaves. Yet on the very day a CathoUc school for black and white children was to be opened in Bardstown in 1808, it burned to the ground. One can only speculate on how it caught (or was set) afire. Regardless, this mishap averted the overt opposition which Bishop John England of Charleston faced twenty-seven years later after he had opened a school to teach free black children. After white people of South Carolina had rioted in protest, England was forced to close the school. Four years later, John Forsyth, Secretary of State under Andrew Jackson, criticized Pope Gregory XVTs 1839 condemnation of the slave trade. Yet in a series of eighteen letters pubUshed in the Charleston United States CathoUc Miscellany, England argued that the Pope's statement did not apply to domestic slavery. Moreover, England showed how the Church consistently had accepted the pecuhar institution. But England faüed to recognize that most church statements concerning servitude largely sought to ameliorate slave conditions.16 Such was the case in an article from the Cincinnati Catholic Telegraph which immediately predated England's exposition. Reprinted in the Bardstown Catholic Advocate, this Cincinnati piece encouraged CathoUcs to give their servants "the same opportunity for the practice of their religion" as masters might enjoy. This constituted an obUgation of "serious and solemn importance" which could be realized by following these guidelines:

> When the servants are advanced in age, they should be permitted to attend church on every Sunday and such other days as the fulfillment of their other duties may require; and when they are young, no occasion should be

"Randall Miller, "Slaves and Southern Catholicism," in Masters and Slaves in the House of the Lord—Race and Religion in the American South, 1740-1870, ed. John B. Boles (Lexington, Kentucky, 1988), p. 131.

"Archives of the Sisters of Loretto, Diary of Father Nerinckx, p. 16; Spalding, op. cit., p. 67; Joseph Herman Schauinger, Stephen T. Badin, Priest in the Wilderness (Milwaukee, 1956),p.25.

16See Peter Clarke,y4 Free Church in a Free Society: The Ecclesiology offohn England, Bishop of Charleston, 1820-42.A Nineteenth Century Missionary Bishop in the Southern United States (Hartsville, South Carolina, 1982).

omitted to inspire them with a love for virtue and heartfelt and enduring fideUty for the church.

Without evading work, slaves were encouraged to develop religious commitment.[17]

After a series of local retreats late in 1837, the Catholic Advocate noted that the attendance of servants was "particularly regular and edifying."[18] And in November, 1839, during a retreat at Saint Thomas just outside of Bardstown, a "deep impression on all present" reportedly was made by the participating servants.[19] During church services, slaves generaUy sat apart from their masters, sometimes behind and occasionaUy in the loft or "Nigger Heaven" as it was caUed. But segregation managed Kentucky CathoUc churches at this time, as, for example, women sat apart from men, and children from their parents. Thus Daniel Rudd, the editor of the American Catholic Tribune, claimed that whüe attending the Bardstown Cathedral as a slave, he was not discriminated against except concerning the order in which he received the sacraments.[20] Frank Evans, another CathoUc slave, maintained that during twenty-two years in Marion County he received the sacraments frequently[21] Stephen J. Ochs has pointed out that religious instruction in colonial Louisiana and Maryland depended on the often lacking zeal of lay masters. Thus Ochs concluded that the post-bellum work of the MiU Hill Fathers was "the most organized effort of the CathoUc Church to evangelize Afro-Americans in the United States." Yet registers from antebeUum central Kentucky indicate certain determined effort and success at least in bringing blacks to the altar.[22] Moreover, slaves helped to build many of the CathoUc structures throughout central Kentucky, including, as legend has it, the giant columns and breast work on the first cathedral.

"Catholic Advocate, April 6, 1839-

"Ibid., October 7, 1837. Also see ibid., November 17, 1838. On catechism classes, see, ibid., August 3, 1839; and Webb, op. cit., p. 97.

"Catholic Advocate, November 9, 1839.

"Catholic Telegraph, quoted in Catholic Advocate, hprû 6, 1839; Joseph Lackner,"Dan A. Rudd, Editor of the American Catholic Tribune, From Bardstown to Cincinnati," Catholic Historical Review, LXXX (April, 1994), 267. Racial discrimination in Catholic churches remained the rule after emancipation, even before the 1904 Kentucky Day Law institutionalized segregation across the state.

zlCited in Cyprian Davis, The History of Black Catholics in the United States (New York, 1991), p. 46.

22Ochs, Desegregating the Altar. The fosephites and the Struggle for Black Priests, 1871-1960 (Baton Rouge, 1990), p. 9 et passim.

About the only Kentuckian with any Catholic connection who seemed to be bothered by slavery was Irish-born E. J. "Patrick" Doyle. Raised a CathoUc, he had studied at Saint Joseph's CoUege in Bardstown, but as the Catholic Advocate later claimed, "his mind was a perfect blank regarding aU religious knowledge, and so the dear youth threw himself with spontaneous conviction as weU as affection into the sympathetic arms of the Presbyterians." After Doyle had become a fervent opponent of the Catholic Church, his next logical step, at least in the mind of many Catholics, would be to join the fanatical aboUtionists. These extremists, at least in the mind of the Catholic Advocate, falsely had charged slaveholders with harsh treatment of their slaves.23

CathoUcs in Kentucky certainly dared not to chaUenge the legal institution of slavery and thus fuel the anti-Catholic sentiment which throughout the 1830s, '40's, and '50's had accused Catholics of maintaining supreme allegiance to the foreign Pope. In response to these charges, Catholics in the South argued that they were fuUy American and clearly showed their respect of American ways by, among other things, owning slaves. But such accommodation alone does not explain why CathoUcs owned more slaves than non-CathoUcs. Neither does it account for the fact that, unlike their Christian and American brethren (the Kentucky Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians), Catholics never split over the issue of slavery. In short, had CathoUcs merely represented American society, they would have entertained divergent opinions on slavery as did various groups across the border state of Kentucky. But Bluegrass Catholics almost unanimously endorsed the peculiar institution.

Beyond any particular issue, Catholics envisioned themselves as the safeguard of social order. Abolitionists, on the other hand, were viewed as the most recent personification of the Protestant reverence for personal whim. Thus the Catholic Advocate quoted loudly from the New Orleans Louisiana Advertiser which claimed

> that in slave-holding states, a greater degree of social equality, religious liberality, and of truly republican feeling exist, than in non-slaving states, and that in proportion as a state is infected with the verus [sic] of abolition, in a like ratio is it noted for bigotry and narrow selfishness.24

When Doyle, indeed, did become an avid aboUtionist and later led an insurrection of Kentucky slaves in the summer of 1848, Catholics blamed

"Catholic Advocate, March 23, 1836.
"Ibid., January 5, 1839.

this behavior on his Presbyterian connection.25 On the verge of the CivU War the new diocesan paper, The Guardian, specificaUy attributed "The True Cause of Our Calamity" to Protestantism. With an "unbridled license of private Scriptural interpretation," Northern Protestants had proved slavery a sin whUe Southern Protestants had proclaimed it lawful. Thus aU of Protestantism, The Guardian concluded, "has succeeded in arraying section against section, and stirring up those bitter feelings which render aU cordial union of these States next to an impossibility." The misguided and misguiding aboUtionists especiaUy deserved blame for arousing hostilities.26 In effect, Protestant aboUtionism, not slavery, stood out as the sin according to Kentucky CathoUcs, or at least in the minds of those who pubUshed their views. Completely absent from the Kentucky Catholic papers not only was any anti-slavery sentiment, but also any theological justification for slavery or, for that matter, any discussion whatsoever of the issue beyond the direct refutation of abolitionism.

Common Catholic opinion was articulated by one agent who argued that Protestant aboUtionists fail to see that "As a class, the slaves appear as happy and contented as any; and the Patriarchal government under which they exist, seems the only one suited to their natures."27 When the Colonization Society for the North Side of Washington County was formed late in 1833, not a single CathoUc joined the roster. The Nelson County branch of this organization met at the Bardstown Presbyterian Church and the Bardstown Baptist Meeting House. But the Bardstown Herald never noted that any meeting occurred at a CathoUc institution, and never mentioned any CathoUc participation.28

Many CathoUcs believed that if emancipated, slaves simply would wander aimlessly and become a burden on society. One group of slaves Uving on the southern bend of Cartwright's Creek when told by their master that Lincoln had set them free, merely responded, "But Missus Spalding, where are we to go?"29 A few slaves apparently prayed that

"Ibid., August 26, 1848Also see ibid., September 9, 1848,and Marion Lucas,v4 History of Blacks in Kentucky, Volume 1: From Slavery to Segregation, 1760-1891 (Frankfort, Kentucky, 1992), p. 73.

26LoUiSVille Guardian, February 23, 1863.

""Catholic Advocate, February 18, 1837.

28SeC, Pioneer History, p. 26; and Bardstown Heraldjamtary 21, June 30, 1832; August 12, 1852; and February 10, 1853.

29Tlle author heard this story from his own oral family history, and also has heard virtually the same refrain from other genealogists. In his short story,"Two Gentlemen of Kentucky," James Lane Allen may have best captured such undying attachment of slave to master. Flute and Violin, and Other Kentucky Tales (New York, 1896), pp. 97-134.

they not be freed, fearful for their own safety yet undoubtedly also beseeching God in this manner because their masters had told them to do so.[30] Such attitudes indicate for some CathoUcs that the institution of slavery certainly was not the sin that the aboUtionists claimed it was. Some evU may exist, but this was manifested primarily in the international slave trade, or on plantations of the deep South, which did not depend on, as the Catholic Advocate described it, the "mild and gentle" form of slavery found in Kentucky.[31] A former professor at Saint Joseph's and the future Archbishop of Baltimore, Francis Patrick Kenrick, wriile coadjutor bishop of PhUadelphia wrote in the late 1830's a popular manual for moral theology which included reflections on slavery. In this work, he encouraged masters to "show themselves gentle and even-handed . . . [and to] hghten the condition of their slaves with humanity and with zeal for their salvation."[32] In Kentucky, this admonition was reaUzed, by way of example, in the life of WiUiam Johnson, Esq., who was eulogized as having, among other virtues, kindness to his "servants."[33] Kentucky Catholics generaUy did not refer to their black people as "slaves."

Yet Father Badin early on grew concerned over what he had perceived as the harsh treatment of some servants and, in particular, over the virtual disregard of masters toward black famUy ties.[34] Of the slave chüdren baptized either at Saint Rose or at Saint Joseph's prior to 1840, only twenty-four percent came from households that included both parents. More common was the pattern iUustrated in the March 24, 1833, baptism of Mary. Her father, Cornelius, was owned by Thomas Medley, whUe she and her mother were owned by the Widow Yates.[35] Like Mary's case, thirty-six percent of these baptisms noted that the par-

[30] Green, op. cit., p. 44.

[31] Catholic Advocate, March 10, 1849. The Catholic Advocate periodically noted what was viewed as the atrocities of the slave trade. For example, see, December 15, 1838; February 13, 1841; March 13 and 20, 1844; April 8, 1845; and November 5, 1847. Andrew Jackson and a local politician, Charles A. Wickliffe, were vilified as "slave traders." Bardstown Herald, August 23, 1828, and July 20, 1831. The Catholic Advocate also contained news which depicted a harsher form of slavery in the South. For example, see, December 24, 1836; December 30, 1837; April 9, 1839; and March 24, May 5, July 10, August 14, 1841. One writer also claimed that conditions of servitude in England were worse than those of slavery in the United States (August 7, 1847).

[32] Quoted in Davis, op. cit., p. 49.

[33] Catholic Advocate, November 10, 1838.

[34] Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, Badin to Bishop John Carroll, August 4, 1796, Priestland (Washington County, Kentucky), translation by Edward Barnes, SCN; Catholic Telegraph, May 7, 1853, Carroll to Badin, August 2, 1794; Webb, op. cit., p. 176.

[35] Saint Rose Baptismal Register, March 24, 1833, p. 44.

ents did not Uve on the same farm. Another forty percent faU to name the father of the chUd.36 The relatively smaU slave households in Kentucky determined that married couples generaUy would not be owned by the same person, and thus were less likely to Uve together. Thus of the eighty slave marriages recorded from 1830 to 1848 at Saint Rose, only seven involved slaves owned by the same master. Burial records for free people regularly noted famUy ties, but gave no such indication for slaves. More typical was one casual remark which simply noted the interment of "A black chUd belonging to somebody."37

Catholics made careful arrangements for the disposition of their human property even though, at least as one master had suggested, a slave may not have been as desirable in Kentucky as was a good horse.38 OnJuIy 8, 1801, Thomas Hill for "natural love & affection" sold to his children five slaves, Grace, Jerry, and their sons, David, John, and Daniel. On January 4, 1803, HiU sold to his son, Clement, a woman

36ThTOUgli the 1840's the number of parents living together decreased to eighteen percent. Also during this time, seventeen percent of the Washington County slave households with children (slaves under 10 years of age) included no parental figure (a male or female slave at least twelve years older than the oldest slave child). Thirty-six percent included a mother figure (a female slave at least twelve years older than the oldest child) but no father figure (a male slave at least twelve years older than the oldest child). An additional two percent included a father figure but no mother figure. Ln short, only forty-five percent of slave households included possible parents of children residing therein. The 1850 census was the first to record the exact age and sex of the slaves, and thus the first which provided the information upon which the above observations could be made. Throughout the 1850's, the number of slave households with two parental figures increased about the same amount as did the number of households with no parental figures. Whether or not these possible parents actually had conceived the children in the household cannot be determined. Undoubtedly, many had not. Webb noted that in frontier Kentucky "a boy of twelve years . . . was not infrequently found to be just as available at the plow as a youth of twenty." Indicating that slaves generally went to the fields earlier in age than white children did, Webb underscored the uniqueness of Margaret Mills Abell, who was as exacting of service with her children as she was with her slaves. In the Ught of these realities, Blassingame fixed the end of childhood for slaves at around ten years of age,for this was when a child generally started working in the fields. Webb, op. cit. ,p. 106; and Blassingame, The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South (New York, 1972), pp. 184-185.

"Saint Rose Register, March 29, 1843, p. 137. By way of exception to the general pattern, Elisha Metcalf purchased the wife of one of his slaves so that, as was later reported, "the father could have her society at home on the plantation." Smith, op. cit. ,p. 9.

"Washington County Will Book E, p. 21 1, Will of Joseph Carrico written May 27, 1833, and probated August 26, 1833.

CATHOUC SLAVE FAMILIES

named Mary and her child.39 The vast majority of Cartwright's Creek CathoUcs willed that their slaves be handed down to descendants. Other Catholics ordered that aU or some of the slaves be sold at public auction, and a couple of these owners determined that their slaves be offered only to Catholics.40 Two owners freed some of their slaves in their will, and one bachelor, Peter Adams, arranged that all of his slaves be freed. But in this case, either unwilling to acknowledge that Adams truly wished to emancipate his slaves or, more likely, reluctant to let go of a potentiaUy lucrative inheritance, Adams' siblings contested the wUl, suggesting that the slaves with the threat of physical violence had coerced him into including the note on Uberation. The court eventually proved the authenticity of the wiU, and Adams' slaves were freed. But during the four years of deliberation, the oldest slave, Thomas, had passed away.41

"From, Washington County Deed Book, reprinted in Lebanon and Marion County, Kentucky, vol. 4, no. 3 (spring, 1995; publication of Marion County Historical Society). Clement Hill already owed his life to the unnamed black man who had been shot by the band of warriors back in March of 1787. This slave had fallen dead atop, and thus, effectively protected, then eleven-year-old, Clement, whose eventual offspring numbers in the thousands.

"Similar preference for a Catholic buyer was expressed in advertisements which appeared in the Catholic Advocate, July 27 and December 6, 1839; and August 19, 1848.

"Washington County Will Book J, p. 456; WiU of Peter Adams written July 25, 1846, and probated December 15, 1856. Washington County Court Orders: Bond Concerning Inventory of Adams estate, November 15, 1852; Deposition of Dr. John H. Polin, dated December 10, 1852; Bond Contesting the Will, December 20, 1852; Order concerning

The Catholic Advocate and the Bardstown Herald periodicaUy posted for sale, along with "OATS" and "WHEAT," "LIKELY NEGROES."[42] Slaves were sold outside as weU as within the local CathoUc community with Uttle regard for black family ties. At least two Bardstown CathoUcs, Joseph Price and WiUiam Mattingly, traded slaves for profit downriver.[43] Only one of the thirteen slave auctions advertised in the Catholic Advocate insisted that a family of slaves not be separated any further. The woman to be sold already did not live in the same home but only in the same city as did her husband.[44]

A slave's family became more of a concern if that slave ran away. A Lexington man announced in the Nelson County paper that his slave, BiU, had fled hoping to make his way to Bardstown "as his wife was taken to the neighborhood of that place a short time ago."[45] Two other masters suspected that their runaway slave, Paul, would not stray far from his native county "as his famUy are there [and] we think he would leave it very reluctantly"[46] And after "a bright mulatto boy" named Tom

Western Herald, August 23, 1828

decision of Marion County Circuit Court, November term, 1856. Fifty-eight wills from Cartwright's Creek Catholics were identified, forty-five of which mentioned slaves; forty-two specified that the slaves be handed down to heirs.

"Catholic Advocate, September 29, 1838. On one occasion, an advertisement announced that the slaves were "country bota" Bardstown Herald, January 5, 1831. This paper included notice of events from various denominations, though certainly was partial to Catholicism. From its inception in 1825 to 1828, the Bardstown Herald went under the title, The Western Herald.

43See Bardstown Herald,March 2, 1831 ,and July 7, 1853-J. Winston Coleman identified as a Lexington slave trader, John Mattingly, a man who more than likely was Catholic. J. Winston Coleman, Jr., Slavery Times in Kentucky (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1940), pp. 155, 166-167. For record of one slave sale by a Catholic, see, Cincinnati Historical Society, Mss q564, Bill of Sale of Jerry of Clement Parsons to Henry Purdy, dated June 4, 1822.

"Catholic Advocate, January 26, 1839.

"Bardstown Herald, September 29, 1832.

i6Ibid., February 17, 1836.

disappeared on Saturday night, March 25, 1837, his owner suspected that he may have gone to Hart County where he had been raised.47 Many other owners in the same fashion rightly figured that their slaves ran not for freedom, but for family48 In 1853 the Bardstown Herald claimed that through the Underground RaUroad slaves had been "constantly carried away to Canada."49 StUl, fugitives were said overwhelmingly to have found life in the North less desirable than earUer servitude in Kentucky.50 Undoubtedly, such testimonies had been reported, if not totaUy fabricated, in order to discourage escape. However, disappointment with freedom in the North, indeed, may have been caused by the increased breakup of the family that freedom would have brought. Of the estimated 400,000 slaves who did make it to Canada, about half returned to the states after Emancipation assuredly due, in large part, to famüy ties left behind.

White children were taught to fear runaways, for as one such boy later wrote, the fugitive might "keep us in a cave and cut off a limb . . . and cook it whenever they became hungry, keeping us aUve as long as possible."51 PatroUers, such as CathoUc Captain Leonard Hamilton from southern Washington County, were appointed to round up runaways and, in fact, often made a game out of this commission.52 The historian J. Winston Coleman has explained that "Negro hunting, Negro catching, Negro watching, and Negro whipping constituted the favorite sport of many youthful whites."53 Once apprehended, runaways generaUy were severely beaten and then sold south to the town that was commonly caUed "Nigger HeU," that is, New Orleans.54

Judge Elisha Metcalf of Saint Michael's Church in Northern Nelson County as a matter of course had aU his slaves baptized and, just as routinely, beaten. "It was no uncommon thing," Metcalf's bondsman, Harry Smith recaUed, "for Massa to have forty or fifty slaves [not aU of whom

Al Catholic Advocate, April 1, 1837.

"Between 1836 and 1839, seven notices of slave runaways appear in the Catholic Advocate. No such notices appear after this time. In the fragments of the Bardstown Herald which survive between 1828 and 1855, runaway notices appear at a slightly higher rate, and continue all the way up to 1855. Most of these notices were submitted by Catholic owners.

"Bardstown Herald, September 24, 1853.

•"Ibid., October 8, 1853.

51M. L. Cook and B. A. Cook (eds.), op. cit.,p. 326.

,2Washington County Court Orders, 1822, Miscellaneous Papers.

"Coleman, op. cit., p. 97.

"Harry Smith, op. cit.,p. 15.

Catholic Advocate, April 1, 1837

were his] tied and whipped a day for . . . trifling affairs."55 Announcements of runaways often included note of distinguishing scars and physical handicaps which may have testified merely to the harshness of slave life, if not also to the savagery of some Catholic owners. At least one Catholic, James M. Wheatly, actuaUy was ordered by the court to care for his neglected elderly slave, Emily.56

Local newspapers periodicaUy depicted slaves as ignorant yet volatile. Thus threats of insurrection such as that led by Nat Turner were met by a strong show of force from the white community even though the slaves who dared to run away generally proceeded both alone and as quietly as possible.57 Every now and then with an especiaUy so-caUed unruly bondsman or woman, a "whipping master" experienced with flogging slaves was employed. Edward McLean had thrashed Maria of Richard Beall several times before showing up again on July 17, 1830.This time she was ready for him. When he approached, she unveUed a knife and managed to stab him twice. He died later that

"According to Smith, neighbors regularly paid Metcalf twenty-five cents per slave to administer a beating, thus making him a "whipping master," discussed below. Ibid., p. 12.

"Washington County Court Orders, March 28, 1855, County Attorney vs. James M. Wheatly.

"' Catholic Advocate, April 29, December 30, 1837; November 9, 1839; April 24, 1841; August 14, 21, and 30, 1841; May 6, 1843; April 20, 1844; and Bardstown Herald January 21,1832.

Bardstown Herald, June 8, 1833

day and subsequently was buried at Saint Rose. A Catholic jury convicted Maria of murder and Judge C. C. KeUy sentenced her to be hanged on September 28. But before the order could be carried out, Governor Thomas Metcalfe intervened. He judged that her action was not altogether unjustifiable, and thus granted her a free and fuU pardon.[58]

As the slave or free status of the mother determined the status of her children, the appearance of light-colored slaves most likely indicated somewhere in the lineage a black mother and a white father, or in other words, sexual exploitation of master upon slave. On the verge of the Civil War, nearly a quarter of the slaves recorded in the Washington County census were designated mulatto. When a so-called "Catholic

[58] Kentucky State Archives, Executive Journal, Governor Thomas Metcalfe, pardon of Maria (a woman of color), December 4, 1830; Washington County Court Order Book, 1830, Miscellaneous Papers. Also, Pioneer History, pp. 137-138.

Gentleman" offered in the Catholic Advocate "a fair price" for a female slave "for his own services," he may have been looking for what he caUed a "fancy girl."[59] Lucas has described these women as "attractive, young, often genteel, usuaUy mulatto females who were purchased to be mistresses or prostitutes."[6] Some of the most revolting accounts of slave auctions detaU the humiUations suffered by these women.[61] At least one CathoUc bishop, Augustin Verot of Saint Augustine, Florida, who actuaUy considered the institution of slavery to be sanctioned by God, nonetheless denounced this abuse of slave women.[62] But, in general, the practice caused no commotion as long as it remained a private affair.[63]

Rebecca LoveU's house of ill fame in Springfield several times had been prosecuted for prostitution because young male blacks were said to have frequented the place.[64] Thus when Ralph, one of Richard Spalding's slave boys, wished to marry EUen, a girl whom Spalding recently had purchased, Spalding suggested that the boy's youth ought not to be a deterrent but rather might be viewed as an asset. Marrying young, Spalding had surmised, Ralph would "have none of the responsibility of her famUy on him," yet would have found a means to curb his sexual passion and, in the process, place one of Spalding's women "beyond the reach of temptation." Spalding mocked Ralph's désire to delay the marriage so that he might, as Spalding had presumed, "estabUsh himself in business somewhere, where he can provide for a family before to [sic] takes a wife to himself." Finally, Spalding explained that the past arrangement to hire Ralph out in service to the Bardstown cathedral need not change, for Spalding saw no reason why Ralph would have to live, at least in the beginning, with his new wife in order to satisfy conjugal duties.[65] In essence, Spalding advocated slave marriage not as a means to

"Catholic Advocate, September 29, 1838.

Tucas added that "Numerous Kentucky slaves spoke of beautiful slave girls on their farms who had been taken as mistresses by their owners, a fact which the number of mulattos seemed to confirm" (o/>. cit., p. 86). One of the more tragic cases of sexual exploitation of a female slave has been chronicled by Melton A. McLaurin in the case of Celia, A Slave (New York, 1991).

6,For example, see Coleman, op. cit. ,pp. l 15ff.

"Davis, op. cit. ,p. 54.

63When discussing Richard M.Johnson's relationship with his slave mistress ta Scott County, William H. Townsend argued that the ignominy of the marriage had more to do with the openness and not the nature of the affair. Lincoln and the Bluegrass: Slavery and Civil War in Kentucky (Lexington, 1955), pp. 75-80.

"Washington County Court Orders, 1835, "Rebecca Lovell's House of lll Fame."

"Archives of the University of Notre Dame, CBJS 2/44, Richard Marcus Spalding to Benedict Joseph Spalding, December 24, 1846, "Evergreen Bend" on Cartwright's Creek just north of Lebanon.

cultivate the slave family, but rather, as a vehicle by which sexual passion could be aUayed. Though Spalding seemed genuinely concerned in this fashion at least about the sexual promiscuity of his slaves, down Spalding's own fanuly tree oddly enough have been passed rumors that Richard Spalding had fathered both slave and free chUdren.66 At about the same time that young Ralph was contemplating wedlock, the Catholic Advocate responded to some of the awful reaUties of slave life by calling for the legal recognition of slave marriages.67

Because many blacks had received the CathoUc sacraments of baptism, eucharist, confirmation, and marriage, and Christian burial, they might be caUed Catholic slaves. But these bond women and men certainly were not honored in this world as children of God. At best, Catholicism may have given the slaves the spiritual strength to endure the regular insults which came from their masters. One black spiritual whose devotion to the mother of Jesus may indicate some Catholic connection, also may express the aspiration of the slaves who had been associated with CathoUc masters:

> I want some valiant soldier here ... To help me bear de cross
> Done wid driber's dribin'. . .
> Done wid massa's hollerin'. . .
> Done wid missus' scoldin'. . .
> I want some valiant soldier here ... To help me bear de cross
> O hail, Mary, hail! O hail, Mary, hail! O hail, Mary hail!
> Tb help me bear de cross.68

Once the cross of slavery had been lifted, most black people found little use for Catholicism. No record confirms this fact more clearly than does the burial register of Saint Rose. Each year from 1830 to 1865 at least twenty-five percent of the people laid to rest were slaves. But from 1866 to 1875 barely five percent of the burials were of blacks, or "negroes" and not "servants" as they formerly were called. Many other church records prove this mass exodus from Catholicism. Archbishop Martin John Spalding once spoke of the "golden opportunity to reap a harvest of souls" after emancipation. And in 1870, Spalding's nephew, Father John Lancaster Spalding, boldly argued for the spiritual rights of former slaves, claiming that both before and after the Civil War black people

"The present writer is the great-great-grandson of Richard Spalding.

*Catholic Advocate, March 10, 1849.

"William Francis Allen et al., Slave Songs of the United States (originally published in 1867, reprinted by Peter Smith in 1951), p. 45.

rightly enjoyed free access to the sacraments.69 Yet unfortunately, as some historians have pointed out, the Catholic Church failed miserably in its mission to former slaves.70 Some blacks did stay with the Church as is indicated by two present-day predominantly black congregations, Holy Rosary in Springfield and Saint Monica in Bardstown. Other nearby churches also include a significant black population. These include Saint Charles and Saint Augustine in Marion County, and Saint Mary in Boyle County. Still and aU, the story about CathoUc lay people in frontier Kentucky indicates that the Church had disappointed blacks long before the Civil War. Though masters gave slaves religious affiliation, they took away more immediate bonds, such as the family, and thus earned but perfunctory commitment from the black population. Slaves may have been equal before the eyes of God but certainly not before the eyes of white people. Perhaps the more hierarchical world view promoted in the CathoUc Church which tended to stress authority and respect from above, readily and without shame fixed black slaves at the bottom of the ladder. Less structured Christian Churches more easily may have felt the inconsistent human ethic promoted by slavery. MeanwhUe Catholic lay people not only accommodated to American ways which included slavery, but virtuaUy in unison promoted the pecuUar institution. Thus in the end, many so-called CathoUc servants, baptized yet beaten, may have intoned the words of the slave girl, Harriet Jacobs, when she sang,

> Ole Satan' church is here below.
> Up to God's free church I hope to go.
> Cry amen, cry amen, cry amen to God!71

69"Has the Negro a Soul?" Catholic Advocate, July 16, 1870.

70"Randall M. Miller, "The Failed Mission: The Catholic Church and Black Catholics in the Old South," in Catholics in the Old South: Essays on Church and Culture, edd. Randall Miller and Jon Wakelyn (Macon, Georgia, 1983), pp. 149-170; and Ochs, op. cit., pp. 9-48. In his article, Miller failed to recognize the Catholic population of central Kentucky among his five admittedly small regional divisions of Catholics in the South. But he did write about the relatively obscure other Catholic enclave in western Kentucky of French and German Catholic settlers. Ibid., p. 151.

71Linda Brent (Harriet Jacobs), Lncidents in the Life of a Slave Girl (originally published in Boston in 1861), reprinted in The Classic Slave Narratives, ed. Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (New York, 1987), p. 400.

THE HIDDEN ENCYCLICAL OF PIUS XI AGAINST RACISM AND ANTI-SEMITISM UNCOVERED—ONCE AGAIN!

A BIBUOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

Frank J. Coppa

Recently two volumes appeared which shed considerable light on the "encyclical" Humant Generis Unitas (On the Unity of the Human Race), which Pope Pius XI commissioned against racism and anti-Semitism in 1938. Unfortunately, Pius XI died early in February, 1939, before it could be issued. His Secretary of State and chief coUaborator, Eugenio PaceUi, who succeeded as Pius XII early in March, 1939, decided to shelve this "encyclical," which was not released during the course of the war, during the Holocaust, or even in the postwar period. One can only surmise what its impact might have been, if pubUshed.1 Its private publication in the 1900's has reopened the debate on the position of the CathoUc Church toward racism and the Holocaust.2

As early as 1972 Gordon Zahn regretted the faUure of this strong papal indictment of anti-Semitism to appear, deeming it a missed opportunity.3 The two current volumes which explore this "lost opportunity," are respectively by Georges Passelecq and Bernard Suchecky: L'Encyclique Cacheé de Pie XI: Une occasion manquee de l'Eglise face à l'antisémitisme, with a preface by Emile Poulat (Paris: Editions La Découverte, 1995), and Robert A. Hecht, An Unordinary Man: A Life of Father fohn LaFarge, SJ. (Lanham, Maryland: The Scarecrow Press, 1996). The first was written by Georges Passelecq, a Belgian Benedictine monk and vice-president of the Belgian National Commission for Relations with the Jewish World, and the Belgian Jewish historian

'Emile Poulat, Preface "Pie XI, les Juifs, et l'antisémitisme," Georges Passelecq and Bernard Suchecky, L'Encyclique Cachée de Pie XI. Une occasion manquee de l'Église face à l'antisémitisme (Paris: La Découverte, 1995), p. 27.

2Kirkus Reviews July 1, 1997, p. 1014.

'Gordon Zahn, "The unpublished encyclical—an opportunity missed," National Catholic Reporter, December 15, 1972, p. 9.

Bernard Suchecky. The second is the contribution of Robert A. Hecht, professor of history at Kingsborough Community CoUege of the City University of New York. More recently, the Passelecq and Suchecky volume, translated into EngUsh from the French by Steven RendaU, has been published under the title The Hidden Encyclical ofPius XI (New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1997). However, it does not include Poulat's preface, which has been replaced by Gary WiUs's "Introduction: Fumbling toward Justice."4

Although the appearance of these volumes has once more brought the "encycUcal" to pubUc attention, with various publications commenting on it,5 its existence has been long known. In the summer of 1938 Pius XI pubUcly made reference to it.6 Father John LaFarge, SJ., who was assigned the task of writing the encycUcal by Pius XI under the seal of secrecy, made reference to it, though not his role in drafting it, in his article on "Racism" for the New Catholic Encyclopedia. He noted therein:

> It is weU known that Pius XI planned in 1939 to issue an encyclical dealing directly with the racist issue, notably from the standpoint of its obvious and un-Christian anti-Semitism, but also dealing with the question of the color bar as well. He referred to this proposed document as an Ineditum in a public audience later in the summer of 1939 [1938], His subsequent illness and death prevented the fulfillment of his plan.7

In that same 1967 article, LaFarge indicated that Pius XII had borrowed from this unedited text in his first encycUcal, the Summi Pontiflcatus of October 20, 1939·8 His Jesuit collaborators in drafting the encyclical,

unfortunately, because of inadequate proofreadng, the Pulitzer Prize-winning historian Wills appears to confuse Pius IX and Pius X in the Introduction (pp. xv-xvi).

'In this regard see Frederick Brown, "The Hidden Encyclical," The New Republic, April 15, 1996, and Eric J. Greenberg, "Pressuring the Pope: Secret Vatican treatise on anti-Semitism spurs Jewish leader to insist Pope John Paul issue Papal Encyclical," Thefewish Week,Mzy 3, 1996, pp. 27-30. The appearance of the English edition of the Passelecq and Suchecky volume has inspired a new rash of newspaper stories and reviews, including one by Edward McGlynn Gaffhey,Jr.,in the book review section of the Los Angeles Times, September 7, 1997, and a much longer review article by Bob Keeler in New York's Newsday, October 5, 1997,section B, pp. 6-7, 12.

"Alle Suore di Nostra Signora del Cemacolo,'July 15, \9J>%, Discorsi di Pio XI (Turin: Società Editrice Internazionale, I960), III, 769; Passelecq and Suchecky, op. cit^y^Affl; L'Osservatore Romano, July 17, 1938.

John LaFarge,"Racism,"New Catholic Encyclopedia (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), XII, 59.

"ActaApostolicae Serf«, XXXI (1939), 413-453.

Gustav Gundlach of the Pontifical Gregorian University m Rome, who wrote the 1930 article on anti-Semitism for the Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche,9 and Gustave Desbuquois of Action Populaire, a social action center in Paris, recognized their work in Pius XII's first encyclical. This was no revelation, having been reported in The New York Times, on the basis of weU-placed though unnamed Vatican sources.10

During the chaos of World War II, the existence of this projected encyclical was forgotten, or, as some have suggested, suppressed. LaFarge continued to preserve the secrecy invoked by Pius XI long after his death and after the war. Only half a dozen Jesuits were privy to LaFarge s task on behalf of the Pope." In his autobiography he simply mentioned that the Pope had discussed the issue of racism with him during the course of a private audience in June, 1938.

> He had read my book Interracial Justice12 and liked the title of it. "Interracial Justice, c'est bon!" he said, pronouncing the title as if it were French. He said he thought my book was the best thing written on the topic, comparing it with some European Uterature. NaturaUy, this was a big lift to me. Apparently what appealed to him in my little effort was the spiritual and moral treatment of the topic, and the fact that I did bring into synthesis the Catholic doctrine and the natural law and the pertinent facts as well as some practical methods for dealing with the question.13

The role LaFarge had played in drafting Pius XI's encyclical against racism and anti-Semitism became public knowledge only after his death, when two Americans, Father Walter Abbot, SJ., and Thomas Bres-Un, a student of theology, were working on the LaFarge papers and found copies of the projected papal letter and the related correspondence with those privy to his deUcate assignment. In 1972-1973 two doctoral theses were written, one on LaFarge and the other on Gundlach, and both aUuded to their role in forging the unedited encycUcal on racism and anti-Semitism.14 Thomas Breslin, who had microfiUned part

'Gustav Gundlach, "Antisemitismus," Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche (Freiburg: Herder, 1930), l, 504-505.

'"The New York Times, October 27, 1939.

"Passelecq and Suchecky, op. cit., p. 84.

"John LaFarge, S.J., InterracialJustice: A Study ofthe Catholic Doctrine ofRace Relations (New York: America Press, 1937).

"John LaFarge, The Manner is Ordinary (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1954), p. 273.

