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REFORM PREACHING AND DESPAIR AT THE COUNCIL OF PAVIA-SIENA (1423-1424)

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Introduction

According to the decree Frequens of the Council of Constance, an ecumenical council was to be convoked by the pope five years following the end of the Council of Constance. Thus Pope Martin V in due time summoned a council to meet at Pavia, where a synod was inaugurated April 23, 1423. An outbreak of plague forced the Council to move to Siena, where it lasted from July until its dissolution in March, 1424. Most of these months were filled up with disputes over administrative matters, as well as divisions among the various nations; and the antipathy of Pope Martin to the conciliarist party made it difficult to get anything done. Little or nothing in the way of reform was accomplished.1

Although often not numbered among the synods regarded as ecumenical by the Roman Catholic Church because of its relatively slight attendance, the Council of Pavia-Siena was intended to continue the work of Constance in matters of reform and to take measures against

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'The most detailed and recent account of the Council of Pavia-Siena is Walter Brandmuller's magisterial two-volume v/ork,Das Konzil von Pavia-Siena (1423-1424) (Münster, 1968). See also Karl Joseph von Hefele and Henri Leclercq, Histoire des Conciles, Tom. VH", part 1 (Paris, 1916), pp. 610-645. Philip Hughes devotes barely a paragraph to the council in his The Church in Crisis: A History of the General Councils, 325-1870 (New York, 1961), p. 274.

various heretical movements, and those who did attend took their tasks seriously enough. One of those in attendance was a Camaldolese hermit known as John-Jerome of Prague, who preached two sermons at the Council. The first was on the first Sunday of Advent, which fell on November 28, 1423. John-Jerome also preached on Septuagésima Sunday, which fell on February 20, 1424. This second sermon must have been one of the last to be preached at the Council, which was dissolved soon after.[2] Neither of these sermons has been noted by previous historians of the council, a significant oversight in light of the fact that only four other sermons are known to have survived from the council.[3]

John-Jerome was born ca. 1370 in Prague and attended the university there as a contemporary of John Hus. There John-Jerome became a master of arts and also studied law. After becoming a Premonstratensian canon at Strahov near Prague, he went on to serve as a chaplain at the court of the Polish king Wladislaus, where he preached and was a royal confessor for a time. John-Jerome made a missionary journey into Lithuania, and after serving as the first abbot of the new Premonstratensian house of Nowy Sacz outside of Krakow, in 1412 he left Poland and the Premonstratensian Order to take up the eremitical life at Camaldoli.

As a Camaldolese he participated in the monastic reform movement, and was quite critical of the state of the religious houses he visited in the capacity of a visitator for the Venetian province of the Order. The details of his day-to-day activity in this capacity are unknown, but a sermon which he gave as part of his role as visitator has survived. The sermon was probably repeated in each monastery on the visitation tour as a prelude to the investigatory procedure, and it is the most detailed statement on ecclesiastical reform John-Jerome produced before the Council of Pavia-Siena.[4]

John-Jerome begins the sermon with an assertion of God's continuing benevolent guidance of creation and in particular of the ecclesia fidelium. Making use of the frequently cited mystical work of Pseudo-Dionysius,[5] he asserts that people are drawn to God through the three-

These two sermons can be found in Annales Camaldulenses, edited by Joannes-Benedictus Mittarelli and Anselmus Costadoni (Venice, 1755-1773), IX, 720-744. Henceforth referred to as Annal. Cam.

[2] Brandmüller, op. cit., II, provides critical editions of these four sermons.

[3] This sermon can be found in Annal. Cam., IX, 860-868.

[4] For perhaps the most elaborate application to the problem of ecclesiastical reform of the Pseudo-Dionysian categories in a conciliar context, see Jean Gerson's tract of 1417 en-

fold scheme of purgation, illumination, and perfection. This task is entrusted by God to prelates and in a special way to those who like the visitatores are required to be directly responsible for the upkeep of moral norms.6 The visitator thus must be given the virga correctionis, with full authority to punish transgressors and dispense justice. If the visitator is negligent in the work of correction, he will be cursed by God and damned.7 At the same time, the humble and obedient must be blessed by the visitator, who must mix mercy with justice. If the prelate does not strike the proper balance, he does not possess the appropriate form of Christ-like visitation (non habetformant visitationis Christi}.

Throughout the sermon John-Jerome stresses the mutually beneficial nature of the visitation process for both the monks and the visitator. The monks are to be corrected in matters of chastity, dress, comportment, attitude, and liturgical observance. The worse sins are the possession of property, disobedience, and ensnarement in carnal pleasures.8 Their correction is intended to give monks the opportunity to reform themselves and is in fact God's way of calling them to do so. The visitator for his part is called to help them in this process of repentance and sanctification, and in doing so to conform himself to Christ, who is seen as the embodiment of the balance of justice and mercy. Together, the monks and the visitatores can help restore that human nature which was once so good and fulfill Christ's command to all monks, that is, to dwell together in unity and to meditate upon the divine law.

For many years John-Jerome occupied the office of major eremi at Camaldoli, and in this post he would have been responsible for the spiritual formation and guidance of the other hermits, including the enforcement of discipline and the hearing of weekly confessions. In the years following the Council of Pavia-Siena, John-Jerome produced several works on the ascetical life, as well as polemical works against the

titled De potestate ecclesiastica, found in his Oeuvres Complètes, edited by R Glorieux (Tournai, 1965), VI, 210-250.

6 Ideo committitur eis officium visitationis, ut corrigendo inferiores, purgent a malitia, illuminent sapientia, perficiant moribus et vita." Annal. Cam., LX, 860.

7". . . quia si visitatores negligentes fuerint ad corrigendum, maledicentur a Deo et damnabuntur. Debet enim Visitator in sua visitatione faceré justitiam contra transgressores praecepti divini et Regulae, ac statutorum." Annal. Cam., LX, 861.

"John-Jerome cites Lactantius on the three furies that need to be repaired, namely, ira, luxuria, and cupiditas. He then adds: "Magna abominatio est, quando in religiosis loco paupertatis est proprietas; major, quando loco obedientiae est contumacia; sed maxima et pessima, quando loco continentiae regnat luxuria.Mnnei. Cam., LX, 867.

Hussites and Greek Christians. He would also participate in the Council of Basel as a vocal proponent of moral reform. He died in 1440.[9]

It is not clear in what capacity John-Jerome attended the Council of Pavia-Siena, as he is not found in any of the lists of formal members.[10] He had accompanied the Prior General of the Camaldolese Order, Raphael de Bonciani, on visitations of various houses in 1422. Raphael died on October 23, 1422, and John-Jerome preached at his funeral." Perhaps John-Jerome's reputation as a reformer and orator, as well as a canonist, was brought to the attention of the Council Fathers. John-Jerome, a Bohemian Czech, was also a well-known opponent of the Hussites, and perhaps was summoned to the council because of his expertise in these matters, as he would be several years later by the Council of Basel.[12] It is also unknown whether John-Jerome was present at the Council as a member of the Italian "nation" or the German "nation," which included Bohemia. It is more likely that he was there representing the Camaldolese Order, and sat with the Italians."

John-Jerome's presence at the Council was noted by his contemporary John of Ragusa, who mentions him among those who preached with great zeal against clerical abuses." The two sermons John-Jerome

'For a detailed biography of John-Jerome, as well as a bibligraphy of his many and varied writings, see William P. Hyland,"John-Jerome of Prague: Portrait of a Fifteenth-Century Camaldolese," in The American Benedictine Review, 46 (September, 1995), 308-334.

'"He is not mentioned in Brandmüller, op. cit., including the protocol of Guillermo Agramunt, nor is he among the list of participants compiled by Maureen C. Miller in "Participation in the Council of Pavia-Siena 1423-1424," Archivum Historiae Pontiflcae, 22 (1984), 389-406.

"This sermon is printed in Annal. Cam., LX, 852-859·

l2See Annal. Cam., LX, 941, for the text of the letter summoning John-Jerome to Basel.

"The council participants were divided into five "nations": French, German, Italian, Spanish, and eventually English. Place of birth did not necessarily determine a participant's nation. For example, John of Ragusa was a member of the French nation because he represented the University of Paris. The Italian nation was on the more conservative side as far as admitting members officially to its delegation, but it is surprising that John-Jerome is not listed among the procurators of the various religious orders. See Miller, op. cit., pp. 397 ff. Perhaps John-Jerome was known personally to one of the attending Italian prelates, and was at the Council at his request.

""Fuerunt etiam alii, sed non sicut praedicti, notati a malis et ab his, qui volunt corrigi; qui zelo dei praedicaverant in sermonibus suis in dicta synodo contra vitia cleri, modeste tarnen et mansuete, prout in conciliis et synodis fieri consuevit. Inter quos praecipui fuerant: Magister Petrus de Anglia, satis notus in hoc sacro Basiliensi concilio, licet non ita hic suum favorem ostenderit; magister Hieronymus de Praga, Camaldulensis ordinis, etiam hic bene notus." John of Ragusa, Initium et Prosecutio Basiliensis Concilii, in Monumenta Conciliorum Generalium Seculi Decimi Quinti (Vienna, 1857), I, 64. The Council of Siena is discussed by John as background for the Council of Basel.

gave at the Council of Siena are indeed powerful indictments of contemporary clerical abuses and unequivocally present John-Jerome's own ideas about the need for ecclesiastical reform. Beyond this, however, the sermons demonstrate the frustration felt by reformers such as John-Jerome at the inability of the Council to move beyond administrative disputes, including the lack of co-operation between the Council Fathers and the papacy, to deal with matters of reform. The importance of John-Jerome's sermons can be understood only in the context of the initial optimism and ultimate futility which so characterized the Council of Pavia-Siena.

John-Jerome's sermons on reform do not represent an isolated voice at the Council, but are related to other documents that survive. These include the four conciliar decrees issued on November 8, 1423, and the subsequent memorandum and avisamentum of the French nation on reform. Along with the contents of these documents, and against the background of the Council's failure to secure the attendance of Pope Martin V, John-Jerome's sermons also reflect concerns found in two sermons given at the Council by the Dominican theologian John of Ragusa. In a sense John-Jerome the preacher enters into a dialogue with these documents, and they must be understood in order to appreciate the peculiar place and significance of his own ideas about reform.

Unity and Reform

Given the facts of the immediately preceding years, including the Great Schism and endemic warfare between Christian states throughout Europe, it is perhaps not surprising that the theme of harmony and unity was a major concern of those participants at Pavia-Siena who were genuinely interested in reforming the Church. Thus in his sermon given at the opening of the Council in Pavia on April 23, 1423, John of Ragusa took up this theme immediately.15 Taking as his text "There shall be one fold and one shepherd" (John 10: 16), he stresses that reform of the Church depends upon the unity of its head and members,16 and uses various metaphors to make this point.

After extolling the unity and privileges of the papacy, however, John proceeds to enumerate the divisions in Christendom. He mentions first

"This sermon can be found in Brandmüller, op. cit., pt. 2, pp. 125-157.

""Ex quibus ostenditur, quod totalis universalis Christi eclesie reformatio—quamobrem hie ad presens Christi universalis eclesia fidelium congregatur—dependet ex duplici unitate: membrorum videlicet et capitis." Brandmüller, op. cit., pt. 2, p. 130.

heretical groups such as the Greeks, Hussites, and Fraticelli, and then the military threat posed by the Turks, Tartars, and Arabs. Finally he brings up the warfare between Christians in France, eastern Europe, the Baltic regions, Italy, and the Iberian peninsula, and laments the fact that Catholic Christendom has virtually been reduced to nothing by these external and internal struggles.[17] John ends this sermon by exhorting the Council Fathers to begin the work of reform by working for peace among the Christian people.[18]

The Council was forced to relocate to Siena soon after this sermon because of plague, and resumed its work there in July, 1423. On October 31 John of Ragusa preached another sermon before the Council, this time taking as his text "[Jesus Christ] will reform the body of our lowliness" (Philippians 3:21).[19] In this sermon, which is essentially an exhortation to reform, John employs a variety of distinctions and divisions, as well as citations of Cicero and Seneca. After a long preamble, he makes a strong statement on the necessity of a council for reform.[20] He then goes on to mention the violence of the Hussites and the urgent need to deal with this problem, and the timidity of prelates who are afraid to act on the pressing needs of the Church. He defines reformation as a rooting out of sins and a laying to rest of those things which divide Christians from God and one another,[21] and he urges the Council Fathers to fulfill the reform mandate of the Council of Constance. John ends his sermon by urging the Council to initiate the work of reform by calling for fasts and religious processions and by allowing free and frank preaching about reform to commence.[22]

Although John claims there was a mixed reaction to his sermon,[23] it is clear that this sermon initiated a period of reform activity. On Novem-

17"Cor quoque et centrum huius exiguë christianitatis rotule sic exstinguitur et ad nichilum redigitur, ut nulla iam sit persistendi fidutia, nisi deus ab alto perspexerit." Ibid., p. 155.

"Ibid., p. 157.

"For the text of the sermon, see Brandmüller, op. cit., pt. 2, pp. 157-190. For a partial English translation, see C. M. D. Crowder, Unity, Heresy and Reform, 1378-1460: The Conciliar Response to the Great Schism (New York, 1977), pp. 140-142.

2°John goes so far as to claim that between the end of the Council of Vienne (1312) and the commencement of the Council of Pisa in 1409, the Church was without the visitation and consolation of the Holy Spirit. Brandmüller, op. a'f.,pt. 2, p. 173.

"Ibid., p. 180.

"Ibid., pp. 185-190.

""De quo sermone praesidentes et alii adversarii multum fuerunt turbati." John goes on to mention how many wished to have him expelled from the Council, and how he defended himself. John of Ragusa, Initium et Prosecutuio Basiliensis Concilii, p. 61.

ber 8 the Council promulgated four decrees.24 The first condemned the beliefs and activities of the followers of John Wyclif and the Hussites and called on Christian leaders to employ all means at their disposal to crush these movements. The second decree renewed the condemnations of the antipope Peter of Luna and his adherents issued by the Council of Constance. The third decree recognized that reunion negotiations with the Greek Christians had reached an impasse, but that nevertheless reform work should proceed. The fourth and final decree called for great vigilance against heresy and cited the negligence of ordinaries and inquisitorial deputies in these matters. Trials of heretics should be held publicly and with solemn ritual, and should be conducted only by learned men.25 The civil and religious authorities are open to condemnation and punishment if they do not enforce these decrees.

As Brandmüller has noted, it is not always easy to know what happened on a day-to-day basis at the Council.26 In a letter to a bishop dated November 23, John of Ragusa noted that nothing had been formally enacted by the council since these four decrees of November 8, although ideas about reform were discussed among the various nations.27 John characterized this as a time when certain members of the council exhibited hard work and zeal for reform.28 Two products of these discussions were the memorandum and avisamentum of the French nation on reform. Another, and one that has been overlooked by historians of the Council of Siena, was the sermon given by John-Jerome of Prague on November 28, the first Sunday of Advent.

The first part of the memorandum is composed of twenty points.29 The first three points call for processions and Masses for the cause of reform, to be followed by fasts and confession. Thus the first step of reform is to acknowledge sin and confess it before God. Points four through seven emphasize that no Christian is excluded from the need

2<The most recent edition of these decrees can be found in Brandmüller, op. cit., pt. 2, pp. 20-28.

2'Ibid.,p.26.

xIbid.,pt.l,p.l40.

27As he states about the weeks following the solemn session of November 8:"Post praedictam sessionem usque ad praesens nihil actum est; tractatur tamen in nationibus de modo procedendi in reformatione ecclesiae." John of Ragusa, Initium et Prosecutio Basiliensis Concilii, p. 27.

28"Post praedictam vero sessionem per aliquot dies fuit exhibita quaedam cédula, per quosdam zelantes reformationem ecclesiae "Ibid.

29The memorandum of the French nation can be found in John of Ragusa, Initium et Prosecutio Basiliensis Concilii, pp. 27'-30.

of reform. At a council where the attendance of prelates was dismally low,[50] it is emphasized that all prelates need to come to the council. The sixth and seventh points echo the call of John of Ragusa that all Christians be given the opportunity to speak out on reform issues.

The last thirteen points are procedural and reflect a real concern that the reform-minded members of the Council will be unable effectively to find a forum for their task. The memorandum calls for the selection of four deputies from each nation to meet in private on a daily basis and come up with a reform agenda, without the interruption of those who would resist reform. All are to swear that they will not leave the Council before reform measures have been effected, and those who would stall on reform are to be excommunicated. It is also asserted that the presidents of the council can speak for the pope, a proposition that was destined to cause trouble between the conciliarists and their opponents. The ninth item of the memorandum is of particular interest for this study, as it calls on doctors of canon law (such as John-Jerome) to aid in the Council's deliberations.[51]

This memorandum was followed by an avisamentum, in which the French nation moved beyond procedural concerns and proposed specific matters for reform.[52] The first five points reflect the decrees of November 8 and emphasize the need for unity as well as the advisability of sending out special ambassadors from the Council to combat heresy. The papacy is called upon to serve as a peacemaker between Christian princes and not to interfere with the privileges of the nations in various matters. There are also a number of points about the relative authority of the Roman Curia and the Council in financial matters. Among the points mentioned were prohibitions against plural benefices, as well as statements against commendatory and secular possession of benefices.

The avisamentum is clearly aimed at the papacy[53] and at the secular and administrative preoccupations of many in the Roman Curia. Al-

[50] As Hughes points out, the number of bishops and abbots present never exceeded twenty-five. See Hughes, op. cit., p. 260. See also Hefele-Leclercq, op. cit., Tom. VII, Pt. 1, pp. 614 ff.

[51] "Item exhortentur singuli doctores, et praecipue juris canonici, ut solerti cura et diligenti studeant et intendant circa ea praecipue, quae juxta sanctorum patrum decreta et decretales praesenti tempori et universali ecclesiae congrua videntur et necessaria, ut videlicet innovanda innoventur, addenda addantur, et reparanda et reformanda reparentur, prout spiritus sanctus dictaverit." John of Ragusa, Initium et Prosecutio Basiliensis Concilii, p. 29.

[52] The avisamentum is found ibid., pp. 30 ff.

[53] It is indeed entitled: "Avisamentum pro inchoando reformationem ecclesiae in capite, per nationem Gallicanam produxit." Ibid., p. 30.

though it may perhaps be true that nothing could be done in the way of reform without a change in some of the abuses mentioned in these documents of the French nation, the tone of the documents was bound to cause divisions within the Council itself and between the Council and Pope Martin V This is exactly what did occur,54 and any discussion about moral reform was soon overwhelmed by the procedural wrangling which ultimately would prove to be the Council's undoing.

Penance and Hope

Despite the fact that the Council would end in futility, the months of November and December witnessed a genuine activity with regard to reform. In the midst of these discussions witnessed to by John of Ragusa, John-Jerome gave his sermon to the Council on November 28, the first Sunday of Advent. Although his official status at the Council remains unclear, John-Jerome certainly was intimately involved in the consultations about reform,35 and delivered his sermon as if in direct answer to John of Ragusa's call for free and frank preaching about reform. John-Jerome's sermon is important because it is the one sermon we have from the period following the circulation of the reform agenda of the French nation, and the only reform statement from another nation.36 John-Jerome was given the important task of expressing the reform agenda in the context of a moral exhortation, and to do so on the first Sunday of Advent, a time of symbolic importance as the beginning of the ecclesiastical year and a time of preparation, self-examination, and renewal. The fact that he was chosen to speak at such a time demonstrates the respect in which he was held at the Council, as both a preacher and a proponent of reform.

In the prologue of the sermon John-Jerome notes the importance of the occasion. The Council Fathers are gathered here to carry on the reform work initiated by the Council of Constance.37 Employing a stan-

54Brandmuller describes the divisions within the various nations. See Brandmüller, op. cit., pt. ?,??. 169-188, et passim.

"As Brandmüller, ibid., pt. 1, pp. 139 ff., notes, consultation of the bishops and abbots with the theologians present was a normal part of the council's procedure. In his discussion (pt. 1, pp. 175-176) of the various Italian bishops and representatives of religious orders present at the Council, Brandmüller overlooks John-Jerome of Prague and the Camaldolese.

"Brandmüller, ibid., p. 150, laments the fact that all we have from these busy days are the French suggestions about reform.

""Quia hoc Sacrosanctum Senarum Concilium reformare et supplere ea nititur, quae in Sancta Constantiensi Synodo nondum completa fore cernuntur; ideo de reformatione sta-

dard rhetorical device, he stresses his own inadequacy to address such an important assembly and hopes that the prestige of preaching before an ecumenical council will not distract him from his task of exhorting all to attend to the needs of the Church.38

John-Jerome is aware that he is addressing an audience made up largely of clergymen, and from the beginning he places the burden of reform squarely on their shoulders. He advances the opinion that the reform activities of the pastor do not originate in external activities, but rather in the devotional life of the pastor himself. John-Jerome believes that if the prelate truly feels the love of God in his own life, this theocentric outlook will eventually lead to self-esteem and love of neighbor.39 Without this first step of the prelate's own spiritual commitment, there is no hope for the spiritual well-being of those entrusted to him: the integrity of the overseers is the salvation of the subjects (Integritas namque praesidentium est salus subditorurn).40

With these ideas as a premise, John-Jerome moves beyond the bureaucratic and administrative preoccupations of the memorandum and avisamentum of the French nation and focuses on clerical behavior as the root of the Church's widespread problems. The clergy claim that they deserve universal respect for their role in the economy of salvation, yet by their scandalous behavior force the laity to despair and even seem to justify the attacks of radicals and heretics on the ecclesiastical establishment:

> And this is the cause of the destruction of the universal Church: the frequent, continuous, and widespread pomp, vanity, and excesses of prelates. This it is which excites the laity to envy; invites tyrants to plunder the goods of the Church; and multiplies schisms and heresies. This is the pestif-

tus universalis Ecclesiae, ac de nobis ipsis hodiernus sermo reddendus est, super eo, quod spectaculum facti sumus Mundo et Angelis et bomirabus!' Annal. Cam. , LX, 722.

""Quare ego in praesenti sermone totius adulationis cavens Vitium, et solius Dei postulans auxilium, si in sole mystico militantis Ecclesiae quaedam signa deformitatis reperire potero, sub brevitate indulti temporis enarrare cumbo? Ibid. , pp. 722-723.

"Following closely in the footsteps of Augustine and Bernard of Clairvaux, John-Jerome thus asserts: "Igitur omnis Episcopus, Sacerdos, Clericus, vel Praelatus in amore Dei profundatus, in proprio profundatus, in proximo dilatatus, scientifice obtinet veridice, ut in omni statu suo possit esse perfectus. Tenet consequentia, quia amor Dei, sui, et proximi de necessitate requiritur ad perfectionem cujuslibet Episcopi, Sacerdotis, Clerici,velPrelati."7iWrf.,p.722.

""Ibid., p. 724.

> erous stain, the deaf and mute demon, that will not be ejected unless by prayer and fasting.41

In this passage John-Jerome alludes to the biblical episode in which Christ cures the lunatic who is possessed by a demon. When the apostles ask Christ why they had been unable to cast out the demon, he responds that this particular sort of demon can be ejected only by prayer and fasting.42 John-Jerome is thus openly comparing prelates to lunatics and implying that their behavior is irrational. Only an irrational man could reject the theocentric basis of Christian existence and the grace of his ordination, and instead focus on the comforts of the material world. The only way John-Jerome believes humans can regain the state of grace, and hence their ability to avoid sin and act rationally, is through the sacrament of penance.

Thus, following the advice of Christ, John-Jerome recommends public prayer and fasting as the first step of reformation. In this he provides a theological and moral rationale in public for the first part of the memorandum of the French nation. This call for penance must be universally heeded, because the harmony of Christendom, along with sincere penance, is an essential prerequisite for reform:

> Applying this teaching to all those gathered in this sacred council, the first remedy to be employed for the reformation of the holy universal Church is to command and proclaim publicly, not only in Italy but throughout all the orthodox lands, fasts, processions, and devout prayers, with the result that the Lord himself, who hears the pleas of the poor, will see fit to bring about from the arduous business of this council the intended result and aim.43

For John-Jerome, ecclesiastical reformation parallels the process of personal reformation as expressed in the sacrament of penance. Pre-

41"Et haec est causa destructionis Ecclesiae univeraslis, videlicet pompa, vanitas, et superfluitas Praelatorum, crebra, frequens, et generalis, quae mentes laicorum ad invidiam suscitât; tyrannos ad diripiendum bona Ecclesiae invitât; Schismata et haereses multiplicat. Haec namque est labes pestífera, et Daemonium surdum et mutum, quod non ejicitur, nisi in oratione et jejunio."7?nrf., p. 725.

42A clear reference to Matthew 17:14-20.

43"Doctrinam tribuens omnibus in hoc Sacrosancto Concilio congregatis, illud primum esse remedium pro reformatione Sanctae universalis Ecclesiae adhibendum, praecipere ac indicere, non solum in Italia, sed etiam per omnes orthodoxe fidei provincias jejunia, processiones, et devotas orationes, ut ipse Dominus, qui exaudit deprecationes pauperum, in tam arduo hujus Concilii negotio effectum et finem dignetur praestare optatum." Annal. Cam., LX, 725-726.

lates must first display genuine contrition on behalf of the faithful through these public rituals of confession and satisfaction. This is to be followed by the next phase of penance, which is the correction of previous bad behavior. Continuing with the double metaphor of Christ as the Sun of Righteousness and the sinner as a benighted or irrational lunatic, John-Jerome identifies two things preventing the correction of clerical behavior: carnal pleasures and clerical ignorance.

John-Jerome identifies voluptates carnales as the first impediment to the work of reform. He criticizes those clerics who associate with women and stresses the need for clerical celibacy. Those who do have wives or concubines should be excommunicated and deprived of office. He also criticizes excessive eating and drinking among clerics. John-Jerome's point is that if prelates expect to command the respect and submission of the faithful as successors of the Apostles, then they must also imitate their way of life.[44] He does not claim any originality for these ideas and cites St. Jerome's diatribes against Jovinian as the source for his own critique of modern prelates.[45]

At least as harmful as sexual and gustatory desires in John-Jerome's eyes was the seeking after possession of material comforts by the clergy. The tendency to pursue secular power blinded the man of God from his spiritual calling, but just as importantly it drove the laity to persecute the clergy:

> What businesses and secular offices are not administered by priests and clerics? For in modern times certain priests are usurers and merchants. Others are castellans and stewards, while still others run taverns and are gamblers and pimps. They are lacking in only one occupation: they are not police agents and torturers of men.
>
> This misbehavior is the cause of the destruction of the universal Church, and of the persecution of the whole clerical establishment, because as the populace is, so is the priest, but only much worse. For in modern times clerics and priests are discharged by secular officials, churches are despoiled, and for financial debts priests are seized, bound, and imprisoned through wickedness, to the dishonor and shame of the whole Church.

[44] "Denique si Episcopi et prelati locum apostolorum tenent, quia tenent non solum dignitatem eorum, sed conversationem, et abstinentiam, ac vitae sanctitatem imitentur.' TWd., p. 728.

[45] Jovinian, who died ca. 405, was an unorthodox monk who denied that virginity was a higher state than marriage and that abstinence was preferable to moderate eating. He was opposed fiercely by Jerome and Ambrose, and condemned by councils held at Milan and Rome.

> Therefore this sacred council should proceed to the reformation of this behavior.46

The way to deal with these problems is to send out learned men of good reputation with full authority as visitatores. These specially appointed commissioners will be able to enforce the canons with regard to clerical behavior. When priests are thus forced to withdraw from secular pursuits, they will no longer be easy targets for those among the laity who would presume to attack them and their possessions.47 It is clear that John-Jerome is not merely voicing his puritanical sensibilities here. His main concern seems to be that clerical immorality is used as a justification for attacks on the clergy. How strongly he feels about this point is evident in another sermon he will give at the Council in February, where he implies that the Catholic clergy of Bohemia brought the assaults of the Hussites upon themselves because of their immorality48

The memorandum of the French nation had called on the Council to send out commissioners to deal with heresy. John-Jerome is also concerned about heresy but emphasizes the moral rather than the intellectual foundation of reform. Moral reform serves as a preface to the preservation of orthodoxy and the extirpation of heresy. He seems to believe that heresy and anticlericalism would not be as threatening as

* "Quae namque sunt officia, aut saecularia negotia, quae Presbyteri et sacerdotes non administrent? Nam modernis temporibus quidam Presbyteri sunt usurarii et mercatores; alii sunt castellani et procuratores; alii tabernarum rectores et taxillorum lusores ac lenones. Hoc solum deficit, quod non birri et tortores hominum; et haec est causa universalis Ecclesiae destructionis, et persecutionis totius Cleri. Quia sicut est populus, sic et Sacerdos, immo pejus; nam modernis temporibus Clerici et sacerdotes per officiales saeculares exauctorantur, Ecclesiae spoliantur, et Sacerdotes pro pecuniarum debitis capiuntur, ligantur, et incarcerantur per nefas, in dedecus ac verecundiam totius Ecclesiae. Ergo huic reformationi hoc Sacrosanctum Concilium debet intendere."/4wna/. Cam., LX, 728-729.

47"Nam secundus modus reformationis est iste, videlicet ut Sacrum hoc Concilium eligat viros doctos, bonae famae et vitae, quos per singulas provincias constituant, et ordinent plena auctoritate visitatores ac reformatores totius Cleri, exclusa omni appellatione; et hoc usque ad futurum concilium celebrandum, ut et clerus honeste vivat, et laici manus violentas in Clerum extendere non audeant, nec praesumant." Ibid., p. 729-

"After mentioning various Old Testament examples where priests were punished for their simoniacal activities, John-Jerome proceeds to mention the recent Hussite attacks on priests in his homeland: "Et ut recentiora exempla proferam; Ecce infra hoc triennium in regno Moraviae et Bohemiae plures quam XV mille sacerdotes ab Hussitis interfecti sunt. Unde beatus Chrysostomus homilía XXXVII super Mattheum sic ait: Hü sunt Sacerdotes iniqui, qui fidem praedicant et infideliter agunt, pacem alus dant, et sibi non habent, reformationem laudant, et reforman nolunt, avaritiam vitupérant, et simoniam exercent." Ibid.,p.744.

they are if the clergy would maintain their standards and not lose the respect of the laity. In this sense, orthopraxis serves as the foundation for respect of orthodoxy.

This being said, however, John-Jerome proceeds to blur the distinction between the intellectual and moral elements of contemporary clerical decadence. Identifying clerical ignorance as the second impediment to ecclesiastical reform, John-Jerome criticizes those priests who are either unwilling or unable to preach. He also stresses the importance of the priest in the role of confessor, but unfortunately does not elaborate upon this. Approaching the end of the sermon, he instead shifts back again to the moral sphere, and criticizes clerical greed and avarice. He refers to the ambitio inexplicabilis of prelates who acquire multiple benefices, again playing on the theme of the irrationality of the sinner. Despite his harsh criticisms, John-Jerome ends on the optimistic note that the Council of Siena will now be attending to these problems.49

This first sermon of John-Jerome's illustrates the moral rationale behind the agenda of the reform party at the Council of Siena. Implicitly following the theology of the sacrament of penance, John-Jerome calls for the Church as a whole, and in particular the clerical leadership, to go through a process of contrition, confession, satisfaction, and a reform of lifestyle. He brings to this task of moral exhortation both the critical attitudes and expectant optimism of someone who believes in the realities of sin and the possibility of conversion. In this respect he stands together with Vincent Ferrer, Bernardino of Siena, and other great penitential preachers of the day.

Despair

The optimism for the work of the Council which John-Jerome displayed in his sermon given at the beginning of the season of Advent, while the groundswell of reform activity was at its height, was gone by the time he preached his second sermon before the Council Fathers in February of 1424. The coming of winter had also witnessed a severe chilling of the relations between the conciliarist party and Pope Martin V as the implications of the procedural claims of the Council became

*"Quae tamen in hoc Sacratissimo Concilio sunt reformanda ad laudem et gloriam Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui cum Patre et spiritu sancto est super omnia Deus benedictus in saeculorum saecula. Amen." Ibid., p. 731.

clear. With nothing beyond the original four decrees of November 8 being promulgated, the Council ground to a halt. On February 19 Basel was selected as the site of the next ecumenical council, and the next day the dissolution of the Council of Siena was drawn up, although it was not published until March 7.

In what must have been an atmosphere of subdued hope and deep frustration among the reformers who still remained at Siena, John-Jerome preached before the Council Fathers on Septuagésima Sunday, February 20, 1424. In the liturgical cycle this feast marked a stage toward the Lenten fast, and the purple vestments and penitential atmosphere provided the perfect backdrop for John-Jerome's message. As in his previous sermon, John-Jerome will discuss the need for moral reform, but he then goes on in a striking fashion to develop his ideas about the relationship of the prevalence of Aristotelian learning to discord and sin within the Church.

Employing the biblical text "Many are called but few are chosen" (Matthew 20:16), John-Jerome engages in a powerful critique of the contemporary clerical establishment. He begins by acknowledging and lamenting the fact that Pope Martin V will clearly not be coming to the Council. John-Jerome stresses that the pope is indeed the head of the Church, and the source of unity for its members. He proves this by citing many of the same authorities cited by John of Ragusa in his sermons, and states that no one doubts that the pope and the Roman Curia are the divinely appointed foundation of the Church.50 This being said, however, John-Jerome attacks the papal court for neglecting its high responsibilities and abusing the privileges of its legitimate position:

> But behold how this moves beyond measure, so that the exemplar of every evil proceeds thence whence every norm of sanctity had proceeded. There the sweet yoke of the Lord is cast off, and the Divine Law fractured. There only Chrysostom is honored from the Greek word Crisis, which in Latin means gold, and an infinite number of simonies are committed for the sake of gold, because Canon law is spit out and held for nothing there, about which all indeed murmur, but none cry out. And because we are now situated in the last days of evil, for what reason can I keep silent, when the Lord

""Quia hoc Sacrosanctum Senarum Concilium pro reformatione universalis Ecclesiae cernitur congregatum in hac egregia civitate, cum firma spe adventus Domini nostri Papae Martini V, qui est caput totius Ecclesiae, sed quia spes adventus ejus non solum differtur, sed jam totaliter aufertur, ideo praefata reformatio Ecclesiae, jam non posse fieri a multis desperatur. Quod enim filii absque patre, oves absque pastore, membra absque capite efficere possunt? . . . Nemo autem est qui dubitet, Sedem Apostolicam, et Romanam Curiam esse caput et fundamentum totius Ecclesiae "TWrf., pp. 734-735.

> this very day in the Gospel calls workers into his vineyard, but in the final words of this very same Gospel makes the following frightful conclusion: "Many are called but few are chosen."[51]

This strong passage is indicative of John-Jerome's reform thought. After an impressive rhetorical flourish on the need for the papacy, he does not seek to undermine the scriptural and juridical basis of papal authority at all, but rather criticizes the immorality of the Roman Curia. It is clear that he does not believe that the reform of the Church in capite was completely accomplished by the healing of the papal schism at the Council of Constance. His main concern seems to be the violation of canon law in Rome, and in particular the problem of simony. John-Jerome sees himself as a reformer among a group of men who are unwilling to effect salutary changes in the situation, and he does not blame only the papacy for the failure of the Council of Siena. In a stinging passage, he mocks the prelates present at the Council for their inability to overcome their own immorality and to put the question of reform ahead of their own constitutional relationship to the papacy:

> But how many voluptuous bishops and prelates are there in the Church today, Epicureans, but even worse than Epicurus, because they do not fill their tables with fruits and vegetables, as Epicurus taught, but rather with wild game, rabbits, thrushes, hens, and capons? Between these wines are mixed with wines, and silver conches full of wine follow after gilded goblets. And then anyone who shall have emptied four or even five goblets or rather conches of wine, immediately proposes a question concerning the power of the lord pope and concerning a universal council. It is argued back and forth. But any argument is followed by a conch full of wine, and remarkably, he who empties more conches more cleverly disputes, according to that proverb: 'When I drink wine, then my tongue speaks Latin.'[52]

""Sed mira supra modum res agitur, ut inde exemplar omnis mali progediatur, unde Sanctitatis processerat omnis norma. Illic jugum suave Domini abjicitur et frangitur lex divina. Illic solus Chrysostomus colitur a Crisis Grèce, quod est aurum Latine, et pro auro infinitae committuntur simoniae.quia jus Canonicum illic respuitur.et pro nihilo ducitur, de quo omnes quidem murmurant, sed nullus clamât. Et quia in extremis malorum jam positi sumus, qua ratione ego tacere valeo, cum Dominus in hodierno praecipiat Evangelio vocare operarios in vineam suam, sed in fine ejusdem Evangelii terribilem inferí conclusionem, dicens: Multi enim sunt vocati, pauci vero electi?" Ibid., p. 734. The complete Gospel reading for Septuagésima Sunday was Matthew 20: 1-16.

""Sed quanti hodie in Ecclesia Dei sunt Episcopi et Praelati voluptuosi, Epicurei, imo supra Epicurum, quia mensas suas non replent pomis et oleribus, ut Epicurus docuit, sed carnibus ferinis, et leporibus, turdis, gallinis et caponibus? Inter haec vina miscentur vinis, et conchae argentae vino plenae succedunt scyphis deauratis; cumque unusquisque quatuor, aut quinqué scyphos, immo conchas bibendo evacuaverit, statim de potestate Domini Papae, et de Concilio unversali quaestionem proponit. Arguitur pro et contra. Sed

It would be difficult to find a stronger expression of contempt for the procedural wranglings that dominated the final two months of the Council of Siena. Using a standard motif of the polemical discourse of the Latin Fathers, and in particular of St. Jerome, John-Jerome dismisses the Council Fathers as Epicureans.53 He reduces them and their debates to drunken games. In his mind they are incapable of leading a moral reform. As he had done in his earlier sermon, John-Jerome implies that the sins of prelates, in this case their gluttony and drunkenness, have left them morally and intellectually incapacitated. They stumble about as drunkards, completely at a loss on how to reform the Church. The papal court is also intoxicated with a love of money, which causes it to take the irrational step of abandoning the canons and divine law for a path which leads nowhere.

John-Jerome provides additional severe criticisms of prelates in this sermon and cites, besides patristic sources such as St. Jerome, recent figures such as Catherine of Siena and Bridget of Sweden to support his views on the current state of the clergy.54 At one point he sarcastically points out that he will use the authoritative words of St. Bernard verbatim, as he himself could not presume to criticize the prelates of the

quodlibet argumentum sequitur vino plena concha, et mirum in modum qui plures conchas bibendo évacuât, ille magis argute disputât, juxta illud proverbium: Dum bibo vinum, tunc lingua mea loquitur Latinum." Ibid., p. 736.

"Richard Jungkuntz in his article "Fathers, Heretics and Epicureans," in The Journal of Ecclesiastical History, 17 (1966), 3-10, discusses the patristic tendency to impute epicureanism or hedonistic motives to anyone who questions the ascetic life. The evidence demonstrates that in certain polemical contexts, the term "Epicurean" could serve as a label of disparagement to pin on any sort of opponent whatsoever. In this particular sermon, John-Jerome cites St. Jerome's use of this term in his writings against Jovinian.

54It is interesting to note the respect John-Jerome felt for famous female ascetics. In this sermon he quotes at length a passage from the liber Revelationum of St. Bridget (1303-1373) in which she was extremely critical of the prelates of her day. Likewise he immediately follows this quotation with a similar one from the liber Revelationum Divinae Doctrinae of St. Catherine of Siena (1347-1380). John-Jerome fully accepts these women and their visions as authentic expressions of divine disfavor about the state of the Church, and quotes from them in the same breath in which he cites Jerome, Augustine, Gregory the Great, and the Decretum. His interest in female ascetics, including Angela of Foligno, went beyond the immediate polemical needs of this particular sermon. In 1425 he put together two works entitled Epilogus Domni Hieronymi de Praga Revelationum Beatae Angelae de Fuligneo, and Epilogus Domni Hieronimi de Praga in Vita Beatae Catharinae de Sena, which can be found in Annal. Cam., LX, 868-916. These works, which are little more than abbreviated transcriptions, with an introduction, to standard lives (although the work on Angela of Foligno also contains her visions) of these two saints, nevertheless indicate the esteem in which these women ascetics were held by John-Jerome.

Church so vociferously.55 He laments the state of the religious orders, including his own Camaldolese.56 In its thoroughness and rhetorical skill, this sermon certainly is a tour de force of reform polemic, and it is not surprising that John of Ragusa remembered and was impressed with John-Jerome's zeal.57

In addition to his concern with clerical immorality, John-Jerome criticizes the pride and ambition of those who persist in erroneous ideas, another impediment to personal reform. He provides a long list of ancient and more recent heretics and doctrines they espoused,58 and sees this intellectual hindrance to personal reform as stemming from a lack of caritas. Following the tradition of St. Paul, St. Augustine, and Peter Lombard, John-Jerome asserts that learning will avail intellectuals nothing, and will even hinder them, if they are not primarily motivated in their quest for truth by love of God. The liberal arts themselves can be properly understood and applied only when interpreted in terms of Christian caritas:

> Thus it is truly evident that charity alone is the art of arts and science of sciences, possessing the way to all principles of method. For only charity teaches useful Grammar, particularly how suitably to construe morals, and control the senses well. It also teaches a useful Logic: namely, not to have a false tongue, and always to tell the truth. And it teaches useful Rhetoric: that is how to pray honestly and in an orderly way, and to make devout exclamations in prayer. Beyond this charity itself teaches useful Geometry: to measure with due consideration earthly things, and because they are tran-

"Before quoting a passage from a sermon of St. Bernard concerning clerical abuses, John-Jerome remarks: "Jamque beams Bernardus dicit (ego forsitan non dicam, ne Praelatorum indignationem incurram, quamquam nihil dico de bonis, sed de ambitiosis) dicit itaque beatus Bernardus . . . etc? Annal. Cam., LX, 740.

56"Unde hodie in statu Ecclesiae, sive sit Episcopus, Abbas, vel praepositus, Decanus, Prior, vel Capellanus, Canonicus, vel Monachus, Bernardita, sive Carmelita, Carthusiensis, vel Praemonstratensis, Camaldulensis, vel Augustinensis, Ordinis Minorum, vel Praedicatorum, et breviter ab individuis usque ad generalissima." Ibid., p. 737. These criticisms are a classic example of the exaggeration so typical of the monastic reform tradition. For a discussion of this phenomenon, see Jean Leclercq, The Love of Learning and the Desire for God, 3d ed. (New York, 1985), p. 132.

"See note 14 above. It should be noted that not all reformers present at the Council of Siena felt that such acerbic attacks on the clergy were helpful. See the sermon given at the council by the Dominican Girolamo of Florence on Epiphany, 1424, found in Brandmüller, op. cit., pt. 2, pp. 193-199. For a partial English translation, see Crowder, op. cit., pp. 143-145.

"He mentions Apuleius, Epicurus, Virgilius, Naso, Seneca, Menander, Apellus, Cerdonus, the Manicheans, Hermongenianus, Origen, Plato, Muhammad, Nicholas the Deacon, Valentinian, the Angelici, John Wycliffe, John Hus, Jerome of Prague, Pelaguis, the Circumcellions, and many others.

> sitory, to spurn and condemn rather than esteem them. It teaches also useful Arithmetic: to add up each day the favors of God, and to thank God accordingly for them. Charity teaches useful Astrology, namely, how always to contemplate heavenly things, and because they are eternal, to desire them with our whole being. Charity also teaches useful Music: how to rejoice with devout sounds and to always praise God."

In his previous sermon at the Council of Siena, John-Jerome had made use of grammatical imagery to discuss the importance of the Incarnation and the need of ecclesiastical reform.[60] These remarks on the artes liberales seem at first to be an almost playful rhetorical device, but they are in fact a prelude to a stinging criticism of the importance attached to secular philosophy in contemporary Christian intellectual culture. John-Jerome cites Augustine and Jerome to prove that philosophers are liars and demon-worshipers, and mocks those who claim that Vergil and Plato were Christians because some of their statements bear a superficial similarity to Christian beliefs.[61] Furthermore, whatever good can be found among the pagans is mixed with falsity (diabólica falsitate miscuerunf), and it is safer for the Christian to prefer the pure teachings of Christ and the apostles to the confused and half-diabolical assertions of the pagans.[62]

John-Jerome then goes on to assert that secular learning has been the specific cause of heresy and disunity throughout Christendom:

> For in this matter I speak as an expert, because for the most part there would not be so many heresies in the Church, if they did not shout in the

""Constat ergo verissime, quod sola caritas est ars artium et scientia scientiarum, ad omnia Methodorum principia viam habens; nam sola caritas docet utilem Grammaticam, videlict congrue mores construere, et sensus bene regere. Docet etiam utilem Logicam; linguam falsam non habere, et semper veritatem dicere. Docet et utilem Rethoricam, honeste et composite orare, et devotas exclamationes in oratione faceré. Insuper ipsa caritas docet utilem Geometriam, terrena debita consideratione mensurare, et quia sunt transitoria, ea non diligere, sed spernere et contemnere. Docet etiam utilem Arithmeticam, Dei beneficia omni die computare, et pro hiis Deo grates referre. Docet et utilem Astrologiam, coelestia semper contemplan, et quia sunt aeterna, toto ea affectu desiderare. Docet etiam utilem Musicam, devotis sonis jubilare, et Deum semper laudare." Annal. Cam.,DÍ,742.

mIbid.,p. 725.

""Sic et Maro esset fidelis, quia in Bucolicis dicit: numero Deus impare gaudet. Hac ratione et Plato erit christianus, quia scripsit de Verbo, non pro una divina persona, sed pro quadam ideali ratione." Annal. Cam., LX, 743.

',2"Ideo doctrina philosophorum non est praeferenda doctrinae Christi et Apostolorum. Ego namque secure praefero doctrinam Christi et Apostolorum doctrinae Mercurii, Pythagorae, Socratis, Aristotelis, Platonis, Varronis, Tullii, Senecae, Prophyrii, et aliorum ethnicorum, quorum sunt portenta potiusquam nomina." Ibid.

> schools and argue in the churches with secular philosophy. Why, behold that the most opulent kingdom of Bohemia and Moravia never would have been subjected to the perfidy of heretics, if the books of Aristotle and Plato had not come to Prague. And today there are many other secret heresies in the Church, and especially in Italy, which grow out from this same root, such as the heretical Destini, who think and believe that all things happen from necessity. Other heretics are called the Geneologi, who concede to the stars the direction of human affairs. Other heretics are called Fatales, who believe in the Fates and Fortune. Others are called heretical Fraticelli de opinione who deny there is a true pope, while other heretics are called Simoniacs because they sell or purchase ecclesiastical offices and the sacraments of the Church.63

In this passage John-Jerome provides us with some insights into his personal feelings about the prevalence of heterodoxy and heresy in the Europe of his day and their relationship to the problem of reform. As he would do in his later works against the Hussites, John-Jerome stresses that his opinions are based upon personal experience in these matters. John-Jerome's remarks about the relationship of pagan philosophy to the upheavals in Bohemia would indicate that he supported the view that the authentic Bohemian reform tradition of the fourteenth century, which had little to do with scholastic philosophy, was corrupted by philosophical concerns based upon the teachings of John Wycliffe. Thus, John-Jerome sees the Bohemian situation as a case where ideas of reform were transformed into heresy because of the adoption of misguided secular philosophy. The violence in Bohemia had begun in earnest in 1419 and would have been a frightful image to bring up to his clerical audience.64

John-Jerome's examples of the dangers of secular philosophy are not confined to Bohemia, however, as he goes on to criticize the situation in Italy. It is clear that he is disillusioned with the atmosphere of Italian intellectual culture. He is genuinely alarmed at the irrelevance of orthodox Christianity for many, and the prevalence of heterodox Christian

65"Nam in hac causa tamquam expertus loquor, quod pro majori parte non essent tot haereses in Ecclesia, si seculari philosophia non vociferarent in scholis, neque disputarent in Ecclesiis. En ecce opulentissimum regnum Bohemiae et Moraviae nunquam perfidiae haerticorum subjectum fuisset, si libri Aristotelis et Piatonis Pragam non venissent. Sunt et hodie aliae multae haereses occultae in Ecclesia, et praecipue in Italia, quae ex hac radice prodierunt. Sicut sunt Destini haeretici, qui putant et credunt omnia de necessitate evenire. Alii vocantur Geneologi haeretici, qui gubernationem humanam syderibus concedunt. Alii vocantur Fatales haeretici, qui fatis et fortunae credunt. AHi dicuntur Fraticelli de opinione haeretici, qui negant esse verum Papam. Alii vocantur Simoniaci haeretici, quia beneficia et Ecclesiae Sacramenta vendunt aut emunx" Ibid.

"See note 48 above.

movements (such as the Fraticelli) as well as neo-pagan elements in Italy. The fact that John-Jerome includes radical Franciscanism and simony as heresies that stem from secular philosophy is quite interesting: the fanatic morality of the Fraticelli and the moral laxity of simoniacs are part of the same problem for John-Jerome and would seem to demonstrate how closely he identifies moral behavior with indifference to orthodox Catholic theology. The most zealous are no better than the morally lax if they set their own views above ecclesiastical orthodoxy.

His criticisms of secular philosophy are not as simple as they appear in this passage. In this very same sermon he employs the logical categories of consequence and corollary in support of his own arguments, and it is clear that he does not reject completely the use of dialectical tools in his own work. John-Jerome also cites approvingly Aristotle, Seneca, and Cicero in this sermon, and clearly feels that they are not valueless in the realm of moral theology. John-Jerome is content to deliver a harsh polemical message in this sermon and leaves the more complex questions about the appropriateness of secular learning unresolved. At first glance it would seem that he himself undermines his polemics against secular philosophy. In fact, these ambiguities about secular learning place him in the tradition of Augustine, Peter Damián, and Otloh of St. Emmeram, who despite their polemics recognize an important place for secular learning in the general scheme of things.65 It is in his later work as a specifically monastic reformer, in which he enunciated the ideal of sancta rusticitas in direct opposition to both scholastic dialectic and the eloquence-based docta pietas of his contemporary and fellow Camaldolese Ambrogio Traversari, that John-Jerome developed his views on these matters.66

Conclusion

This second sermon given by John-Jerome in the final days of the Council of Siena can be seen as a melancholy exclamation point to the sermon given by John of Ragusa at the opening of the Council. John of Ragusa had stressed the internal and external threats posed by heresy, war, and powerful rival civilizations poised beyond the borders of Christendom. He had expressed the hope that the Council and papacy

6,See Irven M. Resnick, "Attitudes towards Philosophy and Dialectic During the Gregorian Reform"Journal ofReligious History, 16 (December, 1990), 115-125.

"See William R Hyland, "John-Jerome of Prague and Monastic Reform in the Fifteenth Century," American Benedictine Review, 47 (March, 1996), 58-98.

could deal with these problems in a spirit of mutual co-operation, beginning with the almost universally acknowledged need for clerical reform. Eight months later, the tone is very different. Although in November, 1423, John-Jerome was still optimistic about the chance to effect real reform, he emphasizes the increasingly elusive nature of a united Christendom. Notions of Catholic unity are being subverted by secular philosophy, heresy, greed, and the moral decadence of the clergy. This latter problem in particular had been plaguing the monasteries he encountered as a visitator, and whether in the case of individual religious houses or the universal Church, John-Jerome placed the burden of reform squarely on the shoulders of prelates.

By February, 1424, the failure of this council was apparent. Thus in his second sermon given to the council John-Jerome expresses frustration and disgust at the inability of the Council and Roman Curia to work together for reform. In these powerful sermons, the historian recognizes the internal problems faced by traditional church reformers, as well as the frustration and despair of reformers in the face of problems that the fifteenth-century Church would never really be able to solve.

ILLEGITIMACY AND RACIAL HIERARCHY IN THE PERUVIAN PRIESTHOOD: A SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY DISPUTE

BY

Sabine Patricia Hyland*

Introduction

In 1624 Francisco Verdugo, newly appointed bishop of Huamanga in Peru, stunned his diocese by declaring that most of the Catholic priests in the rural regions of Huamanga had not been validly ordained and must be removed permanently from office. The priests in question were all of illegitimate birth who, Verdugo argued, could not be validly ordained, despite two previous papal bulls empowering American bishops to raise illegitimate men to the priesthood.1

For Verdugo, the removal of illegitimately born men from the priesthood in his diocese was to be his final measure in a long struggle to ensure the racial purity of the priesthood in Peru. In Peru at this time, illegitimacy was commonly equated with mestizos—children born to European (or creóle) fathers and native mothers. Debate about the role of illegitimate men within the priesthood was stated explicitly to concern the place of mestizos in the Church. After 1588, when the Spanish Crown repealed legislation barring American bishops from ordaining mestizos, those opposed to mestizo ordination tried to use the canonical prohibitions against ordaining illegitimate men to keep mestizos from the priesthood. After years of bitter debate, the matter was finally resolved in 1628. In that year the Council of the Indies decided in favor of allowing bishops to grant dispensations for the ordination of illegitimate men, as had been provided for by two earlier papal bulls. In addition, the Council declared that all previous ordinations of illegitimate men by American bishops had been valid, reversing Verdugo's attempts

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'See Pedro de Reina Maldonado, El norte claro del perfecto prelado (Madrid, 1653), pp. 372-375.

to remove these illegitimately born men from the priesthood.2 Thus, the final restrictions against investing mestizos with Holy Orders in the Indies were removed.

Although numerous scholars have addressed the controversy over creating a native and a mestizo priesthood in colonial Spanish America, the role of the question of illegitimacy in these debates has been overlooked.3 Yet studying the debate over illegitimacy is essential to understanding the complete history of the controversy over mestizos in the Peruvian priesthood. The conflict over ordaining illegitimately born men was a crucial part in the development of the priesthood in colonial South America. Moreover, the analysis of this debate reveals that, contrary to current scholarly opinion, mestizos formed the substratum of the Peruvian clergy in the seventeenth century. In this period mestizos were customarily ordained to serve in rural Indian parishes (doctrinas) from which there was virtually no chance of promotion. Until now it generally has been believed that only Europeans and creóles were ordained as priests in seventeenth-century Peru. The fact that, as analysis of this debate shows, mestizo priests were a common feature of Indian parishes in seventeenth-century Peru, holds profound implications for our understanding of the spread of Christianity in the Andes.

2Juan de Solórzano Pereyra, Política Indiana,\o\. 2 (Madrid, 1972), pp. 306-31 l.

'For discussions on the development of mestizo and native clergy in Latin America, see Juan Alvarez Mejia, "La cuestión del Clero indígena en la época colonial," Revista Javeriana, 44 (1955), 193-197; 45 (1956), 56-57, 209-2 19; Xavier Albó,"Jesuítas y culturas indígenas, Perú 1568-1606; América indígena, 26 (1966), 249-308, 399-449; Fernando de Armas Medina, Cristianización del Perú (1532-1600) (Seville, 1953), pp. 364-374; Constantino Bayle, "España y el clero indígena de América," Razón y Fe, 94 (February 10, 1931), 213-225; (March 25, 1931), 521-535;Guiüermo¥iguera,Laformación del clero indígena en la historia eclesiástica de América 1500-1818 (Caracas, 1965); Antón Hounder, Der einheimische Klerus in den Heidenländern (Freiburg, 1909); León Lopetegui,"FJ Papa Gregorio XIII y la Ordenación de mestizos hispano-incáicos" in Xenia Piaña SSmo Dno Nro Pió Papae XII . . . dicata (Rome, 1943); Juan Oleachea, "Como abordaron la cuestión del clero indígena los primeros misioneros de México," Missionalia Hispánica, 73 (1968), 95-124; Stafford Poole,"Church Law on the Ordination of Indians and Castas in New Spain," Hispanic American Historical Review, 61 (1981), 637-650; Robert Ricard, The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico (Berkeley, 1974); John Frederick Schwaller, The Church and Clergy in Sixteenth-Century Mexico (Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1987); Johannes Specker,"Der einheimische Klerus in Spanisch-America im 16. Jahrhundert" in Der einheimische Klerus in Geschichte und Gegenwart, ed. Johannes Beckman, S.M.B. (Schöneck-Beckenried, 1950); Rubén Vargas Ugarte, Historia de la iglesia en el Perú (Burgos, 1959);Antonio Ybot León,ia iglesiay los eclesiásticos Españoles en la empresa de Indias (Seville, 1954). Of all of these authors, Figuera is the only one to note that the debate over mestizos became a debate over illegitimacy; however, he only mentions this briefly and does not explore the issue at all.

Sources

The details of the Peruvian controversy over ordaining illegitimate men can be found in several important seventeenth-century sources. The fullest account of this dispute occurs in El norte claro del perfecto prelado written by Pedro de Reina Maldonado and published in Madrid in 1653. Reina Maldonado was a Lima-born creóle who was a canon of the cathedral chapter in Trujillo in 1606; in 1659 he was named bishop of Santiago de Cuba, where he remained until his death in I66I.4 As a cathedral canon and later bishop, Reina Maldonado was intimately involved with the major issues facing the colonial episcopate in the first half of the seventeenth century. El norte claro del perfecto prelado is a two-volume treatise of the duties, rights, and responsibilities of bishops. A major concern of the work is the effective Christianization of the native Andean peoples; it is in this context that Reina Maldonado discusses the dispute over ordaining illegitimate men. Only two copies of El norte claro del perfecto prelado are known still to exist: one in the Yale University Library and one in the National Library in Santiago, Chile.

Another major primary source for this study is the Política indiana by Juan de Solórzano Pereyra. Solórzano Pereyra was one of the most important actors in this dispute. As the governor of Huamanga when Verdugo became bishop and, later, as ?fiscal of the Council of the Indies when the Council settled this controversy, Solórzano Pereyra vigorously defended the right of American bishops to grant dispensations for illegitimacy. In his Política indiana, in the section on the ordination of mestizos, he describes the debate over illegitimacy and explains in detail the legal reasoning behind the Council's final decision.

The case against raising illegitimate men to the priesthood is presented by the Jesuit theologian Esteban de Avila in De censuris ecclesiasticis tractatus . . . , published in 1609. It was Avila who first argued that the papal bulls which allowed American bishops to grant dispensations for irregularities were irrelevant in the case of illegitimacy in seventeenth-century Peru. In De censuris . . . , now a very rare book, Avila explains his reasons for doubting the relevancy of the two bulls. Avila's arguments were central to the efforts of Verdugo and others to exclude mestizos—who were virtually always illegitimate—from the priesthood.

Although I have been unable to find any texts by Francisco Verdugo, the dispute over illegitimacy is mentioned in a hagiographical work

'M. de Mendiburu, Diccionario histórico-biográfico del Perú (Lima, 1887), p. 56.

about him prepared shortly before his death. In 1637 N. Cordova Messia published the Vida del Ilustríssimo Señor Don Francisco Verdugo, in which the bishop's attempts to reform the clergy in Huamanga are discussed. This work is now extremely rare; no copies of it, for example, are known to exist in the United States.

These four primary sources, in addition to the others used in this article, provide a variety of viewpoints concerning this dispute. These multiple voices allow for the reconstruction of this important controversy, a debate which has been entirely unexamined by scholars until now.

Sixteenth-Century Background to the Controversy

The creation of a mestizo clergy in Peru was a highly contentious issue throughout the sixteenth century. However, the issue appears not to have been as controversial in Mexico as it was in South America. After an initial enthusiasm for forming native and mestizo priests,[5] the Mexican Church closed its doors to ordaining men of Indian descent. The first Mexican Provincial Council in 1555 determined that no Indian or mestizo could be admitted to orders. In the Third Provincial Council of Mexico, which met in 1585, the bishops reiterated the absolute ban on ordaining mestizos. However, after the conciliar legislation was sent to Rome for approval, the Roman Curia altered the Mexican decree to allow for mestizo ordination. The legislation of the Third Provincial Council was published in 1622 in the form approved by Rome, and would remain in force in most of Mexico until 1918.[6] Because of the alteration of the text by the Curia, mestizos were legally allowed to be ordained as priests in Mexico, although the Mexican bishops in 1585 had been unanimously opposed to doing so.

The religious orders in Mexico also harbored doubts about mestizos as priests and religious. In their first provincial council in Mexico, the

[5] Information about the Franciscan seminary for training native priests can be found in Ricard, op. cit., pp. 217-238. For the Junta Apostólica of 1539, which allowed natives and mestizos to be admitted to the minor Orders in preparation for the priesthood, see José A. Llaguno, S.J., La personalidad jurídica del indio y el III Concilio Provincial Mexicano (1585); Ensayo histórico-jurídico de los documentos originales (Biblioteca Porrua, Vol. 27 [Mexico City, 1963]); Fernando Gil, "Las 'juntas eclesiásticas' durante el episcopado de Fray Juan de Zumárraga (1528-1548); algunas precisiones históricas," Teología, 26 (1989), 3-30; Cristóforo Gutiérrez Vega, Las primeras Juntas Eclesiásticas de México (1524-1555) (Rome, 1991).

[6] Poole, op. cit., pp. 641-648.

Dominicans resolved against admitting Indians and mestizos into their order as either priests or lay brothers. The Franciscans initially had built a college for training natives and mestizos as priests. By the 1540's, however, the college ceased to function as a seminary, and the friars became opposed to allowing Indians and mestizos to make religious vows. Likewise, the Augustinians also appear to have refused to accept Indian and mestizo youths into the order in Mexico.7 The Mexican bishops and religious orders refused to accept mestizos as priests out of the fear that the latter had not been truly Christianized and were therefore ill-prepared to spread the faith. It was believed that, until the natives were more solid in their Christian faith, there should be no Indian or mestizo priests.8

The Peruvian bishops, influenced by the experience of the Church in Mexico, refused to ordain Peruvian Indians as priests. The First Provincial Council of Lima in 1551-52 forbade the ordination of Indians "until [the Indians] are more instructed and settled in the faith and know better the mysteries and sacraments."9 The Second Provincial Council of Lima in 1567 was even more explicit in refusing Indians the sacrament of Holy Orders. The documents of the Council state "that Indians are not to be ordained in any order of the Church."10 The first two Councils of Lima stated nothing about the admission of mestizos to Holy Orders. However, the Dominicans and Franciscans in Peru during this period officially refused to receive either mestizos or Indians. The Augustinians likewise closed their doors in Peru to both mestizos and Indians.11

The Jesuits initially intended to allow numerous mestizos into the Society. Several mestizos, including the famous missionaries Bartolomé de Santiago, Pedro de Añasco, and Blas Valera, were accepted into the Society. However, native resistance to evangelization in the Andes caused the Jesuits to doubt the sincerity of the Andeans' conversion to Christianity; these doubts extended to the faith of the Indians' mestizo descendants. In 1582 the Jesuits in Peru unanimously voted to exclude all mestizos from the Society.12 To explain the Jesuit restrictions on mesti-

Oleachea, op. cit., pp. 116-117.

"See Ricard, op. cit., p. 226.

'"hasta que estén más instruidos y arraigados en la fee y conozcan mejor los misterios y sacramentos." The original documents of the First Council of Lima can be found in Rubén Vargas Ligarte, Concilios Limenses (1551-1772) (Lima, 1951).

'"que los indios no se ordenen de ningún orden de la yglesia."The original resolutions from the Second Council of Lima can be found ibid., p. 249.

"Juan Oleachea, "Los indios en las órdenes religiosas," Missionalia Hispánica, 86 (1972), 242.

'The original text of the decision to exclude mestizos can be found in the documents edited by Antonio de Egaña, Monumenta Peruana, Vo\. 3 (Rome, 1961), pp. 205-206.

zos, José de Acosta argued that mestizos were too degraded by the customs of their mothers to make good Christians and, therefore, good priests.13 The ruling against mestizos lasted until the Jesuits were forced to leave Spanish America in 1767.

The only religious in Peru to accept mestizos into their order throughout the sixteenth century were the Mercedarians.14 For historical reasons, the Mercedarians possessed a more medieval idea of conversion which emphasized the acceptance of baptism rather than the heartfelt conversion and long catechesis demanded by the Jesuits and Dominicans. Possessing a greater faith in the objective power of baptism alone to prevent the Indians' damnation, the Mercedarians' religious demands on the Indians were relatively few. Thus, the friars of La Merced were not as likely to be disappointed with their native converts.15 With confidence in the faith of the native converts, they felt secure in entrusting Holy Orders to mestizo descendants of Indians.

Papal and Royal Legislation

In 1576 Pope Gregory XIII issued the bull Nuper ad nos, which gave the American bishops the power to dispense with the irregularity of illegitimacy so that mestizos could be ordained for the priesthood. As he stated in the bull, the Pope took this action to increase the number of missionaries capable of preaching to the Indians in their native tongues. Nuper ad nos reads:

"José de Acosta,üe Promulgando Evangelio apud Barbaros (Lyons, 1670), p. 287. For a discussion of the Jesuit decision to exclude mestizos, which includes an analysis of Acosta's changing views on mestizo priests, see Sabine Hyland, "Conversion, Custom and Culture: Jesuit Racial Policy in 16th Century Peru" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1994). This also includes a comparison of Jesuit policy toward mestizos to Jesuit legislation on conversos—the descendants of converted Jews.

"The original texts which demonstrate this have been published in the collection of documents edited by Victor Barriga, O. de M., Los mercedarios en elPerú en el siglo XVI, Vol. 2 (Arequipa, 1939); see, for example, p. 232.

"The Franciscans in Peru had missionary theories similar to those of the Mercedarians. Although the Franciscans ruled against admitting mestizos, at least one mestizo was accepted in the sixteenth century—Gerónimo Valera, who became the leading Franciscan theologian in Peru in the seventeenth century (see G. Valera, Commentant ac Quaestiones . . . [Lima, 1610], preface). For a discussion of Mercedarian missionary ideals, see Hyland, op. cit., chap. 5.

> . . . the archbishops and the bishops of the Indies can dispense with illegitimacy, spuriousness, and other defects of the Mestizos in [the Indies], so that they can be ordained to all orders, so that there will be more Ministers who can go to preach, instruct, and confess the Indians. . . . [6]

Gregory XIII's bull, which specifically mentioned the ordination of mestizos, reiterated the more general powers already granted to American bishops by Pope Pius V in 1571. In that year Pius V had issued the bull Decens ac debitum, which conceded to the American bishops the power to dispense with all irregularities, excepting homicide and simony, for the conferral of Holy Orders. His bull stated the following:

> That [bishops] in the Indies can grant dispensations to all persons for any kind of irregularity, except for voluntary homicide committed outside of war and simony, such that [these persons] can be ordained to hold any office and ecclesiastical benefice, and that this dispensation will work the same as if the Roman Pontiff had ordered and conceded it.[7]"

These two Papal bulls make it clear that the American bishops were empowered to grant dispensations for illegitimacy; the bull of Gregory XIII additionally specifies that this power was given to encourage the creation of a mestizo priesthood.

However, on December 13, 1577, the Crown wrote to the Bishop of Cusco, forbidding him to ordain mestizos. On December 2 of the following year, King Philip II sent a similar order to the Archbishop of Lima to cease the ordination of mestizos.[8] The Crown feared that mestizo priests would cling to the beliefs of their Indian mothers, thereby

""". . . que concede á los Arzobispos y Obispos de las Indias que puedan dispensar en la ilegitimidad, espuriedad y otros defectos de los Mestizos de ellas, para lo que es poder ser ordenados de todas Ordenes, y esto porque huviese más Ministros que pudiesen acudir á predicar, doctrinar y confesar á los Indios. . . ." Solórzano Pereyra, op. cit.,p. 307. Nuper ad nos can be found in its original form in Josef Metzler (ed.), America Pontificia Primi Saeculi Evangelizationis, 1493-1592: Documenta Pontificia ex registris et minutis praesertim in Archivo Secreto Vaticano existentibus (2 vols.;Vatican City, 1991), II, no. 320, and in Francisco Javier Hernáez, Colección de bulas, breves y otros documentos relativos a la Iglesia de América y Filipinas (2 vols.; Brussels, 1895), I, 222-223.

[7] ""Que puedan dispensar en ellas con todas personas en qualquier especie de irregularidad, fuera de la de homicidio voluntario cometido extra bellum y la de la simonía, asi para poder ser ordenados como para tener qualesquier oficios y beneficios Eclesiásticos, y que esta dispensación obrase lo mismo que si la huviere hecho y concedido el Romano Pontífice." Solórzano Pereyra, op. cit., p. 308. The Decens ac Debitum is in Metzler, op. cit., no. 266 (where he has "et" instead of "ac") and in Hernáez, op. cit., I, 184-185.

[8] "The original text of this document can be found in the collection of texts published by Domingo Ángulo (ed.), "El cedulario arzobispal de la arquidiócesis de Lima 1533-1820," Revista del Archivo Nacional del Peru, 3 (1925), 327.

endangering the evangelization of the native Andeans. Bishops who ordained mestizos, as encouraged by Nuper ad nos, could be subject to legal prosecution.19

Philip's orders sparked a series of letters to the government from mestizo groups, aided by the Mercedarians, objecting to the new royal policy. On December 12, 1582, a mestizo confraternity in Cusco sent a petition to the Crown requesting that the order against mestizo ordination be revoked. This petition argued that mestizo priests who currently served in Indian parishes lived moral lives and were excellent missionaries because of their fluency in Indian languages. Thus, denying orders to mestizos would result in the loss of skilled and virtuous missionaries to the Andean pagans.20 Additionally, this petition also complained about the hardships inflicted by the bishops' adherence to the Crown's 1578 decree. Those mestizos who were in the middle of their training for the priesthood, and had been ordained up to the level of deacon when the royal decree was published, were now unable to advance to the priesthood. Without a reversal of the royal policy, it would be impossible for these men to earn a living.

Another petition on behalf of mestizo ordination was witnessed in Lima on July 27, 158321 The mestizos Hernán González and Juan Ruiz wrote to the Archbishop of Lima requesting a reconsideration of mestizo ordination at the Third Provincial Council of Lima. This petition repeated many of the same arguments made in the previous petition to the Crown, emphasizing the soundness of the mestizos' Christian faith and their great abilities as missionaries. In fact, the authors of this document claimed that only if mestizos were ordained would natives convert to Christianity and give up their pagan beliefs. The reason for the lack of success of most missions, it was stated, was the moral and linguistic inadequacy of the Spanish priests.

At least one other letter on behalf of mestizo ordination was written in Peru in the late 1500's. On February 13,1583, a group of mestizo students wrote to the Pope, requesting that the ban on mestizo priests be

"The issue of mestizo clergy in the context of the power struggle between the Spanish Crown and the Holy See is discussed at length in Figuera's (pp. cit.) monograph on the subject.

20The original text of this petition can be found in Barriga, op. cit., Vol. 4 (Arequipa, 1953), p. 234.

21The original text of this petition is ibid., pp. 254-261.

lifted. As in the previous letters, the students emphasized that mestizos were ideal missionaries because only they possessed the languages needed to preach to the Indians.22 Common to all three letters is the argument that mestizo priests were absolutely essential in the Indian doctrinas because of their language skills. Without the ability to communicate fluently with natives, as mestizos could do better than Spaniards, there was no hope of Indian conversion. All three letters also emphasized the great morality and love of the Church shown by mestizo priests already in doctrinas.

When the Archbishop of Lima, St. Toribio Alfonso de Mongrovejo, convened the Third Provincial Council in 1582, he assembled a committee of three bishops to determine whether mestizos should be ordained as priests. The bishops found in favor of mestizos,23 and their recommendations were incorporated into the decrees of the council, which permitted the elevation of mestizos to the priesthood, but only under very restrictive circumstances. According to Solórzano Pereyra, the archbishop agreed that mestizos were to be ordained ad titulum indorum; that is, they could be assigned only to Indian doctrinas.24

In 1588 the Spanish Crown repealed the legislation which banned American bishops from investing mestizos with Holy Orders. On August 31 and September 28, 1588, the king declared, "Let Prelates ordain Mestizos as Priests, with information of the life and customs [of each]."25 Philip II revoked his former order because of pressure from the Roman Curia, brought through the Papal Nuncio in Madrid.26 From 1588 onwards, there were no formal bans on mestizo ordination by the Spanish government, or by the Mexican or Peruvian councils of bishops. The only bodies officially to exclude mestizos from religious life were the religious orders.

However, in 1594 Philip II forbade American prelates to ordain illegitimates; this legislation was understood by contemporary commenta-

22The original text of this letter is to be found in Lopetegui, op. cit., pp. 193-200.

23The diocese of Huamanga, which later would become a focal point of the debate over mestizo priests, did not exist at this time. The Huamanga diocese was erected in 1609 from territory taken from the dioceses of Lima and Cusco. See Antonio de Egaña, Historia de la Iglesia en la América Española (Madrid, 1966), p. 339-

"Solórzano Pereyra op. cit., p. 305.

"Lopetegui, op. cit., p. 201.

26Ibid., pp. 200-203.

tors to be directed against mestizos.27 The famous seventeenth-century Spanish jurist, Juan de Solórzano Pereyra, admitted that mestizos were the primary subjects of this law because few were born in wedlock, given the Spaniards' reluctance to marry Indians.28 Because of the Pope's success in securing the repeal of Philip's ban on mestizo ordination in 1588, the Crown shifted to illegitimacy as grounds for not conferring Holy Orders on mestizos. Throughout the seventeenth century, therefore, the dispute over mestizo priests would be argued in terms of their presumed illegitimate birth.

Illegitimacy and Mestizo Ordination

At the time of the royal order of 1594, the custom of dispensing with illegitimacy to ordain mestizos had already been established in the Archdiocese of Lima by the authority of the Papal bull Nuper ad nos.1" The mestizos so ordained labored exclusively in the Indian doctrinas, the lowest position in the Peruvian clericate. This practice would be challenged in the seventeenth century by the bishop of Huamanga, who tried to have all mestizo priests removed from doctrinas within his diocese, on the grounds that the mestizos' orders were invalid. The Peruvian Viceroy would be forced to intervene, and this crucial matter would eventually be settled by the Council of the Indies.

In order to understand the course of the seventeenth-century debates on this issue, illegitimacy as an irregularity for ordination will first be discussed. The multiple legal issues concerning illegitimacy and mestizo priests raised in this controversy will next be examined. Then the course of action taken by the various Peruvian bishops, the Viceroy, the Crown, and the Council of Indies will be reconstructed. Finally, the definitive decision by Juan de Solórzano Pereyra, principal attorney for the Council of the Indies, on this question of race, legitimacy, and the Peruvian priesthood will be addressed, along with the episcopal reactions to his ruling.

27See, for example, Reina Maldonado, op. cit., pp. 372-375, and Córdoba Messía, op. cit. The Crown at this time was still as loathe to entrust the priesthood to mestizos as it was to entrust it to conversos. See Albert Sicroff, Los estatutos de limpieza de sangre (Madrid, 1985).

28Solórzano Pereyra, op. cit. ,1,445.

29TWd., ?, 306.

Illegitimacy as an Impediment to the Priesthood30

Irregularities are canonical impediments which preclude the reception of Holy Orders or prevent the exercise of orders already received. Canon law prescribes certain requirements for the valid reception of orders. Among these requirements are moral soundness, proper age, legitimate birth, appropriate knowledge, and integrity of body and mind. A defect in any of the necessary qualities required by the Church for ordination is termed an irregularity; an irregular candidate may not licitly receive Holy Orders without a papal dispensation.

There are two broad categories of irregularities—those that are ex delicto„"on account of crime," and those that are ex defectu,"on account of defect." Irregularities ex delicto are incurred by wrongdoings; their imposition is not intended as a punishment but rather as a means of shielding the sanctuary from profanation. To incur an irregularity ex delicto a man must have committed a crime which was external, consummated, and serious. Any crime, such as rape or high treason, which forfeits the goodwill of the community results in an irregularity ex delicto. Examples of such irregularities in seventeenth-century canon law include voluntary homicide (this includes assistance in an abortion), willful self-mutilation, heresy, apostasy, and schism.

Irregularities ex defectu arise from certain defects which would be indecorous in a sacred minister or which would make him unable to function in his sacerdotal offices. Illegitimacy is an irregularity ex defectu. In the primitive Church illegitimacy did not impede ordination. But by the later Middle Ages it was established that illegitimates could not be ordained because the stain of birth was believed to be a stain on the sacred ministry. Other irregularities ex defectu included age, physical defects, insanity, slavery, and the lack of knowledge required for each order.

Certain irregularities, such as lack of knowledge, cease if the cause of the irregularity ceases. According to the canons of the Council of Trent, bishops could dispense with secret irregularities, except for voluntary homicide, but only within their own diocese. All other irregularities, including illegitimacy, could be dispensed with only by the pope. Nonetheless, the pope could grant special faculties to bishops allowing the

3°For more information on irregularities in pre-1917 canon law, see Pietro Gasparri, Tractatus Canónicas de Sacra Ordinatione (2 vols.;Paris, 1893), l, 90-303-

latter to dispense with manifest irregularities. This is what was done by the papal bulls of Pius V and Gregory XIII, which gave to American bishops the power to dispense with all irregularities except, in the case of the bull of Pius V, for homicide and simony.

Legal Issues Concerning the Papal Dispensations

It would seem that the two bulls—Nuper ad nos and Decens ac debitum—cited above were unequivocal in granting to American bishops the powers to dispense with illegitimacy in order to ordain mestizos. However, the interpretation of these bulls varied greatly among American bishops in the seventeenth century. A balanced account of the diversity of opinion concerning these bulls can be found in El norte claro del perfecto prelado en su pastoral gobierno, by Pedro de Reina Maldonado. Reina Maldonado outlined two main sources of contention among the Peruvian bishops over the issue of granting dispensations for illegitimacy. The first concerned the bull of Pius V; the second was relevant to the bull of Gregory XIII. According to Reina Maldonado, it was argued that the bull of Pius V referred only to irregularities caused by crime (ex delicto), such as the two exceptions of homicide and simony. Illegitimacy, although founded in the crime of the parents, was an irregularity ex defectu as it was passed on to the child. Therefore, it was not covered by Decens ac debitum as interpreted by various theologians and bishops. This interpretation of the bull of Pius V first arose during the Third Provincial Council of Lima in 1583- In the council, those who were hostile to the ordination of mestizos had to abide by the decision to elevate mestizos to the priesthood. However, the Jesuit Father Esteban de Avila, an influential theologian in Lima, claimed that bishops were not empowered to grant dispensations to ordain illegitimates because Decens ac debitum did not include irregularities ex defectu, such as illegitimacy. Avila maintained that Decens ac debitum only concerned irregularities ex delicto?1 Thus, he and his adherents at the Council argued that virtually no mestizos could be validly ordained in the Indies without a papal dispensation. The legislation of the Council did not address whether the bull of Pius V referred only to irregularities ex defectu. However, the contention of Avila—that Decens ac

"Esteban de Avila, De censuris ecclesiasticis tractatus . . . (Lyons, 1609), p. 7.

debitum did not cover illegitimacy—would be repeated throughout the controversy over mestizo ordination.32

Those hostile to the ordination of mestizos also maintained that the bull of Gregory XIII was no longer valid in the Indies. This papal bull had allowed for bishops to dispense with illegitimacy specifically for the purpose of creating mestizo priests "so that there will be more Ministers who can go to preach, instruct, and confess the Indians."33 It was asserted that, because there was no longer a shortage of priests who knew Indian languages, the bull no longer had any effect. "Once the principal cause of the privilege ceases," Reina Maldonado wrote in explanation of this position, "the privilege itself ceases."34 In other words, because there were now a sufficient number of priests able to instruct the Indians in Christianity, the bishops' privilege of granting dispensations for manifest illegitimacy had ceased.

This argument would itself be challenged by those, such as Reina Maldonado, who maintained that there was still a lack of sufficient priests fluent in Indian tongues. In many dioceses, he wrote, there were insufficient legitimate candidates for the priesthood. Therefore, bishops had "to resort to illegitimate men, who generally know the language of the Indians better, and are more fit [for the task of evangelization]."35 Moreover, he added, it cannot be denied that the work of illegitimate priests in doctrinas clearly helps to advance the Gospel and benefit the Indians.

An issue related to that of granting dispensations for ordination is that of granting dispensations for benefices. A benefice is a sacred office to which the Church has attached the perpetual right to gather revenues. In sixteenth-century canon law a man could not be ordained to the priesthood without being assured a benefice for life; the benefice was referred to as a titulus or title of ordination.36 Many legal scholars of the time considered the granting of dispensations for benefices as a separate and additional privilege from the granting of dispensations for ordination. Nuper ad nos did not mention the conferral of benefices, although Decens ac debitum did. Opinion was divided in the colonies

"Reina Maldonado, op. cit., pp. 372-373; Avila, op. cit., pp. 8-10.

"Solórzano Pereyra, op. cit., II, 307.

"Reina Maldonado, op. cit., p. 372.

wIbid.,p.374.

"For a discussion of the title of ordination in colonial Latin America see Schwaller, op. cit.

as to whether American bishops legally could dispense with illegitimacy for the bestowal of benefices.

Controversy over the Ordination of Illegitimate Men

By the late sixteenth century, a racially polarized clericate had begun to develop in Peru. The racial polarization of the Peruvian clergy was maintained throughout the first half of the seventeenth century and probably into the second half as well. On the bottom rung of the Peruvian priesthood were mestizos who were ordained ad titulum indorum. Legally, a man who was ordained ad titulum indorum could serve as a priest only within an Indian doctrina, generally the least desirable position in the Peruvian clericate. Indian parishes financed by the encomenderos, doctrinas were usually the poorest, most isolated, and least influential parishes in which a priest could serve in colonial Peru. According to Solórzano Pereyra, the custom of dispensing with illegitimacy to ordain mestizos ad titulum indorum was practiced prior to I56O and was well established in Peru by 1583· Although mestizo priests legally could be promoted to other kinds of benefices, Solórzano Pereyra, Reina Maldonado, and Esteban de Avila[37] all state that the custom of Peru was to restrict mestizos to doctrinas. Creoles and Spaniards also served in Indian doctrinas, but of course were eligible for ordination to any other benefice as well.

Although mestizo priests were restricted to doctrinas, some clerics in Peru believed that mestizos should not be ordained under any circumstances. The man who led the opposition to mestizo priests in the early seventeenth century was Francisco Verdugo, a native of Andalucía who had been a leading inquisitor in Lima since 1601.[38] In his first year as inquisitor in Lima, Verdugo, a secular priest, was deeply influenced by the thought of a fellow inquisitor, the Jesuit Esteban de Avila, a theologian from Castile. From the time of his arrival in Peru in 1578 until his death in 1602, Avila was a professor of theology in the Jesuit college of San Pablo in Lima. One of the leading Jesuit theologians in Lima, he enjoyed great influence in ecclesiastical circles in the colony. As a mark of the esteem in which he was held, Avila was granted a place on the Tribunal of the Inquisition in Lima. For many years he was in charge of the Inquisition's censorship of all of the books and printed matter in Peru.

[37] Solórzano Pereyra, op. cit., II, 305; Reina Maldonado, op. cit., p. 372; Avila, op. cit.
[38] Egaña, Historia de la Iglesia, p. 340.

He also served briefly as an "ordinary inquisitor," helping to determine the guilt of prisoners charged with crimes against the faith.39

During the Third Provincial Council of Lima in 1583, Avila was an unofficial advisor to the delegates. When it became clear that the Council would allow the ordination of mestizos, he argued that American bishops could not licitly grant dispensations to illegitimates.40 Avila claimed at the time that Pius V had allowed only for the dispensation of irregularities ex delicto, not irregularities ex defectu such as illegitimacy41 Avilas concern over this issue sprang from his interpretation of Thomist theories of "custom" and "habituation." The neo-Thomist school of Francisco de Victoria and his followers at the University of Salamanca, where Avila had studied theology, viewed the force of irrational native customs as the cause of the Indians' allegedly "unnatural" practices and resistance to Christianity. Customs learned in infancy were considered to have a profound effect in molding the human soul and could be eradicated only after many generations of education. Mestizos were considered too close to the "corrupted" customs of their Indian mothers to make good priests; not only was it believed that mestizo priests would revert to paganism, but their supposed difficulties in accepting Christianity "into their hearts" was thought to make them more prone to immorality and vice.42

Influenced by the arguments of Avila on this matter, Francisco Verdugo became increasingly concerned about the role that illegitimate mestizo priests played in teaching Christianity to the native Andeans. Between 1609 and 1619, Verdugo complained repeatedly to the Archbishop of Lima, Bartolomé Lobo Guerrero, about the ordination of illegitimate men in Peru. In his complaints, Verdugo argued that the bulls of Pius V and of Gregory XIII did not permit dispensations for illegitimacy; the former because it did not cover irregularities ex defectu, and the latter because there was no longer a lack of priests fluent in Indian languages to serve as missionaries.43

The second decade of the seventeenth century marked the beginning of a period of increased vigilance over pagan elements in Andean

3TWs information about Avila is taken from a Jesuit Provincial catalogue in which he is mentioned and from his eulogy. Both original documents are printed in Antonio de Egaña, Monumenta Peruana. Vol 7 (Rome, 1981), pp. 234; 680-686.

"Reina Maldonado, op. cit., p. 372.

"Avila, op. cit., p. 7.

"For a lengthier discussion of Spanish neo-Thomism and racism, see Anthony Pagden, The Fall of Natural Man (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 93-104, and Hyland, op. cit., pp. 266-293.

^Cordova Messia, op. cit.; Reina Maldonado, op. cit., pp. 372-373.

Christianity. In 1607 the secular priest Francisco de Avila began a campaign to extirpate idolatry in Huarochiri, and similar campaigns soon occurred elsewhere in the highlands. These campaigns were organized as episcopal visitations; the Holy Office had no jurisdiction over Christian Indians. These campaigns lasted throughout the seventeenth century, becoming especially vigorous after 1650;[44] this coincided with the Inquisition's intense pursuit of Judaizing from 1650 to 1720 in both Spain and Peru.[45] It is not entirely surprising that as an inquisitor Verdugo should have become anxious over the Indian ancestry of some of the Peruvian clergy at the same time that suspicion over native elements in Andean Christianity was growing.

Despite Verdugo's complaints about the ordination of illegitimate men ad titulum indorum, Archbishop Lobo Guerrero defended the practice. The Archbishop maintained that the ordination of illegitimates was a licit custom of the Peruvian Church, instituted by papal decree and necessary for evangelization.[46] Verdugo then decided to take his complaint before the Council of the Indies. In the winter of 1619 he worked with the new bishop of Arequipa, an Augustinian friar named Pedro Perea, to draft a petition requesting that American bishops be forbidden to grant dispensations for illegitimacy. On March 4, 1621, the Council responded by stating that the Crown's decree of 1594, which forbade American bishops to ordain illegitimates, must be upheld. The Council's ruling of 1621 stated:

> By no means may the Bishops of the Indies ordain any illegitimate man, nor anyone lacking in some of the requirements, in conformity with the resolutions [made] by law and by the Sacred Tridentine Council; and neither may [the Bishops] dispense [with illegitimacy] even if it is for Benefices as Curates of Indians [doctrinas], because the dispensation of the one and of the other can only be given by the Supreme Pontiff.[47]

With this ruling, Verdugo appeared to have won the battle over the ordination of illegitimates, making the priesthood an impossibility for virtually all mestizos. Although mestizo priests had been permitted to work only in native doctrinas, seemingly even this would cease.

[44] See Sabine MacCormack, .Region in the Andes (Princeton, 1991), p. 406.

[45] See Edward Peters, Inquisition (Berkeley, 1988), p. 88.

[46] Solórzano Pereyra, op. cit., II, 305.

[47] """Que por ninguna via los Obispos de las Indias ordenen ningún ilegítimo, ni defectuoso de alguno de los requisitos, conforme á lo dispuesto por derecho y Sacro Concilio Tridentino, y que tampoco dispensen con ellos, aunque sea para Beneficios Curados de Indios, pues la dispensación de uno y otro sólo la puede dar el Sumo Pontífice" (ibid.).

At the heels of this triumph for the inquisitor Verdugo came yet another. On December 27, 1622, Verdugo was consecrated bishop of Huamanga (Ayacucho) at the hands of Luis Jerónimo de Oré, bishop of Concepción. Verdugo entered his diocese late in the year 1623. Although he was seventy-two years old at this time, he was still in good health and was intent upon making reforms. Before entering the city of Huamanga as its new bishop, he spent some time in the cities of Castrovirreyna and Huancavelica investigating the conditions of the natives who lived there. Appalled at what he saw, he vowed to make these two cities and their mines a cornerstone of his reform plan for his diocese.48

The silver mines of Castrovirreyna and the mercury mines of Huancavelica were two of the most terrible places in which Indians were forced to labor in the colonial period. The extreme hardships of the mines generally resulted in disease and short life spans for the miners and their families, who also had to work in the mines. Those sent to the Huancavelica mines suffered mercury poisoning from the mercury vapor and mercury-rich dust. Miners afflicted with the mercury sickness did not die quickly, but underwent a long illness characterized by ulcerated lungs and bouts of trembling, fever, and paralysis.49

Under these conditions, instruction in Christianity was minimal and appears to have resulted in hostility, rather than loyalty, to the faith. In 1613, ten years before Verdugo entered his diocese, the Huachos and Yauyos peoples of the Castrovirreyna-Huancavelica zone had staged a bloody rebellion. Touched off by an epidemic among the native peoples, the revolt was directed explicitly against Christian priests and all aspects of the Roman Catholic religion. The nativist movement was quickly put down. One hundred and fifty pagan priests were captured, forced to confess to their crimes, and punished. Thirty of the movement's leaders refused to confess, preferring to kill themselves rather than submit to colonial authority.50

In 1623 hostility to Christianity still lingered among the native members of Verdugo's diocese. Bishop Verdugo, however, maintained that the Andeans were not at fault for their failure to embrace the Christian faith. Instead, he argued, the Indians' disaffection for Christianity resulted from the natives' ill-treatment at the hands of the colonial authorities, combined with the poor instruction and immoral examples

"Egaña, Historia de la Iglesia, p. 340.

49Steve Stern, Pera's Indian People and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest (Madison, 1982), pp. 84-85.

mIbid., pA76.

provided by doctrina priests.51 The primary focus of his reform program, therefore, was the reform of clergy in the Indian parishes. Given Verdugo's earlier efforts to halt the ordination of illegitimate men in Peru, one can easily surmise how the bishop intended to reform the doctrina clergy. In 1624 Bishop Verdugo declared that the orders given to illegitimate men by his predecessors were invalid because the previous bishops had had no right to grant dispensations for illegitimacy. Therefore, all priests of illegitimate birth—virtually all of whom would have been mestizos—in his diocese were told to vacate their doctrinas. Because their orders had been declared invalid, they were no longer considered priests and could not accept any doctrinas elsewhere. With this action, Verdugo was clearly attempting to create in his diocese a racially pure priesthood, descended only from Old Christians.

Verdugo's attempts to reform his clergy did not go unopposed, however. The governor of Huancavelica in 1624 was Juan de Solórzano Pereyra, a lawyer who possessed one of the most brilliant legal minds of the seventeenth century. Solórzano Pereyra fully supported the creation of a mestizo and even an Indian clergy. As he later wrote:

> . . . not only Mestizos, but the Indians themselves, after [being] well converted and indoctrinated, have to be entrusted with this duty [of the priesthood], and even of the Episcopal [responsibilities], for the greatest persuasion and easier conversion of their companions, taking for this the example of Titus, and of Timothy, and other places in the Holy Scripture, and one very elegant [example] of Saint Ambrose. . . ."

Solórzano Pereyra was opposed to Verdugo's policy of declaring invalid the orders of illegitimate men. Not only would Verdugo's actions deny the priesthood to mestizos, who were considered necessary for evangelization because of their language skills, but the bishop's actions would create chaos within the diocese. Moreover, Verdugo's denunciation of the treatment of the natives in Huancavelica was an implicit criticism of Solórzano Pereyra's administration of this region and must not have been welcomed by the governor.

"Egaña, Historia de la Iglesia, p. 340.

""". . . no sólo á mestizos, sino á los mismos Indios, despues de bien convertidos y doctrinados se les havia de fiar este cargo, y aun el Episcopal, para la mayor persuasion, y más fácil conversion de sus compañeros, trayendo para esto el egemplo de Tito, y Timoteo, y otros lugares de la Sagrada Escritura, y uno muy elegante de San Ambrosio. . . ." Solórzano Pereyra, op. cit., l, 446. Titus was a gentile convert to Christianity who ministered to the Christian community in Crete. Timothy was of mixed gentile and Jewish descent who was a leader of the Christians in Ephesus. St. Ambrose, one of the four traditional Doctors of the Latin Church, was a Christian convert from paganism.

Bishop Verdugo's removal of illegitimate mestizo priests from office was soon brought to the attention of the Viceroy, Diego Fernández de Cordova, the Marquis of Guadalcázar. Archbishop Lobo Guerrero had supported the ordination of illegitimate men and presumably would have protested his bishop's actions, but the Archbishop had died in Lima on January 12, 1622.[53] His successor, Gonzalo de Campo, would not arrive in Peru until February 28, 1626, and so was not available to dissuade Bishop Verdugo from the latter's clerical reform.[54] Therefore, the Viceroy was called upon to act to prevent Verdugo from creating such an upheaval in the Indian parishes of Huamanga.

The Viceroy held consultations with several of the "most prominent and most learned men of this kingdom of Peru" to help him determine how he should react to the bishop's purge of his clergy. Among those with whom he consulted was Juan de Solórzano Pereyra, who believed that the dispensations for illegitimacy granted by American bishops were valid. Viceroy Fernández de Cordova then wrote a letter to the bishop, telling him that, although he could do as he wished in the matter of ordaining illegitimates, he must respect the dispensations for illegitimacy customarily granted by "so many learned Bishops" before him.[55]

Although the Viceroy told Verdugo to respect the orders given to illegitimates by other bishops, there was little that the marquis could actually do to prevent the bishop from removing illegitimate priests from office within the Huamanga diocese. Armed with the 1621 decree of the Council of the Indies forbidding bishops to ordain illegitimates, Verdugo could continue his desired policy within his own diocese. In 1625 Verdugo erected the diocesan seminary of St. Francis in Huamanga to train parish priests.[56] These priests would be necessary because of doctrina vacancies created by the bishop's policies.

Final Decision by the Council of the Indies

Bishop Verdugo would not be allowed to enjoy his triumph indefinitely, however. In 1626 Solórzano Pereyra was commanded by the Crown to return to Spain, where he was made fiscal of the Consejo de Hacienda y Contaduría. In 1628 he was named fiscal of the Council of

[53] Egaña, Historia de la Iglesia, p. 286.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Reina Maldonado, op. cit., p. 373.
[56] Egaña, Historia de la Iglesia, p. 341.

the Indies, a position he held until 1630, when he was made consejero of the Council. While Solórzano Pereyra was fiscal of the Council of the Indies the question of ordaining illegitimate men came before the Council once again. It is not clear whether the issue was reopened by an interested party in Peru, such as the Archbishop Gonzalo de Campo, or whether Solórzano Pereyra himself brought this problem before the Council. In any event, under Solórzano Pereyra's guidance, the Council this time approved the ordination of illegitimates by American bishops, reversing the earlier decision of 1621. In this complex interplay of authority among the Holy See, the local bishops, and the Council of the Indies, it was the Council that had the power to make the final decision in this purely ecclesiastical matter.

In his Política Indiana, Solórzano Pereyra presented three arguments in favor of allowing American bishops to grant dispensations for illegitimacy. First, he stated that the 1576 bull of Gregory XIII, permitting bishops to dispense with illegitimacy in order to ordain mestizos, was still valid in the Indies. Presumably, he wrote, this papal bull had been overlooked when the Council prohibited the ordination of illegitimates in 1594 and in 1621. Second, he stated that the 1571 bull of Pius V granted to the American bishops broad powers of dispensation for irregularities, including illegitimacy. Solórzano Pereyra declared that the bull referred to all kinds of irregularities, except for homicide and simony; it did not pertain only to irregularities ex delicto as had been claimed. The great jurist also emphasized that those whose dispensations were uncertain because of doubt concerning the intentions of the prelate who ordained them should not fear. The rights given by the bulls of Gregory XIII and Pius V guaranteed the validity of their orders. This last point appears to have been directed against Verdugo's attempts to declare invalid the dispensations for illegitimacy given by previous bishops.57

Solórzano Pereyra also addressed the question of benefices. The bull of Gregory XIII did not specify whether bishops were allowed to grant dispensations for the conferral of benefices. Bishops, of course, could not grant dispensations for conferring benefices without papal approval. However, following the arguments of the Archbishop of Lima, Solórzano Pereyra found that doctrinas did not constitute benefices. Benefices, he stated, must be given in perpetuity. But doctrinas, he continued, were given "en Encomienda"; that is, the doctrina was not perpetually established and, therefore, was not a benefice. Thus, local

"Solórzano Pereyra, op. cit., II, 306-311.

bishops did not need papal authority to grant dispensations for the conferral of doctrinas. However, the bull of Pius V, which granted very broad powers of dispensation to bishops, did permit the bestowal of benefices on illegitimately born priests. Those who disputed the validity of Pius Vs bull in this matter believed that mestizos could not be granted benefices. But, since Solórzano Pereyra recognized that the bull of Pius V referred to illegitimacy, legally, therefore, illegitimate men could be granted benefices. Solórzano Pereyra is quite clear, however, that the custom in Peru was to ordain mestizo men ad titulum indorum only.[58]

The third reason, Solórzano Pereyra wrote, why the ordination of illegitimates must be accepted in the Indies was that it was a legitimate custom of the Church. According to canon law, custom, or consuetude, consists of the usages which have their origins in the acts of the people. Custom is distinguished from law, or lex, by the origin of the practice. A custom results from the consensus of a community, whereas a law proceeds from the decree of an authority figure. A practice evolving within a particular ecclesial community, such as granting dispensations for illegitimacy within an archdiocese, can be considered a custom. Church law recognized the customs of a community as legally binding when the customs conformed to certain conditions. This was true, under certain circumstances, even when a custom contradicted positive church law.[59]

Since the thirteenth century, there have been three principal qualities required of a custom to be considered legitimate. These three principles were still regarded as the basis of legitimate custom in the seventeenth century, although customary law itself had become much more elaborate by this time. The first necessary quality was longevity. Generally, a custom must have been practiced frequently for at least forty years to possess longevity. The custom must also be reasonable and true.[60] When Solórzano Pereyra determined that granting dispensations for illegitimacy was a legitimate custom of the American Church, he was implicitly stating that this custom possessed all of the abovementioned qualities. As he later wrote:

> . . . being a fiscal of the Consejo, I defended that this custom, which the Archbishop of Lima said was already introduced in the Indies, of ordaining

[58] Ibid, pp. 307-3 10.

[59] See Merlin Guilfoyle, Custom: An Historical Synopsis and Commentary (Washington, D.C., 1937), pp. 3-6.

[60] Ibid., pp. 19-21.

> [mestizos] and of placing them in doctrinas, although they were illegitimate, could be tolerated: First, because of the force that [custom] has in all things, with which we are placed in obligation of following it, and of thinking that it had sufficient titles and reasons to be instituted and continued.61

He also noted that the practice of ordaining illegitimates to place them in doctrinas had been practiced in Peru since the 1560's and was well established by the turn of the century.62

The Council's decision in favor of ordaining illegitimates would have been published sometime between 1628 and 1630. Bishop Verdugo was forced to witness the legislation for which he had fought for so long finally and definitively overturned. The orders which he had declared invalid were now to be restored. Those mestizo priests who had been stripped of their livelihood and of their priestly character by Verdugo would finally be reinstated. Bishop Verdugo himself lived on until 1637, when he died in Huancavelica at the age of eighty-six.63

Conclusions

Understanding the controversy over ordaining illegitimately born men in seventeenth-century Peru, a debate unexamined by other scholars, is essential to gaining a full history of the dispute over mestizo priests. The contemporary commentators on this dispute, including Solórzano Pereyra, Reina Maldonado, and Avila, all agreed that the concern over illegitimacy hid a deeper anxiety over mestizaje in the minds of various churchmen.

The analysis of this issue demonstrates the extent to which decisions concerning race within the colonial Church were far from unanimous. On the one hand, there were some men, such as Solórzano Pereyra, who believed that both mestizos and Indians should be ordained and even consecrated as bishops. On the other side were priests such as Verdugo, deeply troubled by clerical corruption, who tried to remedy this problem by removing mestizos from the priesthood. Actions against mestizo priests were carried out despite the fact that there was no evidence

61 ". . . siendo fiscal del Consejo, defendí se podía tolerar la costumbre que el Arzobispo de Lima decía estar yá introducida en las Indias de ordenarlos y tenerlos en doctrinas, aunque fuesen iligítimos: Lo uno, por la fuerza que esa tiene en todas las cosas, con que tuvo suficientes títulos y razones para fundarse y continuarse . . ." Solórzano Pereyra, op. cit., II, 306.

62 Ibid., p. 307.

63 Egaña, Historia de la Iglesia, p. 342.

that mestizos were more corrupt than creóle or European priests. After his death, Bishop Verdugo was popularly regarded as a saint for his asceticism and reforming zeal; this suggests that there was probably some popular support for his efforts as an inquisitor and later as a bishop to bar mestizos from the priesthood.

As we have seen, however, most of the Peruvian Church took a more pragmatic view of the question of ordaining mestizos. There was, apparently, widespread agreement that mestizos should not be in a position to minister to Europeans or créoles. But they were considered essential for evangelization because of their linguistic abilities and were therefore sent to the doctrinas. Probably the most important finding from studying this debate over illegitimacy is the revelation that mestizos were ordained in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Peru, and that they served almost exclusively in Indian doctrinas. Granting dispensations for illegitimacy to ordain mestizos was clearly the frequent practice of many "grave and learned prelates."64 Along with this practice, of course, came the restriction that mestizos were to be ordained ad titulum indorum. Limiting mestizo priests to doctrinas was a custom, not a positive law. But cases in which mestizos were granted a benefice must have been, as Reina Maldonado asserted, quite rare. The custom was clearly to allow mestizo priests to serve only in Indian doctrinas.

The existing literature on the topic of mestizo clergy in Latin America pays scant attention to the seventeenth century beyond stating that this was a period in which there was little interest in the ordination of mestizos.65 The general assumption has been that only creóles and Europeans received Holy Orders in Peru in the seventeenth century. For example, Spalding has stated that, as far as she is aware, the colonial government in Peru never once allowed a man of Indian descent to serve as a priest in an Indian province.66 The discussions of custom and episcopal practice in the illegitimacy controversy make it clear that mestizo priests were a common feature of colonial Peruvian doctrinas; overlooking the illegitimacy debate has caused scholars to be unaware of the existence of mestizo doctrineros in seventeenth-century Peru.

The presence of mestizo priests in Andean villages surely had a profound impact on the shaping of Andean Christianity. Unlike the stereotype of the ineffective Spanish doctrinero, preaching in garbled quechua

"Solórzano Pereyra, op. cit., II, 307.

65See the references in footnote 3.

66KaTCn Spa\ding, Huarochiri: An Andean Society under Inca and Spanish Rule (Stanford, 1984), p. 251.

and hearing confessions through an interpreter, mestizo priests would have possessed the cultural and linguistic knowledge to translate Christian concepts into native terms. However, the actual consequences of this racial division within the Peruvian priesthood on village religious life are as yet unclear and require further study. Certainly there existed mestizos such as the secular priest Francisco de Avila,[67] who dedicated his life to extirpating all forms of native religious practice from Andean Christianity. Avila's knowledge of the language and customs of his mother's people was invaluable in his efforts to destroy all remnants of paganism in the Andes.

However, there also existed mestizo priests such as Francisco de Ribera and Blas Valera. Ribera was a Mercedarian doctrinero in Andahuaylas who argued that the many native "superstitions" still practiced by his mother's people were compatible with the Christian faith. He therefore allowed Don Felipe, the cacique of his doctrina, to perform many native rituals.[68] The Jesuit Valera maintained that Andean religion had contained many inherently Christian truths. Native religious terms and practices, therefore, had a place in Christianity, he believed, because they supported, rather than hindered, the practice of Christianity.[69] For mestizos like Valera and Ribera, the highly syncretistic religion practiced in the colonial Andes was actually a desired goal and may in fact represent the true legacy of the mestizo evangelists in seventeenth-century Peru. Although it is likely that there was variation in the manner in which mestizo priests fulfilled their duties, these men undoubtedly had an important effect on the development of Christianity in the Andes, one which deserves recognition.

67See Pierre Duviols, La destrucción de las religiones andinas (Mexico, 1977).

68See Pedro Nolasco Pérez, "Historia de las misiones mercedarias in América," Estudios, 22 (1966), 706-710.

69See Hyland, op. cit., pp. 107-119.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC APOLOGETICAL DISSONANCE IN THE EARLY REPUBLIC? FATHER JOHN THAYER AND BISHOP JOHN CARROLL

Thomas W. Jodziewicz*

In his discussion of the religions of the generally tolerant Utopians, in Book II of Utopia, St. Thomas More seems to have unintentionally anticipated the character and activities of a late eighteenth-century American priest, Father John Thayer.

> While I was there, only one of the Christians got into trouble with the law. As soon as he was baptized, he took on himself to preach the Christian religion publicly, with more zeal than discretion. We warned him not to do so, but he soon worked himself up to a pitch where he not only preferred our religion, but condemned all others as profane, leading their impious and sacrilegious followers to the hell-fires they richly deserved. After he had been going on in this style for a long time, they arrested him. He was tried on a charge, not of despising their religion, but of creating a public disorder, convicted, and sentenced to exile. For it is one of their oldest rules that no one should suffer for his religion.1

If one recognizes Thayer's name at all, it is a name and person easily connected "with more zeal than discretion," a Puritan convert to Roman Catholicism who seemed surely to condemn Protestant Americans to "hell-fires" and to promote much "public disorder." Thayer was himself in effect "sentenced to exile," evidently for breaking one of the Utopians "Oldest rules," but a fairly new American reality, that regarding toleration. He did then appear to "suffer for his religion," for the evangelizing of his countrymen, a bittersweet reality that did not escape the attention of Father Thayer.

Of course, there is usually more than one way to look at things, and Father Thayer's eventful moment in the early American republic is no

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'Thomas More, Utopia, edd. George M. Logan and Robert M.Adams (Cambridge, 1992), p. 97.

exception. Despite the obvious displeasure of Bishop John Carroll with his occasionally insubordinate subordinate, Thayer shared with his religious superior, and fellow apologist, a passion both for their common faith and for their republican homeland. Neither Thayer nor his bishop doubted the good things that might occur in a new nation founded in religious freedom and, hence, open to evangelization. Neither understood the American commitment to the separation of church and state, and to religious liberty, then, to be a commitment to religious indifferentism or any other sort of modern relativism or agnosticism regarding religion and morality. While both men were committed to the liberal values of the new republic, indeed proud of those values, both were also passionately aware of the timeless quality of Christ's commission to his followers: "Go, therefore, and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you" (Matthew 28: 19-20). Each man was a willing participant in the continuing development in the early republic of what would later be deemed by many observers as the pre-eminent American Catholic contribution to the universal Church, the Second Vatican Council's Declaration on Religious Freedom. In many ways a distillation of and a reflection upon the American Catholic experience, that document would affirm the validity of religious freedom, but yet also reaffirm the fundamental and perennial evangelizing mission of the Church.2 The rub here is that, unburdened not only with episcopal responsibilities but also unburdened, or rather not blessed, by Bishop Carroll's natural disposition toward peace and lowered voices, Father Thayer seemed hardly a consistent model of "love, prudence, and patience in his dealings with those who are in error or in ignorance with regard to the faith," as the Declaration counseled. While Carroll was content to initiate a long-term building of the Church in the United States, and to react as might be necessary to attacks on the faith or the Church, Thayer was anxious to bring about the immediate realization of the kingdom. Unfortunately, his zeal to defend the faith and the Church against their detractors had the unintended effect of actually provoking more attacks. In these situations, of course, Thayer felt duty-bound to return the fire which he had unwittingly drawn down upon the Church. John Carroll's problems with John Thayer did not turn upon ends, then, but rather upon means, and matters of prudence and perspective.

2For the text of the Declaration on Religious Freedom, see Norman R Tanner (ed.), Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils (2 vols.; Washington, D.C., 1990), II, 1001-1011.

John Thayer was born on May 15, 1758, into a Puritan household in Boston, Massachusetts.3 After attending Yale College for several years, he was awarded an honorary bachelor's degree in 1779, and soon obtained a license to preach as a Congregational minister. The highlight of his ministry appears to have been a nine-month stint as chaplain at Castle William in Boston Harbor (1780- 1781), under the command of Governor John Hancock. By the autumn of 1781, Thayer was in Europe, a serious young student intent on learning the languages and customs of the old world. Meeting and arguing with several foreign Catholics, whose learning and civility surprised him, Thayer ultimately found himself in Rome. Skeptical at first of the miracles allegedly occurring through the intercession of the recently-deceased, and later canonized, Benedict Joseph Labre, Thayer was finally convinced of the miracles' authenticity, as well as of the authenticity of the Catholic faith which his new acquaintances defended and explained so ably. On May 25, 1783, Thayer was received into the Roman Catholic Church. Shortly thereafter he enrolled in the Seminary of Saint-Sulpice in Paris, and on June 2, 1787, Thayer was ordained a Catholic priest. Along the way, he had offered an indication of his future calling, and difficulties, while paying his respects to John Adams, the United States' minister to Great Britain, and his wife Abigail, who were visiting Paris in 1785. The moment went badly as an exasperated Adams finally replied in kind to a Thayer who was pushing Adams hard with questions about the Revolutionary War hero's faith and with quite critical comments about Martin Luther and John Calvin.4

Thayer's celebrity status as a convert priest was markedly increased by the publication in London in late 1787 of his An Account of the Conversion of the Reverend John Thayer, Lately a Protestant Minister at Boston in North America, a pamphlet which would soon go through several reprintings in English as well as in French, Portuguese, Spanish, German, and Italian.5 The first American edition was printed in Balti-

The biographical information in the next three paragraphs comes principally from the following: Richard H. Clarke, "A Noted Pioneer Convert of New England: Rev. John Thayer, 1758-1815," American Catholic Quarterly Review, 29 (1904), 138-166; Percival Merritt, "Sketches of the Three Earliest Roman Catholic Priests in Boston," The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Publications, XXV (Cambridge, 1923), 173-229; Richard J. Purcell, "Father John Thayer of New England and Ireland," Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review, 31 (Dublin, 1942), 171-184.

'Abigail Adams to John Shaw, January 18, 1785, in Richard Alan Ryerson (ed.), Adams Family Correspondence^ (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1993), 63.

'The full title of the pamphlet is An Account of the Conversion of the Reverend Mr.

more in 1788. There was now even some talk in Europe of Thayer being named the first American Catholic bishop, an honor which instead went to John Carroll of Maryland, the choice of his fellow American priests. After two years of missionary service in England, and with several important conversions to his credit, Thayer arrived in Boston on January 2, 1790, an advent anticipated by Catholics and Protestants alike, to begin "the only desire of my heart," as he had explained in An Account of the Conversion, which was

> to extend as much as lies in my power, the dominion of the true faith, which is now my joy and comfort. I am ambitious of nothing more; for this purpose I desire to return to my own country, in hopes, notwithstanding my unworthiness, to be the instrument of the conversion of my countrymen; and such is my conviction of the truth of the Roman Catholick Church, and my gratitude for the signal grace of my being called to the true faith, that I would willingly seal it with my blood, if God would grant me this favour, and I doubt not but he would enable me to do it.[6]

Unfortunately, soon after his arrival in Boston, Thayer became embroiled in an increasingly unpleasant jurisdictional, personal, and ethnic dispute with the French priest, Louis de Rousselet, who had been ministering to the small Boston Catholic congregation for several months. Despite a visit to Boston in mid-1791 by Bishop Carroll, and the formal appointment of Thayer as pastor, the controversies continued in Boston until the arrival of a new pastor, another Frenchman, Francis Anthony Matignon, in August, 1792.[7] During the embarrassing course of events in Boston, Bishop Carroll had come to entertain certain misgivings about Thayer and his ambitions, and his apparent penchant for challenging

John Thayer, Lately a Protestant Minister, at Boston in North-America, Who Embracd the Roman Catholic Religion at Rome, on the 25" of May, 1783; Written by Himself To Which Are Annexed Several Extracts from a Letter Written to His Brother, in Answer to Some Objections. Also, a Letter from a Young Lady Lately Received by Him into the Church, Written after Making Her First Communion. See also Percival Merritt, "Bibliographical Notes on An Account of the Conversion of the Rev. John Thayer," The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Publications, ibid., pp. 129-140. A complete copy of Thayer's letter to his brother, as well as several other documents concerning Thayer's European ministry in the 1780s, is found in Francis Nagot, Recueil de Conversions Remarquables: Nouvellement Opérées dans Quelques Protestants (Lyon, 1829, [1789], pp. 1-139.

Thayer, op. cit., p. 16.

'For an excellent discussion of the problems in the early Boston Catholic Church, see Robert H. Lord, John E. Sexton, and Edward T. Harrington, History of the Archdiocese of Boston: in the Various Stages of Its Development, 1604-1943 (3 vols.; New York, 1944), 1, 326 ff.

episcopal authority, or any other authority that seemed to stand in the way of his publicly announced mission in America, an evangelical mission that had easily taken a turn into interdenominational dialogue, and contention.[8]

In the midst of his struggles with Rousselet regarding the pastoral care of the Boston congregation, Thayer had announced his willingness to preach in neighboring towns in order to explain Roman Catholic beliefs. A local Protestant minister, George Lesslie, soon responded to Thayer's offer, specifically referring to it as a "gauntlet," and initiating a brief newspaper exchange between the two in early 1791, which was published late in the same year in Georgetown by Alexander Doyle: Controversy Between the Reverend John Thayer, Church Missionary, of Boston, and the Reverend George Lesslie, Pastor of a Church, in Washington, New Hampshire. Two years later, the original volume was republished, but now grown to over twice its original size with the addition of other selected letters to and from Thayer, as well as articles by him, which had appeared in Boston and neighboring towns' newspapers.[9]

Thayer began his anticipated discussions with Lesslie by presenting a ten-point expression of Catholic beliefs concerning the Trinity, the sacraments, Scripture and tradition, the saints, purgatory, and justification. Thayer felt that such an exposition had been made necessary by Protestant misstatements and/or misunderstandings of these Catholic doctrines which, Thayer argued, were not always accurate, or faithful to actual Catholic definition:

> These true Catholic principles we are ready not only to sign with our hands, but if called to it and assisted by divine grace, to seal with our blood.

[8] See Peter Guilday, The Life and Times of John Carroll, Archbishop of Baltimore (1735-1815) (New York, 1922), pp. 419-427; Annabelle M. Melville, John Carroll of Baltimore: Founder of the American Catholic Hierarchy (New York, 1955), pp. 197-203. Thayer wanted to be appointed superior of the New England missions, but Carroll did not agree: John Thayer to John Carroll, January 6, 1790, John Carroll Papers, Archives of Archdiocese of Baltimore, 8B-H-1 (microfilm), hereafter referred to as AAB. In answer to rumors of insubordination toward his bishop, Thayer affirmed Carroll's authority over him: John Thayer to [unknown], June 13, 1791, AAB, 11B-0-3.

[9] Published in Boston in 1793, the new edition carried the subtitle: To Which Are Added, Several Other Pieces. All further citations to Thayer, Controversy, will be from the Boston imprint. For a brief apologetical exchange in early eighteenth-century Boston, see Jodziewicz, "An Unexpected Coda for the Early American Captivity Narrative: ? Letter from a Romish Priest," Catholic Historical Review, LXXXI (October, 1995), 568-587.

> We renounce, detest and anathematize all contrary doctrines imputed to us by the father of lies, or by any of his agents, who are, and always have been busy in misrepresenting and slandering the church of God—But what wonder? Christ our Lord, his apostles and the primitive Christians were thus treated; and he has foretold (Mat. Lx [sic, x?] that his disciples should be treated in the same manner.10

Throughout his published efforts in the Boston area in the early 1790's, Thayer would probably be at his best when he attempted to proffer a clear rendition of actual Catholic teaching and doctrine.

Lesslie s reply to Thayer took the form of a direct challenge to the Catholic claim of infallibility in its Church: as Lesslie agreed, "if that claim appears to be founded in truth, all disputes with her on other points will be superseded; we have then nothing to do, but to receive her infallible dictates as the rule of our faith and practice."11 Thayer's lengthy answer was, as was Lesslie's contribution, calm and civil, and offered in a reasonable fashion. Arguing from Scripture, the Fathers of the Church, and history, Thayer contended that Christ had established a Church against which the gates of hell would not prevail, a Church gifted through the Holy Spirit, while yet established on the rock of St. Peter; a Church established with an enduring and infallible deposit of faith, and a consequent infallibility given expression by the Church for eighteen centuries.12 Especially pertinent, according to Thayer, was

"Thayer, Controversy, pp. 5-9. The quotation is found on p. 9. Inaccuracies as to actual Catholic beliefs were a frequent complaint of Catholic apologists: see Robert Gorman, Catholic Apologetical Literature in the United States, 1784-1858 (Washington, DC, 1939),pp.l-26.

¦"Thayer, Controversy, p. 10.

"Ibid. , pp. 12-40. Like John Carroll, Thayer described the Church's infallibility as resting "in the majority of the Bishops (the successors of the Apostles) united with their visible head the Pope, whether they be assembled in council or not" (ibid., pp. 13-14). In publishing an answer in 1784 to a tract attacking Catholic beliefs, Carroll had written: "Some divines indeed hold the pope, as Christ's vicar on earth, to be infallible, even without a council; but with this opinion faith has no concern, every one being at liberty to adopt or reject it, as the reasons for or against may affect him": Thomas O'Brien Hanley (ed.), The John Carroll Papers (3 vols.; Notre Dame, Indiana, 1976), l, 105-106; hereafter referred to as Carroll Papers. Carroll also noted that doctrine did develop over time, particularly when a traditional or implicit truth needed to be defended from heretics: ibid. , I, 107-108, 120, 125, 138. The efforts of Vatican Council I (1869-1870) regarding papal infallibility would have been understood by Carroll, and presumably Thayer, as an instance of such a doctrinal development. (For more about Carroll's 1784 response to Charles Wharton, see below.)

Lesslie's contention that Scripture is "a complete, a perfect rule both of faith and practice." The Catholic belief, he replied, was "that the word of God is the complete and perfect rule of our faith; which word we contend is not wholly contained in the scriptures, but is in part transmitted to us in the tradition of the church." Further, according to Thayer,

> Those who hold the Bible to be the sole rule of faith, must suppose that the Christians had no rule of faith from the death of Jesus Christ until the Apostles wrote, which is a long time after the establishment of Christianity—They must also suppose that everything which regards religion has been written—These two suppositions cannot be supported. The first is destroyed by the commission given to the Apostles: "Go, teach all nations"—the second formally contradicts the sacred writers who refer us to tradition on several points.—Deut. xxxii. 7-2 Thess. ii 17-2 Thess. ii. 17—2 Tim. ii.2."

Such a claim regarding Scripture and tradition was crucial to Thayer's presentation of the authenticity of Catholic ecclesiology, and he fortified it by pointing out the fundamental and necessary testimony of the Catholic Church as the initiatory and consistent witness to the Bible's divine truth (as well as its compiler). In addition, specific examples were offered not only of the incompleteness of Protestant Bibles and the existence of variant and corrupted Protestant translations, but also of Protestant practices and points of faith apparently not clearly visible in Scripture (and in dispute among Protestants, each of whom claimed Scripture to be clear and indisputable). Ironically, according to Thayer, on several important points of the faith, many Protestants went along with Catholic interpretations and conclusions regarding such beliefs as infant baptism, celebration of Sunday as the Lord's Day, and dispensations from Mosaic rules, all of which were, again, disputed by certain other Protestants. But, according to Thayer, the greater irony occurred regarding Lesslie's foundational exposition of sola scriptum: where did this assertion, the fundamental principle of Protestant exegesis, clearly appear in Scripture? Indeed, by what authority, other than the early apostolic Catholic Church, clearly connected in apostolic succession and belief with the contemporary Catholic Church, did one offer proof of Scripture's actual authenticity and integrity?14

> I wish to know in what text of Scripture is contained the assertion, that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are the complete and perfect rule

¦"Thayer, Controversy, pp. 13, 28.
"Ibid., pp. 28-38.

> of a Christian's faith? In what part of the Bible is it affirmed, that the books, beginning with Genesis, and ending with Revelations, are divinely inspired?—Can any Protestant shew us, in the Bible, a catalogue of the books which we are bound to revere as sacred? If they could even do this, we should not be obliged to believe the testimony of the Bible in its own favour, until we had proved its divine inspiration by some other medium—And what could this medium be, but the authority of Christ's church, to which the sacred oracles were committed?15

None of these points in contention were new, of course, and Thayer was quick to admit his dependence on previous authors and standard sources in his own apologetic. Thayer seems to have been quite conversant with several early modern Catholic apologists, such as the seventeenth-century Englishman, Father John Gother (d. 1704), and his French contemporary, Bishop Jacques Bossuet (1627-1704). In particular, Thayer made extensive use of Bishop Richard Challoner (1691-1781), a prolific author who had been Vicar Apostolic in the London District, with authority over the English colonies in America. For example, Thayer's ten-point creedal statement in his initial reply to Lesslie is almost a verbatim copy of a similar list in a recently published, short work attributed to Challoner, The True Principles of a Catholic.16 Thayer's presentation of the Church's infallibility also bears the apparent imprint of Challoner.17 Again, Thayer was honest about his use of other authors, but not specific, nor especially helpful in identifying them. As he had explained at the beginning of his intended conversation with Lesslie:

> Tb escape the stigma of plagiarism, I now declare that I have no pretensions to originality, and that whenever I find my idea well expressed by another, I shall use his words, without the formality of a quotation.18

"Ibid., p. 38.

"Challoner, True Principles (Philadelphia, 1789), pp. 3-6. For more about Challoner, see Gorman, op. cit., pp. 13-14.

'Thayer, Controversy, pp. 14-28; cf. Challoner, The Unerring Authority of the Catholic Church in Matters of Faith . . . (Philadelphia, 1789), a much lengthier discussion of the infallibility question, but possibly a text Thayer was familiar with, and made use of in his own efforts, given certain similarities in form and content. Challoner's works were also much in evidence in a list of Catholic books Thayer had brought from Europe in early 1790, and noticed by a Unitarian minister friend: The Diary of William Bentley, D.D.: Pastor of the East Church, Salem, Massachusetts (4 vols.; Gloucester, Massachusetts, 1962 [1905]), I, 166.

"Thayer, Controversy, p. 5. Thayer did footnote this statement:"It is presumed that the above declaration will sufficiently apologize for all I have borrowed from the controversial writers of our communion" (ibid.). In the midst of his discussion of the Catholic Church's infallibility, Thayer offered an additional explanation of his own bibliographical method (and an example of his own sarcasm):

For whatever reason, and none was ever given, Lesslie had retired from the dialogue after his initial offering, but others occasionally entered into the dispute during the next eighteen months, either for or against Thayer, some calmly and civilly, some far more shrilly. An example of the latter occurred in a brief exchange between John Gardner, a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, and Thayer. According to Gardner, Catholicism was full of absurdities and irrationalities, from belief in purgatory and transubstantiation, through claims of miracles. Instead, "true religion is a plain, intelligible rule of right, no ways contradictory to reason, and consists of two plain, intelligible rules of conduct, teaching man his duty to God and his duty to his neighbor."19 In his reply, Thayer first decried Gardner's sneering tones and sarcasm. As to the seeming irrationalities of the faith, Thayer's response was fairly ecumenical (and even a bit philosophical):

> What [is] more common, than to hear, from Protestant, as well as Catholic, pulpits, the sublime incomprehensibility of some of the doctrines of Christianity adduced as a reason to prove the divinity of this religion? I will go further, and say, that I see not why a sensible Deist, who, struck with admiration on examining into his own formation, or into the works of nature, might not use a similar phrase. "I believe, would he say, there is some great first cause, because it is impossible" that such stupendous works should be the production of chance, or of any human being.20

Dubbing himself Barebones, and sarcastically referring to "His Holiness, Pope Thayer," Gardner countered Thayer's remarks in part with a series of humorous anecdotes—Christ swallowing Himself at the Last Supper, St. Jerome being whipped by angels for reading Virgil and Cicero, the miracle-working bones of Benedict J. Labre causing Thayer's conversion—but begged off any further exchanges due to his own various legal responsibilities and Thayer's obvious incapacity to use human reason. With a manifest irony, Gardner backhandedly dismissed Thayer

> N.B. If any persons should wish to see the book and page whence I have taken the passages which I have quoted, I am ready to satisfy them. The reason why I have not marked them is, that I might not uselessly add to the bulk of my paper, knowing that the works of the Fathers, especially the genuine editions, are scarcely to be found in these States, (p. 28)

Late in Controversy, in his response to Dr. Lathrop (see below), he did notice Bishop Challoner's The Catholick Christian Instructed in the Sacraments, Sacrifice, Ceremonies and Observances of the Church. By Way of Question and Answer. An American edition of this work was published in Philadelphia in 1786.