"|Edward Stanton, S.J., "John LaFarge: Understanding of the Unifying Mission of the Church" (Ph.D. dissertation, St. Paul University, Ottawa, Canada, 1972); Johannes Schwarte,

of the LaFarge papers whUe at the Loyola Seminary in Westchester, transmitted a copy of the encycUcal and the related correspondence to the National Catholic Reporter. Later he sent this microfilm material to Johannes Schwarte in 1975 and to Bernard Suchecky in 1987.[15] It was fortunate he did, for subsequently part of this material, and most notably the projected encyclical, disappeared from the LaFarge papers, which were eventually transferred to Georgetown University.[16] The encyclical also disappeared from the Vatican Archives, where it had been deposited by Pius XII.[17] The French version of the encyclical, returned to Father Gustave Desbuquois, and the related correspondence, were not found amongst his papers.[18]

In December, 1972, Jim Castelli wrote a long article on Pius XIs unpubUshed encyclical against racism and anti-Semitism for the National Catholic Reporter.[19] Based on the primary sources transmitted by Bres-Un, this investigative piece was utilized by Hecht and Passelecq and Suchecky. In it CasteUi concluded that had the encyclical been published it would have broken the much-criticized Vatican silence on the persecution of the Jews of Europe before and during World War II. Drawing on information from Fathers Robert Graham, S.J., who long studied the Vatican's policies during World War II, Heinrich Bacht, SJ., who translated part of the draft into Latin, and Edward Stanton, S.J., of Boston College, who wrote his dissertation on LaFarge, Castelli wrote that LaFarge had the major responsibiUty for denouncing racism and anti-Semitism while Gundlach wrote the balance and larger portion of the draft.[20] CasteUi also explored the major "intrigues" that might have prevented its publication during the last months of the pontificate of Pius XI and the first of Pius XII.[21] These are further examined in the recently published volumes.

"Gustav Gundlach S.J. (1892-1963). Repräsentant und Interpret der katholischen Soziallehre in der Ära Pius XII" (Doctoral thesis defended at the University of Münster at the end of 1973).

"Passelecq and Suchecky,op.cí'í.,pp.41,62-63.

í6Ibid., pp. 57-58; Robert A. Hecht, An Unordinary Man: A Life of Father fohn LaFarge, SJ. (Lanham, Maryland: The Scarecrow Press, 1996), pp. 116-117.

'Passelecq and Suchecky, op. cit., pp. 24, 46, 193-194.

"Ibid., p. 63; Paul Dtoulers, Politique Sociale et christianisme, Le Père Desbuquois et l'Action populaire (Paris: Éditions ouvrières, 1981), II, 110.

"Jim Castelli, "Unpublished encyclical attacked anti-Semitism," National Catholic Reporter, December 15, 1972 (volume IX, n. 8).

"Ibid., pp. 1,8.

21An interesting study of the contrasting positions and policies of Pius XI and his Secretary of State during the last decade of his pontificate (1930-1939) is provided in Peter

Although the article in the National Catholic Reporter brought the unedited encycUcal to the attention of a broader audience, with periodicals in Italy, Germany, and the United States pubUshing articles on it, neither the general pubUc nor most of the scholarly community knew much, if anything, about it. Thus while preparing an article on "The Vatican and the Dictators,"[22] I did not have much success in tracking down this "lost encycUcal." Indeed, when citing the unedited encycUcal, most scholars thought I was referring to the address Pius XI was preparing to present to the Italian Bishops on February 11, 1939, on the tenth anniversary of the Lateran Accords, which he was prevented from deUvering by his death the evening of the February 9/10, 1939![23] Bernard Suchecky had simUar experiences with the scholarly community as he sought information about the project.[24] The fact that the LaFarge-Gundlach-Desbuquois effort was not included in the Actes et documents du Saint-Siège relatifs à la Seconde Guerre mondiale, did not facilitate its dissemination.[25] To bring it to a wider audience, in 1973 the editors of Catholic Mind planned to publish the text of the draft of Humant Generis Unitas "to make it easily avaUable to historians, theologians and interested readers." Although put into gaUeys for printing, for reasons not completely known, once again it was not pubUshed.[26]

The Hecht and Passelecq-Suchecky volumes probe into a series of unresolved matters concerning this "encyclical" against racism. Why was it not released by Pius XI, after he had explicitly and urgently commis-

C. Kent, "A Tale of Two Popes: Pius XT, Pius XII and the Rome Berlin Axis," Journal of Contemporary History, XXIII (1988), 589-608.

"Frank J. Coppa, "The Vatican and the Dictators between Diplomacy and Morality," in Richard J. Wolff and Jorg K. Hoensch (eds.), Catholics, the State, and the European Radical Right, 1919-1945 (distributed by Columbia University Press of New York, 1987), pp. 199-223.

25"Il testo inédito dell'ultimo discorso di Pio XI presentato da Sua Santità Giovanni XXIII," in Discorsi di Pio XI (Turin: Società Editrice Internazionale, I960), III, 891-896.

"Passelecq and Suchecky, op. cit., p. 57.

"Burkhart Schneider, S.J., "Una encíclica mancata," L'Osservatore Romano, April 5, 1973.

"Professor Robert A. Hecht, of Kingsborough Community College of Brooklyn, while working on his biography of John LaFarge, proved unable to find a copy of this encyclical in the LaFarge papers, which had been transferred to Georgetown University. In 1993 he inquired of Father John Donahue, SJ., of America whether a copy existed in their files. They did not have the originals of the encyclical, but did have the galleys from the version which had been projected to appear in Catholic Mind but was never published. Hecht was provided a copy, and he generously dispatched a copy to me as well. The material quoted in the text of the paragraph cited comes from p. 5 of those galleys of Catholic Mind.

sioned it? Did Pius XI receive it too late for any action on his part? Did he receive it at aU before he died? Was it hindered, and therefore suppressed, by the anti-Bolshevik General of the Jesuits from 1915 to 1942, Vladimir Ledochowski, as Gundlach beUeved?27 What part, if any, did the GermanophUe and diplomatic Pacelli play m withholding the encycUcal? Why did Pius XII neglect Humant Generis Unitas's denunciations of racism and anti-Semitism when he incorporated parts of this "encyclical" into his own first encycUcal, Summi Pontificatus? Was he sensitive only to the sentiments of Nazi Germany, or was he aware that this "encyclical" would also offend the United States, whose prewar segregationist poUcies were likewise moraUy offensive? Would its pubUcation have altered the course of history and mitigated the severity of the Holocaust? Why was it not pubUshed in the postwar period?

These are some of the issues the authors explore. Not surprisingly, within the twenty-one pages Hecht devotes to Humani Generis Unitas, and the more than three hundred pages assigned by Passelecq and Suchecky in the French edition, more questions are raised than answered. Both are in substantial agreement on the chronology of events from Pius XI personaUy commissioning LaFarge to write the encyclical on June 22, 1938, to the latter's delivery of French, German, and English copies of the document to Rome some time after September 20, 1938. While Hecht indicates that LaFarge arrived in Rome on September 20, 1938,28 Passelecq and Suchecky, on the basis of a broader treatment of the episode, report that LaFarge planned to leave Paris for Rome on September 20, and the correspondence does not inform us precisely when he arrived in the Eternal City. However, by internal criticism of his correspondence, they conclude he was in Rome the evening of September 26, 1938.29 Because of the limitations of space, Hecht reports that LaFarge was told to submit his draft to Father Ledochowski.30 The Belgian authors, providing a broader treatment of the episode, report that LaFarge out of loyalty and a sense of obedience, decided to place the "encyclical" in Ledochowski's hands, for transmittal to the Pope, much to the discomfiture of his collaborator, Gundlach.31

Some aspects of this extraordinary development cannot be answered; others are only tentatively explored in the Ught of the fact that

"Castelli, op. cit., p. 8.
2"Hecht,op.C2'f.,p. 118.
"Passelecq and Suchecky, op. cit., p. 111.
»Hecht, op. cit., p. 118.
"Passelecq and Suchecky, op. cit., p. 115.

the Secret Vatican Archives, which Father Graham reports contains a file on this abortive endeavor, remain closed for this period, and therefore its secrets are inaccessible.32 Indeed Passelecq and Suchecky were denied access to the correspondence of Fathers Gundlach and Ledochowski and not aUowed to photocopy or microfilm the German draft of Humant Generis Unitas.'3 However, in 1971 Pope Paul VI did grant permission to Father Edward Stanton, S.J., to utUize excerpts from the text on racism.34 Passelecq and Suchecky report that the "encyclical" was belatedly transmitted to Pius XI on January 21, 193935 He died the evening of February 9-10. Hecht doubts that Pius XI ever saw the encycUcal he personally commissioned.36

In comparing the two works one must note that while they both delve into the unanswered questions surrounding this "encycUcal," the Hecht volume is a Life of Father John LaFarge and devotes one chapter out of fifteen to Humani Generis Unitas (VII), with passing references to it m the foUowing chapter (VIII) on Europe in 1938. The entire Passelecq-Suchecky study focuses on the abortive attempt to issue this encyclical and it includes a copy of the entire French version of the "encyclical" (pp. 213-310), which finaUy appears in print, though not as an official papal document.37 Consequently, the Belgian authors are able to explore in considerable detaU aspects of the affair that Hecht only touches upon, and report on developments that Hecht has perforce to ignore. Furthermore, Hecht reUes on the gaUeys found in the files of America, which are drawn from the English copy of the draft—there exist English, French, and German copies—while Passelecq and Suchecky have had recourse to the süghtly longer French text. However, a comparison of the sections on race and racism from 111 to 130, on the Jews and anti-Semitism from 131 to 133, on the position of the Church toward Judaism from 134 to 152, including the condemnation of anti-Semitism in paragraphs 144-147 and the Church's response to anti-Semitism in paragraphs 148-152, are substantiaUy the same.

Both works draw upon the conclusions of Castelli, based on the Bres-Un microfilms of part of LaFarge's papers, and see the hand of the anti-Bolshevist, PoUsh, Jesuit General, Ledochowski, Ui delaying and

52Ibid.,p.23.
55lbUi., pp. 66-67.
MHecht, op. cit. ,p. 116.
"Passelecq and Suchecky, op. cit. ,p. 194.
"Hecht, op. «f., p. 118.
57In the English translation the text of the "encyclical" is found on pp. 176-275.

ultimately hindering Pius XI's issuance of the encyclical which he had commissioned. Hecht writes:

> Abbott [the American Jesuit Father Walter Abbott who knew LaFarge] believed that, if Pius XI had lived, he would have issued the encycUcal. He apparently reaUzed that Ledochowski did not approve a strong papal denunciation of Nazi anti-Semitism. But, according to Abbott, the pope told LaFarge, "Remember, you are writing this encyclical for me, not for Ledochowski."38

Passelecq and Suchecky, relying on the correspondence of LaFarge and Gundlach, quote the latter's concern that the Jesuit General, by his dUatory action and diplomatic means, sought to sabotage the mission Pius XI had entrusted to LaFarge.39 Questions are raised about the role of PaceUi, who succeeded as Pius XII early Ui March, 1939, in the affair of the abortive encyclical, but no definite conclusions are provided. These studies recognize, as do other works on Pius XI and Pius XII, that while PaceUi had served as Pius XI's Secretary of State and camerlengo, there were substantial personality and some poUcy differences between the two.40 Peter Kent has noted that the latter part of Pius XI's pontificate from 1930 to 1939 was dominated more by an intense hatred of Nazism than of communism, noting that Ratti constantly denounced the Hitler regime for violating the German Concordat, its 'statolatry' and racism. Kent reports that from the first his successor rejected Pius XIs anti-Nazi policy, perhaps recognizing its futility and opting for a more concUiatory course.41 Part and parcel of this new approach was Pius XII's decision to jettison his predecessor's "encyclical" against racism and anti-Semitism.

Within the introduction to the encyclical appended by the editors of Catholic Mind to the galleys of Humani Generis Unitas in 1973, it was concluded, "If the Catholic world of 1938-1939 had had the chance to read an encyclical of this nature, there would surely have been benefi-

,8Hecht,o/7.c«.,p. 120.

"Passelecq and Suchecky, op. cit., p. 114.

"One can quickly grasp the difference in the temperament of the two figures by examining two volumes: Marc Agostino, Le Pape Pie XI et l'opinion (1922-1939) (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1991), and Emma Fattorini, Germania e Santa Sede: Le nunziature di PaceUi fra la Grande guerra e la Repubblica di Weimar (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1992). See my review of the first in the American Historical Review, 99 (April, 1994), 602, and of the latter ibid. (October, 1994), 1347. Likewise the earlier mentioned Kent article also pinpoints the differences between Ratti and Pacelli.

"Kent, op. cit., pp. 589-590.

cial effects but their precise character can now only be conjectured."42 Might its issuance have saved thousands or hundreds of thousands of Uves?43 This analysis is not totaUy shared by the authors of the recent volumes. Clearly EmUe Poulat in his preface to the French-language volume questions the assumption that had the "encycUcal" been issued it would have changed the course of history, aroused the world's conscience, and prevented the "final solution."44 The authors of the volume concur insofar as they question whether a pope—be it Pius XI or Pius XII—would have been heeded if he had launched a crusade to save the Jews from the menacing crisis.45 Hecht, noting the striking insensitivity of the encycUcal against the very people it defended against persecution—what Poulat defines as Christian anti-Judaism in his preface—believes that if issued in this form, the planned encycUcal might have added to the ammunition the anti-Semites were using against the Jews.46 Distressed by the sharpness of the "encycUcal's" words against the Jews for rejecting Christ, at this terrible time in their history, Hecht concludes, "It was probably for the best that Ledochowski, if even for other reasons, opposed its pubUcation."47 This was the position earUer expressed by the Dutch Jesuit Johannes Nota, who in 1975 deplored the anti-Jewish aspects of the "encycUcal."48 WUls Ukewise deplores the religious anti-Semitism in the draft, but concludes that the LaFarge document contained the theological materials for destroying reUgious as weU as racial anti-Semitism (p. xxiii). Perhaps those aspects of anti-Judaism, which permeates much of the encycUcal, played a part m suppressing its pubUcation in the post-Vatican CouncÜ II world? Hecht seems to think so.49 The editors of Catholic Mind addressed this very issue in their introduction to Humant Generis Unitas, when it was prepared for pubUcation. They warned:

> The document wUl naturally present problems to these readers, if they make the mistake of viewing it as intended for contemporary consumption in 1973 and as embodying the current state of Catholic thought on its key

"Galleys of the encyclical which was to have been printed in Catholic Mind, p. 5b.

""A lingering question," National Catholic Reporter, December 15, 1972, p. 10.

44Poulat,"Pie XI, les Juifs, at l'antisémitisme," in Passelecq and Suchecky, op. cit., p. 27.

"Passelecq and Suchecky, op. cit., p. 209.

*'Hecht,op.c¿í.,p. 122.

47Ibid.,p. 124.

"Johannes H. Nota, S.J., "Edith Stein und der Entwurf für eine Enzyklika gegen Rassismus und Antisemitismus," Freiburger Rundbrief, 1975, pp. 35-41.

"Hecht, op. cit., p. 117.

> themes. To read it in the light of today's world would be, indeed, unfair to the document and would mean missing its significance.50

Father Robert Graham, SJ., though an intermediary, touched upon another reason why the encycUcal might not have been published in Catholic Mind in the 1970's. In 1976 this American Jesuit let Father Passelecq know that pubUshing more about Jews and the projected encyclical might compUcate the Vatican's diplomacy and efforts in the Middle East.51 FinaUy, pubUcation of the projected encyclical raises new questions about the "sUence" of Pius XII, adding fuel to a controversy that many would rather forget.

Although the pubUcation of these volumes leaves many questions unanswered, they provide valuable insights as to why Humant Generis Unitas was not published in 1938-1939 and the post-World War II period. How this lost "encyclical" was uncovered makes fascinating reading. Both studies were meticulously researched and interestingly written, providing an exceUent mixture of fact and analysis. Furthermore, the authors display a remarkable objectivity while exploring sensitive and controversial issues. In both volumes they almost always separate fact from opinion. The scholarship is outstanding and therefore makes the very few errors all the more glaring. Passelecq and Suchecky confuse Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Theodore Roosevelt in footnote 37 on page 129 of their volume.52 Hecht, in turn, not having had access to the Breslin microfilm or aware of the work of Passelecq and Suchecky, writes in the LaFarge biography that the gaUey proof he uncovered is "at present the only known extant copy of Humani Generis Unitas'. . . ."53 These minor errors aside, both volumes make a valuable contribution to the reaction of the Church and Papacy to racism and anti-Semitism during the Nazi years while pinpointing the personality and poUcy differences between Pius XI and his successor, Pius XII.

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s°Galleys of the encyclical which was to have been printed in Catholic Mind, p. 5b.
"Passelecq and Suchecky, op. cit. ,p. 54.
'This was corrected in the English translation, p. 289, n. 38.
"Hecht, op. cit. ,p. 117.

BOOK REVIEWS

Medieval

Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation. Edited by Alice-Mary Talbot. [Byzantine Saints' Lives in Translation, Vol. 1.] (Washington, D.C: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection. 1996. Pp. xxvii, 351. $30.00 cloth, $18.50 paperback.)

"Only men are called to compete in secular contests and prove their bodily strength. The arena of virtue, however, is open to women no less than to men, and God the prize-giver generously grants the rewards and victory crowns to both sexes equally." So declares the anonymous author of the Life of Mary of Vizye, one of ten lives of holy Byzantine women included in this first volume in a series of English-language translations of hagiographie sources planned by Dumbarton Oaks (two others are currently in production). This useful collection brings together virtually all the surviving lives of the small number of women venerated as saints in the medieval Byzantine Church.

The ten lives have been ably translated by nine contributors and organized by the editor into five thematic categories: nuns disguised as monks, female solitaries, cenobitic nuns, pious housewives, and a saintly empress. Each translation includes a bibliography with information on the edition used for the translation, related texts, other editions and translations, and relevant secondary literature. Although printed editions of the original Greek texts of all of these works have been available, in some cases for more than one hundred years, "available" does not mean "used," as the scant secondary literature on these works indicates.

The evident value of these works, both for the history of spirituality and for other historical concerns, fully justifies the careful work expended to produce this volume. A brief review permits mention of only a few subjects on which the lives shed considerable light. The Life of the transvestite Mary/Marinos, translated by Nicholas Constas, is informative on the raising of infants in monasteries. Spousal abuse is a grim feature of the Lives of Matrona of Perge, translated by Jeffrey Featherstone, Mary of Vizye, translated by Angeliki Laiou, and Thomais of Lesbos, translated by Paul Halsall. In addition to its titillative appeal as an account of a reformed harlot, the Life of Mary of Egypt, translated by Maria Kouli,

contains what appear to be embedded fragments of a Syro-Palestinian monastic typikon (rule). The Life of Theoktiste of Lesbos, by Angela Hero, contains the only surviving description by a Byzantine author of the Church of the Hundred Gates on Paros, an early Christian basilica rebuilt by Justinian. The Lives of Athanasia of Aegina, translated by Lee Sherry, Theodora of Thessalonike, translated by Alice-Mary Talbot, and the aforementioned Matrona of Perge demonstrate that in Byzantium marriage (or even bearing children) was not an absolute bar to achieving sanctity. Only in the Life of Thomais of Lesbos, however, is a marriage (of the saint's parents) portrayed in a favorable Ught rather than as a burden of or obstruction to sainthood.

The Lives of Elisabeth the Wonderworker, translated by Valerie Karras, and the aforementioned Theodora of Thessalonike are particularly instructive on how family connections assured preferential admissions to private nunneries and succession to their leadership. The Life of Theodora of Arta, a thirteenth-century empress, translated by Alice-Mary Talbot, is a rare example of a female saint in late Byzantine times, one of just four in some 450 years.

The volume is concluded with a general index and separate indices of people and places and of notable Greek words.

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Medieval Liturgy. A Book of Essays. Edited by Lizette Larson-Miller. [Garland Medieval Casebooks, Volume 18; Garland Reference Library of the Humanities, Volume 1884.] (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc. 1997. Pp. xviii, 314.)

This collection of essays is a study of the history of rites, of their practice in relation to historical context, of treatises on ritual, and of ritual exegesis. With some exceptions, medieval means Merovingian and CaroUngian Gaul, since this is the major orientation of the book.

Some of the essays are quite specific, with a focus on a particular writer or ritual. Such are the essays of Jan Michael Joncas on Hugh of Amiens on order and ordination, of Susan A. Rabe on CaroUngian architecture, of Michael S. Driscoll on penitential practices in transition, and of Paul A. Jacobson on early CaroUngian royal anointings. DriscoU's title is somewhat misleading, since despite references to some larger background it is for the most part an interesting presentation of the contribution of Alcuin of York to penitential practice.

Other essays in the collection are more in the nature of surveys. Thus Gary Macy lists commentaries on the Mass in the early scholastic period; Joanne M. Pierce gives an overview of the early medieval development of the Mass ordo; Marie Ann Mayeski looks at exegesis in the context of the Eucharist; John K. Leonard surveys the rites of Marriage in different parts of medieval Europe; and

Edward Foley reconstructs what we can know of the song of the assembly during Mass.

The essays are of good quaUty. They are clearly written, and reveal a good knowledge of source materials, amply documented in the endnotes. In her introductory essay, Lizette Larson-MiUer underlines the relation of Uturgy to culture, and the pertinence of the history of liturgy to the history of the Middle Ages, as weU as to the discipline of theology. The points are weU taken, but are not given much expUcit attention in the essays gathered together. The one essay that truly relates the specific issue to its cultural milieu is that of Rabe on architecture. For the most part, the other authors give useful historical information, but without much of the kind of interpretation suggested by the editor. Their care with sources and historical accuracy is their best contribution to this larger conversation, and that in itself is important.

While the volume wiU be of most interest to students of medieval Uturgy, it could be of interest for a more general readership looking for information on the medieval Church. SpeciaUsts may weU find some new points of information, but on a whole the book wiU best serve the student who wishes a fairly broad but concise knowledge of the Uturgies of the period, and of commentaries on them. For these students, it could serve as recommended reading in survey courses, that want to go beneath the surface and beyond the vaguely general.

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Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation. By Paul Binski. (Ithaca, New York: CorneU University Press. 1996. Pp. 224. $39.95.)

This "essay" on "art, reUgion, society, the body, and ritual" resembles, in many ways, T. S. R. Boase's Death in the Middle Ages (New York, 1972). Both address general readers and students; the quality and diversity of their Ulustrations is comparable; and each has eleven fine color plates. What differentiates them is textual. For the most part, Boase let his photographs of memorials to the dead and depictions of the afterlife, funerals, the dance of death, and the ars moriendi, speak for themselves. He confined his analysis to an occasional indication of historical trends, and ended with a dismissive remark about the medieval "debasement of things spiritual to anthropomorphic crudities." Paul Binski has more to say, and his remarks are a good measure of the change in approach and tone that recent scholarship has brought to the interpretation of this fascinating material.

Binski presents the Christian belief in the salvific power of Christ's death as the foundation of a Western European "medieval death culture" whose central feature was the doctrine of resurrection, and many of whose pecuUarities, from the cult of reUcs to the doctrine of purgatory and the art of the macabre, had to

do "with the spiritual significance and representation of the body." He does not elucidate how this came to be, but he explores it in rich detaU, at least for the later Middle Ages. For example, Binski explains the history of late medieval memorials in terms of a "politics of space [and] the body" that led the wealthy and powerful to compete for recognition after death in increasingly crowded churches through ever more elaborate tombs and commemorative structures. The tension between such behavior and Christian ideals of penitence and humility led to the re-emergence of flat tomb slabs for floor burials—humble but unforgettable—as well as the radical iconography of the transi tomb, which 'was not a response to the anxieties of life in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but "an internal development of medieval visual culture itself," its macabre representation of the cadaver a reaction against the false decorum of gothic effigies and renaissance ideaUzations of the human form.

The treatment of dead bodies, in this world and the next, and their representations in art, meant much to medieval Europeans, as they do to us. By focusing on the body as "an ambivalent sign" of the state of the soul—and the social standing of the deceased—and on the "transactional" nature of medieval funereal art, which engaged its viewers in a dialogue about suffrages and selfhood, Binski situates the artistic products of"medieval death culture" within the complexities of late medieval culture as a whole. Unfortunately, he has less to say about the period before 1200. His text is also occasionally marred by lecture-haU witticisms ("the culture of the video nasty," the "sorry sadism" of a saint's life) and often strained evocations of Foucault, Freud, and Lacan. StLU, this lively and informative account marks a significant advance over previous treatments and should be a welcome addition to any course of readings on medieval culture or the history of death.

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Diplomatari de la catedral de Barcelona. Vol. 1: Documents dels anys 844-1000. Edited by Àngel Fàbrega i Grau. With an introductory study by Josep BauceUs i Reig. [Arxiu Capitular de la Catedral de Barcelona, Pubkcacions, Serie IV: Fonts documentais, No. 1.] (Barcelona: Capítol Catedral de Barcelona. 1995. Pp. xv, 706; 7 plates. Pesetas 15,000.)

The cathedral or chapter archives of Barcelona, ensconced atop the cathedral cloister, constitute one of the richest smaUer coUections of Europe. Its Pia almoina section of eleemosynary charters alone has nourished countless medieval studies. Over 40,000 parchments, either as originals or mid-thirteenth-century copies in the massive four codices of the Libri antiquitatum, have yielded for this project some 6,000 charters running from 844 to 1260.

This first volume presents 350 charters, to the year lOOO.Though they touch on many aspects of clerical business, they are in the main also secular

documents, notably sales or alienations of a variety of properties involving husband-and-wife teams.They also include last testaments, judicial documents, privUeges, gifts, declarations, and similar categories. Kings, counts, countesses, and prelates are represented, but the majority of actors are private citizens from every level of society. Each document is impeccably edited, as an historical rather than philological edition, though the philologist wiU find ample and careful material. Each document offers also a Catalan paraphrase of its contents, with aU proper names translated from Latinate forms. Each includes aU marginalia, rubrics, special signs, and other paleographical and diplomatic notes.The whole is handsomely produced.

A book-length introduction in Catalan by the canon Josep BauceUs i Reig exhaustively and intricately analyzes the problems of dating, the codicology, paleography, documentary typology, language, and incidental information required as background. Five indexes include a very complete onomastic Usting; another names some two hundred scribes. Considering the small Barcelona of those two centuries (a suffragan see of Narbonne), these people must have constituted a considerable percentage of the total population, both men and women. The resolute researcher can glean extensive information on the geography of the city and the englobing Catalonia in its formative evolution toward independence.Two of the charters echo the sack of Barcelona by al-Mansur in 985, with people carried off "to Córdoba." Others involve pilgrimages to Jerusalem and Rome, a Jewish envoy of Charles the Bald, a "doctor infantium," quite a few judges, and even "Beelzebub et successores eius" and "ludas Scarioth" formulaicaUy cited to curse those who might refuse to honor a donor's wishes.

The volume and its project merit the category of monumental, and do honor to their director, the long-term canon-archivist Àngel Fàbrega i Grau, and his collaborators (duly acknowledged). It wUl nourish scholarship for generations to come.

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Medieval Popular Religion, 1000-1500: A Reader. Edited by John Shinners. [Readings in Medieval CiviUzations and Cultures, II.] (Orchard Park, New York: Broadview Press. 1997. Pp. xx, 545. $22.95 paperback.)

John Shinners has produced a coUection of translated sources which wiU be of great use to aU who teach the history of Christianity, and more generaUy of culture, in the high and late Middle Ages.The readings have been weU chosen to illustrate the practices and beliefs of Christians outside the clerical and scholarly eUte. By necessity, however, the vast majority of them are stül taken from works composed by clerics, such as miracle coUections composed by Caesarius of Heisterbach and Johannes Herolt or sermons by Bernardino of Siena and Geert Grote.The coUection is formed with a very broad understanding of "pop-

ular reUgion" in mind, echoing the editor's assertion that "by the twelfth century, medieval popular reUgion was, for many purposes, simply medieval reUgion . . . aU Christians, no matter their status, shared essentially the same religious world view and acted on it in simUar ways" (p. xv).

The seventy-seven sources are grouped into ten chapters: "Instruction in the Faith," which contrasts creedal formulae and handbook literature with statements by individuals such as Peter Waldes and Joan of Arc; "God," which includes Christological and eucharistie piety; "Mary," which presents hymns, visions, and miracle stories; "Saints, Relics, and Pilgrimage," which emphasizes the shrines of saints; "Demons and Spirits," which includes much about the afterlife; "Rituals," which focuses more on blessings and charms than on formal liturgies such as the Mass; "Daily Devotions and Practices," which primarily features material from confraternities and guUds, but also includes indulgences; "Enthusiasm," which unites a potpourri of texts about such diverse phenomena as the building of the cathedral at Chartres and flageUants; "Error," which treats both heresy and superstition, but not magic; "Death and Judgment," which brings together more material about the afterlife with texts concerning the social and liturgical practice of death. Each chapter and each text is prefaced by a short introduction: the commentary thus provided is brief, but adequate. (There are no explanatory footnotes.) Each chapter also begins with a single image accompanied by a brief commentary. The choice of these Ulustrations appears to have been largely governed by limitations in the process of reproduction; the visual material is one of the few aspects of the collection which faUs short of potential.

The translations themselves are commendable. Over a third of the texts were done by the editor specificaUy for this volume. Of the reprinted material, most comes from work of recent vintage. In contrast to many source collections, there is laudably Uttle included from works whose original imprint lies sufficiently in the past to leave it out of copyright. In the few cases where such works have been used, the editor appears to have modernized the usage, so that the undergraduate reader wiU not be assaulted with antique diction.

One could quibble with Shinners' choices and omissions, but they have been made intelUgently. Despite the breadth implied in the title, however, the coUection is focused on Western Christendom in the period after the Fourth Lateran CouncU. Not only is Byzantium absent, there is very little from the Celtic, Scandinavian, or Slavic lands. The coUection is buüt on the England-France-Italy axis typical of much of the teaching of medieval history (my own included) in North American universities. Other than an excerpt from Burchard of Worms and a few hymns there is nothing from the eleventh century; indeed the coUection contains more works composed after 1500 than before 1100. The reUgion in question is also resolutely Christian. A handful of sources touch on Christian relations with (or, more to the point, accusations against) Jews. Islam appears not at aU. There is to my mind surprisingly little (despite the examples provided above) included from hagiography and sermon literature, surely two of the best sources avaUable for information on religious practice.

Despite such inevitable limitations, this volume remains without paraUel on the current market. It presents the practice of Christianity during the later Middle Ages to an undergraduate audience more effectively than any other coUection of sources now avaUable. It should immediately be added to aU college and university Ubrary coUections. With its attractive price and its useful contents, it wiU find a welcome place on numerous course syUabi and personal library shelves.

Thomas Head

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Westminster Abbey and Its People, c. 1050-c. 1216. By Emma Mason. [Studies in the History of Medieval Religion, Volume LX.] (Rochester, New York: BoydeU Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 395. $99.00.)

The richness and variety of the Westminster archive, an important part of which was transferred intact at the Dissolution from the monastic foundation to the coUegiate church of St. Peter, has attracted the attention of historians from the time of John Flete in the fifteenth century and Richard Widmore in the eighteenth down to the twentieth, when E. H. Pearce and Armitage Robinson and, more recently, Barbara Harvey and Gervase Rosser have written important critical histories based on a selective use of those sources. Nor have the manuscripts themselves been neglected. Indeed, in the latest survey, in 1988, Emma Mason, as principal editor, put together a basic coUection of twelfth-century charters, some printed for the first time, and others reprinted, but which had appeared in various forms in different places over the years. She has now used her knowledge of these documents to pubUsh a series of commentaries which shows the force of secular and ecclesiastical authority on the convent and helps to illuminate the internal life of the church during a significant period of its development. Of particular concern are the abbots and the relations with the king and his court, with certain of the bishops, with the papacy, and with several of the more important tenants. There is a good deal of valuable information to be found here, but whUe organized by topics, it is presented in bits and pieces, as one charter after another is cited, without an ongoing narrative history to support it. There are, for instance, many examples of property rights and rents but little comment on the general inflationary spiral, or on the problems of heritable tenancies and fee-farms, which affected them. Quite a few named individuals, and terms relating to monastic offices, are encountered, but they come and go without explanation, and we are brought no closer to an understanding of, say, the factions at work within the community, or the changes in the poUtical, financial, and social relations between abbots and monks. With regard to an interesting point on charter style, whether an elaborate form was used for more important persons and a simple one for the less important, we are left to wonder not only what the differences were between a "florid style," a "rmldly florid style," a "more moderately florid style," and a "fuUy-florid style," but whether in

fact the scribal changes depended on the status of the person addressed, or on the contents, or circumstances, of a particular charter.

On the other hand, there is much to learn from this book. For example, following in the steps of Chaplais and Bishop and others, Mason has broadened our perception of the corpus of Westminster forged charters, especiaUy for the reign of Henry II; she provides helpful commentary on the legal activities of the monks and their use of the Exchequer court so near at hand; and she carefully brings out the fundamental importance of the private donors and benefactors to the enormous accumulation of wealth which put Westminster Ln the top rank of EngUsh reUgious houses. In a word, whfle not an integrated critical history of the abbey, as the title might lead one to assume, this book makes its mark as an exceUent set of scholarly notes for a second reading of the charters; and the charters, in turn, form the bedrock for any work on the twelfth-century foundation.

Everett U. Crosby

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Histoire des Croisades. By Jean Richard. (Paris: Editions Fayard. 1996. Pp. 544. 170.00 FF.)

Jean Richard, weU known for his works on the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and his Life of St. Louis, has authored yet another in this distinguished series in his Histoire des Croisades. In a period in which crusade studies are flourishing on a never-before achieved scale and in which major revisions have been made in our understanding of this fascinating and much controverted part of medieval and early modern history, we ought not to be surprised that works of synthesis of both a popular and scholarly nature are appearing in such large numbers. Where, for many years, English and American readers have enjoyed the grand narrative of Sir Steven Runciman, the great Byzantine historian, and the exceUent brief history by Hans Eberhard Mayer, translated from the German by John GiUingham and now in its second EngUsh edition (1988), the last decade has witnessed the publication of Jonathan RUey-Smith's The Crusades: A Short History, which has presented a vastly different view of the crusade movement, one that included not merely its pre-histroy in the Western Mediterranean, but which carried its story down into the sixteenth and even the seventeenth centuries. Richard's Histoire, which we trust wiU soon be avaUable in EngUsh translation, also possesses a distinctive character in keeping with the particular interests of its author.

Jean Richard's Histoire des Croisades is in the tradition of the Gesta Dei per Francos, an image that emerged already shortly after the first crusade in the writing of Guibert of Nogent. Richard's focus is entirely on the Crusades to the Orient in the period from 1095 to 1291. He acknowledges and even grants validity to the broader view of crusade, but makes a very deUberate decision to

write a history of the crusades to the East. The result is an outstanding work, a product of a profound knowledge of the vast Uterature in the field, a deep understanding of and sensitivity for the often controversial and always difficult issues touching the histories of so many different peoples, and a meticulous attention to detaU. No one who teaches world history can afford to omit this work from his reading Ust.

One final point. It is a characteristic of aU recent histories of the crusades that they reflect the original research of their authors. That is certainly the case here. Jean Richard has a detaUed knowledge of numerous aspects of crusading history and particularly the history of the Latin East. He has been involved in discussion of the major historiographical issues in the field over the last generation. To read his Histoire is to share the rich reflections of a lifetime of scholarship. It is an enriching experience to read a work that not merely summarizes the work of others but reveals the originaUty of the author's own research.

James M. Powell

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The Reformation of the Twelfth Century. By GUes Constable. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xx, 41 1. $64.95.)

It is commonly said, whether true or not, that mathematicians and physicists do their best work when young. Constable's book is a demonstration that historians can have a longer period of creativity. Years of study have enriched his understanding of the past. This book is provocatively titled Reformation, but in fact the most obvious "reformation," that of the sixteenth century, plays no role in the analysis. Some writers in the late eleventh and twelfth century lamented that their world was confusing and divided. When they wrote about ending the confusion and division, either by restoring a golden past or by ushering in a better future, the words reformare/reformatio flowed easUy from their pens. It is from these contemporary senses of the word that Constable chose the title for his book.

Since his book on monastic tithes (1964) and his edition of Peter the Venerable's letters (1967), Constable has crisscrossed the twelfth century from many angles. This book is a rich synthesis of forty years' study of the religious life and its reform(s) during the years 1040-1 160, although the author sometimes steps outside those chronological boundaries. The range of his reading in printed sources and manuscripts is prodigious: He has a very good memory or a very efficient filing system.

In this book, the reader has the sense of overhearing a heated, untidy discussion/argument among members of an extended famUy Constable has set himsetf the task of unscrambling the voices in that discussion. The six central chapters treat the variety of reformers, the types of reform, the rhetoric and

reality of reform, and the spirituaUty of reform. Constable is sympathetic to the aspirations of twelfth-century monastic reformers, but he is hard-headed in his assessment of motives and outcomes. His treatment of the Uterary commonplaces (topot) of reform is Uluminating and warns the reader against a simple-minded UteraUsm.The book is packed with information and insight—on topics ranging from monastic architecture to monastic beards. A few paragraphs or pages summarize fairly and precisely whole monographs and scholarly disputes. Constable deftly handles traditional topics, such as the vocabulary of reform, the office of the monastic advocate, or the complexities of monastic exemption. But fresh perspectives, born of years of thought, are evident on many topics. Without fanfare, cUchés which stiU influence the study of religious life are challenged or demolished; for example, that monastic wealth inevitably led to a decline in religious life or that twelfth-century Cluny was lax or corrupt.

This is a humane book.The reader is reminded that the monks, canons, nuns, hermits, wandering preachers, and their critics were human beings in search of a satisfying personal reUgious experience: "An awakening to the variety of individual reUgious needs and temperaments and an acceptance of a diversity of forms of reUgious Life … lay at the heart of the twelfth-century movement of religious reform" (p. 87). The practical working out of religious diversity in the twelfth century was often a wrenching experience, but rich in implications for the future of Western spirituality.

Constable put the quarrels among monks, particularly the Cluniacs and Cistercians, in a new context. The twelfth-century polemic Uterature was often acrimonious. Yet, as Constable pointed out, Cluniacs and Cistercians were simultaneously remembering one another's dead in their Uturgy. He argued that the polemic has been misunderstood in modern scholarship. Monks of every sort shared so many common views and practices, rooted in an ancient tradition, that their disagreements were far less serious and deep than the vigor of the polemic suggests. The disputes are better understood as a famUy quarrel among people who are far more simUar than different.

One of the strengths (and perhaps one of the weaknesses) of the book is its caution about many topics. With his knowledge and experience, Constable might have been bolder in his conclusions. But he is careful not to go beyond the evidence or the modern scholarship. On many topics, for example the social origins of reformers, he simply admits that not enough is known to make a firm judgment. He is especiaUy reluctant to be simplistic about the "causes" of the significant religious changes he is studying. In the final chapter, he examines the "broader setting" of the reformation which he has described in such rich detail. But, in the end, he did not endorse any economic or social explanation as "the cause" for the reUgious turmoU. Every student of monasticism, the medieval Church, or the history of Christianity wiU benefit from reading this wide-ranging, profound book.

In the interest of full disclosure: In 1971 I finished a doctorate under Professor Constable's direction, a formative experience in my life.

Joseph H. Lynch

The Ohio State University

Il Trono di Pietro: L'universalità delpapato da Alessandro III a Bonifacio VIII. By Agostino Paravicini BagUani. [Studi Superiori NIS / 299, Argomenti di storia médiévale.] (Rome:LaNuovaItaUaScientifica. 1996.Pp.301.IJre 35.000.)

This book is part of a series intended to provide works of synthesis on subjects heretofore treated only in speciaUzed studies or in out-of-date syntheses. Paravicini BagUani has made a splendid addition to the series. Because he assumes the reader's famUiarity with the basic outline of papal history of the period, he is able to present a remarkably wide range of scholarship about the papacy in a relatively smaU space. The author relates his subject to broad cultural developments (e.g., the connection between the development of the curia and the growing importance of writing), and in doing so, he provides an abundance of concrete detail, including quantified data.The range is even wider than the title suggests, since the book gives considerable attention to the Gregorian reform and its aftermath.

The unifying theme of the book is the movement toward universaUty in the setf-understanding and the operation of the papacy. The elaboration of the theme is best indicated by reviewing the topics of the individual chapters. The first describes evolving procedures and rituals whereby a man became pope. The second discusses the image of the pope as presented in contemporary literature and art.The third describes the composition and the developing functions of the coUege of cardinals. The fourth presents the work of the curia. The fifth is entitled "Ecclesiastical sovereignty and jurisdictional powers," ranging from the pope's role as legislator to his taking control of canonizations and episcopal appointments.The sixth deals with papal dealings with new forms of religious life, both orthodox and heterodox. The seventh is entitled "councils and synods," and begins with Lateran I (1123). The eighth deals with the Papal State and the secular powers of Europe, including the aristocratic families of Rome and Lazio. The ninth is a highly informative treatment of the papal curia as a center of culture and learning. And the final chapter is entitled "The Papacy, Christendom, and the Idea of Europe," and it also deals with the papacy's relations with the cultures beyond the limits of Christendom.

The book gives the reader easy access to a wide range of modern scholarship. Each chapter has brief end notes, followed by informative bibUographical essays. Here titles are abbreviated, referring the reader to a complete bibliography at the end of the book.This apparatus is complemented with a Ust of popes and with a table that shows the percentage of time from 1198 to 1304 that each pope spent outside of Rome.

There are minor lapses. The bibUographical essay for chapter nine contains a two-page description of the writings of Innocent III without a single reference to modern analyses of those works, and Walter Pakter appears in the bibUography as W. Parker. The author's concluding argument seems to work at cross purposes when he says that the papal conception of Christendom was being restricted to Europe at the same time that the popes were dreaming of converting the Tartars. But these are minor flaws. The author has brought clarity of expression, detaUed factual information, and sure synthetic judgment to make for an altogether admirable book. No one interested in the medieval papacy should miss it.

John C. Moore

Hofstra University

Peter des Roches: An Alien in English Politics, 1205-1238. By Nicholas Vincent. [Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Fourth Series, Volume 31] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xx, 543. $79.95.)

This biography of Peter des Roches, the French bishop of Winchester (1205-1238), is very much a poUtical biography. In it, Nicholas Vincent shows that des Roches, servant of King John and chief advisor to his son, exemplified devotion to the Angevin Empire, both in its concatenation of continental and insular lands and in its style of governance, centered on royal vis et voluntas. Yet, as Vincent argues, even des Roches' dedication to the recovery of John's French lands faded as his EngUsh connections and interests grew, while the xenophobic rhetoric of the attacks on des Roches was largely a cover for factional interests. Time, more than an English nationalist resurgence, reconcUed England to the loss of lands in northern France after 1204.

The admirable control shown in this long book means that nearly every detaU Vincent selects is ultimately used to serve these themes. Hence, there is Utle stress here on des Roches' governance of his diocese, for which one should consult Vincent's edition of des Roches'ecí«.[1] Readers of this ReviewwiU, however, find that this biography does cast light on various aspects of church history. Despite his reUgious patronage, des Roches was, arguably, the most secular EngUsh bishop of his time. A quintessential royal curialist, he alone of the episcopate remained at John's court throughout the Interdict. Moreover, he was implicated in John's milking of church property A throwback to earlier times, des Roches led troops in person, commanding even crossbowmen, the most disreputable of medieval soldiers, whose weapon had been condemned by the Church. He was Langton's natural enemy.

'English Episcopal Acta LX Winchester 1205-1238, ed. Nicholas Vincent (Oxford, 1994), esp. pp. xxvii-lxxvi.

Yet des Roches' secularity, and his strained relations with his feUow bishops, themselves reveal the latent strength of episcopal soUdarity. Unlike his feUow aliens, des Roches was not exiled under Magna Carta, despite his deep involvement in John's poUcies. Bishops do not banish bishops. SimUarly although the bishops—many of them Langton's protégés—helped bring down des Roches in 1234, his episcopal coUeagues also stood by him after his faU.

Vincent's discussion has impUcations as well for understanding the emergence of a self-consciously EngUsh church. When des Roches became bishop of Winchester in 1205, at least three-fourths of English bishops were aUens. By 1234, only des Roches was clearly not of EngUsh origin. Indeed, as aUen bishops died, their aUen clerks found themselves clustering around des Roches for patronage. For Vincent, this change reveals England's growing insularity foUowing the loss of 1204. It also shows, starkly, the importance of that loss in the long-term development of a national EngUsh church.

This book is clearly written, resourcefuUy argued, and displays a nice sense of irony. The volume is also weU produced—I found only three typographical errors (stray commas and a period on pp. 96, 260, and 307). It is essential reading for those concerned either with the evolution of English national identity after the Conquest or with thirteenth-century English politics. Ecclesiastical historians can also profit from it, more than can be noted in a short review.

Michael Burger

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Proceso sobre la ordenación de la iglesia valentina entre los arzobispos de Toledo, Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, y de Tarragona, Pedro de Albalat (1238-1246). Volumen I: Edición crítica; Volumen II: Estudio. By Vicente CasteU Maiques. (Valencia: Corts Valencianes. 1996. Pp. 497, 221 .)

The labor of over forty years, these volumes distill a lifetime of scholarship into a single book. Its author, Vicente Castell Maiques, canon-archivist of the Valencian archdiocese, was seeing it through press when he died this past May. He had defended it as a doctoral dissertation at Alicante University tardUy in 1990. Long before then, he had scoured over a dozen archives to reconstruct from partial versions and allied documents this full record of a celebrated medieval trial. In his detective mode he discovered the long-lost final sentencing.

When Jaume the Conqueror, ruler of the Arago-Catalan realms, took the "kingdom" of Valencia from its Muslim overlords, Castile determined to wrest its ecclesiastical jurisdiction (and thus a measure of its wealth and influence) for the Castilian church. The move pitted against Jaume the great primate-warrior of Toledo, Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada. At a deeper but very visible level it put at loggerheads Jaume of Aragon and St. Fernando III of CastUe, both men formidable conquerors of Islamic Spain.

Bitterly fought for nearly a decade, in three phases or trials, the process resulted in a paper victory for CastUe but a diplomatic and practical victory for Aragón, since the sentence in prudent fashion contained no provision for execution. The trial record, under the great lawyer popes Gregory LX and Innocent IV, has transcendental resonance for canon law scholars but is central as weU for Iberian history. Its interest for students of diplomatics and paleography is obvious. The author devotes some 160 pages to a meticulous general introduction, another 160 to analysis of the process itself, and 323 pages to the edition.

The approach is closely focused and relentlessly analytical, including constant subdivisions and subtitles for both the edition and the study. WhUe that procedure clarifies the materials at the level of outline, paradoxically it also obscures the narrative flow, becoming both a virtue of the work and the only point at which it fails. That is a pity, since the trial record is a very human document, rising at times to hUarity as the legal shenanigans multiply. (Delaying tactics and lawyers' tricks were the only real hope for the Aragonese.) The narrative lack may be suppked from my Crusader Kingdom of Valencia,1 done from previous incomplete editions. The edition by CasteU Maiques brings closure by the newly discovered episodes. It also stands as a model of exhaustive scholarship and editing, leaving no aspect of the trial uncovered, no line of interpretation unopened, and no editorial task sUghted.

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Johannes von Anneux. Ein Fürstenmahner und Mendikantengegner in der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts. By Susanne Stracke-Neumann. (Mammendorf: Septem artes Verlag. 1996. Pp. xi, 349· DM 68,-.)

Susanne Stacke-Neumann has used information and studies on John of Anneux, secular priest and theologian, to fit him into early fourteenth-century history. John of Anneux, born in southern Belgium around 1260, was serving as pastor of St. Amand-en-Révèle in 1326 when Pope John XXII aUowed him.whUe retaining his cure, to go to Paris for three years to teach. He died in Avignon soon after writing (December 7, 1328) his pamphlet against the Franciscans. Stracke-Neumann also links up John of Anneux with three other churchmen of his day, and in particular with Henry of Ghent, probably his teacher. In this way she evokes the world to which John belonged. Best of aU, with an edition of his extant writings (Code for Princes, Against the Mendicants, On Confessions), she sees that John gets a hearing.

John of Anneux wrote his Code for Princes (Fürstenspiegel, De regimine principum) for WUUam III of Hennegau-HoUand. A Code for Princes explained

'(Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1967), Vol. I, chap. 14.

and encouraged the proper conduct of office. Stracke-Neumann offers a useful review of the genre (pp. 50-59) as she locates and characterizes John's text. A good ruler needed good counsel, and John's De regimine announced his avaUabiUty, although his politics and economics had sUpped a bit behind the times.

John's treatise on confessions fit into the campaign against the Franciscans. A pastor could not satisfy his duties toward his parishioners, and keep them properly in Une, and earn his keep, when Franciscans so easUy shrove his flock. John refers to his treatise on confessions when writing against the Franciscans, after observing that "the rulers and the wealthy who confess to the friars are worse than they used to be" (p. 233).

John's Tractatus contra Fratres exudes the Ul wiU toward Franciscans peculiar to the court of Pope John XXII. John of Anneux explains how the Church (the popes) approved the Franciscan rule (although undeserving), whereupon the friars rebeUed against the Church. He concludes that they should be punished.

In her reading of John's anti-Franciscan treatise, Stracke-Neumann reviews Franciscan history from its origins (pp. l 18ff). In this way she hopes to contextuaUze and explain his criticisms. The history which explains John's text, however, is the regrettable struggle between pope under John XXII and order with Michael of Cesena its minister. For John of Anneux wrote against the Franciscans toward the end of 1328, a year which had done little to stem the pope's long enmity toward the order. The pope had set about to force Franciscans to acquiesce to his redefinition of their Ufe. Unable to bend Michael of Cesena (April, 1328), he plotted his removal from office. The order in general chapter (May) balked, re-electing Michael as minister. The pope removed Michael from office Qune), driving him into open opposition. That (and there is more) is the context and the history of John of Anneux's treatise, not Stracke-Neumann's long history of Franciscan poverty.

Had Stracke-Neumann drawn out the history of the text, she would have cast Ught on one thorny problem in John XXII's Franciscan poUcy. In the course of his historical review, John of Anneux had to handle Exiit qui seminat, the extraordinary bull issued by Pope Nicholas III on August 14, 1279. The buU was extraordinary, not because of any particular inteUigence or finesse in interpreting the Franciscan rule, but rather because Pope Nicholas III and Pope Boniface VIII (who had had a hand in its composition) turned the buU into official church teaching. When Pope John XXII assaUed Michael of Cesena on April 9, 1328, trying to cow him into the sort of servUity the pope expected of churchmen, Michael of Cesena stood his ground, holding fast to Exiit's approval of Franciscan Me.. Exiit qui seminat, an unfortunate doctrinal definition, stood squarely in John XXII's way with Franciscans. John of Anneux makes two statements about the 1279 buU. He claims the Franciscans perpetrated the text on an unsuspecting pope and so on the Church. He also says that of course Pope John XXII can set a past papal definition aside. The first statement, as pure historical construction, points up the problem. The second, as principle, covers doctrinal revision-

ism. The history Ln and around John's text, and not John's loose references to Franciscan history, merited Stracke-Neumann's attention. For it is to that history that she has contributed her sound and welcome study.

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The Register of WiUiam Bateman, Bishop of Norwich, 1344-1355, Volume I. Edited by Phyllis E. Pobst. [The Canterbury and York Society, Volume 84.] (Rochester, New York: The Boydell Press. 1996. Pp. xxxiv, 135. $53.00.)

Bishop WUUam Bateman's diocese of Norwich counted 1,294 parishes. Among the chief sources regarding those parishes are the records of institutions to benefices which compose the registers of the bishops of Norwich. Bateman's register is the first from Norwich to receive a modern edition, for which medievalists are in PhyUis Pobst's debt.

Pobst's introduction uses the register to revise in some points Alexander HamUton Thompson's earlier account of Bateman's career. (There is scant evidence that Bateman conducted a visitation of the diocese in 1345, and he was less of an absentee than Thompson supposed.) This register consists almost solely of material relating to appropriations of, and institutions to, benefices. Pobst notes that such material sheds Ught on the Black Death, from notices of poverty resulting from the plague used to justify appropriations to the steep increase in institutions as rectors and vicars perished. And yet, the diocesan machinery ground on; Pobst finds no sign of disruption in the register itself beyond some institutions squeezed into the lower margins and some folios apparently laid against others whUe the ink was still wet.

Pobst's codicological discussion is exceptionally fine, even given the high standards of the Canterbury and York Society. Readers learn, for example, about the prickings of the MS, the measurements of individual writs sewn into the volume, where scribes have left lines blank, and how many. The palaeographical analysis is similarly exact. The editor identifies fifteen medieval scribes and five modern ones who left traces in the MS. She has worked rigorously to give the reader as accurate an account as possible of the MS within the limits of a calendared edition. Fortunately, the Latin texts of some routine entries, as weU as those of special interest, are promised for the forthcoming second volume.

The apparatus is also exemplary in elucidating the text. Pobst identifies aUases of persons appearing in the register using other sources, provides alternate place names for certain sites, and cross-indexes entries with others in the register. Sometimes the rationale for these notices is given at unusual length (e.g., no. 496 n. 36), a helpful practice for readers getting to know the diocese.

My reservations are niggling. Pobst generally specifies the nature of the entries in the register, noting which are "letters patent" (e.g., no. 8), which are simply "letters" (e.g., no. 11), and which are memoranda (e.g., no. 39).The nature of a few entries is, however, less clear. No. 98, for example, is described as a "letter of commission." Does that mean that no. 97, described simply as a"commission," is to be understood as a memorandum and not a letter? If a memorandum, why not an explicit notice as in no. 39? Consistency in such matters is helpful in a calendar. A note for no. 816 explaining why Pobst concludes the letter of induction was sent to the archdeacon of Sudbury rather than to the archdeacon's official would also be useful. But these are smaU desiderata for an exceUent edition.

Michael Burger

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The Reluctant Emperor: A Biography of John Cantacuzene, Byzantine Emperor and Monk, c. 1295-1383- By Donald M. Nicol. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xiv. 203. $3995.)

Some dozen years ago I met Donald M. Nicol at a conference. Reflecting on our mutual interest in the late Byzantine period, we discussed the perennial trend toward overspecialization at the expense of works with broader perspectives and grander themes. He summarized this point of view by advising me, then a graduate student, to write "big books." Throughout a distinguished scholarly career Nicol has been true to this counsel, and for the benefit of a generation of Byzantine historians, and others to come, he has written quite a few "big books." Known to aU Byzantine historians are The Despotate ofEpiros (Oxford, 1957), The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus) ca. 1100-1460: A Genealogical and Prosopographical Study (Washington, D.C, 1968), The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261-1453 (London, 1972; 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1993), and The Despotate of Epiros, 1267-1479 (Cambridge, 1984), as well as other books and many articles which have estabUshed Nicol as the pre-eminent authority on late Byzantine poUtical history. Thus, the life and age of John VI Kantakouzenos are famUiar territory. But as he explains, his purpose here was to write not a social and political history of the Byzantine Empire in the fourteenth century, but "a biography of a great and much-maUgned and misunderstood man" (p. 2).

John Kantakouzenos, emperor from 1347 to 1354, Uved and led through civU wars, dynastic squabbling, rebeUions, reUgious controversies, invasions by Serbs and Turks, and wars with Albanians and Latins. His thousand-page memoirs which cover the period from 1320 to 1356 are an exemplary contribution to medieval historiography and the most important source for the history of fourteenth-century Byzantium. Nevertheless, they teU us very Uttle about the

man himself. He wrote about himself in the third person, depicting himself, on the whole, as a weU-meaning, high-minded participant in much tragic business.

Nicol scours the sources to provide whatever can be said about the personality of John VI Kantakouzenos in order to round out his presentation of the history of the period. He offers a sympathetic view of his subject, and this has formed the basis of nearly every modern Byzantinist's opinion of the man. And therein Ues the problem. There are only so many ways to tell the same story. About a third of The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos (pp. 35-103) deals with Kantakouzenos and a quarter of The Last Centuries of Byzantium (pp. 157-261) deals with the period covered by his memoirs. Perhaps three-quarters of the present book consist of paraphrases of sections from these two works. Nicol teUs the story well, and it is a story worth teUing, but there is little here that he has not already said before. Scholars and students would do better to read his Last Centuries of Byzantium, a superb treatment of the turbulent late Byzantine age.

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Liberty, Right, and Nature: Individual Rights in Later Scholastic Thought. By Annabel S. Brett. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 254.)

The word ius, as anyone acquainted with medieval juristic or scholastic texts recognizes immediately, poses a baffling array of problems for those who wish to expUcate its range of meanings. Annabel Brett has written an important and stimulating book that provides such an explication with respect to the scholastic discourse of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as weU as the writings of the Spanish Neo-Scholastics of the sixteenth century and Thomas Hobbes in the seventeenth. In asuming this chaUenging undertaking, Brett has performed a signal service for scholars. Our knowledge of the uses to which this term was put has been enriched substantiaUy by her work.

Brett's work is divisible into two large sections, each consisting of three chapters. In the first half of her book, she addresses the formation of the scholastic discourse of individual rights. She begins by rebutting the notion, advanced by historians like Richard Tuck, that the equivalence between ius and dominium made by some thirteenth- and fourteenth-century writers amounts to "the 'origin' of the modern subjective right in its most radical form … in which it is preeminently associated with Uberty, with property, and with a certain idea of sovereignty" (p. 10).To be sure, some thirteenth-century writers, especially theologians associated with the Franciscan Order, did make such an equation. St. Bonaventura and John Pecham, for instance, equated ius and dominium as part of a larger effort to understand the freedom of the will necessary to renounce the goods of this world: "lus as much as dominium involved the abUity to claim

in court" (p. 18), and so violated the spirit of humilitas required of every Friar Minor.

But most medieval authors, Brett continues, did not make the ius-dominium equivalence a central part of their thought on the freedom of the individual. Brett brings this point home by reviewing the works of Roman lawyers like Bartolus of Sassoferrato and the authors of Summae confessorum of the late thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. She closes the chapter by looking to writers of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, such as Conrad Summenhart and John Mair, to conclude that analysis of "the equivalence of dominium and ius . . . did not bequeath to the scholastics of the sixteenth century a language of ius as sovereignty or indifferent choice" (p. 48).

After refuting those who would see dominium-ius as the origin of Western subjective rights talk, Brett turns her attention in the next two chapters to the role played by the scholastic writers in the shaping of the Western rights vocabulary. The story she tells is compelling and important. She sees WUUam of Ockham as playing a crucial role in the development of this vocabulary, especially in the philosophicaUy rigorous definition he offered of ius as a potestas licita. She avoids the pitfaU of tracing Ockham's definition back to his nominalist and voluntarist roots, recognizing that the practice of characterizing scholars' work as nominalist or realist and reading into such characterizations assumed commitments about right and justice has deeply distorted much older writing about the history of subjective rights. Brett's intention is to take full account of "the many inteUectual strands" that have come to shape the early history of rights (p. 50). She thus considers the contribution of such writers as Richard Fitzralph and John Wyclif. She closes the chapter with a discussion of Jean Gerson, who articulated a theory of rights as faculties or powers held or exercised in accord with right reason. Brett's treatment of Gerson is marred by her shortchanging the possibUity that Gerson was influenced by a tradition of rights discourse that extended back to the twelfth-century decretists. It is, however, a fact that the canonists of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries routinely discussed and defined the word ius in terms of potestas, facultas, libertas, immunitas, and other words commonly associated with the notion of subjective rights and that this background played an important role in shaping subsequent philosophical discourse. See Brian Tierney, The Idea of Natural Rights: Studies on Natural Rights, Natural Law, and Church Law, 1150-1625 (1997), pp. 207-235; and Charles J. Reid, Jr., "Thirteenth-Century Canon Law and Rights: The Word ius and Its Range of Subjective Meanings," Studia canónica, 30 (1996), 295-342.

Brett closes the first haff of her book with a treatment of Thomistic and non-Thomistic analyses of ius, "right," understood objectively as right order or justice. Thomas himseU, Brett points out, offered two distinct objective definitions of ius, which led to some apparent inconsistencies. On the one hand. Thomas equated ius with iustum, and saw it as "'a certain action which is equal in relation to another person according to a certain mode of equality'" (p. 91). On the

other hand, in answering the question whether the ius gentium is the same as the ius naturale,,Thomas proposed "that natural right is that which is equated to another 'according to an absolute consideration of itself; as the male of its being as such has a commensuration towards the female, so that he might produce from her . . .'" (p. 94).This assertion has "caused problems for [Thomas's] interpreters," since it suggests that there might be ius naturale among animals, even though elsewhere Thomas makes rationality a foundation of the natural law (p. 94). Brett resolves this problem by looking to Thomas's treatment of the eternal law: because the human person participates in the eternal law with "the cognitive equipment of a rational," he may properly be said to be able to apprehend and be governed by natural law dUferently from non-rational animals, whose participation is exclusively by way of natural incUnation (p. 96). Brett also considers important non-Thomistic accounts of objective ius naturale, including the works of John Buridan and Denis the Carthusian, and the works of later Thomists like Antoninus of Florence to demonstrate the ways in which a subjective notion of ius was gradually grafted onto the objective ius naturale of Thomas Aquinas.

The second haU of the book, then, is taken up with a treatment of the Spanish Neo-Scholastics of the sixteenth century and the Englishman Thomas Hobbes. For the most part, Brett focuses on three authors, Francisco de Vitoria, Domingo de Soto, and Fernando Vázquez de Menchaca. She teUs us that Vitoria developed two different arguments regarding right. In his commentary on Thomas Aquinas, Vitoria equated dominium and ius, seeing in this equation "the authority to do or not to do a good act. It is specificaUy bound in with the distinction of man as a rational and free creature from the rest of nature which operates necessarily" (p. 134). In his Relectio de potestate civili, on the other hand, Vitoria emphasized the necessity of political organization, grounding it in the individual's right of seU-preservation. Regrettably, Brett does not consider Vitoria's treatment of rights in his Relectio de Indis, although this is another important source of his rights thought.

Brett's treatment of Soto and Vázquez are similarly important and sophisticated. Soto, she demonstrates, asserted that human beings, because they are "possessed of reason and wiU" and are "made in the image of God," enjoyed a certain inviolable freedom (dominium) of action and "a 'Ucit subjective power'" caUed ius (p. 154). Thus both Vitoria and Soto equated ius and dominium Ln ways that helped to develop the Western rights tradition, but their equation was also bounded by an awareness on the part of both authors that freedom of action must be constrained within a prior vision of right order.

Vázquez, for his part, is shown to be one of the most deeply creative poUtical thinkers of his day. OriginaUy, Vázquez argued, human beings enjoyed the utmost libertas, but this freedom required regulation. Government, however, although it provided needed regulation, might come to threaten the rights of those under its authority. Hence, Vázquez continued, governments that came

into being through force might be overthrown by the same means, whUe governments that came about by the consent of the governed might be dissolved by the withdrawal of that consent (see p. 197). Brett closes the book with a chapter on Thomas Hobbes, which sees him as "belonging to the same tradition of subjective right as Vázquez. This right is primarily the natural Uberty of a person to do what he wiU: a Uberty which is restricted but not entirely eliminated by the invention of the commonwealth or political power" (pp. 234-235).

In closing, it must be stressed that Brett's work has substantiaUy increased our knowledge of late medieval rights discourse. She is at her most commanding in discussing the sixteenth-century Spaniards, but she provides her readers with valuable insights throughout. As noted above, one wishes that she would have paid greater attention to the canonistic sources of late medieval rights talk. But even with this qualification, we must reiterate our gratitude to Brett for an outstanding scholarly accomplishment.

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Pierpaolo Vergerio the Elder: The Humanist as Orator. By John M. McManamon. [Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, Volume 163·] (Tempe: Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Arizona State University. 1996. Pp. xv, 224. $26.00.)

Looking back on the history of the humanist movement from the third quarter of the fifteenth century, the Roman humanist Bartolomeo Platina describes Pierpaolo Vergerio the Elder (1368/70-1444) together with Francesco Petrarca (1304-1374) as preparing the way for the flourishing of good letters with Barzizza, Guarino, Bruni, Poggio, FileUo, and Vittorino.[1] However, despite a sizable corpus of writings including his De ingenuis moribus, a tract on humanist education which became required reading for grammar school boys in the fifteenth century[2] until John McManamon's Pierpaolo Vergerio the Elder. The Humanist as Orator, we have lacked an extended analysis of this humanist's life and thought.

The result of extensive study of the ancient and medieval rhetorical tradition, McManamon's thesis is thatVergerio's focus on Latin oration gave humanism a new dimension. He effectively shows that early in the 1390's Vergerio broke with traditional medieval oratorical forms and espoused imitation of Ciceronian oration, a part of Cicero's corpus of writings relatively neglected by previous generations of humanists. Conscious of paraUeling the visual arts, Vergerio Ln-

[1]De vita Victorini feltrensis commentariolus, in Eugenio Garin, /Z pensiero pedagógico dell'umanesimo (Florence, 1958), p. 670.

[2]Paolo Cortesi, De hominibus doctis dialogus, ed. M.T. Graziosi (Rome, 1973), p. 28.

sisted on the importance of ecphrasis in speeches. He created what was to become the standard portrait of Cicero, Roman patriot and scholar, who through his oratory defended the RepubUc. Deeply devoted to St. Jerome, Vergerio deUvered a series of orations praising die saint as serving the Christian repubUc both as an active man and a contemplative. In his De ingenuis moribus, essentiaUy directed to training boys for pubUc life, he put skiU in oratory at the center of the educational curriculum.

McManamon's inteUectuaI biography takes Vergerio from his youth in provincial Istria and his years of education in Florence, Bologna, and Padua, through his career as a papal burocrat and counselor of the Emperor. Particularly effective is the chapter on Vergerio's role during the Great Schism and the Council of Constance. McManamon reveals through an analysis of Vergerio's speeches the deep reUgiosity and reforming zeal emboldening Vergerio to speak harsh but frank truths about the leadership of the Church.

This is an important book. McManamon's thesis wiU change the way scholars approach humanism in the early fifteenth century. For one thing, McManamon's discovery of the oratorical orientation of humanism with its new emphasis on pubUc life helps us to understand why within the first decades of the fifteenth-century humanism gained control of upper-class education in Italy. My one criticism of McManamon's work is that he does not make clear that, although Vergerio espoused Ciceronian oration, he was unable styUsticaUy to imitate Cicero. It was probably this inabUity which caused later humanists like Platina to see him as a predecessor of Bruni, Poggio, Barzizza, and others, who were in fact his contemporaries.

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Antonio da Cannara: De potestate pape supra concilium generale contra errores Basiliensium. Einleitung, Kommentar und Edition ausgewählter Abschnitte. By Thomas Prügl. [Veröffentlichungen des Grabmann-Institutes, Neue Folge 4L] (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh. 1996. Pp. xx, 158. DM 28,-.)

Cannara's was not one of the great minds of his generation in which Nicholas of Cusa and Johannes deTorquemada stood out, but he has his own distinction. Unlike these two and many others who wrestied with the problem of how to accommodate and reconcUe the various strains of teaching and doctrine which made up the tradition with which theologians and canonists had worked for generations, Cannara foUowed a different path, and his tract can be seen as an early example of a form of argumentation that was to have a baneful influence over the centuries. Prügl in his introduction and discussion of the tract explains and detaUs Cannara's methodology and innovation. He begins with the context of the tract, explains the motives and goal Cannara had in writing, and shows

how he set out to achieve these and thus how he differed from earUer writers and his own contemporaries.

SpecLficaUy Cannara was writing after the spUt had occurred at the CouncU of Basel and that CouncU had charged Eugenius IV with heresy. As other papalists were doing, Cannara strove to estabUsh the immunity of the pope against that charge. What is new is his response to and his way of dealing with the classical texts which said that the pope could not be judged by anyone unless he deviated from the faith. EarUer writers squirmed around these texts with a variety of commentary, e.g., that the pope who became a heretic was ipso facto self-deposed and so no longer pope, or that one had to work through a long and detaUed analysis of what the charge of heresy meant (formal vs. material heresy). Cannara wiU have none of this; he simply asserts a mutual exclusivity in the two parts of the classical text. The pope could not be judged by anyone because he was above the Church, subject only to God, Who bestowed on him a special grace that precluded him from ever being deviant in faith. By a wave of his magical wand of argumentation Cannara asserted that it was impossible for a pope to be devius a ftde. Thus the pope had absolute immunity and stood above and apart from the Church which depended totaUy on him. What about the long, voluminous earlier tradition that others had struggled with? History that was inconvenient could simply be ignored, denied, or misinterpreted out of existence. Whatever did not fit, was not. This was a nice neat Une of argumentation. Prügl has done a service presenting this tract and providing an edition of the text which is worthy of reflection and critical analysis.

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Kardinal Jean Jouffroy (f 1473): Leben und Werk. By Claudia Märtl. [Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters, Band 18.] (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag. 1996. Pp. 397. DM 108.)

Jean Jouffroy's career reflects the competing aspirations that marked the ecclesiastical vocation in the fifteenth century. Born into a Burgundian mercantile famUy, he joined the Benedictine Order, studied canon law at the University of Pavia (where he also encountered the famed Italian humanist Lorenzo Valla), then during the CouncU of Ferrara-Florence (1438-39) entered the familia of Francesco Condulmer, the influential nephew of Pope Eugenius IV From this point on, his advance in the ranks of the Church proceeded rapidly, culminating in his gaining the red hat in 1461.

Given neither to personal austerity nor to the cloistered life of prayer, he lived a highly pubUc career, emerging as a skillful papal diplomat and wealthy church administrator, becoming Bishop of Arras (1453) and subsequentiy of Albi (1462), and then Abbot of Saint-Denis (1464). In many ways an ambitious and worldly careerist (even labeled as avaricious by Pope Pius II), whose legal

training faciUtated both his diplomatic activities and his abUities to function as a curial insider, he nonetheless was a highly cultured prelate who became an important practitioner of the new humanist oratory at the papal court and an influential patron of humanistic learning. He acquired an extensive classical and patristic library, including manuscripts of recent humanist translations of Chrysostom and other Church Fathers, and he commissioned Francesco Griffolini, the humanist from Arezzo, to provide Latin translations of Chrysostom's Homilies on 1 Corinthians and Homilies on John. Jouffroy's own writings (the author usefuUy provides in an appendix a complete chronological Usting of titles, including manuscript data and relevant scholarly studies) include an oration in praise of St. John the EvangeUst, deUvered before the papal court on that saint's feast day (December 27) in 1438; the funeral oration for Pope NicholasV (1455); and a dialogue, De dignitate cardinalatus (1467/68), which in response to the accusations of an anonymous fraticelli sympathizer justifies the Uturgical splendor of the papal court (including Pope Paul IFs controversial use of the triple tiara at papal Masses) as imparting rightful dignity and authority to the papal see.

Yet Jouffroy's life was less Rome-centered than that of many other Renaissance cardinals. Early in his career he represented the interests of Duke PhUip the Good of Burgundy at the papal court and later had important connections with the court of Louis XI of France. Intensive diplomatic activity involved extended journeys to France, Germany, the Low Countries, and the Iberian peninsula. Late in IUe he was much occupied with the southern French concerns of his diocese of Albi. His outlook was thus more broadly European than that of the increasingly Italianate Roman Curia.

This impressive book, the first book-length treatment of Jouffroy in more than a century, deploys a comprehensive command of the primary sources and a masterful consideration of aU the relevant scholarly Uterature to provide a fully rounded portrait of this Renaissance prelate whose manifold activities touched so many aspects of the mid-fifteenth-century European world.

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Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent. By Jeffrey T. Hamburger. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1997. Pp. xxvi, 318. $55.00.)

Nuns as Artists offers an adventurous analysis of eleven drawings by a Benedictine nun of St. Walburg in Eichstätt ca. 1500 for devotional use by her sisters. To aid in his meticulous dissection of their symbolism, Hamburger has reproduced them in color Ui the center of his book and in black and white for easy references on the pages where they are discussed. He argues that their naive execution veils a sophisticated feminine mystical program, enhancing and some-

times revising texts taken from a Uturgy devised by the male clergy.The Malerin adapted avaUable print models with references and symbols that spoke directly to the nuns' preferred devotions.