'Thayer, Controversy, p. 105.

'-Ibid., p. 107.

and "any other of the silly, superstitious, credulous Fathers of holy church, whose curious head-pieces, in general, are full proof against mathematical truth, and the clearest demonstrations of human reason."21 Thayer's reply again noticed the name-calling, corrected some factual errors in Gardner's diatribe, and even appealed to the authoritative witness to Catholic beliefs of such as Alfred the Great and the poets John Dryden and Alexander Pope. Especially, however, Thayer expressed disappointment that Gardner would no longer continue in their discussion. Thayer even pronounced himself willing, for sake of argument, to concede every factual point so far in dispute between them as to who said what, who was impossible to understand, etc. And Thayer's purpose in these concessions of particulars?

> IfI mentioned these things, every reader must have seen, that they were by the bye; but that my principal aim was to call on Mr. G. to substantiate his calumnious charge, that the doctrines of "transubstantiation, purgatory, etc." have been superadded to primitive Christianity, by "selfish, designing, crafty and lying Priests," or that they have been added to it at all.22

John Gardner's refusal to continue his spirited colloquy with John Thayer could be interpreted in several different ways. Depending perhaps on one's point of view, the exchange, and its abrupt end, could be viewed as a victory of some sort for Thayer, or a dismissal of the priest and his superstition-ridden faith as beneath the interest of a modern man of cultivation and reason. Another instance in Thayer's Controversy with his Protestant neighbors testified to what might have been in fact a mounting indifference toward Thayer by late 1793, or at least testimony to the apparent indifferent results he was obtaining in his efforts "to be the instrument of the conversion of my country men." On September 4, 1793, Dr. John Lathrop offered the tenth Dudleian Lecture at Harvard University, a series inaugurated in the late 1750's,"to expose the errors and wickedness of the Roman Catholic Church."23 Entitling his lecture A Discourse on the Errors ofPopery, the pastor of Boston's Second Church indicated that his purpose was to demonstrate that the Catholic Church "hath usurped powers over the conscience, and over the fortunes of men, which were never given to her by Jesus Christ: and . . . her ministers, in many cases, have acted as lords over God's her-

21Ibld., pp. 108-112, with the quotation on p. 112.

22Ibid.,pp. 112-117, with the quotation on p. 117.

25For a discussion of the Harvard Dudleian Lectures, see Sister Mary Augustina Ray, American Opinion ofRoman Catholicism in the Eighteenth Century (New York, 1936), pp. 126-138.

itage."[24] The assault upon the human conscience came in the guise of forced belief in unscriptural and irrational doctrines regarding such as the position and authority of the pope and, for a specific example, the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist: Christ had taught his disciples "to depend on the evidence of our senses, in matters of serious importance"—the Eucharist tasted like bread, and therefore could only be such.[25] Further, according to Lathrop,

> At this age of the world, I hope it may be taken for granted, that the Scriptures no where require us to receive any propositions whatever, as doctrines of faith, which are contrary to reason, and which our senses, at the same time, declare to be false. We must therefore understand those passages of Scripture, which speak of the sacramental bread and wine, as the body and blood of Christ, as we do many other passages, where we all agree to give up the literal sense for the figurative. Peter was not a rock, nor was Christ a lamb.[26]

The assault upon human fortune came in the form of taking the money and sustenance of believers, especially in the matter of indulgences.[27] And, as to lording it over God's heritage, Lathrop identified the fanciful claims regarding Catholic worship and, not only the power exercised by the Church over monarchs, but also the activities of the Inquisition.[28] Yet, ecclesiastical Rome was about to fall, Lathrop confidently asserted, and, even more to the point concerning the continuing failure of Catholic evangelization efforts,

> when people are solicited to make an essential alteration in their religion, they will naturally inquire, cui bono? What advantage will it be to us? and I believe it would be a hard matter to convince a serious and well-informed protestant, that he would be at all the better, or more sure of happiness, were he to exchange his humble form of religion for the parade and pageantry of the Catholic worship; and the simple articles of his faith, for the decrees of Lateran, of Constance, and Trent.[29]

[24] John Lathrop, A Discourse on the Errors of Popery: Delivered in the Chapel of the University in Cambridge, September 4, 1793, at the Lecture Founded by the Honorable Paul Dudley, Esquire (Boston, 1793), p. 8.

[25] Ibid., pp. 11-12.

[26] Ibid., p. 12.

[27] Ibid., pp. 17-23.

[28] Ibid., pp. 24-28.

[29] Ibid., pp. 30-31. Lathrop may have had Thayer in mind, and Lathrop's own response to the priest, in one of his closing remarks:

> The man who, at this age of the world, should offer himself as a champion to defend the doctrines of the church of Rome, would appear in the same light, to all

Thayer was quick in his response: except regarding Catholic teaching about transubstantiation, Lathrop was himself offering erroneous descriptions of Catholic beliefs, individuals did make mistakes, did do evil, even popes, but the Church condemned such manifestations of human nature, and personal human frailties were at fault, not the Church or its doctrines. To accept the reality of individual, and not institutional, guilt, Thayer challenged, was an act of charity:

> Had this charity been your guide, Sir, we should not have seen you undertake, in these days of liberal sentiment, to rake together a few scattered transactions, performed in different ages by individual Catholics, and charge them to the whole church, of which they were members.

Moreover, according to a seemingly disappointed Thayer,

> Instead of accepting the office, to which you were invited by the University, of blackening your fellow Christians, you would have solicited your brethren to join their efforts to your's to abolish altogether a foundation, whose object is to nourish animosity among American citizens. The Pope no longer appears at the head of your Primer, to affright your children; his effigy is no longer burnt on the fifth of November; no longer likewise should he be held up as a bugbear to terrify our collegians.30

Calling for dispassionate dialogue, Thayer returned one more time to the basic ecclesiological question so often in dispute between him and his correspondents: authority and the exercise of power. Thayer contended that such a question was of course hardly an issue in itself in a civilized yet human community. The question centered rather on the legitimacy or illegitimacy of a particular institution's authority and exercise of power. Lathrop needed to demonstrate, then, that the Roman Catholic Church's "lording over God's heritage" was "an usurpation of authority which has not been lawfully conferred." Lathrop's announced weapons were Scripture and reason; yet neither had been disposed to effect the pastor's intention, especially Scripture, upon which Catholics founded their claim "to regulate the faith of Christians":

> true philosophers, as he who should undertake to prove, that the Ptolemean system must be the only true one, because the literal meaning of some passages of Scripture seem to favor it, while the Copernican hath the support of physical and mathematical demonstration: but should any such champion appear, after blustering awhile, he probably would have the honour to retire, without notice. No man, who regards his reputation, will engage with every partizan, in a field, where victory hath been so often won, that the honour of a new conquest could not be worth receiving, (p. 31)

"Thayer, Controversy, pp. 164, 165.

> You know she pretends to prove, and from the Bible too, that she has a divine commission for this purpose. Perhaps you might have been more successful than your brother Lesslie in disproving this our fundamental tenet. Until this is overturned, all attempts to show the usurpations of our church are extremely ridiculous. But, having destroyed this our strong hold, you might then, with propriety, have pleaded for the Scripture as the only rule of faith, and have established the independency of conscience."

Thayer suggested that one question was deserving of interdenominational discussion: "Has the Catholic church ever taught, or does she now teach, any errors dangerous to salvation? All the rest is nothing to the purpose." Thayer, however, was to continue to be disappointed, as his words provoked no response from Lathrop or any other person, at least publicly. Thayer satisfied himself with the observation that his potential adversaries could not readily defend their positions, but it may be that the novelty of the convert priest had worn off, and his countrymen were no longer interested in his oft-pronounced mission and the accompanying public agitation.32 Still, John Thayer's energetic missionary activities, his efforts to engage his Protestant neighbors in discussions on religious topics, were raising the serious question of the place of Catholicism in the new republic. Would its advocates, such as John Thayer, be easily welcomed into the public conversation, and taken seriously? Might Thayer's singular talent for conflict and confrontation actually work against the inclusion of Catholics and their faith, in the public square? Might Thayer's chosen tactics undermine the acceptability of the ancient church in the new nation?

Of particular note, given these new circumstances of the Catholic Church in the United States—tolerated, yet marked by a persistent suspicion of its alleged rejection of personal freedom and individual liberty in favor of blind obedience and authoritarianism (and thus its unsuitability in republican America)—is the inclusion in Controversy of a brief exchange in 1792 in which Thayer apparently did not directly participate. Signing himself "Impartialis," a Thayer correspondent won-

"Ibid, pp. 161-162.

'Thayer's, Controversy ends with a brief, but rueful, editorial comment:

> I suppose the Gentlemen, to whom I addressed the above Letters, instead of answering, intend to come off by affecting to treat me with silent contempt. This treatment may satisfy the ignorant, and perhaps a few partial friends; but men of sense, an impartial public, will impute their silence to the true reasons, viz. the badness of their cause, and their incapacity to defend it. And this, so much the more, as I have promised to answer every argument, when unaccompanied by scurrility and personality, whether it be subscribed by the author's name or not. (p. 167)

dered aloud why no Protestant seemed willing to take on Thayer, a Catholic priest who expressly coupled his passionate desire to bring truth to his fellow Americans and glory to God, and so to promote "mutual confidence and brotherhood," with a "dispassionate coolness" in his •writings and a belief that religious questions could be "canvassed with as much good temper and manners, as those of a political nature." If no minister was willing to dispute with Thayer, concluded Impartialis, "I shall be among the many who think their cause incapable of a good defence, and that we have been for many years minister-ridden."33 This direct challenge was promptly taken up by an author representing himself as "A Protestant." Referring to Thayer as "void of thought and judgment," the -writer accused Thayer, as a convert to Catholicism, of giving up his freedom, indeed, of surrendering the very basic and principal right of man to make up his own mind about matters of religion. Logically, such a relinquishing of so essential a freedom as "private judgment" through subjugation, and self-abnegation to a pope, a foreign ruler, and a Church arrogantly claiming infallibility, was an implicit renunciation of any right to be an acceptable and accepted citizen in the new republic. Thayer in fact was seeking to take an undeserved advantage of "the surprising revolution in America," and consequent religious liberty in the new nation, to fasten the chains of popery upon unsuspecting Americans, to evangelize his fellow Americans, and "to bring us to abjure, as he had done, the essential right of examining for ourselves in matters of faith, etc." Not to exercise this essential right of examination, this essential right of a free man, was to become one of "the abject creatures of the Pope of Rome," and "a sworn slave" to him. Such individuals, in fact, could not claim constitutional protection against a forced, legitimate exile from the United States to Rome:

> And what has our constitution to do to protect such creatures, as citizens, who disclaim the right of thinking and judging for themselves in religion? It is certain that such persons, who have no right of private judgment, have no conscience, and consequently no claim to liberty of conscience.34

The reply to A Protestant came several days later from "Another Protestant," who offered a defense of the priest and his sincerity while attacking the tone and arguments of his late detractor.35 In particular, Another Protestant referred to an earlier Thayer piece, a reply to someone calling himself Simplex, who had confronted Thayer with eight

»Ibid., pp. 142-143.
Hlbid., pp. 143-146.
"Ibid., pp. 146-148.

specific points regarding Catholic beliefs and practices, including a contention that the Church required "a blind, implicit belief of her doctrines."36 Thayer's response had included the Catholic proposition "that every man's faith should be rational and enligthened." Yet, when one was convinced of the doctrine of the Church's infallibility regarding that faith, Thayer had continued, "it is not blindness, but the height of reason, to submit to it." Indeed, given a belief in the Scriptural authority for this doctrine of the Church's infallibility, not to submit would be in fact "absurd and blind." According to Thayer,

> If, as you say, the Apostles did not require an implicit belief of their doctrines and submission to their orders, what then means their conduct after the decision of the council of Jerusalem?—They sent Paul, who, accompanied by Silas, "went through Syria and Cilicia, confirming the churches; commanding them to keep the precepts of the Apostles, and the ancients." (Acts XV41) What means that extraordinary sentence of St. Paul: (Gal.i.8) "Though we, or an angel from heaven, preach a gospel to you besides that which we have preached to you, let him be anathema?" (or accursed) You must own, Sir, that the Roman church never required of her children a more implicit belief than this. If St. Paul had been a Protestant, he would, on the contrary, have advised the Galatians to examine any new doctrines which might be preached to them, and to receive them if they appeared better than his. So far is he from this, that he makes it a sufficient reason for rejecting them with contempt, if they varied in the least from what he had taught.37

Another Protestant added that if Thayer could convince him of this doctrine of infallibility, he would join Thayer's church now as it would then be "extremely absurd to refuse his submission." To counter Thayer, Another Protestant continued, it would be necessary to prove that God had not revealed anything about submitting one's own judgment to the decisions of God's church: when this could be done so too would Thayer be done. Lesslie had tried and failed; he needed the help of his fellow ministers. But in the meantime, "it would be unreasonable, among rational sons of liberty, to require Mr. T. to renounce his present system, while unconvinced that it is erroneous." And finally, according to Another Protestant, to claim that Thayer had no constitutional protection for his beliefs was ridiculous and "must excite indignation in the breast of every friend to the American constitution."38

"ibid., pp. 88-89.

llIbid., pp. 90-91.

"Ibid, p. 147. This particular discussion was rounded out by two other letters, each supporting one of the two sides: A Protestant (pp. 148-149); and a Philadelphian (pp. 150-153), who supported Thayer.

To raise questions about religious liberty in the new republic, and the situation of the Catholic Church, of course, was to grapple with the realities and challenges which were at the heart not only of John Thayer's mission to his countrymen, but also of his bishop's priestly, and episcopal, founding mission to his fellow American citizens, Catholics and non-Catholics alike. To participate in such a public conversation, to answer attacks on the faith, to present accurately Catholic doctrine, to seek to educate and in particular, to evangelize—none of these actions was foreign to Carroll's hopes and designs. Quite the contrary. Before John Thayer's return to the United States, John Carroll himself had entered the apologetical lists at least three times. The most celebrated instance was his rejoinder to the ex-Jesuit Charles Wharton in 1784, a lengthy pamphlet reply to Wharton's attacks upon Catholic doctrine and the Church's suitability in the new republic.39 Admitting candidly his own unease in such public disputation, Carroll offered a point-by-point refutation of Wharton's charges, an exercise, -which, in itself, manifested a Catholic willingness to participate rationally and reasonably in the public conversation of the new republic. In letters to the editors of two leading American periodicals in 1787 and 1789 respectively, Carroll noted the willingness of America's Catholics to live in the new regime, but on terms of religious toleration and civil equality, twin realities yet foreign to many Americans, especially when Roman Catholics were involved.40 This was a theme repeated in 1790 in Carroll's An Address from the Roman Catholics of America to George Washington, Esq., President of the United States.41 Aside from any intellectual merits that his published efforts may have had, Carroll's principal intention was to insist that the new nation honor its own principles, and accept the spectacle of figuratively breaking bread with all of one's neighbors at the new republican table, even the heretofore generally despised Catholics.42 Carroll was insistent and at least implicitly evangelical, yet

"See Thomas W. Jodziewicz, "The Wharton-Carroll Controversy and the Promise of American Catholic Life," in Francis R. Swietek and John R. Sommerfeldt (eds.), Studiosorum Speculum: Studies in Honor of Louis J. Lekai, O.Cist. (Kalamazoo, 1993), pp. 135-154; and Joseph M. McShane,"John Carroll and the Appeal to Evidence: A Pragmatic Defense of Principle," Church History, 57 (1988), 298-309. Wharton's work was entitled A Letter to the Roman Catholics of the City of Worcester (Philadelphia, 1784); Carroll's reply was titled An Address to the Roman Catholics of the United States of America by a Catholic Clergyman (Annapolis, 1784).

«'Carroll Papers, l, 259-261 , 365-369.

"Ibid., l, 409-411.

"For discussions of American anti-Catholicism, see Ray, op. cit. , and Stephen J. Vicchio, "The Origins and Development of Anti-Catholicism in America," in Stephen J. Vicchio and

never shrill, nor imprudent. As Carroll had written in 1784 in his reply to Charles Wharton, seeking to encourage his fellow Catholics, but sensitive to the dangers of engaging in such public controversy:

> But even this prospect [of "vindicating" Catholic beliefs] should not have induced me to engage in the controversy, if I could fear that it would disturb the harmony now subsisting amongst all christians in this country, so blessed with civil and religious liberty; which if we have the wisdom and temper to preserve, America may come to exhibit a proof to the world, that general and equal toleration, by giving a free circulation to fair argument, is the most effectual method to bring all denominations of christians to an unity of faith.43

The difficulties in Boston, however, and the immediate problem with John Thayer, were in full public view. The apologetical exchange between the priest and his countrymen had come to be tainted at times by personal attacks and ridicule, and perhaps worse yet, a growing indifference to the contentious spectacle. The concurrent antagonisms and the outright lack of charity in a Boston congregation disfigured by personal attacks and ridicule in the Thayer-Rousselet quarrel were troubling enough in their own right. All of this conflict would most likely serve to undercut the establishment of the Church in America, as well as its credibility and acceptability, even its integrity, but surely too its evangelical mission.44 Truth, authority, liberty, faith, reason, salvation—all these realities were of singular importance in any moment of the human experience, but perhaps especially so in the New England heartland of this self-conscious American "novus ordo seclorum" being created in this self-conscious "new world." Or at least Americans of many stripes and flavors liked to think so. And so too did John Carroll and

Sister Virginia Geiger (eds.), Perspectives on the American Catholic Church, 1789-1989 (Westminster, Maryland, 1989), pp. 85-103.

^Carroll Papers, 1, 140.

44Cf. Memorandum of Carroll to Thayer, February 22, 1791, Carroll Papers, 1, 494: "Tell him he has forfeited all my confidence by publishing his contests in the Newspaper. Nothing can contribute more to vilify us in the eyes of our Protestant Brethren, or give more pleasure to the enemies of our religion etc. . . . Blame him for advertising controversial lectures & undertaking to answer publicly all objections. In a step of so much consequence, he should have advised first with his Bp." In a subsequent letter, Carroll again cautioned Thayer: "Indeed my confidence is much diminished by yr. late publications. I trust that you will unite so much self-diffidence hereafter with your confidence in God, as not to undertake things of so much consequence not to yrself only & to Religion at Boston, but every where else without advising yr Ecc.Supr": March 10, 1791, ibid., 1,497. And in his formal appointment of Thayer as Boston pastor, Carroll noted that Thayer should determine the authenticity of any "transient priests" in the city "in a prudent and charitable manner": June 16, 1791, ibid., 1,507.

John Thayer. Neither of them swallowed the principles of the Enlightenment whole, or uncritically, particularly its incipient rationalism and secularism or its attractive naturalism. Rather, both accepted the age's advocacy of the separation of church and state, religious liberty and religious toleration, and the efficacy of reason in public discussions of religion and religious truth. Neither believed in, nor approved of, religious indifferentism, however, nor the long-term acceptability of religious pluralism.45 To evangelize was to follow directly those words of the Savior to His apostles before His ascension. Timing, though, was important in such an endeavor concerning "the life-giving Word -which must be proclaimed," as was prudence and gentleness, and compassion and charity. By the summer of 1792, Bishop Carroll had replaced Father Thayer as pastor of the Boston congregation with the far more amiable, and prudent, Father Matignon, a priest who would, in fact, bring peace to the Boston church as well as establish an enduring friendship with the replaced Father Thayer. As an insightful Bishop Carroll later explained to Cardinal Leonardo Antonelli in a letter in June, 1793:

> Mr. Thayer never failed in proper obedience to me. He is a religious man, and vigorous in resisting the assaults and calumnies of the heretics. Would that he were less self-confident, allowed himself to be guided by the advice of others, and strove to be "all things to all men." Would too that he were more gentle in dealing with heretics, and with his own flock as well.46

During the next several years, Thayer's controversial and uneasy, but unfailingly intense ministry continued as he moved about in the mission fields of New England, New York, Virginia, and even Canada, before his departure for the Kentucky mission in 1799·47 The surviving Thayer-Carroll correspondence testifies to the fact that the relationship between the tireless (albeit difficult) Thayer and the more judicious Carroll was at times an uneasy one.48 Given the tempestuous, even disorderly public image of himself that Thayer was fashioning during these

"For more discussion of this point, see Jodziewicz, "Wharton-Carroll Controversy," and accompanying documentation.

«•Carroll Papers, II, 94.

"The sources cited in note 3 are helpful for Thayer's post-Boston adventures. See also John J. Dillon, The Historic Story of Saint Mary's, Albany, New York: First-Second-Third Church (New York, 1933), pp. 68-75.

*As examples: Thayer describing his wish not to be in a settled parish and his unease regarding slavery in Virginia (January 18, 1794,AAB, 8B-I-1) and a Carroll response to the slavery issue (July 15, 1794, Carroll Papers, II, 122); Thayer seeking an exeat, or official permission to leave Carroll's jurisdiction (March 29, 1795, AAB, 8B-I-1!4 and Carroll's willingness, if only for his "own peace of mind" (August 12, 1794, and April 4, 1795, Carroll Papers, II, 127-128; 137); Thayer wishing to serve only in a large city, but soon on his

years, mostly unintentionally, it is perhaps ironic that his final published piece in the United States would be a lecture about proper order given to the Boston Catholic congregation on May 9, 1798.

Occasioned by President John Adams' recommendation for a national day of prayer in the midst of deteriorating relations with revolutionary France, Thayer's effort argued urgently about the need for order, for appropriate obedience, and for due submission to civil and religious authority. He described in his talk a France literally gone wild in its attacks upon religion, especially but not only Roman Catholicism, and upon its own domestic as well as the international order. Thayer exhorted his listeners, particularly the Irish Catholics, to put aside understandable prejudices against Great Britain, and its oppression of their fellow Irishmen, so as to come to the aid of authentic "rational liberty, which is supported by law and order."[49] True patriots, native-born or not, were needed to defend America's freedom against the atheistic, deistic tyranny of a France which had slipped its own political, social, and religious moorings and was now making war on lawfully-established liberty everywhere. America, where government received its power from the people, and where its new Constitution effectively balanced order and liberty, must respond emphatically against France and any nation that followed France's lead. Thayer reminded his listeners of the wonderful circumstances of their own lives, especially in light of the present chaos in France, where all rights were being sacrificed to an inflamed license, especially those rights of established religion:

> Under such a government as this [in the United States], every insurrection against the constituted authorities, or opposition to them, is a revolt of a part against the general will, by which those authorities exist, and is highly criminal. Praised be God, that this happy constitution, under which persons of all denominations enjoy entire security for their lives, property, and liberty, whether spiritual or political, is still unimpaired and in full operation. . . . ,0

way to the wilds of Canada (April 10, 1795, AAB, 8B-I-2; and September 30, 1796, ibid., 8B-I-5); Thayer defending his actions in Albany (November 4, 1797, AAB, 8B-I-6).

4Thayer,/1 Discourse Delivered at the Roman Catholic Church in Boston, on the 9" of May, 1798, a Day Recommended by the President, for Humiliation and Prayer throughout the United States (Boston, 1798), p. 25. President Adams' proclamation for such a day came in the midst of the furor created by the public knowledge of the XYZ affair: see Page Smith, John Adams (2 vols.; Garden City, New York, 1962), II, 965.

"Thayer, Discourse, pp. 8-9. Thayer was sensitive about his entrance into partisan politics:

> During the whole course of my ministry among you, my brethren, I have never before entered into any details concerning political affairs; nor should I do it

Thayer's declaration of American patriotism could surely be viewed as at least partially utilitarian as he expressed publicly an American Catholic opposition to the actions of lately Catholic France. In staunchly Federalist (and anti-French) New England, such comments would serve to prove the civil integrity and political correctness of American Catholic citizens, many of whom were recent immigrants, and still, accordingly, suspect as to their politics and religion. His words, however, did serve also to remind his Catholic listeners of the religious liberty they now enjoyed in a predominantly Protestant republic, and thus to encourage their appropriate response to any perceived attack upon such a blessed republic's interests. While a Federalist in his own political principles, Bishop Carroll, given his history with Thayer, might have been forgiven for a quick double-take, however, at the author's heartfelt plea for order—and proper submission to constituted authority.

The final unhappy chapter of Thayer's American career was played out in the Kentucky mission.[51] Arriving in Scott County in 1799, amidst the customary curiosity of the many about this celebrity priest, and the eager anticipation of the few Catholics, including Father Stephen Badin, Thayer was soon involved in monetary and disciplinary disputes with his flock. His public antislavery views and public slurs on Protestants were not entirely popular with either the many or the few.[52] By early 1801, in the face of charges concerning Thayer and his alleged "indelicate conduct" toward a penitent, Bishop Carroll suspended him from his priestly faculties.[53] After remaining in Kentucky for two more often disputatious years, Thayer left the United States in late 1804 via New Or-

> now, were it not to teach you to appreciate duly the government under which you live, and to point out your duties towards it. (p. 8)

"See Ann Bolton Bevins and Rev. James R. O'Rourke, "That Troublesome Parish": St. Francis/St. Pius Church of White Sulphur, Kentucky, Mother Church of the Diocese of Covington (Georgetown, Kentucky, 1985), pp. 65-68, in which the chapter dealing with Thayer is entitled "Turbulence Under Father Thayer"; Clyde F. Crews, An American Holy Land: A History of the Archdiocese of Louisville (Wilmington, Delaware, 1987), chap. 2; Sister Mary Ramona Mattingly, The Catholic Church on the Kentucky Frontier, 1785-1812 (Washington, D.C., 1936), chap. 3; and J. Herman Schauinger, Stephen T Badin: Priest in the Wilderness (Milwaukee, 1956), chap. 4.

'Thayer's several letters to Bishop Carroll, while the priest was in Kentucky, are filled with gossip and critical comments regarding Father Badin's conduct and strict standards: examples include letters dated Trinity Sunday, 1799; February 9, 1800; May 19, 1800: AAB, Il-S-13; ibid., 8B-J-5, ibid., 8B-J-6.

"See John Carroll to Stephen Badin: [January, 1801]; March 18, 1801; and August 5, 1802: Carroll Papers, II, 340-343, 349-351, 395. Thayer begged forgiveness of CarroU in a letter of June 22, 1802: AAB, 8B-J-8.

leans. Reinstated in his priestly faculties, he worked for a time among the poor of London before finally making his way to Limerick, Ireland, where he came to enjoy an extraordinary reputation as an ascetic and a holy priest.54 He died in Limerick on February 17, 1815. One final irony: apparently in keeping with his own career in the United States, the money he left for his oft-promoted project to found a convent in his native land was finally successful in 1819 with its establishment in Boston. Seven years later, the Ursuline convent was moved across Boston Harbor to Charlestown, where, on August 11, 1834, it was attacked and burned by an anti-Catholic mob in one of the more celebrated and lurid instances of nineteenth-century American nativism.55

What then does one make of the story of Father John Thayer, "Catholic Missionary"? His career in the early republic was clearly marked by "public disorder"; he was often himself marked by "more zeal than discretion," and he surely appeared to "suffer for his religion," sufferings not entirely outside his own responsibility. In a way, too, he was exiled—all of this, efforts, character, result, all of this in the same apparent mode as the unfortunate fellow described in More's Utopia. In particular, the controversies sparked by Thayer's ministry were certainly not encouraged, nor probably appreciated by his superior, Bishop John Carroll. Their official relations were accordingly touched with friction and difficulties as Carroll sought to ease the once-persecuted Church into the new republic's mainstream. At heart, however, both Thayer and Carroll accepted the American commitment to religious freedom, but along with a concurrent commitment to evangelize the new nation. Religious freedom was not an end in itself, then, but a means; religious freedom did not reduce itself into either an indifferentism toward religious truth or a modish and superficial relativism which regarded religious 'truth' as basically a private, personal affair. Both Thayer and Carroll would have dismissed any celebration of a lowest-common-denominator American Christianity as a vacuous, even silly, much less uncharitable and fearful

54See Thayer to Carroll, seeking permission to send missionaries to the United States, March 10, 1805, AAB, 8B-J-9. See also Carroll to Anthony Garnier, October 15, 1805, Carroll Papers, II, 492; and Carroll to Charles Plowden, December 5, 1808, ibid, ??, 73, for other notices of Thayer and his priestly duties. For Thayer's efforts in Ireland, see T. E. Bridgets New-England Convert: or The Story of the Rev. John Thayer (London, 1897), pp. 47-51; and John Begley, The Diocese of Limerick: from 1691 to the Present Time (Dublin, 1938), pp. 276-279.

"Thayer was committed to his idea of creating some religious establishment in the United States: see Purcell, op. cit., pp. 182-183; see also Carroll to Thayer, May 9, 1793, Carroll Papers, ?, 88; and Thayer to Carroll, February 9, 1800, and March 10, 1805: AAB, 8B-J-5,and iWd.,8B-J-9.

evasion of genuine Christian discipleship. Their differences, apologetical and otherwise, did not turn then on some sort of conflict between an old-fashioned, out-of-date, and ungenerous fideism (Thayer) and a more sophisticated, Enlightenment toleration (Carroll), but rather on questions of prudence and the perspective, as -well as the actions, appropriate to the circumstances of the Church, and its perennial evangelical mission, in the new nation.

"FIELD FOUND!" ESTABLISHING THE MARYKNOLL MISSION ENTERPRISE IN THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA, 1918-1928

BY

Paul R. Rivera*

After an exhausting transcontinental and trans-Pacific journey of three and one-half months, the first group of American Catholic missionaries to China reached the French Catholic mission station at Yeungkong (Yangjiang) in Kwangtung (Guangdong) province on December 21, 1918 (see map).1 The four American priests were members of the Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America or Maryknoll, and their journey marked the beginning of the American Catholic mission enterprise in China. The Maryknoll newcomers soon were joined by contingents of priests, Sisters, and Brothers from fifteen American Catholic mission organizations including the Passionists, the Vincentians, the Franciscans, and the Sisters of Charity. While never approaching the numbers of American Protestant missionaries in China, the total of American Catholic missioners reached 240 in 1928 and 562 in 1946. The Maryknollers' tenure in China spanned the tumultuous years of the Nationalist Revolution of 1925-1927, the Nanking Decade, the Sino-Japanese War, and the civil war between the Nationalists and the Communists. Soon after the establishment of the People's Republic in 1949,

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'Yeungkong is the Chinese Postal Atlas place name for the city that is transcribed as Yang-chiang in Wade-Giles and Yangjiang in Pinyin. During the 1920's Maryknoll diaries and correspondence and Western newspapers and periodicals used the Chinese Postal Atlas system for place names and the Wade-Giles system for names of individual Chinese. To remain faithful to my primary sources, I have used the Maryknoll spelling for the Society's mission stations and for place names in China. Pinyin transcriptions for place names are indicated in parentheses the initial time the term is used.

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REFERENCH
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KONGMOO^ VlCARI ATE

Kongmoon i» an overnight trip by tteamer from Hongkong. Oa the above map the Vicariate it defined by ? heavy black line.

The Kongmoon Vicariate in the 1920's. Source: "Kongmoon Vicariate," General Report, MFBA Kongmoon Reports, 1931.

Maryknoll missioners left China, although Bishop James E. Walsh, one of the original group sent to Yeungkong in 1918, chose to remain in Shanghai. Arrested and tried in 1958, Walsh was sentenced to twenty years imprisonment for espionage and conspiracy. Upon his release in June of 1970, Walsh left China and brought to a close this chapter in United States-China relations.2

While American Catholics had displayed limited interest in the foreign missions prior to 1900, American Protestant missionaries had long been active in bringing Christianity to China. Banned from evangelizing in China until 1844, Western Protestant and European Catholic mission societies took advantage of the Sino-French treaties of the 1860s to launch an invasion of the cities and countryside of imperial China. Within thirty years, Western missionaries had established mission stations in all the provinces of imperial China except Hunan, and by 1918, 94 percent of the 1,704 counties of the Republic of China reported Christian missionary activity.3 The Protestant presence in China was part of the interrelated system of evangelistic activities, charitable and humanitarian efforts, property and facilities, financial resources, and administrative infrastructure—called "the missionary enterprise" by John Fairbank—which emerged from the endeavors of nineteenth-century American Protestant mission groups to spread Christianity to Asia, the Near East, and Africa. World-wide in scope, the Protestant mission enterprise, according to Fairbank, "became institutionalized as big business," and mission Boards constituted "the first large-scale transnational corporations."4 To support this burgeoning enterprise, mission societies developed elaborate strategies to generate financial contributions from American Protestants including pledge campaigns, canvass teams, appeals to corporate stewardship, and mass meetings. The expanding personnel needs of the Protestant mission enterprise led board admin-

2Jean-Paul Wiest, Maryknoll in China (Armonk, New York, 1988), pp. 52 and 402-403; John J. Burke, General Secretary, National Catholic Welfare Conference, to S. K. Hornbeck, Far Eastern Division, U.S. Department of State, June 18, 1928, National Archives, RG 59, Consular Correspondence, 393.1 l63Am3/46; China Christian Yearbook 1928 (Shanghai, 1928), p. 160; and, "Missionary Personnel Overseas," National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1940-1949.

'Paul Cohen,"Christian Missions and Their Impact to 1900," in The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 10, edd. Denis Twitchett and John K. Fairbank (Cambridge, 1978), p. 555: and Albert A. Feuerwerker, "The Foreign Presence in China," in The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 12, ed. John K. Fairbank (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 165-166.

4John K. Fairbank, "Introduction: The Many Faces of Protestant Missions in China and the United States," in The Missionary Enterprise in China and America, ed. John K. Fairbank (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1974), pp. 6-8; and James A. Field,"Near East Notes and Far East Queries," in Fairbank (ed.), The Missionary Enterprise, p. 34.

istrators to recruit single women, laymen, and specialists in education and medicine. Fund-raising efforts and the assignment of new missionaries to China reached their peak in 1919-1921 .The Protestant mission enterprise, Valentin Rabe concludes, "had created a stronger, more effectively organized Protestant mission movement during the decades before 1920 than during any previous period in the movement's history."5

While the Protestant foreign mission enterprise has attracted the scrutiny of a host of influential scholars who have produced a plethora of important monographs, journal articles, and conference reports, historians have focused limited attention on the emergence of the American Catholic mission enterprise in the United States and China.6 Though largely ignored, a small group of historians has authored more than two dozen books, journal articles, and dissertations which deal with the American Catholic mission enterprise in China.7 Of these, the works of Thomas Breslin and Jean-Paul Wiest offer insights into the development of the Maryknoll mission enterprise in the 1920's. Drawing upon archival materials of twelve mission organizations, Breslin argues that the aggressive acquisition of land by the missioners, their support of the status quo and resistance to change during a period of revolutionary turmoil made them tempting targets of Chinese anti-foreignism.

'Valentin H. Rabe, The Home Base of American China Missions, 1880-1920 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1978),p.26l;and ¿dem,"Evangelical Logistics: Mission Support and Resources to 1920," in Fairbank (ed.), The Missionary Enterprise, pp. 84-88, 69-73, and 9.

fSee Fairbank (ed.), The Missionary Enterprise; and, Christianity in China, edd. Suzanne Wilson Barnett and John King Fairbank (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1985).

'Thomas A. Breslin, China, American Catholicism, and the Missionary (University Park, Pennsylvania, 1980); idem, "American Catholic China Missionaries, 1918-1941" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1972); Wiest, op. cit.; idem, "China As Portrayed to American Catholics by Maryknoll Missionaries, 1918-1953," in United States Attitudes and Policies toward China: The Impact of American Missionaries, ed. Patricia Neils (Armonk, New York, 1990), pp. 171-192; Ann Colette WoM, Against All Odds: Sisters of Providence Mission to the Chinese, 1920-1990 (St. Mary-of-the-Woods, Indiana, 1990); Casper Caulfield, The Passionists in China, 1921-1931 (Union City, New Jersey, 1990); Robert E. Carbonneau, "The Passionists in China, 1921-1929: An Essay in Mission Experience," Catholic Historical Review, LXVI (July, 1980), 392-416; idem,"Life, Death and Memory: Three Passionists in Hunan, China and the Shaping of an American Mission Perspective in the 1920s" (Ph.D. dissertation, Georgetown University, 1992); Peter J. Flemming, "Chosen for China. The California Province of Jesuits in China, 1928-1957: A Case Study in Mission and Culture" (Ph.D. dissertation, Graduate Theological Union, 1987); and Angelyn Dries, O.S.F., " 'The Whole Way into the Wilderness': The Foreign Mission Impulse of the American Catholic Church, 1893-1925" (Ph.D. dissertation, Graduate Theological Union, 1989).

Outbursts of violence and destruction of property during the Nationalist Revolution of 1925-1927 created serious financial problems and imperiled the future of the Catholic missions in China.8 Jean-Paul Wiest's massive study of the Maryknoll efforts in China from 1918 to 1955 offers a detailed discussion of the emergence of the missionary organization in the United States and of the evangelistic activities and strategies employed by the missioners in China. Though Wiest explores the role of the Maryknoll magazine The Field Afar as an effective propaganda device, he gives minimal attention to the impact of developments in China on the mission enterprise in America.9

As a consequence of what Charles Hayford characterizes as an "imbalance toward Protestantism" in American historical research on the Christian missions in China, the American Catholic missions are viewed as having played a minimal role in recent Chinese history and Sino-American relations.'" This point of view dominates assessments of the experiences of the Christian missions in China during the years 1920- 1929, a watershed decade in modern Chinese history which saw the explosive growth of nationalism and revolution together with the beginning of important changes in the status of foreign nations and nationals in China. While historians recognize that the events of this crucial decade exerted a profound impact on the Protestant mission enterprise in China and America, because the Catholic missions functioned mainly in the countryside and concentrated on primary education, Jessie Lutz argues, they did not share in the great difficulties experienced by Protestant missionaries in China during the 1920's. "Anti-Christian movements," Albert Feuerwerker concludes, "were directed almost exclusively against Protestants, an indication that Catholicism remained apart from the main currents that were shaping twentieth-century China."11

Drawing upon corporation reports, financial records, mission diaries, letters, and publications contained in the Maryknoll Mission Archives together with dispatches, reports, and correspondence from the De-

"Breslin, China, American Catholicism, and the Missionary, pp. 42-47, 56-69, and 111.

"Wiest, Maryknoll in China, pp. ix-xi, 3-6, and 448-451.

"'Charles W. Hayford, "The Open Door Raj: Chinese-American Cultural Relations 1900-1945," in Pacific Passage, ed. Warren I. Cohen (New York, 1996), p. 144.

"Jessie Gregory Lutz, Chinese Politics and Christian Missions: The Anti-Christian Movements of 1920-1928 (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1988), pp. 9-10 and 41; and, Feuerwerker, op. cit., p. 168.

partment of State Decimal File 1910-1929, this essay presents an analysis of the development of the Maryknoll mission enterprise in the United States and China from 1912 to 1928 with special attention to the roles played by Father James A. Walsh, co-founder and first Father Superior of Maryknoll, and Father James E. Walsh, superior of Maryknoll's mission territory in Kwangtung province during the Society's first decade in China. Maryknoll experienced impressive growth in physical facilities and financial support, and erected a functioning mission enterprise in the United States, China, Manchuria, Korea, and the Philippines during the 1920's. Rather than marginalized and uninvolved in events in China, the Maryknoll missions became the focus of anti-Christian and anti-imperialist activities associated with the Chinese Nationalist Revolution of 1925-1927. Major disturbances involved the Maryknoll missions with Chinese nationalism and posed a significant threat to the evangelistic activities and financial well-being of the Maryknoll mission enterprise in China and the United States.

Establishing the Maryknoll Mission Enterprise in the United States

James Anthony Walsh was the architect of the Maryknoll mission enterprise in the United States and China. Born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1867, Walsh attended Boston public schools, Boston College, Harvard University, and St. John's Seminary in Brighton. His lifelong commitment to the foreign missions was stimulated by French Sulpician priests at St. John's who introduced Walsh to the letters and diaries of Théophane Vénard, a French missionary martyred in Indochina in 1861. The Catholic Church in the United States was officially classified as a mission Church under the authority of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in Rome until 1908. Unlike American Protestants, American Catholics displayed little interest in the overseas missions movement. Instead, the energies and resources committed by the American Catholic Church were focused on home mission activities among Indians, blacks, immigrants, and the rural poor. To generate support for the foreign missions, James Cardinal Gibbons established an American branch of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in 1897. Ordained a priest in 1892, Walsh was appointed director of the Boston branch of the Society in 1903- Walsh launched a campaign to educate the clergy and laity; drawing on world-wide contacts with missioners, he spread information about their experiences and

needs through correspondence with a network of Catholic priests and lectures to church audiences and mission conferences. His efforts generated $41,239.47 in contributions to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in 1905, a sum which placed Boston second only to Lyons, France, in foreign missions fund-raising.12 With the support of Cardinal Gibbons, Walsh formed the Catholic Foreign Mission Bureau in 1906 to orchestrate "a literary propaganda with a view to deepen and widen the missionary spirit in the United States, having for its ultimate end the establishment of a Foreign Mission Seminary." To promote the missionary spirit, he began publication in January, 1907, of The Field Afar, a bimonthly magazine containing photographs and reports from missioners designed to appeal to Catholic audiences.13

Walsh used the first issue of The Field Afar to editorialize for the establishment of an American Catholic mission presence in East Asia. Acknowledging the world-wide efforts of the Protestant missions, he challenged American Catholics to compete with their Protestant countrymen: "Would that we Catholics of the United States could point to a similar force of men and women, self-exiled for the spread of the true faith!" "The time has surely come," Walsh concluded, "when we Catholics should enter upon our task among people who are ours by the inheritance of Jesus Christ" (italics in original).14 In September, 1910, Walsh joined forces with Father Thomas Price, a North Carolina missioner who published the mission magazine Truth and had founded a seminary to evangelize non-Catholics in the rural American South. Early in 1911 Walsh and Price submitted to Cardinal Gibbons a proposal to establish an American foreign mission society. With Gibbons' support, their plan was approved by the Catholic archbishops of the United States and submitted to the papal authorities in Rome. Walsh and Price envisioned the establishment of an American Catholic foreign mission society supported by the financial contributions of American Catholics. The society would open a seminary to train missioners to evangelize non-Christians and would accept assignment by Rome to any foreign mission territory, though the proposal noted, "a preference is expressed for the missions in China."15 The Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide approved the proposal, and the co-founders returned

12Wiest, Maryknoll in China, pp. 11 and 19-20; and "Bishop J.A. Walsh, Mission Head, Dies," New York Times [hereafter cited as NYT], April 15, 1936, p. 21.

"Wiest, Maryknoll in China, pp. 16-17 and 23; and The Field Afar [hereafter cited as FA], 21 (January, 1927), 3-4.

,4FA, 1 (January, 1907), 2; and 5 (June-July, 1911), 2.

"Wiest, Maryknoll in China, p. 25.

to the United States to launch the Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America.16

Incorporated under the laws of the State of New York on April 30, 1912, the Society's board of incorporators included representatives from the church hierarchy and Catholic professionals and businessmen. Yearly Corporation Reports detailing receipts and expenditures, and assets and liabilities were submitted, and The Field Afar was adopted as the official publication of the Society. Confirmed as president and treasurer, James A. Walsh provided uninterrupted leadership for the Society, serving as Father Superior or Superior General until his death in 1936. Building an infrastructure of property and facilities to serve the Society's needs, establishing a seminary to train future missioners, securing a foreign mission territory for the Maryknollers, and enlisting the financial support of American Catholics became Walsh's major occupations.17 In 1912 the Society purchased a ninety-three-acre site near Ossining, New York. Named Maryknoll, the property became the headquarters of the Society. Within the year, the Society established the Foreign Mission Seminary of America at Ossining, and in October of 1914, ordained its first priest. Aided by Walsh, a group of Catholic lay women, led by Mary Joseph Rogers, formed the Foreign Mission Sisters of Saint Dominic or Maryknoll Sisters. Property for a preparatory college was purchased in Clark's Summit, Pennsylvania, and the Vénard College was opened in 1919- Construction of a permanent major seminary at Maryknoll began in 1920, while buildings to serve as residences for Maryknoll travelers were purchased in San Francisco (1920), Hong Kong (I92O), New York City (1921), and Seattle (1923).18 By 1926, a second preparatory college in Los Altos, California, a convent for Maryknoll Sisters in Hong Kong, and properties in Los Angeles and Honolulu had

16Ibid., pp. 13 and 16-17;FA, 5 (June-July, 191 1),2-3;EA, 5 (August-September, 1911), 2;FA, 15 (September, 1921), 268; and 754,20 (June, 1926), 1.

17Rabe, "Evangelical Logistics," pp. 62-69; Wiest, Maryknoll in China, pp. 42-43 and 442; FA, 5 (December, 1911), 2;FA, 10 (March, 1916),42-4y,FA, 11 (January, 1917), 2;.E4, 12 (March, 1918), 42; and FA, 13 (April, 1919), 72-74.

18M, 15 (September, 1921), 268;FA, 21 (January, 1927), 18; FA, 15 (April, 1921), 98-99; and FA, 20 (June, 1926), 2. Wiest regards Rogers as a co-founder of Maryknoll. A colleague of Walsh's from 1906, she played a paramount role in the preparation and publication of The Field Afar. As Mother General of the Maryknoll Sisters, Rogers oversaw the transition of the community from one composed of auxiliaries providing housekeeping and clerical services for Maryknoll to one in which the Sisters were full participants in the evangelization process. See Wiest, Maryknoll in China, pp. 11-12, 27-30, 99-103, and 129; and Sister Sue Bradshaw, O.S.E, "Religious Women in China: An Understanding of Indigenization," Catholic Historical Review, LXVIII (January, 1982), 28-45.

been added to the Society's growing infrastructure. By the end of its first decade in China, the Society had begun construction of a third preparatory college in Cincinnati and added houses of study in Washington, D.C., and Rome to its extensive property holdings.19

Emphasizing the cultivation of mission zeal, Walsh shaped the education of future missioners through closely supervised programs of classroom study, spiritual lectures, and mealtime readings from the diaries of Maryknoll missioners. The academic program stressed the study of Thomistic philosophy for two years and dogmatic and moral theology for four years. Daily exposure to accounts of charitable works, evangelistic activities, and struggles with "pagan" China was intended to foster a deep spiritual commitment to the missions. According to Father Robert Sheridan, a Maryknoller who served in China in the 1920's, seminarians were inculcated with a "great spirit of self-sacrifice, and we were going to go to China and never come back. That was all in the air we breathed in the beginning of Maryknoll."20 Manual labor was an important part of Maryknoll preparation. "A wonderful training of character," Father Thomas Brack reminisced, "[manual labor] led to our being able to accept and handle responsibility and persevere in work."21

Little time or effort, however, was devoted to the study of the history, political affairs, and language of China. "We knew almost nothing," recalled Sheridan; "we got some superficial history of China, but there was no life to it." Though missioners identified this as a deficiency of their preparation, as late as the 1940's the Society's seminary education program still did not provide missioners with knowledge of the East Asian environment in which they would be evangelizing.22 Moreover, few Maryknollers appear to have read extensively about China after their arrival. During the 1920's most missioners obtained information about developments in China from English-language treaty-port newspapers. While some Maryknollers read Chinese newspapers from Hong Kong, "we didn't believe anything we read," Father Thomas Kiernan recalled,

"FA, 20 (December, 1926), 272; FA, 21 (September, 1927), 228-229; and FA, 23 (December, 1929), 270.

2CWiest, Maryknoll in China, pp. 35-37; and Interviews of Missioners and Chinese People Conducted by Maryknoll China History Project, Transcript of Oral Interview with Father Robert Sheridan, TFOl, Maryknoll Mission Archives, Ossining, New York, p. 9-

21Transcript of Oral Interview with Father Thomas Brack, TF58, p. 6; and, Wiest, Maryknoll in China, p. 34.

^Interview with Father Robert Sheridan. TFOl, pp. 19-20, 52, 56-57, and 63; and Wiest, Maryknoll in China, pp. 31-32.

"because they were more propaganda sheets than anything else."23 Though Maryknoll would develop intensive programs of residential study in Cantonese and Hakka in the 1930's, encouraged to take immediate control of their mission territory by the Paris Foreign Mission Society, the first Maryknollers received little preparation in Chinese language prior to assuming their assignment.24 Instead, instructed intermittently by Chinese tutors and confounded by the three different dialects spoken in their territory, Maryknollers struggled to communicate with Chinese Christians throughout the 1920s.25

Walsh began to search for a mission territory in 1915. He was drawn to China because he judged it to be the mission field in which Maryknoll efforts could rival those of American Protestant missions, arouse the competitive spirit of American Catholics, and generate mission vocations and financial contributions.26 While supportive of American efforts, the bishops of the Catholic territories in China did not welcome competitors. However, pressed by declining numbers of missioners caused by the drafting of priests into the French army during World

"Interview with Father Robert Sheridan, TCOl, pp. 5-6, 22, and 62-63; and Transcript of Oral Interview with Father Thomas Kiernan, TF03, pp. 84-87. That such inadequate preparation could result in harmful stereotyping is illustrated by Maryknoll reactions to Arthur Smith's influential work Chinese Characteristics. Critical and condescending toward the Chinese, Smith's work received high marks from Father Bernard Meyer and Father James E. Walsh, two members of the original group assigned to China. "We think it is the best thing we ever saw on the subject," wrote Walsh in July of 1919"If any of the boys want to get a good idea of the Chinese," he concluded, "this is by far the best book to put in their hands." See James E. Walsh to Father Superior, Maryknoll Fathers and Brothers Archives [hereafter cited as MFBA] China Materials, James E. Walsh Correspondence [hereafter cited as JEWCORR]JuIy 23, 1919. Walsh's opinions were influential. He succeeded Price as superior of the Kwangtung missions, became the first Maryknoll bishop in 1927, and served as Superior General from 1936 to 1946.

"Wiest, Maryknoll in China,pp. 270-271; and James E.Walsh to Father SuperiorJEWCORR, n.d. (1926). The Maryknoll experience with Chinese language instruction followed the pattern set by American Protestant missionaries to China in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Initially, language instruction was undertaken on a piecemeal basis at each Protestant mission station. After 1910 interdenominational language schools were established and offered programs of intensive residential study to newly-arrived missionaries. See Feuerwerker, op. cit., p. 173.

"Raymond Kerrison, Bishop Walsh of Maryknoll (New York, 1962), pp. 76-77; and John F. Donovan, M.M., The Pagoda and the Cross (New York, 1967), p. 30."They learned to speak very little Chinese," observed Father Thomas Lau, a Chinese priest trained by Maryknoll. "They could not master even very simple conversation," he recalled. "Their [Sunday] sermons could last for only one or two minutes." See Transcript of Oral Interview with Thomas Lau, TC04, pp. 6-7.

MWiest,Maryknoll in China,p.4lO;FA, 1 (January, 1907), 2 and 6-7;FA, 1 (May, 1907), cover; FA, 5 (June-July, 1911), 3; FA, 6 (February-March, 1912), 3-4; FA, 6 (June-July, 1912), 2; and fit, 11 (January, 1917), 2.

War I, Bishop Jean Baptiste de Guébriant, the Paris Foreign Mission Society vicar of Canton, offered a district along the West River and the coast of the South China Sea to Walsh in December, 1917. "Field Found," Walsh cabled Maryknoll.27 Within a year, the first group of American Catholic missioners reached Yeungkong.28

Fired by missionary zeal, filled with a spirit of self-sacrifice, but deficient in their knowledge of the language, history, and contemporary politics of China, increasing numbers of Maryknoll missioners departed from Ossining to Christianize East Asia. An average of two Maryknoll priests per year was ordained in 1914-1918; with the establishment of the first Maryknoll mission in China, the number of missioners ordained doubled in the years 1919-1922. Thirteen more were ordained in 1923, sixteen in 1924, and fourteen in 1925. While 1926 saw the number decline to seven new missioners, twenty-one men were ordained in 1927, and sixteen in 1928. Parishes in lower New England, the Mid-Atlantic, and the Mid-West contributed the largest numbers of prospective missioners. In 1923, sixteen of the Society's total of forty-three priests were assigned to China, and four missioners staffed a new mission in Korea. By 1928 fourteen missioners were stationed in Korea and two in the Philippines, while thirty-three Maryknollers or 30 percent of the Society's lió priests occupied twenty-five mission stations in Kwangtung

!7Wiest, Maryknoll in China, pp. 47-52. the assignment of Catholic mission territories was the product of negotiations between missionary organizations and the papal authority in Rome. China had been divided into mission territories, each of which was entrusted to a European mission society. A mission society enjoyed exclusive rights to evangelize its assigned territory; newcomers could establish a mission only with the permission of the entrusted society.

"FA, 12 (June, 1918), Special Insert, p. 1. Yeungkong city is located 140 miles southwest of Hong Kong on the banks of the Mo-yang-chiang, twelve miles inland from where the river empties into the South China Sea. In 1918 Yeungkong city was the seat of government for the sub-prefecture of Yeungkong, which stretched along more than sixty miles of coastline and into the interior of Kwangtung province. Père Auguste Gauthier, the French missionary of the Paris Foreign Mission Society resident in Yeungkong in 1918, described the city as the commercial center of the region and one of four small seaports used by fishing boats and commercial junks involved in the coastal trade; larger junks carried products and passengers on a weekly schedule and connected Yeungkong to Canton. Much of the land in the southwest Kwangtung region was hilly and deforested; severe weathering and erosion produced a thick red top soil that retained little moisture. Floods and droughts were commonplace. Vast stretches of unreclaimed, barren land characterized the region; according to the geographer Sun Ching-chih, the district which included Yeungkong county contained "the most concentrated barren area in Kwangtung." See FA, 13 (January, 1919), 5; and Sun Ching-chih (ed.), Economic Geography of South China, translated by Joint Publications Research Service, U.S. Department of Commerce (Peiping, 1959), p. 176.

and Kwangsi (Guangxi) provinces (see map).29 In September, 1921, the first group of six Maryknoll Sisters departed for China to be followed by a group of six in 1922 and additional groups in 1923 and 1924. Located in an important town, a Maryknoll mission station contained a residence, chapel, primary school, and perhaps a dispensary together with a network of chapels and rented buildings or rooms in surrounding villages. Assisted by catechists, Maryknoll priests conducted periodic services and supervised religious instruction, while Maryknoll Sisters operated schools, orphanages, and dispensaries.30

The Field Afar became the official Maryknoll magazine in 1911 and played a paramount role in the emergence of the mission enterprise in the United States and China. Designed to inform the public about the activities and needs of Maryknoll missioners and to secure the spiritual and financial support of American Catholics for the mission enterprise, the magazine reached 35,000 subscribers by 1917. The establishment of Maryknoll's first China mission in Yeungkong stimulated a dramatic increase in circulation with annual subscriptions reaching 75,000 in 1920 and 100,000 in 1923. Paid subscriptions stabilized at 125,000 for the remainder of the 1920's.31 Throughout the years 1912-1928 the effective use of photographs, articles, letters, and statistics focused the attention of American Catholics on Catholic mission activities in China. With an average length of twenty-five to thirty pages, each issue contained information about Maryknoll activities in the United States, news about the world missionary movement, selections from the diaries of Maryknoll missioners in East Asia, solicitations for mission funds, and financial reports from Walsh. According to Wiest, four themes were propagated by the magazine. China was "a great country and a great people."

29MFBA, Ordination List, 1914-1933, 1-2; FA, 15 (September, 1921), 245; FA, 18 (January, 1924), 20; FA, 18 (May, 1924), 145; MFBA, Foundation Day Brochures, 1923 and 1927; FA, 20 (June, 1926), 2; MFBA, General Report, 1928, p. 1; and Wiest, Maryknoll in China, Appendix V, pp. 468-470.

>0FA, 21 (January, 1927), 18; MFBA, China Diaries Kongmoon, Yeungkong Diaries, 1918-1919, January 7 and January 30, 1919; Yeungkong Diaries, 1920-1921, January 27, January 30, and March 17, 1921; and Yeungkong Diaries, 1922-1923, December 31, 1922. Throughout the 1920's Maryknoll Sisters assigned to the Society's Kongmoon mission district lived in mission station convents and worked almost exclusively in institutional settings. Only when assigned to the Kaying mission district in the 1930's were the Sisters able to leave the mission station to make direct evangelistic contact with Chinese in remote rural villages. See Wiest, Maryknoll in China, pp. 99-101 and 118-119; and Bradshaw, op. cit., pp. 38-41.

"FA, 21 (January, 1927), 3-4: and Wiest, Maryknoll in China, pp. 27-30 and 410-411. During the Society's early years the editing and production services provided by the Maryknoll Sisters were crucial to the success of The Field Afar.

China was "a country ready for Christianity." Works of charity would reach and convert non-Christian Chinese, and their faith was a wonder to behold.32

The most important function of The Field Afar was to solicit financial contributions from American Catholics to support the growth of the Maryknoll mission enterprise. Each issue included a myriad of financial appeals and fundraising reports. Readers were urged to contribute to burses which supported the education of American and native clergy, to funds for training native catechists, to foundations which aided needy students, and to land schemes for retiring mortgages. The purchase of annuities providing lifetime income for benefactors and securing the principal for the Society was encouraged. "Mission Circles" enabled parishes to make in-kind contributions. To recognize old benefactors and motivate new ones, lists of contributors and donations were highlighted in each issue. Special appeals solicited larger sums to build mission schools, medical dispensaries, chapels, and residences. During 1925 a page of the magazine was devoted to an appeal for "prayers and financial backing" for the new mission at Antung (Andong) in Manchuria, the Hakka Mission in eastern Kwangtung, and a mission to the "stubbornly resistant" population of Wuchow (Wuzhou) in Kwangsi province.33 Throughout the period 1912-1928 the major contributors to Maryknoll were drawn from urban centers in the Northeast, the Middle West, and the West Coast and included bishops and priests, individually or through diocesan efforts or parish organizations, Sisters and the institutions in which they served, lay organizations and individual Catholics, and parochial school students.34

Mission society fund-raising and finances are the least-studied dimensions of the Christian mission enterprise in the United States and China. "The official statistics are faulty when available," warns Rabe, "and incomplete for the movement as a whole."35 As a result, generalizations are tentative and comparisons problematic. By 1900, American Protes-

52Wiest, "China as Portrayed to American Catholics by Maryknoll Missionaries, 1918-1953," pp. 171, 176, 178, 180, and 186.

"FA, 15 (December, 1921), 362-363;i?4, 20 (November, 1926), 283;7M, 15 (November, 1921),321;i54, 18 (May, 1924), 156;FA, 13 (November, 1919), 235-236;#t, 17 (May, 1923), 156;?4, 17 (October, 1923),291;7Ì4, 18 (January, 1924), 28; and FA, 19 (June, 1925), back cover.

MFA, 10 (March, 1916), 42-43; FA, 13 (April, 1919), 80-81; FA, 15 (February, 1921), 44-45;fi4, 15 (April, 1921), 100-101;ßl, 17 (May, 1923), 131-133; Twelfth Annual Report, MFBA, Treasurer Collection: Financial Reports [hereafter cited as TRCOLFrNRPT], February 1, 1924,p. 1;and Seventeenth Annual Report, TRCOLFINRPT, February 1, 1929, pp. 1-2.

"Rabe, The Home Base ofAmerican China Missions, p. 163.

tant missions in East Asia had become the leading recipients of American funds with expenditures for the China missions outpacing those for Japan and Korea. In 1916 the United States replaced Great Britain as the leading source of foreign mission funds in the world. C. E Remer placed the value of property held in China in 1929 by American Protestant missionary and philanthropic societies at approximately $40 million and the value of property held by Catholic societies at $1 million.[36] Rabe examined the financial supporters, fund-raising strategies, and policies of the Protestant mission enterprise, while Kessler explored the financial ties between the First Presbyterian Church of Wilmington, Delaware, and the Jiangyin mission station. Though Wiest devotes considerable attention to the historical context from which the Maryknoll mission enterprise emerged, limited attention is focused on the growth of infrastructure, financial resources, and properties in the United States or China.[37]

Analysis of the corporation reports and financial records of the Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America indicates that Maryknoll enjoyed impressive financial growth under the stewardship of James A. Walsh. Receipts from fund-raising efforts, Society memberships, and subscriptions to The Field Afar increased fivefold from $51,170 in 1912 to $281,079 in 1918. Publicity about the search for a Maryknoll territory in South China stimulated a 137 percent increase in total receipts from 1916 to 1918.[38] Prompted by the establishment of the mission station at Yeungkong, receipts increased 67 percent in 1918-1919 to total $470,486 with marked increases in burses, gifts, and subscription income (see Table 1). Father Superior used the additional revenues to expand the mission enterprise. During 1919 expenditures for facilities at Maryknoll and the seminary at Clark's Summit, Pennsylvania, increased from $110,561 to $223,891, while expenditures for establishing and mamtaining the new missions in China rose from $6,815 to $38,414. Maryknoll's remarkable financial growth continued through 1922. Dur-

Tield/Near East Notes and Far East Queries," p. 34; Rabe, The Home Base of American China Missions, p. 261; and C. F. Remer, Foreign Investments in China (New York, 1968), p. 303. The value of property held by the Kongmoon Mission, the largest of three Maryknoll mission districts in south China, was placed at $432,658 in 1928. See Statement of Assets and Liabilities of the Maryknoll Kongmoon Mission, TRCOLFINRPT, August 15, 1928.

"Rabe, The Home Base of American China Missions, pp. 163-171; Lawrence D. Kessler, "'Hands Across the Sea' Foreign Missions and Home Support," in Neils (ed.), op. cit., pp. 78-81; and Wiest, Maryknoll in China, p. 581.

"Statement of Receipts and Expenditures 1912-1919, TRCOLFINRPT, June, 1936, pp. 1-4.

Table 1.—Receipts and Expenditures, Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America, 1919-1924

	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924
Receipts						
The Field Afar	$84,820	$108,075	$117,710	$127,440	$137,880	$102,034
Dues & Memberships	11,372	21,605	20,330	34,602	48,527	33,680
Gifts	76,592	133,729	145,343	182,994	181,851	158,146
Annuities	43,118	38,312	51,486	59,880	45,199	40,786
Burses	116,224	77,691	65,908	57,372	66,306	42,439
Loans/Mortgages		128,142	148,000	57,000	13,242	56,689
Sale of Investments				193,389		32,369
Foreign Missions	27,696	36,003	27,184	39,507	60,887	71,475
Total Receipts	471,581	627,339	712,039	810,510	649,963	662,993
Expenditures						
The Field Afar	$30,827	$54,090	$72,861	$88,511	$93,660	$68,011
Maryknoll Estate	83,073	179,425	267,926	202,779	164,536	191,130
Office/House Expenses	34,321	64,342	93,188	102,991	106,261	110,993
Interest Paid	8,448	15,733	26,979	34,702	31,101	33,669
Loans/Mortgages Paid		8,890	10,500	136,000	9,500	24,426
Purchase of Investments		74,457	31,818	33,510	23,984	17,463
Seminary Expenses	140,818	138,576	53,691	51,065	28,522	32,698
Property			39,219	4,026	3,717	5,115
Foreign Missions	38,414	35,021	30,716	75,346	68,663	120,395
Total Expenditures	416,041	627,339	712,039	810,510	649,963	662,993

Source: MFBA Treasury Collection: Financial Reports, Maryknoll Mission Archives (Ossining, New York: Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America, February 1, 1920-1925).

Note: Only selected categories of receipts and expenditures are listed. The figures for total receipts and expenditures include all categories found in the original statements together with cash on hand at the beginning or end of the year.

ing this period receipts from gifts and dues increased 147 percent, and income from The Field Afar grew 50 percent, while receipts from annuities averaged per year $49,892 and those from burses $66,990. Contributions to support the China missions grew from $27,695 in 1919 to $36,070 in 1922 as the number of missions staffed by Maryknoll increased from three to eight.39

At the same time, however, Maryknoll began to experience financial difficulties. Receipts for 1923 and 1924 represented a decline of 20 percent from the peak year of 1922. Why did Maryknoll experience financial contractions? Analysis of financial reports for 1919-1922 indicates that much of the observed growth in receipts had been fueled by the securing of loans ($333,142) and the sale of stocks and bonds ($193,389) held by the Society. These sums were expended to acquire property and construct facilities for the rapidly expanding mission enterprise. Expenditures for property and facilities increased from $232,339 in 1919 to $424,546 in 1922 and averaged 53 percent of total expenditures during these years. In 1921-1922 the Society expended $443,027 for the new seminary at Maryknoll, $104,757 in subsidies for the Venara College, and $72,219 to buy properties in Los Angeles, New York, and Hong Kong.40 Due to these development-oriented policies, Maryknoll experienced chronic cash flow problems. In September, 1920, Walsh responded to a request to purchase property at Loting, "I wish that I could say magnanimously 'accept the enclosed check for thirty-six hundred dollars,' but just at this moment I have bills amounting to forty-five thousand dollars to pay and nothing in the bank."41 In March, 1921, he complained, "my neck is sore trying to dodge our creditors here." In June he noted, "Money is very tight, . . . we have borrowed almost up to the limit."42

To ameliorate cash flow problems and to support the continued expansion of the mission enterprise, Walsh modified his strategy of securing loans and selling investments. Receipts from loans declined from

"Statement of Receipts and Expenditures, TRCOLFINRPT, February 1, 1920, 1921, and 1922.

"Statement of Receipts and Expenditures, TRCOLFINRPT, February 1, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, and 1925.By comparison, expenditures for the China missions averaged $44,865 for the period 1919-1922 or 7 percent of total expenditures. Much ofthat figure ($75,346) was expended in 1922, when the China mission territory expanded from three to eight mission districts.

^'Father Superior James A. Walsh to James E. Walsh, JEWCORR, September 20, 1920, p.1.

"Father Superior James A. Walsh to James E. Walsh, JEWCORR, March 25, 1921, p. 3; same to same.June 30, 1921, p. 1;and same to same, December 12, 1922, p. 3.

$276,142 in 1920-22 to $69,932 in 1923-1924 while the sale of stocks and bonds fell from $193,389 in 1922 to $32,369 in 1923-1924. Adopting the slogan "Economize till it hurts," Walsh also cut $25,000 from the yearly operating expenses of the Maryknoll estate and $20,000 from the Vénard Seminary. The modifications and economies eased, but did not resolve, the Society's cash flow problems; in December, 1922, Walsh reported that the Society was $11,000 behind in payment of monthly bills.43 Despite these financial difficulties, the mission enterprise continued to grow. By 1924 ten mission districts in China were staffed by twenty-four priests and twenty-three Sisters.44 Expenditures to support the expanding mission enterprise in China increased to $90,979 or 14 percent of total expenditures for that year.45

This pattern of expansion of the mission enterprise, coupled with cash flow problems, continued to characterize the financial condition of the Society from 1925 to 1928 (see Table T). Fueled by increases in loans ($260,343), annuities ($35,679), and the sale of investments ($11,641), receipts increased 50 percent from $662,993 in 1924 to $997,959 in 1925. Walsh used the increased receipts in 1925 to pay off old loans, purchase new investments, and finance the continued development of the Maryknoll Preparatory College.46 However, receipts declined 26 percent in 1926, and the Society suffered substantial deficits

"Statement of Receipts and Expenditures, February 1, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, and 1924; and Eleventh Annual Report, February 1, 1924, p. 5.

"MFBA, Kongmoon Reports, 1924. Throughout the 1920's the Maryknoll Sisters were financially dependent upon the Society. The financial need of the Sisters is a common theme in the mission correspondence of James E. Walsh. Statements of assets and liabilities regularly included references to the Maryknoll Sisters in capital assets and loans payable, while financial statements of the Kongmoon mission district identified expenditures for the Sisters and included properties used by them among the mission's physical assets and liabilities. See James E. Walsh to Father Superior, JEWCORR, May 22, July 20, October 18, and October 26, 1922, and January 10, 1923; Statement of Assets and Liabilities, TRCOLFINRPT, January 31, 1926, and January 31, 1928; Kongmoon Mission Financial Statement, TRCOLFINRPT, February 28, 1922; Kongmoon Mission Balance Sheet, TRCOLFINRPT, September 20, 1924; and, Kongmoon Mission Statement of Assets and Liabilities, TRCOLFINRPT, August 15, 1927.

"Statement of Assets and Liabilities, TRCOLFINRPT, January 31, 1925, pp. 1-2. On January 31, 1925, the total assets of the Society were valued at $2,131,634, of which 71 percent represented property and facilities. Mortgage and loan liabilities, however, totaled $315,291 while current assets amounted to $59,932. Analysis of expenditures for 1924 indicates that 10 percent were for The Field Afar, 50 percent for operations, 9 percent for interest and repayment of loans, 3 percent for investments and property, and 18 percent for the foreign missions. See Statement of Receipts and Expenditures, TRCOLFINRPT February 1,1925.

"Statement of Receipts and Expenditures, TRCOLFINRPT, February 1, 1925 and 1926.

Table 2.—Receipts and Expenditures, Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America, 1925-1928

	1925	1926	1927	1928
Receipts				
The Field Afar	$98,725	$131,851	$103,989	$97,077
Dues & Memberships	35,173	52,498	41,822	39,976
Gifts	161,651	178,137	211,123	165,946
Annuities	76,465	61,725	143,413	204,671
Burses	51,030	29,092	37,478	52,184
Loans/Mortgages	317,032	20,266	79,298	14,225
Sale of Investments	44,010	22,269	87,606	81,686
Foreign Missions	81,201	88,625	109,354	129,000
Total Receipts	970,959	716,766	989,602	1,005,439
Expenditures				
The Field Afar	$57,740	$73,526	$62,565	$68,010
Maryknoll Estate	134,627	89,874	109,650	89,642
Office/House Expenses	106,306	114,603	101,920	103,814
Interest Paid	41,782	42,609	50,292	56,982
Loans/Mortgages Paid	267,592	83,957	148,693	92,973
Purchase of Investments	61,270	21,441	95,392	119,042
Seminary Expenses	87,881	35,944	123,651	89,676
Property	16,917	97,804	58,712	128,290
Foreign Missions	123,354	87,069	147,736	147,464
Total Expenditures	970,959	716,766	989,602	1,005,439

Source: MFBA Treasury Collection: Financial Reports, Maryknoll Mission Archives (Ossining, New York: Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America, February 1, 1926-1929).

Note: Only selected categories of receipts and expenditures are listed. The figures for total receipts and expenditures include all categories found in the original statements together with the cash on hand at the beginning or end of the year.

($103,940) in China mission accounts as expenditures exceeded receipts in 1925 ($32,358), 1927 ($41,939) and again in 1928 ($30,942). Walsh reacted by de-emphasizing the use of loans as a solution to cash flow problems. New loans were reduced substantially in 1926-1928, and a serious effort was made to pay down existing loan liabilities, which decreased from a high of $348,704 in 1925 to $170,863 in 1928.47

Father Superior did not abandon the loan strategy altogether. Loans totaling $79,298 enabled him to resolve cash flow problems in 1927. Nor did he curtail property development. Construction began on a seminary in Los Altos, California ($71,000), while residential properties were acquired in Washington ($44,973) and Rome ($84,655), and new mission territories were established in Manchuria ($43,239) and Korea ($90,191). Walsh's financial strategy for 1925-1928 combined a more conservative approach to development with the aggressive solicitation of contributions, frugal management of existing facilities, and the timely sale of investments and property. During 1926-1928 this strategy yielded sizable net increases in annuities ($180,414), general mission donations ($83,376), and gifts ($70,253) together with $191,561 from the sale of investments and property.48 As a result of Walsh's fiscal stewardship, on January 31, 1929, loans payable and current liabilities decreased to a four-year-low of $203,710, while the value of foundations and annuities climbed to a four-year-high of $1,616,985. Having experienced a fourfold increase in assets to $2,984,000, Maryknoll completed its first decade in China in an apparently healthy financial condition.49

"Statement of Receipts and Expenditures, TRCOLFINRPT, February 1, 1926, 1927, 1928,and 1929; and Statement of Assets and Liabilities, January 31, 1926, and January 31, 1929.Two factors appear to account for much of the increase in expenditures. In 1925 and 1926 approximately $25,000 in additional expenses were reported by the Hong Kong Procure, much of it apparently related to the maintenance of Maryknollers evacuated from the interior of south China. At the same time, the Society was fulfilling commitments to the expansion of facilities in Hong Kong to house evacuated Sisters and to new mission territories in Wuchow and Manchuria.

«Statement of Receipts and Expenditures, February 1, 1926, 1927, 1928, and 1929. Comparison of expenditures for fiscal years 1924 and 1927 illuminates the changing financial strategy. Expenditures for physical facilities declined from 50 percent of total expenditures in 1924 to 34 percent in 1927, while expenditures for interest and loans paid increased from 9 percent to 20 percent, and financial and property investments increased from 3-5 percent to 15.6 percent. Statement of Receipts and Expenditures, February 1, 1925, and February 1, 1928.

"Statement of Assets and Liabilities, TRCOLFINRPT, January 31, 1929, pp. 1-2.

Building the Maryknoll Mission Enterprise in China

James Edward Walsh personified the energy, drive, and commitment of the infant American Catholic foreign missions movement. Appointed successor to Father Price as superior of Maryknoll's first mission district in China in 1920 and consecrated the Society's first bishop in 1927, Walsh played a decisive role in shaping the Maryknoll mission enterprise in China. Born in Cumberland, Maryland, in 1891, he was the second of nine children of an influential Catholic family; two of Walsh's sisters became nuns; one brother was a Maryknoller, while another served as Attorney General of Maryland. A graduate of Mount Saint Mary College, Walsh worked in a steel foundry before entering the Maryknoll seminary in 1912. Ordained four years later, he directed the Vénard preparatory college until his assignment to China. Named Wha Lee Sou or "Pillar of Truth" by Chinese Catholics, Walsh was articulate, forceful, and persistent in the pursuit of his vision for the Maryknoll missions in China. Though Walsh could be an insightful observer of developments in China, the limited attention accorded to China during his Maryknoll education, together with his strong character and tendency to hold tenaciously to his own views, led him to appear, at times, opinionated and righteous in his dealings with Chinese leaders in the 1920's.[50]

Walsh shared Father Superior's vision of building a Maryknoll mission enterprise in China. In a February, 1919, letter to the Maryknoll head, Walsh characterized the Society's mission territory in Kwangtung province as "a piece-meal kind of a thing." "At some future time our mission will be extended," he predicted, and a mission center with a "big plant" including a seminary, orphanage, and hospital should be located in a large city such as Kochow (Gaozhou) rather than buried "in a little place like Yeungkong."[51] Anticipating expansion of the mission enterprise, he argued that Kongmoon (Jiangmen) would make an ideal headquarters for the seminary, orphanage, and hospital he already envisioned for Maryknoll in China. After his confirmation as mission superior, Walsh successfully overturned the Maryknoll policy of not becoming a property holder in China. Emphasizing the need for a China-generated income to support the Society's investment in churches, schools, and dispensaries, he argued, "If we are going to do the thing on businesslike lines, instead of playing at running a mission, we must

[50] Josh Barbanel, "Bishop James E. Walsh Dies," NYT, July 30, 1981, B17; and "Bishop Walsh, Missionary, Catholic Hero, Dies at 90," The Sun, Baltimore, July 30, 1981, C1 and C4.

[51] James E. Walsh to Father Superior, JEWCORR, February 14, 1919, p. 3.

come to the idea of having funds that we can depend upon at our command."[52] In 1921 Walsh negotiated the transfer of French mission stations at Wuchow and Pingnam to Maryknoll control, emphasizing, "It gives us a foothold and assures us of something for future development. We want to see a big body of American missionaries down here some day."[53] Surveying Maryknoll's first decade in China in 1928, Walsh revealed the depth of his commitment to building the mission enterprise; "mission work is a gain, but organization to make possible more and better work is a greater gain; … it means the creation of the machinery needed to perform the actual mission work."[54]

Walsh took the initiative to clarify the procedures to be followed when mission organizations purchased land and buildings in China. In response to his March, 1920, inquiry, the American Consul General in Canton (Guangzhou) stated that deeds for property purchased by religious associations in China must include the name of the society or mission rather than the French Catholic practice of registering property in the name of "the Catholic Church." Moreover, he advised Walsh, deeds of property owned by the Society should be registered with the American Consulate. Receiving contradictory advice from the German Catholic prelate of Shantung (Shandong), Walsh presented his findings to Father Superior and successfully argued that the Society should reject the French practice and follow the procedures outlined by the American Consul. "The question of how to acquire property will be always with us," he emphasized, "and we might as well get it straight at the beginning."[55] Not all of Walsh's initiatives, however, were as carefully evaluated. In 1922 he co-sponsored a proposal to erect a Catholic university in south China. Only later did Walsh learn that the sponsors "would be obligated to supply the university staff and the initial expenses for the founding of the University." The proposal was shelved.[56]

Undaunted by this setback, Walsh persisted in his efforts to build the Maryknoll enterprise in China. Reminded by Father Superior of the Society's dire financial status in 1922 and the need to assign Maryknollers

[52] James E. Walsh to Father Superior, JEWCORR, November 11, 1919, pp. 2-3; same to same, December 17, 1919; Father Superior to James E. Walsh, March 20, 1920; and James E. Walsh to Father Superior, February 18, 1922, p. 1.

[53] James E. Walsh to Father Superior, JEWCORR, April 9, 1921, p. 3.

[54] MFBA, General Chapter 1929 Kongmoon Mission Report, August 10, 1929, pp. 1 and 14-15.

[55] American Consul General Bergholz to Father J. E. Walsh, JEWCORR, March 19, 1920, pp. 1-2; and James E. Walsh to Father Superior, April 22, 1920, pp. 2-3.

[56] James E. Walsh to Father Superior, JEWCORR, October 19, 1922, p. 1; and Synod for South China to Rev. M. A. Mathis, November 26, 1922, p. 1.

to activities in the United States, he appeared to accept the policy of "going slow." Inserted in his reply, however, was a forceful appeal for satisfying the needs of the China missions.'! do not say that we MUST have the money," Walsh wrote; "I simply say that we NEED it, and as a consequence we ought to TKFto get it" (emphasis in original). Announcing, "The way I look at these needs I'd borrow anything I got my hands on," he urged Father Superior to allow him to send a missioner to the United States to raise funds for the China missions.57 Ironically, Father Superior's directive to Walsh to return to Maryknoll for that purpose arrived the day this plea was posted. Walsh immediately replied. Urging Maryknoll to clarify how the funds would be allocated, he asserted, "I think every cent of it ought to go to the mission here. "The tone of this correspondence was not lost on Father Superior. In March, 1924, he counseled Walsh,"if there is one advice that I would give, it is to express your judgments cautiously and with much tact, above all when you write. Directness has its advantages and its place," Father Superior remonstrated, "but it is often harmful."58 Heeding this advice, Walsh moderated his tone even as he continued to take the initiative in managing the mission territory. In 1926 he crafted a plea for funds "to restore the proper equity in our mission accounts," and advanced a proposal for a China missioner to return to the United States for fund-raising. At times, Walsh's sense of righteousness would resurface; disputing the claim that American priests supported the missions, he declared in 1927, "only 323 American Priests have ever sent anything here."59

The cultural contexts and processes which shaped the purchase of property in Chinese society frustrated Walsh. After a visit to Loting (Luoding) in 1919, he argued that a mission residence, chapel, and school should be established in the town. Within days of Price's death, Walsh pressed Father Superior for $1,000 to purchase mission property.60 His letter of October 12,1919, confessed,"I would like to have some money to buy a property. If I had the money … I could make a dicker, and get this important matter settled." Reassuring Father Superior, he concluded, "I will drive a good bargain." In his first communication as superior of the Kwangtung mission stations, he presented his plans for the

57Father Superior to James E. Walsh, JEWCORR, December 12, 1922, p. 3; and James E. Walsh to Father Superior, January 10, 1923, pp. 1-4.

"James E.Walsh to Father Superior, January 10, 1923, pp. 1-4; January 16, 1923, p. l;and Father Superior to James E. Walsh, JEWCORR, March 25, 1924, p. 1.

wJames E.Walsh to Father Superior, JEWCORR, June 30, 1925, p. 2; same to samejuly 1, 1926, p. l;same to same, August 5, 1926, pp. 1-2; and same to same, March 3, 1927, p. 1.

"James E. Walsh to Father Superior, JEWCORR, February 14, 1919, p. 3; June 27, 1919, p. l;and September 21, 1919, p. 2.

Loting mission and appealed for $5,000 to purchase property and construct a chapel and residence.61 Given permission, Walsh immediately journeyed to Loting. He soon realized that buying and selling was a valued activity for the Chinese participant;"It is a sweet morsel to him, and he wants to linger over it." Unfortunately for Walsh, it was also a social occasion; "There must be conferences, parleys, heckling, tea drinking, banquets, and all the other time killing device [s] known to man." Chinese social conventions conflicted with Walsh's American notions of the efficient use of time; "I spent this entire two weeks in putting thru the deal, . . . The only reason that it did not take two months or two years was because I did not have time to wait, and after two weeks succeeded in impressing on the Chinese that it was to be a quick sale or nothing."62 The final terms of the sale reflected Walsh's impatience with Chinese customs. For $3,600 he purchased an eighty-yard by sixty-yard lot which overlooked the river. His neighbors, however, were the poor and opium smokers of Loting. And, in his haste, he had acquired a lot which was too small for his plans. Walsh minimized this error, rationalizing that when the mission needed additional land for schools and a hospital, the resident missioner would be able to purchase it at a fair price. "The Catholic Church of Lo Ting," he informed Maryknoll,"is now a landed proprietor."63

That Walsh could be an adroit negotiator when dealing with European mission leaders is revealed by his role in the expansion of the Maryknoll mission enterprise in Wuchow and Kaying (Jiaying) districts. The Paris Foreign Mission Society had responded to Father Superior's search for a mission territory in 1918 by entrusting Maryknoll with three mission districts in southwest Kwangtung. In November of 1920, Bishop Maurice Ducoeur, the Paris French vicar of Kwangsi, invited Maryknoll to take over the mission territory of Wuchow. Ducoeur wished to be reimbursed for the properties and Walsh argued that the French missioners should receive greater compensation than the $1,500 initially proposed. Given the value of the property and the cost of relocating the French priests, he recommended the payment of $20,000. When Ducoeur complicated negotiations by altering the territory to be exchanged, Walsh maintained his support of the proposal and counseled Maryknoll to remain patient while he bargained with the French bishop. By April, 192 !,Walsh had worked out a compromise

"James E. Walsh to Father Superior, JEWCORR, October 12, 1919, and November 11, 1919.

i2MFBA, Loting Chronicle, July 15-31, 1920, pp. 2-4.

"James E.Walsh to Father Superior, JEWCORR, August 10, 1920, p. 1.

with Ducoeur which gave Maryknoll a mission territory in the prefecture of Wuchow adjacent to the Society's missions in Kwangtung. Arguing that the compromise presented Maryknoll with a more manageable territory together with a foothold for the future in Kwangsi, he recommended that Father Superior offer Ducoeur $10,000 in compensation. Walsh's compromise was ratified by Maryknoll.64 In 1924 Bishop Adolf Rayssac, the French vicar of Swatow (Shantou), offered Maryknoll a Paris Foreign Mission Society territory in northeast Kwangtung which included five complete mission plants and 8,000 Chinese Catholics. Though the offer envisioned no compensation from Maryknoll, it did impose increased demands on the Maryknoll staff in China. Walsh argued that the value of the property together with the future potential of the district outweighed short-term staffing problems. When the proposal became entangled in differences among the French bishops, Walsh worked patiently with all parties to insure that Kaying was transferred to Maryknoll.65

The initiative and persistence which made Walsh an effective administrator of the mission enterprise brought him into conflict with Chinese civil and military officials who did not share his vision for Maryknoll in China. Walsh understood the importance of cultivating relationships with local officials and notables; early mission diaries note pleasant visits and useful contacts with the Chief Military Official and the Civil Prefect of Yeungkong and with the viceroy of Kwangtung and Kwangsi provinces. Contacts with officials were superficial, however, described in the mission diary as "agreeable" and "polite palaver."66 Moreover, perceived corruption among Chinese officials outraged the Maryknoll newcomers. In February, 1919, the Yeungkong diary offered this judgment which became widely accepted among the missioners: "There is everywhere the same squeeze, the same petty grafting that has always characterized government in China; . . . [officials] seize on personal property with little or no remuneration to the owners, levy arbitrary taxes that kill growing industries, force the owners to sell any-

"James E. Walsh to Father Superior, JEWCORR, February 7, 1921, p. 1; March 2, 1921, pp. 1-2; and April 9, 1921, pp. 1-3.

"James E. Walsh to Father Superior, MFBA China Materials, JEWCORR, June 8, 1924, p. 1; December 27, 1924, p. 1; April 30, 1925, p. 1; and FA, 19 (June, 1925), back cover. Francis Ford was appointed superior of the Kaying mission in 1925. When the Wuchow mission was separated from the Kongmoon mission district in 1930, Bernard Meyer was appointed superior.

«Yeungkong Diaries, 1918-1919, July 31, 1919, p. 73; September 8, 1919, p. 76; and MFBA, China Mission Diaries, Kochow Diary, December 2-3, 1919, pp. 25-26.

thing that looks like a money-making proposition, all for their own ends."67 And Walsh was troubled deeply by the depredations inflicted upon rural villages during the civil war which raged in south China from 1918 to 1923 and by the inability of the local military to protect the people and punish lawbreakers.68

As early as February, 1919, the Yeungkong missioners recognized the threat to the Maryknoll mission enterprise posed by revolutionary conditions in China. "The general opinion among missioners," noted a diarist, "seems to be that the slower this movement, . . . the better it will be for Christianity, and, of course, the people."69 When Dr. Sun Yat-sen established a republican government in Canton in 1921 and set out to wrest control of south China from warlord generals, Walsh expressed his preference for warlord General Ch'en Chiung-ming. Characterizing a manifesto by Chen a "dignified and able document," Walsh described Sun as the leader of a party of "extremely radical Republicans" who professed a range of Western-style reforms "from woman suffrage to mild Bolshevism."70 In August of 1922, when it appeared that Sun had lost control of Kwangtung to Ch'en, Walsh delivered this assessment:

> Our old friend . . . appears to have reached the end of his rope; . . . practically all the foreigners in South China, with the exception of the American Protestant missionaries—will be heartily glad to see the end of Dr. Sun. His actions and his public statements have revealed him as a self-seeker pure and simple. And he seems willing to subject his innocent countrymen to any sort of trouble and suffering in order to gain his own personal ends.71

The appeals to nationalism and anti-imperialism employed by Sun Yat-sen were, in Walsh's eyes, evidence of self-seeking and disruptive intentions. "With the elimination of Sun we will all breathe more freely," he concluded; "General Chan [sic] and his crowd appear much more stable and conservative than Sun, and under their regime we would hope for a return to settled conditions."72 The peace and security that accompanied settled conditions would enable Walsh to get on with the business of building the mission enterprise.

"'Yeungkong Diaries, 1918-1919, February 10, 1919, p. 49.

"James E. Walsh to Father Superior, JEWCORR, March 27, 1919, p. 2.

"Yeungkong Diaries, 1918-1919, February 10, 1919, pp. 49-50.

70FA, 15 (November, 1921), 320-321.

"James E. Walsh to Father Superior, JEWCORR, August 3, 1922, pp. 2-4. Maryknoll missioners rarely missed the opportunity to point out the mistakes and deficiencies of the Protestant mission enterprise.

72Ibid.

Returning to China in June, 1924, from a fund-raising leave in the United States, Walsh discovered that his pronouncement of Sun Yat-sen's political obituary had been premature. The First United Front—the 1923 coalition between the Nationalist Party, the fledgling Chinese Communist Party, and the Soviet Union—gave Sun the military and organizational assistance needed to build a secure revolutionary base in Kwangtung province and launch a military expedition to unite China. Upon his return, Walsh searched for property to realize his vision for a mission center at Kongmoon. Advised not to purchase land from private individuals, he approached the Canton Provincial Government about securing waste public lands. Negotiations with the Chief of the Public Land Department resulted in the lease in perpetuity of fifty acres of waste land for $30,000. Walsh registered the deed with the American Consul in Canton only to learn that the Finance Department of the Provincial Government had been directed by the military commander, General Hsu Chung Chi, to cancel the land transfer. According to General Hsu, the sale of land to foreigners "had long been criticized by the public," and this action was taken to protect "public property" and maintain "national prestige." Unfortunately, the $30,000 had been spent, and a local government official was directed "to devise means to raise funds" and reimburse Maryknoll.73 Accusing General Hsu of corrupt behavior, Walsh exploded in anger, "[the general] only got half the money . . . whereas he wanted it all, so in pique, or is it hoping for another squeeze, he crabs the deal."74

Walsh immediately initiated a strategy to bring diplomatic pressure to bear on the Canton Government and force it to certify the land transaction. The French Consul was asked to reassert the right of Catholic mission organizations to purchase land in China while diplomatic intervention was sought from the American Consul in Canton and the Legation in Peking (Beijing). Father Superior was urged to rally the Catholic hierarchy in the United States and gain the support of the State Department in Washington. Walsh family contacts approached Senator Orvington E. Weiler (R.-Maryland) and Senator William Borah (R.-Idaho),

73James E. Walsh to Father Superior, JEWCORR, November 20, 1924, p. 1 James E. Walsh to William O'Shea, December 27, 1924, p. 1; January 5, 1925, p. 1; William O'Shea to Mr. Lockhart, Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs, State Department, JEWCORR, March 31, 1925, pp. 1-4; J. V A. MacMurray, Assistant Secretary, Department of State, to John J. Burke, JEWCORR, May 19, 1925, pp. 2-3; and, Dispatch from Commissioner of Foreign Affairs for Canton to American Consul-in-Charge, December 11,1 924, National Archives, RG 59, Canton Consular Correspondence, 3931163 Am3/3,pp. 1-2.

"!fames E. Walsh to William O'Shea, January 5, 1925, p. 1.

Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. Aided by the National Catholic Welfare Conference, Father Superior secured a commitment from the Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs to bypass the Peking Government and deal directly with the Provincial Government in Canton. Walsh submitted a lengthy dossier on the case to the Secretary of State, Frank Kellogg, and appealed for diplomatic intervention.75 Father Superior sought to enlist the influence of Ma Soo, the Provisional Government's ambassador to the United States and friend of General Hsu, while Walsh wrote to Hsu, clarifying the missionary purposes for which the land would be used and offering to meet any "fair" objections to the transaction. A letter was dispatched to the Civil Governor of Kwangtung to present Walsh's case in the dispute. However, efforts to reach Ma Soo failed, while the responses of General Hsu and the Civil Governor reaffirmed the original decision.76

Frustrated with the failure of his strategy, Walsh lashed out at the Canton Government. "The present Kwangtung officials," he wrote Father Superior,"are out and out Bolshevists of the extreme type, supported by Russian money and trying to Russianize China."77 Provincial leaders openly embraced Soviet principles, he informed the Secretary of State, "and are now engaged in actively propagating these ideas among the people."78 The Maryknoll campaign did win the support of the State Department; Assistant Secretary of State J. V A. MacMurray informed the Catholic hierarchy that the cancellation of the contract and the failure to make restitution "was outrageous." The American Consul, Douglas

"Raymond Lane to Father Superior, JEWCORR, January 2, 1925, p. 2; James E. Walsh to Father Superior, January 5, 1925, p. 1; James E. Walsh to William O'Shea, January 5, 1925, p. 1; James A. Walsh, to John J. Burke, National Catholic Welfare Conference, March 17, 1925, National Archives, RG 59, Canton Consular Correspondence, 393.1163 Am3/3, p. 1; William O'Shea to Mr. Lockhart, Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs, State Department, March 31, 1925, pp. 2-3; William O'Shea to James E. Walsh, April 3, 1925, pp. 1-2; Mrs. William C. Walsh to James E. Walsh, March 14, 1925, pp. 1-2; and James E. Walsh to Honorable Frank Kellogg, Secretary of Sute, April 10, 1925, National Archives, RG 59, Canton Consular Correspondence, 393.1163 Am3/3-

"'Raymond Lane to James E. Walsh, JEWCORR, February 10, 1925, p. 1; James E. Walsh to Father Superior, February 14, 1925, pp. 1-2; James E. Walsh to William O'Shea, March 14, 1925, p. 1; Father Superior to James E. Walsh, March 20, 1925, p. 1;and Comment on American Consul's Letter of January 13, 1925, and Resume of the Whole Incident to Date, March 20, 1925, National Archives, RG 59, Canton Consular Correspondence, 393.1163 Am3/3,p.1.

"James E. Walsh to Father Superior, February 14, 1925, p. 1.

"'Regarding the Canceled Deed for Land Purchased at Kongmoon by the American Catholic Mission, October 1, 1924, dated April 19, 1925, National Archives, RG 59, Canton Consular Correspondence, 393.1163 Am3/3, p. 9.

Jenkins, was directed to inform the provincial officials that the transaction should be ratified and the deed returned without delay.79 While MacMurray promised Senator Weiler that he would pursue the issue as American Minister in Peking, he stressed that any change in the Kwangtung government would make this task more difficult. Weiler informed Walsh's family that there was little else the State Department could do. Exposing the fallacy of Walsh's strategy for resolving the dispute, Weiler concluded, "It would not be wise to hope for such prompt action as might be expected in this or some European country"80 Throughout the episode, moreover, Walsh evidenced no understanding that his behavior could be viewed by Chinese as "imperialistic" and that his actions may have exacerbated Maryknoll's problems with government officials. The dispute was not resolved until 1928.

At the conclusion of Maryknoll's first decade in China, Walsh assessed the Society's accomplishments in south China. "The harvest is so far not large," he wrote in 1928. "Two thousand converts have been added to the original five thousand. This is a small quota for ten years' work." Spiritual returns lagged behind the expansion of physical facilities; the number of Christians served by the Kongmoon Vicariate totaled 7,207 Chinese Catholics in 1928 or about one-tenth of one percent of a total population of six million Chinese. As the most noteworthy achievement, Walsh characteristically selected what he called "Brick and Mortar"—the expansion of facilities and properties operated by Maryknoll in China. "The Society had accomplished," he reported, "its first indispensable bit of building, … its business organization, [and the] occupation of its territory."81 Mission statistics confirm that Walsh realized his vision of acquiring property and building a mission enterprise in south China. Financial contributions from American Catholics were used to purchase property and expand facilities at Yeungkong and at the nine mission districts in Kwangtung and eastern Kwangsi provinces transferred to Maryknoll control by French missioners between 1919 and 1924. As a consequence of these transactions, the mission enterprise in south China grew from one mission staffed by four Maryknollers serving 269 Christians in 1919 to eighteen mission districts and 234 outstations staffed by twenty-eight missioners who

"Assistant Secretary of State J. V A. MacMurry to John J. Burke, May 19, 1925, p. 3; and Secretary of State to Douglas Jenkins, American Consul General, Canton, China, June 5, 1925, National Archives, RG 59, Canton Consular Correspondence, 393.1163 Am3/1, p. 1.

»»Senator O. E. Weiler to Honorable William C. Walsh, JEWCORR, May 28, 1925, p. 1.

"Maryknoll-in-Kongmoon Decennial 1928, MFBA, China Materials, Kongmoon Reports, pp. 10-11, 27, and 15.

served 7,572 Christians in 1928.[82] Rejecting a pessimistic reading of the hard struggles and modest gains of the years 1918-1928, Walsh projected an optimistic future for the mission enterprise in China. "If Maryknoll's friends will join the missioners in begging the Saviour of men to bless—and His Immaculate Mother to smile upon—their people and their work," he concluded, "the future can be viewed with entire confidence."[83]

"This Is a Very Critical Time in China"

The years 1925-1928 were a critical period for Christian missions in China.[84] Ignited by the May 30 and June 23, 1925, incidents in which Western security forces killed Chinese demonstrators in Shanghai and Canton, anti-imperialist campaigns targeted missionary colleges and schools during Christmas of 1925 and throughout 1926. Students, workers, and soldiers, mobilized in support of the Northern Expedition to unite China under Nationalist rule, assailed mission institutions in central and south China in 1926-1927.[85] The year 1927 was fraught with difficulties, "one of the most disastrous years that the province of Kwangtung has experienced for some time," wrote American Consul J. C. Huston.[86] Nationalist attacks on foreigners in Nanking (Nanjing) in March, 1927, led to the immediate evacuation of 93 percent of the Protestant missionaries in the interior of China. In Yeungkong district, Protestant missioners reported that "disaster has come to nearly every

[82] "Kongmoon Reports, 1920, 1922, 1924, 1926, and 1928; and Statements of Receipts and Expenditures, 1920-1925, TRCOLFINRPT, pp. 1-4. In 1922 $33,000 was spent to purchase property in Hong Kong, while the Paris Foreign Mission Society was reimbursed $6,412 for mission stations in Kwangsi. In 1924 property for a convent in Hong Kong was purchased for $27,000, and $35,000 was raised for a mission center at Kongmoon.

[83] "Maryknoll-in-Kongmoon Decennial 1928, p. 25.

[84] "The 1923 edition of Webster's New International Dictionary defines "critical" as a turning point, an especially important juncture, crucial and decisive, and attended with risk. Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language (Springfield, Massachusetts, 1923), p. 534.

[85] "Donald A. Jordan, The Northern Expedition: China's National Revolution of 1926-1928 (Honolulu, Hawaii, 1976), pp. 203-204; Ka-che Yip, Religion, Nationalism and Chinese Students: The Anti-Christian Movement of 1922-1927 (Bellingham, Washington, 1980), pp. 54-56 and 67-72; and Jessie Gregory Lutz, China and the Christian Colleges 1850-1950 (Ithaca, New York, 1971), pp. 255-260, 265-267, and 270.

[86] A Review of Political Conditions in the Canton Consular District During 1927 with Special Reference to the General Economic and Commercial Situation, U.S. Department of State, December 31, 1927, National Archives, RG 59, Internal Affairs of China, 1910-1929, 893.00/9824, p. 1.

market town having a chapel and the Christians have become much scattered and in some cases demoralized."[87]

Contrary to the arguments of Feuerwerker and Lutz, anti-Christian movements in the 1920's were not "almost exclusively" directed against Protestant missions, nor did the Catholic missions "remain apart" from the currents of the Nationalist Revolution. Rather than marginalized and unaffected, the historical record indicates that American Catholic missions also were put at risk by the campaigns, disputes, and incidents which accompanied the Nationalist Revolution. American Catholic Dominican missions in northern Fukien (Fujian) province were seized by Nationalist army units, as were Franciscan missions in Wuchang district and Vincentian missions in southern Kiangsi (Jiangxi) province. The Passionist mission at Senchow (Chenzhou) was destroyed in 1927, while that society's mission stations in western Hunan province were evacuated.88 Reacting to the Yeungkong incident on November, 1927, during which students and workers attacked the mission, Bishop Walsh acknowledged its alarming potential for the Maryknoll enterprise when he warned Father Superior, "this is a very critical period in China, when a mis-step [sic] may ruin the entire Mission."89

Maryknoll missioners were not passive bystanders observing the turmoil of the Nationalist Revolution from remote rural enclaves. With mission compounds located in key coastal cities and provincial towns, and a network of outstations, chapels, and schools reaching into the countryside of Kwangtung and Kwangsi provinces, on two dozen occasions Maryknollers were drawn into the demonstrations, disputes, incidents, and accidents which characterized daily life in south China from 1925 to 1927. All Maryknollers were forced to flee from mission stations in the summer of 1925, while kidnapings and incarcerations periodically disrupted mission journeys thereafter.90 Maryknoll mission stations

"'Janet Heininger, "Private Positions Versus Public Policy: Chinese Devolution and the American Experience in East Asia," Diplomatic History, 6 (Summer, 1982), 290-291; China Christian Yearbook 1926 (Shanghai, 1926), p. 151; China Christian Yearbook 1928,pp. 160-161; and The Chinese Recorder, 59 (August, 1928), 527.

""Breslin, China, American Catholicism, and the Missionary, pp. 53-55; E P Lockhart, American Consul General, Hankow, to Honorable Frank Kellogg, Secretary of State, U.S. Department of State, August 25, 1927, National Archives, RG 59, Hankow Consular Correspondence, 393.1163Am3/37, pp. 2-3; and Carbonneau, "The Passionists in China, 1921-1929," pp. 392, 405, and, 412-416.

"'Maryknoll-in-Kongmoon Decennial 1928, pp. 17-18; and Bishop Walsh to Father Superior, February 26, 1928, JEWCORR.

"James E. Walsh to Father Superior, July 11, 1925, JEWCORR; "Chinese Bandits Hold Two American Priests," NYT, November 4, 1925, p. 8; and MSA, China Convent Diaries, Loting Convent Diaries, March 27, 1926, and March 12-April 2, 1927.

were the sites of serious incidents involving destruction of property and threats to life; in June, 1926, anti-Christian demonstrators protested the Maryknoll decision to open a mission school at Siou-loc (Soule) in eastern Kwangtung by invading the compound, ransacking the chapel, and wrecking the school.91 Disputes also erupted between Maryknoll missioners and Chinese citizens; in March, 1927, a confrontation between a Chinese mission employee and soldiers from a Nationalist army unit forced the Maryknollers of Fachow (Huazhou) mission to flee when the compound was invaded by soldiers and looted by civilians.92 Anti-Christian and anti-foreign demonstrations repeatedly targeted Maryknoll mission compounds and schools at Loting in October, 1925, and March, 1926, at Pingnam in June, 1926, at Yeungkong in December, 1926, and at Kochow from December, 1926, to February, 1927. On November 12, 1927, a mass meeting of students and workers, stirred by newspaper reports that a student had been struck by a Maryknoller, attempted to invade the mission compound at Yeungkong.93 Maryknoll missioners also experienced serious problems with the Chinese Catholic community. Atisiou-loc, an ex-Catholic became the leader of the Anti-Christian Movement and played an important role in the invasion of the mission by demonstrating students, workers, and soldiers. During 1927 the Sancian Island (Shangchuan) mission experienced a host of challenges from the Chinese Catholic community including: lax Mass attendance, disputes over rice field rents and repayment of loans, polygamous unions by nominal Christians, and conflicts over the staff and curriculum of the mission school.94

More than one-third of the reported interactions involving Maryknoll missioners and Chinese nationalists occurred in the coastal region of

"Francis Ford to Father Superior, June 1, 1926, MFBA, Mission Superior Correspondence, 1925-1927; Charles Walker to Bishop Walsh, March 25 and 26, 1927, JEWCORR; Yeungkong Diaries, 1924-1935, December 26, 1926, January 7, 1927, and May 9 and 10, 1927; and Frederick Dietz to Father Superior, November 25, 1927, MFBA, China Mission Letters.

"Francis Ford to Father Superior, June 1, 1926; James E. Walsh to Frederick Dietz, July 15, 16,and 18, 1926,JEWCORR; MFBA, China Diaries Kongmoon, Sancian Island Diary.November, 1926-November, 1927, pp. 1-7 and 10; Charles Walker to Bishop Walsh, March 25 and 26, 1927; and Yeungkong Diaries, 1924-1935, December 26, 1926, January 7, 1927, and May 9 and 10,1927.

"MFBA, China Diaries Kongmoon, Loting Mission Diaries, 1923-1928, October 21 and 27, 1925; John Murray to Father Superior, MFBA, China Mission Letters, June 24, 1926; Adoph Paschang to Father Superior, January 24, 1927; Yeungkong Diaries, December 18-30, 1926; and Frederick Dietz to Father Superior, November 25, 1927.

9<Francis Ford to Father Superior, June 1, 1926; and Sancian Island Diary, November, 1926-November, 1927, pp. l-7,and 10.

southwest Kwangtung province at Yeungkong, Kwonghoi (Guanghai), and Sancian Island. Interregional networks of transportation and communication linked these coastal areas with centers of revolutionary activity at Hong Kong and Canton. Chesneaux reports that 1926 was a peak year for union activities in the Canton-Hong Kong region with forty-three unions formed and seventy-three strikes organized. Most industrial workers in the 1920s were former peasants from nearby rural areas who maintained close links to natal villages and returned to the countryside at harvest time and during strikes.95 The Canton-Hong Kong Strike Committee organized local branches of unions in Kwangtung province, including seafarers of the coastal ports who were enrolled in the Chinese Seamen's Union in 1926. Concurrently, the Strike Committee stationed 200-member armed units of the Strike Pickets at posts in the Pearl River estuary and along the southwest coast of Kwangtung, including a detachment at Yeungkong.96 One-half of the interactions involving the Maryknoll missions and Chinese nationalism occurred in areas which were liberated from warlord control in 1925-1926 and into^which the mass organizations poured personnel and resources. Mobilization activities among students, workers, and peasants demonstrated impressive results in northeast Kwangtung, the site of Siou-loc mission, while Fachow, Kochow, and Loting missions in southwest Kwangtung reported extensive mobilization of urban populations.97

Analysis of the chronology of episodes involving the Maryknoll missions and Chinese nationalism indicates a direct correlation between the timing of such events and important developments in the mass mobilization campaigns and the Northern Expedition. Following the bloody incidents of May 30 and June 23, 1925, local branches of the National Student Association (NSA) were organized in Kwangtung cities and towns. Working co-operatively with labor unions and peasant asso-

"Jean Chesneaux, The Chinese Labor Movement 1919-1927 (Stanford, 1968), pp. 48-51, 64-67, and 377-380; Ming Kou Chan,"Labor and Empire: The Chinese Labor Movement in the Canton Delta, 1895-1927" (Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1975), pp. 342-345 and 471; and David Faure, The Rural Economy of Pre-Liberation China (Hong Kong, 1989), pp. 117-126.

"Chan, op. cit., pp. 308, 318, and 353; Earl John Motz, "Great Britain, Hong Kong, and Canton: The Canton-Hong Kong Strike and Boycott of 1925-1926" (Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1972), pp. 67-70; Chesneaux, op. cit., pp. 295-297; and Jordan, op. cit., pp. 10, 12, and 177.

"Jordan, op. cit., pp. 18 and 177; Yip, op. cit., pp. 49-53; and Robert Marks, Rural Revolution in South China: Peasants and the Making of History in Haifeng County, 1570-1930 (Madison, Wisconsin, 1984), pp. 195-200 and 207-212.

dations, NSA branches targeted both Protestant and Catholic missions with parades and demonstrations during 1925-1926. Anti-Christian agitation was particularly vehement in northeast Kwangtung near the Maryknoll mission at Siou-loc, while "student storms" disrupted Christmas celebrations throughout the province both years.98 Anti-Christian demonstrations, attacks on missionaries, and destruction of mission property intensified in late 1926 and early 1927 as the mass organizations mobilized public support for the Nationalist Party-led Northern Expedition to unify China. Despite orders to protect missionaries and mission property, Nationalist army units joined with students and workers to attack and seize Protestant and Catholic mission properties, including the Maryknoll compound at Fachow. While anti-foreign demonstrations declined after the military crackdown on the mass organizations in April, 1927, the legacy of repression exploded in two end-of-year anti-government coups in Canton and the Yeungkong incident of November 12, 1927.99

Analysis of Maryknoll reactions to encounters with Chinese nationalism suggests the outlines of a general pattern or strategy employed by the Maryknoll leadership. When news of an incident in China involving Maryknollers was recounted in the American press, Father Superior responded to public queries in a confident and assured manner. Questioned about the kidnaping of two Maryknoll priests by Chinese bandits on Sancian Island, he identified the missioners and downplayed the seriousness of their plight. Stressing that the two priests knew "how to take care of themselves," he cautioned that Chinese bandits posed less of a threat to life than did criminals in New York and Chicago. Upon their release, Father Superior expressed greater concern over the possible effects of exposure and improper food on the missioners than with the supposed threat to their lives.100 The tactic of downplaying the seriousness of incidents also characterized reporting in The Field Afar. Coverage emphasized that the missioners were busy with their evangelistic duties, coping successfully with propaganda and disturbances, and

*"Yip, op. cit., pp. 49-53; and Lutz, China and the Christian Colleges, pp. 249-250, 252, and 254; and, Lutz, Chinese Politics and Christian Missions, pp. 197-199 and 202-205.

"Jordan, op. cit., pp. 143-150 and 203-204; Yip, op. cit., pp. 54-56, 67-72, and 74-75; Lutz, China and the Christian Colleges, pp. 255-260, 265-267, and 270; and, Lutz, Chinese Politics and Christian Missions, pp. 214-216; Chesneaux, op. cit., pp. 362-365 and 369-371; Harold R. Issacs, The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution (Stanford, 1961), pp. 105-106 and 282-291; and Marks, op. cit., pp. 234 and 239.

""""Chinese Bandits Hold Two American Priests," NYT, November 4, 1925, p. 8; "American Warship Rescues Missionaries," NYT, November 5, 1925, p. 3; and "Father Ford Captured," NYT, February 23, 1926, p. 16.

making encouraging headway in the struggle to convert China. Harsh realities were presented as unavoidable aspects of foreign missions work. When Maryknoll Sisters returning to Yeungkong were robbed by pirates, Father Superior praised their courage, made light of the loss of money and goods, and repeated the theme that Chinese pirates had "more consideration for the lives of their victims than have the reckless highwaymen of our own civilized (!) country."[101] Labeling conditions in China Maryknoll's "Baptism of Fire," Walsh reminded his audience that the Church had never been established "without the shedding of martyrs' blood." Anti-foreignism, he alleged, was the product of "Bolshevist influences" and did not represent the sentiments of the "peaceful people" of China.[102]

To deal with disruptive conditions in China, the Maryknoll strategy sought to avoid the entangling of missioners with Nationalist constituencies and anti-imperialist activities. In the aftermath of the bloody incidents of May 30 and June 21, 1925, Walsh ordered the evacuation of twenty Maryknoll priests and twenty-four Sisters to Hong Kong. Though most Maryknollers returned to their mission stations by the end of October, 1925, concern for the safety of the Maryknoll Sisters led Walsh not to reopen the convent at Loting until March, 1926. When massive demonstrations by students, workers, and soldiers threatened the safety of the convent in March, 1927, he ordered the Sisters to return to Hong Kong. Convinced that the conditions at Yeungkong remained unsafe, Walsh delayed the Sisters' return to that city until November, 1926. When their returning boat was plundered by pirates in the South China Sea, Walsh shut down the Yeungkong convent until 1930.[103]

[101] FA, 21 (February, 1927), 45; and FA, 21 (March, 1927), 84.

[102] FA, 21 (April, 1927), 103-105; FA, 20 (April, 1926), 96; and FA, 19 (September, 1925), 247.

[103] Loting Convent Diary 1925, June 22, 1925; Loting Diaries, 1923-1928, June 26-30, 1925: James Drought to Father Superior, August 17, 1925, MFBA, China Mission Letters; MFBA China Diaries, Fachow Diary, 1925, August 21, 1925; Loting Convent Diary 1926, March 29, 1926, p. 4; Loting Convent Diary 1927, March 12, 1927, p. 15, and April 2, 1927, p. 20; and FA, 21 (March, 1927), 84. The Maryknoll Sisters were members of their own religious community under the leadership of Mother Superior Mary Joseph Rogers. In China they worked in co-operation with Maryknoll priests and Brothers under the direction of the pastor of their assigned mission station and the superior of the mission district in which they served. For much of the 1920's Maryknoll Sisters served under the direction of the mission superior, Father James E. Walsh, who ordered them to leave the Yeungkong and Loting missions when he judged their safety to be imperiled. See FA, 17 (February, 1923), 38-40; FA, 17 (July-August, 1923), 215-219; John J. Casey, M.M., "Doing Mission: The Catholic Experience," Missiology: An International Review, XTV (October, 1986), 423-425; and Sister Mary Ann Schultz, OR, "An Investigation of the Modernizing

After several Maryknollers became embroiled in the struggle between the Canton government and a local warlord for control of Kwonghoi city in July, 1926, Walsh ordered all missioners to avoid the region and prevent further trouble for the Society.104

Another tactic employed by Maryknoll was to secure the protection of mission lives and property by local authorities. Ford obtained an order from the Minister of Foreign Affairs to the local government officials in Siou-loc to protect the mission from further disturbances, while the Pingnam missioners used this strategy to stop demonstrators from placing posters on mission property. The Loting Sisters posted a proclamation from the local "Mandarin" safeguarding the mission from violent acts during demonstrations in March, 1927. Indeed, the Fachow missioners reported that they had enjoyed the protection of local officials prior to the March, 1927, incident while the Pingnam diary recorded that the highest military official in Kwangsi province had guaranteed protection for foreign lives and property. Receiving word of impending demonstrations against the Yeungkong mission on November 12, 1927, Father Frederick Dietz immediately sought the protection of the local military commander. The timely dispatch of soldiers prevented the demonstrators from invading the compound.105

The essentially reactive nature of the Maryknoll strategy—downplaying the seriousness of events and maintaining a low profile in China—failed to insulate the mission enterprise from powerful and disruptive currents of the Nationalist Revolution. On those occasions when Maryknoll missions became entangled with groups and forces associated with Chinese nationalism, missioners responded by asserting rights and privileges guaranteed to foreigners in China by the system of unequal treaties. In an effort to achieve a satisfactory resolution of the Kongmoon property dispute, Walsh asserted the right of mission organizations to purchase land in China and mounted a campaign to bring American and French diplomatic pressure to bear on the Canton government. After the Maryknoll mission at Fachow was ransacked and the

Role of the Maryknoll Sisters in China" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1978), pp. 121, 171-172, and 192-193.

1MJames E. Walsh to Thomas O'Melia, July 15, 1926, JEWCORR; and James E. Walsh to Frederick Dietz, July 16, 1926, MFBA, China Mission Letters.

""Francis Ford to Father Superior, June 10, 1926, MFBA, China Mission Letters, p. l; John Murray to Father Superior, June 24, 1926; Loting Convent Diary 1927, March 12, 1927, p. 15; Dispatch from the Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs to the American Consul at Canton, April 30, 1927, JEWCORR, p. l; MFBA, China Diaries, Pingnam Mission Diary, 1927, May-June, 1927; and Frederick Dietz to Father Superior, November 25, 1927.

lives of missioners threatened, Walsh sought diplomatic assistance from the American Consulate in Canton to pursue his four-part plan to rectify the affair. Walsh demanded that the Fachow Magistrate issue a public statement guaranteeing protection to all Americans in the district and pay a $3,000 indemnity for damages which resulted from the official's failure to preserve order. Those who had stolen mission goods should be tried in Chinese courts and the offending army unit transferred. "These measures," argued Walsh, would "discourage a repetition of such trouble in Fachow and elsewhere."106 When the Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs ruled that the aggressive actions of the mission coolie had provoked the crowd to attack the mission and that the soldiers were not responsible for the incident, Walsh dismissed the report as a fabrication and urged Father Superior to press the State Department to "insist on our original demands."107 Concerned more with containing bad publicity from the incident in the United States than with asserting Maryknoll rights in China, Father Superior elected not to pursue compensation through the State Department.108 Thus, the Maryknoll strategy was partially successful; maintaining a low profile, avoiding trouble, and downplaying problems reduced the potential for harmful disruptions of the mission enterprise. However, when missioners became entangled in disputes -with groups and forces associated with the Nationalist Revolution, the strategy failed and efforts to assert treaty rights proved unproductive.

Father Superior recognized that the Maryknoll mission enterprise was vulnerable to developments in China which might cause American Catholics to discontinue financial support of the missions. "The whole

""Bishop Walsh to Douglas Jenkins, American Consul General, Canton, April 12, 1927, JEWCORR.

""Dispatch from the Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs to the American Consul at Canton, April 30, 1927, pp. 3-5; Note on Report, Re Fachow Mission, June 1, 1927, JEWCORR, p. 1; Bishop Walsh to Father Superior, June 1, 1927, JEWCORR; and Father Superior to Bishop Walsh, May 25, 1927, JEWCORR.

"»Father Superior to Bishop Walsh, September 6, 1927, JEWCORR, p. 1. Unlike many American Protestant missioners, Maryknoll did not support revision of the system of special privileges and protections enjoyed by foreign missionaries in China, nor did it pursue devolution of responsibility and control of its missions to Chinese Catholics. See Philip Taggart to Father Superior, May 15, 1925, MFBA, China Mission Letters, pp. 1-2; James Drought to Father Superior, August 18, 1925, MFBA, China Mission Letters, p. 2; MFBA, China Diaries, Hoingan Mission Diary, January-March, 1927, p. 9; Frederick Dietz to Parents, August 26, 1925, MFBA, China Mission Letters, p. 2; James E. Walsh to Father Superior, August 24, 1925, JEWCORR, p. 1; and John Burke, National Catholic Welfare Conference, to Francis Ford, October 12, 1925, MFBA, Mission Superior Correspondence, 1925-1927, pp. 1-2.

Chinese situation," he wrote in May, 1927, "has had a tendency to make people over here question the value of spending money for missions in that country."109 Indeed, financial gifts designated for the China missions declined from $69,532 in 1926 to $44,687 in 1927, and $43,842 in 1928, while the China share of total mission gifts declined from 65 percent in 1925 to 34 percent in 1928.no Diminished financial support by American Catholics was keenly felt by Maryknollers in China. In private correspondence with the American directors of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, Bishop Walsh warned, "We are exactly where we were at the beginning [1919] ¡although, with expenses mounting as the Mission grows, the outlook is even less promising."111 Thus, when unpleasant news involving Maryknoll missioners appeared in the American press, Father Superior sought to limit damage by emphasizing the most favorable interpretation of events. Interviewed for a New York Times report about the kidnaping of two Maryknollers, he made light of the dangers faced by missioners in China. Eleven days later, readers of the newspaper learned that seven more Maryknollers were departing for Cliina.112 In November, 1927, he was fortunate not to have to respond to questions about the Yeungkong incident. Though reported in the New York Times and Hongkong Telegraph, coverage was buried amid a welter of dispatches about the Northern Expedition and an anti-government coup in Canton."3

Moreover, reporting of news from China could be managed in the pages of The Field Afar. When expectations for a quick return to pre-

"Tather Superior to Bishop Walsh, May 25, 1927. For a discussion of the impact of developments in China upon the finances of American Protestant missions societies, see Shirley S. Garrett, "Why They Stayed: American Church Politics and Chinese Nationalism in the Twenties," in Fairbank (ed.), The Missionary Enterprise, pp. 283-288 and 296-301.

""Statement of Receipts and Expenditures, February 1, 1926-1929. Though financial gifts designated for the China missions declined during the period 1926-1928, overall contributions designated for foreign missions increased from $88,625 in 1926 to $129,000 in 1928. The loss in contributions for missions in China was more than offset by increases in giving for Maryknoll missions in Korea and general mission gifts.

"'Bishop James E. Walsh to Rt. Rev. James Black, February 2, 1927, JEWCORR. See also James E. Walsh to Father Superior, August 5, 1926; Maryknoll-in-Kongmoon, Decennial 1928, pp. 14 and 19; and, MFBA, China Materials, Report of the Kongmoon Vicariate, August 10, 1929, pp. 6-7.

"""Chinese Bandits Hold Two American Priests," NYT, November 4, 1925, p. 8; and "Priests Leave For Orient,"NYT, November 16, 1925, p. 11.

"""Mission Reported in Danger," NYT, November 14, 1927, p. 7: "Our Gunboat Sent to Yuengkong [sic] " NYT, November 18, 1927, pp. 1 and 7; "Trouble at Yuengkong [sic] is Over," NYT, November 29, 1927, p. 5;"Shots Fired at Mission in China," NYT, November 22, 1927, p. 15;"Trouble in Yeungkong," The Hongkong Telegraph [hereafter cited as HT] November 16, 1927, p. 1; and "The Yeungkong Trouble,' HT, November 17, 1917, p. 14.

1925 conditions proved false, extensive reporting about developments in China was avoided in favor of short statements stressing the complexity of the issues and the rapidity with which events changed. "I have been watchful," Father Superior confessed, "not to lament about present conditions."[114] Reports minimized the risks and emphasized the daily efforts of the missioners. American Catholics learned about the Chinese seminary and Maryknoll language school at Kongmoon, medical dispensaries at Sunchong (Xinchang) and Sancian, Sacred Heart School at Kochow, and newly acquired mission territories including the Hakka Mission in eastern Kwangtung, Wuchow district in Kwangsi, and Antung in Manchuria. In 1926-1927, fictional short stories set in unidentified Maryknoll missions and infused with inspiring messages about the faith of Chinese Christians replaced unsettling news from China, while accounts of successful Maryknoll endeavors in the United States and the growing mission enterprise in Korea and the Philippines were designed to reassure American Catholic supporters.[115]

On several occasions during these critical years, concerns about the impact of what Father Superior called "the whole Chinese situation" on American Catholic support of the missions led him to reshape or suppress reporting in The Field Afar of incidents involving the Maryknoll missions and Chinese nationalism. Reporting about events of the traumatic summer of 1925 downplayed the risks to the missioners and suggested that they had not been ordered to evacuate the interior by Walsh.[116] The Kwonghoi misadventure which resulted in the detain-

"Tather Superior to Bishop Walsh, May 25, 1927.

"5#1,21 (April, 1927), 102-106;fi4,21 (March, 1927),84;ß4,20 (June, 1926), 154-155; FA, 19 (December, 1925), 340; FA, 20 (March, 1926), 65-66; FA, 21 (December, 1927), 298-299; FA, 19 (December, 1925), 350; FA, 20 (September, 1926), 208-210; FA, 21 (September, 1927), 228-229; FA, 23 (January, 1929), 16-17; and FA, 21 (December, 1927), 312-313- By 1924 a pattern for news coverage in the magazine had been established; 30 percent of the news was devoted to the Maryknoll missions in south China and 7 percent to the Yeungkong mission. Coverage of missions elsewhere in Asia was 11 percent; financial reporting averaged 12 percent; U.S. news 32 percent, and world news 7 percent. This pattern was altered dramatically during the Chinese Nationalist Revolution of 1925- 1927. China coverage dropped to 13 percent in the second half of 1925, and Yuengkong virtually disappeared from The Field Afar. At the same time, coverage of Maryknoll activities in Korea doubled. After 1927 coverage of China returned to the pattern set in the years 1920-1924. See "Table l.-Regional Coverage in The Field Afar 1919-1928," in Paul R. Rivera, "Turing the World Upside Down': The Maryknoll Mission Enterprise and Chinese Nationalism, 1918-1928" (M.A. thesis in History, University of Maryland, Baltimore County, 1996), p. 173.