Hamburger criticizes modern historians who have dismissed medieval images as simple transmitters of texts, noting that images inherently pose a challenge to the authority of the text. In a particular institutional setting, the drawings blended snippets of Uturgy and exegesis into complex images that reflect the insights and emotions of meditative women. When closely sudied in the context of the observantine reforms of 1456, the pictures reveal their paraliturgical functions, suggesting devotional postures to focus individuals engaged in group prayer. They enrich texts from a common Uturgy with personaUzed symbols famUiar to nuns who copied and Ulustrated many texts. A drawing of Christ's agony in the garden embedded in the heart of an open rose captioned "not my wiU but thine" relates the bridal imagery of the Song of Songs with the mysticism of the Passion and the vow of obedience which governed convent Uves. Drawings of the crucifixion forge a further link to the Sacred Heart, an image associated with nuns' piety by the mystics of Helfta.The heart in another form becomes a house in which Christ shares the Eucharistie banquet with a nun/bride. Complex sources for this presentation include the idea of Christ knocking on the door of the heart; the heart as symbol of the body as a temple; the heart as the enclosed garden. In the communal setting, the device also reflected the idea of the spiritual monastery with the virtues as its officers.

In brief, Hamburger discerns a program of spirituality which layers many aspects of conventual devotion. Desire for Christ as bridegroom expressed through the Eucharist bonds with the house of the heart as a womb which "transforms the erotic dalliance" of the Song of Songs into a "model of the ultimate bond and exemplary alliance between God and man or woman, the Incarnation" (p. 174).The drawings are ultimately the product of an intense spiritual coUaboration between the nuns' spiritual creativity and the supervised devotions set by the Church in this age of the reform.They reflect the nuns' own convictions shaped by ecclesiastical authority. They echo standard devotional literature but do not Ulustrate any particular text. He argues that the drawings were part of the devotional process itsetf, enlisting the visual capacity direcdy, relating the self to Christ through the eyes without a verbal mediator. Hamburger powerfuUy urges the modern interpreter to abandon the project of decoding iconography and enter the realm of viewer responses to visual stimulation.

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Early Modern European

Erasmus of the Low Countries. By James D. Tracy. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1996. Pp. Lx, 297. $40.00.)

The theme of Professor Tracy's book is Erasmus' program for a reform of European Christian society through a reform of teaching (doctrina). The formulation, pursuit, and defense of this program must, according to Tracy, be understood against a threefold background: first, Erasmus' Burgundian-Netherlandish heritage; second, his status as a churchman and humanist scholar; third, the controversies that Erasmus' works provoked. The organization of the book reflects this choice of backgrounds. Part I, entitled "Bonae Literae: The Making of a Low Countries Humanist, 1469-1511," shows how Erasmus formulated his ideas of intellectual culture and Christian piety in conscious reaction against the monastic culture in which he had been schooled and against the communal and corporatist values of his native Low Countries. Part II, "Philosophia Christi: Erasmus and the Reform of Doctrina, 1511-1521," focuses on the years in which Erasmus was at the height of his fame and influence. It includes a detailed examination of his diagnosis of the evils that plagued Christendom, the remedy for which would be, he thought, the recovery, by careful humanist scholarship, of the original gospel message in all its purity and its dissemination to the world. Part III, "Second Thoughts, 1521-1536," considers Erasmus' response to Catholic and Protestant critics, who shared the conviction that his criticisms of the Church had paved the way for the Reformation that he now disavowed. Striving to refine his ideas and to make clear what he insisted had always been his Catholic intent, he continued to elucidate his view of what Catholicism ought to be (but had not yet become) while insisting that the nascent Protestant churches were not a credible embodiment of the Philosophia Christi. At the same time, he pleaded with Catholic rulers not to use fire and sword in the name of the gospel to suppress dissent.

Tracy brings to his task a deep knowledge of the Latin text of Erasmus' works that has been supplemented by the use of what he calls the "invaluable translations and notes that make up the University of Toronto Press's Collected Works of Erasmus series." This, together with his broad knowledge of the secondary literature and his keen eye for the tensions and contradictions in Erasmus' thought, enable him to throw welcome light on a number of important themes. The list of these is fairly long, but I confine myself here to the four that he himself emphasizes in his conclusion.

The first theme is Erasmus' demand for a Christian teaching that would be a doctrina in the sense of Augustine's De doctrina Christiana, that is, a teaching that would offer sustenance for both the mind and the heart. The result would be learned piety (docta pietas), a combination of simple trust in God with the critical philology that was the only means to recover the pure teaching of the New Testament from the accumulated errors of centuries. The second theme is

Erasmus' dream of a Christian repubUc of letters in which everyone with a modicum of learning, not just scholars and theologians, would overcome national, local, or corporate loyalties and practice docta pietas in an atmosphere of "Christian civUity." The third theme is the optimistic view of human nature, rooted m classical moral philosophy and his favorite Church Fathers (Origen and Jerome), that enabled Erasmus, despite his beUef that he lived in the most corrupt age in the history of Christendom, to be fuU of hope for startUngly dramatic improvements in society as the result of the preaching of the phUosophy of Christ. When things did not work out that way, Erasmus responded, not by adopting a more pessimistic view of human nature but by blaming the wickedness of powerful men. This brings us to the fourth theme, namely, Erasmus' identification of the mendicant orders as the principal obstacle to the advance of good letters and genuine reform. Erasmus saw the mendicants as the embodiment of the "religion of ceremonies" that he wanted to eliminate and as bad pastors who served their own beUies by fostering superstition among simple folk. The friars were also (in their capacity as university theologians) the "PhiUstines" who had poUuted the gospel "weUs" with their profane teaching and were, for that reason, the chief opponents of the new bibUcal philology that Erasmus represented. It was a malign conspiracy of these powerful men, Erasmus beUeved, that robbed the preaching of the phUosophy of Christ of the beneficial effects expected from it.

As Tracy points out, there is a glaring inconsistency between Erasmus' ideal of harmony and civUity within the community of the faithful and his own zealous campaign against the friars. And this, as much as anything else, got him into trouble in the controversies of the early Reformation. Because of the ridicule that he had heaped upon the religious orders and the "ceremonies" associated with them in works like The Praise of Folly and The Colloquies, and because of his continuing denunciation of "mendicant tyrants" after the Reformation was in fuU swing, Catholics and Protestants alike found it dUficult to take seriously Erasmus' professions of loyalty to the CathoUc Church. Much recent scholarship has taught us to take seriously Erasmus' understanding of himsetf as a CathoUc, but in his own day his inabUity either to condemn the pope as Antichrist or to embrace his mendicant adversaries as true representatives of the phUosophy of Christ earned him the reputation as "slippery" that stuck to him for centuries.

I would like to conclude by registering one cavU and one caveat. The cavU pertains to several careless errors about events in the German Reformation. Most of these, including the relocation of the imperial diet of 1532 from Regensburg to Augsburg (p. 145), are of no great moment, but the astonishing assertion (pp. 188, 227) that Philipp Melanchthon and his followers "accepted" the Augsburg Interim of 1548 is a serious blunder. The caveat is that Professor Tracy's book is not for beginners. He assumes a great deal of basic and not-so-basic knowledge (about humanism, about the content of Erasmus' works, and about much else besides) on the part of his readers, and the thread of his thought is not always easy to foUow. Those not yet in possession of the requisite

knowledge should turn first to James McConica's little volume Ln the "Past Masters" series (Oxford University Press) or to Cornells Augustijn's biography (EngUsh translation from the University ofToronto Press).

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The Venetian Upper Clery in the 16'b and Early 17'" Centuries: A Study in Religious Culture. By OUver Logan. [Texts and Studies in ReUgion, Volume 68.] (Lewiston, New York: The Edwin MeUen Press. 1996. Pp. x, 608. $ 129.95.)

OUver Logan has long contributed to the study of Venetian culture in the early modern period. In this work he presents the results of his research on the religious culture of eUte clergy in Venice in the late Renaissance. He studies the works of sixteen authors of reUgious treatises and sermons. As unified as their place of origin and their commitment to Venetian pubUc life was, these writers do not present a religious view that is easUy identifiable.

Among the writers included in the study are Pietro Barozzi (1441-1507), bishop of BeUuno and Padua; Gasparo Contarini (1483-1542); Alvise Lippomano (1504-1559), bishop of Verona and Bergamo; Dámele Bárbaro (1504-1559), Patriarch-Elect of AquUeia; Giovanni Tiepolo (1571-1631), Patriarch of Venice; Francesco Giorgio (d. 1540), the Franciscan preacher and theologian; and Paolo Sarpi, the Servile canonist and historian. Beyond sharing a common concern for the renewal of the pastoral activity of bishops, they worked in diverse genres and with dtfferent theological and poUtical viewpoints. For Logan this diversity presents both a problem and a large part of his conclusion. He argues that faced with putting aU of this in order, diversity itseU became a "crucial problem for analysis" (p. ix). The writers represented an "exploding galaxy" of religious thought. At some point. he states, "that galaxy began to implode, to turn inwards on itseU and seemed to be converging towards the black hole of integrism and monoUthicity" (p. ix). Logan's individual treatment of the writers offers the benefit of aUowing for an independent analysis of the rhetoric, philosophical presuppositions, pastoral values, and culture of the writers. Nevertheless, the very diversity that he emphasized in these writers seems to overwhelm any attempt to synthesize their outlook.

Only in the concluding chapter does Logan offer some generaUzations about this pastoral eUte. First, he observes that they conform in certain respects to the rhetorical traditions of Venetian humanism generaUy: a preference for the genus humile. Logan identifies this genus humile as representing the "cultivation of systematic or moral phUosophy" as well as a simple style (p. 519). Second, Logan identifies as a major characteristic of his authors their adherence to AristoteUan analytical speech and their rejection of metaphor, an attitude that may have been encouraged by the Aristotelian tradition at Padua. Third, concern for the proper duties of a bishop is a major theme in these writings. Contarini's

contributions in this field are only part of a broader tradition among these Venetian authors. Logan argues that what is particularly Venetian in their views on the duties of a bishop is their tendency to see episcopal office in terms of state service within the Venetian Empire. These writers were all, in one respect or another, servants of the Venetian state.

Logan admits, nevertheless, that he has "abandoned the attempt to define a distinctive tradition of Venetian religious thought" (p. 514). That is because he sees the diversity in these writers as representative of Renaissance Catholicism. He recognizes that this rich diversity was eliminated when the "exploding universe" of religious thought began to implode. Logan does not date this "implosion" to the Counter-Reformation, as many of his writers are from that period. Rather, he argues that the loss of individuality in the culture of the upper clergy in Italy was the result of the reaction of the Church to the events of the French Revolution and the establishment of a Liberal state in Italy in the nineteenth century. In response to those perceived threats, he argues, the Church closed ranks and demanded greater uniformity of its personnel. Although his documentation does not seem to offer material for the discussion of nineteenth-century Italian history, Logan has shown the diversity of the early modern clergy of Venice.

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Impelling Spirit: Revisiting a Founding Experience: 1539, Ignatius of Loyola and His Companions. An Exploration into the Spirit and Aims of the Society of Jesus as Revealed in the Founders' Proposed Papal Letter Approving the Society. By Joseph E Conwell, SJ. (Chicago: Loyola Press. 1997. Pp. xxxii, 585. $24.95.)

At first glance Impelling Spirit by Joseph Conwell appears to be much ado about very little. Conwell spends 421 pages (excluding notes and bibliography) examining the first draft of the papal brief founding the Society of Jesus. The document itself takes up only four pages of the Monumenta Ignatiana, including introduction and notes; and the best-known commentary on the Formula of the Institute, that of Antonio Aldama, uses only 107 pages to analyze the first draft plus the two promulgated versions. All of this for what some assert to be the only case in the history of the Society of Jesus of a canonically sanctioned communal discernment! But Conwell's purpose is broader than a simple historical analysis of a foundational document. His work seeks a synthesis of history and spirituality, taking seriously a critique of the latter for its lack of concern for the former. He discovers that "a paradigm shift is coming about in our understanding of Ignatian and Jesuit spirituality" (p. xix). From my own experience of Jesuit formation, and certainly in the most recent historiography of the Society of Jesus, the shift occurred some time ago. Only those unfamiliar with

the current Uterature would still identify "Ignatius as soldier-saint, a man of steely wiU, an orderly administrator, coldly rational" (p. xix). WhUe chaUenging this characterization bears repetition, it hardly seems new ground. Nevertheless, the book, whUe serving primarily as a work of spirituality, is not without value for historians.

ConweU divides his work into three parts, reflecting the three parts of the discernment process: "(1) gathering data . . . , (2) making the decision, (3) seeking confirmation of the decision" (p. 28). The first part provides the most of interest to the historian. ConweU's forte is the explanation of the theological context of the various terms used in the text. The best example comes in Chapter II, where he treats of the first companions under the rubric of "pauperes Christi sacerdotes" (p. 55ff). He does EngUsh readers a service by summarizing an important work on this pubUshed in French by Michel Dortel-Claudot. He also draws much of value concerning the priestly option of Ignatius from a work in Spanish by Luis de Diego. The most interesting part of ConweU's analysis is his discussion of "why sacerdotes rather than presbyteros?" (pp. 73-75). After discussing the impUcations of the care of souls, he returns to poverty as key to understanding Ignatius' view of a reformed priesthood. In support he quotes the wiU of Faustina de Jancolini (p. 73). Had he gone but a few lines further in the wUl he could have added that her ideal of reformed priest also included the observance of chastity: "no woman shaU ever enter into the house."

ConweU is correct in placing the discernment of the first Jesuits in the context of Catholic reform movements of the sixteenth century. He mentions the Ursulines, Oratorians, Theatines, Capuchins, Barnabites, and Somaschans. Here he echoes Religious Orders of the Catholic Reformation, John OUn, and several others.

Perhaps Impelling Spirit says too much from the starting point of a rather short and primitive document. StUl, ConweU has tapped into a growing area of research in early modern history; and contemporary spirituaUty wiU benefit from this. Father Aldama expressed a desire in 1981 that others would study the early Jesuit documents from various points of view. ConweU has done this from the perspective of modern spirituality.

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Civic Agendas and Religious Passion: Châlons-sur-Marne during the French Wars of Religion, 1560-1594. By Mark W Konnert. [Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies. Volume XXXV] (KirksviUe, Missouri: Sixteenth Century Journal PubUshers. 1997. Pp. x, 182. $40.00.)

With about 9,000 inhabitants in 1517, Châlons-sur-Marne ranked several notches down the urban hierarchy from the majority of those cities whose ex-

perience of the Wars of Religion has recently been the subject of a growing corpus of local studies. Chalons was larger than Romans, famously studied by Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, but unlike Romans, nothing particularly noteworthy happened there. Although a modest Reformed church grew up, no violent clashes occurred between Protestants and Catholics. No Saint Bartholomew's Massacre took place. The city remained loyal to the crown in 1562. It likewise resisted the blandishments of the Catholic League, despite its location in Guise-dominated Champagne.

The idea of studying a smaller town is certainly a good one, for the mix of the poUtical forces was different in such towns from the larger cities that we know better. The very uneventfulness of Chalons' history also poses the interesting problem of why the city did not experience the kinds of internal conflicts that divided so many other locaUties. Unfortunately, Mark Konnert's attempt to resolve this problem rests on a slender amount of archival research, restricted above aU to the "Livres des conclusions" and financial records of the municipaUty.

The first part of his two-part study, "Structures of Power," examines the history and functioning of Chalons' city government. Individual chapters explore the emergence of the municipality in the late Middle Ages; the composition of the city councU and the frequency of its assemblies; the chief disbursements of the municipal government; and the fiscal impact of the Wars of Religion. It emerges that Chalons was a city whose powerful bishops successfuUy defeated aU efforts to establish a commune between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, so that a municipal councU exercising a relatively restricted range of powers, pertaining chiefly to defense, took shape only in the fifteenth century at royal encouragement.

Part Two, "Chalons during the Wars of Religion," narrates the city's history amid the reUgious wars from 1560 to 1594. The main outlines of the city's experience emerge clearly enough, but the thinness of the author's source base produces an account that lacks richness. Rarely is Konnert able to penetrate beneath the surface of events to identify the groups or individuals who shaped these events. Rarer yet are statements by these groups or individuals that shed light on their motivations.

In the end, Konnert attributes Chalons' relative peacefulness and fideUty to the crown to several factors: the ideal of the "bonne vUle" (but Chalons' city government was a weak late growth and no information has been provided about the character of local civic consciousness); the desire to destroy or weaken nearby rivals such as Vitry-le-François that cast their lot with the League (scarcely evident in the narrative untU mentioned in the conclusion); and the tolerance for reUgious diversity that grew out of the city's relatively smaU size and administrative character (but, as the author himself admits, other small towns of comparable character witnessed considerable reUgious violence). The unpersuasiveness of these explanations indicates Konnert's faUure to resolve the problem he set for himself.

Its title notwithstanding, Civic Agendas and Religious Passions neither explores in any detaU local understandings of civic identity and their LmpUcations for political obUgation, as HUary Bernstein has done so well for Poitiers,1 nor recreates Chalons' reUgious history, as so many studies of local religious life have taught us how to do. One wishes that Konnert had spent more time in the archives before begirming to write.

Phiup Benedict

Brown University

Tra Stato e papato: Conçût provinciali post-tridentini (1564-1648). By Pietro Caiazza. [ItaUa Sacra, Studi e documenti di storia ecclesiastica, Vol. 49·] (Rome: Herder Editrice e Librería. 1992. Pp. xxx, 332. Lire 85.000 paperback.)

In this book Pietro Caiazza deals with a subject that has not been studied in sufficient depth until now even though it represents a crucial theme for the history of the post-Tridentine Church, namely, that of the post-Tridentine provincial councUs. As is weU known, provincial councils represented an ancient institute, the origins of which date back to the first centuries of the Christian era. After falling into desuetude in the course of the Middle Ages, they were revived by the CouncU of Trent. At the end of Session XXfV the conciliar fathers approved a canon in which it was decreed that within one year of the conclusion of the councU aU the metropolitan archbishops would be obliged to assemble in councU the bishops belonging to their respective ecclesiastical provinces. After this first assembly, provincial councils were to be regularly convoked every three years.

In this institute the fathers gathered in Trent had decided to single out an instrument suitable for obtaining a general reception of the Tridentine decrees and a more detaUed appUcation of them; these were traditionaUy two of the principal purposes of provincial councUs. But in spite of the central role assigned to them with a view to the execution of the post-Tridentine reform, such councUs were almost never held with the prescribed triennial frequency, not even in the years immediately foUowing the conclusion of the ecumenical assembly. Indeed, it can be shown that in spite of an initial, significant resumption, already around the end of the sixteenth century the institution was heading toward a slow decline that could not be stopped.

Pietro Caiazza resolved to trace the parabola, first ascending and then descending, of the local conciUar activity within the post-Tridentine Church. In carrying out this intention, he limited the subject on the basis of a conscious and expUcit choice (pp. 2-8, 103). On the one hand, he decided on a synchronic

'Bernstein, "Politics and Civic Culture in Sixteenth-Century Poitiers" (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1997).

treatment of the principal problems, eschewing a diachronic exposition of the events; on the other hand, he stressed the "external" (so to speak) history of the conciUar institute (that is, its relations with the Holy See and the state political power) at the sacrifice of its internal dynamic (convocation, conduct of its work, debates, and nature and contents of the final decisions).

The book is divided into four chapters. The first takes up the theme of the development of concUar activity Ln which were felt both the weight of Roman centralism and the secular authorities' wiU to control, in particular, that of the Spanish Crown. In the second chapter the functioning of the conciUar institute is studied in a weU circumscribed geographical and chronological range, namely, that of the ecclesiastical province of Salerno, in reference to the provincial councUs of l566 and l573, although the proceedings of the latter have not been preserved. The third chapter is devoted to intra-ecclesial relations, with particular attention to the recurrent conflicts inside the provincial ecclesiastical structure (as the frequent tensions between metropoUtans and suffragans witness) and to relations with the Roman central authorities. These authorities claimed, already in the period immediately foUowing the conclusion of the CouncU of Trent, the prerogatives of examining and, Lf necessary, of correcting the decisions of the provincial councUs (recognitio and emendado), as weU as of giving definitive approval to them (confirmado), although up to 1588 these prerogatives were not envisioned in any explicit papal disposition. In the last chapter the author outlines the process of progressive decline in concUar activity, which was noticeable especially from the beginning of the seventeenth century on, as he endeavors to place the phenomenon in the framework of the broadest ecclesiological context of the relations between the local churches and the post-Tridentine Papacy.

Pietro Caiazza's careful study, which demonstrates his complete mastery of the results of the vast archival research he has done and of the abundant bibliography he has coUected, represents a notable contribution to the study of his chosen theme. Many new data are brought to Ught, beginning with those related to provincial councUs that up to now have been unknown (pp. 102, 116, 180), such as those held at Brindisi in 1564 or 1565, at Trani in 1566, and at Lanciano in 1584 (even if the information relative to this last councU should be accepted with caution, seeing that Lanciano was then a metropolitan see without suffragan dioceses). The descending parabola experienced by the institute is clearly drawn, eloquently expressed by the numbers: forty-six councUs in the decade 1564-1573; thirty between 1574 and 1583; twenty-eight between 1584 and 1593; twenty-one between 1594 and l603 (p. 193). StiU more significant are the data relative to the provincial councUs held in continental southern Italy; whüe there were about thirty in the second hatf of the sixteenth century, there were only six in the foUowing century (p. 205).

Undoubtedly various factors contributed to the decline of the conciUar practice—in particular the tensions that the holding of councUs not rarely created inside the local ecclesiastical structures themselves, the interference of the or-

gans of the state power, and the poUcy of control, sometimes too suffocating, exercised by the Roman Curia over the synodal activity of the individual ecclesiastical provinces. It should be noted that with the passing of time a certain skepticism developed within the circles of the Roman Curia regarding the usefulness of councUs for the purposes of an effective work of reform, also in consideration of the numerous clashes (between metropoUtans and suffragans, between ecclesiastical and lay authorities) to which the holding of councUs gave rise. Consequently, from the middle of the seventeenth century on, Rome, which until then had not ceased to put pressure on the metropoUtans not fulfilling this duty to convoke provincial councUs, ceased aU urging in this regard. According to the testimony of Cardinal Giovanni Battista de Luca, the Roman authorities in the second haU of the century radicaUy changed their attitude and imposed on metropoUtans who intended to convoke a provincial councU the obligation of requesting the previous consent of the competent dicastery which was the Congregation of the CouncU.This radical reversal of route in curial policy was inspired, stUl according to Cardinal de Luca, by the desire to avoid the arousal of controversies in the sphere of the local ecclesial structure. It is instead the author's opinion that the decline of the synodal institute was linked to deeper reasons, namely, to a progressive consciousness on the part of the Holy See of the inadequacy of provincial councUs in solving the problems of religious society in a historical period in which the post-Tridentine Church had to face the chaUenges of the modern state.

This is a stimulating hypothesis, which, however, must be judged in the light of further research. Pietro Caiazza in these dense pages has displayed his gifts of a patient researcher, his analytical abUity and his critical acumen. Nothing remains then but to express the hope that he wUl employ these quaUties in pursuing an investigation that he has begun with such fruitful results.

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Die Provinzialkonzüien Süditaliens in der Neuzeit. By Michèle Miele. [KonziUengeschichte, Reme A: DarsteUungen.] (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh. 1996 Pp. xxii, 586. DM 128,-.)

Michèle Miele, the author of numerous articles on the history of the Church in the early modern ItaUan South, had produced now a large study of the provincial councUs held by the archbishops of the Mezzogiorno between the CouncU of Trent and tire end of the old regime.The CouncU of Trent required aU bishops to hold regular synods in their dioceses, and aU archbishops to hold regular councUs with their suffragan bishops. Miele's book covers all of the latter assemblies, of which there were forty-two between 1565 and 1729, with the aim of exploring this crucial (and mostly neglected) link between central impulses for reform and local reaUties.

The work is primarily an institutional examination of the councUs. While synods are somewhat better known and documented, Miele has pieced together the records (at times meager or of difficult access) of aU councUs, plus sources such as letters and episcopal reports to Rome. He provides a brief history of the circumstances and developments that led to the summoning of each councU, discusses the bishops and other clerics in attendance, and offers a brief assessment of each assembly's success. Miele also discusses several faUed tempts by archbishops to hold councUs, and analyzes the general climate and context in which the councUs took place. The study is organized primarily in chronological order. The first five chapters survey aU the councUs, from the one held in 1565 by Archbishop del Fosso of Reggio (the first council in Italy, preceding even Carlo Borromeo's in Milan) to the only eighteenth-century councU, held in Benevento under the leadership of its former archbishop Vincenzo Maria Orsini, by then Pope Benedict XIII.

The councUs were especiaUy numerous in the forty years after Trent, when zealous prelates tried to reform the clergy and faithful of their dioceses and archdioceses. Thirty-four councUs were held in fifteen archdioceses until 1603, whUe only another eight councUs (three of them held by Orsini in Benevento) foUowed, as difficulties of aU sorts became harder to surmount and episcopal fervor declined. The distribution was uneven not only chronologicaUy, but also geographicaUy, as no councUs were ever held in the six archdioceses of Abruzzi, BasUicata, and SicUy, though Miele has relatively Uttle to say about this geographic imbalance.

The last three chapters address general issues, namely, the obstacles posed to the archbishops by papal centraUzing control and later also by rising royal jurisdictionaUsm. The last chapter is the only one devoted primarily to the pastoral and administrative aspects of the councils, and here Miele surveys the archbishops' approaches to problems such as misuse of the Sacraments, magical practices, poor inteUectuaI and spiritual preparation of the local clergy, the exemption of regulars from episcopal authority, and the presence of reUgious minorities (mostly in the areas where the Greek rites were still in use). Many of these problems, of course, faced post-Reformation prelates everywhere in Europe, but Miele provides limited comparative discussions, though he points out the pecuUarities caused by the fragmentation and abundance of episcopal centers in the Italian South (which was home to more than one hundred dioceses and more than twenty archdioceses). The institutional focus, the lack of comparative analysis, and the fact that the book appears in German, may Limit the usefulness of what is otherwise a very soUd and interesting study.

Tommaso Astarita

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Veiled Threats: The Logic of Popular Catholicism in Italy. By Michael P. CarroU. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press. 1996. Pp. xvi, 275. $3995.)

In Veiled Threats Michael CarroU returns to the study of popular CathoUcism Ln Italy, a project he began with Madonnas That Maim (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992). In this study, however, CarroU moves weU beyond his interest m Marian devotions to present a wide-ranging account of popular CathoUcism in Italy since the Counter-Reformation. CarroU's work is based on an extensive reading of the secondary Uterature, which he combines with research in Counter-Reformation pamphlets and theological treatises, and with observations based on his own fieldwork. In his conclusion CarroU returns again to the psychoanalytic model he has employed in earlier works to explain his evidence, but the body of the text is by no means a reductive analysis, and roots his material nrmly in the historical context of Counter-Reformation Italy.

CarroU opens with a chapter in which he defends the concept of popular reUgion against critics such as EUen Badone, WUUam Christian, Jr., and Eamon Duffy. CarroU may overstate his deferences with these scholars, however, with whom he shares a critical view toward models of reUgious change that emphasize the power of eUtes to shape the beUefs and practices of ordinary people. Official and popular CathoUcism were not warring sets of beUefs, but mutuaUy responsive systems that produced devotional forms that reflected creative adaptations satisfying to both clergy and people.

CarroU's substantive chapters deal with an enormous and fascinating variety of popular devotions. He treats first of aU the cults dedicated to powerful images, the most popular of which present the Madonna and the ChUd Jesus. CarroU reviews the attempts of the Jansenist-inspired Synod of Pistoia in 1786 to reform these cults, particularly those which involved covering images, a device that underscored the great and potentiaUy dangerous power wielded by them. But the Synod's efforts ran aground in the face of popular resistance backed by papal support. The images themselves played a role in this dispute, when two dozen Marian statues in Rome began moving their eyes in 1796, "gloating" according to CarroU over theU victory against Pistoia (p. 24).

In the foUowing chapters CarroU argues that such positive responses to popular beUefs were typical of the Counter-Reformation. The bishops gathered at the CouncU of Trent (1545-1563) were critical of images that represented false doctrines, but did not expUcitly attack their invocation for supernatural assistance. In approving local image-cults bishops were motivated, according to CarroU, primarily by a desire to hold on to a popular constituency threatened by the Reformation, and by financial seU-interest. The official church did introduce a more Christocentric piety to Italy, however, as CarroU demonstrates in a fascinating chapter that covers the development of processions commemorating the passion which used both living actors and statues. CarroU is especiaUy persuasive in his detaUed observations and close analysis of the bloody performances on Holy Saturday that stiU draw crowds of journalists to the vUlage of NoceraTerinese in southern Italy.

CarroU then reviews the development of the cult of the dead, in which he distinguishes devotion to the souls in purgatory from a devotion to the skeletons of plague victims. CarroU renews his argument for the centraUty of the Counter-Reformation in the rise of the cult of the dead, and sees this period as crucial also for the rapid growth of cults dedicated to reUcs. As in Madonnas That Maim, CarroU sees the "chiese ricettizie," groups of priests Ln southern Italy who held church property in common, as a key institution which helped insulate local parishes and their devotions from the reforming impulses generated by Trent. In his final substantive chapter CarroU reviews the cults dedicated to "incorruptible" saintly bodies, and argues convincingly that these "provided a concrete metaphor for thinking about the organizational unity of the Church that had been lost during the Reformation" (p. 224). In his conclusion CarroU defends the concept of national character, and attempts to Link what he sees as the characteristicaUy Italian devotion to madonnine images to a national propensity to mix natural and supernatural derived from "strong unconscious oral erotic desires that predispose ItaUans towards models of thinking that emphasize incorporation" (p. 233)·

Carroll's last point is admittedly speculative, as are many of his other arguments. Readers wiU find much to argue with in what Carroll has to say. Perhaps because of his training in sociology he frequently uses theory to move weU beyond what his evidence seems to bear. Despite some brief attempt at comparative work, his claims for the unique quality of Italian Catholicism can only be verified by a closer scrutiny of popular devotions elsewhere. In his emphasis on the power of popular beUef to shape official CathoUcism CarroU sometimes seems to suggest that clerical responses were merely pragmatic, and in general I found the distinctions between the two exaggerated. CarroU sets out to subvert an argument that religion trickles down from the top, but his model sometimes seems to be a simple reversal of this rather than the more complex dialogue that also emerges at times from this work. Veiled Threats is a rich, stimulating, and provocative work that deserves the attention of historians interested in the dynamics of religious change in modern Europe.

Thomas Kselman

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English Sermons: Mirrors of Society. Edited with introduction by Christiane d' Haussy. (Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du MiraU. 1995. Pp. 224. 150 FE)

If one were asked to propose the subject least Likely to appeal to modern readers in any western country at the present time, it is likely that without much reflection one could come to rest on church sermons. Nevertheless, Dr. d'Haussy's book is a useful reminder that this was not always so; and U contemporary historians wish to understand the spirit of past times, and more particularly the reaction of the people and populace to contemporary events, they

must attend to what the clergy were declaiming in the pulpits in church and chapel across the country. There was not only an element of social and even legal compulsion driving people to church but also the magnet of genuine curiosity since in the days before broadcasting the only opportunity for most people to hear and in a sense witness eloquence and elocution was in reUgious assemblies on Sundays. The spiritual and the secular mingled in a way which was perhaps more reaUstic than efforts Ln our own day to cut them off. Religion was not always just for Sunday, and its contents were by no means exclusively concerned with the words of Holy Writ. Many were the volumes of sermons published in time past. D'Haussy has performed a most valuable service for historians in offering us not merely notes and summaries of what was said but very large excerpts from the original so that we can savor the full flavor and, as it were be present, sometimes after centuries, at the outpourings not only of emotions but also of genuine convictions with a good mixture of facts.

A criticism of this exceUent book, which begins with an introduction on "Preaching and preachers in Britain" (pp. 21-49), could be that it has no adequate index. On the other hand, the "Extracts from sermons" (pp. 53-207) Ust aU the seventy-seven sermon extracts by name and description of contents so that the omission is not so grave as at first appears. There are also a useful appendix of brief biographies of authors and a select bibUography including coUections of sermons. The period covered runs from the Reformation to the present time, and whUe it is largely and reasonably taken up with EstabUshment sermons, it includes Jewish, Dissenting, and Roman CathoUc. Whatever the situation now, in time past preaching could be a skUled profession. Someone wrote in 1835, "if you chose to attend the chapel of the asylum for female orphans you were assured to hear good sermons for 'no gentleman is appointed to a vacant lectureship at this place . . . who has not undergone a trial of skiU; that is, the candidates preach prize sermons, and he who excels most is elected'" (p. 23) and this was for preaching to mere orphans, not to the Chapel Royal!

Francis Edwards, SJ.

London

Spain and the Early Stuarts, 1585-1655. By Albert J. Loomie. [The Variorum CoUected Studies Series C522.] (Brookfield, Vermont: Variorum, Aldgate PubUshmg Company. 1996. Pp. x, 290. $84.95.)

Father Loomie, of Fordham University, completed his dissertation in 1957 at the University of London under Professor Joel Hurstfield on a subject that became his first book, The Spanish Elizabethans: The English Exiles at the Court of Philip II (Fordham University Press, 1963). Like Professors Patrick Collinson and Alan Everitt, who also finished at London in 1957, Loomie's postgraduate research laid the basis for a lifetime of scholarship that has made him unquestionably the pre-eminent authority on Anglo-Spanish relations during the

Counter-Reformation. I reviewed several of his books and read his steady stream of articles with admiration and benefit. We have here a coUection of eighteen articles by him that have been reprinted from twelve journals (three from the Catholic Historical Review, 1964, 1967, 1973) where they originaUy appeared between 1963 and 1989 They constitute but a fraction of his pubUcations, confirm his close familiarity with archives in Simancas, Madrid, Vienna, Brussels, Paris, Rome, London, and Oxford, and should be considered representative of his painstaking research. One hopes that his importance as a scholar and teacher wUl be recognized formaUy one day m a Festschrift.

It is dtfficult to characterize so many articles Ui brief, even U coUectively they involve a basic theme—the policies of three Spanish monarchs toward England (and minimally respecting Scotland and Ireland) regarding religion, commerce, and diplomacy. I can do no better than paraphrase Loomie's own summation. Articles I and II explore the consequences of PhUip II's embargo on EngUsh goods from 1586 upon EngUsh merchants, mariners, and travelers in southern Spain which ended in 1603 with James Fs accession. The aborted Armada of 1597 is considered in articles III, IV, and V, which include a pUot's guide to the English coastline and directions by PhUip II for the use of his forces, as weU as his surprising prohibition of an EngUsh CathoUc role in a Spanish invasion. Articles VI and VII consider, respectively, the service of EngUsh Catholics as official consuls in Spain and PhiUp III's faUed strategy to prevent James VI of Scotland from succeeding Queen Elizabeth. Loomie proves in article VIII that Robert CecU, Earl of SaUsbury, was not consistently anti-Spanish. The famous Count of Gondomar, who served in England for much of James Fs reign, is studied Ui articles LX, X, and XI, where in turn, the ambassador's rejection of an EngUsh Catholic advisor in his embassy, his personal friendship with Lord ChanceUor Bacon, and EngUsh candidates for commissions in Spanish forces m 1622 are considered. Crypto-CathoUcism is the subject of articles XII and XIII, where the personal CathoUc convictions of Queen Anne and the councUor Edward Wotton are revealed through the private correspondence of the Spanish envoys. Articles XTV through XVIII take us into the long reign of PhiUp IVWe are treated in XIV to a shrewd discussion of why the EngUsh CathoUc leadership did not insist that the Anglo-Spanish treaty of 1630 protect them legaUy from harassment under the penal laws. In article XV there is an assessment of the so-called "Spanish Faction" at court and in the councU during the 1630's. The adroit Spanish ambassador, Cárdenas, is shown in article XVI to have remained neutral toward both sides in the civU war but then, even more surprisingly, reached a secret understanding with the Independents in the late 1640's. In the final articles, XVII and XVIII, Father Loomie discusses Philip IVs close interest in the auction of Charles Fs celebrated art coUection, and the encouragement by Kings PhiUp III and FV that their embassy chapels in London should be fuUy accessible to English CathoUcs.