"'According to The Field Afar, notification for the evacuation of Maryknoll nuns came from the Consul-General at Canton, while the decision regarding the status of Maryknoll priests was made at the time the missioners "were gathering for their annual retreat."

ment of three Maryknollers and Walsh's order to avoid the area was reported in amused terms; "Brother John, we hasten to assure our readers, was arrested through an error. He wrote us a card from the Sunning jail and signed it 'Maryknoll's first jailbird in China.'"[117] Father Superior did not publicize the sacking of Fachow mission in March, 1927. "American people . . . are very practical," he informed Walsh, "and report of money which they have given and which has been stolen is not encouraging."[118] A five-sentence notice was inserted amid announcements and appeals in the September issue of the magazine while Bishop Walsh downplayed the incident in a February, 1928, article which stressed the progress made by the mission and the chance nature of the event.[119]

News of the Yeungkong incident was suppressed by Father Superior in response to Walsh's plea that, "this matter should not be aired in anyway."[120] In recognition of the catastrophic potential of the incident for the mission enterprise, no news appeared in The Field Afar. While Walsh included a brief reference to the destruction of Fachow mission in the General Report of 1928, the sole allusion to events at Yeungkong in 1927 sanitized the record and recast the incident as a "little flurry" which occurred in April "when a band of students and labor unionists—classical protagonists of communism in China—staged a demonstration before the Mission." The authorities quickly restored order "by sending the ringleaders to jail to meditate on the difference between parlor and applied bolshevism."[121] Apparently conflating the destruction of the Fachow mission in April with the November incident at Yeungkong, Walsh succeeded in purging the former from the Maryknoll memory and reconstructing the latter as evidence that China was ready for Christianity, not Bolshevism. Ironically, by providing the missioners with a powerful explanation for the disruptions of the Nationalist Revolution, the "challenge of Bolshevism" argument also gave comfort. Maryknoll problems in China were due to the forces of materialistic

Rather than ordered to evacuate their missions, American Catholics were informed that "under advisement from civil and ecclesiastical authorities, our missionaries deferred their return." Emphasizing the most favorable interpretation of the events, Walsh noted that the delayed return allowed the missioners to undertake an "intensive study of the Chinese language." See:.R4, 19 (November, 1925), 311;.R4, 19 (December, 1925), 337; and FA, 20 (February, 1926), 40.

"754,21 (January, 1927), 4.

""Father Superior to Bishop Walsh, May 25, 1927.

"9FA, 21 (September, 1927), 217; and FA, 22 (February, 1928), 40-42.

"»Bishop Walsh to Father Superior, November 25, 1927, JEWCORR.

'"General Report 1928, Kongmoon Report; and Maryknoll-in-Kongmoon Decennial 1928, pp. 18-19.

Communism. China had not rejected Christianity. China remained "a country ready for Christianity."

The Maryknoll Mission Enterprise in 1928

As leader of the first American Catholic foreign mission society, James A. Walsh was the architect of the Maryknoll mission enterprise. Infusing seminarians with zeal for the missions and commitment to "the Maryknoll Spirit," he assembled the infrastructure of properties and facilities and secured the Society's first mission territory in China. Stressing that China was "a country ready for Christianity," Father Superior made effective use of the mission magazine, The Field Afar, to promote the missions and to solicit financial support from American Catholics. Under his stewardship, Maryknoll experienced impressive financial growth, acquired property, constructed facilities, and expanded its mission territory. By 1928 the Maryknoll mission enterprise was established in the United States, China, Manchuria, Korea, and the Philippines. Rapid expansion, however, created cash flow problems which he sought to manage through a strategy that combined large loans with increased solicitation of financial contributions, frugal management of existing facilities, and timely sale of investments and property. While this strategy alleviated the Society's fiscal problems, Walsh recognized that the financially over-extended Maryknoll enterprise was vulnerable to developments in China that might cause American Catholics to withdraw their monetary support. To divert pubic attention from turmoil in China in 1925-1927 and to minimize damage to fund-raising, Walsh reshaped the treatment of China in The Field Afar, praising the faith of Chinese Christians, celebrating Maryknoll successes, and suppressing unpleasant news.

As superior of the Kongmoon mission district from 1919 to 1936, James Edward Walsh shaped the Maryknoll mission enterprise in China. Infused with an expansionist vision, his initiative and persistence yielded a fivefold increase in mission stations in Kongmoon district, while his adroit negotiations with French bishops added territories in Kwangsi and eastern Kwangtung. However, Walsh displayed limited understanding of the history and culture of China and of the revolutionary changes underway there. Suspicious of the threat posed to the Maryknoll enterprise by what he perceived as the "radical" programs of Sun Yat-sen, Walsh preferred conservative leaders and policies that would enable him to build the mission enterprise in China. During the years 1924-1928 he experienced great difficulties dealing with the indepen-

dent leadership and disorderly agitation of the Nationalist Revolution. Increasingly, he labeled those who opposed the foreign mission presence in China as Communists, Bolsheviks, and Reds.

The Maryknoll mission enterprise was an important focus of the anti-Christian and anti-imperialist demonstrations, disputes, and incidents of the Nationalist Revolution of 1925-1927. Rather than marginalized and uninvolved in the "great difficulties" which characterized only the Protestant missions in China, the weight of evidence suggests that these experiences were shared by both Catholic and Protestant missioners. Indeed, a complex web of relationships, complementary and antithetical, bound the Maryknoll mission enterprise to China. The promise of a China "ready for Christianity" engendered the formation of Maryknoll in 1911 The experiences of Maryknollers in China in the 1920's nurtured the youthful mission enterprise in the United States and East Asia. The Nationalist Revolution of 1925-1927 posed a significant threat to the evangelistic activities and financial health of the Society in China and the United States. Surviving this threat, Maryknoll emerged with a renewed commitment to the Christianization of China through the evangelization of poor rural villagers. In the 1930's the Society earned the reputation as a pioneer in developing different approaches to evangelizing non-Christians. When World War II, the Chinese Civil War, and the formation of the People's Republic in 1949 ended foreign mission activities in China, the Maryknoll enterprise refocused its energies on mission territories in Latin America that the Society had acquired in I942-I944.122

u2Wiest, Maryknoll in China, pp. 88-90 and 99; and Ellen M. McDonald, M.M., "Maryknoll's Fifty Years in Latin America," International Bulletin of Missionary Research, 16 (October, 1992), 154-156. For an example of contemporary Maryknoller activities in the PRC, see Larry Lewis, M.M., The Misfit (Maryknoll, New York, 1997).

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General and Miscellaneous

The Illustrated Jesus through the Centuries. By Jaroslav Pelikan. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1997. Pp. x, 254. $35.00.)

Jaroslav Pelikan, the Sterling Professor of History Emeritus at Yale University, needs no introduction to the readers of this journal. His Jesus through the Centuries: His Place in the History of Culture, published by Yale University Press in 1985, attained a circulation of more than 100,000 copies and translations in more than a dozen languages. That book, which brought together the author's William Clyde De Vane Lectures at Yale, complements his earlier five-volume work on The Christian Tradition, which describes the history of the significance of the person and work of Jesus Christ for the faith and teaching of the Christian Church. Jesus through the Centuries delineates the place of Jesus Christ in the general history of culture. It comprises eighteen chapters beginning with first-century images of Jesus as rabbi and continues with such representations of Jesus as king of kings, bridegroom of the soul, prince of peace, teacher of common sense, and poet of the spirit. Recent centuries have interpreted Jesus as liberator; hence his message has extended beyond Christendom, and so he is seen also as the man who belongs to the whole world.

Because of the gracious response to Jesus through the Centuries, Pelikan acceded to the publisher's wish that he prepare an illustrated edition. The result is a strikingly beautiful and accessible book with over two hundred illustrations, most of them in color. The original text has been judiciously shortened so that readers will have to turn to the first edition for the identification and documentation of quotations, for additional readings, and for a more complete exposition, but the handsome illustrations serve as a rich complement to the written text and show how a picture can in fact mean more than a thousand words. The illustrations are drawn from roadside crosses in Anglo-Saxon Northumbria to Carolingian miniatures to Renaissance masters. They make one wonder whether theologians have not been too exclusively text-bound and have neglected the important role that the arts have played in the development of the Christian tradition.

Accompanied by the author's lively commentary, the illustrations range from familiar Western works, such as Fra Angélico's "Madonna and Child" and Warner Sallman's "Head of Christ" to images derived from the Eastern Christian tradi-

tion and -works by Chinese, black American, Australian aboriginal, Native American, and other artists. There are reproductions of Marc Chagall's "Yellow Crucifixion," Edvard Munch's "Golgotha," William Johnson's "Mount Calvary," Caravaggio's "Supper at Emmaus," and Horace Peppin's "The Crucifixion." Because of such wide-ranging styles, the illustrations are appealing to people of all ages, social backgrounds, religious persuasions, and educational levels. It is unfortunate that the illustrations are not accompanied by clear identifications; one has to turn to the illustrations credits at the back of the book for that information.

Like the original lectures on which the book is based and which were intended for an audience representing both town and gown, The IllustratedJesus beckons an audience of believers and skeptics alike. It shows, in Pelikan's own words, that "Jesus is far too important a figure to be left only to the theologian and the church." The book is dedicated to the Benedictines of Saint John's Abbey, Collegeville, Minnesota,"nihil amori Christi praeponere."

R. Kevin Seasoltz, O.S.B.

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Tradition & Diversity: Christianity in a World Context to 1500. By Karen Louise Jolly. [Sources and Studies in World History.] (Armonk, New York: M. E. Sharpe. 1997. Pp. xiv, 569. $64.95 cloth; $28.95 paper.)

For a number of reasons, this is a welcome new anthology of sources for teaching the history of Christianity to 1500. First of all, some of the best readers in ancient and medieval Christianity published in the past half-century are now out of print. (One thinks, for example, of the first volume of Ray Petry's A History of Christianity: Readings in the History of the Church [Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker, 1962; repr. 1981, 1988].) But even if some of the earlier anthologies were still in print, there is reason to salute the arrival of Jolly's. The times change how history is written, how it is presented to students and, clearly, how documents are chosen and taught. Indeed, it is impossible to imagine any American historian making this selection of documents much before 1990.

Especially hard to imagine such a selection being made when Petry or Colman Barry (Readings in Church History: From Pentecost to the Protestant Revolt [Westminster, Maryland, I960], a Benedictine and then professor of history in St. John's University, Collegeville, Minnesota, first made theirs. Both Barry and Jolly begin their readers with selections from the canonical scriptures of Christianity. Here are the titles Barry gives to his first five scriptural readings: "The Promise of the Primacy to Peter," "The Authority of the Apostles," "The Commission of the Apostles," "The Conferring of the Primacy on Peter," and "Peter, the Guide of the Apostles." Jolly, associate professor of history in the University of

Hawaii at Manoa, gives this title to the chapter containing the scriptural documents: "Jew and Gentile: Early Origins of Christianity." And these are the titles of six of Jolly's other chapters: "Christian and Roman: Conflict and Assimilation," "Adaptations of Christianity Outside the Roman World,""Christian Acculturation in Western Europe," "Christian Diversity and Accommodation," "Cross-Cultural Exchange: Missions and Dialogue," "Cross-Cultural Contact." Two of the other chapters have the word "Diversity" in their titles, as does the title of the book.

In addition to marking quite vividly the intellectual distance traveled in the four decades since Barry's book was published, those titles tell us a lot about the principle of selection at work here. In addition to presenting documents reflecting the "older" but "still valuable" approach to Christian history (Jolly's words, see pp. 3-5)—i.e., the records of councils, papal decisions, wars, spectacular conversions, the writings of influential scholars, and so forth—Jolly has chosen documents that emphasize a number of other, characteristically late twentieth-century themes: the notion that European Christianity was just one, culturally determined brand of Christianity, and that other, geographically diverse forms ought to be represented (they are here); that Christianity often found itself in "cross-cultural interaction" with other religions and societies; that there is a "diversity of voices" (p. 5) within Christianity that in some sense compete with an "official view" and that these should be heard in order to fill out our picture of Christian history. In general, the book is organized, and the chapter and section introductions written, in terms of the concepts and language of cultural interaction, conflict, adaptation, pluralism, and diversity.

One more illustration can help drive home the significance of this way of organizing the book. When Petry chose documents related to the Crusades, he chose Urban II's address at Clermont, documents on the crusade indulgence, the start of the Crusades, the origins of the Templars, Bernard of Clairvaux's support, the course of the various battles, and so forth. Jolly also has chosen to include Urban's address. But her other documents include Jewish and Islamic views of the Crusades, the former including passages where the pope is denounced as Satan and the latter expressing the hope that the Franks will be damned by God. It's difficult to imagine Barry having much sympathy with, let alone making room for, angry Jewish and Muslim denunciations of the Western Church.

The strength of Jolly's book for pedagogical purposes is precisely that it is organized around one or two grand themes and that it gives a newer, different picture of Christianity. Is it a more complete picture? That's a harder question to answer. But it's only fair to point out that a number of traditional episodes and themes do get short shrift or are not represented at all. There is, for example, little or nothing on (restricting ourselves just to ancient Christianity) imperial attitudes toward Christianity, on Donatism or the Pelagian controversy, Christian organization, Marcionism, Montanism, the growth of papal claims and so forth. Still, no reader, not even one as long as Jolly's, can include everything. One must make hard choices, and, to her credit, Jolly is explicit about acknowledging

hers. Instructors using her book should simply expect to use a secondary text or lectures to furnish data not well-represented here. They will find their job in the classroom made easier by the excellent questions Jolly encourages students to ponder at the end of each selection and the equally fine introductions she has before each.

Putting together an anthology like this—which requires one to select, locate, collect, photocopy, translate, organize, and introduce scores of historical sources, as well as to master at least the fundamental research for a millennium and a half of ecclesiastical history—is, as Jolly accurately describes it, "a monumental task" (p. 11). She has done the job about as well as it can be done. May her efforts earn her this reward at least: that her collection stay in print a long time.

Kevin Madigan

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The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336. By Caroline Walker Bynum. [Lectures on the History of Religions Sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies, New Series, Number 15.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1995. Pp. xxii, 368. $29.95 clothbound; $17.50 paperback.)

This volume presents, in printed form and with careful scholarly elaboration, the ACLS Lectures on the History of Religions delivered by Caroline Walker Bynum, who is Morris A. and Alma Schapiro Professor at Columbia University and the author of several books that have decisively shaped the recent study of the Western Middle Ages, including Jesus as Mother and Holy Feast and Holy Fast.

As those books and her other writings have documented, Professor Bynum has become a leading figure in "the new history of the body that is being written by historians such as Peter Brown, Danielle Jacquart, Lynn Hunt, Thomas Laquer, Roy Porter, Marie-Christine Pouchelle, and Claude Thomasset" (p. xviii). In choosing as her topic specifically the resurrection of the body, she emphasizes that "this book is not about eschatology or about soul but about body" (p. xvii). But it is "about body" in the sense that the resurrection of the body means "the continuity of the self" (p. 309); for "what was at stake was not finally fingernails. It was self" (p. 225). And though it is "not about soul" as such, it is obliged to pay much attention to soul, especially when the soul is "physicalized" (p. 158) or, conversely, when the dominant tendency of the time is "packing body into soul" (p. 270), the "subsuming of [body] into soul" (p. 283). In Christian theology, the understanding of the term "body" is fundamental to the doctrine of the Incarnation, to the doctrine of the Real Presence in the Eucharist, to the doctrines of the Immaculate Conception and "bodily" Assumption of the Virgin Mary, to the cult of relics, and to a host of moral issues including sexuality. In Christian art, the iconography of any age inevitably expresses its guiding presuppositions

about "body," whether it be the body of Christ or of the Virgin or of the other saints; and in the monuments of Christian literature, such as the Divine Comedy, to which "any study of eschatology must come" (p. 291), the portrayal of bodies is the key to the poem's meaning.

Despite its title, this is not a continuous history of the development of the idea of the resurrection of the body from "200 to 1336." Its terminus a quo is indeed 200, especially "the daring inconsistency of genius" (p. 38) in Tertullian and Irenaeus; and its terminus ad quern is the controversy over the beatific vision involving the hapless Pope John XXII, which was "really about body and resurrection" (p. 279), together with what Jacques Le Goff has called "the birth of purgatory" and other fourteenth-century phenomena. But between its terminus a quo and its terminus ad quern, the late patristic and the early-to-middle medieval periods receive far less than their share of attention; as the author herself acknowledges, "no one can be more keenly aware than I how much it loses by omitting the early Middle Ages" (p. xvii). She is also aware how much it loses by concentrating, almost but not quite exclusively, on what the title calls "Western Christianity." For in fact the Eastern Christian tradition—or traditions—do come into view: the Syriac writers Aphrahat and Ephraim (pp. 71-78), Gregory of Nyssa as her "final example of the Greek tradition" (p. 81), "visual tradition from the East" (pp. 119-120) and "Byzantine iconography of the Last Judgment" (p. 192) including also Mount Athos (p. 195 n. 128), and above all Origen of Alexandria. In many ways, Origen emerges as the unacknowledged hero of the piece, or at any rate as the leitmotiv that recurs at almost every crucial juncture. The introduction to the discussion of his thought announces the leitmotiv: "In the first half of the third century, one of the greatest theologians of the ancient world, Origen of Alexandria, gave a highly satisfactory answer" (p. 63), which "solved the problem of identity more successfully than any other thinker of Christian antiquity" (p. 66). Thus he stands in contrast to "the majority of patristic theologians" (p. 112), to "the majority of twelfth-century writers" (p. 225), and to Thomas Aquinas (p. 233 n. 15), while Bonaventure, whose discussion "seems to mark the limits of what was possible, at least to a scholastic theologian, in positive conceptions of body" (p. 248), bears some similarities to Origen (p. 241), and Otto of Freising is "almost Origenist"(p. 182). One other lacuna that troubled me is, except for one reference (p. 26), the virtually total silence about the role of the Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed, which were, I am sure, cited and recited more frequently than 1 Corinthians 15 or any other biblical passage in articulating the hope of the resurrection.

Having wisely decided that, short of producing a multi-volume book, she could not make "any pretense of complete coverage" for the entire history from 200 to 1336, Professor Bynum certainly made the right choices in concentrating as she did and, as a distinguished medievalist, in making "the medieval section . . . much longer than the patristic one" (p. xvii). For what she has been able to give us as a result is a profound and nuanced exposition that goes far beyond the history of a doctrine. The iconographie materials in the thirty-five plates do far more than illustrate the ideas expounded in the text; they are pri-

mary sources in their own right, from which, with a learned and sensitive eye, she teases out important insights. The philosophical traditions of Platonism and Aristotelianism decisively shaped medieval scholastic consideration of the body; and, with suitably gracious acknowledgment of the debt we all owe to "the great French and German historians of scholasticism" (p. 247), she subjects the scholastic texts to a fresh and exciting reinterpretation. From her earlier books we would expect to see references to medieval women visionaries and mystics, especially Hildegard of Bingen (pp. 157-163), Marguerite of Oingt (pp. 334-337), and Mechtild of Magdeburg (pp. 337-341); but she has in many ways gone well beyond her earlier expositions by relating these thinkers and writers to medieval debates over the body and its resurrection. Both in these sections about medieval women and throughout the book, Professor Bynum demonstrates her thorough acquaintance with both the theory and the practice of contemporary literary and historical methodology, with its distinctive vocabulary: "gender and class essentialism" and "social hierarchy" (pp. 90-91, 214); "the other" (pp. 110, 214-215, 216, etc.); "classes and hierarchies in the hereafter" (p. 296 n. 64); "ideological repression" (p. 321). But she demonstrates even more strikingly her total lack of subservience to its trendiness, even suggesting that "it seems likely that some heretics actually held at least some of the opinions attributed to them by their orthodox opponents" (p. 219), and that some contemporary scholars "make a rather uncritical use of Foucault" (p. 325 n. 23).

There may be a relevant article or a dissertation somewhere that Caroline Bynum has not read, but it would be difficult to say what it is. In her primary sources, seemingly "bizarre" (p. 31) or "to modern tastes offensive" (p. 316) references to the parts of the body and to bodily functions—all the bodily functions—provide her with pertinent material, because, as she suggests, "none of this is irrelevant to resurrection" (p. 333). And none of her discussions of the resurrection of the body is irrelevant to our better understanding of the entire pattern of systems of belief and thought in the patristic period and especially in the High Middle Ages. Almost apologetically, she describes her enterprise as "in one sense rather old-fashioned intellectual history" (p. xvi). If it is, this is a great way to be "old-fashioned," and all of us are profoundly in her debt.

Jaroslav Pelikan

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Ancient

Zölibat in der frühen Kirche: Die Anfänge einer Enthaltsamkeitspflicht für Kleriker in Ost und West. By Stefan Heid. (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh. 1997. Pp.339. DM 39-80.)

Heid contextualizes the theme of clerical celibacy within the institutionalization of the Church and the Early Christian understanding of sexuality. To a lesser extent, he deals with the personalities on the various sides of the ques-

tion. He claims a contemporary significance for the study: "Ohne die frühe Kirche gab es heute keinen Zölibat" (p. 9), even though mandatory celibacy emerged from the twelfth-century Papstkirche (an unfortunate and inaccurate term).

After a brief review of some recent literature, Heid begins his study with the New Testament and follows it to Justinian and the Council in Trullo (690) in the East and the fifth-century popes in the West. The last chapter considers the possible Grundsätzliches zum Konsens zwischen östlicher und westlicher Zölibatsdisziplin. This reviewer found it refreshing to see an ecumenical proposal based upon solid historical research rather than just good will.

The heart of the book lies in the examination of the historical data. Separate chapters deal with the Bible, the second century to Tertullian (T220), the third century to Nicaea (325); two chapters comprising 40% of the text deal with East and West in the fourth and fifth centuries. Heid has rounded up all the usual suspects (Jerome, Augustine), but he also looks at Syriac literature, canons of regional councils, and what he calls indirekte Bestätigungen, such as the duties of Klerikerfrauen. Many writers receive only one or two pages, often because they said little on the topic or little survives of what they said. While this material makes this survey more complete, Heid could have omitted some of it and given increased space to more significant writers.

Heid finds that the New Testament, as usual, points in several directions, while in the second century some clear directions (Hinwetee) emerge. Gnostics patronized the body, while Clement of Alexandria praised marriage. Heid argues that Clement knew of an apostolic tradition of clerical abstinence from marriage. Other writers of this period concentrated on encouraging virginity and prohibiting digamy. The third century saw Origen advocate priestly celibacy; other writers advocated clerical marriage but without sexual relations between the couple.

Heid emhasizes the contribution of the popes to the fourth-century discussion, especially Siricius (384-399), who influenced Spanish and even North African practices. Early in the century the West required celibacy for the higher clergy, but Siricius required it for priests as well. Yet he carefully avoided downgrading marriage at a time when the Priscillianists and Manichees were active and when the monastic element in Rome overreacted against Jovinian. Heid also credits the popes and Western bishops for giving celibacy a long overdue theological underpinning.

Lacking the central leadership Rome provided for the West, the East did not work out its own views of celibacy until the Byzantine era.

This is a solid, wide-ranging study which will not be replaced for some time. One must hope for an English translation for wider use.

Joseph F. Kelly

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Montanist Inscriptions and Testimonia. Epigraphic Sources Illustrating the History of Montanism. By William Tabbernee. [North American Patristic Society, Patristic Monograph Series 16.] (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press. 1997. Pp. xl, 722 + [58]; 106 figures, 12 maps, 42 plates. $45.00.)

William Tabbernee's corpus of Montanist inscriptions is in a sense a sequel to Ronald Heme's collection of The Montanist Oracles and Testimonia, which was published in the same series in 1989. But it far exceeds Heine's slim volume of 190 pages in size, scope, and usefulness. For, whereas many of the texts relating to Montanism reproduced by Heine come from easily accessible Christian literary works and are reprinted without any form of critical apparatus, Tabbernee has assembled his corpus from very widely scattered publications, and he prints critical texts with a very full scholarly apparatus. Each inscription is presented in the following standard format: number and short title, provenance and date, current location with inventory number (if known), editio princeps, description, text, translation, illustration, editions other than the editio princeps, other publications of the text (including discussion), variant readings, further references including to published photographs, line drawings and/or facsimiles, commentary, and discussion. The testimonia are presented in a similar, though simplified format: number and short title, literary source and date, editio princeps, text, translation, notes on the text, further references, commentary, and discussion.

The value and reliability of a corpus of this type can only be fully established by use, consultation, and verification over a long period of time, so that a reviewer can only render a preliminary verdict. But my initial assessment is strongly favorable. Those aspects of Tabbernee's work that relate directly to the texts which he republishes I have found to be accurate and reliable wherever I have checked. On the other hand, the commentaries on individual inscriptions do not seem to me always to show the same sureness of touch when they deal with historical matters, especially when the problems discussed are not directly relevant to Montanism. Too much space, for example, is spent on dubious or fictitious acta martyrum whose testimony is rightly rejected: thus I cannot understand why almost a page is needed on the Acts of Achattus in order to reach the conclusion that they "are totally spurious" and "cannot be taken as having any historical value" (p. 141). The conclusion is correct, but Delehaye had already set out a full proof in his Les passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires2 (Brussels, 1921), pp. 266-268.

The criteria which Tabbernee has used in deciding whether or not to include an inscription must be carefully noted. The introduction states explicitly and clearly: "in compiling this collection of epigraphic material related to Montanism, I have included all inscriptions known to me which have been claimed by reputable scholars to be Montanist or likely to be Montanist, even if I doubt their Montanist nature" (pp. 5-6). Accordingly, "the commentary on each inscription indicates the basis on which the inscription has been considered

Montanist and my judgement on the matter" (p. 6). As a result, among the ninety-five inscriptions edited and discussed are several which are definitely not Montanist and many whose presumed Montanist character was inferred from flimsy, fallacious, or circular arguments. Let me give two illustrative examples. There was never any good reason to classify as Montanist the famous and much discussed text of a juridical nature from Carthage which mentions "holy patriarchs" (no. 15 = CIL 8.25045 = ILCV 1003 = Inscriptions chrétiennes de Carthage, 3 [1991], no. 381): since the word protogamia occurs elsewhere only in the Talmud, the inscription was claimed as Jewish by Paul Maas, "Ein rätselhafter kirchenrechtlicher Erlass," Theologische Literaturzeitung, 47 (1922), 311 = Kleine Schriften, ed. W. Buchwald [Munich, 1973], pp. 213-214). And although Tabbernee includes a good number of Phrygian epitaphs with the formula "Christians for Christians," he expressly and correctly rejects the view that use of this formula indicates that the deceased was a Montanist (pp. 200-202).

The arrangement of the collection also requires comment. Its primary division is chronological, into six periods: c. 165-179; c. 180-224; c. 225-274; c. 275-313; c. 314-395; c. 395-600. Tabbernee describes and justifies his arrangment, arguing that these periods correspond to successive and distinct phases in the history of Montanism (pp. 10-11). Consequently, the successive introductions with which he prefaces each section of this collection of epigraphic sources constitute, in effect, a brief connected history of the movement.

T. D. Barnes

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The Christianity of Constantine the Great. By T. G. Elliot (Scranton: University of Scranton Press. 1996. Pp. x, 366. $24.95 cloth; $19.95 paper.)

Such is the place of Constantine in history that interest in him, on the part of both scholars and the reading public, continues to run high, although the available literature on the subject long ago became so abundant that no scholar can truthfully claim to control it all. The book here under consideration does not pretend to be a comprehensive study of all aspects of Constantine's life and reign. Rather, as its title suggests, it is limited to an examination of Constantine's religious beliefs and ecclesiastical policies, while the secular aspects of his reign receive, justifiably, much less attention. T. G. Elliott of the University of Toronto, no newcomer to Constantinian studies, displays considerable erudition and draws upon a wide range of primary sources and secondary literature. Unfortunately, his interpretation of the evidence at times seems to be less than objective, and his arguments do not always flow easily. Knowing that some of his conclusions are counter to prevailing scholarly opinion, he sometimes assumes a defensive tone (p. 67) or, worse, dismisses the views of other scholars as "a quack theory" or as "figments of their own imagination" (p. 328).

It is the principal thesis of this book that Constantine was raised as a Christian by Christian parents, Constantius and Helena (pp. 18-25), that he may have compromised his Christian faith at the time of the Great Persecution (pp. 84-85 and 214), that it was the Great Persecution rather than the "miracle" of 312 that was the critical experience of his life (p. 331), that his entire career as an emperor, beginning not in 312 but in 306, was a Christianizing mission (pp. 34-35, 50, and 127), although he was quite capable of playing a double game (p. 193), and that the conversion of 312 was an invention of Eusebius (pp. 36 and 67-68). Elliott has not made a convincing case; he misinterprets a key passage, Theodoret,i£Z? 1.18.1 (pp. 18-19); he is obliged to explain away the Apolline vision of 310 (p. 51).

Many scholars in the past have reached the conclusion that Constantine's understanding of the Christian gospel was quite imperfect. Elliott holds otherwise, contending that Constantine was familiar with theological argument (pp. 181 and 271) and understood the Arian controversy very well (p. 283); he even calls Constantine a theologian (p. 284). In 324 Constantine addressed a letter to Alexander and Arius, calling upon them to settle their dispute and showing little understanding of, or even patience with, the theological issues. Elliott thinks that this letter is quite insincere, rising from the need to assume a neutral stance (pp. 179-180 and 185). We are also assured that the emperor's thinking and policy remained consistently and genuinely anti-Arian and that there was no vacillation (pp. 217, 221, 279, and 333). On this point, too, Elliott is at odds with prevailing scholarly opinion.

Among Christians in the Roman army there existed supposedly a special kind of "army Christianity," more tolerant and less rigorous than in civilian life (p. 37). Perhaps so, but it certainly is not true that there were few martyrs among Christians in the army (p. 26). The hagiographical traditions, however unreliable, give evidence to the contrary: we learn of soldier saints such as Theodore, George, and Demetrius, of the martyrs of the Theban Legion, and of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste.

In an interesting chapter on Constantine's legislation Elliott correctly holds that "Constantine does not seem to have considered legislation the best means of Christianizing the empire" (pp. 104-105), that "Constantine never had any program of Christian legislation," and that there was no "overwhelming impact of his religion upon his legislation" (both p. 114).

The big losers in this book are Eusebius of Caesarea and Athanasius. The former's account is repeatedly said to be not trustworthy, misleading, and even fraudulent (pp. 163, 164, 171, 185, 187, 190, 200, and 261.) Elliott judges Eusebius almost as severely as Jacob Burckhardt once had judged him when he called him "the first thoroughly dishonest historian of antiquity." As for Athanasius, we would hardly expect him to be an impartial observer. Elliott finds that he practiced systematic distortion (p. 314) and "concocted a tale" (p. 322);

worse, he forged the letter which Constantine supposedly sent in 335 to the bishops assembled at Tyre (pp. 4 and 315-316).

In his final paragraph Elliott describes Constantine as "a great warrior and an able administrator who carried out his extraordinary mission with deliberate speed, indefatigable industry, and great generosity of spirit" (p. 336). Great warrior, yes. Able administrator, yes. Extraordinary mission, yes. Deliberate speed, yes. Indefatigable industry, yes. Great generosity of spirit, no. In 306/307 he fed two Frankish kings to the beasts in the amphitheater of Trier. He had the severed head of Maxentius fixed to a pike and carried through the streets of Rome. He ordered the execution of the Licinii, father and son, breaking his solemn promise. The executions of his son Crispus and of his wife Fausta certainly are not to his credit, whatever the circumstances may have been. He had a fierce temper. He specified horribly cruel punishments for certain kinds of offenders. Elliott does not seem to consider these things in his assessment of Constantine's personality; he does not "see much wrong with the personal character" of Constantine (p. 329). He insists that Constantine's relationship with Minervina was one of legitimate marriage (pp. 29, n. 8, and 233), although several ancient sources call her Constantine's concubine and many modern scholars have concurred. He says that Maximian committed suicide (p. 43); he does not say that Constantine forced Maximian to do so. He does not fault Constantine for the presumptuous, if not blasphemous, arrangements which he made for his own burial (p. 258). And is it really possible to see Constantine as a man of peace (p. 336)? Did he not spend the most productive years of his life in the quest for sole power, and was war not the principal means toward that goal? Elliott's book is not the first attempt to view Constantine in such a favorable light. Paul Keresztes, in his Constantine: A Great Christian Monarch and Apostle (Amsterdam, 1981), was not more successful than Elliott is now. Strangely, Keresztes' book is not found in Elliott's bibliography.

Because it issues a challenge to much of prevailing scholarly opinion on Constantine, Elliott's book belongs in every college or university library. I would not use it as a class text. The book provides a selective bibliography and a good index; there are no maps or illustrations. The book is well produced; I have noticed very few misprints. The price is reasonable.

Hans A. Pohlsander

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Alexandria in Late Antiquity. Topography and Social Conflict. By Christopher Haas. [Ancient Society and History.] (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press. 1997. Pp. xviii, 494. $45.00.)

When one looks at the pathetic archaeological remains so far uncovered at Alexandria, it is difficult to imagine the magnificent city described by ancient

literary sources. Add to this the paucity of documentary evidence from Alexandria and the Delta, the result of the destruction of papyri by the dampness of those areas. To do a comprehensive study of late antique Alexandria, it is necessary to rely heavily on literary sources. Christopher Haas's attempt to present a comprehensive history of Alexandria highlights all these problems. But the book is also an example of what can be accomplished when limitations are recognized, and the surviving data are carefully scrutinized for what can be recovered from the history of this center of trade, church politics, and intellectual life, the political capital of one of Rome's richest and most volatile regions.

A noteworthy strength of the book lies in its successful attempt to locate historical events in both their physical and social contexts. For the former this is difficult because so much of ancient Alexandria has been obliterated, and clues to the plan of the city remain hidden under subsequent construction, with a few exceptions like the excavated portion of KOm el-Dikka, a modest neighborhood that gives some insight into the lives of people lower on the social ladder than those we usually encounter in literary documents. Following a topographical account of the city, Haas moves to an analysis of its social structures, and closes the chapter by positing the effects of the city's topography on the maintenance of control and display of political power by the magistrates and magnates who ran the city.

Three great forces came together in late antique Alexandria: the traditional polytheism, Judaism, and Christianity. The first two receive a chapter each, followed by four chapters on the development of the Christian community that came to dominate both ecclesiastical and civil affairs in a way that was unique in the Roman East. Again the author's ability to place what he terms the "interior landscape" of these social institutions in the "civic landscape" demonstrates that it is impossible to separate religious history from the civil or political environment, and vice versa. Haas also deals with the dynamics of the relations between the three religious communities and the Roman government, which shows the power of that government, as well as its limitations. Successive emperors were unable to heal the religious rifts that resulted from the Council of Chalcedon (451) or to impose its orthodoxy on the majority of the Egyptian church.

In a work of this scope, minor disagreements are sure to arise. For instance, patronage at times seems to be confused with bribery or simple charity and compassion, especially with reference to Popes Timothy Salofaciolus and John the Almsgiver. This is a rich and rewarding book that should provoke even further study of a historically important city.

David Johnson, SJ.

The Catholic University of America

Medieval

Women's Monasticism and Medieval Society: Nunneries in France and England, 890-1215. By Bruce L. Venarde. (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press. 1997. Pp. xx, 243. $42.50.)

In the eleventh, twelfth, and early thirteenth centuries, the overwhelming majority of charters and literary materials were composed in religious communities of men. Modern scholars of monasticism have been drawn to that wealth of source material and, as a consequence, have often underestimated the number and significance of women's religious houses. But the large number of monastic foundations for women points to an importance that the paucity of the sources obscures. In recent decades, the study of religious women has made great strides, in spite of the limitations of the sources. This monograph is a solid, focused contribution to the effort to understand the monastic life of women.

Sometimes an obvious idea, well executed, can yield important insights. For the period between the fifth century and 1350, Bruce Venarde counted the religious communities for women in fifteen archdioceses, two in England and thirteen in France: he found evidence for more than 850 houses, not all of which existed at the same time. He estimated that in the year 1000 there were seventy nunneries in England and France, a number which grew to more than 400 by 1170, to 525 by 1220, and to 625 by 1300. The effort to count communities of women in a particular region is an original idea and seems to have been carried out with care and good sense. The author created a database in which, for each house, he put the name, location, monastic order or rule, date of foundation, and other evidence, such as the social status of founders. From the database he generated interesting maps, graphs, and tables that tell a great deal about the foundation, diffusion, and affiliation of religious communities of women, particularly in the period from about 890 to about 1215. The author realized that numbers without context were a limited source of historical insight. He embedded his numerical findings in a narrative which summarized much contemporary scholarship about women's monasticism and about contemporaneous demographic, political, and economic developments.

Careful counting can offer remarkable insights. The "group portrait" of female religious houses is convincing, with appropriate regional and temporal nuances. At times, the research confirms prevalent generalizations: it comes as no surprise, but is now more precisely documented, that the years between 1080 and 1170 were the most exuberant period of foundations for women, as they were for men. At other times, the research produces unexpected conclusions. For instance, in spite of the attention given by medieval writers and modern scholars to the "new" orders of Cistercians, Premonstratensians, and mendicants/Old-style" Benedictine monasticism retained a strong attraction for founders and nuns well into the thirteenth century. The author identified a rhythm of monastic foundations for women which is very plausible, linked as it is to changes in demography, agricultural growth, and assertions of political power.

There is much that will never be known about women's monastic life, in large part because the women did not write about themselves. This is a relatively brief, original, and informative approach to the development of religious life, not just of women but by implication of men as well. In spite of the ambitious title, this is not a history of women's monasticism, but it does reveal a great deal about the pace of foundation, the geography of foundation (some dioceses had many nunneries and some dioceses had none at all), and the social station of founders. The book is well written in a clear, economical style.

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The Exultet in Southern Italy. By Thomas Forrest Kelly. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1996. Pp. xvi, 352; 17 plates. $95.00.)

The Exultet is a chant of rejoicing and praise that is sung at the beginning of the Easter vigil service after the lighting of the Paschal candle. As a very long text that is sung by a soloist, and performed only once in the liturgical year, it must be written down. Although in many places during the Middle Ages the Exultet was included in missals, pontificals, processionals, and other types of liturgical codices, in southern Italy it was written by itself on a scroll. In this form it was illuminated; it was provided with illustrations that were usually oriented in the opposite direction from the text, so that to the person who performs the chant they look upside down. If the singer can manage to have the scroll drape down the front of the lectern as he unwinds it, the pictures will look right-side up to members of the clergy or congregation who are facing him. Hence Exultet scrolls (and reproductions of them) often seem to have either their illuminations upside down or their text, as on the dust cover of this book. A further (and apparently unanticipated) difficulty for modern publications lies in the fact that the technicians who print photographs from negatives and make plates from them cannot read Beneventan script. As a consequence, in books on this topic illustrations are occasionally printed in reverse. There are several instances of this in recent publications, including one in the work at hand (Plate 3).

Most of the Exultet scrolls described in this book date from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. A tiny number may be from the tenth century, and there are some that are from the thirteenth century and later. Although certain images recur in one scroll after another, there seems not to have been a standard series of illuminations, and it is difficult to argue that the pictures were ever intended to illustrate the text in any systematic way. As for the chant melody, it has not hitherto received a detailed examination. It is a holdover from the archaic Beneventan liturgy and employs only three neighboring pitches. The south Italian Exultet text is also distinctive. Its special features are extensively described here.

When the Beneventan liturgy was suppressed and replaced by the Franco-

Roman, there were some attempts to reuse old Exultet scrolls by erasing the texts and music and writing new texts and music in their place. This is shown most clearly in Plate 3. (For convenience, it may be examined in a mirror.) The original capital letters remain, though after the first line the text is now written in Gothic, rather than Beneventan characters; the Beneventan notation has also been replaced.

The book has many valuable features. Among them is its description of each of the relevant surviving sources. As one example, there is an Exultet scroll in the British Library (Additional MS 30337), shown here in Plate 16, that is made up of twelve membranes, each of them measuring about eleven by twenty-four inches (except for one that is unusually short; there is more variation in length from one membrane to another than in width). Fully unrolled, it would be more than twenty-two feet long! What makes this scroll of unusual interest, apart from the exceptional beauty of its illuminations, is the fact that it may include a depiction of a feature of the abbey church of Montecassino before its eleventh-century renovation.

Professor Kelly is to be congratulated on his meticulous presentation of the evidence contained in these remarkable sources and the fascinating contribution to ecclesiastical history that his work offers.

Ruth Steiner

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Church Reform and Social Change in Eleventh-Century Italy: Dominic of Sora and His Patrons. By John Howe. [Middle Ages Series.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1997. Pp. xxiii, 220. $37.50.)

John Howe's study of the hagiographical dossier of Dominic of Sora (d. 1032) is a superb example of how the traditional strengths of medieval studies (close study and comparison of manuscripts, careful genealogical reconstruction) can be felicitously combined with new interpretive approaches. The result is a stimulating exploration of ecclesiastical reform in its social context based on a rigorously researched case study.

The book opens with an evocative description of the rugged geographical and social terrain of the Abruzzi, Lazio, and Umbría in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries. After describing "Dominic's World," Howe sketches Dominic's career as a monk, a hermit, a reforming priest, a wandering preacher, a founder of churches and monasteries. The most interesting parts of the study are its central chapters analyzing "Dominic's Holiness," his "'Benedictine' Monastic System," and his "Patrons and Followers." Two closing chapters describe and analyze the undoing of the saint's life work and several appendices set out Howe's reconstruction of the hagiographical dossier, the genealogy of the Counts of Marsica, and their patronage relations with Monte Cassino. The author arrives at several important conclusions. Howe's evidence adds to the

growing scholarly acknowledgment of well articulated reform ideals in the early eleventh century and to the relative unimportance of the papacy to the early formulation of the reform program. "Before there was a center," Howe pithily concludes, "there was reform . . ."(p. 160).

Howe's emphasis on the concrete character of Dominic's ecclesiastical work is also salutary. While historical narratives of the reform era continue to stress the rhetoric of the investiture contest, the theoretical foundations of papal authority, monastic spirituality, and the legal formulation of reform principles, Church Reform places the physical aspects of renewing religious life at the heart of its story. Dominic builds churches and monasteries with his own hands, melting lime for mortar and placing stones. He physically traverses a harsh and impoverished landscape, bringing healing and prayer to remote communities. Dominic ministers to sinful elites, instructing them to give their wealth to endow churches and monasteries. As Howe rightly notes, this "grubby accumulation of ecclesiastical property would make possible the intellectual and spiritual achievements of later generations" (p. 160). The concrete quality of Dominic's reform efforts also extends to his charisma. Rather than relying upon standard topoi of holiness and biblical allusions, Dominic's hagiographers locate his sanctity in the minute articulation of specific deeds.

Howe's application of the ideas of Brian Stock to the character of Dominic's "Benedictine" monasticism should, moreover, command the interest of scholars in religious studies and historians of monasticism. Dominic's interactions with the monasteries he founded often contradicted the letter and spirit of the Rule, and yet he and his successors clearly considered these houses to be following St. Benedict's precepts. Howe suggests, invoicing Stock, that the "the puzzling features of Dominic's 'Benedictinism' can be understood if his system and its counterparts are viewed as manifestations of a largely oral and customary monastic tradition, one for which the Benedictine Rule was the most authoritative supporting document but not an absolute guide" (p. 94). The author also notes that this flexibility may have contributed to the difficulties of Dominic's foundations after his death.

In other ways, Howe's analysis of Dominic of Sora suggests that the categories often applied to religious life during this period are unproductive. Dominic's hagiographers, for example, depicted him as both exemplary priest and monk: they emphasize his preaching, his sacramental and liturgical activities, while also praising his observance of monastic discipline and love of solitude. While the role of monasticism in the early reform era is always acknowledged, and the numerous failings of the clergy enumerated, the strong sense of a charismatic priesthood is often missing in accounts of the Gregorian era. Johannes Laudage has done much to rectify this; Howe's study contributes another important example.

There is one tension within the work that is problematic. That tension is between the author's empirical project of reconstructing the life and work of Dominic of Sora, and his awareness of the constructed quality of the hagio-

graphical sources that are the foundation of his study. Through most of the work Howe judiciously acknowledges the perspective and limitations of his texts as he narrates his history of Dominic and his world, but contradictions do occur. In his discussion of Dominic's holiness, for example, resonances with the life of Benedict and his Rule are attributed to his hagiographers (pp. 63-64). The implication here is that they reflect the hagiographer's perception and construction of Dominic's sanctity. In the subsequent chapter on his Benedictinism, however, such resemblances are confidently asserted as representing Dominic's "practice" (p. 86). They may, but then again they may not. What we can know are how the communities that venerated and interacted with Dominic saw him, and one of the strengths of other aspects of the author's study is the weight he accords these communities. That we know anything at all of Dominic is the result of his ability to move others. And yet the communities that developed around this individual were fragile; they did not long outlast him. Indeed, their most lasting result seems a bit sinister: Howe argues that the counts of Marsica used what they learned from Dominic about the power inherent in ecclesiastical patronage to take over, and ultimately destroy, the great abbey of Monte Cassino. These relationships—between charismatic individuals and the varied communities that formed around them—and their influence upon our understanding of someone like Dominic, merit sustained consideration.

Hopefully others will take up this theme, and Howe's fine book is good inspiration to do so. Our understanding of the medieval Church will be enormously enriched if we incorporate into its history the less "successful" or enduring ventures, like Dominic's monastic foundations and ministry, that did not directly contribute to the Church of Innocent III that still so dominates our historiography.

Maureen C. Miller

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The Russian Icon: From Its Origins to the Sixteenth Century. By Viktor Nikitich Lazarev. Edited by G. I. Vzdornov. Translated from the Italian by Colette Joly Dees. English text edited by Nancy McDarby. (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press. 1996. Pp. 402. $99.95.)

Viktor Nikitich Lazarev (1897-1976) was a renowned scholar of early Russian, Byzantine, and Western art, whose innovative books and articles are treasured by scholars and artists in many lands and in several academic disciplines. Within the field of Russian studies, Lazarev is much admired for his masterful studies of Byzantine religious painting and his pioneering scholarship on Russian iconography. This volume, a grand presentation of Russian religious painting from the mid-eleventh to the sixteenth century, serves as a magnificent memorial to Lazarev's accomplishments.

Those unfamiliar with the Russian icon might well find this work the finest possible introduction to this field. With patience and this book in hand, the inquiring beginner can undertake a brief but intense course of study and smoothly gain sound appreciation of Russian iconography in its historical and cultural context. Lazarev begins with an absorbing introductory chapter concerning the discovery and restoration of early Russian icons; his plain style of exposition enables him to encompass a great array of factual and historical data in a few pages. Most non-specialists will be surprised to learn that aesthetic appreciation of Russian icons dates only to the very late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and that scientific cleaning and restoration of icons became widespread only as late as 1905. The antireligious campaign later mounted by the Soviet state was responsible for greatly encouraging the collection, preservation, and restoration of icons, because of the Soviet policy of restoring confiscated icons and state support of many scholars who served in Soviet state commissions and studios for preserving and renewing treasures of Russian national art.

Lazarev then offers interesting general observations on the history of religious art in early Russia. He explains the various historical forces that isolated the Russian North from Byzantine influence, making it "easier for the Russians to find their own artistic path" in creating a national school of sacred painting. He examines the artistic centers that arose in Novgorod, Pskov, Moscow, and the central Russian principalities, placing in historical context their more important icons and their creators. His explanation always is direct and thoroughly engaging, perhaps the finest short account of this subject now available in English.

Lazarev's text is followed by 143 photographic plates of icons, each of which is displayed against an unrelieved background of intense blackness. They are presented as true replicas, with no effort taken to beautify them, enhance their colors or sharpen features that have faded over the years or suffered damage from neglect and restoration. Many of the icons, therefore, retain the muddy tones and damaged surface that frequently annoy and repel the casual and unsophisticated viewer. By arranging these works in an unbroken series, the editors offer a dazzling panorama of Russian Orthodox devotion over the ages. Concluding notes provide highly valuable information on the dating, measurements, and current location of each icon, specific citations to writings on these individual masterpieces, notes on alterations made to them over the centuries, and the religious themes pursued by iconographers. A bibliography of general scholarly works in Russian and other languages concludes this volume.

One hates to find any fault with so welcome an accomplishment, and, in fact, few criticisms are warranted. The brief comments that identify each plate suffer from a number of annoying errors in dating and attribution, all of which are corrected on an accompanying errata sheet. Somewhat disappointing is the brief introduction by the editor, G. I. Vzdornov, which produces a number of quotations beneficial for advertising but could better describe Lazarev's scholarly

process in writing this book and the various circumstances that brought this volume into existence in its present form.

All serious students of Russia, Christian culture, and European art should spend some time with this work. It is a superb primer for those first beginning study of iconography and an invaluable reference source for advanced students of this field of culture. Above all, this volume should be treasured as a truly beautiful survey of a form of Russian national enlightenment still poorly appreciated in Western countries. It is difficult to fault Lazarev's conclusion that "early Russian icons form a totally original artistic world which is not easy to penetrate. But whoever discovers the key to it will effortlessly begin to discover a beauty that is always new."

Joseph L. Wieczynski

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The First Crusaders, 1095-1131. By Jonathan Riley-Smith. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xvi, 300. $49.95.)

In 1098 and 1099 survivors of the First Crusade began to reappear in their homelands. Some had been part of the great triumph at Jerusalem in July, 1099; others had left before then, particularly during the horrendous siege of Antioch in 1097-98. One of the latter was Guy Trousseau of Montlhéry, who "came home worn out by his journey and unable to come to terms with the fact that his courage had left him." But at least Guy had returned. Baldwin of Mons simply disappeared in Asia Minor in 1098, and his wife, Ida of Louvain, having waited for him in vain, actually went on pilgrimage in 1106 in a fruitless search for him. The stories of such people are at the heart of this book which investigates the lesser-known participants, many of whom left only a single charter or incidental reference in a chronicle or annal. Jonathan Riley-Smith has made a systematic trawl for such references and has distilled the findings of his meticulous scholarship to record as many of the crusaders of this period as possible. Inevitably evidence of this kind cannot yield rounded portraits of those involved; often there are only tantalizing glimpses of their motivation and feelings. Nevertheless, the material has offered considerable rewards for the author's patience, enabling him to draw some firm general conclusions as well as vignettes of those such as Guy Trousseau and Ida of Louvain.

The key figures are "middle-ranking nobles," most of whom went on crusade in a group centered on their local lord or as part of a kindred. So powerful were these ties that, in the 1120's, one family—the Montlhérys of the Ile-de-France—came close to taking over both the Latin settlements in the East and the crusades which were directed toward them. The charters show the spiritual and financial arrangements that they and their families made before their departure; many were driven by guilt for past depredations, especially against local churches and monasteries, and this is often emotionally expressed in their attempts to

make good the wrong they now admitted they had perpetrated. The ecclesiastical institutions, for once in the driver's seat, often took the opportunity to make them grovel. If the crusaders had any illusions at the time they took the cross—often fired up by a manipulative pope and clergy—the need to face practical problems must have brought them back to earth. The charters show, for example, how costly this was; although many gained prestige and some brought back important relics, Riley-Smith found only four examples of crusaders who seem to have made any monetary profit, rlxamination of hundreds of specific cases has, therefore, led the author to the conclusion that many of the previous theories about motivation are at best of marginal relevance. The evidence does not suggest that many were driven by material gain, colonial aspirations, or even by the need to redirect the surplus energies of younger members of an aristocracy suffering from a crisis of over-population. Indeed, the results might have had quite the opposite effect; the removal of figures of power and authority actually encouraged local violence rather than diverted it to the East. Many of the heroes of the First Crusade returned to find property usurped and their own families plundered, for the Church's protection of a crusader's lands was quite ineffective.

Reading this account of the departures of these closely-knit groups and the fate that met so many of them, one is reminded of the 'Pals' regiments of World War I, so different in class background and mental outlook, but also convinced that they were joining a crusade to cleanse the world of evil. One of the features of this book is the chapter on the returning crusaders—a relatively neglected subject in comparison with the vast literature on crusading motivation—but it would also be fascinating to know what happened in those localities where few of their leading young men came back at all. Did these, too, suffer from "the lost generation"?

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Bernhard von Clairvaux und der Beginn der Moderne. Edited by Dieter R. Bauer and Gotthard Fuchs. (Innsbruck: Tyrolia-Verlag. 1996. Pp. 345.)

A conference held in the monastery of Schöntal in March, 1990, to celebrate the nonacentenary of the birth of Saint Bernard is the source for this valuable collection of papers. Unlike the celebrations at Kalamazoo and Rome that year, both of which brought together scholars from many nations and continents, all but one of the papers here collected are by German or Austrian scholars. The sole exception is a paper by the late and deservedly renowned master Bernardine scholar Jean Leclercq, whose presence at, and participation in, all the celebrations was, of course, both mandatory and acclaimed.

Space limitations prevent a detailed report on all of the papers. And so I offer my reading of a few of the papers, chosen to represent the wide range of topics treated in this valuable volume.

Peter Dinzelbacher provides the justification for the perhaps surprising title of the collection with his "Die 'Bernhardinische Epoche' als Achsenzeit der europäischen Geschichte" (pp. 9-53). He offers an "inescapably broad and general sketch" (p. 15) of the transition from the late antique/early medieval world view to the early modern (through the first half of the seventeenth century). He sees the century 1050 to 1150 as the pivotal period in the birth of the "modern." That crucial century was characterized by the birth of cultural pluralism, an acceptance of the new class of townsmen as an integral part of society and as a time of greater social interaction. The period saw a revolutionary distinction between the sacred and the profane, a rationalizing of every aspect of intellectual inquiry. It exhibited a new approach to institutional reform and personal piety and the development of a sense of the individual (the ascendancy of interior motivation and individual conscience). In a survey encompassing a range of topics from climatology to vernacular literature, the specialist is bound to discover specific views with which he or she will disagree, but few, I think, would dispute the general lines of an argument which is truly a tour deforce.

The title of Arnold Angenendt's paper, "Die Zisterzienser im religiösen Umbruch des hohen Mittelalters" (pp. 54-69), is misleading, for the Cistercians occupy only a small place in his survey of that religious transformation. Nevertheless, the article is an excellent summary of the change in the notion of religious perfection from the death of Hugh of Cluny (1109) to the century-later emergence of the mendicant orders. Angenendt's thesis is that the traditional view of perfection as a monastic life of unremitting prayer and absolute obedience in community was slowly but surely altered by the new orders. Endless community prayer was replaced with a new sense of social responsibility; an individual's conscience became more important than unquestioning obedience; the focus of religious activity became less the "desert" than the teeming towns. The humiliati even attempted to transform the married state into an apostolic life style. Perhaps the most interesting observations are made about the movement toward organized women's piety, the problems it encountered, and the new and various forms of religious sensitivity it engendered.

At the other end of the disciplinary spectrum is the paper "Die Zisterzienser und der wirtschaftliche Wandel des 12. Jahrhunderts" (pp. 70-95) by Werner Rösener, who summarizes admirably the recent research on early Cistercian economic activity. The traditional understanding relied too heavily on the Cistercians' own descriptions of their abbeys' foundations in waste lands. This resulted in a romantic view which saw the Cistercians as pioneers opening up vast tracts of wilderness all over Europe. Newer, more careful studies have shown that the Cistercian economy was largely a result of the agricultural and pastoral exploitation of lands already settled, then donated to, or purchased by, the Cistercians. The industry of laybrothers and the simple life style of all the monks resulted in surpluses which were sold in the expanding towns of the time. This, in turn, gained the capital necessary to expand further the Cistercian holdings, providing the economic basis for the extraordinary expansion of the order and explaining the amazing size of many of its abbeys. By the thirteenth

century, the wealth of Cistercian abbeys, their possession of tithes, villages, and churches, made them virtually indistinguishable from Benedictine foundations and led spiritually hungry youth to seek entrance into the ranks of the new mendicant orders.

Other valuable, often profound papers are also included: Ulrich Kopfs "Monastische und scholastische Theologie" (pp. 96-135), Otto Langer's "Affekt und Ratio in der Mystik Bernhards von Clairvaux" (pp. 136-150), M. Assumpta Schenkl's "Bernhard und die Entdeckung der Liebe" (pp. 151-179), Peter Dinzelbacher's "Bernhards Mystik: Eine Skizze" (pp. 180-193), Ulrich Kopfs "Schriftauslegung als Ort der Kreuzestheologie Bernhards von Clairvaux" (pp. 194-213), Bernhard Vosicky's "Bernhards Leben mit der Eucharistie" (pp. 214-228), Gerhard B. Winkler's "Bernhard von Clairvaux: Reformer oder Reformator? Oder: Die Art und Weise, mit der Kirche umzugehen" (pp. 229-234), Johannes Rauch's "Die anderen im Menschenbild Bernhards juden, Heiden, Ketzer" (pp. 235-261), Hans-Dietrich Kahl's "Die Kreuzzugseschatogie Bernhards von Clairvaux und ihre missionsgeschichtliche Auswirkung" (pp. 262-315), and Jean Leclercq's "Der heilige Bernhard und Deutschland" (pp. 316-328). Even this mere listing shows the wide range and importance of the volume.

My only quarrel is with the bibliography (pp. 329-344). It does not include many of the works cited in the footnotes or listed in the bibliographies of the papers. It is also the only place in the volume where errors, inconsistencies, and typos abound.

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Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages. By André Vauchez. Translated by Jean Birrell. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1997. Pp. xxvii, 645. $95.00.)

André Vauchez originally published La sainteté en occident aux derniers siècles du moyen âge d'après les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques (his thèse d'état) in 1981. It became on its publication, and remains today, the benchmark for all study of hagiography and the cult of saints in the later Middle Ages. In it Vauchez examined the records of the formal processes initiated for the canonization of saints between 1198 and 1431 in the hope of illuminating the practices of western Christianity—and the attempted control of those practices by the papacy—during those centuries. Vauchez thus implicitly took up the challenge issued over fifteen years earlier by Frantisek Graus (Volk, Herrscher und Heiliger im Reich der Merowinger: Studien zur Hagiographie der Merowingerzeit [Prague, 1965]) to use neglected genres of hagiographie works as sources for the social history of western Christianity. Tellingly, however, Vauchez opened his work with a reference not to Graus, but to a 1929 review of Hippolyte Delehaye's Sanctus: Essai sur le culte des saints dans l'Antiquité (Brussels, 1927) by Marc Bloch. He thus managed simultane-

ously to pay tribute to both the Bollandistes and the annalistes. Vauchez' work from 1981 to the present, can be read as a respectful critique of the immense resources made available through the efforts of the former by a scholarly sensibility schooled in the methods of the latter.

This book is, quite simply, a masterpiece. In a quirk of fate it was published in the same year as Peter Brown's The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity (Chicago, 1981). In the intervening years these two books have helped, more than any others, to shape a vibrant and growing subdiscipline in what might be called the "social history of sanctity." Despite its monumental scope and size (765 pages in the original edition), Vauchez crafted a text which was both elegant in its style and remarkably concise in its argumentation. With the exception of a few passages (mostly those in which the author attempted analysis based on quantification), this book still reads with immediacy and freshness. Its translation makes available to Anglophone students a study of medieval religious ideals and practice which is of the highest—indeed one might say canonical—stature. Vauchez's scholarship is also exemplary in its "catholicity," in terms of its breadth of scope, scholarly standards, and intellectual openness.

The most important source material for Vauchez's study comes from the inquests conducted by ecclesiastical officials into the authorization of saints' cults, that is (to use a term which itself evolved from these very procedures), canonization. Its most important theme is the relationship between the Roman Curia and local officials. (My reading of Vauchez differs subtly, yet significantly, from that of Richard Kieckhefer—himself a distinguished scholar of late medieval sanctity—who states in his foreword to this translation that the book "has as its central explicit focus the relationship between curial and lay perceptions of sainthood" [p. xix]). By reading this relationship, Vauchez expounds the ways in which Rome controlled—or at least attempted to control—the practices of western Christianity. Thus he persuasively elucidates the experiences of lay Christians through sources produced by clerics. But laypeople themselves (with the notable exception of those who became saints) always remain off center stage. Such is the fate of any study based on hagiographie sources.

At the heart of Vauchez's enterprise is the means by which the formal designation of sainthood was constructed out of a variety of ideals of holiness. Jean Birrell is thus on target with her rendering of sainteté (which can also mean the more general "sanctity") in the title as "sainthood." Throughout the work she intelligently chooses between the two possibilities (see, for example, the use of "sanctity" on pp. 1, 34, and 54). The translation, however, is not without its problems. Most significant is the rendering of mentalité commune as "popular mind." (Richard Kieckhefer is much more successful in his foreword [p. xx] where he employs the phrase "common mentality.") Vauchez intended a set of mental categories which linked clerics and laity. Birrell's English version, by seeming to divide the two, makes the few, but essential, concluding paragraphs of the book extremely confusing to the uninformed reader.

André Vauchez has vigorously pursued his scholarly agenda in the years following the publication of this book. He has not, however, significantly updated this particular work. Although it has appeared in two further French editions, they are essentially reprintings, with no changes to text or notes. This English translation is of the second edition, which dates to 1987 and has only a few pages of a cursory "bibliographic update." The student, therefore, should not rely on this translation as a guide to current scholarship, or even necessarily for bibliographic references, as many of the works cited in the notes have been since published in significantly different versions. It is also worth noting that much of Vauchez's own work has already appeared in English translation. An important sampling of his articles written between 1981 and 1987 may be found in The Laity in the Middle Ages: Religious Beliefs and Devotional Practices (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1993). Perhaps even more important for the Anglophone student of medieval Christianity is his brief, but brilliant overview of The Spirituality of the Medieval West: The Eighth to the Twelfth Century (Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1993), which was first published in 1975. (Unfortunately, the English translation necessarily lacks a wonderful chapter on the mendicants added to the second edition of 1994.) In any and all forms, André Vauchez is a scholar whose work is to be carefully considered and even treasured.

Thomas Head

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Studio escuola inArezzo durante UMedioevo e U Rinascimento.I documents d'archivio fino al 1530. A cura di Robert Black. (Arezzo: Accademia Petrarca di lettere arti e scienze. 1996. Pp. 873. Lire 150.000 paperback.)

This is a collection of 1,284 documents and parts of documents dealing with education inArezzo, 1241 through 1530. Some 1,123 documents focus on pre-university education; the rest detail Arezzo's failures to restore its university, which flourished in the early thirteenth century, then died. As Black informs the readers, he has not uncovered anything new of significance before 1384, but has found an abundance of new materials after that date. The documents come from three Aretine archives and the Archivio di Stato in Florence. Black summarizes the key points of the material in an historical survey of seventy-nine pages.

Numerous documents deal with the two teachers paid by the communal goverment, the Latin or grammar master, who sometimes had an assistant, and the abbaco master, who taught commercial mathematics in the vernacular. Limited publicly-funded education was common in small Italian centers; Black has found little evidence of private teachers in Arezzo. Student fees supplemented the teachers' salaries. A document of i486 states that the Latin teacher had 120 students, which Black estimates to have been 25% of the masculine school-age population. Unfortunately, he offers no population figures to support the estimate. The abbaco teacher taught forty boys in 1471 and twenty-five in 1506,

which was between 5% and 10% of the masculine school-age population, according to Black's estimate. Again supporting evidence is lacking.

On the whole, the communal Latin and abbaco schools were successful and continuous. The university was neither. It probably was very small, perhaps eight professors in 1255, and seem to have died by the early fourteenth century. The government made several unsuccessful efforts to revive it in the next 200 years. Although Arezzo awarded some degrees, the university did not recover as a teaching institution for several reasons. The costs would have been higher than the Aretines were willing to bear. The ruling class never reached a consensus that a local university was needed. And Florence, which ruled Arezzo from 1384, did not grant permission for a university. When Lorenzo de' Medici signaled his intention of moving the University of Florence, the Aretines eagerly offered to be hosts. But it moved to Pisa in 1473.

Beyond the individual documents, Black makes the case that Arezzo's strong tradition of Latin schooling nourished such important Aretine-born humanists as Leonardo Bruni, Carlo Marsuppini, and Benedetto Accolti. Indeed, Black claims that Arezzo was the only Italian town to maintain an unbroken tradition of classical studies from the end of the thirteenth century to the flowering of the Renaissance in the fifteenth century. This appears to be too much local patriotism. The nature and quality of the Aretine classical tradition need further investigation, and other towns, such as Bologna with its famous university, may have stronger claims. Overall, the picture of Aretine communal pre-university education is similar to that found elsewhere in Tuscany and Italy in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance.

Paul F. Grendler

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Criminal Churchmen in the Age of Edward III: The Case of Bishop Thomas de Lisle. By John Aberth. (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press. 1996. Pp. xxiv, 280. $45.00.)

Thomas de Lisle, a Dominican friar, was appointed bishop of Ely by Pope Clement VI in 1345. His officials—and by implication and accusation the bishop—embarked on something like a local reign of terror, involving arson, intimidation, theft, and murder. The resultant legal actions dragged in King Edward III, who took the dispute and the law into his own hands. His temporalities confiscated, de Lisle fled to Avignon, invoking papal support and political theory in an ineffective search for reinstatement. The pope's interference resulted in harassment of the English clerics who obeyed his mandates, and a strong assertion of royal authority over the English church.

The story is a good one. John Aberth's analysis of the bishop's activities considers his alleged criminality without quite prejudging his role as medieval God-

father; although he clearly thinks de Lisle guilty, driven by financial problems caused by mamtaining a lavish lifestyle -when his revenues were declining after the Black Death. Others may feel that reasonable doubts remain to challenge the verdict.

This is not a straightforward episcopal biography. Apart from finding the motivation for de Lisle's actions in his financial problems, and his exploitation of his household and administration to create a gang, his episcopal status seems secondary. Diocesan rule and estate administration receive only brief consideration. The legal history holds center stage, locating events in a broader debate on criminality in fourteenth-century England, and about Edward Ill's own responsibility for the breakdown in law and order. Here Aberth finds against the king.

Aberth acknowledges the problems of using overtly one-sided legal records, yet seems happy to accept them largely at face-value. He efficiently proposes explanations for the actions of both sides in a case; but the end product seems inconclusive. De Lisle was misguided and deluded to believe papalist ideas on relations between pope and prince, church and state; but flight is not irrefutable proof of guilt. His years of exile raise their own questions: why was he not relegated to obscurity by translation?

Other reviewers have praised this book. My reaction is more guarded, confidence being undermined by some curious slips in the early chapters. If de Lisle was, as postulated, from a neo-gentry family, would they really call a daughter "Ancilla"? "Fruit" repeatedly appears as the main crop of episcopal manors; this should be wheat. In their immediate contexts such mistakes are fairly innocuous, but they provoke a wariness which affects the reaction to the legal history.

That lingering sense of unease (quite possibly unjustified) creates a feeling that although this book is thought-provoking in its general discussions, it must be used with caution. To cap it all, Aberth is ill-served by his index: the page references slip, and it soon becomes useless.

R. N. Swanson

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Renaissance Cardinals and Their Worldly Problems. By D. S. Chambers. [Variorum Collected Studies Series, CS553-] (Brookfield, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Company. 1997. Pp. xii, 360. $98.95)

The Variorum series presents us here with a collection of articles by David Chambers that date from 1966 to 1987, with an additional "postscript" from 1997. The problem with the volume is that most of the essays do not deal with Renaissance Cardinals at all, but rather with one man—Francesco Gonzaga (1444-1483), the first of a string of cardinals from the ruling family of Mantua.

Of the ten articles here reprinted, numbers II through VI discuss respectively suitable housing for the fledgling cardinal; his patronage of the church of Sant'Andrea in Mantua; the cardinal's defense of non-residence; the martial activities of the young Francesco for the projected crusade of Pius II and in later legations; and a brief visit to the Medici court in Florence in 1471. Article VII traces the brief and unedifying life of the cardinal's illegitimate son; Article VIII discusses Giovanni Pietro Arrivabene, Francesco's secretary; and LX discusses Bartolomeo Marasca, Francesco's master of household. The only other cardinal who receives more than the most superficial mention (article X) is Ferdinando Gonzaga (1587-1626), cardinal for the five years from 1607 to 1612 and then Duke of Mantua to his death, hardly a typical curial career.

The only essays, then, which deal with "cardinals" are number I and the Postscript. The first, "The Economic Predicament of Renaissance Cardinals," was an intriguing and provocative piece when it first appeared in 1966. Its argument remains useful—that the demands of the cardinalate required conspicuous consumption and magnificence that left the members of the Sacred College in perpetual and inevitable financial embarrassment. However, a great deal has been discovered about the fiscal arrangements of the cardinals during the past thirty years, and Professor Chambers' "Additions and Corrections" fail to incorporate much in the way of new evidence or analyses. Chambers also fails to correct a curious error in the original essay (I, p. 31 1) in which he calls Giovanni Guidiccioni the uncle of Cardinal Bartolomeo Guidiccioni, whereas in actuality, the young Giovanni was warning his uncle Bartolomeo about the dangers of the court at Rome. (He also calls Cardinal Alessandro Farnese the nephew of Paul III, when he was in fact the pope's grandson. [Additions and Corrections, p. 2.]) The final piece, "Postscript on the Worldly Affairs of Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga and of Other Princely Cardinals," does not say much about "other princely cardinals" at all, but rather is primarily concerned with the Gonzagas and particularly their first cardinal, Francesco. I have no quarrel with this, except that any attempt to generalize about Renaissance cardinals on the sole basis of the house of Mantua or of its first cardinal seems to me to be an extraordinary reach. Furthermore, neither Francesco in the fifteenth century nor Ferdinando in the seventeenth had much influence on the Sacred College of Cardinals—the former died at age thirty-nine, and the latter gave up his red hat at age twenty-five.

In spite of these quibbles, this volume has much to offer. The most interesting figure in the entire book was Francesco Gonzaga's long-suffering secretary, Giovanni Pietro Arrivabene (1439-1504), whose career began as a servant and man of letters for the Gonzaga family and ended as a reforming bishop of Urbino. The appendices are also treasures, whole letters from the Archivio Gonzaga in the Archivio di Stato in Mantua. The correspondence is extensive, well-edited and annotated; indeed, article VI,"Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga in Florence," contains six pages of text and notes and thirteen pages of letters and notes. David Chambers' years of research in the Mantuan archives have produced the steady

stream of scholarship reprinted here. It is a pleasure to have the collection in one tome.

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Early Modern European

La Bibbia al rogo. La censura ecclesiastica e i volgarizzamenti della Scrittura (1471-1605). By Gigliola Fragnito. (Bologna: Il Mulino. 1997. Pp. 345. Lire 38.000.)

Italian bishops proclaimed 1997 the "year of the Bible" and enjoined their flocks to read the Scriptures with fervor. They expressed their unease at the fact that the Bible, although widely diffused in Italy, was probably among the least read books. Their proclamation followed Pope John Paul II's call to all Christians in his pastoral letter Tertio millennio adveniente to "turn with renewed interest to the Bible." The appearance of Professor Fragnito's book coincidentally with these efforts to deepen the knowledge of biblical texts among Catholics is nothing short of ironic. She tells a complex story which shows why and how this knowledge disappeared among the Italian people in the sixteenth century, never to return to the mainstream of their culture.

This book quite literally opens a new stage in scholarship. Professor Fragnito is one of the very few who were given permission to use the archives of the former Holy Office (or Inquisition), inaccessible to most scholars before its very recent opening celebrated on January 22, 1998. Her work is based on hitherto unknown material and brings an entirely new perspective on vexed and much-debated questions.

In her opening chapter the author has assembled information showing the ready availability of vernacular Scriptures during the first half of the sixteenth century, whether editions of the Old and New Testaments, the Gospels, or the Epistles. The first printed Italian translation of the Bible by Nicola Malerbi appeared in Venice in 1471, to be followed by other translations in many editions. A wealth of devotional works based on biblical texts like the Fioretti della Bibbia were printed as well. Italy was a country where reading the vernacular Bible was common and widespread among individuals, in families, confraternities, convents, and monasteries.

The increased interest in reading the Scriptures in the wake of the Reformation led ecclesiastical authorities to mistrust the owners of vernacular Bibles. Reading the word of God in one's own language became suspect or linked with heresy. The author points out that this was true not only in Italy, but that political authorities in England, France, or Spain made the same connection between

reading the Bible and heresy. However, in Italy the enforcement of the prohibition lay not so much with the state as with the Inquisition, reorganized and made into an effective organ of the papacy in 1542.

The central part of the book is devoted to a discussion of the various Indexes from that of Paul IV in 1559 to the Clementine Index of 1596, and their provisions regulating the printing and/or reading of vernacular Bibles. Using the newly accessible documentation with exemplary expertise, the author shows the profound differences which existed during these years at the highest levels of the Church concerning the reading of the word of God by the common people. Popes, masters of the Sacred Palace, the Congregations of the Index and of the Inquisition, cardinals and bishops disagreed among themselves. The Index of 1559 flatly forbade both reading and printing the Bible, putting control over enforcement into the hands of inquisitors. However, the Tridentine Index of 1564, drawn up by a commission of more sympathetic bishops, mitigated these prohibitions. Soon afterward, in 1567, the last vernacular Bible until 1773 was printed in Italy.

With the establishment of the Congregation of the Index in 1571 a new office entered the picture. One of the most surprising aspects of this book is its presentation of the ongoing conflict between this new congregation and the Inquisition. The latter defended its turf, aimed at control over all literary and religious works, and wanted to nullify the role of bishops in the censorship of books. The former, while generally not more lenient, was sensitive to encroachments of its jurisdiction by the Inquisition and more ready to co-operate with bishops. But periods of activity alternated with years of inaction, depending on the reigning pope.

Against this background the author concentrates on the various attempts to prohibit vernacular Bibles (and works of prose and poetry that incorporated or paraphrased biblical texts) during the 1590's. Pope Sixtus V was a hardliner who renewed the prohibition, although the Congregation of the Index wanted to leave room for local inquisitors and bishops to decide who could read the Bible. Under Gregory XTV revision of the Vulgate was given priority over the matter of vernacular Bibles. Only under Clement VIII was there a return to the project of assembling a comprehensive Index. Despite a tug-of-war between the Congregation of the Index and the Inquisition, the careful and fully documented account of which can be read almost like a detective story, such an index was finally published in 1596. It had taken twenty-five years to complete it.

According to the author, the application of the Clementine Index led to enormous consequences for the religiosity, culture, and mentality of Italians. Chapter 7 examines the "indescribable confusion" among local inquisitors over what books should be censored. Professor Fragnito demolishes the idea, expressed in several recent works, that the Inquisition had a "light hand" in dealing with literary works. She asserts that, on the contrary, the application of the Clementine

Index was rigorous. When in doubt, local inquisitors forbade books that might be suspect. Thus, many works, including The Book of the Courtier, were condemned by local inquisitors although they did not appear on the Index of 1596. In fact, one of the significant areas that have never been studied concerns the vast scope left to the discretion of individual inquisitors, and the rationale for their judgment.

But the key point the author makes is that Index and Inquisition succeeded in snuffing out biblical culture among the Italian people. The old link between reading the Bible and heresy had become fully accepted by ecclesiastical authorities, as had the idea that the common people were not capable of understanding the "nude" or unannotated word of God unaided and without guidance by the clergy. Reading the Bible was reserved for those who knew Latin—and only the Vulgate was permitted. Thus the gulf separating the common people and the educated elite was widened; a two-tier Christianity was officially confirmed.

There was a logic in keeping the vernacular Bible from the Italian people: since there were no heresies in Italy, there was no need to read the Bible in order to contradict them. In areas of Europe where Catholics and Protestants coexisted, the former were granted permission by the Holy Office to read Catholic Bibles in the language of the people. According to Professor Fragnito, a new "geography of licitness of vernacular translations" was created in Europe, adding to the contrast of eis- and trans-Alpine Europe.

The final chapter entitled "The Destruction of the Holy Book," discusses the physical annihilation of vernacular Bibles and related works. Pyres of books were not isolated instances; Bibles in Italian were confiscated by agents of the Holy Office, aided by local officials, and burned in public places. Individuals who knew no Latin were not allowed to encounter God through the reading of the entire text of the Bible. Catholic Italy received the Christian faith through sermons, art, and above all the catechism, which was taught zealously. The equation of Bible and heresy was so deeply rooted in the minds of Italians that reading the Bible disappeared as a major aspect of Italian religious culture.

This is a deeply learned book that tells a sad tale in a masterful fashion. A wealth of documentation supports Professor Fragnito's every assertion. She has written as a scholar, not a polemicist, even though her deep regret about the series of events she has discussed and their implication for Italian culture is obvious. But one major question remains in the reader's mind: after more than two centuries the entire Bible in Italian was printed again between 1769 and 1781. Since then, two more centuries have elapsed during which the vernacular Bible was printed many times. Did what happened now four hundred years ago, namely, the prohibition in the Clementine Index, so totally influence and deter-

mine the course of modern Italian religious and biblical culture that other more recent influences pale by comparison?

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Prierias. The Life and Works of Silvestro Mazzolini da Prierio, 1456-1527. By Michael Tavuzzi. [Duke Monographs in Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Vol. 16.] (Durham: Duke University Press. 1997. Pp. x, 189. $39.95.)

This admirably researched work presents a familiar figure in the first act of Reformation controversy, Silvester Prierias, O.P., the papal palace-theologian (1515-1527). It rests on work in Dominican archives and chronicles and on close reading of early sixteenth-century works, which combine to carry it well beyond all recent treatments of Prierias and his work. The author also shows a sense of the limits imposed on him both by the vastness of his subject's writings and by the absence of correspondence, table-talk, and other more personal revelations.

Especially interesting is Tavuzzi's work on the conventual-observant division within the Dominican order around 1500 and his account of the itinerary of education of the friars in the late fifteenth century. Many will be surprised at the extent of contemporary polemics by Dominican Thomists against the thought of Tommaso de Vio, Cardinal Cajetan. Also, whereas Prierias's death is commonly dated in 1523, we find a good case for him living into mid-1527 and dying amid the violence of the Sack of Rome.

For the works of Prierias, concise accounts of their contents are given, e.g., the early Compendium dialecticae and its Apologia, vernacular booklets of lay spirituality, writings on witchcraft and sorcery, and the fateful De potestate papae dialogus (1518), in which Prierias subjected Luther's Ninety-Five Theses to rigorous testing of their orthodoxy.

Many readers will turn immediately to Tavuzzi's account of Prierias's censorious writings against Luther in 1518-1519. They should also read the following section, that argues for Prierias's, not Cajetan's, authorship of a forthright Consilium on reform of the Church, prepared for Pope Adrian VI in 1522.

Prierias's anti-Luther works are now given in Dokumente zur Causa Lutheri, edited by Peter Fabish and Erwin Iserloh, in a Corpus Catholicorum volume of 1988. Tavuzzi has worked out Prierias's thought-processes in interpreting Luther, and shows how his hermeneutic was dominated by an anti-conciliarist ecclesiology, accentuating papal plenitude of juridical and magisterial authority, which was already expounded by St. Antoninus of Florence, Juan de Torquemada, and Prierias himself in his Summa Silvestrina (1514-15). In the Dialogus, this ecclesiology served as norm for Pope Leo X's decision to open canonical proceedings against Luther as suspect of heresy.

Prierias was completely forthright in setting out the criteria he applied to Luther's theses, in the well-known four fundamenta, placed at the head of the book in the Dialogas, on the universal normativity of papal teaching and Roman church order. We note in passing that the backnote reference to Tavuzzi's translation of the fundamenta is confused, and does not lead the reader to the well-annotated Latin original in Fabish-Iserloh, Corpus Catholicorum, vol. 41, pp. 53-56. Also, one may question his translation offides et mores as "faith and ethics," since in the context mores refers as well to church discipline and practice, including matters such as indulgences.

On the substantive question of the competence evinced in Prierias's assessment of the Ninety-Five Theses, this work becomes very thoughtful, even intriguing. The author admits to difficulty in justifying the Dialogas when it takes Luther's theses as doctrinal conclusions or determinations, instead of initial propositions for disputation. When this leads to repeated judgments of error and heresy, Tavuzzi joins Erasmus in admitting that there was "serious mishandling" of the case at its beginning (p. 112).

But why would an accomplished Dominican thinker take such an approach in 1518? In response, the author recalls that severe discipline was characteristic of the observant Lombard Congregation to which Prierias belonged. Moreover, Luther's Roman critic of 1518 knew how, twenty years before, Fra Girolamo Savonarola had passed from reforming fervor to contestation and disobedience. Thus, the Dialogas betrays the outlook of one who had applied his order's norms with no little stringency as prior of communities, vicar or superior of his Congregation of over forty houses and a thousand members, and member of a Dominican reform task-force in Naples.

Tavuzzi also tells the tale of inquisitorial witchcraft prosecution in mid-Renaissance Italy, reports on the Roman phase of the Reuchlin affair, and relates the swirl of philosophical argument on the soul's immortality set off by the Aristotle interpretation of Cardinal Cajetan and Pietro Pomponazzi.

Clearly this work will be of interest to early-modern historians across a wide span of ecclesiastical and cultural topics.

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The Politics of the Reformation in Germany: Jacob Sturm (1489-1553) of Strasbourg. By Thomas A. Brady, Jr. (Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey: Humanities Press. 1997. Pp. xiii, 280; 4 maps. $19.95 paperback.)

Based on thirty years of archival research, Thomas Brady's book is a masterful study of the impact of the Reformation on the German Empire and the role of the Empire in shaping that reform. Breaking with the Rankean tradition of the

Reformation as the foundation of German national unity, Brady emphasizes the movement's broad appeal to all ranks of German society, each interpreting the message in its own way. He rejects the view of the Empire as an archaic aggregation of states incapacitated by decentralization. Brady emphasizes that the Empire protected a form of political life with multiple layers of power and authority. It was a "dispersed governance" which preserved local autonomy. The book follows the simultaneous development of the Reformation at imperial, territorial, and local levels through the eyes of one man, Jacob Sturm, Strasbourg magistrate and diplomat.

The first two chapters on the Empire and on Strasbourg provide the setting. Each element of the imperial structure is described with its ambitions and weaknesses: the Emperor; the territorial states; the cities; the towns and villages. The city of Strasbourg c. 1500 is similarly described: the city's constitution and magistrates; the rituals of civic order; the influence of the Hapsburgs under the Emperor Maximilian. The solemn entry of the bishop-elect in 1507 for his enthronement dramatized the tension between church and city. Met at the city gate by sixty mounted, armored urban nobles and guildsmen, the noble bishop-elect with 600 officials and 1000 horses, was denied permission to enter the city until he had sworn to uphold its traditional liberties. Armed guildsmen and villagers formed a barricade along the streets. The demonstration reflected the collapse of trust between the city and the Church. Geiler von Kaysersberg had tried for years to close the gap, but his appeal for individual moral renewal did not meet the laity's longing for reform of the Church. Despite their enthusiastic response to Geiler himself, the antagonism between Church and people deepened.

At an early age Jacob Sturm was dedicated by his noble family to fill the position of his deceased uncle, a revered churchman and humanist. Instructed by his tutor Jacob Wimpheling that church reform could be achieved by an educated, disciplined clergy, Sturm attended Heidelberg and Freiburg universities, leaving in 1508 without a theological degree. He waited for the next ten years for the prestigious, well-endowed benefice his family believed he deserved. His intellectual life quickened when, influenced by Erasmus, he began the serious study of Latin and Greek, which laid the foundation of his adult life. In 1517, aged thirty-four, he was appointed secretary to the provost of the Strasbourg Cathedral.

Sturm converted slowly to the Evangelical movement. In 1524 he left his church appointment to enter the city government, moving swiftly through the hierarchy of offices. Within two years he was a member of the privy council for foreign affairs, a life appointment. The magistrates, yielding to popular pressure from below, were beginning to make changes in religious practices. Strong imperial opposition to the Reform made a new foreign policy essential. Sturm's first diplomatic assignment was to negotiate peace with the peasants in the maelstrom of the Peasants' War. The experience taught him "the Common Man's

courage, the Empire's weakness, the princes' might" (p. 86). These insights influenced his decisions for the rest of his life. Directly after the war they led him to broaden the city's alliances to include the Evangelical princes as well as reformed Swiss cities. His reliance on common religious bonds determined Strasbourg's role in the Reformation. The policy was immediately imperiled by the Eucharistie controversy.

The chapters which follow describe the slow process of Reformation: the Marburg Colloquy;the Diet of Augsburg; the founding of the Smalkaldic League. Brady's focus on Jacob Sturm shows the endless negotiations; the different viewpoints and political positions of the parties involved; the failure of one set of arguments; the reasons for acceptance of another. There was no inevitable victory of a single truth but the valiant effort of Sturm and other men to achieve acceptance of divergent ideas from which compromise or at least de facto agreement might be reached.

Basic differences between the cities and the princes surfaced in the Smalkaldic League, organized in 1535. The princes were unable to accept the cities as social or military equals. The cities resented the princes' independent exercise of their authority. Property confiscated from the Church became an issue. The princes considered it patrimonial property to be added to their personal treasury. The cities believed it was communal property to be dedicated to civic purposes. Sturm's foundation of the Strasbourg Gymnasium and a Theological Seminary supported by church assets exemplifies what Brady calls the conflict of political cultures.

By 1542, after meetings, colloquies, and resumption of sessions of the imperial Diet, the Reformation's disruption of the Diet appeared to have run its course. Charles V preferred conciliation to coercion. Then, in an act of pure aggression, the Protestant princes invaded Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel to end the rule of its Catholic duke. Sturm gave his unwilling consent. But the balance of power with the emperor was destroyed. Sturm realized that the differences between cities and princes were irreconcilable; common religion was not a sufficient bond.

And so it proved. In June, 1546, Charles V mustered his armies to restore Catholicism and religious unity. The Smalkaldic League mobilized but failed to achieve a quick victory. Princes and cities, each acting independently, led their troops home, leaving the Elector of Saxony to bear the assault of the Emperor's troops alone. The Emperor's broad terms of submission and the restoration of the Catholic faith were negotiated separately by each territory and city.

Far from creating a unified Germany, Brady concludes, the Reformation confirmed the strength of German particularism, the independence of each political entity. These were the foundation of the unique resiliency of the German Empire.

The book is a superior text for providing the political background of the Reformation in an upper division or graduate course.

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Trento, un problema: la última convocación del Concilio (1552-1562), I: Estudio. By Constancio Gutiérrez, SJ. [Corpus Tridentinum Hispanicum, V] (Madrid: Universidad Pontificia Comillas. 1995. Pp. xxxiv, 614.)

With this book, Constancio Gutiérrez has brought the number of published volumes in a monumental series, the "Corpus Tridentinum Hispanicum," to five. He launched the series some forty-seven years ago with a study of Spanish participants at the Council of Trent, and then followed with two that present a critical edition of sources from separate phases of the Council, 1549-1551, and 1552-1553· In the fourth installment, Gutiérrez provided a study of the second period of the Council, and in this one, he has presented analysis of the difficulties associated with the convocation of the third, final phase of the Tridentine assembly. A large number—perhaps as many as five or six—additional volumes are promised, including a critical edition of sources to complement the text under review.

Like all the other volumes in the series, this one belongs in every research library with a serious collection on the history of Christianity. It is a work of impressive erudition, and based upon vast archival research in Spain, in Italy, and at the Vatican. The work beautifully illustrates the enormous political and religious complications behind Pius IVs intention to reconvene the Council that, upon his election, had already been suspended for more than seven years. In the battles that ensued between supporters and opponents of the convocation, power and authority were at stake on many different levels: the authority of existing decrees from previous sessions, the power of secular rulers—like those in Spain and France—to effect religious change in their nations, the authority of the pope in demanding continuation of Trent rather than the creation of a new assembly, the power of the leaders of Spain and France to resist the policies of the pope and of each other, the authority of bishops over clerics—especially cathedral chapters—in their dioceses, and the power of existing exemptions from episcopal control. In the context of late-twentieth century developments in the historiography of this era in European history, careful analysis of both early-modern theoretical positions on authority and of the practical problems encountered in exercising them is of paramount importance. This volume—and the others in the series—will be crucial for evaluating the legitimacy of paradigms like state building, confessionalization, and social disciplining that have such wide circulation in scholarly literature.

For Gutiérrez, the story of the reconvocation of the final sessions begins with the conclusion of the first phase in 1547 and ends with a bull of convocation

that, for all its careful wording, still raised determined opposition. The suspension designed to shut down dissident voices in 1547 left big issues unresolved, including one with a long history in Spain: the question of the power of bishops undertaking corrective visitations. Even when such visits were justified through the decrees of the first phase of Trent, exemptions from episcopal authority—usually held by cathedral chapters—limited that power. Gutiérrez gives over the first three chapters in this book to this problem and to examples of chapter opposition, and then follows with analysis of the diplomacy between the Spanish clerics, the Emperor, and the papacy in 1554 designed to reduce this contention. These negotiations were paralyzed, as Gutiérrez relates in the following four chapters, by the death of Julius III and by an interlude that included hopeful signs for the cathedral clerics (like the election of Marcellus II) but also included decisive abandonment of diplomacy in the bellicose, anticonciliar pontificate of Paul IV The stories Gutiérrez presents establish the precedents to the wider diplomatic operations followed to gain reconvocation in 1561, and these he relates in chapters 9 through 15. Pius IV quickly overcame the conciliar lethargy characteristic of the Pauline pontificate to capitalize on the opportunity afforded by the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, but only with hard work and complex diplomacy. Gutiérrez traces it all, demonstrating, for example, the symbolic barrier that the very city of Trent constituted for Protestants, and the wide variety of fears operating: from papal fear of a French national council, to fear within the Consejo Real that renewed jurisdictional strife would result from conciliar reconsideration of episcopal authority. He does so with constant use of archival sources, and includes appendices with transcriptions of correspondence and other documents. Gutiérrez argues a familiar position, namely, that it was the determination of Pius IV that secured reconvocation, but he does so with a presentation of archival evidence that far surpasses those who have held it before.

A brief episode—but one with a vast network of connections to the religious, political, and military history of the era—is reconsidered in this massive volume. Gutierrez's finely researched, detailed analysis represents a major contribution to the history of early-modern Catholicism, even though it is a relatively small portion of the study to which he has dedicated his scholarly career.

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Michel de l'Hôpital: The Vision of a Reformist Chancellor during the French Wars of Religion. By Seong-Hak Kim. [Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies, Volume XXXVI.] (Kirksville, Missouri: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers. 1997. Pp. xii, 216. $40.00.)

A central figure in the fractious religious politics of sixteenth-century France, Michel de l'Hôpital has surprisingly not received much attention in recent

decades. The last major treatment of his life was A. Buisson's rather limited biography published in 1950. Apart from a few articles, nothing much new has been added to the nineteenth-century portrait of Hôpital as an early apostle of freedom of conscience guaranteed by a secular state. Kim's fine book revises this picture considerably by drawing on a wide array of archival sources and by devoting attention to the early stages of Hôpital's career. In the process, she captures the complex inconsistencies of a man who embodied a number of the central contradictions that plagued France during the Wars of Religion.

Kim stresses the importance of Hôpital's own family history in explaining his rise to power. His father's involvement in Charles III de Bourbon's betrayal of François I in 1523 led to the family's exile in Italy, where young Michel grew up, taking a law degree from the University of Bologna. His firsthand exposure to Cinquecento Italian humanism impressed upon him a special sensibility regarding notions of civic duty and political morality that distinguished him from his counterparts back in France. Indeed, his Neo-Latin poetry demonstrated the close connection between literary humanism and careerism so emphasized by Italian courtly writers such as Castiglione and Delia Casa. Yet Hôpital's foreign upbringing only sharpened his own acute sense of patriotic devotion to France, where he returned in 1537 to begin a twenty-year career in the Parlement of Paris and then the Chambre des Comptes. This early professional experience very much shaped his later stormy relations with the Parlement as well as the evolution of his religious policies and ideas about judicial reform. Hôpital owed his advancement, limited as it was until 1560, to patronage from the Guises, particularly the Cardinal of Lorraine, to whom he offered advice in shaping the French position at the Council of Trent. In fact, Hôpital's fall from power in 1568 was due as much to his angry break with the Cardinal as to the failure of the religious policies he had persuaded Catherine de Médicis to adopt in the celebrated Edict of January (1562).

This crucial background makes so much of Hôpital's tenure as Chancellor more understandable. Indeed, Kim dispels many of the myths long surrounding Hôpital. For example, the Chancellor was far more authoritarian than liberal in his thinking about the role of royal government across a broad spectrum of concerns, including religion. In this area, Kim convincingly demonstrates that Hôpital was at heart not a believer in individual freedom of conscience, but a moyenneur who advocated a more intrusive, yet prudential royal presence in matters of faith. In effect, the Chancellor viewed the worsening confessional disputes in France from the vantage point of royal Gallicanism; he was convinced that royal law rightfully could and must be employed to ensure order, without which questions of morality and religious truth became moot. Whether his ideas actually called for a separation of politics and religion, as Kim claims, is another matter, however. Indeed, the Chancellor's own religiosity, so sensitively treated throughout the book, suggests the fifteenth-century conciliarist distinction between the externalities of religion and the mystical body of the faithful. His so-called political realism, in other words, reflected a distinct vision of ecclesiology that foundered, along with its accompanying commitment to

pacifism, on the growing tendency to define religious identity largely in terms of such externals as doctrine and public behavior. In this respect, Hôpital resembles not so much Cardinal Richelieu, as Kim suggests, but rather Michel de Marillac. Like Marillac, Hôpital proposed a different course for France than the one historically taken. It was perhaps only symbolically fitting that the last year of the Chancellor's life witnessed the horrors of the St. Bartholomew's Day massacres, a paroxysm of violence that, as Denis Crouzet has recently argued, destroyed the forlorn hope to forge a sense of brotherhood based on the kind of humanistic understanding of justice and piety so cherished by Hôpital.

Michael Wolfe

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The Rule, the Bible, and the Council: The Library of the Benedictine Abbey at Praglia. By Diana Gisolfi and Staale Sindling-Larsen. [College Art Association Monograph of the Fine Arts, Volume LV] (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1998. Pp. xiii, 201;ills. 73 [4 in col.]. $55.00.)

The subject of this monograph is the cycle of twenty-four paintings created ca. 1570 (according to the author's reasoning) by Battista Zelotti (ca. 1526-1578) for the earlier sixteenth-century library room at Sta. Maria di Praglia near Padua. The Renaissance monastic complex there was the result of the Benedictine reform movement begun by Ludovico Barbo (1381-1443), the abbot of Sta. Giustina at Padua. Before they can turn their attention to the paintings, however, the authors must reconstruct the architecture and furnishings of the original room—compromised in the eighteenth century—and reassemble the complete cycle, including the wall paintings now in the refectory, all of which they achieve by means of their examination of the existing space, their reinterpretation of the documents, and the magic of the computer. The result restores to historical knowledge a characteristic Cinquecento library with two rows of reading benches, paintings alternating with openings along the walls, and a geometrically framed painted ceiling.

Had the authors set out to do nothing else, this would be a welcome study, as the inventory is short indeed of well-understood Renaissance monastic library rooms. Judging by their bibliography, only a little has been added since my own student survey of a third of a century ago. It is the program of Zelotti's work, however, that is the center of the authors' interest. The paintings represent allegories and scenes from the Old and New Testaments, but they find the program doctrinal rather than narrative. Their exploration of the intellectual, spiritual, and institutional context in which Zelotti worked reveals sources that are stated succinctly in their title: the program relies upon the Rule of St. Benedict, the Benedictine "tradition of books," and Benedictine reform movements within the Church that stem from before and during the Council of Trent. The theme

of the cycle, they suggest, was inspired by the wish to reaffirm sacramental and monastic traditions in the period following the Council. They can find no narrow library iconography here.

While their introduction claims without qualification that Zelotti's paintings at Praglia (including those in the church itself) "constitute an important achievement, comparable in size and complexity to that of Paolo Veronese at San Sebastiano in Venice," they are more modest and more cautious about their interpretation of the library program itself. They present a working hypothesis, they say. "Right" or not, their discussion will further the study of Renaissance library rooms and library cycles.

That is not to state that this book is without its faults. Although one might say that their larger argument seems reasonable and will further discussion, there are any number of vague or questionable statements that give one pause. In general the authors were ill-served by their copy editor, who allowed some awkward moments to get by (as in "there occurred an activation of" [p. 24]), but I would guess that they are responsible for others. In their eagerness to connect the library paintings to the Benedictine "tradition of books," for example, they "point out that most manuscripts and early printed codices were illustrated" (p. 26). That's a characteristically art-historical distortion: students of the history of the book know better.

James F. O'Gorman

Wellesley College

Devoted People: Belief and Religion in Early Modern Ireland. By Raymond Gillespie. [Social and Cultural Studies in Early Modern Europe.] (Manchester University Press. Distributed by St. Martin's Press, New York. 1997. Pp. x, 198. $5995.)

"This book is about the reality of the religion which survived in the lives of the people in sixteenth and seventeenth century Ireland," writes the author, who has divided his material into six chapters, using an impressive range of sources and providing excellent footnotes. There are many insights into popular belief and practice (both Catholic and Protestant), based on the conviction that religious experience and belief are more fundamental than religious institutions and that belief does not need to be aberrant to be "popular." Most people learned their religion from their mothers, a process which the author regards as innately conservative. There were tensions between lay belief and church doctrine, between lay concern about devotion and clerical concern about organization. Catholic and Protestant churches offered intellectual systems which were in dialogue with the religious needs of communities and individuals, but Catholics were offered far more symbols.

The author emphasizes the universal belief in providence, in the sacredness of times and places, and in wonders. Few people in early modern Ireland lived far from a holy place. The recurring tendency to resort to astrology and other signs was common to both Protestants and Catholics, neither group being passively receptive of orthodox theological ideas, but rather forging a genuinely lay spirituality.

Gillespie gives many interesting examples of popular practices, such as soldiers carrying written prayers on their persons for protection, and the thirty-four holy days of obligation observed by Catholics. The description of religious customs includes the Independents, who were very important in mid-seventeenth-century Ireland.

Any reader of this book must have a sound knowledge of Irish history from the Reformation to the death of Queen Anne. The arrangement of material within each chapter moves backward and forward, without any chronology, and so the narrative is often confusing. "Anglican" is used as shorthand for the Established Church of Ireland, though in that era it was decidedly Protestant and often Calvinist in its theology. The problem of preaching both the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation in a bilingual country is never discussed. Gillespie says that the regular clergy were seen as having access to greater spiritual power, but one regular, whom he often cites, the English Jesuit William Good, has his writings attributed to the early seventeenth century (they were published by William Camden in 1610), whereas his work in Ireland was early in the reign of Elizabeth I, to whose era his remarks are most applicable. The body of St. Francis Xavier is said to be at Michelle in Flanders, rather than in Goa.

Gillespie rejects the idea that the peoples of early modern Ireland lived in a barely Christianized world, but he believes that, in the short term, both the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation failed. In fact, both movements can be said to have had great success, the former among the newcomers and the latter amongst the indigenous population. In both cases, the respective reforms won the loyalty and support of the people with whose allegiance they finally had to be content.

Fergus O'Donoghue, SJ.

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Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland nebst ergänzenden Aktenstücken: Die Kölner Nuntiatur, Volume 5/1 , Ergänzungsband: Nuntius Antonio Albergati (1610 Mai- 1614 Mat). Edited by Peter Burschel with Wolfgang Reinhard. (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh. 1997. Pp. xxx, 217. DM 54.00.)

This supplementary volume is the result of an unexpected documentary discovery. Back in 1972 Wolfgang Reinhard published the correspondence for the

period 1610-1614 of the nuncio in Cologne, Antonio Albergati, Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland: Die Kölner Nuntiatur, vol. 5, 1,in two Halbbände. Recentiy Peter Schmidt was gathering materials for the remainder of Albergati's tenure as nuncio in Cologne, from 1614 to 1621. His research brought him to the archive of Cardinal Alderano Cibo (1613-1 700), who served as secretary of state under Innocent XI from 1676 to 1689. It is now located in the Italian State Archive in Massa in Tuscany. There he found five volumes of correspondence of Cardinal Scipione Borghese, who was secretary of state under his uncle, Paul V (1605-1621). These included the 162 letters from Albergati to Borghese, written between 1610 and 1613, that are published in this supplement to the 1972 volume.

The five volumes found in Massa also included correspondence between Borghese and the nuncio in Poland. How this material ended up in the archive of Alderano Cibo is unclear. The editor speculates that the cardinal gathered it for his personal use, especially to assist him in the making of policy toward Louis XIV and toward John Sobieski in Poland. Alderano Cibo came to the office of secretary of state with little diplomatic experience, and he probably sought guidance in this way from the policy of his predecessor.

Reinhard estimated that he had published roughly sixty-five percent of the correspondence between Borghese and Albergati for these four years. This volume, the editor judges, raises the figure to eighty-five percent, so that about fifteen per cent remains unrecovered. The new material does not alter significantly the picture of papal policy or of Albergati's conduct as it emerged from the earlier volume. But it does help us to understand more completely some of his actions, and it fills us in on details, especially about matters of Catholic reform in northwest Germany and the nearby Netherlands and about papal policy in the dispute over the succession in the duchies of Jiilich-Cleves and in the election of Emperor Matthias. The numbering of the documents in this supplement makes it easy to insert them in the appropriate place as one works through the earlier volume edited by Reinhard.

We now await the publication by Schmidt of Albergati's correspondence for the rest of his tenure as nuncio in the important post in Cologne.

Robert Bireley

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The Religious Origins of the French Revolution. From Calvin to the Civil Constitution, 1560-1791. By Dale K. Van Kley. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1996. Pp. x, 390. $35.00.)

The allegation of a Jansenist plot to destroy Church and State is as old as the accusation of Jansenism itself—a reputation that the famous remark in Louis XTVs Mémoires on their "Republicanism" did not help to stifle. But did the

Jansenists actually influence the process that ended the Ancien Régime'! Already in 1929, E. Préclin attempted to show how the resistance to the bull Unigenitus produced a revival of Richerism that led to the Civil Constitution of 1790. His conclusions have inspired later historians to look more closely into the political aspects of this influence, especially in the parliamentary circle that was so instrumental in these changes. They have shown the validity of this perspective as well as its greater complexity. The question remains to define Jansenism and to discern the continuity between the bishop of leper (Ypres) and those who have been labeled his disciples during the century and a half that followed the publication of Augustinus. This is the purpose of Dale Van Kley's book; he sees in the opposition to absolutism a common element that supports the notion of a Jansenist party and explains its influence over the "unraveling of the Ancien Régime," to use the title of another of his important works. In this political vision, Van Kley sees also an affinity with Calvinism—hence the subtitle of the book.

In this "synthetic study," that patterns the works of W Doyle, K. Baker, and R. Chattier, the author draws on a vast amount of scholarship to reconstruct the complex ideological and political evolution of Jansenism that instigated the Revolutionary process. The demonstration is impressive and often convincing. In his first chapters Van Kley establishes the tenets of French Absolutism, the "royal religion," a Gallican conception that was rejected by French Calvinists as well as the Parti dévot, thus forcing the monarchy under Henry IV to adapt it in order to place itself "above the confessional fray." This required a weakening of the two factions, but did not prevent the emergence of a Jansenist Party representing both sides [author's italics, p. 12] of this resistance that was more successful in resisting and eventually defeating the divine-right monarchy. The Constitution Unigenitus (1713) was the occasion of the rebellion; during the rest of the century a faction of clerics and jurists would first desacralize the monarchy and then transfer its sway to the Nation. The last decade of the old Regime would see a division of this group that accounts for the divergent reactions to the Civil Constitution.

This brilliant essay is above all a testimony to recent scholarship in the field of eighteenth-century France, especially at the level of intellectual and political analysis. Due to its scope and ambition it should generate a helpful debate around some of the author's assessments and interpretations. The idea of looking for a unifying element in the complex history of Jansenism and of reconstructing this history from that perspective is a fruitful one, and resistance to absolutism is certainly a recurring theme, from Jansenius' Mars Gallicus to the revolt against Unigenitus. The question is the religious interpretation of this political stance, since religion remained crucial to the time of the Revolution, as C. Maire's recent book amply confirms. I, for one, wonder whether the continuity between Calvinism and Jansenism is as operative as Van Kley thinks; his affirmation (p. 12) that "what marched under the banner of Jansenism somehow united the biblical, doctrinal, and presbyterian ecclesiastical tendencies of the Protestant reformation" is, to say the least, debatable. For instance, the "près-

byterianism" of the Jansenists had nothing in common with the Calvinist conception of ministry. They functioned within the Catholic hierarchical and sacramental system and simply advocated a "constitutional" structure of the Church based upon a reinterpretation of late medieval conciliarism, as Van Kley shows well. Saint-Cyran and Arnauld after him were adversaries of absolutism in the Church, present in their eyes in the post-Tridentine Papacy and its Jesuit supporters; a return to an idealized church polity was an important element of their program of reform, which would realize what neither the Reformation nor Trent had achieved. This program was continued by Quesnel and its explicit condemnation by Unigenitus produced the mutations carefully analyzed by Van Kley. Both persecuted minorities may have shared a spirit of resistance to political absolutism fostered by their experience, but this does not necessarily imply ideogical affinity beyond common references to Augustinianism. It is all a question of perspectives; raised in the Calvinist tradition (p. 10), Van Kley is attentive to the similarities; from a Catholic viewpoint the differences seem quite as much incontrovertible.

This is an important book, therefore, that deserves, indeed, to become "a standard work in the field," despite the fact that it bolsters the association, misleading in my eyes, between Calvinism and Jansenism. The absence of a bibliography is unfortunate; at least a list of the references used in the notes would have been helpful.

Jacques M. Gres-Gayer

The Catholic University ofAmerica

Divided Loyalties: The Question of an Oath for Irish Catholics in the Eighteenth Century. By Patrick Fagan. (Dublin, Four Courts Press. Distributed in the U.S. by International Specialized Book Services, Inc., Portland, Oregon. 1997. Pp. 202. $45.00.)

For more than a century now, much has been written on the penal laws inflicted on Irish Catholics from 1691 to 1829, and on the sporadic attempts made to abrogate them. Each successive scholar to take up the question, if one excepts Maureen Wall, was interested in some particular aspect or episode to the exclusion of others. As often as not, their work appeared in obscure journals or booklets not easily found. The merit of Patrick Fagan's book is that he takes a basic point, namely, the various oaths of allegiance, abjuration, and supremacy, and uses their gradual evolution to provide a solid framework for a study of the laws as a whole. He comes well equipped for the task, having already written biographies of Cornelius Nary (d. 1738) and Sylvester Lloyd, Bishop of Killaloe (d. 1747), both early spokesmen on the Catholic side, and edited in two volumes the Irish material among the Smart Papers now at Windsor Castle. His familiarity with the published and unpublished writings of Charles O'Conor of Belanagare (d. 1791) greatly enriches this account.

One could say that Fagan's chief interest is in the period before 1778 when Luke Gardiner's parliamentary bill,"a watershed in history," enabled Catholics to take long leases and put paid both to "discoverers" of Catholic property and to the"gavelling act,"which broke up their small estates. For the period after 1778, one should also read Thomas Bartlett, The Fall and Rise of the Irish Nation. The Catholic Question, 1690-1830 (1992), which, though it says little of the early eighteenth century, offers a rich panorama of later decades from a purely political point of view. Yet Fagan does discuss in greater detail the later relief acts of 1782, 1792, and 1793. Even the so-called "Emancipation Act" of 1829 required a new oath of Catholic members of parliament, while denying to the regular clergy any legal recognition of their existence. The author's long analysis of names in the Test-Book (1775-76) and Catholic Qualification Rolls (1778-1830 ca.) is extremely useful, not least because it explains exactly which records survived the destruction of the Record Office in 1922 and where exactly one may find them.

For this reviewer, the chief advantage of the book is that it draws into a cohesive whole a series of episodes and problems hitherto treated in isolation, such as Nary's controversy with the Protestant archbishop Synge (1733), the Stuart nomination of bishops, the "Trimblestown pastoral" (1756), Hamilton's "registration of priests" (1757), the embarrassing letter of the nuncio Ghilini (1769) upholding ancient papal "rights," and the dispute between the archbishops of Dublin and Cashel in 1774 over the oath of allegiance. More recent research has proved the author correct in his view (p. 93) that the formula of an oath proposed by the Catholic party in 1756 was drawn up by Cornelius Nary more than twenty years before. The evidence is to be found in A. R W. Malcomson, Eighteenth-century Irish Official Papers in Great Britain, vol. 2, p. 168.

All told, there is far more to this book than its title suggests. While devoted to the search for an acceptable "oath," it is equally a penetrating guide to the long struggle for Catholic emancipation in Ireland.

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Late Modern European

Il Vescovo di Trento Giovanni Nepomuceno de Tschiderer e la situazione della Chiesa in Austria e nel Tirólo nel corso della prima meta del secólo XIX. By Josef Grisar. Translated from the Latin by Elio Gottardi. [Istituto di Scienze Religiose in Trento, series maior, IV] (Bologna: Edizioni Dehoniane Bologna. 1997. Pp. xxi, 375. Lire 65.000.)

This work had an unusual genesis. When during the 1930's the beatification of Johann Nepomuk von Tschiderer, Bishop of Trent (1834-1860), was under

discussion at Rome, the objection was raised that he had supported the Josephinist state-church system then prevalent in Austria, and had indeed cooperated with it. Given the long-standing Papal hostility toward Josephinism, this would have been a serious obstacle to his beatification. To answer this objection, the Diocese of Trent called upon the noted historian Father Josef Grisar. He published the results of his research in 1936 in a Latin version essentially intended for internal use; it remained largely unknown to the scholarly community at large. After Tschiderer was at length beatified in 1995, the Istituto di Scienze Religiose in Trent decided to bring the work to a larger audience, and this slightly abridged Italian version is the result.

It must be said at the outset that the work shows its age; much research has been done since 1936 on Josephinism, and Grisar's work has lost some of the originality it had when written. Moreover, its attitudes are those of an earlier era, and may jar the sensibilities of the post-Vatican Council II age (e.g., his sympathy with Tschiderer's efforts to keep the Tyrol a purely Catholic area by preventing the introduction there of Austrian laws on religious toleration). Despite these inevitable limitations, this book still deserves attention, for it is a work by a great scholar, based on intensive research in the archives of Austria and the Vatican, and much of it has not been superseded by later work.

Grisar opens with a perceptive account of the origin and development of Josephinism, and then takes on the key question of Tschiderer's attitude toward it. He demonstrates conclusively that if the Bishop was not a vigorous public opponent of Josephinism, he certainly did not support it. His attitude, like that of many Austrian bishops of his day, was rather one of reluctant and partial toleration. The author attributes this tolerance to several factors. First, by 1834, Josephinism was in decline, and its most objectionable features had either been modified or were not systematically enforced in practice. Second, Tschiderer appreciated the aid that the Imperial government had given the Church to recover from the great damage done during the wars and upheavals of the revolutionary era, and so was reluctant to oppose it, the more so since its support still seemed necessary against liberalism, which he considered a much greater threat to the Church than Josephinism. Third, the lower clergy and mass of the people, little touched by the ultramontane current of the age and traditionally loyal to the Habsburgs, would have neither understood nor supported an open assault on Josephinism and the government that upheld it; the assault would have failed, weakening church and state alike, to the sole benefit of the liberals. Finally, Tschiderer had less cause than most bishops to complain of Josephinism, since its laws had always been applied more discreetly to the Tyrol than elsewhere, from respect for its staunch Catholicism.

Tschiderer did work against Josephinist laws that he considered truly harmful to the Church, but he did so without publicity, by expressing his views in private letters to the Emperor and members of the government, or by simply ignoring such laws in his diocese; he always hoped that a peaceful and mutually

acceptable settlement of any controversy could be worked out between Vienna and Rome.

In his final chapters, Grisar examines several other aspects of Tschiderer's career. Nationalism was a growing problem for him, in a diocese split between Germans and Italians. He deplored it as a cause of disunity among Catholics and a source of strife; he criticized Italian nationalism for its hostility to the Temporal Power, but defended Italian clergy attacked by the government for their nationalist sympathies. Liberalism he disliked, identifying it with anticlericalism, and his attitude toward the 1848 revolutions was generally unfavorable. There is no bibliography, but there is an appendix of documents useful for showing Tschiderer's views.

As mentioned earlier, Grisar's work has its limitations today, and it is a pity it was not published when it was first written. Nonetheless, it is still of value, for it is a work of great scholarship, based on intensive research. Anyone interested in nineteenth-century Catholicism in the Austrian Empire, particularly in the Tyrol, can still read it with profit.

Alan J. Ree>jerman

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Catholic Nationalism in the Irish Revival: A Study of Canon Sheehan, 1852-1913- By Ruth Fleischmann. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1997. Pp. xiv, 188. $65.00.)

During the early decades of this century in Ireland, when the Literary Revival, at its zenith, was earning the country international critical acclaim, one of the most popular of its writers was a parish priest from County Cork. But the aspects of Ireland featured in the work of W. B. Yeats, J. M. Synge, George Moore, and Bernard Shaw, and which have continued to appeal to later generations of twentieth-century readers, have little prominence in the novels of Patrick Augustine Sheehan. Always known simply as Canon Sheehan from the honor the Church bestowed upon him in 1903, he depicted instead a nation so permeated by Catholicism and devoted to its priests and traditional pieties that social inequality, and indeed politics generally, were of far lesser significance. And he portrayed the enemies of such an Ireland not primarily as British rule or oppressive Protestant landlords, so much as socialist or nationalist radicals, or patriotically posturing hypocrites. His ideal was an Ireland poor in material terms but morally the safer for that, in which patriotism was inextricable from unwavering loyalty to the Church.

This vision was less accurate for the Ireland of Sheehan's own day than for that of the 1920's and '30's, after most of the country gained independence as the Irish Free State. That was certainly not the Ireland the Revivalists wanted, and for their successors—writers like Sean O'Faolain and Frank O'Connor—its

yoking of nation to Church was acutely uncomfortable. Canon Sheehan feared that materialism would overwhelm the Ireland he envisioned, and it has, though more slowly than he anticipated. Traditional Catholic Ireland lingered into the 1960's, when economic advances and the Church's own embrace of change effected its rapid demise.

Ruth Fleischmann is not sympathetic to Canon Sheehan's ethos, nor admiring, in the main, of his literary qualities. His novels have the faults common to popular fiction: sentimentality, didacticism, and too great a reliance upon coincidence and melodrama, but his sacerdotal characters are often compelling. Fleischmann most creditably examines their complexities and the conflict, to which Sheehan was personally sensitive, between the intellectual tendencies or ambitions of many priests, and the dullness to ideas of most of those to whom they ministered, a disparity so often issuing in clerical autocracy.

As Fleischmann indicates, Sheehan's social attitudes were comparable with those of numerous contemporary leaders; indeed, his novels are indispensable to any reconstruction of the sense of Ireland that prevailed early in this century among so many of its people. His writings bespoke an age in which the Revival itself arose, a context, now largely hidden, against which Ireland's better-remembered writers defined themselves. Ignorance of that very Catholic Ireland serves even its opponents poorly, and Fleischmann's revisiting one of its major proponents merits genuine praise.

Robert Mahony

The Catholic University ofAmerica

Cardinal Herbert Vaughan: Archbishop of Westminster, Bishop of Salford, Founder of the Mill Hill Missionaries. By Robert O'Neil, ?.?.?. (New York: The Crossroad Publishing Company. 1997. Pp. viii, 520. $49.50.)

Throughout 1995, English Roman Catholics celebrated the centenary of Westminster Cathedral. Cardinal Herbert Vaughan (1832-1903) played a significant role in the planning and realization of this London cathedral. On June 29, 1895, Vaughan laid the foundation stone for the new cathedral, and his Requiem Mass in June, 1903, was the first major liturgical function in Westminster Cathedral. This impressive church stands as a memorial to Vaughan's vision for English Catholics, but it represents only an aspect of his devotion to Roman Catholicism. Robert O'Neil's well researched biography of Cardinal Vaughan tells the story of the third Archbishop of Westminster, Bishop of Salford, and the founder of the Mill Hill Missionaries in an objective and entertaining manner.

Vaughan's Roman Catholic family background influenced his decision to choose the priesthood. After an education at Stonyhurst, Brugelette in Belgium, and Downside, Vaughan went to Rome to prepare for the priesthood. O'Neil's

description of these formative years, especially the influence of his mother, Louisa Elizabeth, and Vaughan's poor health, is good. After ordination in 1854, he returned to England and was appointed vice-president at St. Edmund's College, Ware. The author then discusses the significant events in this cleric's life: his association with the Oblates of St. Charles, his early missionary dreams, travels to the Americas, the establishment of St. Joseph's College, his purchase of The Tablet, views on Vatican Council I and infallibility, and missionary activities in America. In 1872, Herbert Vaughan was consecrated as Bishop of Salford. Again, O'Neil does an excellent job in describing Vaughan's activities in this northern diocese such as temperance, education, rescue work among children, his feud with the Jesuits, and issues relating to Ireland.

In 1892, Vaughan succeeded Henry Edward Manning as the third Archbishop of Westminster. Beginning with the problems surrounding the construction and staffing of Westminster Cathedral, the author gives an excellent account of the archbishop's role in the controversy over the validity of Anglican Orders, Modernism, and Roman Catholic attendance at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The missions and rescue work also formed an important part of Vaughan's program at Westminster. The cardinal's health began to deteriorate in 1897, and the last chapter gives an intimate glimpse into the struggles Vaughan experienced during the final years of his life. The book's epilogue addresses some criticisms of the cardinal and re-emphasizes the vision he had for the Catholic Church in England.

O'Neil's biography of Cardinal Vaughan is a readable and entertaining book which gives the reader an insight into the motives and personality of this important figure in English Roman Catholic history. The author does not avoid hostile interpretations of Cardinal Vaughan by his contemporaries or discussions of his weaknesses, but also presents a more humane and spiritual personality. "The often-heard criticism that he was a medieval lord-prelate is refuted by his genuine humility and simplicity" (p. 495). Vaughan's dedication to missionary work at home and abroad was a constant theme throughout his life, and this biography does not fail to draw attention to his accomplishments in this area. O'Neil also provides the reader with insightful personality sketches of Vaughan's numerous acquaintances. The relationship between Vaughan and Cardinal Manning is especially perceptive.

Without losing sight of his subject, O'Neil discusses the important issues in the history of English Catholicism and the many achievements associated with Vaughan in a succinct and entertaining manner. Like John Snead-Cox, Vaughan's first biographer, Robert O'Neil has written a candid biography of this significant Roman Catholic leader. The author's research is evident throughout the book, and his use of archival sources and recent books and articles dealing with English Catholicism is impressive.

Rene Kollar

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Religion in the Age of Decline: Organisation and Experience in Industrial Yorkshire, 1870-1920. By S.J. D. Green. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1996. Pp. xv, 426.)

This is a fascinating work in which, despite the case-study subtitle, the author takes on the troubles of secularization theory. In a well-written and very helpful introduction, Green casts doubt on both classic secularization theory and its major schools of criticism. The crisis of secularization theory is itself somewhat aging and sufficiently familiar to most students of religious history as not to require detailed explanation. Secularization theory has encountered many historical contradictions. On the other hand, as Green aptly warns his readers, various revisionist schemes (which he simplifies to four categories: transformation, relocation, divergence, and spontaneous renewal) themselves fail to supplant the older thesis.

Where then does all this leave an author presenting his readers with new research into "decline"? Green proposes a provocative route out of the secularization morass. Quite unabashedly he advocates a return to the institutions. Once upon a time not long ago, it was the basic consensus that the study of religion, at least of Christianity in the West, ought to divest itself of institutional bias and immerse itself instead in the techniques and assumptions of social history. To stay with the institutional perspective smacked of elitism, sectarianism, hierarchalism, etc., all deemed to be very bad things indeed. Yet in the midst of liberation one problem remained intractable: how to dump an institutional perspective from the study of a movement which from the very beginning has portrayed its own mission as the setting apart, initiating, and instructing people, all with authority and discipline? Green answers that one cannot and ought not to forgo institutional history for one simple reason: historical Christianity is what it says it is and therefore the institutional perspective forms the base which grounds other historical analyses. He writes,". . . a description and analysis of the ends, activities and fate of religious institutions . . . necessarily comprehends the social history of religion, the history of the churches and the history of religious (and other) ideas" (my emphasis).

Through all this and through his detailed evidence, Green settles on some rather interesting conclusions. Primarily, the notion of "decline" applied to British Christianity is very accurate and very real. Green finds no support for the idea that Yorkshire religiosity re-located or re-defined itself once the traditional churches began to decline. If in fact it did transform, he says, it was no longer identifiably Christian. No churches, no faith. Second, historians ought to link, not oppose, the buoyant spirit, competitive vigor, and pure ambition of the Yorkshire churches circa 1870 with the gloom and exhaustion of the 1920's. Why? Because, claims Green, it was the very ambition of the late Victorian churches seeking to expand, to grow with the general population, to identify with all sections of society all the time, in short to cater and to pander which led to the virtual identification of these churches with all the secular forms (and less stuffy alternatives) of associationalism. The Gospel was lost amidst all the

newfound "relevance" of the churches and people stayed away in droves. They are still staying away from all the "relevant" churches and seminaries in Britain and America to this day.

Ken Hendrickson

Sam Houston State University
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Louis Massignon. The Crucible of Compassion. By Mary Louise Gude. (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 283. $34.95.)

Mary Louise Gude's admirable biography of Massignon is the only one in English (a French life appeared in 1994) despite his international reputation as an Oriental scholar, a religious mystic, and a social and political activist who devoted much of his life (1883-1962) to promoting understanding between Islam and Christianity and, in a larger context, between the Arab world and the West. The work appears at a sadly opportune moment, when with increasing violence and fanaticism the need to achieve such understanding becomes even greater than in the past. Gude records in detail Massignon's career as one of the greatest Arab scholars of his time, dwells on the profundity of his religiosity which co-existed with social and political activism as evidenced in his attacks on colonialism and social injustice, and in his heroic efforts, despite fierce accusations against him as "anti-French" and "Communist," to bring peace to Algeria. Massignon's family belonged to the "grande bourgeoisie." His father, an agnostic, successfully practised sculpture under the pseudonym of "Pierre Roche." His mother, a devout Catholic, gave her son a religious education, but by the age of eighteen he had become an unbeliever who was to recover his faith only "in contact with the African desert and with Sufi mystics. . . ." With the years, he became a devoted husband and father and an ordained Melkite priest. After receiving his "bac" in mathematics in 1901, he made his first contact with Arab culture during a trip (the first of many) to North Africa, a trip which was to influence the rest of his life. In a letter to Paul Claudel he states:"It was there that I was really born." He was enchanted by the beauty of the desert, where he experienced "a sense of beauty and of deep religious exaltation."After completing his military service (1902-3) he re-affirmed his commitment to Arab culture by choosing, as the subject of his "Diplôme d'études supérieures" Leo Africanus, a sixteenth-century Moroccan geographer. In 1906 he obtained a diploma in written and spoken Arabic and became deeply interested in the medieval Sufi mystic, Hallaj. (His study, La Passion de Hattaj, martyr et mystique de l'Islam, was published in Paris in 1922. English translation by Herbert Mason, 1982.) In Paris, he was named a member of an archaeological mission in Mesopotamia. He arrived in Baghdad in December, 1907, rented a house in a Muslim neighborhood where no Westerners lived, dressed as an Arab, frequented young Muslims. On the way to the archaeological site in a remote village, he was attacked by a group of Bedouins who suspected him of being "a spy" and was robbed by

members of his own caravan. He complained to Turkish authorities who claimed that he "wasn't in his right mind." Mentally depressed, he returned to Baghdad, where he was hospitalized for several weeks and then was sent off to France. On the ship, he suffered attacks of paranoia and was confined. This experience, as he recalls in numerous essays, culminated in his return to the Church. In the following years, he soon enjoyed increasing success as an Orientalist, as professor at the Collège de France, as founder of the Institut des études islamiques, as writer (the author of twelve major works) and lecturer, as a social and political activist, and as a member of the national academies of ten different countries, including Iraq and Egypt. But all these official honors did not suppress his unrelenting criticism of governmental injustice. He enraged conservative French Catholics for his pro-Arabic position in the Algerian war. He criticized the Americans for their support of Israel against the Palestinians, although he greatly admired Lincoln and Franklin D. Roosevelt. During the last years of his life, despite failing health, he remained passionately involved in social and political movements. For over three decades, he taught night classes for North African immigrants. He organized regular meetings of "The Friends of Ghandi," of which he was the founder. He strongly supported De Gaulle for his declaration in 1959 that Algeria had the right to self-determination. Algeria was granted independence in 1961, but violence between rival factions continued and still continues today. In this era of unending strife throughout the world, we can join Mary Louise Gude in her moving, impressively documented homage to an heroic, compassionate spirit, who devoted his life to the service of God and to bringing peace and mutual understanding to humanity. Dead of a massive heart attack on October 31, 1962, he was nearly granted his long-expressed wish to die on All Saints Day "the feast of holy ones throughout the ages who offer their lives to God for others."

John L. Brown

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Louis Massignon et le dialogue des cultures. Edited by Daniel Massignon. [Collection: "L'histoire à vif."] (Paris: Éditions du Cerf. 1996. Pp. 371. 165FF.)