WhMe I cannot be certain, these articles apparently were reprinted by some form of photocopying, since dtfferent print types and reference citations are used. This may explain why article XVIII alone is fuU of typographical errors

which I doubt the author would have tolerated U he had had the opportunity to proof them afresh. These articles demonstrate once more that when one pays close attention to smaU detaU and reads documents carefuUy much of importance can be added on topics and themes that earUer scholars seemingly explored fully

Martin J. Havran

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The Making of the French Episcopate, 1589-1661. By Joseph Bergin. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1996. Pp. xiii, 761. $50.00.)

The emergence of prosopography as a historical method some uiirty years ago has led to the pubUcation of a large number of works on the early-modern episcopate. Bishops are weU suited to this approach because of their status and the extensive information, relatively speaking, avaUable about them. The best of these studies so far is this massive book, which provides a vast amount of detaU about the 351 bishops given miters Ln the seven decades it covers. The book's title accurately reflects its content in that it concentrates on how bishops were appointed and what went into preparing a cleric for episcopal office, not on what they did once they gained theU sees.

The text is divided into three major sections. The first, "The French Church and Its Bishops," provides a sketch of the previous studies of the French episcopate and a description of the territorial layout of the French Church before moving on to the process by which bishops were appointed. The latter point is accomplished largely through a series of case studies that demonstrate the complicated maneuvers within the diocese, at Rome, and especiaUy at court that would-be bishops and theU patrons had to go through to gain a miter. Bergin devotes two valuable chapters to the finances of the episcopate, showing what the bishop's nominal income in each of the 113 French dioceses was at mid-seventeenth century and what obUgations, mostly in the form of pensions, reduced a bishop's real income.

The second section, "Profiles of the Episcopate," is devoted largely to the question of what went into the making of a bishop: place of origin, famUy background, cUentele and kinship ties, education, and career path. Among the noteworthy points shown by Bergin's data are a decline in home-grown bishops and a substantial increase in those from Parisian famiUes. His data on their social origins contradict the common image of an episcopate soUdly noble by 1661, showing that under RicheUeu in particular a higher percentage of commoner bishops were seated than in the sixteenth century. The education of future bishops was decidedly improved over the previous century. By 1661 over 90% had higher degrees in law or theology. Even the best noble famUies had reaUzed that if they hoped to win miters for their younger sons, they had to be weU educated. Other changes that Bergin's statistics reveal are the near disappearance of underage

appointees but yet a longer average period of tenure, as bishops no longer resigned their sees or traded them in the same high proportions as previously.

The final section, "The Crown and the Episcopate," examines the patterns of episcopal appointments according to the poUtics of the court. Bergin first detaUs the anarchy in the episcopate during the last years of the reUgious wars and shows how Henry IV through a pragmatic poUcy of rewarding supporters and buying off former enemies was able to restore stabiUty to it. The next period of time, the decades from I6l0 to 1630, saw several dramatic changes of power, but, Bergin argues, the pattern of episcopal nominations remained largely consistent. The author finds that RicheUeu's molding of the French episcopate began in earnest only around 1630 but concludes that his impact was vast. The cardinal began the practice of finding out detaUed information about possible nominees which would culminate in Louis XIV's creation of the feuille de bénéfices, and with fairly good consistency appointed those who met proper standard of education, training, and behavior. The twenty years of Mazarin's ministry, interrupted during the Fronde by some of the same problems that had occurred in the religious wars, saw the influence of the dévots on improving episcopal appointments but at the same time the return of the sons of the great famiUes who now were meeting the higher standards. Everything was in place for creating the episcopate of the ancien régime. In a lengthy appendix, Bergin provides a brief biography and list of sources for aU 351 bishops he studied. Numerous prelates are no longer as obscure as they once were.

When a book is this long and rich in detailed information, it is difficult to suggest that more could have been done, but Bergin has Uttle to say about the role of the reformed episcopate in implementing the Catholic Reformation in France. The author was in an exceUent position to make more judgments on the issue than he has. There are very few typos and minor errors of fact for a book of this length Two I noted are a misspeUing of Lectoure in the maps and the use of the term "annates" for the tax the papacy coUected from new bishops. The term "common services" was used for the tax on consistorial benefices, annates for all others. There is a problem in the way statistics are presented. Bergin argues that assessing episcopal trends decade by decade is more useful than using the longer timespan of reigns, but it is questionable whether meaningful statistics can be garnered from the smaU numbers that generates. In turn he sometimes gives percentages to two places to the right of the decimal point when his whole numbers are as small as a single digit. There is, however, no consistency on this matter. In some tables the percentages are taken to two places to the right of the decimal point; in others, to just one.

One has to applaud Bergin for the enormous amount of information he assembled for this book, although it makes reading the book difficult. That volume of information wiU make this book the starting point of any future discussion of the French episcopate of the seventeenth century.

Frederic J. Baumgartner

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Federico Borromeo and the Ambrosiana: Art Patronage and Reform in Seventeenth-Century Milan. By Pamela M. Jones. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 386, 100 plates. $95.00).

Pamela Jones has written a splendid scholarly study of Federico Borromeo (1564-1631), cardinal-archbishop of MUan and younger cousin of Saint Carlo Borromeo, who during his archiepiscopate (1595-1631) estabUshed the Ambrosiana, an art museum, Ubrary, and art studio for aspiring artists of the diocese of MUan. Borromeo's institution was unique in bringing together under one roof artists and art work for "reforming reUgious scholarship and the figurative arts in response to the decrees of the CouncU ofTrent" (p. 2).

Jones's purpose is "to analyze and interpret Federico's program for the arts so as to enhance our understanding of post-Tridentine attitudes toward the style, subject matter, and functions of sacred art in Italy circa 1590 to 1630" (p. 19). She focuses on Borromeo's activities and ideas in a way that embraces both his historical and his art-historical interests. Her investigations look at "the way art and religious thought come together in Borromeo's Ambrosiana"; or, "What did Borromeo want out of sacred art, that is, what was his conception of its efficacy?" (p. 2).

Jones's subject is a significant one, for Borromeo is the first prelate in Christian tradition to conceive of creating an entire institution—not just specific works of art—to "reform art" and make it serve a specific objective. Her method, too, aUows us to foUow Borromeo Ln implementing his vision. Jones's work faUs into two parts: Part I deals comprehensively with Borromeo's Life and background, writings, and the foundation of the Ambrosian Library, Academy, and Museum; the next three chapters offer an enlightening interpretation of this material focusing on the tripartite spiritual role—"devotional, didactic, and documentary" (p. l 1)—that art was to play. In Borromeo's spiritual conception, each aspect related closely to the others Ui its appeal to the fuU human personaUty.

Part II is a richly detaUed catalogue with appendices to supplement Part I. Important here is the chronology of Borromeo's acquisitions for the Ambrosian Museum. Catalogue I lists the entirety of the pieces of art in the original Ambrosian Museum, and Catalogue II includes Borromeo's coUection of portraits of famous persons.The work also includes two appendices that include the official codicüs of 1607 and 161 l to Borromeo's wiU, Usting the works of art donated to the Ambrosiana; Appendix III gives the 1618 donation.

Readers wUl appreciate Jones's approach, which goes beyond the traditional judgment that the artistic production of the post-Tridentine era is "essentiaUy restrictive" and did Uttle more than merely respond to ecclesiastical directives for clarity and simpUcity. Jones recognizes that much more was in play: reformers, and their artists as well, pursued "richer, less monoUthic, and more three-dimensional" (p. 7) goals than earUer generations of critics have acknowledged. She goes beyond the monoUthic model of the Catholic reformer directing the

artist's representation of each iconographie detaü (much Like the traditional view of bibUcal inspiration). She sees artistic style as highly elusive, and the terms "natural" and "nature" richly nuanced (p. 8). Borromeo, she argues, beUeved that within each genre of painting "the character of naturaUsm should vary in accordance with the given genre being represented" (p. 8). In this way, Flemish landscape paintings at the Ambrosiana, for example, were considered as serving a reUgious mission, for they "simulate not simply the outward appearance of the subject at hand, but also its metaphysical significance" (p. 8).

One central topic of Jones's study is the question of spirituaUty, or "spiritual attitude." Inspired by Alphonse Dupront, Jones speaks of Borromeo's "optimistic spirituaUty," which emphasized "spiritual joy and increased sensuaUty" and recognized the potential of free wUl in concert with divine grace. The term is fitting. Borromeo's "Christian optimism" (p. 9) was based on the view that aU created things somehow lead one along the path of the knowledge of God and should be used tantum . . . quantum to bring us to eternal life. It is a classical view based on the fundamental order and harmony of God's universe, and in Christian perspective on God's mandate to each individual to attain an interior personal order that fully radiates the divine within. Jones finds in Borromeo's life a gradual flowering of this "optimistic spirituaUty," which she discerns in other contemporary writers on the spiritual life, notably those in Italy—the Oratorians, and the Jesuits from Ignatius Loyola to Robert BeUarmine—whose spirituaUty is based on the idea that each individual can uproot the disordered elements (or "inordinate attachments") of one's life and find the wiU of God for oneself. Jones observes that Borromeo's selection of paintings for the Ambrosiana reflects this spirituaUty and can be seen, for example, in the themes from the life of Christ where one encounters "a benevolent, accessible Lord"; absent, too, are the scenes of wrathful judgment and (somewhat surprisingly to this author) "glorious yet bloody martyrdoms."

Jones's work is commendable on many grounds: it synthesizes weU so many complex cultural and reUgious strains in the early seventeenth century that form the character, vision, and ecclesiastical activity of this leader in the diocese of MUan. Borromeo, too, is a significant personaUty for any student of the post-Tridentine era, for he not only knew nearly every major actor in his day and absorbed the intellectual and spiritual energies in his milieu, but he invested heavUy his own resources in an institution that sought to promote many genres of art on a major scale and to make these pubUc for the salvation of souls. Though Borromeo's project may have enjoyed only a modicum of success and little influence after his death, it nonetheless catches so well and so concretely the positive vision and sense of potentialities which many ecclesiastics and visionaries experienced in these crucial years of the post-Tridentine era before the many crises of the seventeenth century.

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Cathedrals under Siege: Cathedrals in English Society, 1600-1700. By Stanford E. Lehmberg. (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press. 1996. Pp. xxx, 270. $55.00.)

This handsomely produced work provides a sequel to the author's The Reformation of Cathedrals: Cathedrals in English Society, 1485-1603 As before, the author has adopted a mixed approach to his topic, entailing in this instance three chapters of narrative spUt logicaUy at the CivU War and then the Restoration, together with six chapters tackling themes or providing conclusions. At the heart of the work Ues a close and detaUed prosopographical analysis of the Uves and careers of more than 2,500 clergy, much of the data assembled by Alice Keeler. The book covers English cathedrals with the exception of Sodor & Man, Ripon, SouthweU, Westminster, and the Chapel Royal at Windsor. The narrative sketches a famUiar gloomy tale of dean and chapter disputes, the constant struggle to maintain the buUdings, controversial campaigns for improvements instigated under Archbishop Laud, foUowed by a tale of woe and destruction during the CivU War and Interregnum, and concluding with a view of the slow reconstruction of cathedral Ufe after the 1660's. Perhaps the general narrative of the seventeenth century impinges too much in these chapters, for more could have been said to reveal the Uves of cathedrals in their own right, and even when detaUs are provided, the story is dominated by architectural evidence. Sadly, it has proved dUficult for the author to convey a sense of deferences between the cathedrals when they have so obviously been treated as a group. This problem affects the statistical material which underpins the later chapters and provides so many impressive-looking tables in the volume. AU too often the figures cited are for the whole of the seventeenth century, or for the cathedrals as a group; hence questions go begging relating to deferences between regions, and cathedrals and over time. While the attempt is made to provide a comprehensive, national picture—buttressd by the statistics and a generous number of Ulustrations—the text frequently descends into anecdotal, descriptive material which Usts rather than analyzes what is contained in the tables. Hence we find that one-third of cathedral clergy published a range of work from theology to poetry and that cathedral finances were in a grim shape and managed in a conservative fashion, but what does this signify? Interesting stories are given to Ulustrate weU-known problems with church music and choirs in this period, but perhaps more could have been done to comment on the interest of Arminians to set the renaissance Ui organ buUding of the 1620's and '30's in context. The last two chapters attempt to provide conclusions concerning the role of cathedrals in society, but here too, the Ust of themes provided simply sketches the outline of a faUly weU-known story. Cathedrals did indeed survive the turmoU of this period, but in the end it is still not quite clear how they managed this feat, nor to what purpose. The overaU impression is that this was a period of sloth and neglect, and yet the cathedrals somehow formed a force for social cohesion. This was a brave attempt at a full survey, but one which was perhaps sUghtly premature, given the im-

pressive array of monographs on cathedrals which has appeared over the last five years.

Andrew Foster

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Le Jansénisme en Sorbonne, 1643-1656. By Jacques M. Gres Gayer. [CoUections des Mélanges de la BibUothèque de la Sorbonne, 25.] (Paris; Klincksieck. 1996. Pp. Lx, 382.)

Central to the development of this work is the judgment by and exclusion of Antoine Arnauld from the Sorbonne's theological faculty. Perhaps even more of an issue is the relative attachment of various parties to the doctrines of St. Augustine as mediated through the airing at Louvain between those who passionately supported Jansen's interpretation of the ideas of grace of the bishop of Hippo and those Jesuits (chiefly but not exclusively) who, whUe professing adherence to St. Augustine, in fact foUowed Luis Molina and considered Jansen's commentary at least erroneous, U not heretical.

Starting with the Sorbonne irenical theologian EUies Dupin, Gres Gayer has concentrated on the development of Jansenism. He has published many articles on the subject and some major works including Théologie et pouvoir en Sorbonne. La faculté de théologie de Paris et la bulle Unigenitus (Paris, 1991). In addition, he has edited and commented on the Mémoires de l'abbé de Beaubrun (Paris, 1995), which constitutes one of the major sources for the work under review.

The author casts new light on the origins of the celebrated Five Propositions (originaUy seven), showing that the syndic Nicholas Cornet was not solely responsible for extracting them either as fait or droit from Jansen's work, for the activities of the various deputations sent to Rome to further both sides in the dispute over Augustinus, and for the consequent mutual misunderstanding between Roman and French theological mentalities as weU as the gradual (and fatal) undermining of the proud and independent tradition of the Sorbonne theological faculty.

In the Arnauld case we are shown how a combination of pro-Augustinian views created perhaps unnecessary provocation to those differently inclined, how this along with royal and episcopal interference with the vaunted independence of the Paris theologians ultimately resulted in Arnauld's being accused of error and heresy and excluded from the faculty in company with his adherents. Had Arnauld consistently in public tied his Augustinianism to a Thomistic explanation, something he did with private individuals, the faculty's judgment might not have been so severe. It would also appear that the famous cas de conscience involving the Due de Liancourt, Arnauld, and other acquain-

tances of the noble, intimately associated with the circle of Port-Royal, made into a pubUc affair a subject (refusal to give communion to someone who refused to accept the buU Cum Occasione condemning the Five Propositions) normaUy confined to the confessional. The author's conclusion is that Arnauld was not heretical on the issue of the Five Propositions (with the possible exception of Proposition I) and that the decision to exclude Arnauld from the privUeges of the faculty was a tragic mistake which in turn led to a serious weakening of the faculty's enormous prestige and a century and a half of bitter division within the French Church.

The last part of the book deals with motivations of the faculty in the Causa Arnauldiana where all the varied theological currents of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are deftly interwoven. This is a difficult task because the plumitifs, the secretarial record of the discussions, were destroyed and only a record of votes kept. A tabulation of these votes on major issues from around 1640 to I675 occupies pages 305-328. This is an admirable piece of research, one that causes the interested reader to anticipate even greater triumphs from its author.

Samuel J. Miller

Boston College, Emeritus

The Sorrows of the Quaker Jesus: James Nayler and the Puritan Crackdown on the Free Spirit. By Leo Damrosch. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 322. $39.95.)

On October 24, 1656, James Nayler, a one-time Yorkshire husbandman turned Independent preacher in the New Model Army and, since 1651, a demobUized soldier and convinced Quaker, entered Bristol in the company of four men and three women, "some on horseback and some on foot" (p. 148) in the midst of a downpour. What was unusual about their progress was that Nayler's companions were singing "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabbath" and were treating Nayler as the Messiah. Within a week, Parliament had appointed a committee of fifty-five to investigate the blasphemy, thereby appropriating to itself functions never envisaged by the Instrument of Government. By the New Year, Nayler had received 310 lashes, had had his tongue bored, had reversed his entry into Bristol, and was committed indefinitely to BrideweU. The history of both the Quaker movement and, more broadly, of CromweUian England had been profoundly altered—and the Restoration of Charles II became a lot more probable.

Leo Damrosch, a professor of literature at Harvard University, has written a splendid analysis of this apparently simple event. His study iUuminates the Quaker movement m its formative years and suggests ways in which it forced the "orthodox Puritan estabUshment" of the 1650's to react against its earUer "revolutionary" tendencies. Damrosch's book is excellent for three reasons.

FUst, it provides a fine example of the fruitfuLness of a good marriage between Uterary and historical scholarship.The author places the Quaker conventions in a broad Uterary context that stretches from Augustine to WUUam Blake and beyond. At the same time he buüds faithfuUy on much of the best recent historical scholarship. In my experience this is an unusual combination.What is also striking about Damrosch's work is that he has not rested content with the 1716 edition of Nayler's writings but has both compared them with the original and has placed their countless bibUcal references in their scriptural context. Secondly, though writing from an entirely secular beUef system, Damrosch provides a comprehensible and sympathetic account of the Quaker religious culture and traces the connections between it and contemporary "Puritanism" or Calvinism. Quakers were often deemed by their outraged contemporaries to be mad. Damrosch demonstrates that, on the contrary, they took Calvinist assumptions to their logical conclusions which were rigorously rooted m the New Testament. Thirdly, the study deserves to be read widely because it explains why the Quakers in general, and James Nayler in particular, provoked such an extreme reaction in England in 1656. In focusing on the Nayler incident, he shines a bright light on the essential conservatism of the CromweUian regime. The reaction of the "Puritan establishment" to Nayler helps to explain why Charles II was acceptable to most former "revolutionaries" three years later.

To criticize such a fine work is almost churUsh. However, I would have liked the author to be more critical of the orthodox model used to make sense of EngUsh history prior to the 1650's. He takes the "Puritans"and their "revolution" too easUy for granted when his entire narrative suggests few real differences between the "Puritans" and their fellow Protestant "AngUcans" and not much revolutionary ideology underlying any of theU poUtical behavior.

Michael Finlayson

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English Catholic Books 1701-1800. A Bibliography. CompUed By Jos Blom, Frans Blom, Frans Korsten, and Geoffrey Scott. (Brookfield, Vermont: Scolar Press, Ashgate PubUshing Co. 1996. Pp. xl, 356. $94.95.)

This is the latest in a series of bibUographical studies of EngUsh-speaking CathoUcs which have appeared in the last decade. The pioneers in the field were Antony Allison and David Rogers, who brought out their Cataloque of Catholic Books in English 1558-1640 in 1956. Both of the authors died Ui the past two years but not before their revision, The Contemporary Printed Literature of the English Counter-Reformation 1558-1640 appeared in two parts in 1989 and 1994.The volume under review deals with EngUsh CathoUc books of the eighteenth century. Basing themselves on materials coUected by the editors of the Eighteenth Century Short Title Catalogue of EngUsh Books, they vis-

ited some ninety libraries. They were also in contact with Ubrarians and scholars at hundreds more. As a result they have increased their original number of eighteenth-century CathoUc items almost by one-hatf. This catalog has nearly 3000 items. This compares to about 2100 CathoUc items pubUshed in the seventeenth century.

It was only in the eighteenth century that CathoUc books began to be published and dtffused widely in Ireland, Scotland, and North America. A random check of titles reveals that about 62% of the titles were printed in England (95% of them in London), 22% in Ireland, and 8% on the European continent. SmaUer shares were printed in North America and Scotland.

It was an age when authors felt no compunction about adapting or editing another author's work. Of Bishop ChaUoner, the most prolific CathoUc author of the century, it has been said, "It is never safe to assume that any passage in Challoner is original." He revised the Douay Bible as weU as spiritual classics such as the Imitation of Christ, the works of St. Francis de Sales, St. Teresa of Avila, and many more. It is no surprise then that the items Usted under the name of Bishop ChaUoner (d. 1781) and that of Rev. John Gother (d. 1704) account for over 10% of the entries. Many of these spiritual works continued to be reprinted in the next century and even in the twentieth.

Other authors in the top ten for number of titles are Thomas à Kempis (thirty-one editions), Pacificus Baker, O.F.M. (thirty), bishops such as George Hay and Charles Walmsley, the popular preacher, Robert Manning, and the eccentric Scots Scripture scholar, Alexander Geddes.

The eighteenth century was a good one for the production of sacred music, but a weak one for works of Catholic theology and spirituaUty. EngUsh-speaking Catholics had depended on the works produced by Catholics on the continent since the sixteenth century, and when that source declined it was reflected in then· literary productions. But although the works of theological controversy and spirituality published in the eighteenth century by English-speaking Catho-Ucs do not rank with those published in the previous century and a half, they stiU did better by the Bible than their forefathers. In the seventeenth century only two Catholic editions of the Old Testament were published in English, along with four editions of the New, the last in 1635. In the eighteenth century there were nine English Catholic editions of the Bible and seventeen of the New Testament.

There were also numerous pleas for religious toleration and polemics about the Irish question. English-speaking Catholics were struggling to find a place for those who clung to the old religion in the new world of the Enlightenment.

Of course, no bibUography is ever definitive, but it is safe to say that this one will be useful for a long time to come. There is a good opening essay on British Catholic printing as well as a discussion of the various themes taken up by CathoUc authors. Most of the necessary scholarly apparatus is there including

indices of titles, printers-booksellers, and proper names. It would have been useful to have a chronological index.

Thomas Clancy, SJ.

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Scuola e lumi in Italia nell'età dette rifarme (1750-1780). La modernizzazione deipiani degli studi net collegi degli ordini religiosi. By Angelo Bianchi. (Brescia: Editrice La Scuola. 1996. Pp. 318. Lire 38,000 paperback.)

This is a study of plans for reforming the curricula of reUgious-order schools in the middle of the eighteenth century. At this time the curricula of reUgious-order schools of northern Italy were heavUy based on the Jesuit Ratio studiorum, a thorough if somewhat rigid program based on Latin and Greek classics and Aristotle. Governments and various thinkers loosely identified with the EnUghtenment pressured religious orders to change their schools and sometimes took control. This useful book demonstrates how three pedagogical reformers responded.

Giacinto Sigismondo Gerdil (1718-1802) entered the Barnabite Order at age sixteen, then had a distinguished career as scholar and teacher at various Barnabite schools and the University of Turin, and from 1776 as a cardinal in Rome. His plan for curriculum renewal showed him to be opposed to the "Ubertines" of the EnUghtenment, but enthusiastic for Newtonian science and weU-acquainted with the work of current French scientists such as G-L. Buffon. He wanted schools to emphasize experimental science, optics, prism experiments, the laws of gravity and dynamics, and physics and natural history generaUy. His new scientific synthesis left the Ratio studiorum behind.

Giuseppe Maria Pujati (no dates given), a Somaschan teacher and scholar, wrote polemics against EnUghtenment LrreUgion, but also rejected what he saw as the corruption and metaphysical subtleties of the Ratio approach. In four letters of 1769 he outlined an integrated curriculum which emphasized the unity and simpUcity of knowledge, mosdy within the humanities. Jean-Joseph Rossignol (1726-1817), a French Jesuit who taught for many years in Italy, proposed the most radical reform. In a plan drafted in 1775 for the schools of Embrun (in France), he rejected the step-by-step graded approach of the Ratio studiorum in favor of an integrated and eclectic scientific education. Rossignol wanted experiments, scientific observations, and excursions into nature, to dominate. In spring he wanted students to collect butterflies and insects; in summer they should survey the countryside. Older students should study air, pressure, and climate, perform experiments with machines, find proofs of motion and gravity, and so on. His plan was rejected.

These three clergymen embraced change. They rejected what they saw as the atheistic currents of the EnUghtenment, including John Locke's Essay Concern-

ing Human Understanding, which was placed on the Index of Prohibited Books in 1734. But they enthusiasticaUy endorsed the study of experimental science. Bianchi has done a good job in bringing to Ught some forgotten proposals for educational reform. His book includes one hundred pages from the writings of GerdU, Pujati, and Rossignol, plus considerable documentation from printed works of the eighteenth century, archival references, and recent bibUography. This book opens a window into the educational aspirations of some dedicated teachers and scholars of the eighteenth century.

Paul F. Grendler

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Late Modern European

Edmund Rice: 1762-1844. By Dáire Keogh. (Dublin: Four Courts Press. Order from International Specialized Book Services, Portland, Oregon. 1996. Pp. 126. $14.95.)

This short volume would perhaps be better entitled "The Irish Education Question, the CathoUc Church, and the Role of Edmund Rice," since, though it is advertised as a "new biography" of Rice, his Ufe is very secondary to the major thrust of the book. The reason for this fact, the author admits, is due to the serious lack of primary sources which makes it impossible to provide more than a "mere glimpse" (p. 101) of Rice; that would surely disqualify it from being caUed a "biography." However, Rice's beatification on October 6, 1996, would appear to be the major reason for the book's appearance at this time.

Given this objective, there are elements of the "pious" and "apologetic" throughout, and while this weakens it, the book does often provide a critical assessment of Rice and the chaUenges that faced Irish Catholic education. Still, some questions remain unanswered and, perhaps due to lack of space, remain unexplored. For example, Rice's inability to get along with his colleagues was, we are told, aU due to their "nasty scheming" (p. 102), though the accusation is left unanswered. Again, the statement that eighteenth-century Irish hedge-schools were "an effective parish school system over much of the country" (p. 36) leaves the reader wondering why there was an education problem Ln the first place. The author concludes that since hedge-schools were aU fee-based, Rice set out to provide free schools for the poor. Why then in the 1830's did Rice and the Irish Christian Brothers refuse to support the National School Board, which gave the Catholic bishops, its essential managers, a tax-supported, denominationally controlled national school system that centered upon the education of the poor. A desire to be free of direct episcopal control would appear a possible answer, but Keogh explains the disagreement by stating that Rice had a "commitment to Catholic education" and a "faith in Divine Providence" (p. 85). Did not the bishops have a simUar "commitment" and "faith"?

Nationalism is another important issue that does not receive sufficient treatment. However, it had a major influence in the rise of both modern Irish Catholicism and the national school system. When it entered the nineteenth century, the Church was far from strong, united, or respected, as Keogh implies. Rather the radical end of the eighteenth century, foUowed by the disunity occasioned by the Union, left the Church in the early nineteenth Ui desperate need of a unifying force that would strengthen its otherwise very weak influence among most of the Irish Catholic laity, poor as weU as middle class. Given theU motto, "CathoUc and Celtic, to God and Ireland True," the Irish Christian Brothers, like the Irish bishops, were strongly influenced in building up theU own organization by making use of the new nationalistic lay fervor that Daniel O'ConneU had so effectively enkindled in 1823 with the founding of the CathoUc Association. However, in so doing, each seemed determined to maintain theU independence from the other. Still, despite these questions or omissions, Keogh has given us a very worthwhUe study that is a solid addition to our growing knowledge of the Irish Catholic Church.

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A Harvest of Hope: Jesuit Collegiate Education in England, 1794-1914. By Ian D. Roberts. [Series III: Original Studies Composed in EngUsh, Number 12.] (Saint Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources. 1996. Pp. xvii, 253- $27.95 paperback)

In the introduction to England and Christendom, published two years after his accession to the see of Westminster, Henry Edward Manning asserted that, foUowing the restoration of the English and Welsh hierarchy, the Church had begun "to act as a body by its corporate presence and influence upon public opinion and upon every class of the English people . . ." (p. xxxv). He certainly envisioned the mission of the Church in the nineteenth century as being to penetrate the thinking of English people with Catholic truths and ideas in the various aspects of their social, political, and religious Uves. There was not be an exclusive concentration of energy upon a simple conversion poUcy because that would be accompanied by the danger of adopting a protective mentality in the event of inevitable verbal attack or other adversity. This far-sighted programme was presaged in Manning's weU-known speech to the Council Fathers in 1870. He considered, indeed, the main thrust of the Council to lie in the freeing of the Church from too close an association with an increasingly secular or pagan state. The CouncU was to deliver the framework that would enable the Church to advance her teaching mandate untrammelled by the remaining shackles of the ancien régime. Ln this view lay the essence of Manning's brand of ultramontanism, linked to his conviction of the growing importance of the

need for unity in approach and in endeavor. It posited the forging of interlocking mechanisms that would constitute a chaUenge to the world by the use of that spiritual authority which was designed to change the world. The internal self-completion of the Church thus lay at the heart of his thinking and of his poUcy.

Ian Roberts in A Harvest of Hope considers ultramontanism as self-evidently worthy of opprobrium. Manning, however, did not view ecclesiastical authority as if it were "an imperious act, substituting command for reason" but, he teUs us, rather as "reason and evidence speaking by a legitimate voice" (Miscellanies, 1877, II, 174). New chaUenges could not be met by caulking a rudderless ship. Indeed, as Professor Peter Erb has written, "we do Manning an injustice if we interpret his actions aside from the foundational principles of his theology and life" (A Question of Sovereignty, 1996, p. 23).

Manning's uneasy relationship with the English Jesuits, an attitude shared by a number of his feUow bishops, was influenced by what was seen as a propensity on the part of some of the Society's superiors to place the particular interests of the order in education before those of the local church as perceived by its ordinaries. This led to division in the key area of national ecclesiastical development. The fracasso with Bishop Herbert Vaughan over the Manchester CoUege and the subsequent securing of the buU Romanos Pontífices Ui 1881, which detaUed anew the canonical relationship of bishops and regulars in dioceses, was but a symptom of episcopal concern. Bishop UUathorne of Birmingham, a Benedictine, saw the buU as giving "a complete reply to objections raised in the Vatican Council that the infallibility would weaken the episcopate" (Butler's UUathorne, 1926, II, 188-189), and he did not fail to notice Newman's Oratory had supported the bishops in their struggle at Rome.

One of the basic weaknesses in Roberts' book is its failure to locate particular well-known squabbles within their wider educational context. Some of the profounder educational LmpUcations of the Oxford Movement are ignored, as are the reactions of Oxford converts to the nature of Catholic collegiate education as they found it. Capes claimed in 1873 that, as a product of Catholic colleges, there was "a lack of freedom, self-reliance and openness" in pupils. Bellasis complained about the employment of lay-brothers to take charge of Uttle boys and the use of scholastics, still in course of their own education, as teachers. Indeed, the driving motive in the formation of Newman's Oratory School was to provide an acceptable alternative to the existing provision by clerics and religious. The Rambler had early taken up the complaints, and a thorough debate about the nature of Catholic collegiate education had occupied its columns in 1848, a debate which was to continue with recurring intensity over the next thirty years. Roberts does not consider this debate nor does he examine the criticism of WUUam Joseph Petre in 1877 in which the latter attacked Stonyhurst in the pubUc forum for its organizational and pedagogical methods, criticizing the ethos generated in the school where he had been a pupU at one time. Roberts

should not ignore such central, crucial debates if he wishes his book to be taken seriously.

There are other weaknesses. The use of the term "middle-class education" is not carefuUy defined, and the varied nuances embraced by that classification need fuUer recognition. There is but slight treatment of the contribution of other coUeges and communities to this field of educational provision (St. Charles CoUege had itself educated over 1200 pupils by 1887). There is lack of analysis of the impact of the London University connection with the CathoUc coUeges as part of an overaU educational thrust forward for the CathoUc community.

In technical matters, a better understanding of Manning's role in his relationship with the Society of Jesus could have been arrived at if the author had examined the extant Manning coUections in Rome, the United States, France, and the United Kingdom and Lf he had also made appropriate use of recendy pubUshed material, such as Newsome's The Convert Cardinals (1993). In fact, the bibliography is very dated. Only about ten relevant books pubUshed since 1980 are Usted.There is also an absence of scholarly 'distance' from the subject, and, in the process of writing and presentation, there is a want of graciousness toward scholars and other views at odds with the author's own.The quaUty of the photographic reproductions between pages 137 and 138 is poor.

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The French Counterrevolutionary Theorist Louis de Bonald (1 754-1840). By David KIinck. [Studies in Modern European History, Vol. 18.] (New York: Peter Lang Publishing. 1996. Pp. viii, 301. $5395)

Until now there has not been a full-length treatment of Louis de Bonald's career and thought in English. This seems strange. Bonald, a minor nobleman raised in the Rouergue and educated by the Oratorians at Juilly, was the foremost ideologist of reaction in post-Revolutionary France (Joseph de Maistre was actuaUy a Savoyard). Returning to France under Napoleon, he served as both a Deputy and a Peer during the years of the Bourbon Restoration. But his ideas, though at war with a good deal of modernity, exerted considerable influence long after his death. In fact, Bonald's weighty treatises and polemical essays were not only admired by diehard Legitimists. They also came to be selectively appreciated by minds more modern—by the founder of sociological positivism, Auguste Comte, by one of the first practitioners of survey-based sociology, Frederic Le Play, and by the leader of the fascistic Action Française, Charles Maurras.

In short, Bonald was not only a royalist and a theocrat but a thinker whose condemnation of the deracinating effects of individualism anticipated EmUe

Durkheim's notion of "anomie." The inherently social character of the seU, of language, and of civilization's greatest achievements are stressed in his writings. The unyielding champion of a somewhat imaginary Old Regime, he was much impressed by the kind of Christian rationalism associated with Malebranche and Leibniz. At the same time, Bonald was a Cassandra, a prophet not only of a virtuous past but of the tumultuous change whose pace would only accelerate as the twentieth century approached. He made dire, often germane, predictions about Europe's social Uls après le déluge, including the poverty exacerbated by laissez-faire economics, the bUght spread by rapid urbanization and industrialism, the rising incidence of divorce, and the weakening of traditional famUy patterns. On a theoretical level, he advanced criticisms of empiricist epistemology and democratic poUtics that on occasion scored direct hits. His obvious bias notwithstanding, Bonald articulated fears and insights about the modern world that are as much akin to radical as to conservative perspectives.

Klinck's monograph is most welcome, therefore. Based on archival research in famUy papers and archives in Paris and the Midi, its evidence adds to what is known about Bonald's background and reading and about his mayoral poUcies in MiUau before 1793. It is perhaps less impressive in its analyses of the structure, nuances, and relevance of Bonald's thought than in its fresh information concerning his Ufe, relationships, and poUtical activities. Yet even Klinck's labors have not uncovered a complete explanation for why the moderate, semi-"enlightened" Bonald turned sharply against the Revolution and emigrated. Friendly before 1789 toward the notion of a "meritocratic" elite and toward the Bourbon monarchy's GaUicanism, neither the abolition of feudalism on the "Night of August 4th" nor the Civil Constitution of the Clergy seems the clear cause of his conversion to the Counter-Revolution.

Indeed, the whole question of the nature of Bonald's religiosity and impact on Catholic social thought and theology remains vexed. There can be no doubt that he was a sincere and practicing CathoUc. One of his sons even became the archbishop of Lyon. But in packaging his conservatism as a "science of society" he assimilated a rationaUstic rhetoric and mode of argumentation surprisingly close to that of the philosophes he revUed. Bonald was not content to defend throne and altar through supernatural mysteries, immemorial authority, or prescriptive custom. The natural-law basis of his proto-sociology was supplemented (à la Montesquieu) by historical and ethnographic data drawn from around the world and across the centuries. The difficulty with that ideological strategy was that it was not personal reUgiosity or CathoUc theism that was rescued. Instead, his "science" tried to prove something so ecumenical and abstract that it amounted to his own version of deism. As Bernard Reardon and others have shown, this is one reason that weU before the nineteenth century's midpoint the Papacy discouraged its theologians from following in the inteUectual footsteps of Bonaldian "traditionalism."

The other reason, of course, has to do with Felicité de Lamennais. An admirer of Bonald's writings in his youth, Lamennais was initiaUy appreciated by the

Church as an inspiring voice who promised to help keep secularism at bay. Lamennais, however, pushed the vague Ultramontanism of Bonald's later works to an unexpected extreme. By the 1830's (in his Paroles d'un croyant) he and his foUowers were urging the Papacy to reinvigorate Christianity by condemning monarchies that oppressed their peoples and betrayed the Church's values of justice and brotherhood. In short, Lamennais transformed the theocratic traditionaUsm of Bonald into a theocratic popuUsm or socialism which the Papacy, then wary of repubUcs, did not feel comfortable condoning.

However, few of the theological implications of Bonaldian thought are examined at length by KUnck.The curious reader wiU have to turn elsewhere for in-depth analyses of this topic.Too often, Klinck's monograph faUs to penetrate to the heart of Bonald's views and theU consequences. Nonetheless, Klinck has provided scholars with a soUd foundation from which to investigate this important but neglected thinker.

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L'épiscopatfrançais à l'époque concordataire (1802- 1905): Origines, formation, nomination. By Jacques-Olivier Boudon. [Histoire reUgieuse de la France, 9] (Paris: Editions du Cerf. 1996. Pp. 589. 290 F.)

Placed at the head of the very distinctive body that the CathoUc clergy constituted in French society, the episcopate represented an elite aU the more powerful as under the regime of the Concordat of 1801 the bishops exercised a more effective authority over their clergy than their predecessors could enjoy under the Ancien Régime. It was a role and a place that can be aU the better studied as that same Napoleonic regime had made of the bishops a category of high functionaries appointed and remunerated by the state; theU career, consequently, can be traced Ui the files set up on them by the central administration, as on aU the servants of the state.The materia prima, so to speak, of this book by M. Boudon is that legion of 515 ecclesiastical personalities who were raised to the episcopacy in France from 1802 to 1905.

First the author has studied the social origins and education of his subjects. The very great majority of them came from the urban world, and thus from the lower and middle bourgeoisie .The contribution of the nobUity which was large at the beginning of the century (stiU 47% under the Empire), feU rapidly after 1830 to end at no more than 4.5% under the Third RepubUc. From 1830 on there were also some men coming from rural society, but as late as 1900 that element remained a minority (16%). The future bishops were born in very reUgious famUies, as was natural, and most of them did their classical studies in a CathoUc coUege. The great majority of them (68%) received theU clerical formation from the Sulpicians, either at Paris or in the provinces, but the number of degrees that they earned Ui theology is strangely very low (13%).

In the second part the author tries to determine what it was in the priests' early career that could have prepared them for the episcopacy. No doubt the fact of having participated m the administration of a diocese was important. As under the Ancien Régime, the position of vicar-general is one of those that led to the episcopacy (in fact, in 43% of the cases considered). But it happened in a rather different way; whUe previously the episcopacy had appeared as a career in itself, which the younger sons of the nobiUty could try to obtain by underhand means after a few years of apprenticeship, in the nineteenth century it was rather the last stage reserved for the most meritorious of the curés of important parishes, and thus for mature men. Being a professor in a seminary was also a way of access.

The intervention of the state in the choice of subjects obUges the author to study the options taken by them in the controversies touching on poUtics, especiaUy that of GalUcanism or Ultramontanism. On the whole, GalUcanism remained dominant up to the Second Empire. At the end of the century it was to perpetuate itself by sUpping into the skin of liberalism, which itsetf came out of the Ultramontanism of the mid-century (Montalembert, Dupanloup).The selection of candidates does not seem to have been influenced by their activities in the area of studies and publications.The publications on apologetics and the art of preaching counted for more.The role of historical knowledge was weak, and that of theology was not much more important.

Under the Consulate and the Empire, more than under any other regime, the appointments of bishops depended especiaUy on political considerations. In other words, they expressed Napoleon's will to have men devoted to himself. For this purpose he relied on certain dependable advisers—Portalis, the minister of cults, and Cardinal Fesch, the grand almoner, who in turn listened to M. Emery, the superior of the Sulpicians. The restored Bourbons tried to reconstruct the old Church of France, mainly in the consideration accorded to the aristocratic origins of the candidates. Nevertheless, the ranks of the episcopate were also open to men conspicuous for their personal merits. All, moreover, remained faithful to the GalUcan tradition. Ultramontanism made an initial and timid appearance only at the beginning of the July Monarchy, when the civU power wanted to break the legitimist front of opposition of the bishops appointed before the Revolution of 1830. During the brief episode of the Second Republic some old disciples of Lamennais, hence rather ultramontane, were promoted. But under the Second Empire, as under the First, devotion to the regime was stressed. One notes in the course of the years variations in the policy of selection; they depended in many cases on the personages who had succeeded to the head of the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs but also on the vicissitudes of the Roman Question, that is, on the independence of the Papal States—realistic understanding at the beginning, then mistrust and shocks, and finaUy openness marked by a tendency to Uberalism, which had taken shape in the opposition of some French bishops to the First Vatican Council.

The instability characteristic of the governments of the Third Republic did not correspondingly affect the recruitment to the episcopate, for from 1879 to

1889 a single director of cults, Dumay, served under twenty-three ministers, thus assuring a real continuity of a poUcy of tranquU co-operation. That is why the great change of course reaUzed by Leo XIII (the Ralliement) did not have greater effect on the episcopal nominations. It was only beginning in 1902 that the mUitant anticlerical policy of Combes provoked a sort of frost between Paris and Rome, and that lasted until the revocation of the Concordat in 1905.

To conclude, the author considers various external factors that were able to affect the choices of the two interested powers. The practice of normaUy consulting the existing bishops gave rise to a kind of co-opting that tended to pass on from generation to generation the type or the criteria received from the eighteenth century. Account was taken of political and famUy sponsorships, which sometimes took the form of a veritable nepotism. The reactions of the Holy See to the proposals coming from the governments are set forth at greater length; in general these reactions were concordant in 80% of the cases. Lastly, pubUc opinion was sometimes taken into account, either as it was expressed in the press or, discreetly, by personal interventions with the minister or the nuncio.

M. Bourdon's work, faithful to the genre of the doctoral grande thèse of the French universities, leaves nothing to be desired, either in its documentation or in its composition, which is clear and logical, or in its style, which is perfectly correct and pleasant to foUow. The work, furthermore, is provided with aU the apparatus that makes its consultation easy. Here the publisher should be praised for the luxury that we thought was almost a thing of the past, such as keeping the notes at the bottom of the pages. Other practical details may be mentioned: in the index the proper names of bishops stand out by being set in italics; the very copious bibliography includes a section in which the biographies of bishops appear in the alphabetical order of the bishops and not of the authors. Alas, all the more is to be noted a lacuna that is difficult to excuse, i.e., the omission of works that the excellent American historian Annabelle MeIvUle devoted to the Franco-American careers of two eminent prelates, namely, Jean Lefebvre de Cheverus, who was Bishop of Boston before returning to France to occupy the See of Montauban, later became archbishop of Bordeaux, and was created a cardinal, and Louis WiUam DuBourg, who ended his life as Archbishop of Besançon after having been bishop, at New Orleans, of the immense territory of Louisiana and the Two Floridas. This regrettable omission can, unfortunately, support the feeling that American historians sometimes have of being unfairly ignored by French university scholars when they venture onto the terrain of the history of France.

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Brothers at Work: A history offive Dutch congregations of brothers and their activities in Catholic education, 1840-1970. By Joos P. A. Van Vugt. (Nijmegen, The Netherlands: Valkhof Pers for the CathoUc Study Centre, Catholic University of Nijmegen. 1996. Pp. 126. Paperback)

This work is an abridged EngUsh version of a historical study in Dutch undertaken by the Catholic Study Centre of the University of Nijmegen at the behest of, and funded by, the five brotherhoods suggested in the title, namely, the Brothers of St. Louis or of Oudenbosch (founded 1840), the Brothers of Maastricht (1840), the Brothers ofTUburg (1844), the Brothers of Huybergen (1854), and the Brothers of Utrecht (1873). Although the English version is intended primarily for the congregations' foreign missions, it is a scholarly narration based upon an exhaustive study of congregational, diocesan, and government archives and is a perceptive treatment of mstitutional development that is applicable to teaching brotherhoods in particular and religious Ufe in general.

The author provides a background for the establishment of these five brotherhoods in the proliferation of the active, simple-vow congregations that exploded into existence in the generation foUowing the French Revolution, a development "characterized by spontaneity, enthusiasm, and chaos" (p. 31). AU five were founded by priests or bishops primarily for the poor chUdren of industrial cities in the making. In short order, however, they were torn loose from their local roots to become part of an ambitious educational system, a principal goal of the "Catholic movement" in The Netherlands. JTie movement involved a conflict with anticlerical Liberals, over whom it finally triumphed in the Primary Education Act of 1920 that provided equal funding for denominational schools.

Though the five brotherhoods reached a peak of institutional growth and professionalism in the interwar years, the militancy of the Catholic movement had evaporated. There began about 1920 a dramatic decline in the percentage of those taking final vows. In the period after 1945, when the wetfare state made many of theU services redundant, they turned more to technical schools and foreign missions. The period after Vatican Council II brought another radical change of course in the form of occupational diversity, the congregations, instead of "idealistic employment agenc[ies]," becoming supportive bodies. The diversification was haphazard and not the result of postconciliar goal setting. Yet, as the brotherhoods faced inevitable extinction, many of their members, "found theU true destination only in these autumnal years of thee Ufe" (p. 112).

This is a slim volume but packed with insights at each stage of the institutional growth it describes. It invites comparisons and contrasts not only with and between American and European teaching brotherhoods but American and European reUgious experiences in general. It is fast-paced and readable. It has no index.

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The Politics of Pessimism: Albert de Broglie and Conservative Politics in the Early Third Republic. By Alan Grubb. (Newark: University of Delaware Press. 1996. Pp. xU, 427. $55.00.)

Count Albert de BrogUe was in the thick of poUtics in France from 1871 through much of 1877. Much has been written about this critical period, but relatively Uttle focusing on the Orleanists. There is no biography in any language of BrogUe, who, however, has left us his memoirs among many other kUids of writings. Grubb's book, therefore, is a contribution Ui putting the spotUght on this interesting and significant figure.

BrogUe's paternal line was Savoyard nobUity in the service of the Bourbons by the seventeenth century. His father attained prominence under Louis PhiUppe. For several years father and son were sUnultaneously members of the Académie. His mother was the daughter of Mme de Staël and, it is said, Benjamin Constant. Broglie served Ln the diplomatic corps as a young man, but concentrated on literary and historical works during the Second Empire. In 1871 he was elected to the National Assembly, then sent as ambassador to Great Britain, and in 1873 he became prime minister, hokUng the portfolio of foreign minister at the height of the effort of the royaUsts to achieve a fusion. After the failure of the royalists to achieve unity, he contUiued to struggle for the Orleanist cause, becoming MacMahon's prime minister in 1877. He faded from public IUe with the republican victory at the poUs that year.

Grubb knows the general story intimately and writes in a lively way. He uses various manuscript sources extensively, though sometimes he relies on standard pubUshed works. Despite the importance of the monarchical principle in the diplomacy of this very period when Broglie held the posts of ambassador and foreign minister, not developing this aspect of France's hapless diplomacy in a situation by which Bismarck kept France isolated would seem to be a shortcoming, smce poUtics was not confined to the French domestic scene. The archives of the foreign ministry were not used, nor were those of the Paris Prefecture of Police, which contain material that would have fitted in weU with some of his other sources.

Despite the fact that the Catholic Church was part of the scheme of Ufe aU royaUsts had, and that Broglie was a notable contributor to Le Correspondant, the Church just does not seem to have been as important to him as it was to the Legitimists. The Church was everything to Chambord and VeuiUot. BrogUe's scheme of things was more complex.

Grubb's organization foUows the vicissitudes of the French parUament, highlighting the setting up of the seven-year presidency in 1873, the making of the constitution in 1875, and the desperate attempts of the royalists under MacMahon in 1877. His introductory chapter about BrogUe before 1871 is very informative, as is the chapter about his last years. These chapters, however, are rather short and bring together material from known sources. BrogUe's literary side, as weU as other aspects, would make a good subject for development.

The bibUography, despite some inexactitudes, is impressive. The nature of his cross-referencing in the index of names, however, is not very helpful. Despite these observations Grubb's book definitely makes a substantive contribution.

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Der Volksverein für das katholische Deutschland, 1890-1933-' Geschichte, Bedeutung, Untergang. By Gotthard Klein. [Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Zeitgeschichte, Reihe B: Forschungen, Band 75.] (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh. 1996. Pp. 597. 98.00 DM.)

The People's Association for CathoUc Germany, the Volksverein, was one of the largest lay organizations m Wilhelmine Germany, attaining a membership of more than 800,000 by 1914. Although it was founded in 1890 as a consequence of the Kulturkampf and in response to the formation of the explicitly anti-CathoUc EvangeUcal League, the Völksverein was less concerned with combatting Protestantism and "freethinkers" than with confronting sociaUsm. Its primary goal was to educate German CathoUc workers in social, economic, and poUtical matters in order to arm them against the attractions of Social Democracy and keep them in the Church. Many of its leaders were clergy, but the association was never under the direct supervision of the hierarchy and often clashed with individual bishops, as it did for example in the prolonged controversy over the Christian Trade Unions. Gotthard Klein devotes only thirty-six of 416 pages of text to the prewar years, those of the Volksverein's greatest success; thus his book is clearly intended as a sequel to and not a replacement for Horstwalter Heitzer's 1979 Der Volksverein für das katholische Deutschland im Kaiserreich 1890-1918.

Most of Klein's attention is focused on the Volksverein's decline in the Weimar RepubUc and its ignominious coUapse in the years 1928-1933, which began with the bankruptcy of its extensive publishing operation. The reasons for the financial disaster were obvious: in the face of precipitous losses in membership (down to haUthe 1914 figure by 1928) the leadership not only did not retrench but actuaUy expanded the association's enterprises, hoping to recoup the losses from dues by opening new presses and bookstores, more local branches, and even venturing mto film production. When the deficit became alarmeigly large, the General Director Wilhelm Hohn compounded the problem by his overly optimistic and imaginative schemes for refinancing the debt. KleUi describes these maneuvers in painful detaU, includUig the years and years of convoluted arrangements which were eventuaUy required to pay off the creditors (one loan from a Dutch bank was not fuUy discharged until 1974!).

The underlyUig reasons for the Volksverein's collapse were more complex. Why did so many of its supporters abandon this popular and effective organization in the 1920's? First, according to Klein, in a sense the association was a

victim of its own success. Its adult education courses had taught a whole generation of CathoUc workers how to compete in German's economic Ufe, turning out labor leaders for the interconfessional Christian Trade Unions and poUticians for the ranks of the Center Party. These men no longer needed paternaUst guidance from the Volksverein.

Second, the association faced increasing competition in the repubUcan years from a number of other CathoUc organizations, most of which attracted more speciaUzed demographic groups than "CathoUc Germany." Organizations for CathoUc women and youth flourished in the repubUc; the Volksverein had never tried very hard to recruit women even after their participation in pubUc associations was legaUzed in 1908. The CathoUc School Organization was a formidable rival, concentrating on the protection of the confessional school system which was threatened by the terms of the Weimar Constitution. Both the CathoUc Women's League and the School Organization were poUticaUy more conservative than the Volksverein and were more closely aUgned with the hierarchy, which was often at odds with Volksverein social poUcy. It is noteworthy that neither the bishops' conference nor the competing lay organizations were eager to contribute financially to the baU-out of the association.

Third, even its most loyal members from the prewar years were put off by a radical shift in the Volksverein's ideology. The long-time inteUectuaI and spiritual leaders August Pieper and Anton Heinen had always stressed the practical goals of adult education; now Pieper began advocating a new "social ethics" which was anything but practical and even seemed to echo catch-phrases of fascist social thinkers of the day, such as the need to replace sterile "society" with an organic "community" or Volksgemeinschaft (the very word used obsessively by the Nazis). The Volksverein's new headquarters in Paderborn (where they had moved from Mönchengladbach because of the French occupation of the Rhineland) were turned into a "social-pedagogic laboratory" for the dissemination of these ideas. Catholic labor leaders considered all of this so much Quatsch, nonsense (p. 152).

WooUy thinking combined with wooUy financing brought down the Volksverein, not some nefarious scheme to defraud its creditors and the pubUc, but the National Socialist government in 1933 tried to exploit its coUapse to the fuU and to create a scandal which would discredit the Center Party and poUtical CathoUcism in general. Government spokesmen announced that they proposed to hold a trial and bring to justice aU the weU-known poUtical figures connected with the Volksverein's Board of Directors (many of them largely honorary) including Wilhelm Marx, former ChanceUor and presidential candidate, and former cabinet ministers Heinrich Brauns and Adam Stegerwald. In October, 1933, a preliminary smaU-scale court action was brought in the name of the middle- and working-class depositors who had lost then- savings in the faUure of a bank connected with the Volksverein. The defendant in this action was Friedrich Dessauer, who provided a particularly satisfactory target for Nazi propaganda as a leading member of the Center Party's left wing who had actively tried to com-

bat anti-Semitism and could be stigmatized as a "baptized Jew" (although Dessauer's ancestors had converted to Catholicism in 1813)The widely pubU-cized trial was a complete failure for the Nazis, however, ending with Dessauer's acquittal for his aUeged "malfeasance" and a public statement from the judge that his conduct had been entirely honorable. Probably as a consequence of this fiasco, the "great Volksverein trial" never took place.

After the war, there was an unsuccessful attempt to revive or re-create the Volksverein, supported by, among others, Konrad Adenauer, rather surprisingly, since the old Volksverein had worked closely with the Catholic Center Party, whUe his newly founded Christian Democratic Union was intended from the first to be interconfessional. Much of the sentiment for revival seems to have been motivated by nostalgia for the pre-World War I organization, and the bishops discouraged the plans, preferring a clearer separation of poUtics and social poUcy from reUgion than had prevaUed before.

Like most German monographs this volume has an extensive scholarly apparatus, including an appendix with tables of the Volksverein's membership and regional distribution at different times, and correspondence and other documents from the years 1928-1933. It is hard to imagine a more thorough and meticulous coverage of this subject.

Ellen L. Evans

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Wisdom and Innocence: A Life of G. K. Chesterton. By Joseph Pearce. (San Francisco: Ignatius Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 522. $29.95.)

Joseph Pearce's biography of G. K. Chesterton is a venture of love and high praise. Although it purports to stand out from other books on Chesterton by having drawn on many previously unpublished sources, there is far less new here to satisfy the claim. Apart from some scattered letters, notes, diary entries, and poems from the Chesterton Study Center, Pearce relies mostly on previous biographies, notably the pioneering works of Maise Ward and, of more recent vintage, books by Michael Coren and Michael Ffinch, the latter of whom was given unlimited access to Chesterton's papers.

Although Wisdom and Innocence is essentiaUy derivative, the book makes a contribution to Chesterton studies because of its special focus. Pearce's main interests are Chesterton's reUgious vision and personal relationships.The reader is overburdened by the minutia of G. K.'s domestic agendas, but Pearce manages to convey the seminal importance of Frances Blogg Chesterton in the writer's Ufe as few others have managed. An intensely private person, Frances was a silent partner, and thus her role has been unappreciated.

Pearce is particularly good in his descriptions of Chesterton's relationships with brother CecU, George Bernard Shaw, H. G.Wells, and HUaire BeUoc. Pearce

corrects the popular misconception behind what Shaw caUed the "Chesterbelloc," making it clear that G. K. was no clone of BeUoc. Chesterton's style and temperament were Ui stark contrast to the latter. BeUoc too often lacked tact and decorum; when he sparred there was a raw, nasty edge to his combativeness. BeUoc made enemies; Chesterton maintained Hfe-long, close friendships with his inteUectual adversaries. H. G.Wells, for instance, saw Chesterton's presence as "a joyous whei of brushwork." But there was a partisan viciousness about BelIoc, he claimed, that "bars him from my celestial dreams." Nor should it be beUeved, writes Pearce, that BeUoc had much to do with the making of Chesterton. BeUoc himself rejected this notion, considering his friend "a thinker so profound and so dUect that he had no equal." Unlike Shaw, Pearce sees the ChesterbeUoc to have been founded on a healthy symbiosis: Chesterton sharpened BeUoc's phUosophical insights; BeUoc gave G. K. a broader perspective on European history. Contrary to Pearce's claims, however, BeUoc was not an especiaUy good Lnfluence as historian, for he used the past primarily for tendentious purposes. BeUoc certainly would have faUed any graduate course in historical methodology.

Readers will find Uttle of Chesterton's economic, political, or social ideas in this biography, for Pearce's passion is Chesterton as Catholic apologist, which, for him, is the touchstone of the writer's greatness. Not everyone saw this as G. K.'s strong suit. WeUs and Shaw were convUiced that the ties to Rome cramped his range and genius. Of like mind was Hugh KingmUl, who advised his brother, Arnold Lunn, to avoid Chesterton's style, a writer, he claimed, whose powers declined after conversion.

The title of Pearce's book derives from the saintly simplicity that inspeed the popular Father Brown detective stories. G. K. beUeved in the Uiterconnection of innocence, which as in a child provides clear uncritical vision, and wisdom, the fruit of open-mindedness and reasoned judgment. These were two quaUties that in combination were the secret of Father Brown's sleuthing successes. This theme of innocence and wisdom is also played out in Chesterton's more serious books, notably m his biography of St. Francis (whose Ufe was for G. K. a bridge connecting his own boyhood innocence and optimism to the later-found wisdom of conversion) and his work on St. Thomas. InitiaUy there was concern that Chesterton's cavalier scholarship and limited academic knowledge were inadequate to the task of doing a biography of St. Thomas. Nevertheless, what ultimately mattered was that Chesterton had an intuitive feel for Thomas' teaching, and this insight resulted in a book that even Etienne GUson regarded as the best ever written on St. Thomas.

Pearce's chief objective is to chaUenge those who beUeve that Chesterton's genius has been too narrowly constricted by reUgion, that his literary and phUosophical legacy wiU eventuaUy "break out of the ark" in which his Catholic supporters have confined him. On the contrary, writes Pearce, Chesterton only can be fully understood as a microcosm of the Church Usee, ultimately an incarnation of the ideas he espoused: a synthesis of the Franciscan (romance) and the

Thomist (reason). CathoUcism was certainly at the core of everything Chesterton eventuaUy stood for. Yet his fuU stature as a cultural figure—especiaUy the poUtical and social ideas he articulated—need to be more fully developed than Pearce has managed.

Jay P. Corrin

Boston University

Acta Nuntiaturae Polonae^oraus LVII: Achilles Ratti (1918-1921), Volumen 2 (1 VIII-11 XI 1918). Edited by Stanislaus WUk, S.D.B. (Rome: Institutum Historicum Polonicum. 1996. Pp. xü, 423.)

This volume comprises the second UistaUment in a project to publish the archival documents regarding the mission of Achule Ratti, the future Pope Pius XI, as nuncio to Poland in the initial years of that country's revival from more than a century of foreign rule at the end of World War I. (See the review of Volume I ante, LXXXII [April, 1996], 278-280.) It stands as the latest entry in an ambitious and useful series devoted to reproducmg the papers of the papal nunciature m Poland smce its initiation in the sixteenth century.

Ratti ranks as the most significant of these Vatican envoys to Warsaw, both for his subsequent elevation to the throne of St. Peter and the intrinsic interest of his busy and controversial three years in Poland at one of the most critical times in contemporary European history. OrigmaUy named as apostoUc visitor to a PoUsh state created in 1916 as a sateUite of the Central Powers, this former prefect of the Vatican Library stayed on as nuncio to the fully independent Poland that emerged once the war ended in the coUapse of Germany and the Habsburg Empire.

These pages assemble nearly two hundred documents from the last three months of the war, still in the first stage of Ratti's PoUsh residence. That amounts to roughly two items a day, and m fact some of them deal with trivialities and might have been permitted to continue slumbering in the archives with no loss to posterity. Still, Ratti found more than enough weighty matters to occupy his hours during these hectic weeks, as this coUection attests. NaturaUy, his primary concern was the condition of the CathoUc Church in the districts that made up the rump Poland set up by Berlin and Vienna, then badly in need of restoration after lengthy persecution at the hands of Russia, and much of the correspondence centers on the attempt to resume normal ecclesiastical Ufe. By necessity, he also accorded close attention to the nearby Russian revolution and civU war, which exposed the Church to the threat of Bolshevism even as it seemed to open tantaUzing possibilities for an eastward extension of CathoUcism now that Orthodoxy no longer could rely on the political support of a tsardom. Overshadowing it aU, the World War reached its stormy conclusion at first an oddly distant presence in the seemingly calm Polish front, then an abrupt tempest

that swept away the Central Powers and their protectorate, leaving a chaotic but free Poland in its wake.

Nearly aU of these documents are gleaned from the recentiy opened Ratti papers in the Vatican Secret Archives, the bulk of them in ItaUan and Latin, the remainder in PoUsh, French, and German. The list of Ratti's eminent correspondents includes Pope Benedict XV; his Secretary of State, Cardinal Gasparri; the nuncio to Munich, Eugenio PaceUi, the future Pius XII; and the Russian Orthodox Patriarch Tikhon, as weU as the leading dignitaries of the PoUsh Church. Like the companion volumes in this series, this item is not intended for a wide audience, but scholars with a serious interest in Pius XI and modern PoUsh church history wUl find in it a wealth of information.

Neal Pease

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

Catholicism in the Second Spanish Republic: Religion and Politics in Salamanca, 1930-1936. By Mary Vincent. [Oxford Historical Monographs.] (New York: Clarendon Press, Oxford University Press. 1966. Pp. xiii, 286. $70.00.)

This fresh new study of one of the most Catholic provinces in Spain during the Second Republic is composed of two different but related parts. The first half treats the structure and practice of Catholicism in Salamanca province, whUe the second half deals with politics in Salamanca—increasingly dominated by the CathoUc Confederación Española de Derechas Autónomas (CEDA)—during the Republican years. The result is a full and rounded account of Catholic Salamanca under the democratic regime.

Of the two halves, the first part on Salamanca Catholics is the more original and important, for it provides us with the best account that we have in either English or Spanish of the religious institutions and practices of one of the key CathoUc provinces of northern Spam. Vincent, who began this study as a dissertation under the direction of Frances Lannon, presents chapters on the secular clergy and on the orders, on the structure and practice of religious devotion, and on CathoUc Action and lay activism in Salamanca, achieving a clear, sensitive and weU-rounded portrait of CathoUc life in the province. This is based on extensive research Ln CathoUc pubUcations, the local press, memoirs, and secondary sources. It does not necessarUy alter in any major way our general understanding of northern Spanish Catholicism during these years, but it provides a wealth of information and teUing detail. It is striking, for example, that in a province where approximately half the population were stiU practicing CathoUcs in 1930 the Church had stUl been unable to provide new priests and parishes for the expanding worker districts of the provincial capital. Moreover, in Salamanca as elsewhere, the number of new seminarians declined sharply during the secular years of the RepubUc.

The second half of the book, on politics in Salamanca, offers less purely original data, but nonetheless adds to our knowledge of the development of Catholic poUtics under the Republic. Salamanca was one of the chief bases of the Spanish Confederation of Autonomous Rightists, which in each of the last two Republican elections of 1933 and 1936 gained more votes than any other single party in the country. Vincent traces the origins and rise of the CEDA in Salamanca, and the increasing polarization of politics, as moderate RepubUcan UberaUsm—which had the support of a minority of voters Ui the province—was steadUy reduced to impotence. In this section there are no surprises but considerable interesting details on the precise local configuration of this trend.

Though it does not achieve any strikingly original breakthrough that challenges the estabUshed interpretations, this is an extremely weU done provincial study. It provides one of the best accounts that we have of any province during the RepubUcan years, and its study of Salamancan CathoUcism is exceUent.

Stanley G. Payne

University of Wisconsin-Madison

Die Gründung des Bistums Berlin 1930. By Michael Höhle. [VeröffentUchungen der Kommission für Zeitgeschichte, Reihe B: Forshungen, Band 73.] (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh. 1996. Pp. 308. DM 78,-.)

This book presents a concise history of the Catholic Church in Berlin, which grew from a terra missionis under the authority of Breslau's prince bishops into a unique diocese centered around the German capital. Completed as a theology dissertation at Bonn, the study follows a straightforward chronology divided into five sections. A short survey of Catholicism in Brandenburg and Pomerania from the Reformation to World War I is followed by three major sections covering the initiatives to found the diocese, the establishment of the diocese, and the "foundation phase" of the early 1930's. The conclusion provides a summary and an epUogue defending the actions of Berlin's CathoUc leaders during the Nazi era.

Berlin in the Weimar RepubUc deserves the close attention of CathoUc historians. Turn-of-the-century Berlin had already joined Paris and London as a true European metropoUs. At the same time, its CathoUc population had grown to over a hatf-rmllion, making it the third largest Catholic "community" in Germany behind Munich and Cologne. Berlin was no longer a mission territory, though large parts of Brandenburg and Pomerania stiU were. During the 1920's the city was home to some of the most significant German CathoUcs of the twentieth century including Carl Sonnenschein, Romano Guardini, and Helmut Fahsel. As the German capital, it was also the second home of aU the leading Center Party politicians. Berlin's CathoUc circles are thus central to our understanding the history of German CathoUcism in the early twentieth century.

Höhle provides brief sketches of Berlin Catholicism and its most notable figures, but his primary focus is the creation of the diocese. The city's leadmg Catholics marshaled their forces for this task, as the Weimar RepubUc entered its last and most traumatic phase. Papal Nuncio Eugenio PaceUi negotiated the concordat with Prussia adjusting church boundaries to fit the realities of the VersaiUes Treaty, estabUshing the diplomatic rapport essential for a future concordat with the German Reich, and creating the Berlin Diocese. As PaceUi managed negotiations between Rome, Berlin, and Breslau, the Berlin clergy and Center Party poUticians worked to persuade the government and Landtag (state assembly). Opposition came primarily from the Lutheran church. More conservative Lutherans decried the papist incursion, while moderate church leaders argued that any agreement should involve all major denominations in a uneorm restructuring of church-state relations. Yet despite fears of bureaucratic obstruction or an anti-CathoUc groundsweU in the Landtag, ratification of the concordat proceeded smoothly. Höhle notes correctly that the peaceable victory in the Prussian Landtag was due in large part to the efforts of the Social Democratic Minister President Otto Braun.

This study is weU researched, making use of contemporary journals and news articles, the diplomatic archives in Germany and the Vatican, and diocesan records. The author also provides helpful biographical footnotes. What the study lacks however, is analysis of religious, political, or diplomatic history and historiography. The reader will find no sustained examination of German CathoUcism in the Weimar era, though the author references some standard works and articulates weU the unique nature of Berlin's CathoUc community. Nor is there any analysis of Weimar coaUtion politics or Vatican diplomacy. Much is left to the reader's imagination or assumed knowledge, such as why SPD Minister President Braun should work to promote a concordat with the Catholic Church. WhUe leaving much room for further criticism and study, this work provides a useful overview of church-state relations and Berlin Catholicism in the Weimar era.

Eric Yonke

University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point

Die Bistumspresse in Hessen und der Nationalsozialismus 1930-1941. By Gottfried Beck. [Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Zeitgeschichte, Reihe B: Forschungen, Band 72.] (Paderborn: FerdUiand Schöningh. 1996. Pp. 478. DM 98,-.)

The German Catholic Commission for Contemporary History is continuing its weU-estabUshed custom of publishing dissertations by young CathoUc scholars, whose work is thereby given the extra prestige of appearing Ui this excellently edited and finely produced series of research studies. But, as before, readers should be aware that the overall theme is to provide an apologetic defense of Catholic policies during the Nazi era.

Gottfried Beck has examined in depth the weekly CathoUc press published in the region of Hesse, covering the three dioceses of Limburg, Fulda, and Mainz. He thereby supplements the various studies of a simUar character for other areas of Germany and provides another mosaic stone to the picture already buUt up. His stance is basicaUy to reject both the hagiographical approach adopted in the immediate postwar years and the highly critical attacks of foreigners who saw the CathoUc press as no more than a willing instrument for the propagation of pro-Nazi ideas. Instead he begins his account in 1930 in order to show the ambivalence of the CathoUc editors during the downfaU of the Weimar Republic. Despite a clear repudiation of Nazi ideological and poUtical radicaUsm—most firmly expressed by the Bishop of Mainz, Ludwig Hugo—nevertheless there was an awareness that democratic republicanism was unable to provide strong government, and hence a certain sympathy for the Nazi goal of authoritarian leadership. In 1933 these editors shared most of the Ulusions about the nature of the new regime and about the concordat signed m July. The bishops' reversal in late March on the question of CathoUcs joining the Nazi Party only added to the confusion. Previous reservations about the Nazis' extreme nationaUsm and totaUtarian ambitions were abandoned in view of the general euphoria.

The shock and dismay at the rapidly implemented regulations issued by Goebbels' new Ministry of Propaganda were therefore all the more devastating. The CathoUc press now found itsetf gleichgeschaltet and subject to arbitrary interventions or prohibitions. Beck rightly notes that the Catholic reaction was one of bewilderment and lack of purposeful planning. The editors' determination to combat Rosenberg's campaign for the "new heathendom" was matched by their desire not be branded as traitors to the new vision of national renewal.

Unwilling to admit that the wishful thinking of the concordat had been a mistake, the church leaders were unable to raUy their foUowers to the kind of outright opposition expressed toward the governments of the Soviet Union, Spain, or Mexico. On the other hand, a conformist approach seemed to offer the best hope of preventing increased regulation or interference. Beck provides a plethora of examples of how these editors steered a careful line, and increasingly how they (and their readers) were obliged to "read between the lines." But such compromise avaUed them little, and in fact only revealed the Catholics' dUemma more clearly. Reticence and abstention became the tone for their utterances on the Nazis' most radical measures, such as the discrimination against and persecution of the Jews. The bishops' hesitant lead, even in defending Catholic rights, such as in the field of education, was faithfuUy foUowed by the church press. The whole sad story is meticulously laid out from the examples here provided.

To be sure, some editors sought to adopt a defensive position, rather than give away hostages to fortune, but their influence was progressively diminished, and their continued readiness to uphold their belief in the state and its

powers, including their support of the war effort after 1939, only further compromised their stance.

Beck does not claim that his study of Hesse breaks new ground. This regional press in fact differed Uttle from that of other areas. But his thorough analysis of the editorial utterances is a useful addition to our general knowledge. His conclusion, with hindsight, that the faUure to confront the evUs of Nazism more forcibly owed much to the continuity of Catiiolic attitudes from the 1920's with its disapproval of democratic Uberalism is certainly correct but only reinforces the view that German Catholics were caught up in an ambivalent and ultimately moraUy disastrous conflict of loyalties. His claim that the church press should be recognized as having played a significant role in resisting Nazi ideological pretensions is in Une with the view adopted by other authors in this series of volumes. But even so, the general faUure of German Catholics to take a stand against this nefarious government and its atrocities cannot be denied. The record is a sobering example of the weakness of reUgious convictions when confronted by the criminal acts of a totaUtarian regime.

John S. Conway

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The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe. By Statins N. Kalyvas. (Ithaca, New York: CorneU University Press. 1996. Pp. xi, 300. $45.00 clothbound; $1995 paperback.)

Most scholars agree that Christian Democratic parties are anomalous in a modern, secular age; not only do they represent a curious hybrid of secular and sectarian interests, but they can also embody electoral coaUtions that transcend economic, regional, and even ethnic differences to maintain poUtical power over long periods of time. Statins Kalyvas has a theory to explain these curiosities.

Kalyvas proposes that Christian Democratic parties in Austria, Belgium, Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands originated from decisions of nineteenth-century political actors, namely, the Church and conservative poUtical eUtes. Though these actors may not have initiaUy intended to create confessional parties, Kalyvas asserts that they "set the process in motion" by creating a new political consciousness or identity amongst lay Catholics. Fueling the long-term poUtical separation of CathoUcs from non-CathoUcs and of conservative CathoUcs from more Uberal-leaning ones, this unique political identity has become mobilized and institutionalized in Christian Democratic parties. According to Kalyvas, this is the source of the parties' longevity, even in the secular context of modern European poUtics.