The French scholar of Islam, Louis Massignon (1883-1962), is best known for his monumental four-volume biography of the tenth-century Sufi mystic, Mansur al-Hallaj. Massignon's career spanned the first half of the twentieth century and shaped Islamic studies in France for two generations. Yet his influence extended far beyond the confines of both the university and France. Assignments in the diplomatic service as a young man gave him a keen sense of shifting geopolitical realities in the Middle East and North Africa. His critique escalated into protest after 1945 with the creation of Israel and demands for independence from Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria; he attempted to end suffering and political violence that affected Palestinian refugees and later the indigenous population of Algeria during the Algerian War. A committed Catholic after his

1908 conversion in the Iraqi desert, Massignon worked tirelessly to improve relations between Christians and Muslims.

Scholar, Christian, and activist, Massignon defies easy categories because his life alternated between prayer and action, theological reflection and social protest, the library and the street. Its one unifying characteristic was an unceasing effort to understand the other, particularly Muslims. To do so he practiced what he termed "sacred hospitality," whereby he attempted to enter mentally into another's thought processes and situation. Louis Massignon et le dialogue des cultures, the proceedings of a 1992 UNESCO conference honoring the thirtieth anniversary of his death, reflects this attempt to understand people of other cultures on their own terms.

The book is divided into two parts, "Les Bases du dialogue" and "La Pratique du dialogue," a division which proves to be somewhat arbitrary, since in the case of Massignon, theory always implied practice. Thus, the content of some chapters tends to overlap, and many contributions would have benefited by more rigorous editing. However, students of Arabic and readers with some knowledge of Massignon's life will find here a rich source of information. Moreover, since many quotations come from Opera Minora, the essential collection of Massignon's writings and talks mentioned on pages 274-275, the book guides the reader to further study.

Part one, "The Basis of Dialogue," is loosely organized around major influences in Massignon's life: linguistic, theological, and literary. It begins with his contributions to the study of Semitic languages, particularly Arabic, and their relationship to sacred texts: the Bible and the Qur'an. Certain contributions stand out. In "Le Coran dans la pensée de Louis Massignon," Roger Arnaldez treats with great precision the inseparable links between the Arabic language, the Qur'an, and the faith of Louis Massignon. "Aspects théologiques de la pensée de Louis Massignon sur l'Islam" by Maurice Borrmans provides an excellent summary of four key Massignon writings that set forth his spiritual vision of Islam. The importance of Islamic law in the life of Hallaj and for Massignon is underscored in "Louis Massignon et le droit musulman." "Douleur, substitution, intersignes," evokes the spiritual and literary legacies of French writers, J.-K. Huysmans, Léon Bloy, and Villiers de l'lsle-Adam, legacies whose full impact on Massignon has yet to be studied. Finally, Jacques Waardenburg provides a transition to Part II, by tracing the concrete political and religious context of Massignon's outreach to others, its spiritual origins and development.

Part two, "La Pratique du dialogue," discusses Massignon's links to North Africa, Egypt, India, Iran, Israel, and Japan. Again, certain chapters merit special note. "Le Comité chrétien d'entente France-Islam" traces Massignon's role in a group he co-founded in 1948 during the turbulent postwar period of decolonialization. Georges Anawati documents the activity of the Dar El-Salam Center in Cairo, from its creation in 1940 by Massignon and an Egyptian friend, Mary Kahil, until her death in 1979. "Louis Massignon face à Israel" lists Massignon's contacts over the years with Jewish thinkers, describes the friendship with Mar-

tin Buber and Judah Magnes, and cites statements of Massignon about the creation of Israel. Because the eschataological perspective of the Shiites so influenced Massignon in the last third of his life, "Louis Massignon et l'Iran" is particularly valuable: Shiite theology, its echoes in Massignon's writings, and an account of Massignon's visits to Iran are all included.

The varied topics of this book reward the careful reader not only with insights into Massignon's life and thought but also with references to guide further research.

Mary Louise Gude

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Religion in the Soviet Union: An Archival Reader. By Felix Corley. (New York: New York University Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 402. $55.00.)

Felix Corley's Religion in the Soviet Union: An Archival Reader is a valuable guide to Soviet religious policy from 1917 to the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991· The author has located many of the key documents that outline the Soviet government's policy on religion and then organized them chronologically to show the changing nature of that policy. Some of the documents were already published and translated from Russian into English, but many were not, and Corley found most of these in the newly opened Soviet archives. The author also connects the major chronological divisions of the documents with a running commentary, which puts the various documents into context and shows clearly the Communist government's antireligious policy that went from an initial effort to eradicate religion by any means to a policy in the late Brezhnev and Gorbachev eras to control and harness religion for various political goals, including political stability. In effect, the book is a description of the policy handbook of Soviet bureaucrats, who were charged with the implementation of Soviet religious policy.

The overriding impression of the compilation of documents is to underscore the Soviet government's hostility to religion. Of course, the book shows that Soviet animosity waxed and waned, depending upon circumstances, including foreign-policy pressures and the strength and willingness of specific religious leaders to make an accommodation with the Kremlin. Nonetheless, there remained an unrelenting opposition to religion, even in the last days of the Soviet empire. The author attributes this attitude to ideology and bureaucratic habit. He explains the persistence of religion as due in part to inconsistent persecution. Corley does make clear that the Soviet government's policy of persecution ebbed as it had less to fear from beleaguered believers, as foreign threats mushroomed, especially the Nazi threat in the 1940's, and as religious believers sought refuge from persecution in underground movements, which the state

soon saw as more threatening than the toleration of above-ground religious groups, which at least it could control.

The book offers striking evidence of the determination of the Soviet authorities to damage religion. One is struck by the extraordinary dedication to detail of Soviet ideologues in their effort to control and, where and when possible, weaken religion. On the other hand, the book also produces compelling evidence by implication of the persistent influence of religion in the lives of the people. The choice was between ideology or religion, and both had believers and supporters.

Although the Soviet Union is gone, the choice really has not changed much at the end of the twentieth century for the former Soviet people or, for that matter, for people in general. In our increasingly interdependent world, where men and women are torn from their traditional ways of life, it is clear from the experience of the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany and now the former Yugoslavia that secular ideologies will destabilize and destroy civilized communities. Religion has its own checkered history of intolerance and dogmatism and in the wrong hands can be manipulated to wreak havoc as destructive and destabilizing as ideology. But in the hands of genuine believers and spiritual leaders religion is a force for harmony and stability. Religion is perhaps our best hope for peace and co-operation as we enter the age of globalization, and we can only pray that the major religions can work together to meet the challenge of divisive ideology and help produce a global community united in its support of the dignity of man.

Dennis J. Dunn

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Cries in the Night, Women Who Challenged the Holocaust. By Michael Phayer and Eva Fleischner. (Kansas City, Missouri: Sheed & Ward. 1997. Pp. xxi, 153. $15.95 paperback.)

The history of the Holocaust, until recently, has paid little attention to those that defied Hitler and the Nazis and sought to save Jews. And while the evils perpetrated by the Nazi criminals should never be forgotten or diminished, there is room for honoring those who risked their lives to come to the aid of the Jews.

Cries in the Night is the story of seven Catholic women, motivated by a sense of compassion and justice and prepared to subject themselves to bodily injury, imprisonment, and even the possibility of death in order to save Jewish families from being murdered. The accounts are both revealing and inspiring because they describe what they did for the Jews in spite of the indifference of many clergymen and important public officials, and of the moral ambiguity of the Vat-

The story of these women begins in Poland, where the Holocaust took place. The Polish nun, Mother Mytlda Getter, saved hundreds of orphaned Jewish children and many adults. In Berlin a social service worker, Margaret Sommer, began protecting Jews who had converted to Catholicism, but ended up saving many non-converts. In Hungary Margaret Slachta, a member of the Sisters of Social Service, tried to stop the deportation of Hungarian Jews to the ldlling camps.

The book also contains several chapters about three French women who risked their lives to aid the Jews. Germaine Ribière, a university student in Paris, refused to be a bystander when the Jews began to be rounded up by the Gestapo in May, 1941. She joined the Amitié Chrétienne, an organization of Protestants and Catholics who helped the Jewish victims of Nazism and Vichy. Marie Rose Gineste, whom the authors dubbed "the woman with the bicycle," crisscrossed the diocese on her bicycle to deliver a pastoral letter by her bishop condemning the anti-Semitic measures of the Nazi occupation forces. Germaine Bocquet provided a hiding place for Jules Isaac. Much later Isaac was instrumental in persuading Pope John XXIII to put the Church's relation to Judaism on the agenda of the Second Vatican Council. Dr. Gertrud Luckner, whose courageous efforts to save Jews resulted in sharing the fate of Nazi victims in Ravensbruck, spent two years experiencing lice, filth, human degradation, and the stench of cremation. After the war she helped thousands of displaced Jews from the camps find places to live.

The courage of these women was offset by the failure of many clergymen, bishops, and even the Vatican to publicly condemn the persecution of the Jews in spite of the urgent appeals of these women. However, as the authors rightly point out, there were some courageous French and German bishops who publicly spoke out against the persecution of the Jews.

The archival sources include the Yad Vashem Documentation Center, the Kommission für Zeitgeschichte in Bonn, the Catholic Archdiocesan archives in Berlin, and the Archives of the Social Service Sisters in Buffalo, New York. The authors also used diaries, letters, reports, and personal interviews of the women who were still alive. While the footnotes provide additional interesting and important bibliographical references, it would have been more helpful to include a bibliography as well as an index.

While this study is a definite contribution to the growing body of literature on the Holocaust, it still leaves open the unanswered question, why did the Catholic hierarchy, including Pope Pius XII, fail to speak out more openly against the Nazi persecution of the Jews? Recent statements by both the Vatican and the French bishops hold out the hope that a complete response to this question is not far off. Meanwhile studies such as this remind us that selfless protection of the Jews only underlines the bystanders' failure to help. If those who claimed nothing could be done engaged in rescue, fewer Jews would have perished.

Richard W. Rolfs, SJ.

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The East German Church and the End of Communism. By John P. Burgess. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1997. Pp. xiv, 185. $3995.)

Burgess has used a wealth of primary written and oral sources from the former East Germany to illustrate how the Protestant church there contributed to the downfall of Communism by providing a free space for discussion and thought. He shows the reader very effectively how the church's theological arsenal of the 1980's had its foundation in Barth, Bonhoeffer, and the Barmen declaration of 1934, which assaulted Nazi ideology.

The church's benevolent incursion into politics had precedents, since both Christians and Communists had resisted Hitler together. They both had different ways of interpreting the ultimate reality, but Marxist-Leninists argued that the attainment of peace and social equity was more important than the propagation of atheism and the critique of religion. The political leaders, therefore, did not need religious legitimization, and the church also was free to realize its humanistic and social-political goals. The dichotomy seemed workable until the late 1980's, when it became clear that the foundational problem threatening monolithic communism was its spiritual malaise. Humans desire truth and freedom, i.e., ultimate meaning, something alien to the sterile political culture of Soviet-dominated Europe. Into this vacuum stepped religion.

Several theologians contributed to the spiritual vision that transformed the political life of East Germany. Especially representative are the writings of Heino Falcke, who has probed the anxiety that he perceived as a crisis in contemporary human experience. In his works, he asserted that contemporary materialism stressed worth in terms of "having" rather than "being." Such an ethic only increases anxiety. The Marxist-Leninist state was suffering from a spiritual impoverishment that had produced a morally indifferent and immature citizenry. Through his use of the biblical symbols of covenant and the kingdom of God and a reliance on Bonhoeffer, Falke conceived an ecclesiology in which the church would practice solidarity with the weak and marginalized and so would promote a reconciliation among the alienated members of both the ecclesial and political communities. Such a political theology offered a critique of the instrumental Marxist-Leninist ideology that reduced the meaning of life to a secular understanding of human reason as it exercised political control.

Burgess' work has broader implications as we evaluate our culture at the end of the millennium. Generally, social change has been attributed by scholars to economic and political forces rather than to the spiritual-moral dimensions of human existence. In 1989, however, the spiritual crisis seemed to stimulate revolution in East Germany and in much of Soviet-controlled Eastern Europe. In East Germany, for example, the Protestant church nurtured the movement toward democratization. It offered a free space for discussion and a theology that could directly engage the materialistic culture that had led to the crisis in spirituality that such non-German leaders as Vaclav Havel have critiqued. This

book on the former East Germany very effectively helps focus on the humanistic impulses that have helped shape the radical post-1989 transformation of the European scene.

Donald J. Dietrich

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American

Situado and Sabana: Spain's Support System for the Presidio and Mission Provinces of Florida. By Amy Turner Bushnell. [Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, No. 74.] (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1995. Pp. 249. $26.95 paperback.)

Amy Turner Bushnell, a distinguished Latin American historian at the College of Charleston, has written widely on Spanish colonial Florida. Situado and Sabana is the fruit of a consultancy she undertook for David Hurst Thomas, chief archaeologist for the American Museum of Natural History. Thomas sought from Bushnell the historical background for his lengthy excavations of the seventeenth-century Franciscan mission on Georgia's St. Catherine's Island.

Within the short scope of this volume, Amy Bushnell more than fulfills her charge. This work, in fact, prefigures the general history of Spanish Florida which the author deems to be urgently needed. It centers around the Royal subsidy (situado) and the sabana, the cultivated Native American lands which supported Indians and Catholic missionaries alike. As David Thomas states, this book is a "rich mine of relevant detail and original assessment." Bushnell's clarity of thought and style is evident throughout, and she builds upon her earlier concepts of the "sacramental imperative," an underlying factor which she believes drove the form and location of the Florida missions, and of the "republic of Spaniards, republic of Indians," her description of the two organisms which confronted each other in Florida after European contact.

There exists no better explanation of the workings of a Franciscan mission than this. Bushnell depicts the everyday functioning of vicarios, doctrinas, and visitas in Florida; how they were manned, equipped, and nourished. Her narrative is enlivened with the stories of incessant conflicts involving regular and secular clergy, Indian caciques, Spanish governors, and private merchants.

Bushnell demonstrates that Spanish Florida never was a "Borderland" in the Boltonian sense of isolated mission-cww-presidio. Rather, it proceeded through phases in which private enterprise, Royal funding and government, and the Native Americans interacted in varying proportions. She shows how the entity came full circle at last, as the European rivalries and wars of the eighteenth century impacted North America. The once-extensive Spanish colony of Florida

then shrank down to the vicinity of its presidios, and its Indian support vanished. It was undergirded at last, as it had been at the beginning, by private funds and Crown troops and subsidies from abroad.

When the general history of Spanish Florida is written, Amy Bushnell should be its author. Until then, this work will abundantly inform the reader about a neglected century and its Franciscan missions in the provinces of Florida.

Eugene Lyon

Flagler College

Being Religious, American Style: A History of Popular Religiosity in the United States. By Charles H. Lippy. (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press. 1994. Pp. x, 284. $65.00; $19.95 paperback.)

This book is an ambitious attempt to trace the history of "popular" religion among the American people from the colonial period to the present. Much attention is given to European settlers in America, but pages are also devoted to native peoples and African Americans. For individuals whose understanding of American religion may lie solely on texts that tell the story of religion in America from the perspective of religious institutions, this book could be a revelation. Lippy sees "popular religiosity" as "that inchoate, unorganized, and highly syncretistic sense of the supernatural" (p. 17), and believes that the search for this sensibility about the supernatural has been "a constant in American culture" (p. 17). Lippy points out this supernatural element in a number of unrelated religious examples throughout the book, suggesting to the reader that the groups and individuals he uses as evidence all share a similar understanding or characterization of the supernatural in their lives. Indeed, the interest in the supernatural may be very significant and a common element within popular religiosity, but the specific apprehension and expression of the supernatural may vary quite considerably from one example of personal religiosity to the next. Religious lives are too complex to reduce the personal religious understanding and experience of all individuals and communities of individuals to a few simple, detectable characteristics.

As much as I admire and enthusiastically commend Lippy's attempt to construct a history of American popular religion, I was troubled by his method for writing this history. Lippy sees popular religion and its history as a companion or complement of institutional religion and its history. But popular religion is so much more; it is the religious history of the American people! I was hoping that Lippy would offer a more radical or creative approach to this history in his book. As for his overall linear approach to this material (from the Great Awakening and Revolution to Antebellum America, Nineteenth Century, the two World Wars, etc.), I have always felt that the important lesson that the study of popular religion teaches scholars is that histories based on such linear schemes can be a fiction. Linear narratives of American religion are not neces-

sarily helpful in uncovering, understanding, or interpreting how people actually lived their religious lives. As a part of his linear design, Lippy uses major events as the foundation for his history such as wars, theological disputes, ecclesiastical or governmental decisions. He offers a history of popular religion as peoples' religious reactions to institutional norms, dogmas, decisions, functionaries, hierarchical individuals within institutions. Popular religion, therefore, is not valued as an important history in and of itself, but as the residual history of believers living in relation to their religious institutions. A history of popular religion must give attention to the way that peoples' religion complements, but is also quite different from, these social and religious structures and institutions so that this work may yield a richer, fuller, and more complete history of American religiosity.

The challenge presented to the author is how he can convince his readers that he is actually able to construct a reliable history of American personal religion, especially when there are no ethnographic accounts to be used as sources of historical information, and comparatively few historical studies. Such a history is difficult to chronicle because it involves an examination of data which have not yet been collected. It is not that such religion did or does not exist, but that the scholarly process of distilling such a religious history is still seeking recognition and support. Lippy does make use of the work of contemporary historians of the "popular" religion of American Protestants and Catholics (such as Robert Orsi, Colleen McDannell, Ann Taves, Jon Butler, and David Hall) to craft his survey. Unfortunately, there are still not enough of these studies to build a dependable history. To his credit, Lippy is quite honest in admitting that in the end it is impossible to know truly how people believed or acted religiously at any given time in the American past. What is obviously warranted, and what Lippy does not call for as a methodological conclusion, is the urgent need for further work in historical and contemporary ethnography of America's religious populace, so that future volumes like this one will not be left with so many missing elements of the American religious equation.

What the book becomes is an account of popular or mass American religious movements and not really a history of intimate or personal religiosity among American populations, when it is clear that it is Lippy's intention to present a history of individual American world views about religion. Even as a survey of popular religious movements, I felt, at times, that Lippy's book duplicates Peter Williams' 1980/1989 Popular Religion in America at least in terms of subject matter, although he leaves out communities which Williams included such as the Amish and Father Divine's International Peace Mission Movement.

I was particularly disappointed that a book so sympathetic to the significance of religion in everyday life contained no illustrations of the religious material culture discussed within its pages. This omission is a major oversight on the part of the publishers. I still must applaud Lippy's zeal for this subject, his recognition of the importance of the study of religion as it is lived, and his meticulous research which includes excellent endnotes, bibliography, as well as a detailed

index. This book is certainly a fine introduction for someone interested in "popular religiosity," while suggesting the need for new approaches to American religious history.

Leonard Norman Primiano

Cabrini College

Damned Women: Sinners and Witches in Puritan New England. By Elizabeth Reis. (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press. 1997. Pp. xxi, 212. $32.50.)

In this interesting book, Elizabeth Reis argues that ordinary Puritans were as much concerned about damnation as they were about sanctification. Extending David D. Hall's emphasis on popular religious belief, Reis shows that our overemphasis on Puritan elites has obscured appreciation of the powerful hold that ideas about the Devil and demonic activity exerted on ordinary imaginations. In addition, she explores the reasons that women were more likely than men to be damned both in their own eyes and in those of others. Extending backward the observation Barbara Leslie Epstein first made about the gendered nature of conversion in the second Great Awakening, Reis argues that seventeenth-century New England Puritan women were more likely to think of themselves as utterly depraved while men were more likely to focus on particular sins. Thus women were more likely to be accused of, confess to, and accuse other women of the extreme sacrilege of witchcraft.

Preoccupation with actual, physical manifestations of demonic power declined after the Salem witchcraft trials of 1692, Reis argues, partly as a result of ministerial warnings about the mischief resulting from imagined occurrences of demonic possession. While eighteenth-century women were still more likely than men to think of themselves in negative religious terms, they came to think about the Devil in metaphorical terms. They were still more likely than men to think of themselves negatively, but they also perceived themselves to be more responsible for particular sins than earlier women and more capable of overcoming them.

In its attention to popular ideas about supernatural reality and their role in constructing gender, this book is an important contribution to our understanding of American religious thought—and a timely one, given the resurgence of supernatural beliefs today. Moreover, Reis's emphasis on the power of religious belief is enlightening, as is her sldllful return to Puritan culture as a basis for understanding the historical development of American religious thought. But in pushing Epstein's argument back into the seventeenth century, Reis overlooks the degree to which men and women in Puritan culture were equally preoccupied by the inherently sinful nature of their souls. This oversight not only obscures understanding of the egalitarian implications of Puritan belief but also of the antiegalitarian implications of Arminian interpretations of personal respon-

sibility, which undercut the morbidity of Calvinist psychology but also opened the way for the idea that women and men had inherently different natures, with women being emotional rather than rational and more concerned with relationships than with rules or truth.

Puritans may not have believed the human soul to be essentially female, as Reis suggests, but rather that, with respect to God, all Christians should assume a posture of wifelike affection and submissiveness. This belief enabled wives to exemplify sanctity somewhat more easily than their husbands. It also raised expectations about women's virtue that many women could not meet. And it never fully triumphed over medieval notions about the special corruptibility and deficiencies of womanhood.

Amanda Porterfield

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American Women in Mission: A Social History of Their Thought and Practice. By Dana L. Robert. [The Modern Mission Era, 1792-1992: An Appraisal.] (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press. 1996. Pp. xxii, 444. $30.00 paperback.)

Historians and theologians have given short shrift to the role of women in the missionary movement; much research remains to be done. This work by Dana L. Robert, a professor in Boston University, begins to fill the gap. She bases her study on three assumptions: that women participated in the creation of American mission theories; that gender had an effect on those theories; and "that mission theory includes motivations, goals, theological assumptions, and reflections upon practical strategies that American women employed as they participated in foreign mission."

The study moves from the wives of missionaries (American Board and Baptist Convention), in the early nineteenth century, to unmarried women missionaries (Methodist Episcopal Church) in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (where she also includes evangelical missions), to the rather brief section on Roman Catholic missions (Maryknoll Sisters).

In each section, Robert describes the social context, and grounds her examples in the chronology of the missionary movement as a whole. For example, she demonstrates how the role of the missionary wife developed with an emphasis on service and usefulness, which led to lives of great self-sacrifice. Women and children came to be the main recipients of this service, and teaching emerged as the main work. Through the use of case studies, the reader follows these developments in the lives of the early women missionaries.

As unmarried missionary women came to be accepted, albeit grudgingly, around the 1860's, we see a turning point in mission history. The development of the Women's Foreign Missionary Society led to expansion of women's role; in

addition to teaching, women began work in health care and evangelization. The slogan became "Women's work for women," as their missionary movement became the "largest grass-roots movement of American Protestant women" in the late nineteenth century (p. 188).

Robert makes pivotal in her work the Woman's Missionary Jubilee of 1910-11, celebrating fifty-one years of women's mission activity. It was an ecumenical event, organized at the grassroots level to celebrate about forty missionary societies whose members were in the millions. Celebrations took place in forty-eight cities and many smaller localities. An event forgotten by historians, says Robert.

The Roman Catholic Church labeled the United States itself mission territory until 1908, which is one reason for the relatively late development of American Catholic women in mission. Needs at home took first priority. Also, Catholic women had no access to the missionary life save through joining a religious congregation of celibate women. The Maryknoll Sisters were the first American congregation to devote themselves to missionary work. Robert does an effective job tracing the changes in mission theory in the United States after Vatican Council II.

Robert brings to light American women in mission in an engaging and provocative manner, while her stories of individuals make their point and advance the argument. Because the work covers an enormous amount of time and discusses many individual women, it begs for an index. That aside, what Robert has begun provides a rich field to inspire further research.

Ann M. Harrington, B.VM.

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American Catholic: The Saints and Sinners Who Built America's Most Powerful Church. By Charles R. Morris. (New York: Times Books, Division of Random House. 1997. Pp. xüi, 511. $27.50.)

American Catholic historiography has varied in method over the last thirty years. Thomas McAvoy C.S.C., utilized a traditional hierarchical model; James Hennesey, SJ., paralleled Catholic and secular history in the United States, while Jay P. Dolan opted for a social-history approach. In American Catholic Charles Morris has successfully utilized recent scholarship and extensive oral history to produce a highly contextualized work that combines the hierarchical and social models in a description of the twentieth-century Church and its root influences. This book, which is thoroughly readable, well researched and argued, insightful and candid, is a tribute to the scholarship and industriousness of the author.

In Part I, "Rise," Morris describes the emergence of American Catholicism from an immigrant Church to acceptance in American society. Using the dedi-

cation of St. Patrick's Cathedral as a background setting, Morris insightfully and forcefully argues that the American Church in the twentieth century was created from the influence of the Irish Church of the nineteenth century. The Irish potato blight and subsequent famine and diaspora brought a rigorist and militant brand of Irish Catholicism to the United States. Irish Catholics dominated the priesthood and hierarchy, bringing stability and recognition, but Morris candidly states, in a description of the New York City draft riots (1863) that "making all allowances, the Irish and their Church were racist, even by standards of the time" (p. 78). Morris concludes that the American Catholic compromise was "a peculiarly Irish-American one" (p. 109).

"Triumph," the monograph's second section, describes the Church's movement from the separatist ghetto of the 1920's to its heyday in the 1950's. Morris demonstrates how American Catholicism grew to acceptance through its social activists of the 1930's, powerful and triumphant bishops, illustrated by Cardinal Dennis Dougherty of Philadelphia, and the Church's spectacularly positive presentation in popular motion pictures such as The Song of Bernadette and Going My Way. The high time of the fifties was capped with the election of John Kennedy to the Presidency in I960, an event which Morris describes as an unmistakable signal that the old separatist ways were gone.

Morris shifts in Part III, "Crisis," from chronological narrative to descriptions of various contemporary issues. He candidly describes "the dark valley" of clerical misconduct and the laity's rejection of Humanae Vitae. Through a comparison of the dioceses of Lincoln and Saginaw, Morris outlines the variance in theological vision in the American Church. Although generally positive on the state of American Catholicism, he concludes that it is a mirror image of our society: "If America has made an idol of choice, and enthroned process over substance, the Church devalues process, limits participation, and is suspicious of pluralism" (p. 421).

Morris' excellent book contains a few inconsistencies and errors. Generally American Catholic provides clear explanations of events, ideas, and terms not widely known, such as a scapular and Eucharistie minister. Yet, Morris mentions the slander that Francesco Satolli was the bastard son of Leo XIII without explanation. The book contains a few errors in dates, including Dorothy Day's meeting with Peter Maurin—late 1932, not early 1933, and Joseph McCarthy's re-election campaign—1952, not 1950.

American Catholic is an outstanding book that is a significant contribution to the literature. This volume should be read by academics and all who seek a better understanding of the Church in the twentieth century.

Richard Gribble, C.S.C.

Stonehill College
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The Life and Times of Bishop Louis-Amadeus Rappe. By John F. Lyons. (The Author, 3175 West 165th Street, Cleveland, Ohio 44111. 1997. Pp. xii, 285. $29.95.)

The Reverend John F. Lyons has published this "life and times" biography of Louis-Amadeus Rappe, first bishop of Cleveland (1847-1870), appropriately enough during the celebration of the bicentennial of the founding of the city of Cleveland in 1796 and the sesquicentennial of the establishment of the Diocese of Cleveland in 1847. The histories of both are closely intertwined. European immigrant Catholics flocking to the jobs available in such rapidly industrializing cities as Toledo and Cleveland simultaneously fueled the explosive growth of the region and the Catholic Church itself. Recruited by Bishop John Baptist Purcell of Cincinnati, Father Rappe journeyed from France in 1840 to become a successful missionary on the northwest Ohio frontier, preaching both religion and temperance. With grave misgivings, Rappe accepted Purcell's offer to become the bishop of the new Cleveland diocese, serving until he resigned in 1870, beset by charges of mismanagement and sexual misconduct. He then went to Vermont, where he was again what he always wished to be, a missionary and temperance advocate, until his death in 1877.

Lyons dedicates his study to the late Reverend William A. Jürgens, H.E.D., whose extensive research and writing form a major part of the volume. Lyons relies almost exclusively on diocesan archives in Cleveland, Baltimore, Norwood (Cincinnati), and Burlington (Vermont) and on archival material at the University of Notre Dame and at the Propaganda Fide in Rome. There are fewer than a dozen references to the secondary literature, little of it current and much of it cited improperly. Since there is no bibliography (or index, for that matter), the interested reader will have difficulty locating a particular secondary source. Either ignoring or unaware of the significant scholarship on both the Rappe administration in particular and the American Catholic Church as a whole, Lyons fails to place the events and personalities about whom he feels so deeply in any effective historical or analytical context. He has thus written not an even-handed "life and times" biography of Rappe but, rather, a legal brief in which he pictures the bishop as a saintly man destroyed by lying, evil-minded enemies, both lay and cleric. For Lyons, disagreements over such issues as nationality parishes, placement of priests, or the language to be used in services and taught in parochial schools are not legitimate differences of opinion over important issues but selfish, imagined grievances which produced conspiracies, led by plotters (at first Germans but later and especially the Irish led by Father Eugene M. O'Callaghan) inflamed by the foul spirit of nationality. Lyons rarely acknowledges that Rappe himself was motivated by a spirit of French nationalism. On the other hand, Lyons stereotypes Rappe's opponents—the Germans suffered from an inferiority complex and were "a touchy lot" who "could explode at any moment with little or no warning" (pp. 118-119). Most of the Irish were especially combative and untrustworthy and believed that only they were

good Catholics. Lyons fails to recognize that disagreement over nationality issues and clashes among bishops and aggrieved priests and lay men and women were endemic in the Church in the United States at the time. In fact, they were usually intertwined. Differences over ethnic issues rapidly escalated into battles over authority almost everywhere in an American church struggling to establish its own identity in a democratic republic and to set up administrative structures adequate to solve the problems as well as take advantage of the benefits which rapid growth, mostly based on European immigration, created. Lyons does perform a useful service in uncovering some documents and letters hitherto lost, especially those dealing with sexual misconduct charges against Rappe, which clarify some of the issues surrounding Rappe's resignation and his opponents' motivations. But in the final analysis Rappe was brought down not by apparently untrue charges of solicitation (Rome discounted them) or by "conspiracies" led by selfish Germans and Irish but by his own administrative ineptitude, a weakness which Rappe himself recognized throughout his life.

If Lyons fails to place Rappe in the historical framework of American Catholicism (for example, he provides no context for the growth of parochial schools or the establishment of religious orders and charitable institutions), he also fails to place him in the historical context of northern Ohio. Rappe's "times" consist of a few pages of mostly one-sentence paragraphs listing unconnected events, usually only in Cleveland. For example, on the same page (p. 181) Lyons tells us that in 1870 there were about ten and one half miles of stone pavement in Cleveland, cleaned four or five times a year by manual labor; that Francis H. Glidden began mixing paints and varnishes; that the Little Sisters of the Poor opened an asylum on Erie Street; and that an iron fence with a Gothic gateway was built around Erie Street Cemetery at a cost of $8,296 and that almost all of the lots had been sold as early as I860. Bishop Rappe deserves better treatment by historians than this deeply flawed biography provides.

Henry B. Leonard

Kent State University (Emeritus)

Death's Deceiver: The Life of Joseph P Machebeuf. By Lynn Bridgers. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1997. Pp. viii, 268. $3995 clothbound; $21.95 paperback.)

A crippled, homely French missionary seems an unlikely hero for the American West. Yet, Father Machebeuf logged some 100,000 miles in New Mexico, Colorado, Arizona, and Utah in a heroic effort to bring Catholicism to the American Southwest. Covering an area larger than France, he traveled in a wagon which doubled as his home. The tailgate he lowered for use as an altar.

After being appointed Colorado Territory's first priest, and later the first bishop, Machebeuf proved to be a prodigious builder. Like Rocky Mountain

mining, ranching, and railroad tycoons, he borrowed money to the hilt and suffered through bankruptcies, risking everything to acquire more resources for the Diocese of Denver. He had the unshakable optimism that characterized the great pioneers. "To be a true American," he wrote home to his family in France, "one must have many debts, and in that regard I am the genuine article" (p. 57).

When Machebeuf came to Denver in I860, his parish (all Colorado and Utah) had only two adobe mission churches. When he died in 1889, the Diocese of Denver boasted 102 churches, nine schools, a college, an orphanage, and ten hospitals.

Machebeuf's story has been told before, in a factual straightforward biography by Father William J. Howlett. Readers of Willa Cather's wonderful novel, Death Comes for the Archbishop, may remember that the Santa Fe Archbishop Lamy's right-hand man was Father Joseph Valliant, a fictional but accurate Machebeuf. Paul Horgan's classic, Lamy of Santa Fe, also gives much attention to Machebeuf, Lamy's lifelong friend and closest associate.

Yet, this well-written fresh look at Machebeuf is enjoyable and edifying reading with updated research and a review of the controversy about Machebeuf. Lynn Bridgers bases this book on her MA. thesis for the writing program at the University of California at Berkeley. She opens with a description of Machebeuf's "heavenly smile that lit up his plain face—it illuminated the blue eyes, exuded peace and confidence" (p. 10).

Why canonize a man at the beginning of his career—or at the beginning of his biography? The few known photos of Machebeuf show a dour old man, not a smiling saint. And when he was exhumed for reburial, officials took a look at his corpse to see if it was preserved—one sign of sainthood. It was not.

Bridgers forgives Machebeuf even his cranky attacks on women's suffrage. She dismisses suggestions that Machebeuf was Lamy's lover and bigoted against Hispanics. Here she provides a convincing reply to modern criticism of Machebeuf in the books of Fray Angélico Chavez.

Perhaps because Bridgers relies on dated and/or romanticized books for her Colorado background, it is skimpier and less accurate than her coverage of her native New Mexico. She confuses the founding dates for Auraria with that for Denver. She calls the resort town of Manitou Springs a pioneer mining town and grossly exaggerates the number of Indians slaughtered at the Sand Creek Massacre. Nor does she provide the hard factual list of achievements that Howlett did for Machebeuf's mighty labors in Colorado.

Generally, however, Bridgers excels at recreating the places and atmosphere of Machebeuf's life. She is a gifted writer. She recreates well Machebeuf's childhood and education in France and his missionary work in the United States, where Machebeuf found "everybody shows good will and has respect for the priest. Protestants have more respect for us than one-half, I should rather say three-fourths, of the Catholics in France" (p. 55).

Although French-Americans—south of Canada—are not organized to agitate and push their ethnic agendas, this book is also a reminder of that substantial, rarely discussed contribution. Lamy was one of a considerable army of French missionaries to work in the United States.

Bridgers' title refers to Machebeuf's ability to survive. He swam ashore from a midwinter shipwreck in the freezing waters of Lake Ontario, outmaneuvered an Arizona murderer, looked down the rifle barrels of irate New Mexico rancheros, confronted a pistol-packing priest, and lived to tell about a terrible fall off a mountain road in Colorado (where Mt. Machebeuf was recently named for him). A small, frail, sickly man, he survived attacks of typhoid, cholera, dysentery, and malaria. He harshly disciplined errant Hispanic and Irish-American priests: Machebeuf called it "fighting the cats"; yet he emerged almost unscathed. On more than one occasion, newspapers reported he had been killed. Father Lamy and his other friends often thought they would have to bury Machebeuf, before dubbing him "trompe la mort."

This spirited, positive, fresh biography should keep Machebeuf alive longer still.

Thomas J. Noel

University of Colorado at Denver

Thomas K. Beecher, Minister to a Changing America, 1824-1900. By Myra C. Glenn. [Contributions to the Study of Religion, Number 47.] (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press. 1996. Pp. xiv, 236. $59.95.)

Historians have generally accorded the Beecher family attention commensurate with their celebrity in nineteenth-century America, but such scrutiny stopped short of a thorough consideration of patriarch Lyman's next-to-youngest son until now. That Thomas never garnered a fraction of the national spotlight that illuminated the careers of siblings Catharine, Henry, and Harriet may explain the slight, but Myra Glenn's richly layered biography serves notice on what scholars have missed.

Glenn seeks to demonstrate that Thomas, if not the most prominent member of the clan, "was certainly one of the most interesting" (p. xi), and her sources are an embarrassment of riches. The pulpit, a newspaper column, the political platform, and a thoroughly social nature supplied Thomas the means to become a regular source of anxiety for the elder Beechers, as well as his parishioners.

Despite youthful doubts and an abiding interest in the physical side of life, Thomas's ordination in 1851 answered his father's prayers and began a lifelong career in the ministry. He would minister, however, on his own terms. His hierarchical, patriarchal understanding of the good society afforded Beecher little personal peace in democratic America, but even in advanced age he never cow-

ered. His Christocentric gospel, tilted sharply toward order and stability, led him to defend Southern slavery and to excoriate abolitionists, women's rights activists, and temperance leaders as the vanguards of chaos. Beecher's Congregational theology notwithstanding, he applauded the stability sustained by Catholic ritual and hierarchy and in the 1850's even took the Church's point that public schools should purge the curriculum of Protestant bias.

Beecher was anything but predictable, and Glenn does some of her best work in iUuminating the irony and contradictions that punctuated his life. Disgruntled with temperance agitators early in his ministry, he later ran for local political office under the Prohibition Party banner. A frank apologist for Southern slavery, Beecher established a long-term relationship with his solidly abolitionist Independent Congregational Church (renamed Park Church in 1871) in Elmira, New York. A firm opponent of the women's rights movement, Beecher maintained close relationships with his wife, sisters, and lifelong friend Ella Wolcott, all fiercely independent women with activist credentials. More remarkably, he supported the ordination of Annis Eastman, his female successor at Park Church.

Finally, while holding to a conservative line on several fronts, Beecher made late nineteenth-century Park Church a model of socially conscious outreach, sponsoring poor relief, day care, and a variety of educational and cultural programs. Such innovations are the basis of Glenn's claims that institutional churches nationally, as well as the Social Gospel Movement, "owed much to Beecher's pioneering efforts" (p. 160). If so, her claim for direct influence needs more substantial support in the text.

While the progress of Beecher's ministry controls Glenn's narrative, she commendably integrates his undulating professional path with national transformations and a lively personal life that included two marriages and an on-going struggle to keep his eccentric flights from eroding the family ties he cherished. Most importantly, Glenn's work reveals the internal struggles that pressed conservative Protestants like Beecher toward both parochial and progressive responses to nineteenth-century democracy.

Mark Y. Hanley

Truman State University

Philip Schaff (1819-1893): Portrait of an Immigrant Theologian. By Gary K. Pranger. [Swiss American Historical Society Publications, Vol. IL] (New York: Peter Lang. 1997. Pp. 305. $45.95.).

Exactly one hundred years ago, Philip Schaffs son, David, published with Charles Scribner's Sons the story of his father's life, in part autobiographical. In 526 large pages he presented a thoroughly complimentary yet complete pic-

ture of Philip Schaff along with perhaps still the most comprehensive bibliography of Philip's wide-ranging publications.

Since 1988, when the centennial celebration of the American Society of Church History, founded by Philip Schaff, was held, a number of works have appeared to honor and interpret him. Prior to 1988 a host of dissertations across the country studied Schaff from various viewpoints, perhaps the first of which was Luther J. Binkley's "The Mercersburg Theology" at Harvard University in 1950. Soon thereafter Theodore L. Trost wrote his "Philip Schaffs Concept of the Church" at New College, Edinburgh University in 1958. Others followed the leaders—Shriver (Duke, 1961), Penzel (Union, 1962), Post (Michigan, 1966), Meyer (Catholic University, 1968), Goliber (Kent State, 1976), Mitchell (Notre Dame, 1978), Conser (Brown, 1981), Pranger (University of Illinois at Chicago, 1987), and Graham (Chicago, 1989).

During the centennial year my own brief celebratory biography of Schaff appeared along with Henry Bowden's edited volume, A Century of Church History: The Legacy of Philip Schaff. A few years later, Klaus Penzel's magnificent Philip Schaff: Historian and Ambassador of the Universal Church—Selected Writings (1991) was published. Stephen Graham's Cosmos in the Chaos came out in 1995 as the most thorough exposition of Schaffs views of America and religion in America. A sprinkling of articles also made their contribution to facts about Schaff in relation to his personal life (his illegitimacy, the reason for his leaving Chur early on, his friendship with Sarah Borthwick) as well as his contributions to academic freedom. Pranger's book is the latest contribution to Schaffian scholarship.

An otherwise fine contribution, it is marred at two major points. First, Pranger does not show a major awareness of Schaffian scholarship since 1987. Bowden's and Penzel's later volumes are not referred to at all, and Graham's book is only listed in the bibliography. Though Pranger asserts that his book "is not meant as an exhaustive biography," it should have shown more sensitive awareness of the last ten years of scholarship. Second, Pranger does bring some conservative baggage to his interpretation of Schaff which in my opinion leads to some key misinterpretations. Pranger presents him as a conservative leaning toward fundamentalism, especially in relation to modern biblical criticism, whereas I would place Schaff just to the right of nineteenth-century evangelical liberalism. This conservative bias colors a number of key interpretations. On the other hand, Pranger shows a firsthand acquaintance with the manuscript and letter collections in Lancaster and New York. He also correctly presents ecumenism at the heart of all that Schaff did as well as underscoring Schaff as a bridge builder between European and American religious thinking. My value judgment as to the essence of Schaff as presented in various sources, however, is as follows: David Schaffs long work and my own brief work are best to present the human Schaff; Klaus Penzel is superior in relation to the theological Schaff; Henry Bowden describes in excellent fashion Schaff as an historian; and Stephen Graham is unexcelled in writing about the American Schaff. It is, per-

haps appropriately, a constellation of works that presents the complete Philip Schaff, Christian scholar and ecumenical prophet.

George H. Shrtver

Georgia Southern University, Statesboro

The Determined Doctor: The Story of Edward McGlynn. By Alfred Isacsson, O.Carm. (Tarrytown, New York: Vestigium Press. 1996. Pp. Lx, 442.)

Of the thousands of clergy who ministered within the Catholic community in the United States in the nineteenth century, perhaps none was more widely known in his day than Edward McGlynn, the New York priest who from the 1870's to the 1890's through his preaching and reform activities inspired passions and controversy across country and sea. In the mid-1880's he was a feared political influence among the working class in New York and beyond, a major promoter of Henry George's reform program, an occasion for the sending of the first permanent delegate from Rome to the United States, and a catalyst for Pope Leo XIII's Rerum Novarum. Thousands turned out for his speeches on economic reform; scores of thousands marched in his support when Rome excommunicated him in 1887; and an estimated 45,000 viewed his body in New York City in 1900. Given his significance, it is surprising that since Stephen Bell's popular study of McGlynn in 1937, there has been no biography. Part of the problem has been a lack of private sources. Friends of McGlynn's destroyed his papers following his death; documents relating to McGlynn in the New York Archdiocesan Archives were heavily filtered and generally made unavailable to scholars during Cardinal Francis Spellman's administration and thereafter. One of the strengths of Isacsson's work is its utilization for the first time of the McGlynn materials in both the Vatican Archives and those of Propaganda Fide.

Despite the subtitle, The Determined Doctor is not really a biography. Within a biographical framework Isacsson concentrates on the decade-long ecclesiastical controversy revolving around McGlynn's support of Henry George's reform proposals, McGlynn's consequent disciplining by local and Roman authorities, and the protracted struggle to restore and vindicate the priest. Isacsson so assiduously follows this labyrinthine trail through diocesan and Vatican bureaucracies that the context, significance, and impact of the dispute tend to be overwhelmed by the details. Elbridge Gerry, the author notes, supposedly kept his yacht in readiness to sail during the height of "the McGlynn Affair" in 1887 should McGlynn's local superior, Archbishop Michael Corrigan, be forced to flee from the wrath of the priest's supporters, but the tumultuous and divisive climate ("the furies turned loose," as one observer described it) that prompted such a radical precaution is largely invisible. So too the reasons why McGlynn became such a divisive figure and his condemnation such a priority for certain church figures. What Isacsson does shed light on from his intensive scrutiny of Vatican documents is Corrigan's long crusade, far predating 1886, to silence

McGlynn; Rome's compliance with that goal but its hesitancy to condemn McGlynn's teaching (he was excommunicated not for his heterodoxy but for failing to go to Rome); Ella Edes's Byzantine role as Corrigan's agent in shaping Rome's response; and McGlynn's diminished political clout as an excommunicated priest.

In the end, the author argues that the entire "affair" could well have been avoided had Corrigan simply dealt with McGlynn personally about the obscure postelection newspaper interview in 1886 in which the priest gave renewed offense to the archbishop. But that, like the book itself, is to underappreciate the larger dimensions of the "affair" which kept it alive within Catholic circles for so long.

R. Emmett Curran

Georgetown University

Hoods and Shirts: The Extreme Right in Pennsylvania, 1925-1950. By Philip Jenkins. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1997. Pp. xiii, 343. $29.95.)

Historians are fond of saying that we need detailed studies of an issue or a movement at the state level. Philip Jenkins has provided us with a first-class example of this genre with his well-researched study of right-wing extremism in Pennsylvania from 1925 to 1950. Although the book discusses the full gamut of extremism from the Ku Klux Klan to the German American Bund, this brief review will focus primarily on Chapter 7, which deals with the Coughlin movement. Jenkins discusses only the anti-Semitic phase of the Coughlin movement which commenced in 1938 and led to the formation of the Christian Front in 1939. While New York City and Boston are well known as the principal strongholds of the Christian Front, Pennsylvania also had its share of militant Coughlinites centered, as one might expect, in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh with their large Irish Catholic populations. As the author aptly expresses it: "the Christian Front was founded on traditions of Irish nationalism, anti-British feelings, and absolute Catholic loyalty" (p. 166). Other important motivations were a hatred of the federal government as represented by Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal, support of Franco, and isolationist beliefs so extreme that they were an embarrassment to the American Firsters.

Following the lead of their Royal Oak leader, the Pennsylvania Coughlinites of this period were vehemently anti-Semitic. When Father Coughlin's inflammatory broadcasts were banned by certain radio stations, the Coughlinites unleashed a bitter attack on Jews. Even the official Catholic newspaper of the Altoona-Johnstown diocese carried an incendiary headline: "Jews Back Radio Drive Against Coughlin." Fortunately, Pennsylvania was also the home state of two well-known activist priests: Fathers Charles Owen Rice and James R. Cox. In August, 1939, Father Rice delivered a radio broadcast in which he declared

that anti-Semitism was a mortal sin for Catholics. Father Cox attacked Father Coughlin as "Hitler's Hatchet Man" in a fiery speech to a Pittsburgh Rotary Club. Father Coughlin quickly retaliated by writing a letter to Bishop Hugh Boyle purporting to show that Father Cox was "in the pay of the Jews" (p. 188). This was to little avail as Boyle was openly critical of the "misled Catholics" who came under Father Coughlin's influence.

Philadelphia had neither a Rice nor a Cox, only the ultra-conservative Dennis Cardinal Dougherty, a great admirer of Mussolini and Franco. But on the issue of anti-Semitism the Cardinal spoke out loud and clear. In a much-applauded pastoral letter of 1938 Dougherty wrote that any Catholic "who discriminates on the basis of race, color, or nationality is not loyal to the Church, is a renegade to the faith and a scandal to fellow members of the Church" (p. 189).

Fortunately, the Christian Front in Pennsylvania was a small, ineffective group of disgruntled agitators who were never as serious a threat to the social order as they and their detractors believed. After the wave of criticism created by the arrest of seventeen Christian Fronters in Brooklyn in 1940 the movement rapidly declined in numbers and in influence.

It is difficult to do justice to this provocative book in so short a review, but Jenkins has given us a fascinating study of a quarter-century of right-wing extremism in the Keystone state.

Charles J. Tull

Indiana University South Bend (Emeritus)

Radio Priest: Charles Coughlin, The Father of Hate Radio. By Donald Warren. (New York: The Free Press, Macmillan Publishing Co. 1996. Pp. ix, 376. $27.50.)

No voice was more readily identifiable on the radio in the United States in the 1930's with the possible exception of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's than Father Charles E. Coughlin's (1891-1979). It has been said that on a balmy Sunday afternoon one could walk down the streets of many an American city and never miss a word of his weekly radio broadcast. This study by Donald Warren, professor of sociology in Oakland University, has as its goal to relate "the story of hate radio, and its inventor, Charles Edward Coughlin."

Coughlin, a Canadian by birth, graduated from the University of St. Michael's College in 1911. He joined the Congregation of St. Basil and was ordained to the priesthood in 1916. The young cleric was assigned to teach at Assumption College in Ontario and on weekends assisted at parishes in nearby Michigan. In 1923 he was incardinated into the Diocese of Detroit, where Bishop Michael J. Gallagher, his close friend and defender, asked him to build a new parish in suburban Royal Oak, and name it in honor of the newly canonized St. Thérèse of Lisieux, affectionately known as "the Little Flower." In an effort to raise funds for

this endeavor he negotiated his first radio broadcast which aired on WJR in Detroit on October 17, 1926.

Coughlin's program began as a series of sermons. After the crash of 1929, he spoke to the frustrations of the people, attacking Bolshevism and becoming an "authority" on communism and monetary issues. By 1930, the Columbia Broadcasting Sy-jtem picked up his program nationally. Short-wave carried his mellifluous voice to millions of listeners around the world on "The Golden Hour of the Little Flower."

Initially Coughlin was an ardent supporter of Roosevelt, coining the slogan "Roosevelt or Ruin!" After Roosevelt became president, however, he did not look to Royal Oak for advice. Coughlin became disenchanted. In 1934 the priest founded the National Union for Social Justice, and in 1936 established the weekly newspaper Social Justice. That same year he joined with the Protestant evangelist and anti-Semite Gerald L. K. Smith and with Dr. Francis Townsend of California to found the anti-Roosevelt Union Party. Coughlin's theatrics during the campaign, ripping off his Roman collar and calling the President "Franklin Double-Crossing Roosevelt" and a liar and a betrayer shocked Catholics and non-Catholics alike. Even the Vatican was disturbed with his activities and cautioned Bishop Gallagher, who was supportive of Coughlin to the end.

The Union Party was roundly defeated in the Roosevelt landslide of 1936. Coughlin had promised that if the party did not receive nine million votes he would retire from the radio. He did—for about two months. After Bishop Gallagher's death on January 20, 1937, Coughlin returned to the radio claiming it was his bishop's deathbed wish.

Edward Mooney was appointed the first archbishop of Detroit. Warren describes the relationship between Coughlin and Mooney as "a complicated, behind-the-scenes ecclesiastical chess game." Rather than endure "censorship," Coughlin went off the air briefly, but Social Justice encouraged his friends to deluge the Vatican with requests for his reinstatement. Coughlin won. Warren claims that there was a fear among some church leaders that Coughlin would leave the Catholic Church, causing a schism.

In 1938 Coughlin became radically anti-Semitic, finding the theological justification in the writings of the Irish theologian Father Denis Fahey, C.S.Sp. In vitriolic radio speeches in November, 1938, Coughlin accused Jewish Marxist-Communists and Jewish international bankers of responsibility for war and depression. Coughlin's fascist leanings had been apparent early on in his support of Mussolini and Franco. Even in 1942, with the United States at war with Germany, he defended Hitler as our "defense mechanism against communism."

This is the most complete portrait of Coughlin to date. Warren was fortunate to have access to the Coughlin Papers in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Detroit, material not available until the late 1980's. His study sheds new light on

Coughlin's conflictual relationship with Mooney, and Mooney's correspondence with the Roosevelt administration as both made efforts to silence Coughlin in 1942.

This volume, while extensively researched, has many inaccuracies, e.g., referring to the Summa Theologica as a papal encyclical (p. 11); naming Thomas O'Brien, vice-presidential candidate of the Union Party, as a Congress[man] rather than District Attorney of Boston (p. 88); identifying economist Gertrude Coogan twice as "Cooper" (pp. 141-142); erroneous material on Father Denis Fahey who did his theological studies in Rome rather than France, never belonged to the Action Française, and did not form the Maria Duce movement until the 1940's (p. 161);and a reference to Coughlin celebrating Mass on New Year's Day in "rich purple vestments" (p. Lx), a color reserved to Advent, Lent, and Ember Days. It is regrettable that this volume was not edited with more care to correct these as well as typographical and other errors, and confusions in documentary data.

Coughlin, a precursor of the televangelists, mixed religion and politics in an incendiary way. Warren's goal of relating "the story of hate radio" is unfulfilled, however, by his fleeting references to Falwell and Robertson, and efforts to provide a link to the Oklahoma City bombing in the light of Coughlin as "the inspirational leader" of the Christian Front. His claim to substantiate Coughlin's connection to the Nazi regime, while fascinating, does not provide incontestable evidence.

The story of "hate radio" is larger than Coughlin. He was, however, a unique catalyst. As Warren states: "He ushered in a revolution in American mass media by his dramatic ability to blend religion, politics and entertainment in a powerful brew whose impact is still being felt decades later. . . ."

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Fighter with a Heart: Writings of Charles Owen Rice, Pittsburgh Labor Priest. Edited by Charles J. McCollester. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1996. Pp. xx, 244. $49.95 cloth; $19-95 paper.)

Fighter is a delightful collection from the writings of Monsignor Rice, Pittsburgh's premier social activist priest. (He was once best known as a "labor priest," but has long since transcended that category.) McCollester's deft editing of some sixty years of Rice's works, nicely appointed with telling photographs, chronologies, and a brief introduction and transitions, allows Rice himself to bring back to vivid life the nearly nine decades of his existence and many of the causes with which he has been involved—even at a time when he is in his

ninetieth year and a doughty battler still. Those who are familiar with the social history of Pittsburgh, or wish they were, will not find a more enjoyable way to pursue their interest than with Fighter.

That said, there remain substantial differences of interpretation between the portrait of Rice offered in this volume and the one in my biography, Charles Owen Rice, Apostle of Contradiction (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1989). McCollester, a close friend of Rice and his appointed literary executor, says of that book that it "has the facts straight, but the analysis is weak" (p. 237). I, on the other hand, believe that historians will need to take with a large grain of salt McCollester's editorial efforts to depict a personal icon and hometown hero.

McCollester's interpretation of Rice is relatively unambiguous: the pugnacious Irish lad who becomes a devoted Catholic priest with an abiding affection for the underdog and a willingness to enter the lists against an ever-changing lineup of adversaries, perhaps going to a bit of (later regretted) excess at times, but erring only on the side of the angels, a hero of American labor history if ever there was one. Over six decades, McCollester's Rice speaks with a coherent and unambiguous voice. That is, in fact, the version of Rice I once set out to write, but along the way things became rather more complicated.

Fighters, I came to realize, have victims. In Rice's case this does not mean the captains of industry or the conservative politicians who ultimately won most of their battles and whom Rice merely managed to annoy along the way. It means those he really defeated: rank-and-file members he got tossed out of their unions, the Catholic daily communicant and official of CPUSA whom he apostrophized as a heretic, others whose reputations he ruined by using his clerical status and his access to the mass media they could not match, and perhaps other victims whose tales have never seen the light of day. Familiarizing myself with the stories of his victims did not ultimately convince me that Rice, even the Rice of many decades ago, was a scoundrel, but they did make it impossible to recount his life as I had originally envisioned it or as McCollester and Rice present it.

Two examples may suffice to illustrate these differences of interpretation. McCollester tells us that Rice "collaborated with the House Un-American Activities Committee, which held a hearing in August 1949, on the eve of crucial union elections in East Pittsburgh" (p. xvii). What he does not tell us is that it was Rice who secretly approached a committee member rather than the other way around, that Rice covered up his involvement in his writings at the time, or that Rice's intervention with HUAC came after repeated failures to convince union members democratically to vote out the leftists he opposed (Apostle of Contradiction, pp. 124-125). Nor was this an isolated instance of back-door intriguing by Rice: his only major success against the left was in convincing or helping to convince the pious Catholic Phil Murray to act unilaterally and undemocratically in expelling the left from the CIO.

The other example comes from the mature Rice writing in 1990, "Battles I have had aplenty, but in my adulthood they were never personal and, when I attacked people, it was over their actions or positions" (p. 230). Had he then not reached adulthood when he said of UOPWA official James Durkin,". . . you may have been reared a Catholic, but you no longer live up to your faith," or of another official, Bernard Mooney,"I do not know about Mooney and I do not care; he is merely another Irish-monickered half-man . . ." (Apostle, pp. 100-101). Or did he not regard these attacks as "personal"?

Fighter with a Heart is most satisfying when it presents Rice's clear-eyed and ringing indictments of commonly held prejudices or misplaced patriotism: anti-Semitism and racial prejudice as early as the 1930's (pp. 52-55), the war in Vietnam in the 1960's and 1970's (149 ff), or Desert Storm in 1991 (207-208).

It is least satisfying when, as is often the case, Rice is involved in polemics with specific adversaries and we hear only his part of the conversation. This applies generally to his writings about the left in labor (pp. 59-123), but also to smaller tiffs like one he had a with fellow priest, Andrew Greeley, in 1981 (pp. 213-214). Greeley, for whom Rice is no intellectual match, had just slit Rice's throat with a stiletto; here the reader is privy only to the ensuing squawking.

There are other important aspects of Rice's life that do not show up very much in this collection, and understandably so because he did not write much about them: his many years of visiting inmates in prisons, his work on corrections panels, his efforts as an arbitrator in labor-management disputes. We should remind ourselves that Rice's life work is greater than the sum total of his writings.

The historian will want to be aware that Charles Owen Rice has been keenly attentive to his "public image" since well before that term came into common usage. Larry Sullivan, a staff member at St. Joseph's House of Hospitality, suggested that the prime purpose of that institution was to publicize Rice's name and that a testimonial dinner at the Syria Mosque honoring Rice for his accomplishments nearly had to be sponsored by the young priest himself (Apostle, p. 57). Over the years a long parade of journalists and researchers have presented themselves to Rice, who has willingly and sometimes with wry self-deprecation told them the story of his life pretty much as he wanted it told.

My own experiences as his first-published biographer ran parallel to this history. Rice was most accommodating with interviews and access to his writings, but troubles arose in the matter of interpretation. When I had finished a draft of the book, I submitted it to him for his corrections and comments. He returned quite a few, and the ones I agreed with, I inserted into the draft and forwarded it to Duquesne University Press. Thereupon Rice, without my knowledge or permission, obtained the latest draft from the Press and presented me with an additional set of demands for further changes. Publication went forward only after we had compromised our differences.

Suzanne Rini is a Pittsburgh-based freelance writer who was working on another book about Rice at the same time I was. Her manuscript focused exclusively on his role in expelling the left from the labor movement, and in her portrait Rice was a scoundrel. She has complained to me that Rice intervened to forestall her attempts to find a publisher. To my knowledge, her work remains unpublished today.

Now McCollester's effort, the friendliest one so far, has emerged with a long list of financial contributors to the publication project. Thus scholarship on Rice's life seems to have succeeded in proportion as it tells the story in terms flattering to its subject. Television viewers may be reminded of the plight of the show "Nothing Sacred," which has created a firestorm of criticism from the Catholic hierarchy and some laity, by depicting life in an American Catholic parish in ways that are sometimes irreverent and unflattering. In biography, there will always be a tension between the search for heroes and the quest for accuracy.

Where does scholarship on the life of Charles Owen Rice go from here? Deeper, I hope. None of us who has attempted so far to tell the story of Rice's life has been a professional historian (McCollester was trained as a philosopher, I as a political scientist). But Rice's importance to the history of his time and place merits the attentions of such a professional. I hope he receives them.

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Dr. America: The Lives of Thomas A. Dooley 1927-1961. By James T Fisher. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1997. Pp. xi, 304. $25.95.)

Thomas Anthony Dooley, III, interrupted studies at the University of Notre Dame to serve briefly as a Navy hospital corpsman and in 1953 graduated in medicine at Saint Louis University. After internship in Navy hospitals and "special duty" in southeast Asia, ostensibly to collect epidemiologic data, he resigned from the Navy in March, 1956, to avoid court martial for buggery. Immediately transfigured into a "Jungle Doctor," he was carefully packaged as ? celebrity hook into the Irish Catholic subculture. This book tells little about his medical practice, which approximated that of the medics who did the work during the five years when Dooley wrote three best-selling books, toured the United States to raise money, collected honorary degrees from Holy Cross and Notre Dame, and relaxed in homosexual purlieux from Bangkok to Manhattan. This jungle surgeon confined himself to emergency circumcisions although acute balanoposthitis has, at least since the Civil War, been treated by a simple incision through the dorsal foreskin and, anyhow, Asians typically have short foreskins.

What little medical assistance he founded did not survive his well-publicized death from melanoma.

The author misses an essential point: Dooley's flaw was not his tedious homosexual promiscuity. His lying, egocentricity, manipulativeness, and lack of close human relationships document a profound psychopathic character disorder. Charming, pretty, and sexually available, he simply had no sense of right and wrong. Psychological rationalization of unacceptable behavior not very uncommonly assumes a super-righteous, sometimes super-patriotic, facade that can end in fantasy. Dooley's fair-haired status among parochial sectarians protected him from the less forgiving conservative Protestant establishment that he so much resented. Morally rootless, Dooley served a bizarre confederacy ranging from the messianic liberal left through public relations firms and the Vietnam lobby to Cardinal Spellman, all eager to involve the United States in Southeast Asia. He gladly proved useful to Diem's handlers. His stateside public persona—"Blessed Thomas of Laos"—precluded control and his role in getting at least Irish Catholics (and, therefore, Democrats) to support the American disaster in Vietnam remains murky. He certainly helped to focus Catholic hatred on Asian communists, but the State Department and CIA loathed and mistrusted him.

The author hints at but does not document some vast gay network involving the Pentagon, the CIA, and the Catholic Church; nudges and winks are not scholarship. Balance required more attention to what other superpatriots contributed to anticommunist hatred, and why. This book required tighter editing than it got, and it is not clear what it set out to be: it is not satisfactory political history; it certainly is not medical history and it cannot be dismissed merely as gay history. Cesaropapism proved no blessing!

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Disarmed and Dangerous: The Radical Lives and Times of Daniel and Philip Berrigan. By Murray Polner and Jim O'Grady. (New York: Basic Books. 1997. Pp. xiv, 434. $30.00.)

Journalists Murray Polner and Jim O'Grady have written a comprehensive joint biography of twentieth-century America's most celebrated and controversial radical priests. Darnel and Philip Berrigan were born in rural Minnesota in 1921 and 1923, respectively, the fifth and sixth (and youngest) sons of the devoutly Catholic Freda and Thomas Berrigan. They grew up in a rented farmhouse near Syracuse, New York, that lacked indoor plumbing or central heating. Polner and O'Grady depict their father as a frustrated poet and quixotic Irish romantic who, despite being a staunch union man, impulsively traveled from Syracuse to New York City "for the purpose of personally breaking the 1949

Catholic gravediggers' strike" (p. 43). By then his son Daniel had been a member of the Society of Jesus for a decade (in an otherwise historically well-informed account, the authors mistakenly give 1591 as the year of the order's founding). Philip Berrigan entered the Josephite order after graduating from the College of the Holy Cross in 1950.

Polner and O'Grady show how the brothers Berrigan were only tentatively radicalized during the first decade of their priesthoods: Daniel discovered the French priest-workers during his tertianship year at a seminary near Lyons but remained a conventionally ambitious priest-poet through the 1950's; Philip witnessed the effects of racism firsthand while teaching in New Orleans and was jarred by the Cuban Missile Crisis, because "other people were deciding whether I would live or die. I felt betrayed, and not just about the urban crisis but for all that was behind the threat" (p. 104). The Berrigans began questioning America's growing involvement in Southeast Asia in the early 1960's, just as Dan Berrigan began a rich friendship with Thomas Merton. The renowned Trappist predicted that both brothers "will do much for the Church in America" but "will have to pay for every step forward with their blood" (p. 106).

Daniel Berrigan was exiled to Latin America by his superiors in 1965 for disobeying Francis Cardinal Spellman's demand that he refrain from comment on the suicide of Roger LaPorte, a former student of Berrigan's who set himself afire outside the United Nations building "as a religious action" (p. 125) against the war in Vietnam. Polner and O'Grady provide a vividly detailed treatment of the increasingly radical acts committed by the Berrigans after Daniel's return to New York in 1966. They reveal that a trademark Berrigan tactic was devised in 1967 after Philip Berrigan expressed his desire to blow up the U.S. Customs House in Baltimore, where draft records were kept, only to be warned by a sympathetic attorney to "do something less serious, like pouring blood, or honey, or red paint on the locks" (p. 174) of the office.

While the authors' accounts of the various raids on draft boards, trials, flights from captivity (Daniel's), and jail terms of the Berrigans may be familiar material to many readers, Disarmed and Dangerous reaffirms the undeniable constancy of their witness against war and dehumanization, while offering insights into the complementary natures of the two men. Daniel Berrigan's identity as a freelance yet loyal Jesuit is contrasted with Philip's stubborn antinomianism, tempered only by his commitment to the family he began in 1973 after marrying the former nun and activist colleague Elizabeth McAlister. Although they clearly admire the Berrigans, especially Daniel, the authors provide a nuanced and credible portrait of these complex, driven men.

James T. Fisher

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Sisters in Crisis: The Tragic Unraveling of Women's Religious Communities. By Ann Carey. (Huntington, Indiana: Our Sunday Visitor Press. 1996. Pp. 367. $19.95.)

Sisters in Crisis has already evoked strong responses from various points of view. It was predictably unacceptable to the Leadership Conference of Women Religious (LCWR), which issued a press release and circulated a critique among its members. Yet many of the book's numerous footnotes refer to the LCWR records. As in so much contemporary Catholic controversy, the argument is not about facts. It represents a profound difference of opinion about what constitutes good news.

Ann Carey's convictions are shared by many American Catholics: that the widespread transfer of the services of Sisters out of education and health care is unfortunate for the Church and society; that religious congregations should be unconditionally obedient to the Holy See and the New Code of Canon Law; that the drastic decline in religious vocations is at least partly due to the secularization of religious life, and that much of its leadership is in denial of this clear reality.

The leadership and much of the membership of the groups involved operate from very different convictions: that concern for the survival of religious congregations should not preoccupy their leaders; that the diversification of services which has replaced the traditional commitment of most to education and health care represents a growth and development, not loss of direction; that what Sisters share is a "contemplative attitude toward life that demands a constant réévaluation of work and lifestyle to adapt to the needs of the times."[1]

The debate is not really about what is in religious life but about what should be. Ann Carey believes that present practice falls short of what should be. The LCWR appears to equate what should be with what is. Ann Carey, however, does agree that some changes made since the Council were long overdue, and no doubt the LCWR sees room for improvement.

No one knows how many members of the LCWR communities actually agree with its strongly feminist and egalitarian positions, nor how many lay people see the present condition of Sisters as Ann Carey does.

In defense of some of the measures taken to change the structures and mystique of religious life, one can say that those who took them were genuine crusaders, convinced that they were saving women from a degrading slavery to masculine authority. On the other hand, we do not know how many so rescued wanted this kind of deliverance. The often uncanonical autocracy of our past prepared a membership disposed to docility regardless of their personal preferences or even at times of their personal convictions. Perhaps there is still

[1] Leadership Conference of Women Religious, Press Release: "LCWR" sees "Sisters in Service" not "Sisters in Crisis":April 16, 1997.

"blind obedience." Some see the widely used consensual process as more oppressive than the structures of the past, without the canonical safeguards. Though the pressures are more subtle, they may not be less effective.

Mrs. Carey's account is largely limited to the American scene. She is not writing about religious life abroad and the International Union of Superiors General is not mentioned. But in fact some groups heavily represented in the United States were affected by the slower and sometimes more considered rate of change preferred in other cultures. On the other hand the generally more articulate and aggressive American delegates often had a disproportionate influence in the chapters of international communities.

This reviewer has two convictions about the phenomenon described in this book—that the LCWR leaders, some of them personally known to her, were and are sincere in their choice of objectives and that, on some occasions, they have made tragic mistakes.

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Canadian

Marguerite Bourgeoys and Montreal, 1640-1665- By Patricia Simpson. [McGill-Queens Studies in the History of Religion, Series 2.] (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1997. Pp. xxvi, 247. $49.95 cloth; $19.95 paper.)

Patricia Simpson begins this first of a projected two-volume biography of Marguerite Bourgeoys by describing the restoration, some thirty years ago, of a portrait painted at the time of the latter's death in 1700. Simpson understands her own task as analogous to the restorer's: to permit the life of this educator, founder of North America's first uncloistered religious congregation, and co-founder of a city to be viewed without the accretions which centuries of devotion have added. To that task Simpson brings the fruit of considerable archival and archaeological research, in particular that of Alfred Morin and Sister Mary Eileen Scott. She also brings concerns which did not occupy earlier biographers, notably the way in which Marguerite and other ordinary women lived and related to one another and to men in society and in the Church. Not only is she meticulous in her use of sources (J would quibble only with her assertion that Bishop de S.-Vallier's 1694 Constitutions attempted to impose "solemn vows" on the Congregation), but she displays what Margaret Miles has termed a "hermeneutic of generosity "toward such earlier commentators as Marie Morin, whose annals of the Montreal Hotel-Dieu are mined for their insight into the daily lives of Ville-Marie's women, in spite of numerous factual inaccuracies.

When possible, she allows Marguerite Bourgeoys' own voice to emerge, forming each chapter around an initial quotation from her often fragmentary writings and providing context for numerous other citations sprinkled liberally throughout the text.

More than half this work serves as preface to its presentation of the period with which it is most concerned, the years from 1653, when Marguerite and the "hundred men" landed in Ville-Marie, to 1665, when Ville-Marie's first governor, Paul de Chomedey de Maisonneuve, departed. The description of Marguerite's early life in Troyes (1620-1653) includes the educational training she received from Pierre Fourier's Congrégation de Notre-Dame and her efforts to find a communal expression of religious life. In Simpson's discussion of the French Société de Notre-Dame de Montréal and the precarious first eleven years of Ville-Marie's existence, she shows herself aware of revisionist histories but chooses to give full weight to the founders' stated intention: to recreate the primitive Christian community in the New World. In her view, economic motivations came to the fore only afterwards; "[t]he Montreal that evolved after 1665 was not the settlement of which its founders had dreamed" (p. 10).

The final three chapters recount Marguerite's voyage to Ville-Marie, her numerous involvements in its life, especially establishing its first school, and the beginnings of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame of Montreal. Her friendships with Maisonneuve, Jeanne Manee, and Marie Morin, and her involvement with native Americans and with the filles du roi receive particular attention. For the most part, Simpson allows the events she narrates to speak for themselves, but with regard to this latter group, whose counterparts in Quebec had accidentally set fire to their lodgings several times, she cannot forgo surmising: "Marguerite presumably initiated them into the innumerable skills necessary to the mistress of a pioneer household, not least among them that of warming a house without burning it down" (p. 167). The woman whose portrait emerges from these pages is a compassionate educator, skilled at organization, practical and able to collaborate with people of every social stratum. In response to the needs she saw, she undertook work ordinarily considered demeaning, but "without compromising her dignity as a person and as a woman" (p. 100). In the end Simpson is as convinced as Marguerite's original biographers that she is a saint, but one whose sanctity rests on a spirituality of involvement with, rather than withdrawal from, society.

Readers unfamiliar with the history of New France may be somewhat daunted by the great wealth of detail; others might wish Simpson's own voice to emerge more clearly, offering further analysis of the role played by gender and class, for example. But simply by making so many facets of this remarkable woman's life accessible to an English-speaking audience, she has performed an invaluable service to anyone concerned with the history and theology of religious life for women, the evolution of educational practice, or early Canadian history.

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Latin American

From Viracoca to the Virgin of Copacabana: Represenation of the Sacred at Lake Titicaca. By Verónica Salles-Reese. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1997. Pp. xi, 208. $30.00 clothbound; $13.95 paperback.)

Right from the start, the author states in rather heavy, burdensome prose that her aim is to write the "history of the discourse of the representation of the sacred in the region of Lake Titicaca by focusing on narratives which relate this geographical space to a transcendent or divine order" (p. 1). She studies "the representation of the sacred" in the Kolla, the Inca, and the Christian eras to show that "the discourse of the sacred from the different cultures of the region is a sustained discourse of appropriation and recontextualization that corresponds to changes in the nature of culturally hegemonic structures over time" (p. 2). In short, she is writing the story of how a native-made, painted wooden sculpture of a Virgin (of Copacabana) came to be linked with a pre-Christian religious tradition and accepted as a miraculous mediator by the peoples who came from far and near.

Using myths as partial visions of the history of the Andean world, she begins her chronological vision with the Kolla and their narratives which suggest that Tici Viracocha intervened in a chaotic world to establish a natural order. In a later era amidst a growing political chaos, the Kolla invite the Inca to Titicaca. There, the Inca appropriates the place as a site to worship the sun, and, not so incidentally perhaps, as a strategic location from which to exert political control on their southern neighbors. For a second time, barbarism, warfare, and social and political instability are vanquished; this time, a political stability and order under the Inca replaced chaos. In the process, the Incas knowingly claim the area as their place of origin. In so doing, they recuperate their past and justify their conquest, while the local peoples deify them as the progeny of the sun. In the third era or cycle, the Christians appear to impose a moral order on a society condemned by the practice of polygamy, incest, and human sacrifice. Ancient myths are appropriated, interpreted, and recontextualized within a Christian frame of reference. In the process, the Virgin of Copacabana becomes the most recent hierophany in the sacred history of the Lake. The Virgin's promise of miracles, divine mercy, and protection impressed the natives and facilitated the Virgin's acceptance as the successor to the Sun.

If, in fact, the argument is clear, the telling of the story is flawed. One problem is a near-universal one that is beyond the author's cultural control. This first has to do with describing a non-western culture using a western language. Westerners distinguish between the sacred and the profane, and tend to neatly categorize phenomena in one pigeon-hole or another. Although the author recognizes that the boundary between the categories is often blurred, she does not emphasize enough that the distinction seems unimportant from a pre-1532 Andean perspective.

The other flaws are evidence of sloppy scholarship. The encomienda, for example, was not a land grant; it was a grant of labor and tribute. Therefore, her statement about "partitioning of land into encomiendas" is nonsensical and wrong (see pp. 132 and footnote 85 on p. 190). The sentence should have been written as "partitioning of people into encomiendas." In other places, she qualifies a 1910 study as evidence of what is practiced by the Aymara people "today" (p. 12) and omits a page number reference from Cristóbal Albornoz on yIlapas (pp. 57 and 185).

Finally, she limits her audience to only specialists in the field by her extensive use of unexplained jargon. Such words as hierophany, theophany (pp. 10 and 80), thaumaturgical (p. 22), and kratophany (pp. 10 and 29) (which neither I nor a reference librarian could find in unabridged English dictionaries or any other published source in the library at hand) take the book out of the undergraduate, even advanced undergraduate, market.

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Contradiction and Conflict: The Popular Church in Nicaragua. By Debra Sabia. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 1997. Pp. xi, 239. $34.95.)

In July, 1979, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional, FSLN) led a multi-class coalition in toppling the dictatorship of the Somoza family in Nicaragua. The hierarchy gave qualified support for armed struggle during the insurrection to an unprecedented degree, and by the 1980's Nicaragua also represented the greatest church polarization in Latin America over the desirability and moral legitimacy of violent political change, class struggle, and socialism.

Debra Sabia's study is "an attempt to understand the rise, growth, and fragmentation of the popular church in Nicaragua" (p. 2) that is a clearly written treatment of grassroots Catholic groups before, during, and after FSLN rule (1979-1990). Background chapters discuss the impact of Vatican Council II, pastoral innovation, and the spread of Christian base communities (comunidades eclesiales de base, CEBs). The author then explains the splits in the popular church and offers a typology of Catholics that comprised it. These types include Marxists,"Revolutionary,Reformist and Alienated Christians." The basic distinctions among them pertain to religious beliefs and practices, the degree of ties to the institutional church, and views on the desirability and means of social change. The first group came to reject Catholicism completely, and was most committed to socialism, class conflict, and the use of violence to bring about radical change (pp. 111-114). Revolutionary Christians had greater ambivalence about violence and close association with the FSLN (pp. 132-137).

Reformists were equally interested with the Church's option for the poor, but were less ideological and turned against the FSLN after 1980-1983 (pp. 148-154). Finally, Alienated Christians who once supported Catholic social change movements turned toward individualistic religion, be it Charismatic Catholicism, or conversion to Protestantism.

Sabia's contributions are demonstrating how the extent of leftism in the Nicaraguan Catholic Church was overstated in the 1980's, and through ethnographic research, describing "the variegated nature of the progressive Christian sector in Nicaragua" (p. 11). The life histories of CEB participants destroy any notion of a monolithic, pro-FSLN, and radically violent grassroots church. In their own words lay persons describe the evolution of their faith, and how the insurrection against Somoza, Church-FSLN conflict, the Contra War, and later developments shaped it. Poverty, female-headed households, and a majority of the population that came of age after 1980 constitute major drains on the membership of the CEBs. Increasingly there is renewed value for many in the grassroots church in Catholic liturgy and recognition by church authorities (and the legitimacy and resources that go with it). Another strength of the book is the linking by the author of the four types and their potential patterns of political participation.

There are some basic flaws to Sabia's research. First, her sample is limited to three Managua communities, San Judas, San Pablo, and Adolfo Reyes. The author claims that her CEBs are not representative of the "larger Christian sector" (pp. 8; 10), and yet she makes generalizations that her research does not allow. Previous studies of CEBs throughout Nicaragua by Gregory Smutko, François Houtart, Genevieve Lemercenier, Rosa Maria Pochet, Michael Dodson, and Eric Canin provide material for fruitful comparisons that were not made. Therefore, Sabia's book cannot assess the dynamics of CEBs in rural areas versus Managua, or in dioceses where CEBs did maintain support of bishops, contrary to what happened in the archdiocese. Second, Sabia gives a view of priests, bishops, and business elites as"traditional,""conservative,"and monolithic. This is empirically wrong—their response to the FSLN depended on the place, time, and generation (see Rose Spalding, Capitalists and Revolution in Nicaragua, 1994). Sabia is correct in noting the preference of many elites for non-violent reform over socialist revolution; however, there needs to be a greater recognition of the heterogeneity among them and how their views evolved in response to personal experiences and changing contexts (much as occurred with her informants). The popular church cannot be understood absent its symbiotic relationship to clergy at the parish, diocesan, and national levels. Third, the differences in religious beliefs and practices among CEB members were insufficiently probed. Canin's dissertation on the Nicarao and 14 de junio CEBs in Managua (Between Religion and Revolution, 1993) and Houtart and Lemercenier's 1989 attitudinal survey of CEBs in eight regions were researched almost simultaneously with Sabia's book, and give close attention to the socio-cultural and religious views of the poor. Canin shows (based on participant observation in two commu-

nities and an opinion survey of fifteen different Managua CEBs) how revolutionary Christians tried to reinterpret traditional images of the Virgin Mary, martyrdom of FSLN heroes, and popular religious celebrations such as the Purísima, or the patron saint festival of Santo Domingo. Sabia might have considered at greater length the goals of pastoral agents such as the Dominican, Franciscan, and Jesuit priests, or nuns she interviewed, and how their attempt to transform religious and political culture was received by CEB members. Sabia's and Canin's studies suggest that popular religious culture is not highly malleable.

Contradiction and Conflict deserves careful reading regardless of its limitations. The closing discussion on how much the weakening of the popular church was caused by too little "critical distance" from the FSLN or opposition by the institutional church is insightful. The legacy of CEB activism in Nicaragua for the emergence of a democratic political culture among the poor needs to be examined further, and has implications for the remnants of the popular church in El Salvador, Mexico, Brazil, and throughout Latin America.

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Australian

Thomas Cam Archbishop of Melbourne. By T. R Boland. (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press. 1997. Pp. vii, 495. $39.95.)

Thomas Carr was remembered for the completion of Melbourne's impressive St. Patrick's Cathedral in 1897 but for little else before this impressive biography by the prize-winning author of James Duhig appeared. Boland's expert use of Carr's diaries and personal papers breathes unexpected life into the portly figure whose portrait hangs dimly in a cathedral sacristy.

Unlike many of his colleagues, Carr (1839-1917) was not born into the austerities, defeatism,, and nationalist resentments of the Irish tenant-farming culture. In his family there were twelve mouths to feed but his father, a Galway landlord, ensured that the table was always well-laid. From boyhood he developed a love of horse-riding, hunting, tennis, cricket, and nude swimming. Carr's scholastic ability and social connections led to his appointment as canon law lecturer at Maynooth, where he also helped to revive the Irish Ecclesiastical Record. To mark his consecration as Bishop of Galway in 1883, he treated 126 of his establishment friends to turtle soup, Kromeskies à la Russe, York Hams, and 117 bottles of champagne.

In 1887, a somewhat reluctant Carr was translated to Melbourne, where he would remain for thirty years. Ruddy, social, smiling, genial, he was already well

on his way to reaching 300 pounds. However, early predictions that Sydney's steely Cardinal Moran would be the 'head' side of the Australian church while Melbourne's Carr would provide the soft, motherly 'heart' proved to be unfounded. In fact, Carr did not think very highly of Moran's administrative ability. Several times he blocked Moran's premature attempts to carve up the Australian interior into uneconomic dioceses. Even more problematic for Carr was Moran's lack of discretion and tact in addressing public issues.

Carr's careful management of finance was necessary in his rapidly expanding archdiocese. Despite the depression of the 1890's, he was able to leave behind an architectural heritage of dignity and devotion. His new electrically-lit churches began to fill with more educated, sober, and socially integrated congregations. Education was Carr's special interest, especially for orphans and the industrial poor. Visits to New York's Catholic Protectory and the Sisters of Charity Foundling Hospital in 1899 provided him with ideas for buildings and programs. On the parish level, schools and Sunday schools, devotional and self-help confraternities were vigorously promoted, but the real test of Victorian respectability was temperance. By 1910, 80,000 of Carr's adult Catholics had taken the pledge. Carr's priests understood his policies and for the most part supported them. At his Golden Jubilee celebrations, Monsignor O'Hea quipped goodnaturedly: "If you retire me, Carr, I shall open a hotel in the middle of the parish!"

Some mistook Carr's practiced neutrality for weakness, but he was not always silent on controversial issues. Penned in a bolthole above the Cathedral sacristies, his Lectures and Replies (1907) remain a pioneering classic of Australian Catholic apologetics.

Carr's gentlemanly influence on Australian life was threatened with the arrival of his co-adjutor, Daniel Mannix, in 1913. Carr had built community bridges which the gaunt and direct Mannix now seemed determined to undermine in his crusade for Catholic rights. Boland accuses Mannix of playing to the gallery at the expense of the cause. Sadly, Carr would live to see Melbourne society again divide along religious and nationalist lines.

Boland's scholarship is impressive. His fluent style captures the geniality and grace of his subject. His 495 pages provide a wealth of information aboulfin-de-siècle Catholicism. However, his tilting at the Mannix myth on which so much of current Australian Catholic identity is still based is bound to anger the old guard. It is to be hoped that the reaction will not be so strong as to return Carr to his former undeserved obscurity.

Neil J. Byrne

Our Lady of the Rosary Parish, Brisbane

Sacred Threads: Catholic Spirituality in Australia 1922-1962. By Katherine Massam. (Sydney: UNSW Press. Distributed in the United States by International Specialized Book Services, Inc., Portland, Oregon. 1996. Pp. x, 295. $34.95 paperback.)

There are a few relevant remarks that need to be made about the title of this book. Its analysis of Catholic spirituality is, in large measure, the spirituality of women. The examination is confined almost exclusively to Western Australia and South Australia, meaning in effect Perth and Adelaide. Why 1922 was chosen as a starting point is unclear, but 1962 marks the beginning of Vatican Council II. Sometime in the future, although a beginning could be made now, a scholar will examine Catholic spirituality before and after the Council. The results, I suggest, will be startling for the very reason that the devotional and public expression of Christianity used in this analysis has largely vanished.

Dr. Massam discovered "a helpful grid" which made it easier to pose "contrasting alternatives" of spirituality. It stems from Jung, Durkheim, and Weber and argues that there is" 'masculine/animus' and 'feminine/ anima', or 'left-brain instrumental' and 'right-brain feminine' or 'inward' and 'outward' tendencies in all human experience . . ." (p. T). This may be another way of saying that the spirituality of the female differs from that of the male, which could be a useful device in explaining how spirituality is expressed, provided stereotyping is avoided. The author, in the main, has attempted to steer clear of that pitfall. There is an example of a fall on page 183 when a bride is said to be "almost" completely absent from a groom's account of his wedding. It begins,"My bride and I were married at 9 o'clock in the morning. When we were man and wife ..." One hopes the unfortunate man was not chastised for his omission by the bride!

"Religion in Australia was often labelled 'women's work,' and justifiably so," and " 'Women were the backbone' of the Church" (pp. 22 and 23) are two early statements with which there can be little argument. For that reason this is an important work, but its analysis does not help the reader decide whether the overall spiritual life of the Church reflected a true imbalance. The forms of spirituality were largely put forward and controlled by men while women, in the main, practiced them with serious intent. Was it because they were able to transmute them into an acceptable feminine form?

Nonetheless, there are sections of the book of particular value. Religion based on devotions, called expressive spirituality, deals with the Sacred Heart, Christ the King, Mary, the saints in general and Thérèse of Lisieux in particular. The pages on Thérèse are excellent, even if the analysis was made easy because Thérèse was a woman whose own spirituality perfectly combined the female-male elements as a reflection of a divine totality. The final section on "Instrumental spirituality" is notable chiefly for its exploration of Catholic Action. In particular, a spirituality based on the Jocist principle of the "See Judge, Act" reveals how Cardijn successfully made religion incarnate in the daily lives of

young people by accepting the person, male and female, as a unique individual. The author does not say so, but the virtual loss of that form of lay spirituality is one of the great scandals of the late twentieth century.

Sacred Threads is a welcome development of institutional history. It is a beginning, even a "helpful grid," on which others will build their own structures. Dr. Massam deserves thanks and congratulations for her original contribution.

John N. Molony

Australian National University

BRIEF NOTICES

Andrea, Alfred J. (Ed. and Trans.). The Capture of Constantinople: The Hystoria Constantinopolitana of Günther of Pairis. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1997. Pp. xiv, 194. $36.50 cloth; $16.50 paper.)

Günther of Pairis (ca. 1150-1210?), a Cistercian monk of the Alsatian abbey of Pairis, composed four known Latin works. By far the most famous of these was the Hystoria Constantinopolitana, a contemporary account of the Fourth Crusade (1201-1204) written before the end of 1205 and based on the recollections of Gunther's crusading abbot, Martin. Along with the memoirs of Geoffrey de Villehardouin and Robert de Clari, Gunther's account is one of the most extensive descriptions of this pivotal event. But the Hystoria Constantinopolitana is more than that. Not content simply to report a series of remembrances, Günther crafted a sophisticated epic, using language and literary structure to place the diversion of the crusade and subsequent conquest of Constantinople within the context of God's mercy, judgment, and plan for humanity. As a piece of literature, the Hystoria Constantinopolitana represents a remarkable achievement of twelfth-century humanism. That a relatively unknown monk produced it in a smallish monastery in an out-of-the-way location makes it all the more remarkable.

Despite its importance, the Hystoria Constantinopolitana remained devilishly hard to come by until very recently. It is hard to imagine someone better qualified to rescue this work from obscurity than Alfred J. Andrea. For many years, Andrea has trained his historical and linguistic expertise on the so-called "minor" sources of the Fourth Crusade, publishing definitive editions and translations of the works of the Anonymous of Soissons, the Anonymous of Halberstadt, and the Devastatio Constantinopolitana. None of these, however, matches the complexity of the Hystoria Constantinopolitana. Rather than relying on older editions, Andrea went to the manuscripts themselves, producing a superior edition of his own, along with an English translation and extensive notes. Before it could be published, though, Peter Orth published his own excellent edition of Gunther's epic. What we have, then, with The Capture of Constantinople is Andrea's previous work minus the critical edition. What is left is far more than simply a lively and exacting translation. In an extensive introduction Andrea examines the life of Günther, the structure of the Hystoria Constanti-

nopolitana, and its importance as a historical source. The introduction and translation are profusely footnoted with comprehensive references to related primary evidence as well as modern scholarly literature. It is the work of a scholar who is not only an expert on the text, but on the events that the text describes.

With the publication of The Capture of Constantinople, Andrea has taken a remarkable medieval text and made it accessible. Scholars will want to use this work alongside the Orth edition, not only for the copious references but also to take note of those points on which Andrea and Orth disagree on the text itself. For students and non-specialists, The Capture of Constantinople opens a new window onto one of the strangest events in crusading history, allowing them to examine it from yet another perspective. That is all to the good; for, as Andrea has written elsewhere, "the Fourth Crusade is too important and interesting to be left exclusively to professional historians." Thomas F. Madden (Saint Louis University)

The Beginning of Heaven and Earth: The Sacred Book of Japan's Hidden Christians. Translated and annotated by Christal Whelan. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 1996. Pp. xii, 135. $34.00 cloth bound; $16.95 paperback.)

This short work represents a welcome addition to the field of Japanese studies in the United States. Christal Whelan of the Department of Anthropology in the University of Hawaii provides the first readily available translation into English of the Hidden Christians' sacred text, The Beginning of Heaven and Earth (Tenchi Hajimari no koto). The book is divided almost equally into an introduction, the translation itself, and notes. The introduction contains an enormous amount of information on the beginnings of Christianity in Japan, the Kakure Kirishitan (Hidden Christians), the origins of the text, and thoughts on the diverse influences from East and West that surface in the document. All this background information makes the work accessible to those who are not familiar with Japan's Hidden Christians, and Whelan sees this text as the best way to introduce the Kakure Kirishitan themselves.

In The Beginning of Heaven and Earth there is no mistaking the underlying Christian story; yet accretions that embellish the tale provide wonderful examples of the varied cultural influences. Throughout the text, Deusu (Deus, God) is assigned hierarchical ranks using Buddhist terms, but God always emerges above Buddha. Mary, the mother of God, conceives the Holy One by swallowing a butterfly. Days of abstinence from meat have their origins as a thanks to the horses and cattle for the compassion they showed in warming the Holy One with their breath when he was in danger of freezing at the time of his birth in a stable. Days of fast originate from the betrayal of Judatsu (Judas) who "eats his rice with soup every morning."

One finds a wealth of information in the notes. Whelan has done a thorough job of research in uncovering the possible influences found in the work. Because so many of the words used in the text are of Japanese, Portuguese, or Latin origin, notes at the bottom of the page rather than in a separate section would make reading easier for the uriinitiated. Other than that suggestion, this is a work well worth reading. Ann M. Harrington, B.VM. (Loyola University Chicago)

Boynton, James, SJ. Fishers of Men. The Jesuit Mission at Mackinac, 1670-1765- (Mackinac Island, Michigan: St. Anne's Church. 1996. Pp. x, 67. $7.95.)

This book, originally the author's Master's thesis at Weston Jesuit School of Theology, provides a concise overview of the involvement of the Jesuits of New France in the missionary outreach that took place in the vicinity of the Mackinac straits, which separate Michigan's Lower and Upper Peninsulas. From the time that Father Claude Dablon, SJ., first recognized the unique geographical opportunities that the Mackinac straits could provide as a base for a missionary settlement, and throughout the next hundred years, the Jesuits were assiduous in their attempts to plant a mission and nurture the faith of the Indian tribes. Boynton, drawing on letters and documents from the Jesuit Relations and other sources, describes the success the missionaries had in their endeavors. He also details the eventual souring of relations with the French secular authorities due, as in so many places in New France, to the proliferation of alcoholic beverages and the resulting decline in moral standards. Smallpox, the English victory in the Seven Years' War, and the uprising led by Chief Pontiac spelled the end of the Jesuit presence at the straits of Mackinac.

Boynton has researched his material well, and the volume makes good use of photographs, drawings, and maps. His affection for the region and the Jesuits who served there is evident even before we reach the epilogue, and learn of his family's roots in the area, and an admission of his attempt to persuade his Provincial of the need for a continued Jesuit presence there. Fishers of Men is a valuable introduction to the Jesuits and their missionary legacy at Mackinac. Joseph C. Linck, CO. (The Oratory, Pittsburgh)

Davis, Raymond (Trans.). The Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes (Liber Pontificalis). The Ancient Biographies of Ten Popes from AD. 817-891. [Translated Texts for Historians, Volume 20.] (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press. Distributed by the University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia. 1996. Pp. xvi, 334. $20.95 paperback.)

This third volume treating the lives of the ten popes who reigned between 817 and 891 completes Raymond Davis' translation of the Liber Pontificalis (LP), that precious chronicle recording the lives of successive popes from Peter

down to the end of the ninth century (see ante, LXXVII [July, 1991], 546, and LXXLX IJuly, 1993], 514-515, for reviews of the first two volumes). After a brief general introduction, Davis provides a separate introduction for each life, usually informing readers of the events affecting the Roman see that are passed over in silence in LP. Then comes the translation, based on the Latin text established by Louis Duchesne; extensive footnotes reflecting a thorough grasp of modern scholarship are supplied to elucidate the text. The volume also includes a glossary of terms and a useful bibliography.

The student audience for which this translation is intended may be severely challenged. The content of each life, dominated by endless lists of donations to and restorations of Roman churches, is not gripping. The massive footnotes, without which the text is often beyond understanding, serve to divert attention from the flow of the narrative. Interrelating the material found in Davis' introductions and the content of each life requires considerable intellectual dexterity. Yet for the attentive reader, this segment of the LP can provide invaluable information on a variety of subjects: liturgy, the cult of saints, popular religion, art and architecture, technology, monasticism, church organization and administration, ecclesiastical politics. On occasion the reader will even get a feel for the human side of papal affairs, as in the account telling how Pope Paschal I was so anxious to reach the scene of a fire that he rushed off without putting on his shoes. On the whole Davis' translation is readable. He is to be thanked for providing those who read only English with an accurate version of a valuable historical source and for gracing his translation with invaluable notes that will serve those who prefer to read the LP in Latin. Richard E. Sullivan (Michigan State University)

Maude, Thomas. Guided by a Stone-Mason. The Cathedrals, Abbeys, and Churches of Britain Unveiled. (LB- Tauris Publishers. Distributed by St. Martin's Press, New York. 1997. Pp. 176. $15.95 paperback.)

The six chapters of this excellent guide to the architecture of the cathedrals, abbeys, and parish churches of medieval England should prove very helpful to both the beginning student and the sophisticated traveler. Those chapters explore the Norman cathedral; the evolution of the Gothic; the process of construction, including a section on the training of stone-masons; building materials, with an informative explanation of the various kinds of stone used in ecclesiastical buildings; the abbeys and monasteries; and the parish churches. The author, trained as a stone-mason and himself descended from medieval stone-masons, brings to his book the practical experience of work on continental cathedrals and on the cathedrals of Wells and Salisbury. He has produced a fresh, beautifully illustrated work with black and white photographs, one written with exceptional clarity and mercifully free of technical jargon; every architectural term is explained in simple language.

Contrary to the title, the book is restricted to English buildings: those in Scotland, Wales, and Ireland are not discussed. The advanced student may want to supplement his or her understanding of stone-masons and their work on church buildings with C. M. Radding and W W Clark, Medieval Architecture, Medieval Learning. Builders and Masters in the Age of Romanesque and Gothic (Yale University Press, 1992). Bennett Hill, O.S.B. (Georgetown University)

NewmanJohn Henry. The Idea of a University. Edited by Frank M. Turner. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1996. Pp. xxxiv, 366. $35.00 clothbound; $18.00 paperback.)

This edition of Cardinal Newman's Idea of a University comes as a part of Yale's series of texts on "Rethinking the Western Tradition." It is a worthy addition to that series. For many, the Idea remains the finest of all commentaries on what a university is and what it does for its students. As a place where every branch of knowledge must be professed and defended, Newman's university serves as a gentle reprimand to most of our secular institutions. Newman's insistence, furthermore, that a university was not a place of research but a place for the teaching of students serves as a reprimand to most of us in higher education.

The Idea was originally a set of lectures delivered on the occasion of Newman's appointment as rector of the newly established Catholic university in Dublin. Newman's letters from this period (1852) reflect the enormous mental effort that went into the writing of the Idea, which suggests that his debt to the Oxford system of his background was not so great as some have suggested. Indeed, part of the work may be read as a criticism of that Oxford system in both its social and religious ideals.

With its severe condemnation of easy and eclectic learning, as illustrated in the reviews of the day, I am inclined to think that Newman would have shuddered at the idea of an electronic university, which one of the commentators seems to advocate. Mention of the essay on electronic learning brings up the issue of whether any such commentary ought to be attached to the Idea or any other such text. No less a critic than C. S. Lewis, whose own reading of the Idea was hardly sympathetic, has insisted that every work was to be read on its own, without external assistance or commentary. John R. Griffin (University of Southern Colorado)

Petit, Loretta, O.P. Friar in the Wilderness: Edward Dominic Fenwick, O.P. (Chicago: Project OPUS, A History of the Order of Preachers in the United States. 1994. Pp. ix, 40. $10.00.)

When one considers the bold, untiring lives of the first (mostly Jesuit) missionaries of colonial Anglo-America, one often wonders if their flocks appreciated their largely unsung efforts. Perhaps this attractive volume, the first in a series to be issued as a joint project of the Dominican Leadership Conference in the United States, provides an answer to this question by focusing on the life of a man who grew up under the care of those early missionaries, Edward Dominic Fenwick. Fenwick cherished his memories of the priests of his youth in Southern Maryland, and though his European schooling was provided under the auspices of the Dominicans, whom he subsequently joined, for much of his life Fenwick lived his priesthood in a manner which emulated his Jesuit role-models.

Returning to the United States in 1804, Fenwick used his own patrimony to provide for a mission dear to the heart of Bishop John Carroll, the care of those Catholic pioneers who had crossed the Alleghenies and were now living in Kentucky. It was in Kentucky that Fenwick carried out much of his early pastoral work, estabUshing the first Dominican province of men at St. Rose, and encouraging the first foundation of Dominican sisters. In none of this did he neglect his missionary endeavors, as the Catholics of neighboring Ohio could attest. It is ultimately as first Bishop of Cincinnati that many remember Edward Fenwick, an appointment he unwillingly accepted in 1821. Yet even as he struggled with his large and impecunious diocese, he could not extinguish his missionary's zeal, undertaking visitations to the Indian tribes of Michigan, and seeking to provide for their spiritual care. It was on his return from one such journey in September of 1832 that Edward Fenwick died, unattended by a priest.

This slender, well-researched and beautifully produced volume on one of the pioneers of Catholic America whets the appetite for a full-scale biography, which thankfully is in progress and will soon be published. The OPUS project is to be commended for a fine first installment of what promises to be a valuable series. Joseph C. Linck, CO. (The Oratory, Pittsburgh)

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Advisory Editor

Jane Merdinger, who has been appointed an assistant professor jointly in the Departments of Church History and Theology of the Catholic University of America, has also accepted an appointment to the board of advisory editors of the Catholic Historical Review. She received a B.A. degree in 1974 from Brown University, where she majored in ancient and medieval culture. From 1974 to 1977 she attended the University of Cambridge and earned another B.A. degree in classics and religious studies. In 1977 she commenced a doctoral program at Yale University, specializing in the history of early Christianity and studying late medieval and Reformation history as a secondary field. With the permission of Yale University she did research for her dissertation at the University of Glasgow from 1982 to 1984 under the supervision of W. H. C. Frend. In her dissertation Dr. Merdinger investigated the North African Church's relationship with the Papacy in late Antiquity. In 1984 she won a Mellon postdoctoral fellowship, tenable at New York University, and began her teaching career there. Afterwards she taught at several institutions on the West Coast—Seattle University, the University of Washington, the University of Oregon, and the University of California at San Diego. In 1991-92 she was a fellow at the Institute for Ecumenical and Cultural Research at Saint John's University in Collegeville, Minnesota. Since then she has been an independent scholar. Her research interests include the life and thought of Saint Augustine, the North African Church Fathers, and North African canon law. In 1997 Yale University Press published Dr. Merdinger's book Rome and the African Church in the Time of Augustine.

Association News

Christopher J. Kauffman of the Catholic University of America and Georgette Dorn of the Library of Congress, co-chairmen of the Committee on Program for the seventy-ninth annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, which will be held in Washington, D.C., on January 8-10, 1999, have announced that there will be nine sessions falling into five principal categories, viz., public Catholicism in American, modern European, and Vatican spheres and inculturation and sincretism in Japanese, Mesoamerican, and Native American life from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries. This multicultural motif embraces sessions on Free People of Color in New Orleans, Confraternities and

Indians in New Spain, and popular culture in American film, myth, and folklore. From the twentieth-century perspective a panel of former presidents of the Association will project its life in the next millennium, and a panel of medievalists will explain the significance of seminal work in social reform. The committee promises a stimulating intellectual and social experience. David J. O'Brien of the College of the Holy Cross will deliver his presidential address at a luncheon on January 9 under the title: "What Was It Like When It All Came Together? Bishop John J. Wright and the Diocese of Worcester, 1950-1958."

The president of the Association has reappointed Sister Mary J. Oates, C. SJ., of Regis College to the Committee on the John Gilmary Shea Prize for one year, because Sister Mary did not serve for one of the three years of her original term. The committee, therefore, consists of John C. Moore of Hofstra University (chairman), Frederic J. Baumgartner of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University (Blacksburg), and Sister Mary.

Professor O'Brien has also appointed Carlos Eire of Yale University to the Committee on the John Tracy Ellis Dissertation Award for a three-year term. The committee this year thus consists of Robert I. Burns, S.J., of the University of California at Los Angeles (chairman), Thomas J. Shelley of Fordham University, and Professor Eire.

The Association was represented by Richard M. Nardone of Seton Hall University as its delegate to the installation of Sister Francis Raftery as the sixth president of the College of Saint Elizabeth on April 21, 1998, in Morristown, New Jersey.

Conferences, Colloquia, Seminars, Meetings, and Lectures

At the spring conference of the New England Historical Association, which took place at the University of Vermont in Burlington on April 17-18, a session was devoted to "Relics in Medieval Europe." Papers were presented by John Aberth of Norwich University on "The Skull of Simon Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury: The Relic That Never Was"; by Brett Whalen of the University of Vermont, "An Account of the Discovery of the Holy Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: The Cult of Relics and the Twelfth-Century World of the Crusaders"; and by Paul Monod of Middlebury College, "One Royal Body or Two? Rethinking Ernst Kantorwicz." In a session on presidential campaigns and elections Tom Carry of the University of Connecticut read a paper on "Catholicism's Complex Role in the 1928 Democratic Presidential Primaries: The Case of Thomas J. Walsh." In still another session Donald E. Harpster of the College of St. Joseph spoke on "The Religion of Calvin Coolidge: From Rural Vermont to the White House."

A research conference on "State Religion and Folk Belief in the Early Modern World" was held at the Center for Early Modern History at the University of Minnesota on May 1-3, 1998. Among the nineteen scholars who presented papers were Paul S. Seaver of Stanford University ("State Religion and Puritan Resis-

tance in Early Seventeenth-Century London"), Eamon Duffy of Magdalene College, Cambridge ("The Disenchantment of Space: Salle Church and the Reformation"), and John F. Schwaller of the University of Montana ("Spaniards among Nahuas: Popular Religion in Late Sixteenth-Century Mexico").

The eighth centenary of the accession of Lotario dei conti di Segni to the papacy will be celebrated at Rome on September 9-15, 1998, in a colloquium entitled "Innocent III (1198-1216): Urbs et Orbis." The organizing committee consists of Giulia Barone of the University of Rome "La Sapienza" for the Societl Romana di Storia Patria, Brenda Bolton of the University of London, Otto Kresten of the Historisches Institut beim Österreichischen Kulturinstitut in Rom, Werner Maleczek of the University of Vienna, James Powell of Syracuse University, and Constance Rousseau of Providence College, Rhode Island. Further information may be obtained from Dr. Bolton at 8 Watling Street, St Albans, Herts ALI, 2PT, England; telephone and fax: 0044-1727-861170; e-mail: B.M.Bolton@qmw.ac.uk. Their website may also be visited: http:/www.umvie.ac.at/Geschichtsforschung/Innocenz.htm.

A colloquium on "Port-Royal et les mémoires" will be held on September 17-18, 1998. Among the dozen papers that will be presented are "La rédaction des Mémoires de Beaubrun" by Jacques Grès-Gayer of the Catholic University of America and "Un témoignage sur Mlle de Joncoux" by Ellen Weaver-Laporte of Paris.

The lecture series entitled "Two Millennia of Christianity," which is sponsored by the Wethersfield Institute in New York, continues in its fourth year. The ten 1998 lectures cover the period from the Renaissance through the Enlightenment and are being given by such well-known lecturers as Eamon Duffy of Magdalene College, Cambridge, and Glenn W Olsen of the University of Utah. The theme of the ten 1999 lectures will be "The Church in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: From Romanticism to Postmodernity." The complete program may be obtained by writing to the Wethersfield Institute at 230 Park Avenue, Room 1528, New York, New York 10169; telephone: 212-949-1949.

One of the fall semester seminars that will be conducted at the Folger Institute (from September 24 to December 10) is "The Mental World of Stuart Catholicism." It "will address the ways in which Catholicism, formed in part by Continental doctrines, was shaped by and in turn itself shaped British political thought from the accession of James I to the end of the reign of James II." The director will be Patricia C. Brückmann, professor emérita of English in the University of Toronto. Another fall semester seminar, entitled "Gender and Sanctity in Counter-Reformation Europe,"" will explore the phenomenon of holy women, those who achieved lasting renown as well as those who either were denounced to the Inquisition for pretense of sanctity or who faded into the recesses of local history." Teresa of Avila (1515-1582, canonized in 1622) will be studied as the principal case for sanctity; other examples will be selected from Portuguese, Spanish, French, or Italian sources. The director will be Alison R Weber of the University of Virginia.

The American Cusanus Society, in co-operation with the International Seminar on Pre-Reformation Theology and the Institute for Luther Studies of Gettysburg Lutheran Seminary, will hold a joint conference from October 28 to November 1, 1998, at Gettysburg Lutheran Seminary. The topic will be "Spirituality in the Late Middle Ages and Reformation: Nicholas of Cusa and Martin Luther." Keynote speakers will be Bernard McGinn of the University of Chicago Divinity School, Ewert Cousins of Fordham University, H. Lawrence Bond of Appalachian State University, and Louis Dupré of Yale University. Further information may be requested of the arrangements chairman (and vice-president of the Society), Gerald Christiansen, at 61 North West Confederate Avenue, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania 17325-1795; telephone: 717-334-6286; fax: 717-334-3469.

The next annual meeting of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association will be held at the University of Sherbrooke in June, 1999. Proposals of papers or sessions dealing with the history of Catholicism in Canada, especially with the themes recommended by the Congress of Social Sciences and Humanities (in which the Association meets), viz., health, migration/immigration, and the public good, will be welcomed. They should be sent to Elizabeth Smyth (e-mail: esmyth@oise.on.ca) or Vicki Bennett (e-mail: vbennett@distance.ced.uottawa.ca).

An international conference sponsored by the Evangelicalism and Globalization Project will be held at Oxford on July 14-17, 1999. It is proposed that the conference will be published. A report on the origins and objectives of the project and information about the conference may be obtained from John Wolffe at the Open University.

Causes of Saints

On March 15, 1998, in St. Peter's Basilica Pope John Paul II beatified the Bulgarian martyr, Bishop Vincent Eugene Bossilkov, and two women religious who founded teaching congregations in Spain and Italy. Blessed Bossilkov was born on November 16, 1900, in Belene, Bulgaria, to a peasant family of Latin-rite Catholics and was given the name Vincent at baptism. In 1911 he began his secondary education at the Passionist minor seminary at Oresc. Discerning the signs of a vocation in him, the Passionist superiors sent him to the diocesan seminary in Nikopol and then to Belgium and the Netherlands to complete his liberal arts education. In 1919 he received the Passionist habit at the novitiate in Ere, Belgium, taking the name Eugene of the Sacred Heart. After his first profession in 1920, he began his theological studies and took his final vows in 1923. In 1924 he returned to his homeland to complete his theological studies for the priesthood and was ordained on July 25, 1926. In the following year he was sent to Rome for further studies at the Pontifical Oriental Institute and received the doctorate in 1932 with a dissertation on the union of Bulgarians with the Church of Rome in the first half of the thirteenth century. In 1933 he returned to his diocese, where the bishop at first made him his secretary and appointed him parish priest of the cathedral, but since Father Eugene preferred to

work more directly with the people, the bishop assigned him to the parish of Bardaski-Gheran, where he engaged in effective pastoral and educational activities. A gifted linguist, he was so admired for his learning that in 1938, on the 250th anniversary of the Catholic uprising against the Turks, he was chosen as the official speaker at the celebratory ceremony. In 1944 the Soviet Army invaded and occupied Bulgaria. Two years later, when the bishop of Nikopol died, Bossilkov was appointed to the see. He faced increasing difficulties due to the communist government's slow but systematic destruction of religion. He was subjected to the constant surveillance of the secret police. After expelling the Apostolic Delegate in 1949, the government tried to force the Catholic Church either to align itself with the national church or to undergo extinction. That same year all foreign missionaries were driven out of the country; church property was confiscated; religious congregations were suppressed and their members dispersed. The grip of persecution tightened until 1952, when the government imprisoned religious, priests, the elderly Catholic exarch, Bishop Romanov, and Bishop Bossilkov, who was arrested on July 16, while on holiday outside Sofia. He was secretly thrown into prison, and on September 20 the Communist Party newspapers published on their front pages accusations made during interrogations accompanied by physical and psychological torture. The show trial was conducted from September 29 to October 3, 1952, culminating in a rigged sentence of death, which was executed in the Sofia prison on November 11. His body was thrown into a common grave, so that neither its place of interment nor its identity can be determined. In the homily that the Holy Father delivered, partly in Bulgarian, at the beatification liturgy, he said: "The martyr Bishop, Vincent Eugene Bossilkov, . . . intensively cultivated the spirituality of the Passion. He also dedicated himself without reserve to the pastoral service of the Christian community entrusted to his care and faced the supreme trial of martyrdom without hesitation. Bishop Bossilkov thus became the Church's radiant glory in his country. A fearless witness to the Cross of Christ, he is one of the many victims sacrificed by atheistic communism in Bulgaria and elsewhere, in its plan to destroy the Church. In those days of harsh persecution, many looked to him and drew from his example of courage the strength to remain faithful to the Gospel to the very end. . . . Today he is presented to us as an eminent figure of the Catholic Church in Bulgaria, not only because of his extensive learning, but for his constant ecumenical concern and his heroic fidelity to the See of Peter."

On the following Sunday, in Onitsha, Nigeria, the Holy Father beatified Father Cyprian Michael Iwene Tansi, a Nigerian priest who had served the local church in that city and died as a Cistercian monk at the Abbey of Mount St. Bernard in England. Blessed Tansi was born in 1903 at Igboezunu near the ancient city of Aguleri in southern Nigeria. His parents were Igbo farmers who practiced the "traditional religion" and gave him the name Iwene at birth. In 1909 he was sent to the Christian village of Nduka, where he was baptized three years later by Irish missionaries and given the name Michael. His peers described him as very studious, conscientious, and pious. At the age of sixteen he received his first

school leaving certificate, which qualified him for teaching. He taught at Holy Trinity Primary School in Onitsha for three years and served for a year as headmaster of St. Joseph School in Aguleri. In 1925, against the wishes of his family, he entered St. Paul's Seminary in Igbariam. After finishing his philosophical and theological studies, he was ordained a priest in the cathedral of Onitsha on December 19, 1937. The second indigenous priest of Onitsha and the first in the Aguleri region, he began his pastoral ministry in the parish of Nnewi. In 1939 he was appointed parish priest of Dunukofia, where he courageously tackled immoral customs and destroyed the harmful myth of the "cursed forest," which weighed heavily on the peace of consciences and families. To combat premarital cohabitation, he set up marriage preparation centers where girls and young women could be sheltered and receive Christian formation. For the moral education of youth he also established the League of Mary. His parish produced so many vocations to the priesthood and religious life that it set a record in the diocese. Traveling from village to village by bicycle or on foot, Father Tansi set up prayer centers that eventually became parishes. He demonstrated the same zeal in Akpu, where he was parish priest from 1945 to 1949, and then in Aguleri. When Bishop Charles Heerey of Onitsha expressed the desire during a priests' day of recollection that one of his clergy would embrace the monastic life so that he might later establish a contemplative monastery in the diocese, Father Tansi volunteered. Hence, in 1950 he went to the Trappist Abbey of Mount St. Bernard in Leicestershire, England. After two and a half years as an oblate, he was admitted to the novitiate, taking the name Cyprian. One year later he took simple vows and was solemnly professed on December 8, 1956. For the next seven years he lived a hidden life of prayer and work, humility and obedience, in faithful observance of the Cistercian rule. In 1963, after thirteen years of experience as a Trappist, his superiors finally decided to let him establish a monastery, but because of the political tensions in Nigeria, they directed him to Cameroon instead. He was appointed novice master. Before he could leave England, however, he died of an aortic aneurysm in the Royal Infirmary of Leicester on January 20, 1964. He was originally interred at Mount St. Bernard, but his body was exhumed in 1988 and reburied in the priests' cemetery near the cathedral of Onitsha. His remains will be enshrined in the parish church of Aguleri.

The cause of the Servant of God Elizabeth Ciarisse Lange (1787-1882), in religion Mother Mary Lange, foundress of the Oblate Sisters of Providence, has been introduced in the tribunal of the Archdiocese of Baltimore. The petitioners are the Oblate Sisters of Providence. The postulator is John W. Bowen, S.S., and the vice-postulator is Sister Virginie Fish, O.S.R The historical commission is composed of Michael J. R Roach, chairman, E. Michael Camilli, M.S.C, and Christopher J. Kauffman. The judge-delegate of the archbishop, William Cardinal Keeler, is Jeremiah F. Kenney; the promoter of justice is William A. Collins; and the notary is Gilbert J. Seitz. Robert Trisco has been appointed nperitus to the tribunal for this cause. A preliminary meeting of the tribunal was held on April 22, 1998.

Publications

The third centenary of the birth of St. Alphonsus Maria de Liguori was commemorated with a congresso held in Rome on March 5-7, 1997. The proceedings of the conference have now been published under the heading "La recezione del pensiero Alfonsiano nella Chiesa" in a double fascicle of Spicilegium Historicum Congregationis SSmi Redemptoris (Volume XLV,Number 1-2 [1997]), as follows: I. L'lmpulso alfonsiano: Eduardo Martínez Somalo,"S. Alfonso e Ie slide della nuova evangelizzazione alia vita consecrata" (pp. 29-39); Giovanni Velocci, "Cristo: centro della spiritualità alfonsiana" (pp. 41-69); Sabatino Majorano, "Il popólo chiave pastorale di S. Alfonso" (pp. 71-89): Louis Chatellier,"La mission populaire: Annonce prophétique du salut" (pp. 91-1 11); Antonio Napoletano,"La música: una scelta pastorale di S. Alfonso" (pp. 113-120); Francesco Chiovaro,"S. Alfonso Maria de Liguori. Ritratto di un moralista" (pp. 121-153); Terence Kennedy, "Did St. Alphonsus practise practical Theology? 'Per venire dunque alia pratica': Practice or pragmatism" (pp. 155-167); Sante Raponi,"La chiamata universale alla santità in s. Alfonso. Il caso délie sposate" (pp. 169-204); II. La recezione della dottrina alfonsiana: Gabriele de Rosa, "La figura e l'opéra di sant'Alfonso nell'evoluzione storica" (pp. 207-224); Fabriciano Ferrero,"La recepción del magisterio alfonsiano en las iglesias de España" (pp. 225-267); Otto Weiss,"Tra misericordia e rigorismo. La recezione della dottrina di s. Alfonso net paesi germanici nelTOttocento" (pp. 269-290); John Sharp, "The Alphonsian Mission in Britain and Ireland in the Nineteenth Century" (pp. 291-307); Claude Langlois, "Régulation romaine et morale alphonsienne en France dans la première moitié du 19e siècle. Les propositions de Mgr Bouvier sur la morale conjugale" (pp. 309-329); Raphael Gallagher, "The moral of St. Alphonsus in the light of the Vindiciae Controversy" (pp. 331-349); III Il caso italiano: Giuseppe Orlandi, "La recezione della dottrina morale di S. Alfonso Maria de Liguori in Italia durante la Restaurazione" (pp. 353-452); Giuseppe Orlandi,"Il 'Caso Panzuti" (pp. 453-513); IV. An "Historical Essay": Hamish F. G. Swanston,"The voice of the poor in the writings of S. Alfonso" (pp. 517-618);"Cronaca del Congresso: Manuel Gómez Ríos, "Crónica del Congreso Internacional del III Centenario de S. Alfonso M. de Liguori (1696-1787)" (pp. 621-626).

Timothy Tackett has edited a forum on "Religion and Violence in Nineteenth-century France" for the winter, 1998, issue oí French Historical Studies (Vol. 21, No. 1). Following his introduction (pp. 1-2) there are six articles: Claude Langlois, "La Fin des guerres de Religion: La Disparition de la violence religieuse en France au 19e siècle" (pp. 3-25); Sheryl T. Kroen,"Revolutionizing Religious Politics during the Restoration" (pp. 27-53); Raymond A. Jonas, "Anxiety, Identity, and the Displacement of Violence during the Année Terrible.The: Sacred Heart and the Diocese of Nantes, 1870-1871" (pp. 55-75); Michel Lagrée, "Processions religieuses et violence démocratique dans la France de 1903" (pp. 77-99); Caroline Ford, "Violence and the Sacred in Nineteenth-Century France" (pp. 101-112); and Claude Langlois,"De la violence religieuse" (pp. 113-123).

A colloquium on Monsignor Bruno de Solages, rector of the Institut Catholique de Toulouse from 1931 to 1964, was held in Toulouse on December 13-15, 1996, under the title "Liberté et Résistance." The papers presented at that gathering have now been published in the issue of the Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique for January-June, 1998 (Volume IC, Numbers 1-2), as follows: I. Une liberté dans la société: Émile Poulat, "Entre 'Monde chrétien' et 'Monde moderne': Mgr Bruno de Solages, Intelligence catholique et laïcité amicale" (pp. 9-34; René Coste, "Mgr de Solages et la question sociale" (pp. 35-42); Patrick Cabanel, "Résistance spirituelle à Toulouse: Bruno de Solages de 1927 à 1945" (pp. 43-77); II. Une liberté dans l'Eglise: Jean Amad, "Le Billetiste et le journaliste" (pp. 81-90); Clément Nastorg, "Action française ou Action catholique" (pp. 91-103); Georges Passerat, "Le rayonnement spirituel et pastoral: L'exemple du diocèse de Montauban" (pp. 105-113); Robert Cabié, "Correspondance entre Mgr de Solages et le Cardinal Tisserant" (pp. 115-136); III. Une liberté dans l'université catholique: Jacques Vacherot and Simon Légasse, "Le chercheur: Mathématique et Exégèse" (pp. 139-145); André Dartigues, "L'enseignant: L'initiation à la Métaphysique" (pp. 147-155); Jean-Marie Glé, "'Pour l'honneur de la théologie': Le défenseur de Henri BouLUard" (pp. 157-165); André Dupleix, " 'Pour l'honneur de la théologie': Le défenseur de Teilhard" (pp. 167-179); Yves Floucat, "Lettres de Bruno de Solages à Jacques Maritain (1927-1941)" (pp. 181-203); IV L'homme et ses racines: Hugues de Solages, "Mgr de Solages et sa famille", (pp. 207-215); "Eléments de généalogie" (pp. 216-217); Clément Nastorg, "Eléments de biographie" (pp. 219-247); Annexes: Jean Mompha and Georges Baccrabère, "Mgr de Solanges et L'Hôtel de la Fonderie" (pp. 251-256); Bruno de Solages, "Pour l'honneur de la théologie: Les contre-sens du R. P Garrigou-Lagrange" (pp. 257-272); and "Bibliographie de Mgr de Solages" (pp. 273-293).

The issue of U.S. Catholic Historian for winter, 1998 (Volume 16, Number 1), is devoted to "The Local Church: Archivists and Historians." The contributors and their articles are "Diocesan Archives: Twenty-Five Years of Preserving American Catholic History," by James M. O'Toole (pp. 1-13); "Diocesan Archivists: Models for Stewardship," by Christine Taylor (pp. 15-22); "Archives of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe and 400 Years of Church History in New Mexico," by Marina B. Ochoa (pp. 23-34); "Catholic Archives of Texas: Sense and Sensibility of Catholic History Preservation and Research," by Kinga F. Perzynska (pp. 35-46); "Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore: History and Content," by Felicitas Powers, R.S.M. (pp. 47-56); "A Historian's View of the Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore," by Thomas W. Spalding, C.F.X. (pp. 57-61); "The Archives of the Archdiocese of San Francisco," by Jeffrey M. Burns (pp. 63-72); "Archivists and Historians in Dialogue: The Case of the Archdiocese of Milwaukee," by Steven M. Avella and Timothy D. Cary (pp. 85-92); and "The Local Church from the National Perspective: Collecting American Catholic History at the Catholic University of America," by Timothy J. Meagher and William John Shepherd (pp. 93-114).

Sections IV and V of the microfilm publication of the Church Missionary Society Archive (see ante, LXXXIII (January, 1997], 179) have now been made available by Adam Matthew Publications. Section IV covers "Africa Missions" (West Africa [Sierra Leone], 1803-1949; Nigeria, 1844-1949; Sudan, 1905-1949; Egypt, 1889-1949; South and East Africa, 1836-1949; and East Africa, 1875-1949). Section V covers "Missions to the Americas" (West Indies, 1819-1861; North West Canada, 1821-1880, and 1881-1930; and British Columbia, 1856-1925). A descriptive brochure and a price list may be obtained from the Senior Publishing Associate, Liz Sargut, in care of Adam Matthew Publications, 8 Oxford Street, Marlborough, Wiltshire SN8 IAP, England; telephone: 01672-51 1921; fax: 01672-51 1663; e-mail: Adam_Matthew@msn.com.

Most of the issue of the Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia for spring and summer of 1997 (Volume 108, Number 1-2) is devoted to articles on Dorothy Day on the occasion of the centenary of her birth, as follows: Sandra Yocum Mize,"'We Are Still Pacifists': Dorothy Day's Pacifism during World War II" (pp. 1-12); Eugene McCarraher, "Into Their Labors: Work, Technology and the Sacramentalism of Dorothy Day" (pp. 13-27); James J. Farrell, "Dorothy Day and the Sixties" (pp. 29-37); and Anne Klejment,"CommencThe Long Revolution: Dorothy Day at 100" (pp. 39-50).

Personal Notices

Robert Bireley, SJ., of Loyola University Chicago has received a fellowship from the National Humanities Center in Research Triangle Park, North Carolina, for the coming academic year. Father Bireley's project is entitled "The Jesuits, the Courts, and the Thirty Years' War." He will also participate in a year-long seminar on "Religion and the Humanities."

Astrik L. Gabriel, professor emeritus and director of the Folsom Ambrosiana Collection at the University of Notre Dame, was presented by the Hungarian Bishops' Conference in December, 1997, with the Pro Ecclesia Hungariae medal for his many publications regarding the history of the Catholic Church. Titular Provost Gabriel was notified of the honor by the president of the Hungarian Episcopate, Archbishop Dr. István Seregély of Eger.

Richard Gribble, C.S.C, has been appointed assistant superior of Moreau Seminary in Notre Dame, Indiana.

Thomas Head has been appointed professor of history in Hunter College of the City University of New York.

Christopher J. Kauffrnan of the Catholic University of America has been appointed by the Archbishop of Hartford, Daniel Cronin, chairman of the historical commission for the cause of canonization of the Reverend Michael J. McGivney founder of the Knights of Columbus. (See ante, LXXXIII [October, 1997], 822, and LXXXTV [April, 1998], 376.)

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