Unlike other theories on this subject, Kalyvas' is a rational actor model; it considers Christian Democracy in the political context of actors, preferences, and strategies. Bringing together two separate traditions in the Uterature, Kalyvas ar-

gues that the Church and conservative eUtes joined forces to confront nineteenth century Liberal attacks on CathoUcism. The Church, with its extensive network of literate and active clergy, brought a depth of organization to the conservative causes whereas the lay conservative leadership gave the Church something it was neither wiUing nor capable of achieving on its own—parUamentary representation through a poUtical party. Unfortunately for them, the two forces unintentionaUy combined to produce poUtical Catholicism, a seU-sustaineig movement, which eventuaUy embued the lower clergy, the press, and the leaders of the new poUtical party, and its many ancillary organizations with mass-based authority. In this way the parties were transformed from CathoUc political parties to Christian Democratic ones.

In this very detailed text, Kalyvas does an impressive job of systematicaUy addressing the anomalies of Christian Democracy's existence in modern poUtics. Perhaps this is his greatest contribution to understanding their continued existence: by asking what caused confessional parties to arise in some cUcumstances and not in others and by focusmg on the voluntary (i.e., not inevitable) process of party formation, he opens avenues for more rigorous research. Devoting one entire chapter to France, where CathoUcism did not take on political dUnensions, he explains that the Church had not chosen initiaUy to organize the laity and, as a consequence, could not enter poUtics effectively.

Unfortunately, Kalyvas' theory overlooks the very context in which these "rational" decisions were made. Arguing that the strategies of both sets of elites were defensive receptions to Uberal anti-CathoUcism, Kalyvas neglects to note the changing enveonment Ui which these eUtes restructured thee objectives. The transformation of a confessional party into an organization with secular priorities, eidependent of the direction of the Church and open to outside membership, could not have occurred in the context of ongoing hítense anti-CathoUcism, Uberal or otherwise. At some point, the poUtical effects of anti-Catholicism had changed.

In Kalyvas' theory, anti-CathoUcism is the independent variable which affects party formation. In reality, however party formation also affects anti-CathoUcism. In Germany, for example, the activities of the Zentrumspartei greatly Uifluenced the political fortunes of the Liberal party and, through successful appUcation of pressure, altered Bismarck's strategy regarding the anti-Catholic campaign. Only when the threat of Kulturkampf legislation disappeared (in part through the strength of Catholic resistance) could the party consider alternative formulations and coaUtions. Only when anti-Catholicism lost its poUtical power could a secular party take shape.

Kalyvas' text is weU-documented, weU-argued, and well-written. It deserves the attention not only of scholars in CathoUc history but of anyone interested in comparative historical analysis and social theory.

KIMBERLY COWELL

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Der Katholizismus—gesamtdeutsche Klammer in den Jahrzehnten der Teilung? Erinnerungen und Berichte. Edited by UUich von Hehl and Hans Günter Hockerts. (Paderborn: Ferdinand SchönUigh. 1996. Pp. 192. DM 28,- paperback.)

NormaUy, each analytical volume Ui the Kommission für Zeitgeschichte series has been pubUshed with a scholarly apparatus, but the nature of this book expiants why it is an exception.The contributors to this volume come from a variety of associations, and they discuss how the German Democratic RepubUc and the Federal Republic remained linked after World War ? through the Catholic Church. These fourteen essays describe in very personal ways how post-1945 Germans in both zones joUied with one another to co-operate in ecclesial concerns.

These Catholics did not co-operate only on the basis of nationaUty but rather attempted to keep the Church free and strong. Reflecting the principle of subsidiarity so promüient in Catholic social theory, aU of the essays remind us that Ui complex dictatorial regimes a great deal of resistance can be established through personal contacts that struggle to sustain an identity on every level. ParadoxicaUy, then, maintaUiing theU CathoUc ties helped nurture both German nationalism and CathoUcism, which survived until the waU was torn down.

The essays focus on such areas as the pastoral care of youth, the Caritas Associations, the work of German CathoUcs for the diaspora Church in the DDR, diocesan Urformation services, CathoUc Student Associations, and the role of the laity in both zones as they mteracted during these decades. Paul Arfderbeck, for example, has analyzed how the Archdiocese of Paderborn was split into two parts, but stUl functioned as one ecclesial entity. Joseph Homeyer's essay on the poUtical and economic role of the Church in the divided Germany of the 1950's through the 1990's is particularly welcome, since he has suggested, although too briefly, the role of political theology in helpUig to structure the responses of the Church in the DDR. Homeyer has also poüited to a research Utitiative that could be profitably exploited, e a scholar could gam access to the sensitive materials that emerged when bishops from the Bundesrepublik met those from the DDR in Rome. Thee memoranda, diary entries, and summaries of discussions could reaUy expUcate how the bishops on a personal level attempted to shape poUtical, economic, and cultural policies, which could help the Church interact with the two German states.

This coUection of essays serves to remind the reader of the many levels on which Catholics operated in the postwar period, and serves again to warn historians that any monocausal approach, when appUed to historical issues affecting the reUgious culture of CathoUcism, wiU not provide an adequate picture of lUe in the Church. Particularly crucial at the end of this century is the fact that the bizonal Church came to a sensitive understanding of diaspora and refugee

experiences, which could help serve to meet the needs of CathoUcs working Ui war-torn areas around the world today.

Donald J. Dietrich

Boston College

American

The Spanish Missions of La Florida. Edited by Bonnie G. McEwan. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 1993. Pp. xxvi, 458. $49.95 clothbound; $24.95 paperback.)

The 400th anniversary of the "martyrdom" of the five Servants of God, Pedro de Corpa and Companions, on the coast of present-day Georgia Ln September, 1597, renders timely a review of this volume, Uidispensable for a knowledge of the first 200 years of CathoUc evangelization Ui the Southeast. In this case the knowledge is provided as a result of joining to the historians' analysis of literary remains the archaeologists' reading of the physical traces left in the sands and sou. Brought together in this anthology are sixteen archaeological reports originaUy pubUshed in a special issue of The Florida Anthropologist (Vol. 44, Nos. 2-4 [199 1]), and intended to provide an update on mission archaeology. The subject is the "Florida Crescent," a mission system with its fulcrum at St. Augustine and extending north to St. Catherines Island, off Brunswick, Georgia, and west to Mission San Luis in TaUahassee. The authors are the archaeologists whose competency, dedication, and labors have Ui two decades made known a largely ignored era of American history, dispeUed romantic images, and cast an Unpartial light upon the meeting of the Hispanic and native American cultures. Historians wUl find their reports technical but essential raw material for writing the history of the Florida missions.

In the first essay, David Hurst Thomas of the American Museum of Natural History outlines his five-year search for the mission on St. Catherines (Santa CatalUia de Guale), where the use of remote sensmg technology led in 1981 to the uncovering of the remains of the church, friary, and well. It was at this mission that Father Miguel de Añon and Brother Antonio de Badajoz were kiUed on September 17, 1597. Thomas discerned the lines of the original church destroyed in the Guale rebelUon which took their lives, as weU as of the second church, which flourished from 1604 untU its destruction by British forces in 1680. In the campo santo or burial ground, here and generaUy in Florida under the church, were found the remains of at least 431 individuals, an abundance of crosses, medallions, and medals testifying to the Catholic faith of the Guale population. Thomas outlined a plan for future exploration of the native pueblo and the Spanish dwellings and fields mentioned in contemporary documents. Rebecca Sanders then takes up the story with a description of the excavations (1985-1990) on Amelia Island, further south m Florida, where, on the site of an earUer mission of Santa Maria de Yamassee, the friars in 1686 relo-

cated Mission Santa Catalina and the Guale people. This mission became the northern frontier until it too was abandoned, Ln 1702, before the marauding British.

Kathleen Hoffman reports on the 1988 archaeological project at the Franciscan friary in St. Augustine. The friary, first constructed in 1588, just four centuries before the archaeologists sought its traces, was named San Francisco. The buUdings on its site are today known as St. Francis Barracks and serve as the headquarters of the Florida Department of MiUtary Affairs. This miUtary occupancy began with the British occupation of 1763, but the buUdings have also served Spanish and later American mUitary forces. From 1606 to 1763, however, it was the headquarters of the Franciscans Ln Florida and Cuba, the seat of the Custody and later Province of Santa Elena, and its church of the Immaculate Conception was perhaps St. Augustine's most popular place of worship. It was here that the relics of the "martyrs" of St. Catherines were brought and venerated in 1603. One small example of the utiUty of archaeology to church history emerges from Hoffman's examination of Indian domestic pottery remains in the Franciscan refuse heaps of the late seventeenth century. This was a period when displaced Indian populations from elsewhere in Florida sought refuge from British torches in St. Augustine. Noting the evident prevalence of non-local Indian pottery at the mission, a phenomenon not observable at other sites Ui St. Augustine, Hoffman notes this "suggests that the Convento de San Francisco continued to be a center of reUgious activity for the postmission Indian population of St. Augustine. On a more personal level," she continues, "it may also indicate the church's sense of responsibUity for the spiritual and physical welfare of the rapidly declining Indian population" (p. 82).

Limitations of space allow mention of only a few points which should be brought to the attention of the general historian. There are the reports of additional mission explorations and identifications: in northeast Florida south of St. Augustine, the identification of the vUlage and mission of Mayaca on the upper St. John's; in north central Florida in the Indian province of Timucua, the finding of Mission Santa Fé de Toloca, the discovery of mission remains, probably San Martin de Timucua, at Fig Springs in Ichetucknee Springs State Park, archaeology at Baptizing Spring on the Suwannee, probably San Juan de Guacara; and in the province of Apalachee in the TaUahassee area, San Pedro y San Pablo de Patale. Regarding this last area, Bonnie G. McEwan, the editor of the volume, draws from archaeological evidence a surprisingly pleasant picture of Spanish colonial life on the Florida frontier, specificaUy at mission San Luis deTalimaU.

More general matters discussed: the mutual accommodation of Spanish and Indian systems in Florida, and the inabiUty of the Spanish to control Indian migration. Not aU Indians fled to St. Augustine to preserve their Christian faith. Not surprisingly, the late L. JUl Loucks noted: "Many Indians did become 'good' converts, but the primary motivation for adapting to Spanish behavioral expectations appears to have been economic and poUtical, not to mention survival." In short, when the burdens of being in the missions outweighed the material ad-

vantages, and the British offered such advantages, the Indians, or the majority, were gone. But I would suggest that it is a faUacy to confuse primary motivation and the Umit of human endurance, neither of which are scientificaUy measurable with a proton magnetometer. This reviewer found particularly helpful the assumptions set forth by RocheUe Marrinan concerning mission architecture (pp. 283-286), and saddening the mortuary evidence presented by Clark Spencer Larsen of the effects on the native population of disease, dietary changes, forced settlement, relocation, forced labor, and general stress (pp. 322-356).

Each report is clearly outlined and accompanied by a bibUography. Included are ninety figures and forty-six tables. A Ust of contributors indicates their affiliations and addresses. The volume is well indexed.

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Retelling U S. Religious History. Edited by Thomas A. Tweed. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1997. Pp. xii, 302. $40.00 clothbound $1395 paperback.)

In this creatively provocative set of essays plus an introduction, nine American reUgious historians offer examples of what many of us have longed for and worked at for several decades: narratives about reUgion in America that make use of new topics and new participants, new angles and perspectives, and new ways to think about relationships among multiple reUgious communities in American history. In his introduction, Thomas A. Tweed states the goal of the volume as the effort to be "suggestive, not exhaustive," and to demonstrate, as Catherine Albanese does at length in the concluding essay, that the ongoing reality of contact and combination of religious groups has fostered a constant and dynamic, not always easy, remaking of reUgious traditions. The related motifs of the volume, says Tweed, are contact, boundary, and exchange.

The volume is divided into two sections. The first, "Meaning and Power at Social Sites," includes essays by Ann Taves on sexuality; Tamar Frankiel on ritual; Ann Braude on women in American religious history from the perspective of women's presence rather than men's absence; and Roger Finke on "supply-side" interpretations of church growth and decline. "Bodies, laws, and churches," says Tweed, are the prominent social sites of this section.

In the second section, "Contact and Exchange at Geographic Sites," Laurie Maffly-Kipp writes a west-to-east religious history from the Pacific Rim. Joel Martin grounds a narrative of contact, colonialization, and combination among the Muskogee Creek Indians and concludes with an outline for a postcolonial narrative of Indian reUgions. WUUam WestfaU, a Canadian historian, elaborates on

insights that can be gained from the Canadian border, a site that both separates and joins two nations and makes possible a "paraUel historical discourse" from an outsider's perspective. Catherine Albanese speaks of contact and combination over the course of American religious history Ui terms of a gift economy; she de-emphasizes ideology but does not faU to point out that gift-giving is never free of conflict and the covering over of compUcated interactions and innovations.

As interesting as the essays themselves is the background Tweed suppUes about the construction of the volume. It was a coUaborative effort instigated by Tweed that demanded "much more contact with each other than usuaUy is the case" in edited coUections. The enterprise also requUed a seU-consciousness about method that is helpfuUy but not doggedly apparent and a wUingness to let some disagreements stand about such matters as whether metanarratives are possible or desirable and the extent to which fictional and historical narratives resemble each other. There is a strong presence of the underlying question, "How should we think about these things?"—both history and American reUgious history. There is also evidence in these essays that the writing of history can be highly pleasurable as well as arduous, and I do not consider this a negUgible contribution of the volume.

For those of us interested in American Catholic history, Retelling U.S. Religious History demonstrates that Catholicism can be more creatively tategrated tato historical accounts of religion in America than has often been the case Ui the past. AU the essays include references to Roman CathoUcism and its frequent and complex participation in the issues and themes that make up this volume.

Mary Farrell Bednarowski

United Theological Seminary of the Twin Cities

Rome and the New Republic: Conflict and Community in Philadelphia Catholicism between the Revolution and the Civil War. By Dale B. Light. (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 448. $48.95.)

Dale Light's Rome and the New Republic argues in almost HegeUan fashion that Philadelphia's small Catholic consensual community of the eighteenth century—which was organized around the principles of hierarchy, deference, and ascribed status—was challenged during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries by principles of American democracy and egalitarianism and that its unity was dissolved when contending factions (i.e., trustees and their opponents) created a schism within the community. That contention was overcome between 1830 and the Civil War when a Roman-taspeed restoration movement led by ultramontane bishops (Francis Patrick Kenrick and John Nepomucene Neumann) gained control of the ecclesiastical community, returned it to a state of peace, and cemented a new relationship with Roman as-

pirations that even the eighteenth-century community never had. In the end Roman authoritarianism won out over the American democratic aspirations of trustees. The bishops and clergy, moreover, were able to win because they had on thee side a class of smaU industriaUsts and prosperous laity (or those who aspeed to prosperity) for whom tranquUity within the community was in there own economic interests.

The book is divided into three major sections (the decline of community, schism, and the construction of community) that articulate the above thesis. Light maintains that the conflicts within the CathoUc community produced neither a repubUcan, nor an immigrant, nor a specüicaUy American church—a challenge to some recent historical models of understanding CathoUcism. The CathoUc community that emerged by the CivU War was the product of the institutional imperatives (i.e., authoritarianism, universalism, supernaturaUsm, and communaUsm) emanating from Restoration Rome and the class imperatives of the industrial society. Interpreting the Restoration movement primarily in poUtical and cultural, not reUgious or theological, terms, Light suggests that its ultimate effect was to isolate CathoUcs from the dominant values of American civil culture and, UonicaUy to create a great giüf between the ecclesiastical estabUshment and the immigrant population it sought to serve.

As far as I am aware, no other study of PhUadelphia Catholicism has been as successful as Light's in taterpreting the CathoUc experience in the light of the emerging poUtical and social context of the early American Republic. The disadvantage of Light's history is that the American social and political context at times overpowers the distinctively CathoUc dimensions of the transformation he is describing and taterpreting. What becomes distinctively Catholic in the end is the authoritarianism of the Roman Restoration. Such a view lacks an understanding of the theological diversity that indeed characterized CathoUc conceptions of authority at the end of the eighteenth and begUintag of the nineteenth century. The Catholic religious restoration, moreover, is presented as part of a "culture of authority," and therefore the reUgious dimension of the revival is perceived as subservient to the goal of preserving and restoring ecclesiastical authority and social control. As such the revival is interpreted as a "reaction against the modern world itseU" or a return to medieval mysticism or to the institutional taiperative of a Catholic counter-culture. Such an interpretation is driven by a Whiggish view of Catholicism that misrepresents the complexities of CathoUc self-understanding in the period.

Despite my own reservations about Light's overemphasis upon the political and the cultural, I beUeve that he has made a major contribution to our understanding of the social and poUtical dynamics within PhUadelphia Catholicism. The book is weU written, readable and without jargon, based upon primary documents, and creative in its interpretation. It should be widely read by students of American religious and cultural Ufe. It has a useful index.

Patrick W. Carey

Marquette University

Material Christianity: Religion and Popular Culture in America. By CoUeen McDanneU. (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 312. $35.00.)

For too long, CoUeen McDanneU argues, American historians have thought of religion as the "sacred," the transcendent, the spiritual, set against the "profane," the everyday, the material, the commercial. This strict dichotomy, she contends, had blinded them to the way American Christians have continuaUy "scrambled" such categories, the sacred and the profane, the material and spiritual, by employing goods and artifacts, many of them purchased, in the practice of their faith. Even on the few occasions when historians have paid attention to reUgion's material dimension, this rigid dichotomy, reinforced by inteUectuaI disdain for mass-produced objects, had led to odd distortions in the historical Uterature. McDanneU points out, for example, that we "know far more about the material environment of the Shakers—a community that tried to simplify their physical universe—than we do about that of Roman CathoUcs whose sacramental theology fuUy exploited the material world."

CoUeen McDanneU's book is an attempt to address this long-neglected material dimension in American Christian history, to open up study of it by offering some theoretical arguments about how objects have functioned in American religion and to iUustrate those arguments through six case studies. These case studies range widely over time and Christian denominations: the emergence of the family Bible as the centerpiece of the Victorian parlor; the place of Christian imagery in the rural cemetery movement of the early nineteenth century; the devotion to Our Lady of Lourdes in late nineteenth-century American CathoUcism; Catholic and Protestant debates over Christian art in the 1950's and 1960's; the meanings of sacred garments to contemporary Mormons; and the rise of Christian bookstores in modern America.

These case studies are more than mere demonstrations of the importance of objects in American religious ltfe; they are each sophisticated analyses of how and why objects play such central roles in the religious life of American Christians. The research is thorough and imaginative, drawing on a wide variety of sources: the objects themselves, probate records, advertisements, oral history interviews, as weU as conventional sources of magazines, newspapers, and manuscripts. McDanneU, for example, uses Farm Security Administration photographs of rural workers' homes to show us not only what reUgious objects and artifacts average people owned, but also how they used them, where they placed them in their homes, and how they surrounded them with other objects and images: how, for example, images of saints were set next to photographs of family members, mixing heavenly patrons and earthly family together in a single communal network.

Each section is also skillfuUy and powerfully argued and laden with provocative points and rich insights. In the section on Lourdes water, for example, McDanneU smartly synthesizes diverse historical and theological literature on subjects such as ancient traditions of water as a source of spiritual renewal and

protection, the translation of reUcs, homeopathic medicine in the nineteenth century, and Catholic devotionaUsm to explain the spread of this devotion and its meaning for participants. In the course of her discussion, she also makes a number of teUing points of far-reaching importance for the history of Catholics in America. She notes, for example, that men as well as women participated enthusiasticaUy in the Lourdes devotion, raising questions about common characterizations of CathoUc devotionalism as female-dominated.

Her discussion of debates over Christian art in the 1950's and 1960's is likely to be more controversial. She argues that these debates were fought out "within a binary aesthetic system shaped by cultural constructions of masculinity and femininity." Critics of the older, representational art of devotional CathoUcism, McDannell points out, frequently attacked it as sentimental, superficial, and thus "feminine," whUe they praised new, more abstract or hieratic art for its cleanliness and forceful simpUcity, or "masculine" power. McDanneU does not assume that this debate is only about gender (or about class which also seems to figure prominently in this controversy), but through her close examination of the language of the debate, she inteUigently uncovers the complexity of what previously may have seemed only a straightforward conflict between Uturgical "tradition" and "reform."

By just opening up study of the material dimension of Christianity, McDanneU has written a criticaUy important, necessary book; through her imaginative research and insight, she has also written an intriguing and exceptionally fine one.

Timothy J. Meagher

The Catholic University of America

Roads to Rome: The Antebellum Protestant Encounter with Catholicism. By Jenny Franchot. [The New Historicism: Studies in Cultural Poetics, 28.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1994. Pp. xxvii, 500. $55.00 cloth; $18.00 paperback.)

In America, no reUgious community can avoid interaction with its neighbors. In theory free and equal, these meetings have often been marked by disdain mixed with longing, stirred by the fear and excitement of approaching a reUgion unlike one's own. Jenny Franchot's Roads to Rome explores the unsettled and yet much-visited boundary between antebeUum Protestantism and CathoUcism. Although Franchot explains that she might have studied both Protestant and CathoUc responses, she wrote, for the sake of focus, about the Protestant imagination only. She masterfuUy estabUshes Protestants' obsession with things CathoUc. Seen through a mental lens associating Catholicism with quaUties of interiority, sensuaüty, and femininity, Protestant writers investigated their own identities by pairing Catholic and Protestant images. Not only did they draw

Unes to distinguish themselves from Catholics in such fevered exposés as Maria Monk's Awful Disclosures of the Hotel Dieu Nunnery (1836), but, in a far more conflicted mood, considered what they beUeved to be Catholicism in complex fictions, including Nathaniel Hawthorne's Scarlet Letter (1850) and Harriet Beecher Stowe's Agnes of Sorrento (1862).

Franchot's impressive cataloguing and interpretation of texts help a reader such as mysetf, trained as a historian, to situate Roads to Rome as a kind of Uterary criticism interested in language as an index of culture. Historians accustomed to linear arguments about cause and effect may be perplexed by the book's structure (the first haU on nervous dismissal of Catholicism, the second on anxious courtship) and exhaustive reading of tension-fiUed literature. Franchot does offer a subtle thesis, however, about reUgion, creativity, and language. It poses questions appUcable to the study Franchot did not undertake: the formation of antebeUum American CathoUc culture through dialogue with Protestantism.

The condition of Protestants' tremulous exchanges with Catholicism was "the modern West's withdrawal from a cohesive spirituaUty" (p. xxvii). Although Franchot does not quite mean secularization, she turns repeatedly to the concept of "authenticity" to connote the renewal sought by a flaccid Protestantism through engagement with Catholicism. The CathoUc tradition may have been no more grounded than the Protestant sects (though she impUes it was); but Protestant contact with its Unagtaed opposite was, at its best, the spark of a reclaimed tawardness expressed as Uterary creativity. Stories with CathoUc themes by Poe and MelvUle "forged new authenticities," for example, "from the taauthenticities of nativism" (p. 164).

Protestant spUitual decline is not a new idea among scholars nor would antebeUum CathoUcs have been surprised by Franchot's analysis. Sophia Ripley, one of four converts portrayed in depth, seU-consciously fled from "the coldness of heart in Protestantism, & my own very cold heart in particular" (p. 312). What is new in Roads to Rome is the connection between religious encounter and the transformation of language. The largely Protestant voice of the American Renaissance gamed depth and range on its border with Catholicism. At the same time, CathoUc converts—EUzabeth Seton, Isaac Hecker, and Orestes Brownson appear in addition to Ripley—devised innovative forms of speech, Franchot argues, adequate to thee experience as Catholics.

Here the tavisibUity of CathoUcism in Roads to Rome becomes problematic. The language of converts did not simply subvert and reverse Protestant expression; rather, Catholic tradition met and altered the Protestant tateUect. Buildtag on Franchot's achievement, future scholarship might recast Protestants' encounter with the CathoUc reUgion as a genuine dialogue, not an Unagtaed, even soUpsistic, exchange. If so, Franchot's idea that engagement stirs creativity is essential. American Catholicism produced its own Uterature and language on the same boundary that Jenny Franchot populates so densely by her fine research.

CathoUc subordination in antebeUum Protestant culture wiU make the story dtf-ferent.This is aU the more reason to supplement Franchot's exceUent study with Catholic counterparts.

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Der Wanderer of St. Paul. The First Decade, 1867-1877: A Mirror of the German-Catholic Immigrant Experience in Minnesota. By John S. Kulas. [German-American Studies, Vol. 9] (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc. 1996. Pp. ix, 285.)

Apart from a few general and rather dated works, the paucity of pubUshed studies of Catholic journaUsm in the United States represents a major lacuna in American Catholic historiography. Der Wanderer of St. Paul, as its subtitle intimates, sets out to elucidate how this German-language paper shaped and was shaped by its immigrant audience. In ten concise chapters Kulas provides a useful summary of insights from recent studies of the immigrant experience and then relates the extent to which the historical data from Der Wanderer correspond to these insights. Kulas is especially adept in describing the "dual mediational function" of Der Wanderer as both a conservator of the cultural heritage of the German immigrant, and often unconsciously, as an agent of assimUation.

As this work is the ninth volume in the new "German-American Studies" series published by Peter Lang, Kulas demonstrates an understandable partiality to the cultural as opposed to the more narrowly ecclesial importance of Der Wanderer. This partiality has yielded interesting chapters on the role of Der Wanderer as a purveyor of German Uterature, poetry, music, and theater on the American frontier. However, readers with an interest in the editorial stance of the paper on particularly "Catholic" issues may be disappointed. Some of the data Kulas has gleaned from Der Wanderer need further explication. For example, he informs us that Der Wanderer kept its readers abreast of events in the German church,"which stiU claimed their allegiance"; that the paper carried extensive coverage of the FUst Vatican Council, and that its articles were "all triumphantly pro-papal" (pp. 69-70). It would have been of interest to know what specificaUy Der Wanderer had to say about the debate on papal infaUibility, and how the paper mediated the teaching to its readers particularly as it was initially opposed by both the German and American hierarchies. Further, Kulas makes no connection between the German-CathoUc experience of the Kulturkampf and the ambivalence, and at times the antipathy Der Wanderer displayed toward modern culture, non-Catholics, and the liberal state. FinaUy, while Kulas limited himseU to the first ten years of Der Wanderer's history, it would be of interest to learn how much staiUarity exists between the ecclesial view of the first issues and the current, English-language version. StUl, Der Wanderer of

St. Paul contains a great deal of valuable historical information on the first years of a noteworthy American CathoUc newspaper.

Rory T. Conley

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The Scalabrinians in North America (1887-1934). By Mary Elizabeth Brown. (New York: Center for Migration Studies. 1996. Pp. 414. $19.95.)

The plight of the ItaUan immigrants was dire during the latter decades of the nineteenth century and the early decades of this present one. It mattered Uttle what their final destination was, since the vast majority of ItaUans fleeing their impoverished homeland were nearly destitute. Overtaxed, unemployed, bound to unproductive land, most were further overburdened by a government struggling to survive itsetf, foUowing the unification of the ItaUan peninsula into one geographic nation. For milUons, the only answer was emigration, and most dreamt of America. To the countries in North and South America, these needy throngs presented an often unwanted and unattractive sight. Poor and from the "lower classes," usually illiterate, unable to communicate except by means of local ItaUan dialects, they found themselves isolated from the mainstream of their adopted homeland and from each other because of cultural and provincial rivahies. Tens of thousands entered a form of indentured servitude in payment for passage to the New World, whUe thousands more joined the battalions of immigrants exploited as cheap laborers.

There were few in Italy or in the Americas who were sufficiently concerned with the plight of these immigrants to actually initiate legislation to stem their flight, or extend assistance to reduce their suffering. Pope Leo XIII, Mother Frances Xavier Cabrini and her sisters, Bishop Geremia Bonomelli of Cremona, and American bishops like Michael Augustine Corrigan of New York, or Peter Paul Cahensly and his associates, were among the handful who were interested—and Giovanni Battista Scalabrini, Bishop of Piacenza.

Here was a man of great virtue, faith, and compassion, who saw in his feUow countrymen and women Christ Himself. He knew himself to be their brother because of shared nationaUty and faith, and he urged Leo XIII and others to formulate the Church's assistance to these unfortunates in those terms.

It is a happy stroke of Providence that this fine book by Mary EUzabeth Brown appeared just before the Church declared the Bishop of Piacenza Blessed Giovanni Battista Scalabrini. Dr. Brown, with evident appreciation and thorough research, outlines the early years of Scalabrini's efforts to rouse the Church's attention to the plight of the Italian immigrants, and to establish what would become one of the most important organizations and effective reUgious congregations helping the immigrant, the Missionary Society of Saint Charles

Borromeo. Known as the Scalabrini Fathers, this society was in the forefront of the Church's efforts to meet the spiritual and material needs of the ItaUan immigrants in the Americas. In the days when any immigrant was looked upon with scorn—by a society not much more different from today's, except in technology—Scalabrini moved the Church to reach out and defend, guide and protect these poorest of the poor, with great success.

Covering a period from the inception of Sclabrini's immigrant work to 1887, Dr. Brown continues her study until 1934, when important internal changes in the Society were made.

Her thirteen chapters each provide insight into the developing mission of the Scalabrinians, outLining their chaUenges faced and overcome, extoUing their successes, whUe not shying away from their early misfortunes. Two appendices, one with brief biographies of the persons mentioned in the text, and the other with profiles of Scalabrinian missions, round out the narrative. Dr. Brown also provides the reader with informative notes on archival and bibUographical sources, as weU as a very useful index.

Dr. Brown's work is a "must" for aU interested in the work of the CathoUc Church for the ItaUan immigrants in the Americas.

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An Unordinary Man: A Life of Father John LaFarge, SJ. By Robert A. Hecht. (Lanham, Maryland: The Scarecrow Press, Inc. 1996. Pp. xii, 287. $67.50.)

John LaFarge was the youngest of the seven surviving children of the nineteenth-century American artist John LaFarge (1835-1910) and of Margaret Perry, whose ancestors included Benjamin Franklin and Oliver Hazard Perry, hero of the battle of Lake Erie in the War of 1812. Father LaFarge was born in 1880 in Newport, Rhode Island, and grew up there. Educated in the Newport public schools, he graduated from Harvard College in 1901 and that same year began theological studies at the University of Innsbruck, Austria. Since before ordination to the priesthood he had decided to enter the Society of Jesus, he was ordained, with the approval of the bishop of Providence, on the title of his "patrimony," meaning that he could provide for himself, thus avoiding the obUgation of service to the diocese which he would normaUy have incurred. (Hecht mistakingly says he was ordained on the title of "poverty," which is proper to religious orders.) That was on July 26, 1905, and LaFarge entered the Jesuit novitiate of St. Andrew-on-Hudson, Poughkeepsie, New York, on November 13 of that same year. For aU this information and much that follows, this book is dependent on LaFarge's autobiography, The Manner Is Ordinary (1954), from which his title also derives. LaFarge went from the novitiate to Canisius College, Buffalo, which had just been transferred from the jurisdiction of the German

Jesuit province to the largely Irish-American Maryland-New York province. He stayed for a semester, then transferred to Loyola CoUege, Baltimore. After a happier semester in Baltimore he was sent to Woodstock CoUege to review his phUosophical and theological studies, but poor health soon ended any hope of higher studies, and LaFarge began a period of pastoral work that lasted from 1909 to 1926, first in the pubUc tastitutions on BlackweU's Island in New York's East River and then, chiefly among African Americans, in St. Mary's County, Maryland. He became a country pastor, traveling about by horse and buggy and sailing to offshore missions in small boats. Hecht, using archival correspondence, is good at pointing out the evolution of LaFarge's thought. He came with a patrician New Englander's stereotypes and prejudices about African Americans; he came to appreciate theU humanity, thee vêtues, and thee failings in a far more sympathetic way. He had known poverty in New York; he found what it meant to have it made harder by racism. LaFarge's educational efforts are chronicled, notably his role in the foundation (1924) of a CathoUc black industrial arts school, the Cardinal Gibbons Institute. In 1926 a summons to join the staff oí America magazine set the stage for the rest of his Ufe. He became the staff expert on interracial questions, writing books and articles on the subject. He was an expert on Uturgical art. In common with most of his coUeagues, he was appaUed by the threat of world communism. It led him to strongly support Francisco Franco in the Spanish Civil War and to advocate United States neutraUty in the initial stages of World War II. He saw American aUiance with the Soviet Union as "a covenant with heU," and he was shocked by the atomic bomb and its use at HeoshUna and Nagasaki. But he also went along with America's editorial reluctance to support Senator Joseph McCarthy. What is new in this book is the treatment of LaFarge's part in drafting the never-published papal encycUcal, Humant Generis Unitas. Impressed by LaFarge's 1937 book Interracial Justice, Pope Pius XI in 1938 commissioned him to draft a letter on racism. Two European Jesuits, the moral theologian Gustav Gundlach and Gustave Desbuquois of Action Populaire at Vanves, France, coUaborated with him. A draft was given in fall, 1938, to the Jesuit general, Wlodimir Ledóchowski, who sent it for editing to Enrico Rosa, former editor of the Roman Jesuit journal, Civiltà Cattolica. Rosa died on November 26, 1938, and Pius XI on February 10, 1939. The suspicion is that the very central European and very political Ledóchowski disliked the letter's tone. Whether Pius XI ever saw the text is doubtful, and it was in a confrontational style that was not that of his successor Pius XII. It was never pubUshed. Some of its themes would be unacceptable today, e.g., blaming the Jews for the death of Christ and disapproval of interracial marriage (an old hangup of LaFarge's). It would have been a great service U the text, instead of a desultory commentary on it, had been published. An in-depth study of each of the major actors, the three authors, Rosa, and the Jesuit general, would have been helpful. Each of them had distinctive views of totalitarianism and its impact. Hecht acknowledges the assistance he received in this section of the book from two Jesuits, the late Ned Stanton and Walter Abbott. It is a generaUy careful and well done work. I noticed a few typographical errors: "Ruard" for "Ricard" (p. 146): "Carnarvon" for "Canavan" (p. 153). And Hecht has his Jesuit hierarchy

tangled up f. 151), writing of "father provincial at Fordham" and "the father general of the university." But these are minor matters ta an overaU satisfactory study.

James Hennesey

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Allen Tate and the Catholic Revival: Trace of the Fugitive Gods. By Peter A. Huff. [Isaac Hecker Studies in Religion and American Culture.] (Mahwah, New Jersey: PauUst Pres. 1996. Pp. xv, 159. $14.95 paperback.)

Allen Tate (1899-1979) was perhaps twentieth-century American CathoUcism's most notable Uterary convert, foreordained by some CathoUc enthusiasts at the time of his 1950 conversion as "their century's Newman."

By demonstrating that the values of the CathoUc tateUectual renaissance of the 1920's and 1930's both taspeed the conversion and enlarged the aesthetic and moral vision of one of America's leading men of letters, Peter A. Huff again upholds the necessity of treating the CathoUc Revival as an important and distinct twentieth-century tateUectual event.

Huff's approach is both Uterary and historical. Chapter 1 presents a concise overview of the revival in both its European and American contexts. Chapters 2 and 3 address the young Tate's Vanderbilt University years,his leadership in the restorationist Southern Agrarian Movement, and Tate's own attribution of the modern dilemma to the tateUectual and moral ambiguity of his age Tate's evolving tateUectual encounter with the ideas of Christopher Dawson, G. K. Chesterton, T. S. EUot and other conservative Roman and Anglo-CathoUc critics is also explored. Chapter 4 illustrates the impact of the CathoUc Revival upon Tate's own reUgious and Uterary imagination and his seU-conscious embrace of the role of CathoUc critic. The final chapter relates Tate's uneasy personal and professional relationship with a changing postconcUiar Church.

There is much that is original in this book. It is the first systematic analysis of the relationship between the CathoUc Revival and an American Uterary tateUectual.Tate himseU serves as an interesting organizing figure through which Huff addresses the many diverse elements of the revival—tateUectual, cultural, and aesthetic. By focusing upon Tate, Huff brings a welcome element of concreteness to the revival which heretofore has received scholarly attention only in its broadest cultural forms. No longer an isolated parochial event,Tate ltaks the revival to some of the most important conservative movements of the modern era.

Of particular interest to scholars is Huff's original treatment of the "CathoUc sources ofTate's Agrarianism." Huff demonstrates that the relationship was sympathetic, personal, and coUaborative, as southern traditionaUsts such as Tate and John Crowe Ransom utilized elements of CathoUc social thought, papal pronouncements upon subsidiarity and the common good, and the decentraUst ideas of CathoUc agrarians loosely associated with the Chesterton-led EngUsh

distributist movement to enlarge their own critique of modern mass culture and to defend the southern way of Life.

The profound impact of the Neo-Thomist revival and its chief interpreter to America, Jacques Maritain, is also noted. Thomism's impact upon preconciUar American lay CathoUc inteUectuals has long been clear. Tate was simUarly impressed; as an inteUectuaI system Thomism informed Tate's Uterary theory, deepened his social analysis, and eventuaUy shaped his New Criticism.

This is a richly thoughtful book and it broadens our perspective of the impact of the Catholic Uterary revival in America. The latest scholarship on the CathoUc Revival, AUen Tate studies, and the Southern Agrarian Movement is evident throughout. The author's clear and uncluttered prose makes this volume accessible to readers with only limited backgrounds in the subject.

Arnold Sparr

St. Francis College, Brooklyn, New York

Parish Boundaries: The Catholic Encounter with Race in the Twentieth Century Urban North. By John T. McGreevy. [Historical Studies of Urban America.] (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1996. Pp. vi, 362. $27.50.)

Parish Boundaries, winner of the 1996 John GUmary Shea Prize, is a remarkable accompUshment. InteUectuaI and social history of the highest order, the book examines the painful confrontation of mid-century urban "white" Catholics (i.e., assimilating second-and third-generation Euro-American ethnic groups) and the African-Americans who migrated en masse to the North in 1940's. When blacks sought inner-city housing and threatened property values, Jews and white Protestants yielded, and fled, more readUy than did white Catholics. The sacramental imagination of CathoUcs gave their impressive communal spaces—outsize physical plants composed of church, school, rectory, and parish center—a sacred character. Designating a space "sacred" qualified it, Ui a sadly uncritical way, as divinely mandated, to be preserved in its racial and ethnic particularity at risk of Ufe, property, and a few gospel imperatives (e.g., "welcome the stranger," "love the enemy") along the way. Sacramental imagination thus degenerated into enclave mentality.

Mediating the encounter was the Church, increasingly riven into two camps. Liberals, led by American exponents of papal social teaching such as Father John LaFarge, S.J., or by Black Power radicals such as MUwaukee's Father James Groppi, embraced the doctrine of interracia Usm. Their opponents, protectors of the "invisible" CathoUc middle class, such as the Chicago priest Francis X. Lawlor, were early exponents of the doctrine of reverse discrimination. The rift deepened with the advent of the civU rights movement and the Second Vatican CouncU—two epochal events which the author deftly analyzes in relation to one another and to his theme. Indeed, the polarization of the Church along the lines of racial ideology serves as a prism through which to view the complex

history of American CathoUcism in the traumatic decades surrounding the CouncU—decades that saw the disintegration of the measure of CathoUc unity ensured by preconcUiar Uturgical and theological uneormity a crippling loss of trust in parochial institutions and ecclesial authority, and the wrenching transition from a preconcUiar "Church Militant" to a scripturaUy resonant but sociaUy amorphous "People of God."

Preserving and exploring such complexity is McGreevy's forte. His narrative taiposes no easy resolutions, aUows the evidence to speak (often very powerfully) for itsetf, and remains focused on explaUitag, rather than celebrating or denouncing, the partiaUy compelling logics on all sides. Rigid stereotypes seldom survive this approach. To counter the impression that Uberal CathoUcs were always highly educated elites divorced from the everyday world of the CathoUc parishioner, for example, McGreevy profiles Anna McGarry a CathoUc laywoman who defied the social conventions of her anti-tategrationist parish (Gesu Church, PhUadelphia) by advocating taterraciaUsm and welcoming African-American leaders (and LaFarge himself) into the parish and her home.

The book is enormously edifying, and a pleasure to read. The author denned his project with great care and did not attempt to write the six or seven other good books embedded in this one. As researcher, he was thorough to a fault; one suspects, gratefully, that he spent many hours sUttag through and editing the copious research notes compUed during numerous trips to archives in Chicago, PhUadelphia, New York, Boston, Cleveland, Milwaukee, and several smaller cities. As writer, McGreevy's economy of style and precision of expression suits material selected for its vivid, expository character. Most impressive is the author's range: he is equaUy adept at explaining the import of demographic trends and urban housing policies, analyzing competing ecclesiologies, and sketching the social dynamics of Catholics' participation in civil rights marches. In the mode of cultural anthropology, the first chapter provides a "thick description" of the preconcUiar Catholic parish, instantly recognizable to anyone who Uved in that world, while the conclusion blends sophisticated social commentary and cultural criticism by connecting the racial contretemps to the decline of CathoUc institutions in the generation foUowing Vatican CouncU II. Other chapters address the social construction of "race" in the immigrant church; CathoUc participation in community organization and urban renewal movements; the patterns of neighborhood transition; the encompassing rhetoric of "freedom" that emerged in the mid-sixties; and a host of other topics.

To acknowledge that Parish Boundaries raises as many questions as it answers is to recognize its special quaUty as both gift and chaUenge to several fields and disciplines. Sociologists wUl want (and should become the first to provide) systematic, theoreticaUy sophisticated explanations of the extensive "data" it reports: How do we account, for example, for the diversity of "Catholic responses to race within the same working-class parish or the same reUgious order of (apparently) simUarly formed and educated women? How might we understand religion's seemingly schizophrenic role in legitimating mutuaUy ex-

elusive forms of social behavior (e.g., racial tolerance/violent discrimination)? Others might bristle at the exclusion of African-American perspectives and voices, chargtag that Parish Boundaries inadvertently repUcates the pattern of eUsion for which it asks CathoUcs to repent. (Clearly, McGreevy would be the first person to celebrate a careful study written about or from African-Americans' perspectives.) Nor wiU historians of gender be completely satisfied with the treatment of the agency and experiences of women—despite the fact that women reUgious play a prominent role ta parts of the narrative.

But when sociologists, historians, and theologians come to write thee own books and articles on American reUgion, race, and community, they wiU find themselves deeply indebted to McGreevy's history of white ethnic (and post-ethnic) Catholics in the urban North. It is a work bridging several fields. For, in Ulumtaattag the Uonies and complexities of white Catholic motivations, intentions, and outcomes in thee specificity, Parish Boundaries invites a wide-ranging series of studies modeled on its own fruitful method of interdisciplinary historical research.

R. Scott Appleby

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Canadian

The Oblate Assault on Canada's Northwest. By Robert Choquette. [ReUgions and Beliefs series, No. 3]. (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press. 1995. Pp. xü, 258. Paperback.)

Some readers wiU find Robert Choquette's history of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate in the Canadian Northwest to be eritattag, as weU as tateresttag. The miUtary analogy he uses does not indicate the gentler side of many Oblates. Instead he discusses thee mission in terms of "conquerors," "white juggernaut," "strategic position." Choquette equates the bringing of the Gospel message to various miUtary coups. However, as the author writes concerning the efforts of the Oblates:

> Thee apostolic methods were fundamentaUy determined by their CathoUc doctrine and theology, which in turn determined specific policies, methods, and tactics in relation to Indians, thee evangeUzation, and thee conversion to Christianity, (p. 200)

Choquette explores the CathoUc/Protestant missionary relationship, as both sides struggle to convert aboriginal peoples to the true religion of Jesus Christ in its nineteenth-century incarnation. His book also surveys the clash of French-speaking and EngUsh-speaktag missionaries. As an author, Choquette seems like a juggler, trying to keep CathoUcs, AngUcans, Methodists, French Canadians, and English Canadian settlers balanced whUe in constant movement. The juggling author puts the baUs in motion by relying on the strength of two "foreign" arms:

the ultramontane CathoUc energizer (centered in Rome) and the evangeUcal Protestant thrust from societies in England. Amid this divergence is the somewhat neutral Hudson's Bay Company. TotaUy lost, in my opinion, is the voice of the "conquered." Given the expanse of geography, poUtics, and time he covers, Choquette manages the juggling with few mishaps. Repetition, redundancy, and some errors are but annoying mosquito bites that distract readers foUowing the miUtary analogy.

Today's students, though, might find the analogy and Choquette's analysis lacking in respect to Amerindians, as noted above. Furthermore, he gives short shrift to CathoUc sisterhoods who allied themselves with the Oblates to serve the peoples of the Northwest. His nominal acknowledgment of the Sisters in the text is compensated for, somewhat, by Ulustrations. Unfortunately, the Ulustrations only depict these women cutting fish, feeding chickens, or demurely sitting with staid settlers. Choquette's bibliography provides serious readers with possibiUties for deeper, more specific, studies. For example, the Sisters of Saint Ann preceded the Oblates at Dawson in the Yukon in 1898. These women brought to the northwest missions decades of experience in education and health care in British Columbia and Alaska. Accounts of Oblate interaction with the various sisterhoods sharing mission experiences in the North would have added important nuances to Choquette's weU-documented story.

AU in aU, Robert Choquette is to be commended for his contribution to the ReUgions and BeUefs series. His book does enlighten the reader about the organization and immensity of the project that, wiUy-nUly, forever now wiU be Ln my mind as the Oblate assault on Canada's Northwest.

Margaret Cantwell, S.S.A.

Victoria, British Columbia

Latin American

Liberals, the Church, and Indian Peasants: Corporate Lands and the Challenge of Reform in Nineteenth-Century Spanish America. Edited by Robert H. Jackson. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1997. Pp. vi, 228. $47.50.)

The essays in this anthology analyze nineteenth-century Uberal poUcies in selected nations of Mesoamerica and the central Andean BoUvarian republics that were intended to curtaU both clerical control of corporate properties and the communal ownership of indigenous lands. In seven case studies drawn largely from archival sources in Mexico, Guatemala, Peru, and BoUvia, the contributors document simUarities and differences in the implementation of laws affecting land utUization. Their findings demonstrate why proposed sweeping reforms often were modified to address local needs and aspirations. Many of their conclusions offer new perspectives, revising several interpretations in such works as Jan Bazant's 1971 Alienation of Church Wealth in Mexico: Social and Eco-

nomic Aspects of the Liberal Revolution, 1856-1875, and Florencia MaUon's recent comparative study, Peasant and Nation: The Making of Postcolonial Mexico and Peru.

WhUe delineating persistent Uberal objectives concerning Indian communal lands and ecclesiastical holdings foUowing the achievement of Latin American independence, most of the essays focus on trends and resistant strategies after 1850. They contrast the often imprecise and vague reform efforts of early national leaders and theorists with the clearly defined developmental projects of poUcy makers during the second half of the nineteenth century. Reflecting Enlightenment ideals, liberals in Mexico and Bolivia initiaUy were eager to transform church estates into more productive agricultural enterprises, modernize society, and end the isolation of the indigenous population from national institutions. Their determination to reaUze these goals was evident in anticlerical legislation aimed at halting mortmain, attempts to replace church schools with pubUc ones, and plans to make the Indians yeomen citizens whose loyalties would extend beyond their native vUages to the emerging national state.

Several of the case studies Ln the volume attribute the uneven success of these reformers to local demands and exigencies, which either altered Uberal laws or prevented their enforcement. PoUcy makers during the closing decades of the nineteenth century assumed more pragmatic approaches to modernization and economic development. In the 1870's, for example, whUe Justo Rufino Barrios was directing the disentailment of church properties in Guatemala to hasten socio-economic change, reformers Ln BoUvia encouraged missionary activities along the eastern frontier to foster agricultural expansion. Unlike Barrios, who ordered the closing of aU convents, BoUvian leaders, recognizing the support various congregations of nuns had traditionaUy enjoyed among elite elements in society, permitted them to maintain dieir schools and convents. The experimentation with disentailing Indian communal lands to create a class of smaU farmers was terminated Ln Mexico, Guatemala, and Peru. In urging the cultivation of export crops, reformers Ui these countries supported the hacendado expropriation of communal lands to convert them into plantations that would meet international demands for tropical products while enhancing national wealth. Citing tenets of Social Darwinism to justify such actions by asserting that Indians were incompetent to participate in world markets, they claimed that the continuation of previous failed policies would impede the positivist fulfillment of social and economic progress.

With the exception of the chapters by Hubert MiUer and Eric Langer, the treatment of clerical corporations is more limited than the introduction to the volume seemed to promise. Contributors writing on Mexico give Uttle attention to church property issues after the Juárez Era. NUs Jacobsen's muminating study generaUy ignores the question of church holdings in Peru. Nevertheless, speciaUsts whose research deals with Latin American nations which had large nineteenth-century Indian populations wiU especiaUy welcome the essays in this work for then· concrete analysis and convincing revisions.

Joseph A. Gagliano

Loyola University of Chicago

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Association News

The American Catholic Historical Association was represented by its first vice-president, David J. O'Brien, at the Centennial Convocation of Northeastern University in Boston on October 16, 1997.

Conferences, Congresses, and Lectures

At the conference on "The Friars and Jews in the Middle Ages and Renaissance," which was held at Saint Louis University on October 26-28, 1997 (see ante, LXXXIII [July 1997], 544), two of the twenty-five scholars who presented papers were Larry Simon of Western Michigan University ("Mendicant-Jewish Interaction in Mediterranean Spain in the Thirteenth Century") and Thomas Izbicki of Johns Hopkins University ("Leonardo Dati's [O.P.] Sermon on the Circumcision of Jesus [1417]").

The 1997 Edward Surtz Lecture at Loyola University Chicago was delivered on October 28, 1997, by Francis C. Oakley, Edward Dorr Griffin Professor of the History of Ideas in Williams College, on the topic, "Popes and Councils: England and the Latin Church's Constitutionalist Moment (16th-17th Centuries)."

A multidisciplinary conference on "Theodore Roosevelt and the Dawn of the American Century" will be held at Siena College on April 18-19, 1998, and the thirteenth annual multidisciplinary conference on "World War II—A Dual Perspective" will be held at the same place on June 4-5, 1998. Inquiries about either conference should be addressed to the conference co-director, Thomas O. Kelly, II, in care of the Department of History, Siena College, 515 Loudon Road, Loudonville, New York 12211-1462; telephone: 518-783-2595; fax: 518-786-5052; e-mail: kelly@siena.edu.

The program of the "Internationaler wissenschaftlicher Kongress zum 900jährigen Jubiläum" entitled "Hildegard von Bingen in ihrem historischen Umfeld," which will be held at Bingen am Rhein on September 13-20, 1998 (see ante, LXXXIII [July, 1997], 545), is now available from the director of the historical part of the week, Alfred Haverkamp. Requests for copies and other information should be addressed to Professor Haverkamp at FB III, Mittelalterliche Geschichte, Universität Trier, 54286 Trier, Germany.

The Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute, in conjunction with Marist College and the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, is organizing an international confer-

ence on the President's relationship with the Roman CathoUc Church, the Holy See, and the American Catholic community during his tenure (1933-1945). The conference wiU be held on October 7-10, 1998, at the Roosevelt Library in Hyde Park, New York, and at Marist CoUege in Poughkeepsie, New York. The organizers wUl welcome proposals on aU aspects of the theme, including Roosevelt's relationship with the CathoUc Church's ethnic constituencies, its hierarchy, and the Vatican, as weU as on the reactions of the CathoUc Church or community to the New Deal and to the international crises of the 1930's and '40's. Proposals on prominent individuals such as Cardinal Francis SpeUman, Father Charles E. Coughlin, Dorothy Day, and Eleanor Roosevelt wiU also be considered, as wül proposals on such themes as anti-CathoUcism or the legacy of the Roosevelt presidency on Church-State relations. Anyone who wishes to present a paper should send by April 3, 1998, a one-page prospectus of it and a curriculum vitae to FDR/CathoUc Conference, ta care of the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute, 511 Albany Post Road, Hyde Park, New York 12538; telephone: 914-229-5321; fax: 902-229-9046; e-maU: jhamrah@idsi.net.

The thirty-fourth International Congress on Medieval Studies wUl be held at Western Michigan University on May 6-9, 1999. Proposals for special or sponsored sessions must be submitted by May 15,1998. They should be addressed to the Medieval Institute, Western Michigan University, 1201 OUver Street, Kalamazoo, Michigan 49008-3801.

Saints and Beati

In anticipation of the fourth centenary of the death of St. Peter Cañistas, which occurred on December 21, 1597, Pope John Paul II on September 19, 1997, sent a letter to the Bishops of Germany, recalling that Pope Leo XIII in his encyclical Militantis Ecclesiae, issued for the third centenary, had rightly honored Peter Cañistas with the title of Second Apostle of Germany. The Jesuit was beatified by Pius LX in 1864 and canonized by Pius XI in 1925, when he was also declared a doctor of the Church. "Even when he devoted himseU to political and organizational activities," wrote the Holy Father, "preaching the truth remained the goal of his work, and catechesis and pastoral care the leitmotiv of his creative energy." The Pope admitted that "it is deficult to find in him particular originality or great tateUectual depth," but asserted that Peter Cañistas "consciously immersed himseU in the flow of sacred Tradition" and "combined tateUectual learning with holiness of lUe and—according to an ideal of his age marked by humanism and the Renaissance—with the refinement and elegance of the spoken word, so that soon after his death he was known as the Augustine' of his time."

On October 12, 1997, in St. Peter's Square Pope John Paul II beatified EUas del Socorro Nieves along with two other priests and two sisters. Born on the Island of San Pedro, Yuriria, Guanajuato, Mexico, on September 21, 1882, into a modest but deeply reUgious peasant family and given the name Mateo Elias at baptism, Nieves became an Augustinian, took vows in 1911, and was ordained priest five

years later. In 1921 he was appointed parochial vicar of La Cañada de Caracheo, an isolated and extremely poor village. At a time when the Cristero movement arose as a popular reaction to the state's policy of religious persecution, Father Nieves refused to obey the government's order to settle in a large city and instead moved to a village in the nearby hills of La Gavia, thus assuring his faithful of his continuing pastoral ministry, usually given under cover of night. After fourteen months of this clandestine priestly activity, he, along with two ranchers who had offered to accompany him, was arrested by a military patrol. The soldiers and prisoners set out at dawn on March 10, 1928, for the local capital of Cortázar. On the way the captain gave orders to shoot the two ranchers. At the next halt the captain said to Father Nieves, "Now it is your turn; let us see if dying is like saying Mass."The doomed man replied,"You have spoken the truth, because to die for the faith is a sacrifice pleasing to God." He blessed the soldiers and began to recite the creed. His last words were, "¡Viva Cristo Rey!"

On October 19, 1997, nineteen days after the centenary of her death, Pope John Paul II declared Saint Thérèse of Lisieux a doctor of the Church. On the same day he issue an apostolic letter, Divini amoris scientia.

Cardinal Joachtai Meissner, Archbishop of Cologne, announced during the German bishops' autumn meeting that Blessed Edith Stein, who entered the Carmelite Order in Cologne in 1933, will be canonized by Pope John Paul II on October 11, 1998, ta Rome.

Historic Sites

The Mission of San Xavier del Bac in Tucson, Arizona, is celebrating the bicentenary of the construction of the famous church, built by the Franciscans between 1778 and 1797, with a restoration project that will take six years to complete and cost two million dollars. The project began when a group of volunteers formed the Patronato de San Xavier and began to collect funds to restore "the white dove of the desert" to its original beauty and brilliance. The Patronato engaged Paul Schwartzbaum, chief conservator of the Guggenheim Museum of New York, to detect the project, and he in turn hired Carlo Giantomassi and Donatella Zari, a pair working as a team in Rome; they then assembled an international group of experts.

A plaque proclaiming Saint Mary's Basilica in Norfolk, Virginia,"a Catholic historical site" was unveiled on August 24, 1997, by Vincent A. Lapomarda, SJ., of the College of the Holy Cross as chairman of the Committee on Historical Memorials of the International Order of Alhambra. Founded in 1791, Saint Mary's is "the oldest Catholic parish in the Diocese of Richmond and the largest Catholic church of African Americans in the State of Virginia."

Publications

The Innes Review for spring, 1997 (Volume XLVIII, Number 1), contains the foUowing "Articles Marking 1400th Anniversary of St Columba's Death": Thomas Owen Clancy, "Columba, Adomnán and the Cult of Saints in Scotland" (pp. 1-26);John Bannerman,"The Scottish Takeover of Pictland and the ReUcs of Columba" (pp. 27-44); and Simon Taylor, "Seventh-century Iona Abbots in Scottish Place-names" (pp. 45-72).

Selected papers that were delivered at the eighth conference of the AustraUan Association for Byzantine Studies, held at the University of New England in New South Wales on July 2-4, 1993, with the theme "Conformity and Non-Conformity in Byzantium" have been pubUshed in Volume XXIV (1997) of Byzantinische Forschungen. Some of the titles foUow: Introduction: George T. Dennis, S.J.,"Were the Byzantines Creative or Merely Imitative?" (pp. 1-9); I. Historians and the Early Church: 1. Garry Trompf, "Church History as Non-Conformism: Retributive and Eschatological Elements in Athanasius and PhUostorgius" (pp. 11-33); 2. PhUip Rousseau, "Eccentrics and Coenobites in the Late Roman East" (pp. 35-50); 3. Anne Sunderland, "Daniel of Salah:A Sixth-Century West Syrian Interpreter of the PsaLms"(pp. 51-61); 4. H. E.J. Cowdrey "Eleventh-Century Reformers' Views of Constanttae" (pp. 63-91); II. Manuscripts and Sources: 1. Pauline AUen and Wendy Mayer, "Traditions of ConstantinopoUtan Preaching: Towards a New Assessment of Where Chrysostom Preached What" (pp. 93-114); 2. Joseph A. Munitiz, S.J., "Wonder-Working Ikons and the Letters to TheophUos" (pp. 115-123); III. Cultural and ReUgious Continuity: The Sixth Century, 1. Richard LUn, "Consensus and Dissensus on PubUc Spectacles ta Early Byzantium" (pp. 159-179); 2. Harold A. S. Tarrant, "Olympiodorus and the Surrender of Paganism" (??.181-192);3· Patrick T. R. Gray, "Covering the Nakedness of Noah: Reconstruction and Denial in the Age of Justinian" (pp. 193-205); 4. Christine Mitaer,"The Role of the Prophet Elijah Ui the Transfiguration Mosaics at Sinai and Classe" (pp. 207-217).

The 525th anniversary of the founding of the Ludwig-Maximüians-Universität in Munich has been celebrated by a special issue (volume 48, Number 3-4, 1997) of the Münchener Theologische Zeitschrift. Nine articles in the first part deal with "Theologie an der Universität." In the second part four articles deal with "Theologie an der Ludwig-MaxiniUians-Universität," to wit, Manfred Weitlauff, "Die Anfänge der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München und ihrer Theologischen Fakultät in Ingolstadt (1472) und deren Schicksal Un Reformationsjahrhundert"(pp. 333-369); Manfred Heim,"Die Theologische Fakultät der Universität München in der NS-Zeit" (pp. 371-387); HeUrich Döring, "Engagierte Teilnahme am ökumenischen Integrationsprozeß—Die Münchener Ökumene-Institute" (pp. 389-396); and Johannes Gründel,"Zwei wegweisende Moraltheologen des 19. Jahrhunderts im altbayerischen Raum" (pp. 397-406).

The ttürd number of the Mélanges de science religieuse for 1997 (Volume 57) is devoted to "Le cardinal Liénart et la mission universeUe."The mata articles are as foUows: Jean Vinatier, "Intuitions et initiatives missionnaUes du cardinal

Liénart" (pp. 7-19); Catherine Masson,"La pensée missionnaee du cardinal Liénart" (pp. 21-35); Jean-Pierre Ribaut, "Le cardinal Liénart et Ad Lucem" (pp. 37-56); and Roger Desreumaux,"Les missionnaees du diocèse de LiUe et le Cardinal" (pp. 57-69). There are also several smaUer pieces.

The editors of the Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques have dedicated thee issue for July, 1997 (volume 81, Number 3), to "Le Père Marie-Dominique Chenu Médiéviste."The articles were origtaaUy presented as papers at a conference held on September 23-24, 1995, at the Centre Thomas More ta the convent of the Domtaicans at La Tburette near Lyons in memory of the distinguished scholar, who died in 1990. The articles are: "Le Père Chenu et la société médiévale," by Jacques Le Goff (pp. 371-380);"M.-D. Chenu, médiéviste et théologien," by Jean JoUvet (pp. 381-394); "L'oeuvre de médiéviste du Père Chenu," by Jean-Claude Schmitt (pp. 395-406); "Le Père Chenu médiéviste: historicité, contexte et tradition," by Alain Boureau (pp. 407-414); and "M.D. Chenu et l'exégèse de sacra doctrina," by Henry Donneaud (pp. 415-437).

"ReUgion ta Early America" is the theme of the issue of the William and Mary Quarterly for October, 1997 (Volume LTV, Number 4), for which Jon Butler has written a two-page introduction. The articles are as foUows: Charles L. Cohen, "The Post-Puritan Paradigm of Early American ReUgious History" (pp. 695-722); Jane T. Merritt," Dreaming of the Savior's Blood: Moravians and the Indian Great Awakening in Pennsylvania" (pp. 723-746); Mark Valeri, "ReUgious Discipline and the Market: Puritans and the Issue of LIsury" (pp. 747-768); EmUy Clark," 'ByAU the Conduct of TheU Lives': A Laywomen's Confraternity in New Orleans, 1730-1744" (pp. 769-794); and Michael P Wtaship, "Contesting Control of Orthodoxy among the Godly: WUUam Pynchon Reexamined" (pp. 795-822). There are also two "Notes and Documents": Kenneth P. Mtakema, "Jonathan Edwards on Slavery and the Slave Trade" (pp. 823-834), and A. Owen Aldridge, "Natural Religion and Deism in America before Ethan AUen and Thomas Paine" (pp. 835-848).

The theme "Catholics in a Non-CathoUc World," which was begun in the issue of U.S. Catholic Historian for spring, 1997, is continued in the summer issue (Volume 15, Number 3). The foUowing articles are presented: Leon Hutton, "CathoUcity and Civility: John Francis Noll and the Origins of Our Sunday Visitor" (pp. 1-22); Patrick AUitt,"Carlton Hayes and His Critics" (pp. 23-37); Una M. Cadegan," 'Blessings on Your Old Head, Kid': The Friendship of Two NoveUsts, Richard SuUivan and Harry Sylvester" (pp. 39-56); Anthony Burke Smith,"Primetime CathoUcism in 1950s America: Fulton J. Sheen and 'LUe Is Worth Living' " (pp. 57-74); Mary Ann Janosik, "Madonnas in Our Midst: Representations of Women Religious in HoUywood Film" (pp. 75-98); Eugene B. McCarraher,"The Saint in the Gray Flannel Suit: The Professional-Managerial Class, 'The Layman,' and American-CathoUc-ReUgious Culture, 1945-1965" (pp. 99-118); and James T. Fisher, "The Second CathoUc President: Ngo Dinh Diem, John F. Kennedy, and the Vietnam Lobby, 1954-1963" (pp. 119-137).

Personal Notices

Ktaga Perzynska, archivist of the CathoUc Archives of Texas, has been appointed a consultor to the Pontifical Commission for the Cultural Heritage of the Church. Mrs. Perzynska had been a consultor for the writing of the cecular letter titled "The Pastoral Function of Church Archives," which was recently issued by the Commission (see ante, LXXXIII [July, 1997], 546-547). A native of Poznan, Poland, Mrs. Perzynska has been archivist of the Catholic Archives of Texas since 1990. She is also a member of the Section of Archives of Churches and ReUgious Denominations Steering Committee of the International CouncU on Archives, chaUman of the Archivists of Religious CoUections Section of the Society of American Archivists, and an outgoing member of the board of the Association of Catholic Diocesan Archivists.

John McGreevy of the University of Notre Dame was the keynote speaker at the annual meeting of the Urban Ministry Network that was sponsored by the National Pastoral Lee Center in New York and held in Cincinnati on October 16-18,1997.

Robert O. McMain, pastor emeritus and historian of the Archdiocese of Washington, was presented with the Father Andrew White Award of the CathoUc Historical Society of Washington at a luncheon held on October 26, 1997, to mark the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the Society. That morning Monsignor McMain also preached the homUy at the Mass celebrated in the historic Church of St. Patrick in Washington. The award is conferred in recognition of the recipient's contributions to the preservation and promotion of local CathoUc history. In the citation Monsignor McMain was honored, among many other titles, as "the man most responsible for the founding of the Society two decades ago and for its continued survival into the present."

Martin E. Marty of the University of Chicago, a past president of the American Catholic Historical Association, was one of twenty-one distinguished persons who received National Medals in the arts and humanities at the White House on September 29, 1997.

Nelson H. Minnich of the CathoUc University of America presented a paper on "The Changing Status of Theologians in the General Councils of the Church of the FUteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: Pisa (1409) to Trent (1563)" at a conference sponsored by the Societas Internationalis Historiae Conciliorum Investigandae and held at Dubrovnik, Croatia, on September 17-22, 1997.

Norman Neuerburg, professor emeritus of history in the CaUfornia State University at Domínguez Hills, delivered one of the VaUey Pioneer Lectures under the auspices of the Department of History in the CaUfornia State University at Northridge at Mission San Fernando in Mission HUls on November 11, 1997. His topic was "The Indian Via Cruets from San Fernando." The lecture was announced as "a bicentennial salute to Mission San Fernando."

Obituary

Monsignor Edward Aloysius Synan (1918—1997)

Sensing that his Ufe was drawing to a close, Monsignor Synan put the finishing touches during the week before his death to the articles and books he was writing and informed the secretary of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies where they could be found. He died peacefully in his sleep in Toronto of heart problems on August 3, 1997, depriving the Institute of one of its most devoted and dynamic leaders, the study of medieval phUosophy of one of its foremost scholars, his many students of one of theU most cherished mentors, his coUeagues and friends of a delightful companion, the American CathoUc Historical Association of a distinguished member, and the Catholic Historical Review of a learned reviewer.

Edward Aloysius Synan was born in Fall River, Massachusetts, on April 13, 1918, and grew up in New Jersey, maintaining throughout his Ufe a wonderful mix of "New England" and "New Joisey" accents, as he caUed them. In 1938 he graduated from Seton HaU University and went on to do advanced work at the Seminary of the Immaculate Conception in Darlington, New Jersey, the Catholic University of Louvain, and the Catholic University of America. Ordained in 1942, he was a chaplain ta the U. S. Army Air Forces from 1944 to 1948, and from that time on he proudly displayed his miUtary certificates in his office, kept his black shoes "spit-and-poUsh" shtaed, loved to talk about his paralegal activities in the armed services, and became highly knowledgeable in miUtary history.

After his mUitary service his bishop advised Father Synan to go to Toronto, where he earned his master's and doctoral degrees in philosophy at the University of Toronto (1950, 1952) and his Ucense in medieval studies at the Pontifical Institute (1951), both institutions which he cherished and served for nearly the rest of his Ufe. For several years after his Toronto education, Dr. Synan taught in and chaired the philosophy department at Seton HaU, which later in his Ufe awarded him an honorary doctorate for his service and loyalty, ta 1959 Monsignor Synan returned permanently to Toronto as a professor of phUosophy in the Pontifical Institute and the University of Toronto. He was an immensely popular teacher at both the undergraduate and graduate levels weU past "official" retirement age, and he maintained the respect and close friendship of many of his students for decades.

In 1973 Monsignor Synan was elected as president of the Pontifical Institute for a term of six years. During this period he saw to it that the staff of the Institute grew, especiaUy with the addition of a number of distinguished European scholars, including such luminaries as Father Arnold Angenendt in liturgy, Father Eduoard Jeauneau in theology and phUosophy and Jocelyn HiUgarth in history. It was one of Monsignor Synan's most trying tasks to find the wherewithal to support the new staff. The Stagg Committee of the University of Toronto was recommending to the University that it furnish support for an additional four

scholars at the Institute, a recommendation that was found much later never to have been passed on to University administrators to implement but on which Monsignor Synan had acted. Nonetheless, Monsignor Synan did devise means to support the staff, and during the term of his presidency the Institute rose to new heights in scholarship, teaching, and morale.

Much later, after the resignation of his successor as president, the then retired Synan generously agreed to a term as acting president of the Institute (1989-90). Thanks to Monsignor Synan's guidance, the spUit of the Institute was renewed and it continued to thrive. This generosity and devotion to the Institute of a man well past retirement was to matUfest itself most recently when, after several young philosophers transferred thee contracts out of the Institute into the University's Centre for Medieval Studies, he volunteered to teach both philosophy and theology in the Institute's Ucentiate programme. Sadly, when the University of Toronto forced the Institute through economic pressure to suspend its academic licentiate programme, students were deprived of the teaching and guidance of one of the Institute's most dynamic and popular instructors.

One of the "incentives" to keep scholars active in the Pontifical Institute has been the pubUcation of its widely distributed annual President's Report, in which the pubUcations of the staff are reported. Each year the FeUows eagerly waited to see what Monsignor Synan, busy as he was with teaching and administration, had published, and they were never disappointed. Over the years he pubUshed eight books, seventy journal articles, nineteen scholarly book reviews, twenty-nine encyclopedia articles, with more to be pubUshed posthumously. One of the more unexpected aspects of his scholarship involved Jewish medieval history and thought, an interest which he shared with his coUeague at Seton HaU, Monsignor John Oesterreicher.

Another unexpected side of Monsignor Synan's activities was his heavy involvement in the PoUsh SoUdarity Movement in the 1980's. The number of letters he wrote in support of the movement and the conferences and meetings he attended was countless, and he was naturaUy enormously pleased with the eventual success of that movement whose red and white lapel pin he proudly wore for years.

Highly disciplined and regimented and seemingly a bit gruff, Monsignor Synan was in fact extraordinarily kind and thoughtful to those whose Uves he touched. He would, for example, drive from Toronto to Buffalo to paint the apartment of one of his friends. Every month he would send an envelope fiUed with foreign postage stamps to the chUdren of one of his coUeagues for theU stamp albums. Rarely did one pass the open door of his office when there was not a graduate or undergraduate student receiving the advice of Monsignor Synan or enjoying one of his many stories. And stories he loved to teU, one being saved especiaUy for those in liturgical history. On November 2 one year, he reported, his car was stopped by the police at an alcohol checkpoint. The officer asked U he had had any alcohol that day, and Monsignor Synan repUed that

he had indeed, three chaUces of wine. The offficer asked U that was not a bit excessive, and Monsignor Synan, seeing that the officer was Irish, repUed without missing a beat that no, priests were aUowed to trinate on that day. The officer smUed knowledgeably and waved him on.

Many distinctions came to Monsignor Synan over the years. Besides his honorary degree at Seton HaU, he received honorary degrees from the Darlington Seminary and the University of Dallas, and at this year's faU convocation of St. Michael's CoUege in the University of Toronto he was to receive his fourth. Beyond these distinctions, he was made a Prelate of Honor to his Holiness, Pope John Paul II, in 1979, was elected as a FeUow of the Royal Society of Canada in 1980, and was awarded the Aquinas Medal by the American CathoUc PhUosophical Association in 1990.

SmaU in physical stature, Monsignor Synan can now be reckoned among the giants of the Pontifical Institute in medieval phUosophy—among Etienne GUson, Jacques Maritata, Ignatius Eschmann, and other philosophers, with whom he was proud to have studied and worked and whose scholarship he vigorously continued untU the week of his death.

Roger E. Reynolds

Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies

Clarification

Martin Poluse would like to revise the last five lines of page 432 and the first two lines of the foUowing page in his article, "Archbishop Joseph Schrembs's Battle to Obtain PubUc Assistance for the Parochial Schools of Cleveland during the Great Depression," which was published in the issue of this journal for July, 1997, as follows:"The Schrembs administration supported several buUdtag projects that eventuaUy added, expanded, or completed parish schools, high schools, and four coUeges to the diocese. Elementary schools such as St. Ann's (1925), St. Philomena's (1924), Holy Cross (1926), Holy Redeemer (1928), St. EUzabeth's (1930), Our Lady of the Blessed Sacrament (1923),Our Lady of Peace (1923), St. Andrew's (1926), and St. CecUia's (1925) were just a few of the parish buUdtags that were dedicated during the Schrembs admtaistration."

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